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Crumpton, The Art of Intelligence (New York: Penguin, 2012), pp. 29 Downloaded from . The power of the media may one day enable Khan - or another similarly savvy politician - to beat the entrenched patronage networks that have dominated national elections for so long. Reflecting and contributing to these problems, Afghanistan's opium
production shot through the roof, increasing 34 percent in 2007 over the previous year's levels.62 Afghanistan," Washington Post, February 14, 2007, 1259.html. Judging from that history, one way to think about the future course of U.S.Pakistan relations is to think from
the "outside-in"; in other words, to ask how the United States is likely to interact with Pakistan's neighbors and then consider how those relationships will influence ties between Washington and Islamabad. But his initial drive to bring home the bomb and the popularity that his project won him in Pakistan were based on his ability to channel a
nationalistic resentment that had become increasingly common in the 1960s and 1970s. Looking beyond the Afghan arena, these regional concerns are thus far only emergent challenges, but they suggest the utility of thinking about U.S. interests in Pakistan within a broader regional framework. Minutes after the shootings, a Toyota Land Cruiser
sped to the scene. He cautioned of the "danger that Pakistan may grow even more isolated, draining even more resources away from the needs of the people, 32 33 Mohammad Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. "Rather than allowing the workers to unite in proletarian revolution as Marx predicted," he
explained, "capitalism evolved. Mohammed Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: Stresses and Strains," Foreign Affairs, 42, no. Washington had little to say in the matter. 29 28 29 This dictum is supported by political theory that traces its roots to Immanuel Kant and by a generation of scholarship on the so-called Democratic Peace. 7 (April 6)
2006), %5Btt news%5D=728. Musharraf became red-faced with surprise, either because he had been caught in the act or because his orders to disband the camps had not been followed. Media Matters Pakistan's media culture changed radically after Musharraf opened the airwaves to private competition in 2002. Kux notes two important
conversations prior to 1965 that suggest the United States might well have come to Pakistan's defense had it been the target of unprovoked Indian aggression, an event Kennedy considered very unlikely. Today's advocates of reform, including politicians like Imran Khan, often sound decidedly parochial, sometimes even xenophobic, when they discuss
solutions to Pakistan's problems. 1 (Spring 1981), p. Because the Ayub regime had so stoked anti-Indian war hysteria at home and raised expectations of imminent territorial conquest, Tashkent was politically radioactive. The pledge was buttressed by a view in other corners of the administration, including the State Department, that it was simply
unrealistic to demand very much from Pakistan. It looked like a blunt reminder that the CIA would have its way in Pakistan with or without Islamabad's permission. It cannot be wished away. The chief justice episode was but the latest chapter in Ahsan's long career. The United States had fought a prolonged battle against al-Qaeda in ways that
succeeded in killing most of its top leaders, but it never brought Americans and Pakistanis together in a common understanding of the terrorist threat. One of the most politically relevant distinctions between them was the way they observed their Muslim faith. Professor Pervez Hoodbhoy, a nuclear physicist and one of Pakistan's most iconoclastic
 voices on trends in education and social practices, laments that Al-Huda members are, "in comparison with students of earlier decades . This remained the case throughout the Nixon administration. Now I think . If Afghanistan fell apart after America's withdrawal and Islamabad had already turned against the Afghan Taliban, what friends (and more
important, what influence) would Pakistan have left there? In 2002, Saeed sidestepped an official ban on LeT by taking up a new title as the leader of LeT's humanitarian and charitable wing, Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD). Alberto Abadie and Javier Gardeazabal, "The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country," American Economic
Review, 93, no. The aim of comprehensive cooperation would be to improve Pakistan's prospects over the long haul, not to install unpopular American mouthpieces in Islamabad. Instead of building a new, competitive party with grassroots appeal, he bought off established politicians who were willing to bolt from Pakistan's main opposition parties.
For several days, it was difficult to determine just what Mullen's testimony really meant. By then, Musharraf and his own ramshackle political party (the Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam), or PML-Q) were the ones accused of corruption and dereliction of duty. Jane Perlez, "Pakistan's Military Chief Criticizes U.S. over a Raid," New York Times, September 10, 2008, . 237. This perspective dominated the thinking of Secretary of State Colin Powell and his deputy, Richard Armitage. On Baig's reaction, see Ian Talbot, Pakistan: A Modern History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. To add weight to its ability to threaten the United States, Islamabad could conceivably attempt to build or
purchase intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of reaching North America. If not for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980 and the Reagan administration's rekindled cooperation with Islamabad to arm the Afghan insurgency, disagreements over the nuclear issue would have sent the U.S.-Pakistan relationship completely over the cliff. If India
 were still the impoverished backwater of the 1960s, '70s, or '80s, no one in Washington would give it the time of day. We cannot be certain whether earlier attention from Washington and a heavy injection of U.S. resources could have transformed a post-Taliban Afghanistan into a more stable, effective nation-state. He commands remarkable loyalty
from a network of foreign policy professionals in Washington and throughout the world. Citizens Report, Five Years of the 13th National Assembly of Pakistan, March 2013, .pildat.org/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publi
Pakistan-CitizensReport.pdf. How, Pakistanis asked, could Afghanistan - a landlocked, tribal society of 30 million people emerging from decades of civil war - possibly be compared to Pakistan 69 the country still lacks a "transmission belt" to channel the grievances felt by
many of its people into effective political action. Similarly, Bhutto's socialist-tinged economic schemes, including his selective nationalization of companies held by some of Pakistan's wealthiest families, paid no real dividends.29 Moreover, Bhutto's credentials as a democrat must be scrutinized closely. Apparently, when he heard "checks and
balances," it triggered in his mind the need for the military to check and balance the destabilizing impulses of civilian politicians, not the idea - as in the American example - that executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government should have the capacity to block excesses by the others. Author conversation with Governor Aurakzai, Peshawar
April 30, 2007. Frederick Kempe, Berlin 1961: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Most Dangerous Place on Earth (New York: G. W., nuclear expansion in Pakistan and, 91-92 Bush, George W. After that, Beijing contemplates global issues, such as trade and climate change, as well as defense and foreign policy matters farther afield, starting along its
 western and northern land borders but increasingly extending to South and Central Asia, the Middle East and even - when it comes to resource extraction and new markets - to Africa and Latin America. No Exit 13 The Pakistani Taliban (Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan, or TTP), founded in 2007 by the ferocious Baitullah Mehsud, has particularly close ties
to al-Qaeda. Immerman, John Foster Dulles: Piety, Pragmatism, and Power in U.S. Foreign Policy (Wilmington: SR Books, 1999), p. After Obama's October 2010 trip to India, New Delhi took a number of steps that, intentional or not, reduced American expectations for accelerated partnership in the near term. See also "Nuclear Black Markets:
Pakistan, A. Because LeT is widely believed to enjoy close ties to Pakistan's military and intelligence services, Washington had to operate without Islamabad's consent. Only a Stopgap Depending on how relations between the United States and Pakistan unfold, defensive insulation may be the only option available to Washington. 132 No Exit from
Pakistan Bush administration to cooperate in a bit of high-stakes matchmaking between Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Zulfikar and self-exiled leader of what remained Pakistanis as the apotheosis of civilian control
over the military. Downloaded from . These ambitious plans were articulated soon after Obama took office. Tetlay likened the situation to the rise of the worst, aim for the best, and avoid past mistakes. Over that same period, poverty rates dropped from about two-
thirds to onethird of the population.54 Over time, the RSP model was replicated, with both private and state support, to encompass 108 of Pakistan's 131 districts. A welter of important decisions had to be made quickly, all under the shadow of an al-Qaeda menace that had already shown itself capable of pure evil. All threaten prospects for a constructive relationship. U.S. officials, including then-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Michael Mullen, claimed that senior Pakistani officials sanctioned the murder.123 Pakistan has a very long way to go before its media is remotely free or fair. "I don't want anyone pulling the rug out from under him. In the diplomatic arena, Dulles set
to work building a web of new formal and informal alliances to extend U.S. influence worldwide without having to pay for, or deploy, U.S. troops at every point of possible communist expansion. Among them, Pakistan has already shown that it can make India bleed in ways that, if expanded and intensified, would threaten U.S. hopes for a strong,
vibrant partner in New Delhi. In the heartland of Pakistan's dominant province, Punjab, is found another face of jihad, also born from the cauldron of the 1980s. With this new package, Obama officials sought to signal to ordinary Pakistanis that the United States was committed to a long-term relationship with their people and not just their military.
22 No Exit from Pakistan economy. Months later, in a final bit of absurdity, Davis made news again. This is not to say that Pakistan should continue to depend upon foreign assistance and loans. The Four Faces of Pakistan should continue to depend upon foreign assistance and loans. The scarring experience also raises
American doubts about whether Pakistan can ever be trusted, whether its nuclear establishment might again be compromised by an insider, or even whether the state of Pakistan will perceive a vital interest in limiting future nuclear transfers to countries like North Korea, which pose no direct threat to Pakistan but are dangerous to the United States
and its allies. Negotiated in weakness and desperation, Islamabad's peace deals were sold to the outside world in disingenuous terms. In short, for Washington it is better to deal with a single Pakistan than multiple, warring states or, more likely, a morass of feuding fiefdoms. The discovery of bin Laden in Abbottabad crystallized these differences.
During the 2000 election campaign, Condoleezza Rice, then Bush's top foreign policy adviser, wrote revealingly that the United States "should pay closer attention to India's role in the regional balance. America's Options 207 defensive insulation Given the recent history of turmoil in U.S.-Pakistan relations, America's leaders must at least consider
how best to achieve counterterror, nuclear, and geopolitical objectives if ties with Islamabad fray or break. In time, the Obama administration confirmed the rumors that Davis was a former U.S. Special Forces officer working as a contractor for the CIA. Tentative at first, the goal was to find a diplomatic compromise that could bring the Taliban in
from the cold and also end the war on terms acceptable to the United States. These enhanced capabilities were on display in March 2010, when Pakistani troops finally managed to flush Pakistani Taliban (TTP) forces from the area around the town of Khar, in Bajaur agency. These were important victories. The answer is complicated by LeT's
unusually close connections with Pakistan's military and intelligence services. In November, when Lashkar-e-Taiba terrorists from Pakistan killed Indians, Americans, Israelis, and other international visitors in their commando-style raid on Mumbai, similar fears resurfaced. 90 No Exit from Pakistan and more important, that the rules he was breaking
to protect his country were inherently discriminatory. These include several instances of what they call American "abandonments," such as when the United States did not adequately rise to Pakistan's defense in its wars with India in 1965 or 1971, or in 1990 when Washington slapped sanctions on Pakistan for pursuing a nuclear weapons program.
One version of this argument came from Musharraf's political opponents in Pakistan. The victory came at a cost in America's relations with Pakistan, but there were other reasons for the downward slide as well. By the time of his house arrest, he owned all sorts of real estate, made generous contributions to charities, and lived well beyond the means
of any normal government employee. Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Markey, Daniel Seth, 1973- author. As one brave Pakistan needs to be defended in right earnest from this cast of characters."89 One of the biggest draws for DPC
events was Hafiz Saeed, the leader and principal ideologue of Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), the charitable arm of LeT. [Excised], National Security Archive, Achive, A
concept of the "stability-instability paradox." See S. Some liberal Pakistanis, like Aitzaz Ahsan, saw the American tendency to back military dictators as its greatest flaw. According to official figures, 1,000 new madrasas were opened in the years from 1982 to 1988. There are lessons to be learned from these mistakes and what they say about the say about the years from 1982 to 1988. There are lessons to be learned from these mistakes and what they say about the years from 1982 to 1988.
America's ability to act with purpose in the world. Born in 1945, Richard Armitage is no longer the fearless young man who volunteered to stalk the jungles of Vietnam as an "ambush adviser" to a South Vietnamese unit, or who led a convoy of ships loaded with over 20,000 South Vietnamese to safety in the Philippines in 1975.15 Even so, this hard-
charging 14 15 Colin Powell, My American Journey (New York: Random House, 1995), pp. Still, it may be no match for Pakistan's terribly powerful web of entrenched interests, all heavily invested in defending the status quo. Lurching from crisis to crisis, Washington lacked a vision for its relationship with Islamabad broader than the desire to keep
Pakistan and Afghanistan on the rails long enough to see bin Laden dead and buried. Pakistani economist Shahid Javed Burki has determined that India will lose an average of 2 percent per year of GDP growth between 2007 and 2025 unless regional trade barriers are eliminated. 54 That amounts to a sizable $1.5 trillion loss (over 25 percent) in
India's GDP by 2025. Privately, however, the president was determined to honor his pledge not to undermine Musharraf. They wanted to help the Pakistani people, but also to do so in ways that would make the government more credible with its public and thus more able to cooperate with the United States on immediate issues like fighting terrorism
37-8, 44-52. 3, www.fas.org/sgp/crs/nuke/RL34248.pdf. Beijing knows it would have some tough decisions to make in the event of an unhappy divorce between Washington and Islamabad. It also rules out a Cold War-style containment strategy. 30 Even so, Americans can draw some useful historical analogies from the Cold War experience. 913. In its
effort to counter India, Pakistan's military owes a great deal to China. To be sure, LeT is no al-Qaeda. Condoleezza Rice, "Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest," Foreign Affairs (January/February 2000). 4 (Spring 2013), pp. 52 No Exit from Pakistan Gul argued, "The world needs a post-modern state system. Numbering nearly 180 million,
India's Muslims have so far proven remarkably averse to radicalization, but if that ever changes the consequences would be dire.57 India's Muslim community is, by-and-large, a disadvantaged minority that has suffered through bouts of communal violence and holds legitimate grievances.58 India has already experienced sporadic instances of
homegrown Islamist terrorism, some of which bore the hallmarks of Pakistani inspiration or material support.59 Pakistan the spoiler would almost certainly intensify its efforts to exploit this point of Indian vulnerability. . Progress is possible; the U.S.-Pakistan relationship is not necessarily trapped in a perpetual hell. India and Pakistan clearly
disagree on the answer to that question, but there is also the complicated issue of what the Kashmir's remarkable geography and topography. Pakistan was all the more shaken because we had not even recovered from the tragedy of 1971."61 These two
events convinced Khan that only a nuclear bomb could guarantee Pakistan against new predations by its neighbor. Nasir Iqbal, "SC Asks Govt to Provide ISI Political Cell Notification," Dawn, May 17, 2012, . Yet perpetual crisis management is not a recipe for enduring success in Pakistan. Given that Pakistan's history is littered with cases of the
courts caving to the military and political powers that be, Aitzaz Ahsan's feat was entirely unexpected. See "Unwarranted Assessments," Dawn, July 23, 2012, and "Betting the Ranch on the U.S.-India Nuclear Deal," Stimson Briefing, June 5, 2005, . Yet progress of any sort will only be achieved through a patient, sustained effort, not by way of quick
fixes or neglect. The Indian government estimates that it will need to import between 29 and 59 percent of its energy by 2031-2032. Prominent among these states was India, a country Kennedy considered a major battleground in the anticommunist struggle. Between courses served by stiff, uniformed waiters, he lectured on the history of the region
and described how he had cleverly appealed to the 56 57 58 59 Author conversation, Washington, DC, March 2005. U.S. officials are well aware that Pakistan desperately needs more hydropower and better management of its water supply. Behind closed doors, Clinton warned Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf to deal with the terrorists on his soil
and to re-think Pakistan's nuclear posture. Khan announced that if elected his government would cut corruption by half in 116 117 118 Taha Siddiqui, "Youth Sees Imran as Agent of Change, Hope," Express Tribune, October 30, 2011, . From the Outside-In 191 stability throughout South and Central Asia. Similarly, Congress has resisted calls to
establish an "enterprise fund" for Pakistan that would extend loans and make equity investments in Pakistani 55 56 57 58 59 60 Zafar Bhutta, "Raising Finance: U.S. Proposes Securitisation of Dam's Assets," Express Tribune, October 24, 2012, an avalanche buried a Pakistani army camp near the glacier, killing 139 soldiers and
civilians. If and when they rush to the exits, Washington should brace for the ugly consequences. They also raise the potential costs of internal disorder or a hostile revolutionary turn. Most important for the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, the mixed message about American resolve relaxed what pressure Pakistan might otherwise have felt to reconsider
its own stance toward the Taliban insurgents and get onboard with Washington's program. The Taseer murder troubled Pakistanis, but for a range of reasons. See "Brigadier Ali Khan: Pakistan's Dissenting Army Officer," BBC, June 23, 2011, . Measures short of that are, at best, stopgaps. At the State Department, where Powell and Armitage worked
so closely with one another that they could "mind meld," both tended to be fixers more than conceptualizers. Throughout the 1980s, the U.S.-Pakistan partnership offered Islamabad the autonomy to support its chosen Afghan groups and, for the most part, to manage the Afghan fight as it saw fit. 127-52; S. See Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, The Myth of
Independence (London: Oxford University Press, 1969). By some accounts, these new fighters were even more vicious and sophisticated than their tribal colleagues.93 Perhaps because they originally hailed from more cosmopolitan parts of the country, they had grander ambitions for their war against Islamabad, not to mention their struggle against
India and the West. Behind closed doors, American diplomats would need to remind Pakistan's military leadership early and often about the many risks they run by playing politics. An enhanced Indian missile defense system, built with American assistance, would offer another layer of protection against a Pakistani nuclear-tipped missile. Yet for those
who might place all responsibility at Washington's feet, it is important to note that Zia's Islamization campaign pre-dated the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the windfall of American aid to Pakistan. By mid-decade, Beijing and Moscow had parted ways; they no longer posed the monolithic communist threat perceived by Eisenhower and Dulles. 222
No Exit from Pakistan that, Washington would want to monitor the Pakistani military for signs of eroding unity and politicization, the precursors to institutional breakdown. 376. Not yet. Even more sensitive types of aid were provided without public fanfare. India and China, once (and possibly future) rivals, already see economic growth and
development as a top priority. Nevertheless, Capitol Hill has never taken the issue seriously. Some are making real progress and could, with access to greater resources and support, achieve transformative breakthroughs. The new president probably should have given greater weight, in ways Eisenhower did, to the fact that Khrushchev was prone to
rhetorical bluster of this sort. That is Schmidt's essential contribution; Pakistan's traditional powerbrokers have been weakened by time, not strengthened. India's enormous Muslim community makes its relationship with a self-professed Islamic Republic like Pakistan a politically sensitive one. By one estimate, terrorism in Israel from 2001 to 2003
resulted in a 10 percent drop in GDP per person.51 In another case, separatist terrorism in the Basque country of Spain led to a 10 percent decline in GDP per person.52 Net foreign direct investment also tends to drop in countries afflicted by terrorism. Of that same age group, 77 percent viewed the army favorably, while the civilian government got
favourable 6 7 8 For a brief assessment of the PPP government, see Shamila N. Pakistan was also an afterthought. By his own account, he retained indirect contact with top Taliban officials. Tens of millions of Pakistan was also an afterthought.
Even a deeply flawed, corrupt, and compromised civilian order actually poses less of a threat to the stability of the Pakistan's military shows little sign that it has revised its threat perception of India or slackened its drive for nuclear and conventional weapons
In President Barack Obama's words: We can't predict with certainty what the future will bring, but we can be certain about the issues that will define our times. Pakistani Taliban (TTP) atrocities and the fact that the group is overwhelmingly Pashtun makes it foreign and deeply unappealing to the vast majority of Pakistani's people who hail from other
ethnic groups. See Kissinger, On China, pp. Those failures ate at the core of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Iftikhar A. 221-30, 248-51. mutual vulnerability The U.S. experience of the twentieth century, from two world wars to the Cold War, convinced most American policymakers that the world was shrinking. Beyond that, the parliament voted for a
series of constitutional amendments and struck political accords that granted greater autonomy to Pakistan's provincial governments and returned power to the prime minister from the president. Could Pakistan really spoil the Indian dream? See "Mullen Denies Involvement in General Kayani's Extension," Canadian Asian News, February 2012,
20Asian%20News%20 (%20Febuary%2015-28%202012).pdf. Only weeks before 9/11, the CIA rejected a proposal that it should deploy armed President Bush ordered far more aggressive counterterror operations in the aftermath of 9/11.61 Over the next ten
years, the drone became the single most effective counterterror weapon in Washington's arsenal. The New York Times editorial, for instance, lamented that "The latest advance by the Taliban is one more frightening reminder that most Pakistanis - from top civilian and military leaders to ordinary citizens - still do not fully understand the mortal
Islam."102 After bin Laden's death, Saeed called the al-Qaeda leader "a great man" and unloaded on the United States, calling on Muslims around the world to "stand up against America," and declaring that "now is the start of a battle 98 99 100 101 102 Tankel, Storming the World Stage, p. 21-42; Ashley J. Between 2004 and 2007, Washington
launched nine drone attacks. In Pakistan, mistrust of the United States extended well beyond the foreign policy elite. The mastermind of 9/11, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, was born to Pakistani parents and captured in Rawalpindi in 2003, near Pakistan's capital. By backing President Musharraf, Washington was committing the same error that it had
during the period of army rule by Generals Ayub and Zia. Armitage is also an inveterate gossip who has had brushes with political scandal, most recently in the case of outed Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officer Valerie Plame. The strategy does nothing to address the internal dynamics that are likely to make Pakistan more of a threat to America
and itself over time. If this past history is any guide to the future, it suggests that U.S. competition with China and unresolved disputes between India and Pakistan may again lead American leaders to pick sides in South Asia. See especially Dennis Kux, The United States and Pakistan, 1947–2000: Disenchanted Allies (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins
University Press, 2001) and Robert J. "Ah, but this should be a challenge for you, to outsmart the goats," Tetlay teased. That said, rumors persist that the Brigadier told colleagues that he was actively planning to help turn Pakistan into a Caliphate and was in league with air force officers who would bomb a meeting of Pakistan's top officers and open
the door to a coup. Ladwig, "A Cold Start for Hot Wars? They are retailers of ladies' undergarments. It broke taboos by showing graphic images and broadcasting confrontational debates, quite similar to the way Al Jazeera revolutionized news programming in the Arab world. As Chapter 4 describes, it was a narrow, focused U.S. ambition that
alQaeda is uncovered. In 2008 alone, it launched thirtythree, and all but five of these took place after President Obama accelerated the trend. University of Sussex Library, on 05 Mar 2019 at 17:39:51, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . When complete, the dam would generate 4,500
megawatts of electricity, roughly 1,000 more than the mammoth Tarbela.56 To date, financing challenges await, but there is little question that Washington could tip the scales by its contributions and leverage with other international funders like
the World Bank. 58 Aside from direct assistance, Washington has failed to capitalize on the potential economic benefits of freer trade or incentivized private sector investment. But we have to understand that we are different in the definition of a nation than the other nations of the world. Despite having signed on to a counterterror alliance with
Washington, Musharraf and his generals remained allergic to any acknowledged U.S. fighting presence on Pakistan Relations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations during the Musharraf Era Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations during the Musharraf 25 105 136 6 From the Outside-In: U.S.-Pakistan Relations in the Regional
Context 169 7 America's Options 200 Index 239 vii © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org 1 No Exit During the final dark days of the Second World War, the French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre first staged his play, Huis Clos, in Nazi-occupied Paris. To explain the remainder of the yawning chasm between aspirations
of a transformed U.S.-Pakistan relationship in 2008 and the sad reality of 2011, however, the comic strip Pogo's famous line, "We have met the enemy, and he is us," captures an important part of the reason that President
Musharraf was willing to engage in a serious dialogue with India was the simultaneous pressure he felt from the United States and China. President Bush and members of his national security team resolved to expand America's counterterror campaign in the waning months of his term. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant
collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press. Q.) nuclear theft and, 88 Lashkar-e-Taiba and, 102 lawyers' movement against, 80-83 media censorship by, 62, 63-64 military relations with, 118-122, 130 nuclear expansion under, 119 political failures of, 31,
129-134, 221 return to Pakistan and house arrest of, 133-134 self-imposed exile of, 133 Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan and, 125-129 U.S. support for, 27, 76-77, 82, 103, 105-108, 110-114, 201-202 Muslim Brotherhood, 57 Muslim Commercial Bank, 231-232 My American Journey (Powell), 110 National Command Authority (Pakistan), 44
nationalist movement in Pakistan anti-Americanism of, 83-92 nuclear expansion influenced by, 87-90 origins of, 49-50 National Research Council, 210 Nationa
Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. In this part of the world, fetching water is women's work. Twenty years from now Pakistan will have 85 million more people than it does today. Time would be in very short supply after a nuclear attack. 20 According to a 2010 report by the National Research Council, the
chronic under-funding and under-staffing of U.S. nuclear forensic programs reduces their ability to improve techniques, sampling procedures, and evaluation times. 21 To deal with the possibility that deterrence might fail, Washington would also need to build and deploy defenses against Pakistan's nuclear warheads. It touched upon nearly all facets
of the relationship. This approach paid immediate dividends in terms of mopping up a number of senior al-Qaeda leaders like Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, but as Osama bin Laden's trail went cold and the war in Iraq eclipsed the war in Afghanistan, Washington found itself poorly positioned to grapple with the growing problem of Taliban safe havens on
Pakistani soil and in even worse shape to respond to Musharraf's waning hold on power. For a time, U.S. officials could even willfully ignore or neglect Pakistan, hoping that its nuclear arsenal, violent extremists, burgeoning population, and tense regional relationships would all sort themselves out without threatening important American interests
Khan, and the Rise of Proliferation Networks," International Institute of Strategic Studies, May 2, 2007. Aiming for the best means pursuing all of those steps only so far as is possible without slamming the door on U.S.-Pakistan cooperation. Regardless of the severity of these issues, the Assembly's response never moved beyond expressing sorrow.
Moreover, "the performance of democracy, also known as governance, remained dismal in 5 years. For instance, Islamabad perceived a series of U.S. decisions to reduce its direct command authority over operations inside Afghanistan, culminating in 2006 when all security responsibility fell under the NATO flag, as evidence that Washington was
looking for a way to exit the war.61 Pakistanis were not wrong to see drift and inattention in Washington's Afghan war policy. By one estimate, the November 2008 raid by ten LeT fedayeen on Mumbai, India's financial capital, may have inflicted as much as $100 billion in business losses.50 Fortunately, the businesses of Mumbai bounced back
quickly. The World Health Organization is eager to partner with the hospital to tackle Pakistan's many public health problems, like tuberculosis. On the Obama team's first AfPak review, see Daniel Markey, "From AfPak to PakAf: A Response to the New U.S. Strategy for South Asia," Policy Options Paper, Council on Foreign Relations, April 2009
AfPak to PakAf .pdf. The United States needed to renegotiate terms with Pakistan's caste system is not as overt as India's, but as in many traditional societies, it is difficult to escape the consequences of one's family name. Obama's
announcement followed on the heels of his prior decisions to more than double U.S. forces to nearly 70,000. 3 (June/July 2009), p. Its complicated relationship with the Pakistani state offers the organization a degree of protection, but it also imposes constraints upon the group's terrorist activities. In Pakistan, the experience of dealing with the United
States has bred alienation, anger, and in some cases, hatred. 209. "Statement of Policy on U.S. Policy toward South Asia," NSC 5701, January 10, 1957 in Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957, .gov/historicaldocuments. Memoli, "Obama Opens Up about Drone Strikes in Pakistan," Los Angeles Times, January 31,
2012, la-na-obama-drones-20120131. In the 1980s, Peshawar was a meeting point and refuge for many of the Afghan fighters who formed the core of the CIA- and Society in Pakistan (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2003), p. 210 No Exit from Pakistan attack
devastating enough to eliminate Pakistan's nuclear arsenal, thereby avoiding nuclear use altogether. Shoaib drew inspiration from his mentor, Dr. Akhter Hameed Khan, one of South Asia's most famous grassroots organizers, advocates, and development scholars. The timeline for Pakistan's transition was set, in part, by Pakistan's electoral cycle,
inasmuch as Musharraf's five-year presidential term was up in October 2007. His plan to hold local elections in 2005 between candidates who were not supposed to hold partisan affiliations, and his formation of a National Security Council that solidified the army's dominant 46 47 Condoleezza Rice, "Remarks at the American University in Cairo"
(speech, Cairo, Egypt, June 20, 2005), U.S. Department of State Archive, 48328.htm. grappling with difficult choices One problem with framing a clear set of three strategic options is that it implies U.S. officials might actually sit down, pick one approach over the others, and stick to it. Our tax dollars go in. The soft-spoken octogenarian settled into a
nearby armchair and, after beckoning for tea and a generous array of Pakistani snacks, quietly explained that it was not he who had turned against the United States, but the United States that had turned against the United States, but the United States that had turned against the United States that had turned against the United States, but the United States that had turned against Pakistani.
heavy dose of intimidation. The current scholarly debate over this question breaks down into four camps. 144 No Exit from Pakistan administration officials tried to remove parts of the Berman bill they thought would most upset relations with Pakistan administration officials tried to remove parts of the Berman bill they thought would most upset relations with Pakistan (and most tie Washington's own hands). PTI's 2013 electoral setbacks do not necessarily diminish
the potential benefits of political and economic reform. Steve Coll, "The Back Channel," The New Yorker, March 2, 2009, pp. lessons of history Even before the George W. A belligerent, nuclear-armed Pakistan could keep India in or at the edge of crisis, distracting its leaders and depleting its resources from the vital business of economic development
Pakistan's subsequent arrest and trial of Dr. Shakil Afridi, the doctor who ran a fake polio vaccination campaign in an effort to help the United States ascertain bin Laden's identity, only added insult to injury. For a good map of what was termed the Northern Distribution Network, see Vanda Felbab-Brown, "Stuck in the Mud: The Logistics of Getting
Out of Afghanistan," Foreign Affairs (July/August 2012), 137785/vanda-felbab-brown/stuck-in-the-mud. Had Musharraf been either a ruthlessly effective dictator or a genuinely popular democrat, it is conceivable that he might have found a way to steer Pakistan in his preferred direction. 249. By way of officially sanctioned indoctrination in public and
private schools, jihadist ideals sank roots throughout the country, even in places far from the Pashtun mountain villages and sanctuaries that were directly touched by Afghanistan's war. The idea held wide appeal outside the United States as well. In one uncomfortable exchange during a May 2010 briefing with ISI officials in Islamabad, I asked how
their organization had changed since the return of civilian-led government in Islamabad. Rather than improving upon a flawed American effort, Pakistan contributed to its troubles. From Carter's January 23, 1980, State of the Union address, cited in Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, p. During his meetings in India, he had given no hint of this plan.
Finally, although USAID officials may point to ongoing development projects throughout Pakistan and eager diplomats on both sides may express their desire to reengage in dialogue after a trying couple of years, the reality is that comprehensive cooperation of the sort envisioned in the early Obama years died with bin Laden, if not before 69 Senators
and representatives in Washington are more inclined to consider legislation to end assistance to Pakistan," Associated Press, July 8, 2012, . The deterioration in relations between the United
States and Pakistan over the course of 2011 and 2012 had many different specific causes, but the fact that the two sides mistrusted each other in Afghanistan was the immediate bone of contention. These arguments hold little water in Pakistani military circles. Now, he said, the local organizations and their elected representatives are able to manage
security."106 Given the time required to move thousands of troops into and out of Afghanistan, U.S. forces were near their peak (of between 90,000 and 100,000) for roughly eighteen months.107 Recognizing the obvious political constraints on the Obama administration, no one in Pakistan or Afghanistan could ever have assumed that the surge would
last forever. See Animesh Roul, "Students Islamic Movement of India: A Profile," Terrorism Monitor, Jamestown Foundation, 4, no. Washington repeatedly exploited Pakistan and interfered in its politics, but the Pakistani leaders who served as willing accomplices to America's crimes deserve a healthy share of the blame. They organized on high school
way to manage relations with Pakistan. Not quite yet. Kerr and Mary Beth Nikitin, "Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues," Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues," Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues," Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues," Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues," Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues, "Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues, "Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues, "Congressional Research Service, 7-5700, RL34248, May 10, 2012, p. For more on India's nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues, "Congressional Research Service, Proliferation and Proliferation and
Proliferation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); and Ashley Tellis, India's Emerging Nuclear Posture: Between Recessed Deterrent and Ready Arsenal (Washington: RAND, 2001). Most USAID officials, on the other hand, viewed development work in humanitarian, broadly apolitical terms. In other words, if the United States keeps picking the contract of the
the sides it has chosen for the past sixty years, it will do little to help potential reformers and far more to support the kind of repression that fuels a revolutionary backlash. Opportunistic critics of Musharraf jumped at the chance to exploit this chink in his armor. Greg Miller, "CIA Flew Stealth Drones into Pakistan to Monitor Bin Laden House,
Washington Post, May 17, 2011, . Khan's work at a highly classified (but poorly secured) facility devoted to uranium enrichment exposed him to technologies essential to producing the 54 55 Henry Kissinger, White House Years (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979), p. This was true, above all, for the U.S. military "surge" of 30,000 additional American troops and the company to the company to the true to the company to the true to the company to the true to the company to the company to the company to the company to the true to the company to the comp
to Afghanistan, announced by President Obama at West Point on December 1, 2009. Frustration over the Afghan war endangers cooperation, but other concerns - from terrorism and nuclear weapons to regional geopolitics - make cooperation, but other concerns - from terrorism and nuclear weapons to regional geopolitics - make cooperation, but other concerns - from terrorism and nuclear weapons to regional geopolitics - make cooperation war endangers cooperation.
resolved; they resonate down to the present day in the context of the "Arab spring" of 2011. In the past, these programs have at least fostered familiarity with the United States, if not necessarily sympathy. "Peanuts," Zia scoffed. The army has too often dominated Pakistani politics even when civilians were nominally in charge. On a 2011 trip to
Sichuan province's Chengdu, one of China's largest inland cities, a young graduate student explained in excellent English that her parents were "semi-literate peasants." In a span of a single generation, she had moved from a world defined by a rural 9 10 11 For the GDP of Pudong, see, "Shanghai's Pudong Sets Double-Digit GDP Growth," Xinhua,
April 19, 2010, \$ 04/19/content 9747072 .htm. For the text of S. He called on the Pentagon to "reappraise our entire defense strategy," and warned darkly that "Each day, the crises multiply. 4 (Autumn 2008), pp. I cried a lot that night. Yet, the weakness is now a reality. American mistakes in Afghanistan and Washington's distraction by the Iraq
war had by then convinced Islamabad that the United States was not seriously interested in ridding Afghanistan of Taliban influence. Many Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process, one that holds Pakistani reformers would appreciate a transparent aid process.
years, it has served as an outpost and garrison, but also as a way station for invading armies, missionaries, and traders of all stripes. 1 Driving along its streets, it is easy to tell Peshawar is close to the Afghan border and the mountains; clusters of women are hidden behind burkas, and in winter men don traditional brown woolen shawls to ward off the
chill. Washington also took its eye off the ball, investing its military and intelligence resources in Iraq rather than Afghanistan or Pakistan. However, one of my guides to Pakistan deserves special mention: Tariq Zaheen. There the tribesmen of the region had always governed themselves, with Islamabad acting through neo-colonial liaison officers still
known as "political agents" in a method very similar to that used by the British. "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2011," p. This perspective was again on prominent display during the waning days of the Musharraf regime, when Pakistani civilian politicians and liberal activists
accused the United States of serially coddling military dictators. But now I can't go on doing it, because you've gone back on your word."12 Ayub's frustration was not confined to closed-door diplomacy. Khan affair in early 2004 was one of them. Sharp-tongued Pakistani journalist Ahmed Rashid concludes that Pakistan and Afghanistan were "clearly
not a priority on Powell's or Rice's to-do list."39 Pakistan was neither a strong state nor a traditional ally. He blew himself up and took forty soldiers with him in the deadliest terror attack on the army to that point. In some of the world's richest countries, like Japan, the number is very low (just over 2 per 1,000 in 2012). Securing Pakistan's nuclear
arsenal, for instance, is a project that is best undertaken by Pakistanis themselves, with the United States playing only a supportive role. They ask, "What about South Korea?" It is true that South Korea demonstrates that extraordinary economic progress is possible even next door to a hostile, nuclear-armed dictatorship. For example, by improving
Pakistan's ability to wage a counterinsurgency campaign with new training and tools like helicopters and night vision goggles, troops based along the Afghan border were better able to take on militants who had challenged the writ of the state. Both Washington and New Delhi signaled strong interest in turning a new page in their relationship. G. For
out the likes of Hamid Gul or Shireen Mazari, both of whom have also enjoyed long-standing ties to the cricket star and his party. University of Sussex Library, on 08 Aug 2018 at 14:19:34, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . Its central protagonist will be China, a state that - after hundreds of years in the shadow of the West - is
re-emerging to assume a role of power and leadership. Julian E. Whether military or civilian, ruling regimes in Islamabad now face a public that doubts the benefit of cooperation with Washington. It averaged a real annual growth rate of 6.6 percent from 1990 to 2010.46 Even when Indian growth rates slipped in 2012 and early 2013, there were signs
that the challenge would be met with more market reforms - like opening the country to retail giants like Wal-Mart - rather than backsliding.47 46 47 "India's Annual Average GDP Growth at 6.6% in 1990-2010," Press Trust of India, August 18, 2011, .ece. When the AL swept the balloting in East Pakistan to score a surprising majority in the
parliamentary elections of 1970, it presented West Pakistanis with the uncomfortable specter of Bengali rule. Even if it finds a way to pull out of its gradual downward slide, it will remain vulnerable to horrible acts of terrorism and violence. The Pakistani general's anti-democratic practices were thoroughly at odds with what would later, especially
after President Bush's second inaugural speech, be called the "freedom agenda." 34 Underpinning that agenda was the notion that the repressive politics of undemocratic regimes in the Muslim world were at least partially to blame for the Islamist terrorism of the early twenty-first century. In the early 1960s, Pakistan International Airlines flew to
Beijing, providing a unique air link between China and the non-communist world. In that respect, the city is much like Pakistan as a whole: seemingly distant, and yet still thoroughly connected to the wider world. In practice, what would that have meant? No American president likes to be charged with coddling dictators. Baig now justifies the move
by arguing that Saudi Arabia was under no real threat from Saddam's forces and that America's war was nothing more than a ploy by Washington to weaken Iraq. If some or all of these dynamics Downloaded from . That is the policymaker's tragic responsibility; it is what separates him from the idealist or the pundit. It felt more like a giant picnic,
with pop singers on hand to warm up the crowd before Khan and other PTI leaders took the stage. In either case, skepticism is warranted; generalizations about the Pashtun "mentality" are often little more than cultural stereotypes fashioned in the service of dubious policy choices. Along the way, they were stunned by the intransigence of Berman's
staff.25 Later, when Pakistanis cried foul over the final version of KLB, Berman rejected their complaints out of hand: "This is a created crisis, by people who either haven't read the bill or don't want to describe it accurately, and whose goal is either to destabilize the government or challenge some of the Pakistani military's priorities." 26 Since both
Berman and Kerry had personally briefed General Kayani and other Pakistani officials on the legislation, he may have been correct to believe that, as Pakistani journalist Ahmed Rashid put it, "there had clearly been ample opportunities for the army to voice any objections to the bill months before." 27 Berman may have had principled, political, and
came in, overt and often heavy-handed censorship was Pakistan's standard practice. The help of Dennis Kux and Alan Kronstadt was invaluable as I pulled together the historical threads in U.S.-Pakistan relations. 245-6. Also worrisome, a Pakistani spoiler state that relies upon Chinese patronage would represent a new point of tension between
Washington and Beijing, not entirely unlike North Korea. For a chart showing monthly U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan, see Ian S. These ties draw Pakistan into a much bigger geopolitical game, the subject of Chapter 6. 81 Aitzaz Ahsan. Nor will the traditional powers - Europe, Russia, and especially the United States - simply cede their dominant
"Nonalignment 2.0" (report), 195-196 Northern Distribution Network, NATO's use of, 205 North Korea China's relations with, 187-188 Novogratz, Jacqueline, 226 Nuclear Emergency Support Team (NEST), 211 nuclear weapons deterrence strategy for Pakistan, 209-212 Indo-Pakistani relations and role of, 43-46, 185-
188 Khan's (A. Although China has accommodated Pakistan's civilian governments, it is whispered in Beijing and Islamabad that China always preferred Musharraf and the army. Oppenheimer and Rorry Daniels, "Pakistan 2020," CGA Scenarios No. 7, NYU Center for Global Affairs (Fall 2011), pakistan-2020-scenarios.pdf; and Jonathan Paris,
official Soviet ideology. 38 In a summary text released by the Kremlin just two days before Kennedy's inauguration, Khrushchev declared ominously, "We will beat the United States with small wars of liberation. In 2001 we had no idea that would be the case. "US Formally Forgives $1B in Pakistani Loans," Voice of America, April 5, 2003, http://
www.voanews.com/english/news/a-13-a-2003-04-05-1-US-66849252.html; "Economy on the Mend?" Dawn, August 26, 2002, . Yusuf, "Old and New Media," p. As the years went by, Pakistanis earned more than their developing country peers, but especially during the 1980s and 1990s, Pakistan failed to improve infant mortality rates commensurate
with its income level. The thirty-nine-year-old Khan was well past his prime and had been coaxed out of retirement for the series. He urged President Bush to take a firm stance. By the time Obama entered the White House, many times more U.S. officials, particularly military ones, had seen action in Afghanistan than in Pakistan. Instead,
counterterror operations were pursued for the urgent yet narrow purpose of eliminating specific threats, above all, Osama bin Laden. "Education Emergency Pakistan," p. To pursue this ambitious venture, Washington first needs tangible evidence that its aid offers the prospect of bringing meaningful change. Since the 1990s, however, as China's
economy has grown and even its trading relationship with India has boomed, Beijing has been more inclined to pursue regional stability to discourage hostility between India and Pakistan, even to the point of placing firm pressure on its ally in Islamabad in times of crisis. 11-35. Later in his tenure, Musharraf himself lamented that a media that owed
its relatively greater freedom to him had turned so harshly critical of his government. The effort to balance U.S. goals and avoid contradictory policy prescriptions is further complicated by the regional dimension. President Clinton's televised critique of Pakistan's trajectory during his visit to Islamabad provides a good example of public criticism,
recounted in Chapter 6. In its haste, the vehicle somehow dumped an odd array of incriminating items: 100 bullets, a black mask, and a piece of cloth with an American flag. There is simply no way for Pakistan to keep up with India on its own, but with an even larger Chinese patron that is willing to share arms and technology and simultaneously
demands the bulk of India's attention, Pakistani generals believe they have a fighting chance. "Quarterly Progress and Oversight Report on the Civilian Assistance Program in Pakistani generals believe they have a fighting chance. "Quarterly Progress and Oversight Report on the Civilian Assistance Program in Pakistan as of December 31, 2010," U.S. Agency for International Development, February 7, 2011, . These trends had their origins in Washington's support for the Afghan
mujahedeen during the antiSoviet war of the 1980s, but to draw a straight line between the 1980s and 2001 would be to skip a critical decade. That Pakistanis like Aitzaz Ahsan would quarrel with Washington's priorities, if not necessarily with the American people or way of life, is unsurprising. This has been the principal Pakistani justification for
retaining ties with Afghan Taliban leaders in spite of the fact that such leaders and their groups are anti-modern, hostile to the lifestyle choices of many top officers in the Pakistani military, and actively killing U.S., NATO, and Afghan troops. To strengthen that threat, Washington would need to be able to determine the source of a nuclear attack since
even Pakistan-based terrorists might have gotten their weapons elsewhere. He soon shifted the conversation to the farmer who was pumping water from the reservoir to water his fields. Accepting this logic, Musharraf's military regime pursued a backchannel dialogue with New Delhi that made unprecedented progress, at least according to Pakistani
sources close to the talks. Either course of action could be driven by unexpected events or by internal political and strategic considerations that the United States cannot control. Even under the best of circumstances, they would struggle to contain widespread criminality, extremism, and terrorist violence. The threat of Pakistan as a spoiler thus
provides the single most important reason that the United States must - out of fear more than affection - factor Islamabad into its broader geopolitical calculations in Asia. Soon after, she also lost her regular column in one of Pakistan's English-language newspapers, The News, for writing unsubstantiated stories about an American aid contractor,
naming him in print, and describing him as a U.S. spy. No military has found in Afghanistan and Iraq, guerrilla operations and suicide terrorists make for extremely difficult adversaries. China's concern about Uighur separatist groups
based in Pakistan has also created some tension between Beijing and Islamabad. As General Ayub pointed out to anyone who would listen, it had done so in spite of the fact that, quite unlike Pakistan, India had done nothing to cast its lot with the anticommunist world. 48 Eventually, Ayub argued, India would use its American supplied military
equipment against Pakistan. Also undercutting the argument that Pakistan's peace deals in the FATA were the root cause of trouble in Afghanistan, many of the most important Taliban leaders, like Mullah Omar and his top lieutenants, were believed to enjoy sanctuary in and around Quetta, in Pakistan's Baluchistan province, not the FATA. Of the
three strategies considered here, only comprehensive cooperation takes up the challenge of translating U.S. taxpayer dollars into greater stability inside Pakistan. These struggles reached a climax at the end of 2004, when in a televised speech on December 30, 2004, he declared to the nation, "I have decided to retain both offices. They have plans to
enlarge the facility from 150 to 700 beds; to build Pakistan's first pediatric hospital; to expand a program to use inexpensive cell phones as a means to monitor outpatient care; and to open a nursing school to train more high-quality hospital staff. Yet no white knight on horseback has ever saved Pakistan from misrule for very long. Short of that,
Pakistan would rely on shorter-range missiles targeted against U.S. ships, allies, and friends in the region. With the Cold War retreating into history's rearview mirror, the Clinton administration recognized that whatever nagging differences it might have with India over nuclear nonproliferation, trade, and a number of other global issues, the
relationship with New Delhi was enormously appealing. Nor is terrorism the only security challenge that the United States has in Pakistan. However much Obama's national security team might have wished to signal support to Pakistan. However much Obama's national security team might have wished to signal support to Pakistan.
were still the bailiwick of the military. They are increasingly fixated on China's strength and concerned about how it might constrain India's own rise to global power status. This is where the United States may be able to tip Pakistan's balance. "Education Emergency Pakistan," Pakistan Education Task Force, p. Others believed Bush had betrayed his
friend and ally, proving untrustworthy when the chips were down. 84 No Exit from Pakistan The speech caught the eye of young President Kennedy. LeT-affiliated schools and clinics, not to mention the humanitarian missions it sponsors during times of national crisis like Pakistan's epic 2010 floods, win popular sympathy even if the group's austere
interpretation of Islam holds much less appeal for average Pakistanis. 210. Pakistan's military regimes have routinely implemented solid plans for seizing power, but never for managing an orderly retreat and transition. Yet, here too there was more to the story than initially meets the eye. 64 No Exit from Pakistan for Pakistan; the media became a
power to be reckoned with, not silenced. The goal would be to help tip the scales inside Pakistan in ways - such as improved governance, infrastructure, and educational opportunities - that would, over time, render its state and society more peaceful and less threatening to American interests. And since the Pakistani military and ISI were eager to
find militant proxies that would push India to the breaking point, LeT found itself a powerful ally and protector. Subsequently, other Pakistanis would argue that Aurakzai had actually failed to understand the tribal mentality because his displays of "due respect" were interpreted as signs of weakness. This, in turn, reinforced popular resentment
toward the United States.16 The perceptive Pakistani professor of political science, Mohammad Waseem, observes that the protest movement that ousted Ayub in 1969 dubbed him and his colleagues "American stooges." 17 Pakistani opponents of military rule 13 14 15 16 17 The assistance figures are in 1950s dollars. Bruce Riedel, "Saudi Arabia:
Nervously Watching Pakistan," Brookings Institution, January 28, 2008, saudi arabia riedel.aspx. 28 No Exit from Pakistan history - will always resonate with pessimists and pragmatists alike, but it is only one aspect of reality. 168 No Exit from Pakistan Pakistan's military, General Kayani, shared a secret fourteen-page memo with President Obama in
late 2010. If a nuclear arms race breaks out in the Middle East, an untethered and irresponsible Pakistan would be most everyone's favorite dealer. By its own claims and official U.S. statements, the TTP has already struck the United States once. 29. See "Education Emergency Pakistan," pp. A second camp, however, sees those same status quo
forces as fundamentally destabilizing because they block necessary reforms. There too, however, Pakistan has the potential to destabilize the wider region. How will the U.S.-Pakistan relationship fit within the broader regional and global context of the next decade and beyond? Similarly, knowing that Pakistan's nationalists anticipate another
American "abandonment," Washington would do well to consider how its relations with Pakistan fit with - or contradict - U.S. plans for Afghanistan and for the military probably would have been sufficient. The Bush administration
failed to come to terms with the Musharraf government on a workable plan to deal with terrorist sanctuaries along the Afghan border. As Chapter 2 of this book makes clear, Pakistan's jihadists do not today threaten an Iran-style revolution, but the future favors change over stasis, as the power of traditional elites and their institutions erodes day by
day. Beschloss, The Crisis Years, p. Nonviolent, evolutionary change might be the best possible way to unclench the grip on power enjoyed by Pakistan's traditional, repressive elite. As an extreme example, in the late 1990s, a brutal war started in the Congo. The political storm over KLB broke over Pakistan as soon as Congress passed it in early
October 2009. Raja, 193, 196 Monsoon (Kaplan), 191-192 Muhammed, Nek, 154 Mujib, Sheikh, 79n31 Mullen, Michael, 62, 105-106, 106n5, 108, 166-167, 204 Munter, Cameron, 158-159, 205n11 Musharraf, Pervez, 15, 23 assassination attempts against, 118-122 Bhutto (B.) and, 131-133 Bush administration and, 114-122, 215, 218, 221 Clinton
administration and, 179-182 coup against Sharif, 47-48, 221 departure of, 29, 38 drone strike authorizations by, 153-156, 157 FATA incursions under, 128 India's relations with, 124-125, 218-219 Iraq war and, 117-118 Khan's (A. Some argue that Pakistan's status quo forces - the feudals and the army - will continue to dominate, producing relative
stability for years to come. The surge made waves in Pakistan. By accepting that reality, the Bush administration also accepted that its public role in the process would be limited to friendly cheerleading. 7 New Delhi and Islamabad would set the pace and terms of their negotiations. Many, echoing the words of Admiral Michael Mullen, chairman of
the Joint Chiefs of Staff, see these groups as veritable arms of the Pakistani state. See Riedel, Deadly Embrace (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2011), p. He understood the concept of "unity of command" far better. On U.S.-Pakistan strategic dialogues, which appear to have covered a wide range of issues without meeting the core needs of either side,
see Steve Coll, "What Does Pakistan Want?" The New Yorker, March 29, 2012, 03/classified-document-our-collective-experience.html. "Pakistan," United Nations Children's Fund, pakistan after 2006, the popular explanation was that the "hidden Hindu
hand" was responsible for the ghastly horrors of suicide attacks on Pakistan's markets and mosques. Pew Global Attitudes Project, June 27, 2012, . In what amounted to a maritime replay of 2001, the Chinese waved flags and crossed dangerously close to the Impeccable, forcing it to take emergency evasive action.23 Fortunately, the incident did not
escalate further. He has published articles in Foreign Affairs, The National Interest, Foreign Policy, and Security Studies among other journals. From this perspective, India's 45 46 See also Omer Farooq Khan, "Circumcision no Longer Acid Test to Identify Indian Spies," Times of India, April 11, 2009, 28039644 1 circumcision.
waziristan-acid-test. From 1993 until 2000, LeT was first and foremost an anti-Indian organization with intimate ISI connections, in spite of the fact that it was initially formed in the anti-Soviet Afghan campaign. A gifted politician and activist, he was stopped on the way to our table by several other well-heeled patrons hoping to shake his hand and
offer thanks to the man who had stood at the center of the latest bout of Pakistan's national civilmilitary drama. 42 No Exit from Pakistan arsenal is expanding and modernizing, so Pakistan must find a way to keep pace, no matter that New Delhi routinely characterizes its intentions as defensive and directed toward China more than Pakistan. The
positive potential of Pakistan's youth, its urbanizing middle class, and the media may turn out to be huge. Until we are, the United States should avoid strategies that would accelerate a downward slide in U.S.-Pakistan relations by playing into Pakistan's worst fears and tendencies. Professor Mohammad Waseem of the Lahore University of
Management Sciences provides an outstanding scholarly treatment of similar issues in his symposium paper, "Perceptions about America in Pakistan," Aziya Kenkyu, 50, no. Tankel, Storming the World Stage, pp. No matter how much they tend to profess their affection for China, Pakistanis actually have no greater interest in suffering under Beijing's
yoke than Washington's. 81. But it will make the narcotics problem worse by next year. 212, 293-4, 392. Kamran Yousaf, "Pakistan Secretly Permitting Lethal NATO Supply via Air," Express Tribune, July 1, 2012, . The distinction was as much psychological as geographic or political. In addition to seeking a balanced relationship with China, India's
displays of solidarity against the established powers of the international economy signal its desire to retain what Indian policymakers and analysts call "strategic autonomy." 85 That means India will not, under any circumstances, toe the American line in the ways that other close allies, such as Great Britain or Japan, have in the past. See Amy Belasco,
"The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations since 9/11," Congressional Research Service, March 29, 2011, . In April 2008, at a high-end hotel restaurant in Islamabad, I sat down to lunch with one such individual, 32 33 Some Pakistanis have argued that members of the Zardari government actually attempted a similar
sort of power play in the days after the Abbottabad raid, ultimately leading to the "memogate" scandal in fall 2011. The Bush administration's fumbling during the Musharraf era was an excellent case in point. Other reasons for cautious American optimism came in the form of steadily mellowing relations between New Delhi and Islamabad themselves.
Pakistan's public schools face a crisis of mismanagement, inadequate materials, and poorly trained teachers. Pakistanis are not, however, the only aggrieved party in this relationship. Despite American diplomatic escalation, however, the only aggreed party in this relationship.
went nowhere fast. For a time, it felt like just keeping Musharraf alive was a major accomplishment. After the harrowing Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962 passed without degenerating into nuclear war, senior U.S. armed drones
toted up major new kills, and the raid on bin Laden's Abbottabad hideout was a spectacular demonstration of America's twenty-first-century fusion of military power and intelligence work. Aiming for the best also means seizing opportunities to support Pakistanis who are already working hard to promote development and peace inside their own
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society; encouraging Indo-Pakistani normalization as the best way to grow the Pakistani economy and enhance the nation's stability; cultivating better working relationships between military and intelligence on both sides; and bearing in mind that Pakistani society is a remarkably youthful one, so investments in that rising generation will have the potential to take Pakistan along a different and more positive trajectory than it has traveled for its first six decades. Under such circumstances, new sorts of revolutionary Islamist movements - somewhere between Al-Huda and HuT - seem ever more likely to gain political traction where the country's tired old Islamist parties and the Pashtun

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insurgents of the wild western border regions have thus far failed. Khan, most Pakistanis and their leaders chose not to face up to their own responsibility. Fortunately, India overcame some important domestic obstacles to economic success in the early 1990s. The memo called into question U.S. motives and methods in Pakistan and Afghanistan, even
going so far as to suggest that Washington was working to maintain a "controlled chaos" inside Pakistan.115 A year after that memo, the United States and Pakistan had reached a complete impasse. His hometown was not far from the ruined city of Mohenjo-daro, constructed well over 4,000 years ago as part of a majestic Indus valley civilization that
reached its heights during the time of Egypt's Old Kingdom. 19 For millennia, Bhutto's home region of Larkhana was extremely fertile, unlike much of the province. Most disconcerting of all, only 29 percent of those young Pakistanis saw democracy as the best form of government for Pakistan, whereas 38 percent preferred some sort of
Islamic law, or Shariah, and 32 percent thought military rule would be best.9 Growth without Development It is important to appreciate that despite decades of unfulfilled promises by Pakistan's leaders - both military and civilian - most Pakistanis are still better off, at least by basic economic measures, than their grandparents. Their expanding
visions of regional and global influence may eventually send them into conflict with one another. With bin Laden dead and al-Qaeda backed against the ropes, there was more reason to question the practice of privileging counterterrorism and accepting the intelligence community's de facto command over the policy process. P. Rashid, Descent into
Chaos, p. 158-90. They wish to avoid the fate of the smaller states on India's periphery - from New Delhi. The Four Faces of Pakistanis tell it, routinely suffer the indignity of taking dictation from New Delhi. The Four Faces of Pakistanis tell it, routinely suffer the indignity of taking dictation from New Delhi. The Four Faces of Pakistanis tell it, routinely suffer the indignity of taking dictation from New Delhi.
among Pakistan's very best institutions of higher education, explained later that she supported Imran Khan because he represented something entirely different from the other failed and corrupt politicians. With thinly veiled references to a wide cast of Pakistani xenophobes, religious extremists, and conspiracy theorists, the lyrics lampoon many of
the notions associated with defending Pakistan's national pride.69 Released straight to YouTube to avoid any sort of censorship, the song was a sensation with urban Pakistani youth. Drones, on the other hand, were another story. At worst, narrow U.S. policies designed to meet immediate needs actually contribute to Pakistani's instability. The
existence of American plans for such an operation could be leaked or shared with Pakistani officials to make sure the threat is appreciated. In fact, India would want America and China to exercise their influence in changing the Pakistan army's calculus in supporting international terror networks."80 After 2002, most Indian leaders concluded that
India has much to fear from Pakistan but few solutions, military or otherwise. Author conversation, Lahore, May 24, 2012. Peering just over the horizon, it is clear that no matter what happens in the endgame of the Afghan war or how present disagreements between Washington and Islamabad are resolved, Pakistan's enormous neighbors to the east
India and China - will occupy an increasing share of U.S. attention. Almost 80,000 of its troops were held by India as prisoners of war. But when that salvo failed to find and finish al-Qaeda in short order, Washington found itself with too little leverage in its relationship with Islamabad. Islamization also had an especially durable and poisonous effect
on Pakistan's educational system. By the end of his term, however, he bequeathed to the Reagan administration the makings of a global American military expansion and a firm commitment to oppose Soviet aggression in and around the Persian Gulf. It will make it slower to build the Afghan government outside Kabul. This will be a complex, at times
competitive, and perhaps even a violent process, with existing powers looking to protect their historical clout from the growing ambitions of rising states. For more, see Condoleezza Rice, No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington (New York: Crown, 2011), p. Words like "sustainable democracy" or "checks and balances" clearly had
different meanings in the two different capitals. Yet these less discriminating strikes were more likely to hit militant foot soldiers (or even innocent bystanders) than top terrorist leaders. "Remarks by the President at the U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue," Office of the Press Secretary, White House, July 27, 2009. Author interview with
Jonah Blank, April 18, 2012. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery, pp. Brian Glyn Williams, "The CIA's Covert Predator Drone War in Pakistani army did have historical ties to the terrorists, and in important cases, like Lashkar-e-
Taiba and the Afghan Taliban, those ties were still active. After reading scores of incriminating intelligence reports and experiencing firsthand the frustrations of dealing with Pakistani counterparts, many concluded that Pakistani's military and intelligence forces were guilty of a cruel, immoral, and deceptive strategy that helped Afghan Taliban
insurgents kill hundreds of U.S. troops and made another major terrorist attack against Americans and their allies more likely. But addressing only one of the challenges America faces in Pakistan," New York Times, September 15, 2002, . He
offered an enthusiastic presentation about the company's contributions to the future of American airpower, but things got a little tense when someone asked about a white, awkwardly shaped, windowless plane on display. See U.S.-Pakistani relations breakup of East and West Pakistan and, 78-80 China's relations with, 6-10, 20-22, 38-39, 43, 70-71
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Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. This reflects a reasonable American fear of change and instability inside Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. This reflects a reasonable American fear of change and instability inside Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. This reflects a reasonable American fear of change and instability inside Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. This reflects a reasonable American fear of change and instability inside Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. This reflects a reasonable American fear of change and instability inside Pakistan.
if not all, of the blowback could have been avoided with more concerted effort ahead of time."29 For the Obama administration, KLB was unnecessary. No single magic-bullet strategy is delivered from this process, but a set of broad guidelines, born from hard experience and leavened by a realistic hope for the future,
emerges from the gloom (Chapter 7). Alan Kronstadt at the Congressional Research Service for sharing detailed chronologies of the period covered in this chapter and the next. Pakistan's international diplomacy has at times been thoroughly consumed with the Kashmir agenda. Those issues command the lion's share of their time and energy. The
trouble begins with frustration over Pakistan's role in fighting terrorism and the Afghan 45 Howard L. He is easy to find on the Internet, where he presents a modern and sophisticated image, sporting a short beard and Western-style suit as well as the dark spots on his forehead common to Muslims who prostrate themselves frequently. Even so, there
is no discounting the fact that the KLB rollout was a diplomatic disaster that hurt the U.S. effort to build ties with Pakistan. Washington's muted public response to Musharraf's handling of the A. Pakistan's current crop of reformers is also decidedly inward-looking, which limits its ability to benefit from external support, whether from America or
elsewhere. Decades ago, as mentioned in the Chapter 1, Washington made massive investments in Pakistan's infrastructure when it helped Downloaded from . We do not accept this claim. That investments who have since gone on to
leadership positions in a wide range of fields. But defensive insulation would also require policies of coercion and deterrence that are not now a part of Washington's tool kit with Pakistan. Defending and maintaining these bases could be a challenge once the bulk of U.S. forces leave Afghanistan, especially if the country becomes more violent or
hostile to U.S. forces. Then, there is the open question of how China is likely to play its cards in India and Pakistan. Since 9/11, nearly every American report on policy toward Pakistan has advocated a reduction in U.S. tariffs on Pakistani-made textiles and garments. 59 The move would not hurt American consumers or producers. Washington's third
option of comprehensive cooperation would mean working with and providing support to Pakistan's military and civilian leadership as well as with its civil society. American officials in the field, including Ronald Neumann, who served as the U.S. ambassador in Kabul from 2005 to 2007, recognized that Washington had invested too few resources to
achieve stability in war-torn Afghanistan, especially with its rapidly growing cities, remote villages, difficult terrain, and nearly 30 million people. At times, it would require intervention by the president himself. Safely ensconced in Pakistani training camps, where LeT militants worked alongside army and intelligence officers, LeT learned how to take
its suicidal commando (fedayeen) raids to new levels of sophistication.97 95 96 97 Tankel, Storming the World Stage, p. Looking even further into the future, the trends discussed in Chapter 2 suggest that if Pakistan remains on its present trajectory, its population, nuclear arsenal, and terrorist networks will grow while its economy, governing
institutions, and security conditions deteriorate. Until then, Khan enjoyed unquestioned backing from Pakistan's leaders, in part because his programs. By late October 2011, 63 percent of Americans opposed the U.S. war in Afghanistan.3 By his
testimony, Mullen essentially accused Pakistan of being a state sponsor of terrorism. See also affiliated groups (e.g., Haggani network; Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan) in Afghanistan, 18-22, 40, 52, 114, 125-129, 202-204 "AfPak" strategy and, 161-167 Islamic extremism and, 53-54 Kashmir dispute and, 39 ouster from Swat valley of, 47, 140 Pakistan's
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www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. See Ed Husain, The Islamist. Praveen Swami, "Pakistan and the Lashkar's Jihad in India," Hindu, December 9, 2008, . Its side effects read like a warning label on a prescription drug: American
discomfort and hypocrisy, Pakistani civil-military dysfunction, and the potential for severe instability caused by the politicization of the military. They downplayed the direct connections between the ISI and attacks on U.S. troops in Afghanistan. 7 But Mullen's remarks were a part of the indelible historical record, and on Capitol Hill they carried more
weight than the disclaimers that followed. "Nuclear Forensics: A Capability at Risk," National Research Council, July 2010. "American Red Cross, August 4, 2010, 21296e81ec89e43181aa0/?vgnextoid=c02a25d459d3a210VgnVCM10000089f0870aRCRD. In fact, there
are similarities between Pakistan's nuclear doctrine and the doctrine used by the United States during the Cold War. Unlike much of the rest of the world, New Delhi chose not to castigate the Bush administration for withdrawing the United States from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in 2002. America's Options 223 war, but it does not end there.
Others suggest that arrest was much less premeditated. At its core, the dissension about Kashmir is a political dispute over who should govern the majority-Muslim territory that was once ruled by a Hindu maharaja. Baig, however, tells a different story. 886. Whenever the Pakistani army plays politics, it plays a dangerous game that could end in
bloody revolution. If not for 9/11, it is a safe bet that U.S.-Pakistan relations would have continued along the downward spiral of the late 1990s. She observed that such a dialogue would proceed at the same time as the military surge as well as intensified U.S. civilian assistance and development activities. Kan, "China and Proliferation of Weapons of
Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues," pp. Chapter 6 also identifies several of the potential flaws in a U.S. strategy that depends upon an alliance-like relationship with India. Most egregiously, Beijing has repeatedly blocked the United Nations (UN) from placing a number of Pakistanis on official global terrorist lists, including members of
Lashkar-eTaiba (LeT).44 China's friendship with Pakistan makes Indian aggression far less likely. My president's big idea is that by working together more intensely than ever before, the United States and India, two vibrant democracies, can transform fundamentally the very essence of our bilateral relationship and thereby make the world freer
more peaceful and more prosperous."38 From New Delhi, the bullish Blackwill set to work knocking down barriers to more extensive cooperation between India and the United States. For a country that so craved some semblance of blind justice and had grown weary of army rule, Ahsan was a hero. If outside forces leave, some militants would
probably be content to go back to their parochial feuds and leave the world alone. That said, Pakistan's Taliban insurgents have had little success in taking their violent conquests much beyond the frontier with Afghanistan. Pakistan's immediate pain might dissipate, but so might any serious hope of treating the underlying disease. A U.S. EP-3
reconnaissance plane was flying in the South China Sea over waters that China considers - contrary to standard 18 19 20 Michael Beckley makes an important contribution in his study of China's rise relative to the United States, concluding that America's edge is likely to endure and maybe even grow. In his sunglasses, FDNY baseball cap, and
khakis, the mustachioed Tetlay, who studied agricultural economics in the late 1970s, stood apart from the bearded villagers in their traditional cotton tunics. Baig counted as a friend the infamous, now-deceased Brigadier Sultan Amir Tarar, who was widely known in Afghan circles as "Colonel Imam," the ISI's Taliban trainer.5
Most believe that Tarar died in 2010, after being taken hostage near the Afghan border. If, as many now fear, Afghanistan then slips back into full-scale civil war, Americans are likely 13 14 15 On Pakistan's concerns related to the "Pashtunistan" issue, see Ashley J. Sanger, "Bush Offers Pakistan Aid, but No F-16s," New York Times, June 25, 2003,
.html? 344-6. Successes are possible, even with Pakistan. During the 1990s, New Delhi (along with Moscow and Teheran) supported the anti-Taliban Afghan militias of the Northern Alliance. It should lead U.S. policymakers to appreciate the stakes at risk in Pakistan's long-term stability and political trajectory. All told, the White House's timed surge
threaded a difficult political needle at home without rejecting the core recommendations of his generals on the battlefield. Stuart Callison to Anne-Marie Slaughter, October 2, 2009, Dissent%20on%20Holbrooke%20FATA%20actions.pdf. Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, p. By playing the intermediary role, Armitage effectively made the United
States a guarantor of that pledge. By 2030, half of the country's entire population will live in cities.122 The full political mobilization of Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan's growing urban middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan middle class would represent a culmination of many different trends in Pakistan middle
sympathizers, and possible successor organizations based on Pakistani soil pose an immediate threat to American security. As populations grow and glaciers melt, that water has become increasingly precious. Fortunately, every day millions of Pakistanis search for new ways to improve conditions for themselves and their countrymen. Other theories
tend to emphasize ideological and strategic commitments. Instead, in a triumph of traditional machine politics, that job went to Nawaz Sharif, an old-style politician who had already served two terms as prime minister in the 1990s. But the tide is turning, and even as these issues retain their salience, in the coming decade America's leaders will have
to see them within the context of a broader global agenda over which Beijing will hold increasing influence. 6, http:// www.gao.gov/new.items/d11310r.pdf. Most of China is growing, but not nearly as fast as Shanghai.10 As of 2009, over a quarter of China's population still lived on less than $2 a day, and China's autocratic political system stifles the
sorts of freedoms that typically lead to thriving societies over the long run.11 Added to that, China's "one child" policy and the cultural preference for boy babies could eventually turn China into a nation of aging bachelors who are expected to care for their elderly parents. And we also know this: The relationship between the United States and China
will shape the 21st century, which makes it as important as any bilateral relationship in the world.28 In November 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton expanded upon the president's theme when she observed, "As the war in Iraq winds down and America begins to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, the United States stands at a pivot point.
Our guide explained that it was a Global Hawk drone, capable of flying at high altitude over vast distances and taking high-resolution images very much like the U-2. After decades of debilitating staffing and budget cuts, USAID lacked the sorts of technical experts who in the 1960s and 1970s had managed such high 32 33 See Coll, Ghost Wars (New
York: Penguin, 2004), pp. 102 No Exit from Pakistan between Islam and infidels."103 In 2012, Saeed was a prominent member of the Pakistan Defense Council, along with the former ISI chief Hamid Gul. 2-3. Markey Index More information Index Indian National Congress, 180 Indo-Pakistani wars, 39, 43, 78, 85-86 Kargil conflict and, 38, 42-43
nationalism in Pakistan and, 89 Indus Hospital project, 25-26 infant mortality in Pakistan, 33-34, 228 infrastructure failures in Pakistan, 35-38 Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) China's informational reliance on, 190 CIA relations with, 111-112, 137, 181-182, 208-209 civilian government and, 215-216n29 Haqqani network and, 155-156
LeT and, 14-15, 102 political manipulations of, 47-49, 116 support for Taliban in, 105-108, 202 investment in Pakistan, comprehensive cooperation strategy for, 225-231 Iran India's relations with, 196 Khan (A. Lavoy's assessment fits with the findings of Michael Krepon, The False Promise of the Civil Nuclear Deal (Washington, DC: Henry L.
Pakistanis readily recall that Chief of Army Staff Pervez Musharraf, upon seizing power in a 1999 coup against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government, declared his intention to clean out the dirty, corrupt politicians and start fresh. Over those first few years after 9/11, CIA counterterror operations in Pakistani cities grew sufficiently sophisticated
that remaining al-Qaeda operatives began to flee the cities for the remote tribal areas along the Afghan border.28 In short, Musharraf took some very important steps in return for America's largesse and in response to American pressure. 152 No Exit from Pakistan and its newer cousin, the Reaper, can rain Hellfire precision-guided missiles down on
their targets.52 From 2004, when the first armed Predators flew over Pakistan's tribal areas, until late 2011, they have attacked hundreds of targets and are estimated to have killed roughly 2,000 militants.53 In some parts of the FATA, tribesmen grew accustomed to the unnerving buzz of drones flying overhead.54 Drones are evolving quickly
Influential anti-American groups like the Defence of Pakistan Council and voices like General Baig would have a field day. Two officers were wounded. Bhutto used these words himself when he met with President Nixon in 1971. M. Joint military plans and shared intelligence could ease the burden of containing Pakistan-based threats. Rather than
reprising the "AfPak" framework of the early Obama administration, in which Pakistan and Afghanistan were lumped together, the future should require Washington to think in the "quadrilateral" terms of connections between China, India, Pakistan, and the United States. Reports indicated that he had starved himself for fear of being poisoned by his
guards. That prospect turns Islamabad's nuclear program from an issue of serious regional concern into a vital American interest. Today, Pakistanis high and low wade in a swamp of anti-Americanism. American diplomacy did little, however, to address the persistent threat posed by terrorist safe havens on Pakistani soil.31 This was equally true on
Pakistan's western front, where Pakistanis, including members of the 1980s and the anti-Soviet campaigns of the 1980s. In 2011, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the U.S. military plans to spend over
$36 billion through 2020 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 For a behind-the-scenes depiction of the drone pilots, see Tara McKelvey, "Inside the Killing Machine," Newsweek, February 13, 2011. Robert Kaplan, Monsoon: The Indian Ocean and the Future of American Power (New York: Random House, 2010), p. Some experts would proclaim the armed Predator
the most accurate weapon in the history of war. Armitage vehemently rejects Musharraf's version of that history and claims he "never said anything about bombing or the Stone Age. Even so, for U.S. leaders, the rising
Chinese dragon makes friendship with India more appealing and complicates relations with Islamabad. Barnes, "U.S. Agonizes over Apology to Pakistan," Wall Street Journal, May 17, 2012, 3505504577406151609731364.html. The attack bore all the hallmarks of an inside job. Huma Yusuf, "Old and New Media: Converging during the Pakistan
Emergency (March 2007-February 2008)," MIT Center for Civic Media, p. In practice, this meant channeling money and supplies to the most extreme Islamists of the bunch, like Jalaluddin Haqqani and throughout the 1990s when Afghanistan fell
into a bloody civil war. 20 No Exit from Pakistan to perceive Pakistan's perfidy as the primary cause, discounting many of the other troubling failures of the NATO war effort. Saeed Shah, "In Remote Balochistan," Press Trust of India, March 26,
2011, ed-by-India-US/Article1-702136.aspx; "Holbrooke Rubbishes Pak's Baloch Allegations," Economic Times, July 31, 2009, news/28447547 1 balochistan-joint-statement-afghanistan-richard-holbrooke. Mullen's testimony set off political explosions in Pakistan in ways that tough messages delivered in private never had. Sadly, they might find
themselves powerless to stop it. In mid-November, China declared a unilateral cease-fire. The nation's half-hearted attempts at land reform flopped. "Energy: Tarbela Dam Project," USAID, January 25, 2012, sectors/energy/project 10.html. 228-31. Markey Frontmatter More information xii Acknowledgments especially from the teaching and guidance
of Professors Steven David and Aaron Friedberg. Pakistan is no melting pot; its ethnic groups may live side by side, but at home they speak different languages and hold fast to their particular customs. No matter the significance of the Afghan war, it is important to recognize that Pakistan's regional profile does not begin or end in Afghanistan.
Pakistan closed its roads to NATO convoys after the Salala friendly fire incident in November 2011 but NATO managed to re-route its supplies into Afghanistan by way of Central Asia for seven months until they were re-opened.10 This Northern Distribution Network of rail, ship, and trucking routes was undoubtedly slower and more costly than the
Pakistani alternative, but it demonstrated that Pakistan did not necessarily hold a trump card in its dealings with Washington. For a broader analysis of the rise of rare earth minerals as Downloaded from . In early June 2002, Armitage flew into action with a diplomatic mission to avert that disastrous outcome. Fortunately, the fertilizer bomb that
Shahzad had rigged in the back of the vehicle was an amateurish affair, disarmed by the city's bomb squad without injury. That dynamic would be all the more likely if Islamabad perceives the United States as an outright adversary, one that is undermining Pakistan's security and supporting the rise of a hostile neighbor. 5 (May 1968), p. Foreign
corporations and their investments fled for the exits. The legislative effort was driven by three U.S. politicians: the co-chairs of the House Committee on Foreign Relations Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee on Foreign Relations Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee on Foreign Relations Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee, John Kerry and Richard Lugar, and Representative Howard Berman, chair of the House Committee Howard Berma
HarperCollins, 2007), pp. That makes for a national poverty rate of 42 percent in 2005. U-Turn to Drift 127 province, which borders Pakistan, was a bigger source of illicit drugs than either Colombia or Myanmar. Moreover, LeT could not afford to be outflanked by harder line organizations. Second, if Pakistan's nuclear weapons, materials, or known, and the colombia or Myanmar. Moreover, LeT could not afford to be outflanked by harder line organizations. Second, if Pakistan's nuclear weapons, materials, or known, and the colombia or Myanmar. Moreover, LeT could not afford to be outflanked by harder line organizations.
how end up in hostile or irresponsible hands, they would pose a vital threat to the United States. As explained in the next 91 92 93 Pew Global Attitudes Project, June 27, 2012, . "Potentially Electrifying," Economist, October 19, 2011, banyan/2011/10/new-dam-pakistan. "Text of Gen. Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from
Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Then, when Tokyo was slow to act, China took the unusual step of halting exports to Japan of rare earth minerals used in the manufacture of high-tech components. 24 21 22 23 24 Donald Rumsfeld, Known and Unknown: A Memoir (New York: Sentinel, 2011), p. Washington left it to
Lieutenant General Khalid Kidwai, the long-serving head of the army's Strategic Plans Division, which manages the nuclear arsenal, to brief the public on security measures and to explain the nature of U.S. assistance in his own terms.32 This is not to suggest that a military-first strategy is already being followed by Washington. In September 2008
routes to Afghanistan. "A Conversation with Yousaf Raza Gilani: Transcript," Council on Foreign Relations, July 29, 2008, . In the decade after 9/11, Pakistani soil. The second crisis was equally unexpected. America's Options 227 In the winding lanes of
urban Lahore, the Kashf branch office - just a small, unremarkable if slightly shabby building - is a busy place. 11, pp. "India's Naxalites: A Spectre Haunting India," Economist, August 17, 2006, .economist.com/node/7799247. This made him the service's day-to-day leader while General Zia-ul-Haq served as Pakistan's president and top military
commander. 236-8), and Clinton (pp. Indian interests in Iran, primarily its desire for Iranian petroleum, have regularly put it at odds with Washington's determined opposition to Teheran and its nuclear ambitions. The protest forced the network to cancel the show, fire its host, and admit that the raids were faked in the first place.130 The quality of
Pakistani journalism may also improve over time, since "there has been an explosion of journalism programs at university level, meaning more qualified workers will be entering the industry."131 That training has been supplemented by various exchange programs meant to introduce Pakistani journalists to American and other international
counterparts.132 128 129 130 131 132 Michael Kugelman, "Pakistan's Pugnacious Press," Foreign Policy, March 22, 2012, pak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/03/22/pakistans pugnacious press. Q.) and, 119 Pakistan's relations with, 187-188, 211 revolution in, 98 Iraq, U.S. war in, 117-118, 201 Ismaili sect, 228n53 Israel, terrorism in, 186, 187
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42-43 "Twin Peaks crisis" in, 115 Kayani, Ashfaq, 105-106, 106n5, 155-156, 158, 167-168, 221, 237 Kennedy, John F., 83-85, 86n52 Kerry, John, 133, 137, 141-145, 222 Kerry-Lugar-Berman (KLB) aid package, 141-150, 216-217, 233 Khalilzad, Zalmay, 127 Khan, Abdul Bari, 25-26 Khan, Abdul Qadeer (A. 287. Similar temptations, with similar risks,
will undoubtedly surface again. By mid-summer some 1,100 extremists had packed the grounds. It leads her to observe that some recent trends in Pakistani society - such as the "new phenomenon of grassroots leaders and women becoming involved in politics" - are beneficial.140 Yet on balance she worries that positive reforms are being swamped
by "the growing violent threat and the popular appeal of radical Islam." 141 Unless Pakistan's political and military leaders more effectively grapple with the profound changes sweeping Pakistanis to make bricks, mop floors, or put on suicide vests." 142 Finally,
Maleeha Lodhi, the former Pakistani ambassador to the United States, takes up the case for a less pessimistic outlook. Its main battle tank (Al-Khalid), many of its nuclear warhead blueprints, and several of its nuclear warhead blueprints.
land war with India is beyond the recollection of most of its young population, the humiliating loss of 1971 still resonates with the army's top brass. By importing bull embryos from outside Pakistan and raising them to stud, Iqbal hopes to engineer a massive genetic "upgrade" in the Pakistani bovine population. Worse than that, they believed Karzai's
Kabul was too inclined to play the Pashtun ethnic card in ways that would destabilize Pakistan, and was too susceptible to Indian influence for their tastes.13 Given the mixed successes and many missteps in the American-led campaign in Afghanistan since 2001, such Pakistani skepticism was hardly unwarranted. Cheap Chinese goods fill Pakistani
markets as they do throughout much of the world. Markey Index More information Index 248 U.S.-Pakistan relations (cont.) potential state failure and, 10-11 pragmatism in, 24-26 recent failures in, 22-26 reformist movement in Pakistan and, 164-
167 U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan and future of, 204-206 Zia's Islamization of Pakistan and, 96-99 U.S. Special Forces, raids in Pakistan by, 155-156 U.S. State Department, Pakistan and future of, 204-206 Zia's Islamization of Pakistan and, 145-150 Vajpayee, Atal Bihari, 124, 179 Vietnam War Afghan war compared with, 93 U.S. Pakistan policy and influence of, 85, 110 Wahhabi Islam
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nationalism in, 92 YouTube, in Pakistan, 64, 92 Zafar, Roshaneh, 226-227 Zardari, Asif Ali, 32, 64, 80, 80n32, 133, 215-216n29 Zardari, Bilawal, 80 Zia-ul-Haq, Muhammad, 2, 49-50 censorship in regime of, 62 death of, 51, 81 execution of Bhutto (Z. At the very least, Pakistan hardly looked like a satisfactory partner worthy of billions of dollars in
American assistance. Khan was born in present-day India and only made his way to Pakistan in 1952, five years after independence. Gulf oil money has enabled LeT to maintain a sprawling 200-acre campus for training and conventions at Muridke, near Lahore. Musharraf purged Taliban and al-Qaeda sympathizers from official roles in the army's
leadership. To the uninitiated, any one of these faces could present itself as the defining image of Pakistan's reality. No Exit from Pakistan have so far been foiled.110 Still, the group holds appeal - and may have built a wider network of secret members - within Pakistan's
most sensitive and powerful security institutions, possibly even its nuclear program.111 In short, Pakistan is now a country where individuals like Navid Butt can call for a revolution on the Internet, where a thirty-three-year veteran of the army like Brigadier Ali Khan was arrested for treason, where conspiracy theorists and terrorists like Hamid Gui
and Hafiz Saeed rant before public rallies, and where groups like Al-Huda are redefining mainstream religious practice. No Exit 15 and activate their international network to strike the United States as well. Author interview with sociologist Faiza Mushtaq, Karachi, May 21, 2012; also Asma Khalid, "Religious Schools Court Wealthy Women in
Pakistan," National Public Radio, April 5, 2010, . More troubling, as Constable describes, they now face challengers who are at once more popular and more violent than in the past. Islamabad could decide, for instance, to pursue accommodation with New Delhi, or the two may fall back into hostility. If those exceptions were possible, why hadn't Bush
done the same? Washington's unwillingness to harness Mullen's verbal firepower as coercive leverage turned his parting shots into nothing more than disruptive irritants. As an irate Ryan Crocker, then U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, put it after a series of Haqqani-sponsored attacks in April 2012, "We know where their leadership lives and we
know where these plans are made. He chanted the poem to fervent protestors in a defiant call-and-response style at their rallies. At present, the road is passable only by ferry. These moves destroyed what little trust he had cultivated with Bhutto and made Musharraf so politically radioactive that Bhutto - and every other opposition politician - had to
keep a distance. Pakistan's founders could not accept the prospect of Hindu political domination within a larger India; their successors have no greater intention of accepting subordination to New Delhi today. For more, see "Office of the Second Line of Defense: Megaports Initiative," National Nuclear Downloaded from . And the more political a
military becomes, the more prone it is to faction and breakdown. 88 No Exit from Pakistan type of fuel required for a nuclear bomb. U.S. and allied leaders have resolved to withdraw the lion's share of their troops from Afghanistan in 2014. 77 reprised similar themes - that military dictators were in power only by the grace of the United States -
during the Zia (1977-88) and Musharraf (1999-2008) eras. Gardiner Harris, "India Backs Foreign Investment in Retailing," New York Times, September 14, 2012, . In this respect, the episode reveals both the extent to which Congress "matters" in the U.S. policy process and, at the same time, the limited appreciation of this fact outside Washington
As suggested by the assessment of future regional geopolitics in Chapter 6, all of the challenges of Pakistan-as-spoiler would have to be factored into Washington's calculations of the downward spiral in Afghanistan deflects too much attention from
Washington's own inattention to the many problems it faced in Afghanistan. Arguments that stress the futility of targeted assassination campaigns and their negative effects on local populations, however compelling, are still hard to square with apparent reality that al-Qaeda has been dealt a devastating blow.95 The Munter-versus-Panetta dispute
over specific drone strikes suggests that perhaps the CIA is poorly suited to making the cost-benefit calculations associated with any particular targeting decision. Yet shortly after 9/11, the Bush administration did not manage the twilight of the
Musharraf era in ways that best served U.S. or Pakistani interests. How will the United States balance those concerns with Pakistan-specific issues, like terrorism and nuclear weapons? But Pakistani interests. How will the United States balance those concerns with Pakistan-specific issues, like terrorism and nuclear weapons? But Pakistani interests. How will the United States balance those concerns with Pakistan-specific issues, like terrorism and nuclear weapons? But Pakistani interests. How will the United States balance those concerns with Pakistan interests.
full recognition that remaining true to Musharraf would cost Washington dearly with the Pakistani public who had long since soured on their undemocratic leader.26 The deal with Musharraf would cost Washington dearly with the Pakistani public who had long since soured on their undemocratic leader.26 The deal with Musharraf would cost Washington dearly with the Pakistani public who had long since soured on their undemocratic leader.26 The deal with Musharraf was essential for the opening phase of America's response to al-Qaeda. Her visit made it clear that she viewed the Americans as an important political
constituency, one she wanted to cultivate as part of her plan to retake power in Islamabad. A couple of months later, it was still very easy to see how well-fortified the militant stronghold along the brush-covered ridges overlooking the town had been. Iraq was to blame for much of the drift, but not all. Translated from Urdu interview with ARY
television, .com/2010/08/dr-abdul-qadeer-khan-narrates-history.html. As a consequence, Pakistan also forgoes jobs and the profits that would come from turning cotton into designer jeans or high-end dress shirts. India is not a great power yet, but it has the potential to emerge as one."36 For their part, India's leaders jumped at the chance to maintain
and even to enhance the positive momentum in relations with the United States. 20-22, CHRG-110shrg45127,pdf. Debates still rage in Pakistan over how Jinnah answered this question. Why then, with education, energy, and water challenges so glaringly apparent, has Pakistan over how Jinnah answered this question. Why then, with education, energy, and water challenges so glaringly apparent, has Pakistan over how Jinnah answered this question.
If he decides, as one of his State Department staffers used to say, to "wirebrush" you, you won't forget it. The women of the community were also making strides. They are dangerous nonetheless, and their ideas find sympathy, or stoke fears, among a much larger segment of the society. Bergen, The Longest War (New York: Free Press, 2011), p. On
the contrary, it is precisely the sort of state that could share nuclear know-how with other dangerous states or find itself vulnerable to "insider" threats from violent extremists who enjoy too-cozy relationships with sympathetic members of an increasingly radical ruling regime. Israel's historical experience is a good case in point. George Lerski argues
this point in "The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade," Asian Survey, 8, no. Unfortunately, due to breeding, care, and environmental conditions, Pakistani cows now yield less than one-fifth the milk of their counterparts in the developed world. Ayub broke with Bhutto in 1966. Over the years, massive injections of Saudi
money and persistent efforts of leaders like Saeed have attracted an influential and growing contingent followers to Salafism in Pakistan. It was quickly apparent that Pakistan had not. The next year, a massive suicide car bombing rocked the Pearl Continental hotel, a landmark that had served as a regular meeting spot for local journalists,
international aid officials, and politicians. Waseem, "Perceptions about America in Pakistan," p. Nancy Benac, "National Security: Ten Years after September 11 Attacks, U.S. Is Safe but Not Safe Enough," Associated Press, September 3, 2011, 03/promises-us-safe n 947688.html. To American ears, the title suggested Indian backsliding in its
openness to improved ties with the United States.88 Many Indians oppose policies that would even hint of bringing India into America's orbit. By taking its diplomacy out of the public eye, as the United States has long done with other important but difficult states, Washington would seek greater flexibility in its negotiations with Islamabad. The
analogy with Northeast Asia is instructive. A video of his initial police interrogation made its way to the Internet, in which Davis claimed to work as a consultant for the "RAO," or Regional Affairs Office, at the U.S. consulate in Lahore. 2 To complicate matters further, the anguished wife of one of the Pakistani victims poisoned herself to death. 274
Cohen portrays the complexity of Pakistan's politics and strategic posture in his authoritative work The Idea of Pakistan (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004). lessons from the cold war Contemplating the future of Sino-American relations immediately conjures recollections of past great power rivalries. Inside Pakistan's tribal areas, U.S.
drones became increasingly discerning about their targets, reducing civilian casualties and decimating the leadership ranks of al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The cool, dim sitting room with its gilded decor was a welcome 'respite from the heat of mid-May 2012 in Rawalpindi. These radicals - terrorists, militants, and their ideological sympathizers - who
cloak themselves in the garb of Islam, do not enjoy much popular appeal. This impulse to prioritize is admirable and necessary in the context of any single policy decision. Since the 1960s, Pakistan has been a useful Chinese ally for multiple reasons, not the least of which has been Islamabad's ability to distract and bloody India. The name of the game
therefore, is quiet lobbying. For details, see John Mueller and Mark G. "Open Letter to Pakistan Armed Forces (English): Naveed Butt (HT. 194-213. Islamabad interpreted Washington's reconciliation initiative as evidence that the United States was desperate to find a quick exit from Afghanistan.111 Rather than driving a wedge between Islamabad
and its Afghan proxies, the reconciliation project ended up having a contrary effect. If not for Indo-Pakistani enmity, American cold warriors might never have had to pick sides between New Delhi and Islamabad. Raphel landed in hot water with Indians for her blunt comments about Kashmir and with Afghans for her interaction with the Taliban
leaders.32 After retiring from the State Department in 2005, Raphel's professional relationships with Pakistanis remained strong. Perhaps now is the moment for the world's sole superpower to escape from this particular torment. There have been palpable failures in the domain of economy, control of corruption, maintenance of peace and order in
the society and provision of speedy justice to the citizens in which National Assembly remained unable to play an effective oversight role. This was only partially true. They are opportunistic and highly motivated. Tetlay asked several of the local farmers why the banks of the reservoir were barren. Congressional Democrats accepted President Obama's
plans to send more forces into harm's way, but only grudgingly. 186 No Exit from Pakistan would be significant, if not necessarily easy to estimate or measure. Their perspectives had everything to do with the evolution of the Cold War and their strategies for waging it. 178 No Exit from Pakistan In short, China's rise and the U.S. response will likely
represent the primary international drama for the next several decades. 82 No Exit from Pakistan Subsequently, the poem wheels on Musharraf and fires a barrage at the general's American patrons: Just for the ego of a dictator [Musharraf] Justice has been trampled It seems that one force straddles the earth [the United States] Roaming the entire
world It seems like every power falls at its feet Its bombardment has resulted in rivers of blood It has made religion extreme, and suicide bombers have grown34 The message Ahsan delivered from 2004 to 2008 was always the same: the United States was on the wrong side of history in Pakistan. By nearly any measure, the model worked. 228. By
2006 NATO had assumed operational control of the war. Ben Arnoldy, "Al Qaeda Claims Kidnapping of American-Warren-Weinstein." Christian Science Monitor, December 1, 2011, 1201/Al-Qaeda-claims-kidnapping of American-warren-Weinstein." Christian Science Monitor, December 1, 2011, 1201/Al-Qaeda-claims-kidnapping of American-warren-Weinstein.
especially its sixty-three F-16 fighter jets, aircraft that rival some of the best in neighboring India's arsenal. Washington had effectively turned Afghanistan into a Vietnam-style quagmire from which all Moscow could hope to do was withdraw. Lavoy, "Pakistan's Nuclear Posture: Security and Survivability," paper for the Nonproliferation Policy
Education Center, January 21, 2007, pp. Only $179.5 million of that total was from KLB authorized appropriations. Who would do the work and how would they do it? University of Sussex Library, on 05 Mar 2019 at 17:31:21, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . Stimson Center), July 14, 2011, . "Taliban Video of Faisal Shahzad,
New York Times, September 29, 2010, .com/video/2010/09/29/nyregion/1248069111343/taliban-video-of-faisal-shahzad.html. Dealing with Pakistan is no straightforward affair. All of this helps to explain why U.S. officials, including President Obama, have expressed some degree of confidence in the security of Pakistan's nuclear program.12 Even so
aircraft would never be as good as "real" planes. Eight months after Dulles's trip to Karachi, President Eisenhower agreed to provide Pakistan with military aid. Pakistani officials used Davis as a bargaining chip and insisted that Washington must end its spy games. That year, Governor (and retired Lieutenant General) Ali Muhammad Jan Aurakzai
helped to strike a deal with tribesmen in North Waziristan. The United States has a full and complicated agenda in Pakistan, fraught with difficult trade-offs. Some of these are consistent with past practice, even during periods of U.S.-Pakistani cooperation. Bruce Riedel, "A New Pakistan Policy: Containment," New York Times, October 14, 2011, . In
October 2005, an earthquake measuring 7.6 on the Richter scale hit Pakistan's side of the contested Kashmir region, near the city of Muzaffarabad. For its part, Pakistan is expanding its nuclear arsenal. "Terrorist Attacks Will Further Weaken a Slowing Indian Economy," India [email protected], December 11, 2008, 4339), p. Pakistan is a model of
what one prominent economist has called "growth without development." 11 Pakistan's history of economic growth has been respectable, but it "systematically underperforms on most social and political indicators- education, health, sanitation, fertility, gender equality, corruption, political instability and violence, and democracy - for its level of
income."12 In other words, the country has routinely done less with more. Stimson Center, 2001). The organization maintains extensive crime databases, tracking everything from car thefts to cell phone snatchings. In some cases, Pakistani officials would also be informed of impending strikes. The history of U.S. relations with Pakistan is replete with
shortsightedness. This shift complicated certain types of cooperation with Washington. Bloodied and demoralized, their energies were quickly exhausted.67 The peace deals, intended to save face for the army and quell the violence, only reinforced troubles on the ground. 57. This decision is about how to prioritize U.S. counterterror objectives against
other political and diplomatic goals. The headquarters of 2 3 4 5 Worldwide Incidents Tracking System, National Counterterrorism Center, .wits.nctc.gov. Pakistanis streamed into the city from all over the country. Fresh wounds were inflicted atop the deep bruises of the past. Now a minority view, the perspective remains rooted in the left of
Pakistan's political spectrum. As a consequence, the Musharraf regime altered its public stance on drones, but it did not tell the truth publicly about its tacit cooperation with Washington. 72 As new drone strikes took place, Pakistani leaders stayed mum or bowed to public opinion and issued empty denunciations of U.S. incursions on Pakistani
territory. With potential thus measured at the margins, it will be difficult for U.S. leaders to justify the time, political capital, or resources to Pakistan that such a strategic approach would require for success. Are these bastards God-appointed guardians of the world to stockpile hundreds of thousands of nuclear warheads and have they God-given
authority to carry out explosions every month? In each instance, a huge burden was shouldered by America. Nor did President Obama embrace his predecessor's sweeping agenda of eliminating the political grievances that animate terrorism in Muslim societies. By then General Zia had ousted Bhutto, but Pakistan's new dictator was no more inclined agenda of eliminating the political grievances that animate terrorism in Muslim societies. By then General Zia had ousted Bhutto, but Pakistan's new dictator was no more inclined agenda of eliminating the political grievances that animate terrorism in Muslim societies. By then General Zia had ousted Bhutto, but Pakistan's new dictator was no more inclined agenda of eliminating the political grievances that animate terrorism in Muslim societies. By then General Zia had ousted Bhutto, but Pakistan's new dictator was no more inclined agenda of eliminating the political grievances that animate terrorism in Muslim societies. By then General Zia had ousted Bhutto, but Pakistan's new dictator was no more inclined agenda of eliminating the political grievances that animate terrorism in Muslim societies. By then General Zia had ousted Bhutto, but Pakistan's new dictator was no more inclined agenda of eliminating the political grievances are not also as a supplication of the political grievances. The political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance and the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not also as a supplication of the political grievance are not al
to walk away from the nuclear program. The underlying assumption on the part of Washington's senior leadership was that in order to get Musharraf on its side, America would have to buy him some operation with the United States. Whereas Dulles had placed
Pakistan in the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his "Northern Tier" defense strategy for the oil fields of the Persian Gulf, Kennedy and Johnson saw Pakistan and India within the context of his pakistan and Indi
York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2010), pp. Powell's memoir describes his passion for fixing beat-up old Volvos.14 He would drag dead ones home on a rope, then toil away until they were up and running. He seemed 68 69 On the militant threat in Pakistan's tribal areas, see Imtiaz Gul, The Most Dangerous Place: Pakistan's Lawless Frontier
(New York: Viking Press, 2010). [Excised], ~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB358a/doc05.pdf. By most accounts, it receives some Pakistani assistance. 101 In December 2000, LeT crossed a new threshold by sending attackers into New Delhi's Red Fort garrison, far from the disputed Kashmiri territory. The U.S.-Pakistan relationship has never existed in a
vacuum. At the same time, there was no doubt that Musharraf's move was a step away from the democratic transition that he had promised. 222. Given these weaknesses, the best way to think about defensive insulation is as a stopgap solution under conditions in which greater U.S.-Pakistan cooperation Downloaded from . 3 (September 1954), p. The
Four Faces of Pakistan 37 was a revolutionary transformation of the national landscape that began under British colonial rule and was expanded and reinvigorated by World Bank - and heavy American - investments that began in the 1950s.32 But the canals are falling apart after decades of inadequate repair; too many Pakistani farmers still rely on
old-fashioned flooding techniques for irrigation, and Pakistani megacities demand many times more water than in generations past. With good reason, Pakistani officials were more enthusiastic about U.S. funds than about the cumbersome planning, auditing, and accounting procedures that came with them. As has been true in the past, Washington
faces conflicting priorities, political pressures, and logistical hurdles. George Crile's 2003 bestseller and the Hollywood adaptation of Charlie Wilson's War delivered this most unlikely chapter of American history to bookshops and multiplexes around the world.73 Suffice it to say, Wilson's Hugh Hefner tendencies were mixed up with a rabid
anticommunism that, in time, resulted in a deep attachment to the Afghan cause. The politicians pay to bus peasants in from the surrounding countryside to create the illusion of popular support. The Pakistani army chief screamed bloody murder, saying that "peaceful citizens" were "carelessly and callously targeted with complete disregard for
       n life."5 Pakistani officials and local villagers claim that while there were a handful of Afghan Taliban at the gathering, thirty-eight civilians were killed. To be sure, the United States could pull its military, intelligence, and diplomatic officials out of Pakistan. William Easterly, "The Political Economy of Growth without Development: A Case Study
of Pakistan," paper for the Analytical Narratives of Growth Project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (June 2001), Pakistan.pdf. Each side has the potential to threaten the other's Downloaded from . After Pakistani terrorists attacked in New Delhi and Kashmir, India mobilized half a million troops along the border. terrorist incubator
Pakistan's founder. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, bequeathed his new nation a noble motto: "unity, faith and discipline." Jinnah's three words may ring a bell with anyone who has traveled to Islamabad from the airport, since they are mounted on a hilltop - sort of like the Hollywood sign above Los Angeles - under a huge illuminated profile of Jinnah himself.
151. One day, perhaps even within the next few years, Pakistan's balance could tip unexpectedly, as it did in Tunisia when in late December 2010 a young fruit seller set himself on fire in protest against the government and sparked a successful revolution. Although intrusive, U.S. counterterror operations in Pakistan would not necessarily risk all-out
war. It offered hope to the Taliban that if they weathered one last storm, victory over the United States was within reach. In public, U.S. officials would want to keep their dealings with a military regime under the radar, avoiding the example set by President Bush's tight embrace of Musharraf that hurt the White House's credibility as a supporter
democracy and did little to save Musharraf from his fate. He begins by proudly recounting how, shortly after 9/11, he gave Musharraf a firm dressing-down for selling out to the Americans. Yet, the United States must still think very seriously about them, especially when it comes to navigating relationships with rising Asian powers like China and
India. The president decided against it.92 Instead of widening its scope, the United States intensified its drone campaign in the FATA. Rahi Gaikwad, "Manmohan: Naxalism the Greatest Internal Threat," Hindu, October 14, 2009, . Terrorists can
always regenerate their ranks if given the time and space. In Pakistan, however, the United States could perceive "few compelling positive interests." 35 Clinton's successor amplified the new "India tilt." Senior members of the George W. The attacks exposed the vulnerabilities of Pakistan's security forces, both along the Afghan border 86 87 88 89 90
de Borchgrave, "Arnaud de Borchgrave's Exclusive September 2001 Interview with Hamid Gul." Difa-e-Pakistan Homepage, . Such a public rebuke by a senior official was rare. In such instances, only the president can create 95 96 One such report that received a lot attention is "Living under Drones," International Human Rights and Conflict
Resolution Clinic (Stanford Law School) and Global Justice Clinic (NYU School of Law), September 2012, Stanford NYU LIVING UNDER DRONES.pdf. A side-by-side comparison of the Kerry-Lugar (Senate) bill and the Berman (House) bill shows that the most inflammatory language in the final version of KLB came from the House.20 Why the
difference? There it takes full advantage of British protections on free speech and religion as well as direct access to recruits from the country's burgeoning population of young Muslim immigrants, both men and women, many from South Asia. On occasion China has sent some important delegations to Pakistan. They reasoned that working with
America on certain issues served their interests better than obstruction or inaction. That moment was a historic breakthrough 124 125 126 127 Muhammad Atif Khan, "The Mediatization of Politics in Pakistan: A Journal of Pakistan Studies, 1, no. She admits that the country faces significant obstacles, but it "may
yet escape its difficult first sixty-three years, resolve its problems, and re-imagine its future."143 Pakistan's urban, barely bourgeois classes could redirect the energies of an existing political party or coalesce behind an entirely new organization. His opponents were energized. Over half a billion dollars in annual military and civilian assistance was
eventually frozen. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 137 The Raymond Davis affair made news in the United States, but nothing like the way it dominated headlines and airwaves in Pakistan. Given the wide variety of pressing domestic and international concerns that face Washington, not to mention the fact that Pakistan represents a high-
risk, low-reward proposition, it is hard to believe that top policymakers will place greater, more sustained attention on Pakistan after 2014 than they have in recent years. When Soviet forces pulled out of Afghanistan, the George H. Pakistan after 2014 than they have in recent years.
expeditions for bustards, the species of large birds that nest in the region. 10 After 9/11, Shamsi's airstrips were upgraded and subleased to the United States for emergency landings and a very 8 9 10 Adam Entous, Siobhan Gorman, and Julian E. See Jane Perlez, "Soldier Deaths Draw Focus to U.S. in Pakistan," New York Times, February 3, 2010, ...
Aurakzai's deal was a disaster. For its part, Washington often finds itself in bed with many of Pakistan's least reform-minded leaders, from the feudal elites to the military. Henry Kissinger, Nixon's national security advisor at the time of the next major Indo-Pakistani war in 1971, explains that Washington's decision to tilt in Pakistan's favor during that
war was entirely a consequence of Washington's plan to approach China and to peel it away from the Soviet camp.53 "Pakistan was our only channel to China," Kissinger writes. Tellis argues that it would be a serious mistake for India to "remain nonaligned well into the future," and that in fact, New Delhi should "enter into preferential strategic
partnerships. Debating Pakistan's Prospects Pakistan's Frospects Pakistan's future portrait is likely to be a composite sketch with features drawn from each of its four faces. In May 2011, the body of Syed Saleem Shahzad, a reporter who routinely wrote about the seamy underbelly of relations between various terrorist groups and the ISI, was fished out of a canal 100
miles from Islamabad. Richelson. Defusing Armageddon: Inside NEST, America's Secret Nuclear Bomb Squad (New York: W. Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, "Pakistanis Aided Attack in Kabul, U.S. Officials Say," New York Times, August 1, 2008, Clearly, even for people who know it well, Pakistan can look as if it is standing still or heading in
opposite directions, with radically different implications for its people and the rest of the world. Taliban assassination campaigns killed dozens of prominent tribal elders who attempted to live up to deals with the army or otherwise block the rising power of the militants. At the time, this made them unusual. Some aspects of Washington's
counterterror campaign have been more successful than others. The United States will have various options for dealing with its own vulnerability to Pakistan-based terrorism. At the time it represented a stark contrast to the more ambitious perspectives of other administration officials who believed that the United States had the power to change the
world in fundamental ways, and the responsibility to act in order to realize those changes. Others, like a voung Pakistani entrepreneur who flew from Britain to Lahore for the rally and explained. "I am doing this for the love of my country and for change," might 113 114 115 Salman Masood, "Political Shift Seen in Rally in Pakistan," New York Times,
October 30, 2011, government-protest-in-pakistan.html? r=2&ref=asia. Those F-16s were especially symbolic. the vital threat: nuclear weapons If Pakistan were a distant country riddled with terrorists, the United States would have cause for concern, as it does with far smaller states like Yemen and Downloaded from . They announced that Pakistan
would resist American pressure and that the nation was prepared to go to war if necessary. She also needed more confidence in Musharraf's willingness to surrender his uniform and open the way for her to contest elections on an even playing field. You must move now to uproot Pakistan's traitor rulers."109 In May 2012, Butt was allegedly arrested
by the ISI outside 105 106 107 108 109 The single best available publication on HuT in Pakistan is Muhammad Amir Rana, "Hizbut Tahrir in Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, October 2010. Wagar Gillani, "Abrar's Hospital All Set to Serve Humanity," Daily Times, July 26, 2003, 26-7-2003 pg 7 15. Leaders on both
sides have even explored opportunities for closer ties in ways that rankle Washington. Months after he left office, Musharraf spoke at a luncheon in Washington. The United States views the rise of China with at least a little trepidation. They undermined trust
without being quite threatening enough to coerce a constructive shift in Pakistan's outlook or behavior. Shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, similar U.S. funds for the newly independent countries of Eastern and Central Europe encouraged business growth and, in most cases, the loans were repaid in full.61 In 2012, the U.S. embassy in
Islamabad announced a new "Pakistan Private Investment Initiative," intended to deliver many of the same benefits, 62 Expanded versions of these sorts of programs would help to spur growth in Pakistan's small and medium-sized businesses, which would in turn stimulate exports and create new jobs. 63 In short, U.S. assistance might be better used
to assist Pakistani development, grow its economy, and contribute to the nation's stability in ways that also serve the American interest. 6, \( \Phi / \text{media/Files/asia/southasia/pakistan/203 %20Reforming %20Pakistans %20Electoral %20System. ashx. That said, it is possible to disentangle U.S. interests into three primary areas of concern. See "Social, asia," in the said of the said
Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India," Prime Minister's High Level Committee Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India (November 2006). Instead, his characters resolve to "get on with it." The mood is reminiscent of my many conversations with Pakistanis and Americans who have devoted themselves to improving ties
between Washington and Islamabad, and more broadly, to building bridges between the people of Pakistan and the United States. 85 U.S. officials about the Chinese that in 1964 the Johnson administration seriously considered - but in the end did not endorse - a policy of cooperation with Moscow to counter China. Along the Grand Trunk Road, the
ancient thoroughfare traversing South Asia that links Kabul to Calcutta, about an hour to the southeast of Islamabad is Gujjar Khan, a provincial town surrounded by villages. Prior to 9/11, and again increasingly as al-Qaeda's ranks have been decimated in the years after 2007, many U.S. officials view securing Pakistan's nuclear program as their top
concern. Saba Imtiaz, "Imran's Dream Team Wows Karachi," Express Tribune, December 25, 2011, . Part of the problem was that Pakistani officials never believed that Washington was fully committed to a long-term investment in Afghanistan's stability. 102 They repeatedly expressed doubts about U.S. strategy in Afghanistan, especially about
Washington's plan to build the Afghan army and sustain it for years after most U.S. and NATO forces were scheduled to depart. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon, The Age of Sacred Terror (New York: Random House, 2002), pp. In response, one earnest young man 4 5 6 7 Baqir Sajjad Syed, "Mullen Launches Diatribe against ISI," Dawn, April 21,
2011, .com/2011/04/21/pakistans-isi-links-with-haqqani-militants-us/. Fortunately, Pakistan's nuclear arsenal does not now pose an existential threat of the sort the United States faced during the Cold War on the Periphery, pp. Christing
Fair and Seth G. Despite the economy's larger structural problems, Pakistan's urban areas are growing rapidly enough that poor and lower-middle-class strivers can pull themselves up from poverty if they have a decent plan, work hard, and have access to capital. Ben Arnoldy, "Why the Taliban Won't Take Over Pakistan," Christian Science Monitor,
June 7, 2009, .html. For the FY2011 U.S. defense budget, see "United States Department of Defense: Fiscal Year 2012 Budget Request," Office of the Undersecretary of Defense (Comptroller), February 2011, .pdf. Recent episodes, including the Raymond Davis affair, suggest that the sole remaining superpower is better at hunting and killing
terrorists than winning friends or influencing people. Too many fellow soldiers, commanding officers, families, friends, and elected representatives hold Pakistan-based insurgents responsible for their deaths. Importantly, Zaman observes that radical sectarian identities are "imports" into rural Pakistani communities, have modern, urban origins, and
hold the potential to revolutionize religious practice, especially in parts of Punjab. Bush, "Your Meeting with Pakistani President Musharraf," November 5, 2001, Secret, 2 pp. Because Saeed and a number of his colleagues were Punjabis scarred by Partition in ways that made them rabidly anti-Indian, their organization was well suited to waging jihad
in Kashmir. Friedman is right that some of India's high-tech firms have built fancy campuses for their employees, not all that much different from ones you might see in Silicon Valley. Yet technical experts suggest that financial mismanagement, theft, and an antiquated distribution network are in fact the main barriers to a steady energy supply.28
Pakistani consumers, including the government and military, routinely fail to pay electricity bills, starving energy suppliers and forcing them 23 24 25 26 27 28 Hathaway, "Introduction," Education Reform in Pakistan, p. For years, Pakistanis from both Musharraf's and Benazir's camps had floated similar proposals. This is not a friendly game, but out
of it both sides can still benefit. We are better at waging total war or thriving in peace; the murky gray of uncertainty sits poorly with us. No U.S. policy or set of policies will solve the challenges posed by Pakistan all at once, or maybe ever. It is less obvious what China gets or expects to get from Pakistan. SIPRI Arms Transfer Database, register.php;
also Paul K. Troubles will arise, however, if a weak and inward-looking Pakistan turns away from the United States and toward China as its primary benefactor. Washington should not forget the debacle of Musharraf's final years or fall victim to the false hope that the next general will have a formula for governing Pakistan that his uniformed
predecessors, from Zia back to Ayub, did not. No exit from Pakistan: America's tortured relationship with Islamabad / Daniel S. r=0. The other challenge to a successful U.S. deterrence strategy lies in convincing Pakistani leaders that Washington would take similar retaliatory steps if terrorists use nuclear weapons or materials from Pakistani's
arsenal. Subsequent investigations linked the raid to aloaeda and the Pakistani Taliban. In line with Islamic practice, the families of the victims accepted "blood money" payments of over $2 million in return for pardoning Davis, Both have influenced U.S. policies for the worse. Islamabad closed its border crossings to Afghanistan, stemming the flow of the victims accepted "blood money" payments of over $2 million in return for pardoning Davis, Both have influenced U.S. policies for the worse. Islamabad closed its border crossings to Afghanistan, stemming the flow of the victims accepted "blood money" payments of over $2 million in return for pardoning Davis, Both have influenced U.S. policies for the worse. Islamabad closed its border crossing to Afghanistan, stemming the flow of the victims accepted "blood money" payments of over $2 million in return for pardoning Davis, Both have influenced U.S. policies for the worse.
NATO war supplies. Pressure from the Pakistani side will help push the Taliban toward the negotiating table and away from al-Qaida." These demands did not go down well with Islamabad. See "Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan a Case of Mission Creep, According to New Book and Original Soviet Documents," National Security Archive, October 13,
2012, ��nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB396/. There can be no discounting the fact that Beijing has provided Pakistan with strategically critical military and nuclear technologies.43 At times, China has also served as a significant diplomatic lifeline and buffer against outside pressure. Beyond the Crisis State (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011),
p. See also "Education Spending (percent of GDP) (most recent) by Country," www.nationmaster.com/graph/edu edu spe-education-spending-of-gdp. Washington even debated the wisdom of "preventive military action" against Beijing's nuclear facilities.46 For U.S. policy in South Asia, context was everything. 467-73. His performance at a Council on
Foreign Relations session in front of several hundred influential journalists, officials, and analysts was literally laughable. Carter's national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, a Polishborn emigr e' whose greatest cunning was reserved for fighting Russians, charted out the first steps for American aid to the Afghan resistance. For instance, U.S.
officials working on health issues lacked appropriate Pakistani counterparts for nearly eight months after the closure of the federal health ministry and before provincial governments, which now had jurisdiction over water and sanitation, had to finalize their own regulations before entering into
agreements with USAID.42 Politics aside, Pakistan was also a dangerous, difficult place for Americans to deliver aid. 126 No Exit from Pakistan tribal need for due respect when he forged his peace deal. Within weeks, the facility was emptied and returned to Pakistan authority.11 Pakistan's leaders declared that they planned to reevaluate all
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remaining forms of cooperation with the United States. 9 Author interview with Imran Khan, May 15, 2012. See Entous, Gorman, and Barnes, "U.S. Tightens Drone Rules." Downloaded from . Fortunately, Robyn understands my devotion to this line of work. A Flood of Cash Much maligned at the outset, KLB nevertheless offered an important
opportunity. That Washington managed to avoid further entanglements with Musharraf was probably the only silver lining of the episode. Opposition forces are finding new resources and tools to help them mobilize. Since then, the city has suffered terribly. Hawkish Indians are not entirely wrong to see Pakistan as the western half of an unfriendly
Chinese embrace. Beyond 44 For the Bush administration's struggles, see Condoleezza Rice, No Higher Honor (New York: Crown, 2011), pp. That the party has become a dynastic inheritance, passed from Bhutto to his daughter Benazir, then to her husband Asif Ali Zardari, and almost certainly to their son, Bilawal, after that, bears testament to its
compromised democratic foundations. At the lowest points in the relationship, such as the late 1970s, the two sides behaved more like adversaries than allies. But which features will be most prominent? What drove them to oppose the Soviet intervention was the concern that Afghanistan might be little more than a first step in Moscow's march to the
Arabian Sea. A visit to Pudong, the urban district across the river from Old Shanghai, gives a visceral sense for China's rapid ascent. Khan was an ardent nationalist. Yet there are also important enduring features in Pakistani society that Jinnah and his contemporaries would find familiar, if not necessarily attractive. A.) relations with, 77-78 Cold War
and U.S. relations in, 178-179 ethnic groups in, 21 global ascendancy of, 172-175, 175n18, 178 © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge.org Cambridge.or
YouTube at . Both carrots and sticks could be used to advance specific U.S. counterterrorism and nuclear goals. Pakistan is neither completely aligned Downloaded from . In a defensive insulation strategy, Washington would devote the bulk of its efforts to protecting the United States from Pakistan-based threats. Success in the fight against al-
Qaeda's leadership was real, but it was achieved in a way that gave less priority to other goals. Great Expectations to Greater Frustration, Pakistan's official indignation over the obvious "violations" of its sovereignty remained muted. Markey
So we have tremendous potential. In time, they may be able to extract a greater share of resources from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing revenues from an expanding economic base should be easier than squeezing expansion of the expans
interests. Many tribal militias in Afghanistan and along Pakistan's border are undoubtedly animated by the defensive desire to kick out any foreign invaders. To be fair, in late September 2010, USAID signed an agreement with the Pakistani government that would eventually support an additional $831 million in civilian programs.44 But that would
take more time, and to most 40 41 42 43 44 Jane Perlez, "U.S. Aid Plan for Pakistan Is Foundering," New York: W. China benefits from Pakistan in other ways too. For a similar American argument, see George Perkovich, "Stop
Enabling Pakistan's Dangerous Dysfunction, "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, September 6, 2011. 61. Islamabad, however, responded warily. Pakistan's pattern of political, economic, and security crises will, in one way or another, force Washington to pay attention even if American leaders would prefer to steer clear
Underneath those bloodless planning drills and calculations, passions ran deep. For Sino-Indian trade, see Ananth Krishnan, "India's Trade with China Bilateral Trade Crosses $12 Billion Mark for First Time," Business Recorder, January 28
2013, . 38-9, 48-50, and The Next Chapter: The United States and Pakistan, Pakistan Policy Working Group (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2008), p. 414. See Nic Robertson and Greg Botelho, "Ex-Pakistani President Musharraf Admits Secret Deal with U.S. on Drone Strikes," CNN, April 12, 2013, . Thus, Indian strategists expect
that the Indo-Pakistani conflict will drag on, but many are also starting to see China as the more compelling challenge.81 Lingering scars from India's disastrous 1962 war with China are compounded by the apprehension that Chinese military, economic, and political power could dominate the region before India even has a chance to seek its rightful
place in the sun. So concerned were 40 41 42 43 44 45 Kempe, Berlin 1961, pp. Beijing has counseled restraint to Pakistan with respect to contentious issues like Kashmir. These groups will have no shortage of new recruits if, as anticipated, Pakistan's broken educational system continues to produce millions of young men and women unprepared to
contribute to the global economy and millions more who cannot find jobs even if they have skills and training. Just before September 11, 2001, the entire U.S. military had fewer than 200 drones. The threats posed by a giant Pakistani spoiler state in an increasingly important neighborhood cannot be ignored, but they may have to be managed or
mitigated rather than solved. As a young officer in the 1950s, he joined Pakistan's newly formed Special Services Group, an elite commando unit, and trained with American forces in guerrilla warfare. USAID reacted defensively but lacked a political champion of Holbrooke's stature or energy.34 Nevertheless, USAID personnel waged a rearguard
campaign against him, citing the disruptive nature of his demands. 328-30; Ashish Kumar Sen, "Old Pak Hand Robin Raphel Returns," Tribune India, August 8, 2009, 2009/20090808/world.htm#1. America's leaders cannot assume that their children or grandchildren will be better positioned to deal with Pakistan than the United States is today.
Armitage claims he was not a part of the CIA's Phoenix program, despite claims by close friends and associates from the period. 46 No Exit from Pakistan advantage in non-nuclear arms. Ashley Tellis discusses the distinctions Pakistan advantage in non-nuclear arms.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008), .pdf. He was also determined not to give the Obama administration the latitude that he thought had been abused by the Bush administration to submit routine reports on its programs and on developments inside Pakistan, he and his staff believed his bill
imposed greater accountability without creating inflexible conditions. The patriarch of the Haqqani network that has so threatened the NATO mission in Afghanistan, commander Jalaluddin Haqqani derives his name from this seminary where he studied many decades ago. LeT has still managed to build a far-flung network of sympathizers and
operatives, including within the United States. 67. To be sure, "the country has a long tradition of oppositional journalism," as one of Pakistan's top national security reporters explained to me over coffee during his visit to Washington in late 2011. at least for now. That said, there were also times that Washington simply made bad choices. See Strobe
Talbott's narrative of the Clinton visit to India in Strobe Talbott, Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2004), p. America's Options 205 Afghanistan will mean less need for Pakistani roads, ports, and airspace as conduits for supplies, weapons, and personnel. For several years he appealed to
thousands of young Pakistanis with his strident nationalism based, in part, on an unorthodox reading of Islamic scriptures. 8 The Peshawar university students went on to complain that outspoken critics of the United States like Hamid tend to be Pakistanis with no firsthand experience of the present insurgency along the Afghan border, and no sense of
how dangerous the Taliban have become. Moreover, any political shift in Islamabad risked an undesirable, if temporary, disruption to patterns of interaction that had emerged since 9/11. 206-212. They have purchased homes and secured citizenship abroad, from Dubai and Malaysia to the United Kingdom and Canada. A June 2012 survey conducted
by the Pew Research Center found that only 17 percent of Pakistanis supported the Pakistanis opposed them.91 The general unpopularity of the Pakistanis opposed them.91 The general unpopularity opposed them.91 The general unpopularity opposed them.91 The general unpopularity o
a version of this argument, see C. The imbalance was less pronounced in the past. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, that towering figure of Pakistani politics, played a central role in the early stages of Pakistani's nuclear drama. Together, they sponsored the authorizing legislation colloquially known as "Kerry-Lugar-Berman," "Kerry-Lugar," or "KLB" for short.11
KLB tripled U.S. assistance for nonmilitary projects, raising it to roughly $1.5 billion per year for a five-year period. The radical clerics of the mosque had for years collected money and recruits for Pakistan's various jihadist causes. Bhutto's practices, common in much of Pakistan but especially his home in rural Sindh province, were marked by a
syncretic tradition that draws from many sources for spiritual inspiration and teaching. This perception would drive the wedge deeper between Washington and Islamabad and raise the political hurdles to cooperation on other matters of American interest, whether counterterrorism or nuclear security. A Strategy for Stabilizing Afghanistan-Pakistan,
April 2009, p. On the Powell-Musharraf relationship, see Chapter 4. A.) and, 80 Islamic extremism and, 53-54 Islamic extremism and and 53-54 Islamic extremism and 53-54 Islamic extremism
Islamabad was built with American funds. 24 At the center of this arrangement was a quiet gentleman's agreement by President Bush not to take steps that might politically undermine his Pakistani counterpart. Khan. That technical problem of attribution is considerable. As the political crisis escalated, the regime and private broadcasters played a
game of cat and mouse; each time the government ordered new limits on broadcasts, the news networks attempted to flout or circumvent them. Pakistan's aid to Afghan militants, now drenched in American blood, is today one of the deepest causes of friction between Washington and Islamabad. The fact that India and Pakistan are nuclear-armed only and islamabad.
raises the stakes. No self-respecting state could accept such dictates, not even from a superpower. Under these circumstances, New Delhi may never feel the compulsion to hitch its wagon solely, or even primarily, to the United States. Such a plan had already been kicking around for a couple of years on Capitol Hill and inside the State Department.
See William Langewiesche, "The Wrath of Khan," Atlantic (November 2005), 4333/. He vowed to funnel a far greater percentage of aid dollars into Pakistan's own government and local businesses rather than lining the pockets of Washington's "Beltway bandits." Holbrooke and Raphel also sought to focus U.S. spending on several critical needs, like
Pakistan's infrastructure, in the belief that otherwise the money would be spread too thin to make a meaningful difference or to attract the attention of the Pakistani public. Daniel Simons and Robert Nelson contributed good ideas and research as the project was just starting to germinate. The pairing was odd, but it was not Washington's brainchild.
America's withdrawal would eliminate the stated raisons d'etre for some of the fighters in the region, but it would almost certainly embolden others. "Anne Patterson Blocks Shireen Mazari," Pakistan Daily, September 3, 2009, .pk/news-break-anne-patterson-blocks-shireen-mazari-10053/. Practical challenges abound. Now, grassroots leaders,
including women, had a say in selecting development projects. Jane Mayer, "The Predator War," The New Yorker, October 26, 2009. The Four Faces of Pakistan 51 Qadri showed up in court, a group of lawyers assembled in solidarity and showered him with rose petals.80 The blasphemy issue touches a special chord for millions of Pakistanis, many of
whom believe that Islam is under attack and must be defended from abuses of all sorts. Even if Pakistan were somehow to free itself from these crutches, it would still confront a global economy in which the United States remains the most influence on
its economic fortunes. "The Year of the Drone," New America Foundation, drones/2007. For all of these reasons, it should not be Washington's preferred approach to its relationship with Islamabad. One example of this reality is the Indus Hospital in Karachi. Yet by framing the question that way, Pakistan's leaders steadfastly ignored the American
claim that they were guilty of fighting some groups of terrorists, such as the Pakistani Taliban, while actively or passively assisting others, like the Hagganis. That was a big deal. See "Brigadier-ali-wanted-to-establish-caliphate-witness/. As a
consequence, religious seminaries (known as madaris or madrassahs) became an increasingly common option.88 In many instances, such seminaries were unprepared to teach children the sorts of knowledge or skills required for jobs outside the mosque. 130 No Exit from Pakistan deeply troubled when his people did not love him for the enlightened
aspects of his rule that he so generously bestowed, like allowing a relatively free media or not personally stealing from the national till. When viewed from the perspective of Pakistan's intransigent military leadership, however, even the most successful American counterterror missions like the raid on Abbottabad were humiliating irritants. To level
such a threat against Pakistan for intentionally using weapons against the United States would not be difficult. In a momentous July decision, the president authorized Special Forces raids against terrorist compounds inside the FATA without prior consent from the Pakistani government or army.73 This reflected concerns within the U.S. government
that providing advance warning to the Pakistanis would too often translate into tipoffs to the terrorist targets. 118 No Exit from Pakistan operation. 37 According to David D. 71-94; Michael Krepon, Rodney W. The proximate cause of Bhutto's downfall was the PPP's heavy-handed rigging of national elections in 1977. 40 41 Tellis, "The Merits of
Dehyphenation," p. Dangerous Side Effects A military-first approach toward Pakistan 41 the crucial fact that the army has never run the country very effectively. The House of that area - although Muslim - do not practice
circumcision. 45 Moreover, the reporter explained, stories of Indian intervention were concocted by the military to justify unpopular operations in Pakistan's own tribal areas. When the United States had tried to inspire confidence, it sowed new doubt. Preparing for the worst means, for instance, investing in new technologies, including next-
generation drones, that would help the United States conduct certain counterterror operations inside Pakistan even if Islamabad turns increasingly hostile; continuing to build America's homeland defenses; improving international controls on the flow of money, weapons, and people that support terrorist networks; and contemplating what sorts of
military and diplomatic relationships with Pakistan's neighbors, especially Afghanistan and India, would be needed in the event that Pakistan takes a slide toward deeper instability. That error, Khan claimed, was only compounded in 2004 when Musharraf sent the army into Pakistan's tribal areas to root out international terrorists. A. The reason is
twofold. Thanks to all, and also to my colleagues at CFR and elsewhere, including Paul Stares, Michael Krepon, Dick Sokolsky, Howard and Teresita Schaffer, Anita Weiss, Lisa Curtis, Amanda Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, and Gary Samore. In June 2009, Kerry publicly and Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, and Gary Samore. In June 2009, Kerry publicly and Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, and Gary Samore. In June 2009, Kerry publicly and Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, and Gary Samore. In June 2009, Kerry publicly and Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, and Gary Samore. In June 2009, Kerry publicly and Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, and Gary Samore. In June 2009, Kerry publicly and Catanzano, Patricia Dorff, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Jakub Grygiel, Edward Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Janine Hill, Elliott Abrams, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, Amy Baker, Lacey, Eric Lupfer, 
criticized the House version of the bill for sending the wrong message to the Pakistani public. America can learn from its history with Pakistan. 180. 2. The answer is a qualified yes. This is a point of national pride and it runs to the core of Pakistan's myth of itself as a homeland for South Asian Muslims. Other U.S. equipment, like P-3 Orion
surveillance aircraft, also offers anti-India defensive capabilities that Pakistan would otherwise find difficult to match. 356-8. Kick the Can Past 2014? Cohen, Four Crises and a Peace Process: American Engagement in South Asia (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2007). Ed Husain, The Islamist (London: Penguin, 2008), p. This achievement in South Asia (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2007).
should not be minimized. Third, Pakistan's new leaders did nothing to win confidence in the United States. However, he also believed that his legislation was a smarter, more comprehensive reflection of U.S. interests in Pakistan than the Senate version.21 It covered more territory, authorizing military as well as civilian aid. "We had no other means of
communication with Peking. He did, however, pursue a policy of "Islamization" during his rule, which provided political cover and funneled resources to some of Pakistan's military and InterServices Intelligence directorate, with meager American
oversight or control. Markey Frontmatter More information 32 Avenue of the University Press is part of the University Press is
approach, this would represent a more ambitious strategy of the sort advocated during the early days of the Obama administration. For more, see Michael Wines, "Pakistan and China: Two Friends Hit a Bump," New York Times, May 26, 2011, . By some estimates, 30,000 residents of Karachi alone die from this problem each year.34 The social and
economic costs of Pakistan's water crisis are already staggering. He contended, correctly, that whatever Pakistan's anti-communist rhetoric might be, U.S. assistance to Pakistan would more likely be directed against India than against a Soviet invasion. In addition to his bouts in prison, Sethi has received written death threats from al-Qaeda and the
Pakistani Taliban. From the Outside-In 175 Even if China still has a long way to go before it catches up to the United States in terms of its overall wealth, military power, or quality of life, China's national power relative to other actors on the world stage is now indisputably greater than at any previous point in the modern era.18 Henry Kissinger,
America's high priest of Realpolitik, observes in his monumental volume, On China, that this development is in many ways a return toward China's traditional role as the "Middle Kingdom," or "Central Country," whose leader was "conceived of (and recognized by most neighboring states) as the pinnacle of a universal political hierarchy."19 Of course
China will not be the only rising Asian state. The violent extremism and terroristic methods of al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and LeT were spreading inside Pakistan well before 9/11. Author conversation with Ambassador Robin Raphel, Washington, DC, October 4, 2011. Tetlay left his job as an economist in Islamabad and joined the first of the Rural Support
Programmes (RSPs) in the 1980s.53 The RSP was designed to help village communities identify and prioritize their needs, pool their resources, and identify and tap outside funds from the government and other donors to meet shortfalls. U.S. sanctions that had been imposed for Musharraf's coup and Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests were waived, and
the Bush administration worked hard to craft a package of assistance that would rival the one President Reagan had offered General Zia in the 1980s. Forty-five percent of the world area can be described as Muslim land. Markey Index More information Index tax policies in Pakistan, 37-38 Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), 13-14, 52-53 attacks on
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.com.pk/story/201068/lal-masjid-siege-four-years-on/. pak-af, not af-pak At the same time that the Obama administration's efforts in Pakistan were handicapped by weak civilian policy tools and dominated by the counterterror agenda, they were also heavily influenced by the escalating war in Afghanistan. 3,
projects/The%20Case%20for%20Market%20Access%20for%20Pakistani%20Textiles.pdf; Khurram Anis, "Pakistan Textile Exports May Be Hurt by Gas Shortage, Group Says," Bloomberg, December 9, 2011, . With less influence and fewer friends in Afghanistan, that's where. Pakistan is already a failing state in many ways, but it is not yet a failed one.
As the Afghan war wound down in the late 1980s, the insurgency in Kashmir was on the rise. In combating 70 71 72 73 Saeed Shah, "Pakistani High Court Challenges Spy Agency over Payments," McClatchy Newspapers, March 9, 2012, . Ejaz Haider, "Is This a Joke?" Express Tribune, February 14, 2012, story/336328/is-this-a-joke/. For more on Zia's
belief that Islam would provide the unifying principle for Pakistan, see Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Security, 32, no. But it was not until the George W. Early on, the main question was
how far to expand the program. They blamed Musharraf for permitting "America's war" to take place on Pakistani soil. "Country Report Presentation at JICA Training and Dialogue Program on Energy Policy by Muhammad Latif, chief, Energy Wing, Planning Commission of Pakistan, May 2011, . U-
Turn to Drift 109 It is possible that some, maybe many, of these failings were unavoidable. 115. As the previous chapter describes, extreme nationalism has a prominent place in the Pakistani military, amplified by vocal advocates like Shireen Mazari who have a disproportionate influence on the public policy debate. Under those conditions, al-Qaeda
might again take advantage of the remoteness of Pakistan's forbidding mountain ranges or the lawlessness and anonymity of its teeming cities. It is not hard to see that Ahsan's opposition to American "imperialism" and to Washington's support for Musharraf's military rule has drawn inspiration from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's example. Pakistan's army of
more than a half-million men serves as its primary defense against India's homegrown Islamist terrorism. 127, pp. Along the Afghan border, U.S. drones have provided real-time overhead imagery to the Pakistani military, leaving
Pakistanis awestruck and clamoring to have similar drones for themselves.35 Unfortunately, dangling the carrot of new military technologies has never been enough of an incentive to get the Pakistanis to change their fundamental security strategies. His unorthodox working relationship with Gust Avrakotos, the cranky CIA officer who fought off
agency bureaucrats and kept the whole secret operation alive, broke a lot of rules along the way to victory. U.S. officials are right not to underestimate the long-term consequences of that transformation. A decade later, the opposite is true. It is more like a race that must be run as a marathon rather than a sprint. Barry Bearak, "The Coldest War:
Frozen in Fury on the Roof of the World," New York Times, May 23, 1999, . He could be far less so. Rather than contributing to revenues that could provide better public services, Pakistan's elites have also selfishly kept their tax burden at a minimum. They claimed they would not survive the backlash from their own people, including from the rank
and file of the military. 3. The U.S. goal would be to introduce a credible threat of overwhelming retaliation in order to make Pakistan think twice about using or sharing its nuclear weapons. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 145 when the U.S. Congress passed its last annual Foreign Assistance Authorization Act, directives and earmarks for
new U.S. foreign aid have usually been contained in yearly foreign operations acts without separate authorization acts. 30 In other words, the Obama administration might have skipped the KLB process altogether and secured funding directly - and with far less fanfare - from congressional appropriation committees. 205. They did not
even need to wear an American label in order to serve Washington's core interests. This line of reasoning did not hold much water in Washington. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) arrested Shahzad days later, just as his Dubai-bound flight from New York was pulling away from the terminal. 5 In his own court testimony, the American-
educated Shahzad admitted to receiving funds to purchase the SUV and bomb materials from a TTP source. 316; Barnett R. For tens of millions of his cricket-obsessed countrymen, the feat won Khan everlasting glory and placed him among a tiny pantheon of national heroes.112 Almost twenty years later, on October 30, 2011, Khan's underdog
political party, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (Movement for Justice, or PTI), which had won only a single seat in Pakistan's 2002 national elections and had skipped the 2008 election altogether, drew huge crowds to a rally in the center of Lahore, the capital of Pakistan's largest Punjab province. In 1996, a Pakistani-born graduate of Wharton Business
Recognizing that Pakistan's leaders tend to be tough negotiators with high thresholds for pain, Washington can cut new deals and level credible threats to achieve U.S. goals. Home in Colorado, he allegedly assaulted a fellow shopper in an Einstein Bros. Members of Congress and critics of the administration would pounce, especially if Pakistan's new
military regime imposed draconian or violent measures against its opponents. "2010: US Embassy Pushed for Pakistan Textiles in Free-Trade Agreement," Dawn, June 7, 2011, . From the Outside-In 185 Unfortunately, India has not yet found a way to overcome the obstacles posed by its region. Jones, "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan," RAND
Corporation (2009), monographs/2010/RAND MG982.pdf. Nawaz Sharif, exiled leader of the other large opposition party, the PML-N, followed her the next month. 146 No Exit from Pakistan than U.S. officials had been spending to date. Before the Chief Justice refused to resign on demand, no one had said no to the General. The best the United
States can hope to do with a comprehensive cooperation strategy is to tip Pakistan's balance. All of these trends would be at least as likely the next time around. For instance, on joining the policy planning staff at the State Department in 2003, I was tasked to determine whether South Asian countries might contribute troops for the war in Iraq. Top
doled out in this fashion.69 In part because the military commands a disproportionate share of Pakistan's resources, it has come closer than any other national institution at instilling professionalism, discipline, and esprit de corps throughout its ranks. The second basic question had to do with the mechanisms for spending U.S. money and
the cutoff in U.S. assistance to Pakistan, is discussed in Chapter 3. Abrar ul Haq took his PTI affiliation even further. 16-17, article.php?aid=291&rid=6. America's Response Washington has always been aware of China's strategic significance, whether in the context of Nixon and Kissinger's secret diplomacy with Mao Zedong during the Cold War or
Clinton's effort to include Beijing in an expanded global free trade regime. In a moment of epiphany, one of Sartre's characters exclaims, "Hell is other people!" And yet, when the living room door swings open and the three have a chance to make a run for it, they cannot. 54 No Exit from Pakistan chapter, the military rule of General Zia energized a
variety of Islamist groups, including political parties such as the Jamaat-e-Islami, and granted them a privileged place in the Pakistani state. Author interview, May 16, 2012. Taseer, the outspoken liberal governor of Punjab province, had been killed by one of his own bodyguards, Mumtaz Qadri, who after firing several rounds into the back of the man
he was sworn to protect, dropped his weapon and surrendered. "Dissent Channel: Contradictory Objectives for the USAID/Pakistan Program," letter from C. Pakistan's own weak economy meant that Washington would foot the bill with no end in sight. By way of an illicit global supply network, he sold nuclear secrets to Iran, North Korea, and Libya.57
More than his scientific know-how, his genius was his ability to circumvent international controls on restricted technologies and to stay one step ahead of foreign intelligence agencies. It also proved that greater familiarity with America does not always inspire greater affection. 21 Upon his return to Pakistan, Bhutto's family connections and political
overthrow the existing order when the time is right. Weighing the potential political repercussions of a strike is a routine part of the targeting process. They held out for over fifteen hours, killed thirteen personnel, and destroyed two of Pakistan's U.S.-supplied P-3 Orion patrol planes. They angrily asked how America was in any position to tell
Pakistan to "do more" in the fight against extremists, given the military losses and suffering Pakistan's own people had already endured. The episode foreshadowed the disagreements and disappointments that would emerge when Musharraf's regime started to crumble in 2007. In late summer 2010, Pakistan suffered its worst floods since 1929.39
One-fifth of the country - a piece of land the size of Italy - was inundated, and some 20 million Pakistanis were affected. One way to improve Washington's effort would be for U.S. officials to focus on a set of internationally accepted standards related
to education, among others. Other American policymakers, focused intently on the endgame of the Afghan war, see Pakistan's role as critical to determining whether Afghanistan emerges as a weak but stable state or reverts to bloody civil war fueled by the enmitties of neighboring powers. 4 Of course, Pakistan's regional significance does not end in
Afghanistan. Long after that, wellinformed Pakistan were entering Pakistan were entering Pakistan were entering Pakistan were invisible to the public, perhaps even unknown to the beneficiaries themselves. For at least a few days after the Abbottabad raid, there was a lively debate over whether Pakistan might again have reached a "1971 moment" in which
the civilian government could firmly impose its will over the army. And LeT's worldwide aspirations also had other, less visible, effects. 201-8. Outside the gated preserves of tranquility in New Delhi's most posh hotels, people, animals, and vehicles all compete for space in a constant buzz of activity. Strategically, U.S. concerns about the endgame in
Afghanistan, Islamabad's persistent attachment to violent extremist organizations such as LeT, and the fact that Pakistan may lurch into greater internal instability or anti-America's leaders must, first and foremost, gird against security threats. See "Pakistan: Madrasas, Extremism and the Military," July 29, 2002,
International Crisis Group Asia Report No. 36, p. 310. In Islamabad, he elicited a quiet promise from Musharraf to end the movement of terrorists across the Kashmir divide. In reality, however, the greatest danger posed by most Pakistani seminaries is that their narrow curriculum fails to prepare children for jobs outside the clergy after graduation
Thus, Pakistanis and Americans tell conflicting versions of their shared history. See also al-Qaeda as global symbol, 99 killing of, 5, 8, 11, 23-24, 65, 80, 139, 201 Pakistani preoccupation with, 50-53 Brennan, John, 153-
154 BRICS summit, 195 Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 94 Burki, Shahid Javed, 186-187 Bush, George H. Author conversation, Washington, DC, April 2010. 46, 345. Surprisingly, Bhutto's own sectarian identity is contested. He completed a postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard University's Olin Institute for Strategic Studies. At 18,000 feet, the Siachen glacier,
claimed by India and Pakistan, is the world's highest battlefield. 48 Hundreds of men have died there in temperatures that routinely drop to fifty below. Pakistan's generals may have manipulated the crisis to gain maximum political benefit against the new civilian government. Markey Copyright Information More information No Exit from Pakistan
America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad DANIEL S. Most important, China has worried mainly about its own economic fortunes. 224. The goals of the nuclear state are nearly as important as the arsenal itself. But at that stage the president concluded there was no easy way out of the mess, since Washington had made a commitment and
breaking it "might have severe repercussions on our relations with Pakistan, and might even destroy the Baghdad Pact." 14 On the Pakistani side, cracks in public support for partnership with the United States insulates itself from threats
not fear Indian aggression so much as it fears the status quo. Then again, it also did not make much sense to seek change, since Musharraf's replacement was not likely to be a major improvement and might even be slightly worse. Above all, the Pakistani military viewed relations with the United States as a means to balance against India, Pakistani's
larger sibling with which it has maintained a more or less hostile relationship since birth. After several long cab rides around the sprawling megacity in the spring of 2008, I was left the United States in the dust. But in June 2003, undoubtedly out
their monopoly on political power.36 Pakistan's pattern of elite rule is thus deeply entrenched and self-reinforcing. This leaves a narrow but important space for hope. In the previous three years, total violence was far lower; terrorists killed or wounded 90 Pakistanis in Peshawar and Lahore and about 500 Pakistanis in Karachi.7 Major cities imposed
draconian security measures in their effort to clamp down on the violence, but ending the threat posed by suicide bombers and gunmen was an impossibly difficult task. McMahon puts it, "curiously imprecise and inchoate." 10 McMahon and others have raised doubts about whether Pakistan could ever have provided a defensive platform for the
Middle East anything like what Dulles had in mind, at any realistic price. If Pakistan's spies were as omnipresent and all-seeing as the rumors suggest, the agency probably would have done a much better job at securing the country, or at least at securing its own personnel. Washington has committed this mistake over and over since the outset of the
U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Bush and Obama administrations have correctly viewed a good relationship with India as necessary for managing the implications of a rising China. Neither Pakistan's resident extremists nor its nuclear arsenal would go quietly into the night. These moves were the original sins that led to so many of Pakistan's subsequent
security troubles. 9 Khan's arguments, however neatly articulated, put the cart before the horse. The leaders of the hospital are far from ready to rest on their laurels. One such Pakistani television anchor, Kamran Khan, told his viewers, "We had the belief that our defense was impenetrable, but look what has happened. These interests begin with
Washington's vital concerns about the safety and security of Pakistan's nuclear program, which are tied up with broader questions of Pakistan's stability and the trajectory of its state and society. It was also entirely out of line with American democratic sensibilities. Pakistan's under-performing national institutions could crumble further, its military
could fracture, its ethnic and sectarian cleavages could take the country past the point of militancy and into outright civil war. Pakistani leaders dipped into America's deep pockets to serve their purposes, sometimes 1 For a full account of the attack on the Islamabad embassy, see Steve Coll, Ghost Wars (New York: Penguin, 2004), pp. But remote
Peshawar, like the nation of which it is a part, has at times played an outsized role in U.S. policy. Pakistan's journalists still work under threat from the state and, increasingly, from terrorists. 14, . At that point, e-mail lists, blogs, YouTube videos, Flickr photos, Facebook groups, and text messages filled the vacuum, spreading news to anyone within
earshot of a computer account or cell phone (which is to say nearly everyone in the entire country, since over 40 percent of Pakistanis owned cell phones by 2006).127 With the help of new communications technologies and the ingenuity of Pakistanis owned cell phone (which is to say nearly everyone in the entire country, since over 40 percent of Pakistanis owned cell phones by 2006).127 With the help of new communications technologies and the ingenuity of Pakistanis owned cell phone (which is to say nearly everyone in the entire country, since over 40 percent of Pakistanis owned cell phone (which is to say nearly everyone in the entire country, since over 40 percent of Pakistanis owned cell phone (which is to say nearly everyone in the entire country).
regime. The Taliban will win. That game centers on the rise of China and the shift of global power and wealth to Asia. The dark and dusty passageways had obviously offered refuge to militants for many years. Khan's successes in this endeavor - in addition to his tireless self-promotion - earned him the sobriquet "father of Pakistan's atomic bomb." 56
In later years, Khan would become the world's most notorious proliferator of nuclear technology. accountid=37722. Dr. A. Pakistan's ruling party was forced to defend its dealings with Washington in the face of angry statements from the army and indignation from across the political spectrum. 16 The idea that American aid could be greeted with
such hostility shocked many American policymakers and legislators in Washington. George Crile, Charlie Wilson's War (New York: Grove Press, 2003). A new well known that before the lawyers began to march, there was no challenge to
General Musharraf. 183. Shireen Mazari, The Kargil Conflict, 1999: Separating Fact from Fiction (Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, 2003). 29, 16. Born in 1924, his family hailed from Jallundur, a town in the eastern part of Punjab that ended up on the Indian side of the border after Partition. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 151
drone wars In many ways, the Obama White House never appears to have cared much about the aid program for Pakistan, per se.47 If aid provided a useful political tool to manage relations with Islamabad, fine; but the real action was in fighting terrorism, in preventing another major attack on the United States. Rehman, September 17, 2007,
Washington, DC. If Pakistan breaks with the United States and reverts to its old, violent patterns with India, it would diminish or delay New Delhi's rise to global leadership. For the present, China also has countervailing interests in South Asia that make Beijing less eager to put all its eggs in Pakistan's basket. V. See Amrullah Saleh, "Why Negotiate
with the Taliban?" Wall Street Journal, February 9, 2012, .com/article/SB10001424052970204136404577207500541175714.html?mod=googlenews wsj. If Washington had believed Pakistan to be a trustworthy partner, there would have been no need for Raymond Davis to be spying on LeT in Lahore, no need to fly a stealthy helicopter into
Abbottabad without informing General Kayani, no need for Admiral Mullen's pointed testimony before Congress. Mohammad Shehzad, "Suicide Bombing Is the Best Form of Jihad," Friday Times, April 17, 2003, . Defensive insulation would play into the negative expectations held by much of Pakistan's public, reinforced by the history lessons about
U.S. "abandonment" taught by the likes of General Baig. Al-Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan is but a shell of its former self. Pakistan's opposition politicians, particularly from Benazir Bhutto's PPP, chastised Americans for failing to appreciate Musharraf's shortcomings. Both sides believe they have been sinned against. Great Expectations to
Greater Frustrations 139 Out of it all, Obama achieved a huge counterterror victory by killing Osama bin Laden and decimating al-Qaeda in Pakistan. So they each demand a policy review. These are very close to Jack Goldstone's five "pathways to state failure" in Jack A. 154. Jones, and Ziad Haider, eds., Escalation Control and the Nuclear Option in
Asia-wide plan would win more congressional support. Of greater import than Jinnah's view is the fact that Pakistan has evolved over time. American assistance programs were freighted with great fanfare and terrible followthrough. 10-12, 127, as well as James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, "Is China Planning a String of Pearls?" Diplomat, February
21, 2011, 21/is-china-planning-string-of-pearls/. The unanswered question is how China will use its newfound wealth and power, and in particular whether it will seek to uproot U.S. influence from Asia. Over the sweep of history since Pakistan's independence in 1947, senior American policymakers have experienced more frustrations than successes in
dealing with Pakistan. He served near Pakistan's border with Afghanistan as commander of the army's Peshawar-based XI Corps from 1985 to 1987. Over tea in Karamat's well-appointed sitting room, he explained that by the mid-1990s Khan had become a larger-than-life figure. But the Obama administration chose to push each of these limits. On the
series of leaks preceding Obama's West Point speech, starting with General McChrystal's report and including Ambassador Eikenberry's cables, see Laura Rozen, "The Eikenberry Memo and the Leak War: More Pushback against a Nudgey Pentagon?" Politico, November 12, 2009, leak_war_more_pushback_against_a_nudgey_Pentagon_.html; also
David E. The question is whether India, alone or in partnership with the United States, would be able to manage a similar feat, and at what price. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 15, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 15, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 15, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 15, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 16, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 17, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 18, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 18, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 18, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is in copyright. 19, pp. Markey Index More information is incopyright. 
Soviet Union policy under, 94-95 Red Mosque crisis, 130-131 reformist movement in Pakistan and, 70-71 U.S.-Pakistan relations and 172-178 as "emergent threat" to U.S., 18-22 Pakistan-Afghanistan relations and, 6-8, 18-22 reformist movement in Pakistan and, 70-71 U.S.-Pakistan relations and
16, 169-172, 197-199 U.S. vulnerability to, 9-10 Rehman, I. Pakistan's Borderlands: Implications for the Nation and for Afghan Policy," Century Foundation, 2010, s-implications-for-the-nation-and-for-afghan-
policy/pdf; C. Between 1975 and 1991, terrorism reduced net foreign direct investment in Spain by 13.5 percent annually and in Greece by 11.9 percent annually ann
Kapur, "India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia Is Not Like Cold War Europe," International Security, 30, no. Pakistanis who tend to support better relations with the United States would find themselves increasingly isolated. Our aid professionals go in, sometimes. Had Pakistan remained united, Bhutto's PPP would have had to
play second fiddle to the AL. In his written remarks, he suggested that Congress should not exacerbate "the 'trust deficit' that plagues our bilateral relationship. Just as the Cold War conflict manifested itself in South Asia in unexpected and profound ways, decisions in Beijing and Washington made without any particular concern for Pakistan could
affect 91 Analyst Harsh Pant lists these steps taken by India, and notes that "The decision on MMRCA [jet fighter deal] will only reinforce the perception in Washington that the much-touted strategic partnership between the US and India is more hype than substance." See Harsh V. "That could have been me," was the collective refrain. The first two
of Pakistan's three major wars with India centered on Kashmir, as did the Kargil conflict of 1999 and multiple other crises. Carlotta Gall, "Former Pakistani Officer Embodies a Policy Puzzle," New York Times, March 3, 2010, "New Delhi values its autonomy and is just ambitious enough to believe it can benefit from America's largesse without any
strings attached. Reforming a traditional society like Pakistan's has proven beyond the means of even some of the country's most powerful men. UTN's nuclear plotting with al-Qaeda never appears to have gotten past a very preliminary discussion, but it did worry the U.S. intelligence community. Liberals who had hoped for a brief military
expansion.125 He observed that Pakistan's media outlets provided an enormous megaphone to a new crop of untrained, often irresponsible, reporters and pundits. Some Indian strategists dismiss the threat. The U.S. ambassador to Pakistan, an affable career diplomat named Cameron Munter, was plunged into the deep end of the pool when he
showed up to Pakistan in October 2010, just months before the Raymond Davis affair broke. Only a strategy of comprehensive cooperation would be to invest in a variety of "portfolio managers" that would diversify the risk to USAID and take responsibility for making the
most of its money. Khan, "God Save the Country from Bad Governance," The News, August 15, 2011, . 48 No Exit from Pakistan the political balance in its favor - as it did for that same Nawaz Sharif in the early 1990s - the generals have done that too. There is an often unspoken fear in India that the extreme and violent ideas that have gained so
much traction in Pakistan could also win over a greater portion of India's Muslim community. But at the time of his peace dealings, Aurakzai claimed, by dint of his Pashtun ancestry, to understand the "mind-set" of the tribesmen.59 One afternoon in April 2007, Aurakzai held forth over a formal lunch at the head of an enormous banquet table set for
himself, me, and one other colleague. 689-716. During his first couple of years he faced U.S. criticism, but riding high on American post-9/11 support, he believed the time was ripe to cement his political authority. Over time, the United States also relied more heavily on new technologies, such as unmanned drones, to target and kill suspected
terrorists in remote locations inside Pakistan, Yemen, and elsewhere. His family members 93 94 Declan Walsh, "Pakistani Militant, Price on Head, Lives in Open," New York Times, February 6, 2013, . Together, he has joined forces with a dedicated team of clinicians motivated by a similar humanitarian and religious spirit. 20 They have built a world-
class institution that routinely hosts volunteer surgeons and specialists from some of the best hospitals around the world. And in a very general sense, at this stage of the game, it may not matter. But there can be no doubting that a strong, bipartisan pro-India consensus reigns in Washington today. Bhutto's return to Pakistan was driven by cold
political calculations. Each nation has pursued its interests, as it perceived them at the time. The United States came and went from South Asia, driven by what it thought was needed to contain Soviet power, not by any inherent interest in either India or Pakistan. An ideal next-generation drone would operate around the clock and beyond the range
(or detection) of Pakistan's air defenses. When 7 8 9 10 Worldwide Incidents Tracking System, National Counterterrorism Center, .nctc.gov on February 1, 2012. But a jilted Pakistan perceive a general shift away from traditional religious
practices, including those rooted in a tolerant Sufi mysticism, and toward either a Taliban-style view of Islam (particularly in the Pashtun areas of the country), known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudis, known as Deobandism, or a version of Sunni practice more in line with that of the Saudism, which is the Saudism of Saudi
actually rather modern phenomena, reactions to what their nineteenth-century founders considered heretical deviations from the original meaning and rites of Islamist schools for women. "Pakistan Taliban Bomb US Consulate
Convoy in Peshawar," BBC, May 20, 2011, .bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-13465910. On the other hand, if international terrorist groups take advantage of a U.S.Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning and training operations on Pakistan rift to expand their planning operations of the pakistan rift to expand their planning operations of the pakistan rift to expand their planning operations of the pakistan rift to expand their planning operations of the pakistan rift to expand the pak
assaults in cases where extracting intelligence was worth the potential of a military standoff with Pakistani forces. Holbrooke, "From Strategy to Implementation: The Future of the U.S.-Pakistan Relationship," U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, May 5, 2009, p. Pakistan's generals would at least have the option to demur if
China seeks to "Finlandize" their country. By mid-century, Pakistan will almost certainly join India, China, and the United States among the world's four most populous nations. Dulles's view prevailed. Our diplomats go in, sometimes. In September 2011, for instance, when Admiral Mullen was haranguing Pakistan for its ties to the Haqqani network,
other U.S. officials were appealing to Islamabad for help in opening a communication channel to Haqqani leaders.110 109 110 Hillary Rodham Clinton, "Remarks at the Launch of the Asia Society's Series of Richard C. General Jehangir Karamat, who had been Pakistan's army chief in the 1990s when Khan's proliferation ring was riding high, shared
the official army line on the very day that Musharraf pardoned Khan in February 2004. Nehruvian non-alignment is alive and well among a surprising number of Indian leaders, even though the Cold War is long past. So it is noteworthy that Pakistan's army now fights under the Arabic banner: "Iman, Taqwa, Jihad fi Sabilillah," or "Faith, Piety,
Struggle in the way of Allah," a pointedly Islamic formulation assumed in the late 1970s during the harsh military rule of General Zia-ulHaq. Yet there can be no doubt that Saeed, like a mafia godfather, still runs LeT even as he denies its very existence.93 In any event, JuD is now listed as a terrorist organization by the United Nations and the United
States. He spoke of the dire threat posed by the Taliban in Afghanistan and shared his hope that Pakistani military campaigns against the Pakistani military campaigns against agains
Strategic Studies, November 2012, research/Pakistan.pdf. Pakistan has had a difficult relationship with Afghanistan from the time of independence, owing to unresolved border disputes and the lurking fear that Pakistani Pashtuns might align with their ethnic compatriots to form a "greater Afghanistan." These suspicions would be more than enough
to raise hackles in Islamabad, but Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan; they worry that India might use its influence in Afghanistan to threaten Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan; they worry that India might use its influence in Afghanistan to threaten Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan; they worry that India might use its influence in Afghanistan to threaten Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan; they worry that India might use its influence in Afghanistan to threaten Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan; they worry that India might use its influence in Afghanistan to threaten Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan; they worry that India might use its influence in Afghanistan to threaten Pakistani officers also tend to see an Indian lurking behind every tree in Afghanistan to the second of the
did decades or even centuries ago. Henry A. The third strike was perhaps the most disappointing. By denying education and other basic opportunities to the people who work their fields, landlords maintain a grip on political and economic power. But these problems cannot negate the huge changes that have already taken 121 122 123 Maleeha Lodhi,
ed. Having been stopped by Lahore traffic police, Davis was detained, and after a few days of American fumbling - including a claim by the U.S. State Department spokesman Philip J. 70 No Exit from Pakistan The point of this story is not, as some would have it, that Pakistan's nuclear installations are easy targets for the terrorists. Better to recognize
that Pakistan would remain, at least for the foreseeable future, a rusty old Volvo. They would kill more Pakistani civilians. Even then, strikes were better if they remained relatively infrequent and inside specified territorial limits so as to limit the public perception that Pakistan's sovereignty (and the army's honor) was being violated. The United States
should begin by recognizing that Pakistan is not a lost cause. Some argue that Pakistan has sought to do just this, in part through its strategic arrests of various Afghan Taliban leaders like Mullah Baradar in February 2010. The point was taken, but grudgingly. See McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery, p. Rubin, The Search for Peace in
Afghanistan: From Buffer State to Failed State (New Haven: Yale, 1995), p. By revising its own trade policies, America may be able to assist here too, and all the more so if Washington enjoys good relations with both New Delhi and Islamabad. They cannot promise success, nor even offer a full guarantee against failure. Rehman observed in 2007,
more prone to destructive sensationalism than anything else? To answer this question, some proper perspective is required. At the staff level, we warned many administration officials, Karachi and Lahore, May 2012. From 2001 to
2005, they took the lead in shifting that relationship from estrangement to partially effective, if narrowly defined, cooperation. 33-4. Ever since 9/11, Pakistanis have complained to American officials that Indian spies have set up shop in as many as two-dozen "consulates" inside Afghanistan, from where they pay informants and undermine Pakistani
interests. It showed that managing democratic transitions is an exceedingly difficult, perhaps even impossible, business. The ties persist in part because the Afghan fighters are tough, battlehardened, and (in several important cases) capable of inflicting great pain on Pakistan if Islamabad actually decided to turn against them. Pakistan's jihadists, not
its reformers, would be best positioned to take advantage of the situation, given their greater ability to mobilize, access to illicit resources, and anti-Western ideology that would be energized by worsening relations with Washington. Rice, No Higher Honor, pp. As befitting someone who has worked in Pakistan as well as India, she often drapes bright
South Asian shawls over her well-tailored Western suits. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 143 relations with Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds of "Punjabi Taliban" fighters moved from Pakistan improve. Hundreds for the Pakistan improve fighters moved from Pakistan improve fighters moved from Pakistan improve fighters moved from Pakistan impr
little capable leadership - civilian or military - over the course of its independent history, and which lacked some of the basic building blocks for effective democratic rule? Many of these efforts would be smarter than channeling millions of dollars directly into the Pakistani government, where the money provides a budgetary cushion to politicians
unwilling to raise taxes or charge market rates for power and, at the same time, becomes invisible to Pakistani citizens who are already so deeply skeptical about the value of American partnership. All around, three-wheeled Chinese Qingqi scooters mingle with bicycles, donkey carts, cars, and brightly painted trucks and buses. By then, however, the
tide had turned against the Soviets. History also shows the essential continuity in American and Pakistani circles, where one political cartoon - an impressive photo-shopped image - put Bhutto and Musharraf in the traditional pose of a bride and groom. To read Tom
Friedman's adoring descriptions of India in the New York Times, you might expect that India's high-tech city of Bangalore really has achieved a level of development to rival Boston, or that Chennai can be compared to Chengdu and Chicago. Could Washington overcome its reluctance and again adopt a "Chinese-style" working relationship with
Pakistan? Declan Walsh, "Deadly Kabul Bomb Targets Indian Embassy," The Guardian, October 8, 2009, . Pakistan's complexity also makes it especially resistant to any single strategy, not to mention that it suffers from never-ending crises that can make long-term plans and investments feel like an exercise in futility. A new, comprehensive history of
the Pakistani nuclear program takes this quote for its title: Feroz Hassan Khan, Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012). And despite extensive diplomacy, public outreach, and tens of billions of dollars in aid, the United States never managed to forge friendly, constructive relationships with
Pakistan's people, government, or military. And Washington, fearing the downfall of its Pakistani partners, especially those in the military, grudgingly stuck with them even when they lacked popular legitimacy. Too many Americans and their allies have already died in Afghanistan. Pakistani's internal troubles have already threatened U.S. security and
international peace, and Pakistan's rapidly growing population, nuclear arsenal, and relationships with China and India will continue to force it upon America's geostrategic map in new and important ways over the coming decades. They see that Hashmi is breaking down gender barriers to Islamic scholarship and leadership. Krasner seemed
genuinely curious to hear Musharraf's thoughts on democracy in Pakistan but cautious not to ruffle any feathers. Inskeep, Instant City, p. On "limited access orders," see Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty (New York: Crown, 2012). Unlike Dulles, who viewed Pakistan as a steadfast
ally, Kennedy viewed Pakistan as irresponsible and prone to adventurism, while Johnson became increasingly frustrated by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's anti-imperialist rhetoric, particularly as the United States sank into the morass of Vietnam. By the end of 2011, that number had grown to 7,000, accounting for over 30 percent of all Defense Department
aircraft.51 Only a very tiny percentage of those are the large, ungainly sort I first saw in Palmdale. The Bush administration chose a military-first strategy for most of its term and would have stayed the course if not for unexpected political changes wrought by Pakistanis themselves. Holbrooke Memorial Addresses," New York, February 18, 2011,
secretary/rm/2011/02/156815.htm. As U.S.-Pakistan relations cratered in 2011 and 2012, Chinese diplomats repeatedly warned Pakistani leaders that they needed to patch things up, specifically because Beijing had no interest in finding itself embroiled in a dispute with Washington. Yet, HuT also distinguishes itself from Pakistani's other Islamist
parties by refusing to participate in democratic politics. How else can we respond but through jihad?" He went on to add, "Suicide missions are in accordance with Islam. For recent examples of this curriculum, see Pamela Constable, Playing with Fire (New York: Random House, 2011), p. The bill was notable in comparison to the Bush
administration's aid package, which had offered equal parts civilian and military assistance and later sent billions of dollars more to the Pakistani military. Maajid Nawaz is a major source for information about HuT activities. Beschloss, The Crisis Years (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), p. He argues that the roots of Pakistani's present instability are
to be found in its "feudal political establishment." 137 Far from seeing the status quo as a source of stability, as Lieven would have it, Schmidt stresses that the ineptitude, warped outlook, and corruption inherent in Pakistan's 135 136 137 There is growing literature on Pakistan's possible futures. 249-51. In all, the affair demonstrated the enormous
chasm that had opened between Washington and Islamabad. In order to elude U.S. forces, Pakistan's warheads would be moved from well-defended but easily identifiable facilities to unmarked, lightly fortified mobile vehicles. In today's Pakistan, the news will probably get out, one way or another. One possible response to the competing pressures to
end cooperation and, at the same time, to recognize the persistence of Pakistan-based threats, would be to implement a strategy of "defensive insulation." Simply put, the United States would seek to protect itself from Pakistan's terrorists, nuclear weapons, and other possible dangers by erecting new layers of military, diplomatic, economic, and other
barriers around the Pakistani state. That conversation was confirmed by Musharraf's subsequent statement to the press. Faced with multiple concerns, there is a natural temptation to reduce the challenge of Pakistan to a single issue, to seek a bottom line about what matters to the United States most of all. However, all is not lost. And Washington
had many more policy tools - military, civilian, and economic - inside Afghanistan, which offered both the prospect for greater influence and the need for g
initial post9/11 deal with Musharraf's Pakistan became an increasingly rickety foundation upon which to build America's regional strategy. Together, these impulses led the 71 72 73 74 Somini Sengupta and Salman Masood, "Battle at Pakistani Mosque Ends," New York Times, July 11, 2007, . Its long-term costs would be high, even if the savings from
cuts to U.S. assistance in Pakistan might appear significant at the outset. 14 No Exit from Pakistan be more effective and less likely to spark a violent revolt. Once, on a trip to Quetta, the capital of Pakistan be more effective and less likely to spark a violent revolt.
earlier were still called the derogatory "settlers" by the ethnic Baloch and Pashtuns. Most worrisome, it increases the chance that the guardians of Pakistani national security, including those within their own ranks. From an American perspective, such a shift would have improved
prospects for resolving the war in Afghanistan and, simultaneously, would have set Pakistan on a path to greater stability over the long haul. This strategy did not produce convincing results, and as such NATO gradually took on a more prominent leadership role. Pakistan's Vulnerability Pakistanis, who crave a respite from the exhausting trials of
America's post9/11 campaign against terrorism, find themselves trapped in a humiliating position of dependence upon the United States. Pakistan's civilians passed an important milestone in democratic political development simply by serving out a full five-year term and conducting a second set of national elections in May 2013.6 Yet with respect to
tangible accomplishments - economic growth, law and order, or administrative services - the vast majority of Pakistanis still found their elected leadership wanting. In 1979, the U.S. embassy in Islamabad was nearly overrun by radical student protesters while the Zia regime stood idly by. There, for instance, terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and
its humanitarian wing, Iamaat-ud-Dawa, have won sympathy and new recruits both for their hard-line ideology as well as their Hamas-like outreach efforts through schools and clinics, 200 Downloaded from Prevarication by the government and the army allowed the Red Mosgue movement to grow. See Talbot. Pakistan: A Modern History, p. 166 No
Exit from Pakistan In February 2011, when U.S. forces were at their peak numbers in Afghanistan, Secretary of State Clinton used a speech at the Asia Society in New York to explain the decision to talk with the Taliban. Asif Ali Zardari, Benazir Bhutto's widower and inheritor of the dynastic PPP, quickly replaced Musharraf, who then left the country
for several years of self-imposed exile in London. Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Is Deferring Millions in Pakistani Military Aid," New York Times, July 9, 2011, . Traditional tools of law enforcement and intelligence collection would 5 6 On Faisal Shahzad, see James Barron and Michael S. In addition, the more Pakistan assumes a role similar to
that of North Korea - as an insecure, nuclear-armed Chinese proteg 'e' - the more it is likely to represent another flashpoint for crisis between Washington and Beijing. By contrast, Pakistan was an afterthought. Pakistan - Politics and government. In the famous photograph that depicts President Obama and his team in the White House situation
room staring in rapt attention, they may have been watching a Sentinel's live video feed.55 Earlier eras had their revolutionary military innovations, often tied to new technologies are altering the conduct of war in fundamental ways.57 They pose new
strategic, legal, and ethical dilemmas.58 The drone has already transformed America's counterterror campaign. 33. Why, that official asked, compound the costs of the Afghan war by allowing its endgame to drive the wedge even deeper between the United States and Pakistan?8 This argument has merit. With effort, its troops could clear and occupy
territory, but holding the land against a resilient enemy and then turning authority over to civilian administrators was beyond their means. Markey Frontmatter More information © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured
Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Although Mullen had made similar remarks to the Pakistani media months earlier, the formal Capitol Hill testimony carried 1 2 3 Thanks to K. Americans must recall that these are issues over which both Indians and Pakistanis have been willing to fight and die for decades. Compromise and trade-offs are
unwelcome concepts for a superpower, especially in dealings with a country that is so relatively poor and weak. Public skepticism was already on the rise. No Exit 7 of fear and conspiracy. By that point, Davis was nowhere in sight, so the Land Cruiser raced to the U.S. consulate. To be sure, this is much more easily said than done. However, even well-
intentioned Pakistani reformers will face enormous obstacles and could use a helping hand. Gary Berntsen and Ralph Pezzullo, Jawbreaker (New York: Crown, 2005). vii. In the second camp in the debate is John Schmidt, who served as the U.S. political counselor in Islamabad from 1998 to 2001. Yet in the midst of this bloodshed, there was also an
undeniable euphoria in Pakistan about the political change that had forced Musharraf to step down and returned civilian leaders to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political
sense as citizens of the State.76 74 75 76 Anatol Lieven, "Understanding Pakistan's Military," OpenDemocracy.Net, August 9, 2010, E2%80%99s-military. Even in 2012, thirty-two U-2s armed with a suite of technological upgrades remained in active use by the U.S. military.50 On another tour stop, a retired Air Force pilot led us through the nearby
Northrop Grumman facility. U.S. influence in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during Musharraf's tenure, 37 38 39 Eric Schmitt and Jane Perlez, "U.S. Unit Secretly in Pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as strong as it was during the pakistan may never again be as a strong as a s
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identify a similar list of Chinese priorities in "How China Sees America," pp. For more on this highly contested episode, see "Memo Offered to Revamp Pakistan's Security Policy," Dawn, November 18, 2011, 19/memo-offered-to-revamp-pakistans-security-policy," Mansoor Ijaz, "An Insider Analysis of Pakistan's 'Memogate'" The Daily Beast, December
5, 2011, newsweek/2011/12/04/an-insider-analysis-of-pakistan-s-memogate.html. They always preferred concessions to confrontation and distanced themselves from the alliance with Washington. Can the media improve the quality of political debate, or will it remain the raucous and irresponsible force that I. John Foster Dulles, "Policy for Security and
Peace," Foreign Affairs, 32, no. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 165 Firm timelines reflected the White House's desire to avoid an open-ended expansion of a decade-long war. A decade after 9/11, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship also has very few fans left in Washington. He says he will contain terrorists and militants but they keep
regrouping under different names.44 Over the same period, Husain Haggani, the politician-turned-scholar who would later return to politics as Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous, long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous are long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous are long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous are long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous are long-standing nexus between Pakistan's ambassador in 2008, warned about the dangerous are long-standing nexus between Pakistan nexus between nexus between Pakistan nexus between Pakistan nexus between Pakistan nexus between Pakistan nexus between nexus
extremism or be able to mobilize public support to its cause. A good working relationship with Pakistan's generals has also proven invaluable in times of crisis. 40 The Indo-Pakistani relationship with Pakistan's generals has also proven invaluable in times of crisis. 40 The Indo-Pakistani relationship with Pakistani relationship with P
debates, see Matthew Kroenig, Exporting the Bomb, pp. There were many sticking points. Then again, before the relationship took a nosedive in 2011, U.S. inducements did yield incremental, constructive changes in Pakistani policies. They were right; there is a big difference between igniting a popular movement and governing a nation, as so many
revolutionaries have learned throughout history. Intelligence sharing would cease, and it would be an easy military matter (if not a simple choice) for Islamabad to close its airspace to the slow-moving, low-flying U.S. drones. See Madiha R. In enormous tents on the White House lawn, he and the first lady hosted a starstudded state dinner for the
visiting Indian prime minister, the first such dinner of his presidency. America's fascination with India is founded on the expectation that the world's largest democracy is on its way to becoming a major global power. For more, see Michael W. 3, 10-11, file rural support.pdf. Washington could have stressed diplomacy and cooperative operations over
drone strikes and unilateral Special Forces missions. Washington's ability to threaten coercive military action throughout the region will diminish with the withdrawal of America's heavy military presence from Pakistan's backyard. Pragmatism, Not Fatalism Although even the best-laid U.S. plans could well fail, Americans should not be too quick to
run from realistic self-criticism into paralyzing self-doubt. Washington's tendency to be driven by crisis and short-term or narrowly conceived interests is a theme that plays out again and again through Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Pervez Musharraf, In the Line of Fire: A Memoir (New York: Free Press, 2006), p. Pakistani military briefers have also tended to
characterize the Afghan government of President Karzai as irredeemably pro-Indian. So it is very easy to imagine Pakistanis hearing - or believing they heard - the same thing, under the circumstances. 16 And what circumstances they were. Through multiple channels, 9 10 11 12 On the general Cold War strategy of establishing regional groupings to
resist Soviet aggression and Pakistan's place in that approach, see James Spain, "Military Assistance for Pakistan," American Political Science Review, 48, no. Their success has won national attention. In liberal circles there is a nostalgic sense that he might have used that authority to cement the primacy of civilian rule and
representative democracy once and for all. 277. Whenever the 1 2 Long time South Asia hands Teresita and Howard Schaffer use the evocative metaphor of marriages and divorces in describing the ups and downs of the relationship. But the fact remained that neither the Pakistani government nor local contractors and NGOs were prepared to manage
new flows of American money or implement big programs overnight. When it came down to the practical business of delivering aid to real people and projects, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) was ill-prepared to design and implement a program of such magnitude. Lindsay, who fulfilled the dream of every author: he freed me
to research, think, and write, then offered candid, constructive criticism of every chapter along the way. The CIA shared its video of the attack with journalists.85 Some top Pakistani officials (including the retired Musharraf) stopped complaining
 about the drones per se and shifted their attention to the question of how Pakistan's military could get its own hands on armed drones.86 Even so, opposition leaders, including the increasingly popular cricket starturned-politician Imran Khan, drew large crowds to anti-drone protests. America's Options 231 businesses. Faced with multiple continuous
challenges, Washington focused on counterterrorism. By some accounts, Ayub finally acceded to Washington's demand that Bhutto be ditched in the aftermath of the 1965 war with India.24 The Pakistanis started that war in an attempt to seize the contested territory of Kashmir. In the Clinton administration, she served a contentious term as the
assistant secretary of state for the department's newly minted Bureau of South Asian Affairs. Its origins date to the earliest phase of cooperation between the United States and Pakistan's army-dominated state. On the whole, the Bush administration viewed the episode as regrettable, but not one that should force a serious reconsideration of
Washington's Musharraf-centric strategy. Let there be no mistake, however, Pakistanis do not hate America simply because the United States has sinned against them. Hundreds of green, red, and white PTI flags waved above the sea of humanity, framed by mammoth campaign posters and a towering stage for the party leadership and performers.
The new Bush administration had no particular interest in picking a fight with China. President Obama held fast to the goal he outlined in March 2009 after his first review of U.S. strategy in Afghanistan and Pakistan: "to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al-Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan and Fakistan and Fakistan and Pakistan: "to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al-Qaeda in Pakistan and Fakistan and Fakist
For this job, as then-CIA Director Leon Panetta put it in May 2009, unmanned aerial vehicles, or drones, were "the only game in town." 49 In the spring of 2001, I visited Palmdale, California, near Edwards Air Force Base. Few come as close to that ideal as the Washington, D.C., office of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). o=t-press
release &id=1721. The Musharraf regime finally prevailed upon the United Arab Emirates to shutter the last two broadcasters that had until then escaped Islamabad's reach. Annual conferences at Muridke attracted as many as 1 million attendees by the late 1990s.95 After studying Islam and Arabic at the University of Punjab, Saeed moved to Riyadh
in the mid-1970s, where he expanded his connections with a range of renowned Salafist scholars. He claims it was a hoax. That offensive was part of a broader campaign in Pakistan's tribal areas bordering the Afghan province of Kunar. By 2007, militants of various stripes had consolidated power in many parts of Pakistan's tribal belt and established
new footholds in Pakistan's major cities. Since American anger over the war in Afghanistan makes it so difficult for Washington to deal with Islamabad, the relevant question is whether the United States will be better positioned to advance its long-term goals in Pakistan while U.S. forces are still heavily engaged in the Afghan war or after they depart.
Without that expanded authority, it would have been impossible to ramp up the drone program. 11 12 For the full text of the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act, see pkg/BILLS-111s1707enr.pdf. Indeed, even leaving aside the acrimony between the United States and Pakistan born of the war in Afghanistan and the hunt
for international terrorists, China's rising power - and the increasing significance of the Asia-Pacific region as a whole - will naturally draw Washington's attention away from Pakistan and toward traditional Asian allies like Japan, Korea, and Australia. The joy of spending time with family and close friends provides the greatest incentive to heed her
 advice. If we start a modest programme, we are the satans, the devils.62 There can be no doubting that Khan saw himself as a Pakistani patriot. Author conversations with House and Senate staffers, January 19-20, 2012. On many other occasions, however, insecurity has led Pakistan to take Downloaded from . The post-9/11 era has proven no
different. He then clamped down on opposition and the media by imposing a state of emergency. The global competition with Moscow influenced how Washington assessed the strategic importance of South Asia. Musharraf failed to capitalize on the opportunity for change. They send their kids – at considerable cost – to private institutions.22 Starting
in the early 1980s, tens of thousands of private schools opened their 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 Easterly, "The Political Economy of Growth without Development." "Education Emergency Pakistan," Pakistan Education Emergency Pakistan, "Pakistan Education Emergency Pakistan, "Pakistan Edu
spots in relations between Washington and Islamabad was unanticipated and came at a time of terrible Pakistani suffering. Of course, such a doctrine of convenience always comes at a cost. 72 Downloaded from . 186. In addition, Washington would need to expand missile 23 24 Security Administration, September 2010,
proliferation/programoffices/internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionandcooperation/-5. See Husain Haqqani, Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for Internationalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotectionalmaterialprotecti
minister for most of two decades after independence, and the architect of India's "non-alignment" stance in the Cold War. But for the time being, Beijing clearly wishes to accomplish these ends without sacrificing regional stability, finding itself at odds with Washington on yet another issue, or forfeiting a peaceful, lucrative trading relationship with
India. In short, Pakistan is vulnerable. Over time, however, Pakistan's domestic debate over drones grew more complicated. Ever since Pakistan gained independence from British India in 1947, Washington has viewed the country as a means to other ends, whether that meant fighting communism or terrorism. At the same time, it bears noting that the
United States has already made lasting contributions to Pakistan's economy, infrastructure, security, and quality of life, a fact that is too rarely appreciated by Pakistanis or Americans. Publicly, Washington accepted his cooperation in shutting down and investigating Khan's activities as a sign of good faith. Liberals argue that the nation's founder
sought to protect the rights of all Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter; like A. Pakistani citizens, regardless of religious creed. No matter citizens are regardless of religious creed.
development worker and former civil servant, Shoaib Sultan Khan, to try out a new model of community organization in the desperately poor region. Yet at the end of the Obama administration's first term, when senior officials drafted a formal guide, or "playbook," to establish clearer rules for using lethal drones, the program in Pakistan was
specifically exempted.97 The president and his top advisers were yet not convinced of the need to rebalance their priorities in Pakistan. Pakistan of those who lived the history, it usually felt more like a series of barely manageable
crises separated by brief periods of deceptive calm. Vicious attacks against external enemies, humanitarian service at home, and favor from Islamabad could permit LeT or a successor organization to take jihadist 103 104 105 "JuD Holds Prayers for Osama in Lahore, Karachi," The News, May 4, 2011; Patrick Quinn, "Kerry: US-Pakistan Alliance at
 'Critical Moment,'" Associated Press, May 15, 2011, . In the band's video, the three young musicians are dressed as rebellious schoolboys who start by complaining about the lunches packed by their mothers - potato and egg curry - but quickly turn their ire to more controversial subjects. The bureaucratic trench warfare left some bruised egos but
demolished the obstacles that had stymied cooperation in missile defense, space, and high technology for decades. Headley also scoped out other sites in India and Europe for possible attacks. 8 It is not hard to imagine a future in which LeT or a significant faction of the organization decides to strike the United States directly. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal
Cheema, and Stephen P. And third, the civilian government was forced to retract its public offer to send General Ahmed Shuja Pasha, head of the ISI, to India in the wake of the 26/11 Mumbai attacks when the Pakistani military objected (Jane Perlez and Salman Masood, "Pakistanis Deny Any Role in Attacks," New York Times, November 29, 2008
 asia/30pstan.html). No Exit from Pakistan 40 personnel, in the world.44 Even though Taliban-affiliated insurgents have plagued the nation's western frontier, the overwhelming bulk of Pakistan's military was trained, positioned, and equipped to fight India. The problem was that the PML-Q, populated by the nation's traditional political elite, never had
any serious plan to deviate from the status quo. Fiercely committed to their cause, and backed by the president, these advocates paved the way for even bigger breakthroughs with India during Bush's second term. Indians speak hundreds of languages.77 Despite India's rapid economic growth and the considerable wealth amassed by many of its
people, 300 million Indians still live on less than a dollar a day. Washington's first concern when dealing with Islamabad remains the vulnerability of the American people to threats based on Pakistani soil. After Pakist
over the rump state in the west. A1; James Barron and Sabrina Tavernise, "Money Woes, Long Silences and a Zeal for Islam," New York Times, May 5, 2010, p. For an assessment of what it will mean for China's economy to surpass that of the United States, see Arvind Subramanian, Eclipse (Washington: Peterson Institute for International Economics
2011). Barnes and Mark Magnier, "Gates Increases Pressure on Pakistan," Los Angeles Times, January 21, 2010, 21-2010jan21. But 53 54 55 Ashley Tellis, "South Asian Seesaw: A New U.S. Policy on the Subcontinent," Policy Brief No. 38, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2006, .org/files/PB38.pdf. 92 No Exit from Pakistan Both the
Bush and Obama administrations tried, without success, to overcome Pakistan's powerful abandonment narrative. Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, "Washington's Phantom War," Foreign Affairs (July/August 2011), p. A fast growing economy would create opportunities for Pakistan's massive young population and dim at least some of the
appeal of extremism and violence. For more on Mohenjo-daro, see Alice Albinia, Empires of the Indus: The Story of a River (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010). In the end, however, Pakistan's course was set and maintained by its own leaders. For decades, China and Pakistan have also been united in their desire to cut India down to size. Why? These
musicians were not merely looking to sell a few million more albums or promote their latest releases; they were associating their own heartfelt idealism with Khan's party. Such was the frightening judgment of a U.S. National Intelligence Estimate releases that summer, in which the U.S. intelligence community concluded that al-Qaeda "has protected
or regenerated key elements of its Homeland attack capability, including: a safe haven in the Pakistan Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), operational lieutenants, and its top leadership."39 A Musharraf-Centric Strategy Washington might have been captivated by Iraq, but there were regular reminders of how dangerous the situation in
Pakistan could be. As it happened, things would get even better for Saeed's fledgling organization that formally gave birth to LeT in 1990. Although in some sectors like pharmaceuticals 61 62 63 64 For more on enterprise funds, see 2364342. For an excellent study of the rise of sectarianism in Pakistan, see Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "Sectarianism
in Pakistan: The Radicalization of Shi'i and Sunni Identities," Modern Asian Studies, 32, no. Author interview, Rawalpindi, May 16, 2012. By 2005, arguments like these began to resonate, if faintly, in Washington. These patterns need not be repeated. They deserve even more credit for pulling out all the stops to bring that goal to fruition. 9. Other
biographers stress that whatever Zia's background, he was politically gifted, coldly calculating, and more than a little lucky.84 Either way, Zia could hardly have been more different from Bhutto. Although Mohajirs played a prominent role in Pakistan's early establishment, they have since been displaced.4 Throughout Pakistan's history, ethnic
tensions - and, at the extremes, Pashtun and Baloch separatist movements - have posed significant challenges to Pakistani unity. The first would be a return to the sorts of dealings that Washington had with General Musharraf in the early post-9/11 period. Religious cleavages ran through Pakistan just as they distinguished Zia from Bhutto. The fact
that global troop solicitations occupied a good part of America's diplomatic agenda provides an accurate reflection of Washington's priorities during that period. Perhaps no realistic American investment would ever have been sufficient. Change was very much in the air. 23-4, . Despite its huge human costs, the Pakistani public backed the campaign
Indeed, in 2012, when an impressive group of Indian strategists with ties to the government released a report with recommendations for foreign policy, it was titled "Nonalignment 2.0."86 When asked to explain the title choice, one of the report's authors said it was primarily intended to appeal to the Indian audience, for whom it would conjure up a
familiar tradition of thought about India's role in the world.87 Perhaps there was some value in that, but the title also recalled some of the very worst periods of Cold War interaction between the United States and India. According to his family, he was a Sunni. Author conversations with Pakistani officials and commentators, Islamabad, Pakistan,
October 2009. The potential is real because in a way it has already happened. The sad truth was that Pakistan lacked a sustainable counterinsurgency option. This challenge is magnified and complicated by the fact that Pakistan's own state has a long history of supporting some of country's most sophisticated terrorist groups, envisioning them as
proxy forces that advance Pakistan's interests in a hostile region. Total trade between the United States and India in 2011 was about $74 billion. In effect, they championed a "civilian-first" approach to Pakistan. 75 there were good reasons from the start to fear that
the fit was not a good one.9 Dulles believed that Pakistan, along with other states of the "Northern tier" - Turkey, Iran, and Iraq - could be pulled together to defend a fraying Middle East and its essential oil fields from Soviet invasion. Pakistanis often talk of American swings from alliance to abandonment.1 If the post-9/11 period of cooperation runs
its course and ends in estrangement or conflict, it would only reinforce that longstanding pattern and lend credence to the idea that Washington and Islamabad are incapable of building a lasting foundation for any sort of mutually beneficial relationship. As Powell explained in a November 5, 2001, memo to President Bush, "Musharraf's decision to
fully cooperate with the US in the wake of 9/11, at considerable political risk, abruptly turned our stalled relationship around."19 Powell clearly believed that to push Musharraf too hard or too fast might send him over the edge. 182 No Exit from Pakistan the intractable Indo-Pakistani conflict. To think seriously about a U.S. strategy for Pakistan, we
need to know how close (or far) it is to the abyss of failure, nuclear nightmare, or revolution; how to assess its potential for reform and growth; and how to anticipate the interests and ambitions of its people. YEMEN Rub' al Khali OMAN Karachi O CE A N Se a Quetta us Ka ra ko ru Mumbai Rajkot Ahmedabad Hyderabad ar Multan Faisalabad Indore
Pune Agra t e r Delhi Jaipur es H Amritsar Ludhiana Surat D Lahore m Srinagar Islamabad Peshawar Rawalpindi PAKISTAN Ar abi an IND IA N Muscat Gulf of Oman Bandar Abbas Kerman Kandahar d AFGHANISTAN Herat u Kush H i n d Kabul N rs mi Pa Kashgar KYRGYZSTAN Dushanbe TAJIKISTA Tashkent UZBEKISTAN Samarkand 0 Gang
Meerut i Aksai Chin Nagpur Hyderabad I N D I A Bhopal a 250 250 500 a Patna Vishakhapatnam Cuttack y Kolkata Katmandu Varanasi NEPAL l of a Bengal Bay of Chittagong Dhaka BANGLADESH Guwahati Thimphu s Lhasa BHUTAN tra mapu Brah Tibet Plateau C H I N A 1000 km 500 miles 750 i n s n t a M o u Lucknow Allahabad Kanpur m K u n
u n Khotan Takla Makan Desert 0 s nge Ga ARABIA QATAR Doha Dubai Abu Dhabi UNITED ARAB EMIRATES BAHRAIN Al Manamah Shiraz Plateau of Ir an I R A N Esfahan Sistan Desert Ashkhabad Yazd Z Kara Kum ME Desert NIS TA N Mashhad Tehran TUR K Hamadan Abadan Kuwait SAUDI Riyadh KUWAIT Basra Baghdad I RAQ Rasht
AZERBAIJAN He lm an Tabriz If Gu I nd n sia Per G s tain Th ou n at M ros ag es re TURKEY Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Nevertheless, some administration officials feared a major Pakistani public backlash would be sparked by an expanded drone
campaign. Both sides have turned their efforts to finding ways short of nuclear war to punish each other.62 At times, minor conflicts have come close to spiraling out of control and provoking precisely the sort of war that nuclear weapons are supposed to deter in the first place. But equally he was nearly always asked whether in the days after 9/11 he
had really told Pakistani officials - as reported in Musharraf's memoirs - that America would bomb Pakistan "back to the Stone Age" if Washington did not get full and immediate cooperation with Pakistan offers the greatest diplomatic opportunity to
support and encourage improved IndoPakistani ties, clearly the best way to stabilize Pakistan's economy and society over the long run. First was Musharraf's confrontation with the chief justice of Pakistan's economy and society over the long run. First was Musharraf's confrontation with the chief justice of Pakistan's economy and society over the long run. First was Musharraf's confrontation with the chief justice of Pakistan's economy and society over the long run. First was Musharraf's confrontation with the chief justice of Pakistan's economy and society over the long run.
was born in Pakistan in 1957 but did her doctoral work at the University of Glasgow. Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," Foreign Policy (November 2011). After President Musharraf joined Washington against al-Qaeda, LeT had to play a more sophisticated game. In their eyes, U.S. policy has left behind a trail of extremism, militancy, and
political repression. Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," International Security, 34, no. Unfortunately, there is no perfect path for America's broader economic, political, and strategic interests in Pakistan's neighborhood are less urgent than terrorism and less vital
 than nuclear weapons. He told his advisers, "You've got to understand it, and so does everybody else around here. Either way, Lodhi concludes that it would be a mistake to minimize their power or overlook their potential to improve the quality of Pakistan's government and pave the way to a brighter future. The assembled masses included rich and
poor, men, women, and children. Televised images from the mosque, where at least sixty jihadists, and possibly many more, were killed, did little to unite the country behind its president.73 To the contrary, the affair inspired Pakistan's Islamist militants to turn their fire against the state in a sustained rash of suicide attacks and other violence that
engulfed the country. U.S. policymakers knew this, but they also believed that the Indo-Pakistani military balance would remain firmly in India's favor with or without the F-16 delivery.51 By opening the door to these sales, Washington was trying to send a political signal to Pakistanis of its commitment to longterm cooperation. The 1965 Indo-
Pakistani war featured some of the largest tank battles since the Second World War.51 Senior military officers on both sides of the border do not think about another war as a theoretical exercise or expect it to be a trifling affair. President Obama clearly put counterterrorism first. To add another layer to this challenge, it is clear that the United States
cannot achieve its ends in Pakistan through a strategy of pure cooperation or pure coercion. First publication is available from the British Library. As an exasperated senior military officer at the U.S. embassy in Islamabad once told me, referring not to Davis but to the
general state of affairs in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, "You can't make this kind of shit up." 1 For the best overview of the Raymond Davis episode, see Mark Mazzetti, Ashley Parker, Jane Perlez and Eric Schmitt, "American Held in Pakistan Worked with C.I.A.," New York Times, February 21, 2011, Numerous terrorists have escaped missile strikes
because they traveled with women or children or because they found refuge inside a mosque and the trigger-pullers decided to hold off.96 Only members of the intelligence community, armed with a keen appreciation for the value of killing a specific target as well as relevant political input from someone like the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad, could
possibly attempt such a tactical calculation. The Four Faces of Pakistan 59 that Pakistan had not seen such a large rally for decades. Gingerly, and reflecting his own academic background, he asked how the president understood the role of "checks and balances," a core principle enshrined in the U.S. Constitution, in the Pakistani context. For a
detailed look at Pakistan's ethnic groups, see Chapter 6 of Cohen, Idea of Pakistan, pp. In short, the United States would shift from a geographically contained drone campaign operating against Pakistani wishes. 16 The gloves could come off, on both sides. 125;
 Islamists versus the "West." In 2006, a provincial politician explained his reasons for a new law that would have imposed something just short of a Taliban-style "vice and virtue" ministry in the province. On arriving at his office, I could see immediately that he was no bearded extremist, spouting conspiracy theories and dogma. And that means there
 is truly no exit; they are stuck "for ever, and ever, an
 American manufacturers to supply fighter jets in a mega-deal that would have amounted to well over $10 billion; abstained from the UN vote authorizing military action in Libya; and watered down UN language criticizing Syria.91 "Strategic autonomy" is more than warmed-over non-alignment for the twenty-first century. De-hyphenation has its
limits. The United States has implemented hard-edged strategies toward other states like Syria for decades without lapsing into war. Courts, police, and other authorities were impossibly corrupt or missing in action. Newer models can now do much more than watch from above; they now hunt to kill. 62 63 64 Ashley J. "Mohajirs," derived from the
defining features of Washington's post-9/11 relationship with Musharraf. U.S. relations with relatively liberal Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods in Pakistanis (like the renowned lawyer Aitzaz Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods (like the renowned lawyer Attached Lawyer Ahsan) have also suffered as a consequence of the periods (like the renowned l
birthing process; from the country's national identity as a Muslim (read: not Hindu) state; from the Indo-Pakistani wars of 1947, 1965, and 1971; and from continuing territorial disputes, most notably over Kashmir. The real turning point came as his regime faltered and he tried to turn off the media as a means to silence his critics. 605-12, esp
Sometimes, it is difficult to understand what could possibly motivate the passion and dedication these individuals bring to their cause, especially when the glimmer of hope seems so faint and far away. There on a hot, 52 For an example of other efforts in the healthcare sector, see the Aman Foundation, http:// amanfoundation.org/v2/wp-
content/uploads/Aman%20Foundation%20-%20Corporate% 20Profile.pdf; in low-income housing, see Saiban, saiban.html; in education, see The Citizens Foundation for Washington would be to attempt another round of comprehensive
cooperation with Pakistan. No Exit from Pakistan 80 vehicle to advance his own power. Khan also attempted deals with South Africa and Iraq. 281-7. Most are much smaller. Rather than stemming the flow of Taliban fighters into Afghanistan - as the Pakistanis first promised Washington - it only magnified the problem. All of these traits made him
look less threatening when Bhutto promoted him to army chief of staff.83 But those same characteristics probably also prepared him for the rigors of leadership. 204 No Exit from Pakistan For these reasons, the United States had, and continues to have, every reason to avoid a scenario in which the Afghan war becomes a stumbling block to working
with Pakistan on other important fronts. As has been the case for decades, they suffered in silence, with little effect on the country's politics. The Megaports Initiative, run through the National Nuclear Security Administration, aims to imagine to ima
that Islamabad might play to public sentiment and reject U.S. partnership and assistance programs altogether, following the example set in May 2011 by Shahbaz Sharif, chief minister of Punjab and brother of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, chief minister of Punjab and brother of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, chief minister of Punjab and brother of Punjab 
 escape from Pakistan and its troubles. Baig's early experiences with the United States were mainly positive ones. Even if Pakistan's western border regions had a great deal in common with Afghanistan, the vast majority of the Pakistan's western border regions had a great deal in common with Afghan neighbor, and with good reason. Any move by
Washington to help one side was understood, rightly or not, as a tilt away from the other. United States - Foreign relations - Pakistan. Zia Khan, "Agencies Struggle to Dismantle Hizb ut-Tahrir Network," Express Tribune, August 8, 2011, . The U.S. refusal in the early 1990s to deliver planes that Pakistan had purchased was, fifteen years later, still
considered a lingering diplomatic headache. 331-52. 66 No Exit from Pakistan will add a population equivalent to the size of today's Iran. It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence. From the Outside-In 171 the
paramilitary frontier forces in the imposing Bala Hisar fortress overlooks the city with a colonial stare. 96. Even under the best of circumstances, however, the problem of Pakistan-based terrorism is likely to linger for years, possibly decades, to come. Author's conversation, Washington, DC, January 29, 2009. Yet in his search for continuity, Lieven
 underestimates the ways in which the inherent corruption of Pakistan's establishment makes it vulnerable. Whereas U.S.-Soviet conflict structured U.S. policies in South Asia from the 1940s through the 1980s, the U.S.-China relationship is likely to dominate Washington's worldview of the future. Tahir, "I'll Be Your Mirror," The Caravan, January 1,
2012, E2%80%99ll-be-your-mirror; Steve Coll, "Sporting Chance," The New Yorker, August 13, 2012, 2012/08/13/120813fa fact coll; Pankaj Mishra, "Imran Khan Must Be Doing Something Right," New York Times Magazine, August 16, 2012, magazine/pakistans-imran-khan-must-be-doing-something-right.html. In Washington, Pakistan received more
attention from more senior policymakers than ever before. For Brzezinski, circumstances required the United States to set aside concerns about Pakistan's nuclear program, at least temporarily.77 This about-face by the Carter team was not enough to get back into General Zia's good graces. The TTP is hardly the only al-Qaeda affiliate inside Pakistan
with the intent, if not always the means, to attack the United States directly. John R. Later in his career, he identified American imperialism in South Asia and, in particular, Washington's hypocritical and imbalanced dealings with India and Pakistan, as the source of his disillusionment, and it is possible that this was his perspective even during his
days as a student in California. Hafiz Saeed Osama bin Laden was the most notorious, globally recognized face to have been produced, if indirectly, by the era of Afghan jihad. Lyon's doctoral thesis, Power and Patronage in Pakistan, University of Kent, Canterbury, 1993, p. In the first months of his presidency, President Obama considered sending
armed drones beyond the FATA, including into Pakistan's Baluchistan province where senior Afghan Taliban leaders were believed to live.91 This would have marked a significant shift in the drone campaign. As an attorney, Ahsan is distinguished in having represented two prime ministers from his own party (Benazir Bhutto and Yousuf Raza Gilani)
and their chief political opponent and former prime minister, Nawaz Sharif. For a summary of China's overseas investment," USCC Staff Report, U.S.-China Economic & Security Review Commission, March 30, 2011. Ambassadors in Kabul (Ryan
Crocker, James Cunningham) and Islamabad (Cameron Munter, Richard Olson), Holbrooke's replacement (Marc Grossman), and the top National Security Council staffer (Douglas Lute) all fit this pattern. The answer is complicated and uncertain, but prior chapters of this book offer important clues as to what would represent unrealistic American
aspirations and what might still be gained from a strategy of comprehensive cooperation. 170 No Exit from Pakistani pundits, journalists, academics, and retired officials, one of the participants suggested that China would undoubtedly
fill America's shoes if the United States ever abandoned Pakistan. All things equal, building a close, cooperative relationship with Pakistan's military and nuclear establishment would almost certainly see U.S. cruise missile strikes as
 acts of war. Tarbela also generates over 3,000 megawatts of electricity to the national grid as it has for decades. After his untimely death on December 13, 2010, Holbrooke's close friends, the former New York Times correspondent and president
emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, Les Gelb, put it, "Only a novel could render his mythic contradictions - his stunning ability to see into the hearts and minds of others, but his blindness to how they saw him; his unrivaled gift for knocking down doors and walking smack into them."38 Gelb's assessment rings true for Holbrooke's behavior
in Pakistan. Finally, U.S. policy would be more enlightened if it 106 Pervez Musharraf, In the Line of Fire (New York: Free Press, 2006), p. 145. When the bar is set just a bit lower – at tipping the scales in ongoing Pakistani political debates rather than wholesale transformation – comprehensive cooperation begins to look like a more sophisticated
and realistic proposition. 7-48, .org/doi/pdf/10.1162/ISEC a 00115. In the end, the tactic worked, at least when compared to prior diplomatic travails. 180 No Exit from Pakistan moving even closer to a conflict no one can win."34 Then the president rushed off, skipping the standard photo session with Musharraf to speed back the fifteen miles from
Islamabad to the Rawalpindi airport along a cleared, heavily guarded highway. Berman also faced more acute political pressures than his colleagues in the Senate. The most obvious problem is electricity. The other rising giant, India, and many of their smaller neighbors throughout the Asia-Pacific region also have expanding populations, dynamic
economies, and heightened ambitions. Abubaker Siddique, "Pakistani Flogging Video Leads to Outrage against Increasing Taliban/1604077.html. The threat is an urgent one because innocent American lives are at stake. As
President Bush writes in his memoir, "Pakistan was the most pivotal nation" recruited to Washington's side in the post-9/11 fight.17 In short order, stemming from Armitage's blunt request to the Pakistan was the most pivotal nation" recruited to Washington's side in the post-9/11 fight.17 In short order, stemming from Armitage's blunt request to the Pakistan was the most pivotal nation" recruited to Washington's side in the post-9/11 fight.17 In short order, stemming from Armitage's blunt request to the Pakistan was the most pivotal nation" recruited to Washington had a promise from Musharraf's government for all
that it had requested.18 16 17 18 In the official U.S. account of this conversation, Armitage suggests that "Pakistan faces a stark choice: either it is with us or it is not; this was a black-and-white choice, with no grey." See U.S. Department of State, Cable, "Deputy Secretary Armitage's Meeting with Pakistan Intel Chief Mahmud: You're Either With Use a stark choice: either it is with us or it is not; this was a black-and-white choice, with no grey." See U.S. Department of State, Cable, "Deputy Secretary Armitage's Meeting with Pakistan Intel Chief Mahmud: You're Either With Use a stark choice: either it is with us or it is not; this was a black-and-white choice, with no grey." See U.S. Department of State, Cable, "Deputy Secretary Armitage suggests that "Pakistan Intel Chief Mahmud: You're Either With Use a stark choice: either it is with us or it is not; this was a black-and-white choice."
or You're Not," September 13, 2001, Secret, 9 pp. The president hit the perfect note with India at precisely the time it was eager to chart a new, far friendlier path with America. Maintaining cooperation would be a difficult trick for any White House to pull off. Today, Pakistan is having an even harder time getting its house in order. Yet, for all the
Pakistani complaints about how the United States has never been a true friend, the fact is that Pakistan also used America. The day after his brokered release, a U.S. unmanned drone shot four missiles into a gathering of tribal leaders in North Waziristan agency - the hotbed of terrorist activity along the Afghan border. They failed to perceive how
deeply entrenched was the army's power, and how limited was the liberal impulse and capacity of Pakistan's ruling politicians and their constituents. See Jack A. 288. It may even be the least-bad policy option available. See Waqar Gillani, "Pakistan Indicts 7 in Bhutto Assassination," New York Times, November 5, 2011, world/asia/7-pakistanis-are-
indicted-in-benazir-bhuttos-killing.html? Avoiding past mistakes means studying the history of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship and recognizing that many present dilemmas bear more than a passing resemblance to earlier predicaments. 115 116 For an account of this exchange, see David Ignatius, "Our High-Maintenance Relationship with Pakistan,"
Washington Post, July 13, 2012, david-ignatius-pakistan-us-have-a-neurotic-relationship/2012/07/13/gJQABEDoiW story .html. Unlike nearby China or Russia, Pakistan lacks sufficient strength, wealth, or easily exploited natural resources to insulate itself from American influence. Friedberg, A Contest for Supremacy (New York: W.W. Norton, 2011), page 11.
I believe they have realized that over the long run, a strong U.S.-Pakistan relationship offers the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan relationship offers the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from a dark and violent future, the only way to protect America from the dangers that lurk on Pakistan from the dangers from the d
 ties between Pakistan's security services and groups like LeT, the "insider threat" posed by outfits like HuT, and the continual growth of its nuclear arsenal mean that every day without a new crisis is a fortunate one for Pakistan. After all, somehow the Reagan and Carter administrations had been willing to put off sanctions when they needed
Pakistan to counter the Soviets in Afghanistan. To drone 82 83 84 85 86 Mosharraf Zaidi, "The Consensus about Drones - Part I," The News, May 11, 2010, . Perhaps more significant than its own individual success story, the Indus Hospital has established a model for care that its visionary leaders intend to replicate in other Pakistani cities. Such a
dynamic seems all the more likely because Pakistan considers China to be its closest international ally. Threats of disease, climate change, economic crisis, terrorism, and war routinely spill across countries and leapfrog continents. Nor should Pakistan's idealistic reformers feel - as they often have - that America stands in their way. That said,
Shahzad's plot shows that al-Qaeda's Pakistani affiliates are willing to expand the scope of their terrorist activities beyond Pakistan government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh repeatedly went back to the negotiating table, even after the 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai and in spite of
 Islamabad's failure to act against the attack's Pakistan-based plotters. The most celebrated of these projects is the new port at Gwadar in southwest Pakistan, which was built almost entirely with Chinese investment.73 Lacking connecting roads or rail lines, Gwadar has yet to take off in any serious way, but it does at least have the potential to
connect China's western provinces to the Arabian Sea. USAID reports that it disbursed a total of $676 million in Pakistan for fiscal year 2010. There is no doubt, however, that one of the worst blunders of the incident came when NATO misinformed a Pakistani liaison officer about the location of a ground attack. They probably made a more positive
dent in public perceptions than the billions of dollars Washington had granted the Pakistani state for debt relief and other assistance programs. Khan had no qualms about exploiting the trust and confidence of his fellow employees in the Netherlands, breaking security rules, or violating provisions of international law as he worked feverishly to
transfer nuclear know-how to his homeland. In 2011, a couple of successful Pakistani manufacturers generously hosted me for lunch at a fine French bistro in Karachi. Singer, Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the 21st Century (New York: Penguin Press, 2009). Musharraf's version of authoritarianism in Pakistan looked rather
tame next to that of Egypt or Saudi Arabia, but the essential logic of the freedom agenda could be applied just as readily. Greg Miller reports that the very end of Sartre's No Exit, his sinners finally accept their sorry circumstances and
 agree that they have no choice but to "get on with it." Sartre's tragic sense of the world - written at one of the darkest periods in human Downloaded from . This is the essential meaning of "No Exit." Unfortunately, this does not mean the United States
has any easy solutions. Pakistan's weak civilian institutions and its failing economy (portrayed in Chapter 2) would suffer from an American strategy defined by diplomatic disengagement, bouts of unilateral military force, and an unambiguous tilt toward India. For the time being, however, the nationalistic strand of anti-Americanism, symbolized by
the likes of A. He needed to show that the Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received. In other words, the United States already had more leverage with Pakistanis would be held accountable for the money they received.
really convinced U.S. officials not to interfere in IndoPakistani diplomacy was the widely held belief that both President Musharraf and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh were as serious about making a deal as anyone could ever expect leaders from these often hostile neighbors to be. 63. Even so, the drama of its collapse sent shockwaves throughout
the world. If the United States can find a way to work with both India and Pakistan, Washington will also be better placed to keep an eye on Chinese activities throughout the region and, if necessary, to compete with Beijing for influence. The imbalance was striking. On the one hand, if the Obama administration had placed a greater value on Pakistan
public sentiment, it might have taken a very different approach to the counterterror war. Best-laid plans and high hopes have been dashed too often for anyone to champion costly new agendas. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 147 profile, big ticket infrastructure projects as dams or power plants that could offer tangible displays of U.S.
 partnership. Sadly, the KLB aid figure of $1.5 billion per year was not grounded in an assessment of specific Pakistani development needs or America's ability to meet them. Iran's clerical revolution also raised contentious issues about the appropriate relationship between the mosque and the state. Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," American
 Political Science Review, 80, no. Kissinger, then Ford's secretary of state, attempted to convince Pakistan that Washington could provide military assistance to meet Islamabad's needs without having to go down the costly nuclear path. When asked whether her parents felt the same way, she quickly replied that they did not, and that it was not a topic
 she could even broach with them.114 The generational divide over Imran Khan is severe.115 Teens and twenty-somethings mobbed Khan's rally. In so doing, they offer hope to the rest of us. Islam under Attack The topic of blasphemy - speaking or acting in ways that are believed to defame Islam - has stirred great passion in Pakistan. Yet Sartre's
play does not end with despair. 2 (2009), 10 2 04.pdf. When Pakistani cable networks were turned off, GeoTV and another independent network broadcast by satellite. When the Musharraf regime came crashing down in 2008, the new government quickly stripped Mazari of her job as the director of a government-funded think tank in Islamabad
 Pakistan's terrorists could once again provoke deadly confrontations with India, or even with the United States. 131. 324-9. Norton, 2009), pp. South Asian analysts and officials act as if Americans are entirely too alarmist and reject Cold War analogies as being inappropriate to the cultural norms of their own region. David Rohde and Talat Hussain
 "Delicate Dance for Musharraf In Nuclear Case," New York Times, February 8, 2004, . By and large, however, Pakistanis simply accept and play out their roles - whether peasant or landlord - because they know that to do otherwise would be deeply disruptive. In much of the country, change - whether reform or revolution - remains a foreign
concept. Second, just hours after Prime Minister Gilani announced that Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) would be brought under the control of the civilian Interior Ministry, the government reversed its decision under pressure from the military (M. The notion that Washington will be in a better negotiating situation with Pakistan
after the Afghan war winds down has other problems as well. When Musharraf came crashing down, so too would the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Like the rest of Pakistan Army kills Up to 80 at Qaeda-linked School,'
Reuters, October 31, 2006, c id=2&objectid=10408444. Stimson Center), February 2012, p. And we want to do it quickly."5 For several years, Musharraf enjoyed the broad support of Pakistanis exhausted by a decade of revolving door democracy that witnessed two of Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) governments alternating with two
led by Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N). A range of other terrorist outfits and splinter factions operate throughout Pakistan, from the country's largest city of Karachi to its rural heartland of Punjab. Instead, they tended to see America's nuclear policy as blatantly hypocritical. First, precisely what sorts of projects should the United
States fund given its sweeping goals in Pakistan? Anti-Americanism in Pakistan is a by-product of the interaction between U.S. policy and Pakistan's own national decisions and internal dynamics. e183.8.p18m375 2013 327.7305491-dc23 2013019456 isbn 978-1-107-04546-0 Hardback isbn 978-1-107-62359-0 Paperback Cambridge University Press
has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of urls for external or third-party Internet websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Worldwide Incidents Tracking System, National Counter-Terrorism Center, .gov on January 30, 2012. 62 63 64
Khan's letter is cited in Langewiesche, "The Wrath of Khan." See Kux, The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000, pp. Pakistan depends on Chinese military hardware. 10 11 On Salala, see Chapter 4. When the stakes are as high as they are in Pakistan, even temporary stability can be very appealing. The ISI is powerful, but that power also has limits
In the early Cold War, American U-2 spy planes took off for missions over the Soviet Union from nearby Badaber airbase, including the ill-fated flight of Francis Gary Powers that exposed America's secret program to the world. The moment the escape option is presented, the sinners recognize it as an illusion. Al-Qaeda's 2011 kidnapping of sixty-
new plans for American-funded projects were also washed away. The Pakistani army's explosive response to the March 17 strike convinced the Obama White House to review its drone policies.90 That internal debate had evolved over time. For better and for worse, that playing field was not level during the early Obama administration. Markey
Frontmatter More information Contents Maps Acknowledgments page ix xi 1 2 No Exit The Four Faces of Pakistan's army is primed to swat down American political interference. Pakistan is too big, too broken, and too hostile to American influence to
be brought into a cooperative, stabilizing U.S. embrace overnight. When pressed by the media in April 2009, Obama stated, "I feel confident that nuclear arsenal will remain out of militant hands, okay?" See Barack Obama, "The First 100 Days Press Conference," Washington, DC, April 29, 2009, 04.29.09.html. Goldstone, "Toward a Fourth Generation
of Revolutionary Theory," Annual Review of Political Science, 4 (2001), p. If Pakistan's generals had a friend in Washington, he was it.5 The normally mild-mannered admiral's blunt characterization of ISIHaqqani links also surprised many outside observers. 2-4. U-Turn to Drift 119 assassination attempts encouraged the prevailing American aversion
to policies that might put Musharraf at greater risk. Sanger, "How a Good War in Afghanistan Went Bad," New York Times, August 12, 2007. This new wave swamped an old guard of editors and reporters with its no-holds-barred style. Washington had simply followed through on the threats it had leveled for years. In a May 16, 2012, author's
interview with Hamid Gul in Islambad, the former ISI director claimed that only Chinese assistance kept his own name off the United Nations' list of international terrorists. A Country in Search of Itself," Foreign Affairs (November/December 2004), naffairs.com/articles/60285/pervez-hoodbhoy/can-pakistan-work-a-country-in-search-of-itself; Sharon
Otterman, "Pakistan: Threats to Musharraf's Rule," CFR.org Backgrounder, Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2004, rrafs-rule/p7743#p4. By the 1960s, Bhutto's anti-Western diatribes and his pro-Beijing attitude irritated Washington, which at the time considered Mao's communist China a dangerous, revolutionary state.22 Bhutto was
perfectly happy to be the Pakistani government's most outspoken "Yankee hater," a role he played most prominently when he served as Ayub's foreign minister from 1963 to 1966.23 18 19 20 21 22 23 Waseem, "Perceptions about America in Pakistan," p. Such a massive intrusion and it went undetected."133 Unfortunately, even though the media's
criticism of government has given its politicians fits, it has yet to make them discernibly better at running the country. Putnam's Sons, 2011), p. Starting in 2009, Beijing took a hard line in a number of diplomatic disputes with the United States and neighboring Asian states, including Japan, Vietnam, South Korea, and India. In Pakistan, this included
high-profile gifts like the cavernous Faisal mosque in Islamabad, named after the Saudi king who financed it. To accomplish this, the army and ISI cynically rigged a 2002 national referendum and parliamentary elections. Such a sea change would require new personnel and new procedures. Stunning majorities – usually over 75 percent – of Pakistanis
 have unfavorable views of the United States.3 pakistan's three strands of anti-Americanism Three types of anti-Americanism," is primarily a reaction to Washington's all-too-cozy relations with Pakistan's military. Musharraf opens his 2006 memoir with a
description of the gruesome scene during one of those attacks. 40 It is horrifying for what it says about the levels of violence in Pakistan relations hit a rocky stretch in 2011, Chinese officials in Beijing and at the embassy in Washington, DC, made it very clear to anyone who would listen that China had no interest
in an outright rupture between Washington and Islamabad. Tellis, "India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (July 2005). "Pakistan: The Next Generation," British Council Pakistan (November 2009), pp. On the other hand, if Washington had sought to back Pakistan's
leadership into a corner and force it to take painful steps against terrorists based on Pakistani soil, the impressive demonstrations of U.S. power - like the military surge in Afghanistan were Ahle Hadith Muslims with conservative views very similar
to those of the Salafis of Saudi Arabia. The crisis should have been avoided. China depends on the Pakistani military and ISI for information and analysis of events inside Pakistan and Afghanistan. Statement by Richard C. One USAID economist in Islamabad cabled back to Washington that even if Holbrooke's "worthy goals" could all be achieved over
time, without a reasonable transition period the desire to spend such huge sums quickly, smartly, and through all-Pakistani channels would end up representing "contradictory objectives." 35 34 35 USAID did not even have an administrator in the Obama administration until December 31, 2009. In my view, any change in internal and external policies
can be extremely dangerous for Pakistan."47 Musharraf's decision to keep wearing his army uniform as president was not, by that point, a big surprise to Washington. In fact, nothing of the sort happened. Five years later, as Pakistan with
the hope of avoiding any impression that Washington would interfere in the democratic process. Given the extent to which Pakistan's terrorists and militant groups like CPLC would then offer an obvious opportunity to enhance America's counterterror reach
throughout Pakistan. Eventually the Eisenhower administration agreed to arm and equip five-anda-half Pakistani army divisions at a huge total cost of over $500 million from 1956 through December 1959.13 Sustaining the force in subsequent years was projected to cost billions more. On the other hand, he claimed to be placing Pakistan on the path
to what he called "enlightened moderation" and "sustainable democracy" by enabling a profusion of private media outlets and holding national elections. It is impossible to know when and toward those who favor change, but all the warning signs are in place. In
this context, by the end of 2011, the consensus in Washington correctly perceived Pakistan's regional role as less than friendly. As far as it is possible to gauge views in an authoritarian country, China's South Asia analysts appeared to read the 2008 return of Pakistan's civilian rule as a passing fad more than a first step toward the consolidation of
anything resembling stable 26 27 Two recent examples are illustrative: first, following the 2011 terrorist attacks in Kashgar, Xinjiang Province, China, local Chinese officials complained about the role of Pakistan-based terror groups (see Michael Wines, "China Blames Foreign-Trained Separatists for Attacks in Xinjiang," New York Times, August 1,
2011, asia/02china.html? Not surprisingly, Pakistan has also started down a similar path. If present trends hold, it is only a matter of time before the U.S. assistance authorized by the Kerry-LugarBerman legislation is scaled back, or perhaps even ended altogether. "The FC-1/JF-17 'Thunder' - The History and Design Philosophy," Defencetalk.com,
June 20, 2004, . An exclusive, narrow alliance with an isolated Pakistan, particularly one at odds with the United States, would not be China's preferred way to rousing renditions of Pakistan's national anthem. Lodhi, Beyond the Crisis State, p.
Extreme ideologies have won more adherents. Low cliffs of a soft clay soil in various hues of brown flanked the water. Kux, The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000, p. The threat of terrorist attacks had, however, forced the construction of high white walls around the neighborhoods, separating Baig, a retired army chief, from his successors. On
Thanksgiving week, 2009, President Obama did his best to show that he would try to keep up the momentum. The geopolitical future does not look good for ties between Washington and Islamabad. Built in the 1960s and 1970s with heavy infusions of American cash, Tarbela now serves as an essential part of Pakistan's national water management
system.18 It provides roughly 30 percent of the nation's irrigation water in the dry season. From a second perspective, Pakistan is a garrison state. Armed U.S. drones took off from Shamsi to fly over Pakistan's nearby tribal areas, their missiles loaded by contractors, presumably to reduce the official U.S. footprint there. Economic losses from
terrorism and regional conflict could determine whether 51 52 53 54 55 56 Zvi Eckstein and Daniel Tsiddon, "Macroeconomic Consequences of Terror: Theory and the Case of Israel," Journal of Monetary Economics, 51, no. Eric Schmitt, "Clinton's 'Sorry' to Pakistan Ends Barrier to NATO," New York Times, July 3, 2012, . As long as Pakistan's status
quo has its staunch defenders and most everyone else lacks the ability to rise up in opposition, Pakistan will muddle along as it has for decades. Afghan mujahedeen - fueled the rise of the most violent anti-Americanism of the jihadists.
That support probably kept Ahmad Shah Massoud, the "Lion of the Panjshir" and leader of the anti-Taliban alliance, alive and fighting until al-Qaeda assassinated him just two days before 9/11. The magazine's editors lauded President Eisenhower's secretary of state for his energetic diplomacy, noting that Dulles spent 1954 in a "ceaseless round of
travel, logging 101,521 miles." True to his reputation as one of America's foremost cold warriors, Dulles's primary mission in foreign capitals was "to develop the cohesion and strength that would make Communist aggression less likely." Eisenhower came into office committed to reducing U.S. military expenditures without opening vulnerabilities to
Moscow.6 To achieve this goal on the military front, he adopted the controversial strategy of "massive retaliation," which Dulles unveiled in a famously provocative speech to the Council on Foreign Relations on January 12, 1954.7 By threatening a devastating nuclear response, the administration believed it could deter Moscow from aggression even
though the Soviet Union was believed to have a stronger conventional military than the United States. Unfortunately, Pakistan has taken too little action against groups like LeT and their sympathizers over the past decade. Finally, Berman also felt that the House Foreign Affairs Committee needed to demonstrate its relevance to the foreign policy-
making process. For the classic history of the Pashtuns and the Peshawar region, see Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans (Oxford University Press, 1984). It also had provisions that in order for military aid to be sent to Pakistan, the secretary of state was required to certify that the Pakistani government was "continuing to cooperate" with the United
States in dismantling nuclear supply networks, that it had "demonstrated a sustained commitment to and [was] making significant efforts towards combating terrorist groups," and that the Pakistani military was "not materially and substantially subverting the political and judicial processes of Pakistan." In addition to these certifications, the law
required the secretary of state to submit reports to Congress on, among many other issues, the degree to which Pakistan's civilian leaders exercised effective control of the military. Beyond the standard military cooperation, U.S. officials would also attempt to work with Pakistani civilian police forces and even with citizen groups like the
Citizens-Police Liaison Committee (CPLC) of Karachi. Early Frustrations But Musharraf's game with the United States was a lot more complicated than that. Violence inside Pakistan spiked in the aftermath of the July 2007 Red Mosque raid. Pakistanis, of course, routinely experienced violence beyond the oases of five-star hotels. Its traditional ruling
classes and the military are still strong enough to ward off the immediate prospect of revolution or collapse, but the state is stressed by population growth, hamstrung in its reform efforts, and plagued by violence and terror. Paul Kapur, "Ten Years of Instability in a Nuclear South Asia," International Security, 33, no. Ashley Tellis, a driving force
behind improved U.S.-India relations over the past decade, explains that India's surprisingly positive response "came to reflect both an example of, and a means toward, the steady improvement in U.S.-Indian ties." 37 When Bush's hand-selected ambassador to India, Robert Blackwill, arrived in Mumbai in early September 2001, he remarked in his
first speech to an 34 35 36 37 For a full account of President Clinton's trip to Pakistan, see Dennis Kux, Disenchanted Allies, the United States and Pakistan 1947-2000 (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2001), pp. What they most wanted to know from me, standing before them as a visiting American lecturer, was what the future might
hold. The emphasis on scholars, saints, and shrines has some similarities with the Shia sect of Islam, although the vast majority of Pakistanis who follow such practices are in fact Sunnis.85 Zia, on the other hand, was raised in an austere tradition that rejected medieval interpretations of Islamic law and held that the only two sources of Islamic law
were the Qur'an and hadith (the sayings of the Prophet 82 83 84 85 Nawaz, Crossed Swords, pp. Whatever the logic of Mullen's outburst, Pakistanis were quick to grasp that if the admiral had soured on them, Washington's sympathy was pretty well exhausted. To these threats there would be no end in sight; defensive insulation does not begin to
"solve" the challenges posed by Pakistan - it only mitigates or blunts potential threats as long as the defenses are reinforced. These groups have American blood on their hands. Even terrorists, the logic went, needed peace in Peshawar's history, from Persian and Greek to Buddhist,
Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and British rule, see Ahmad Salim, ed., Peshawar: City on the Frontier (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially pp. The United States had been hit hard, and immediately sought to prepare a major military counterpunch against bin Laden and his Taliban hosts in remote, landlocked Afghanistan. Our prayers go in.
pakistan as spoiler The main problem with a firm American tilt away from Pakistan and toward India is that it encourages Pakistan to play the spoiler. No Exit 11 Pakistanis will decide how to deal with internal threats, how to manage their nuclear program, and how to grapple with regional friends and adversaries. Mayer, "The Predator War." On
these requests and Pakistan's own effort to field drones, see Williams, "The CIA's Covert Predator Drone War," p. Many policymakers in Washington seem drawn to the conclusion that the United States will find greater leverage in its relationship with Pakistan after 2014, when Afghan forces are supposed to assume a leading security role and the
remaining international forces, mainly American, will focus on training, advisory, and counterterror missions. 9 A far smaller NATO presence in 9 For more on possible endgame scenarios in Afghanistan, see Dexter Filkins, "After America," The New Yorker, July 9, 2012, fact filkins. A relatively small but vocal and violent segment of society favors
revolutionary change. She has since relocated to Toronto where she directs her expanding global organization. Most Americans were justifiably sick and tired of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict, not least because it followed on the heels of the conflict is followed on the heels of the heels of the conflict is followed on the heels of th
visit to Washington in July 2008, he managed a string of gaffes that left American audiences stunned. For more on the war, see Kux, India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, pp. Mullen's Words on Pakistan Come under-
scrutiny/2011/09/27/qIOAHPIB3K story.html. It is hard not to come away awestruck by the immenseness of it all. Even more frightening, the enticing short-term gains from military rule - unity of command, efficiency, reduced corruption - pale in comparison to the corrosive effects of politicizing the military, an institution whose professionalism is
central to its legitimacy and whose unity is central to national stability. The long list of senior officers forced out after the war by Bhutto demonstrated his supremacy. U.S. pressure finally forced President Musharraf to remove Khan from KRL's management in 2001, and in 2004 overwhelming evidence of his proliferation activities became public.58
In a choreographed deal with Musharraf, Khan confessed his role and was immediately pardoned. Accounts from Pakistani bystanders differ, but Davis may have pumped as many as five rounds into each of his victims. 356-8) administrations. At the core of their shared philosophy was the idea that poor people can do a great deal for themselves if
mobilized and organized. As part of the editorial process, I was fortunate to convene a group of top experts on Pakistan and U.S. foreign policy chaired by George Perkovich. In late 2011, after having returned from a two-year stint in Islamabad, Raphel concluded that "it was unrealistic to think we could spend such a large amount of money so
quickly." She added, "perhaps it would have been smarter to spread the same amount of money over a longer period because neither the Americans nor the Pakistanis were prepared to handle it."33 Raphel is hardly alone in her basic conclusion. Many of Bush's policies, especially in the realm of economics, were as conciliatory as any that came
before. Musharraf did not appear to have a viable political road map for the future. On the security front, many of the cooperative efforts that Washington would undertake in a military-first approach could also be a part of a comprehensive strategy. The situation is troubling and, in a deep sense, tragic. Once there, Prime Minister Bhutto put him in
charge of his own program to build Pakistan's nuclear capabilities. Neumann, emphasizing the relationship between investments in infrastructure and gaining the trust of the Afghan people, explained in a February 6, 2006, cable to Secretary Rice that "The lack of some USD 400 million will not lose the war. Obviously, such relationships would first
require the consent of Pakistan's civilian and military leadership to get off the ground. Like the U-2, the Sentinel is built to spy over enemy territory. Rehman, "What the Provinces Gain," Dawn, April 15, 2010, wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/the-newspaper/columnists/i-e-rehman-what-theprovinces-gain-540. For more on the Saudi role,
see "Pakistan: Madrasas, Extremism and the Military," International Crisis Group Asia Report No. 36, pp. For example, the Nishat group, one of the largest conglomerates in Pakistan, jumped at the opportunity, announcing that it had applied to open Indian branches of its Muslim Commercial Bank.67 It is in Washington's interest to support the
natural inclinations of Pakistan's business community, at least with respect to deepening their ties with India. The tiny U.S. footprint in Pakistan throughout the 1980s meant that some of the most significant American action in Afghanistan's fight against the Red Army took place back home in Washington, DC. Even when civilian politicians are
nominally in charge, their popular legitimacy is weakened because their parties are run like corrupt family dynasties, not democracies. 146 In Islamabad, governments come and go, but nearly all are what scholars of international development might call "limited access orders," where the rich and powerful use the state mainly to make sure that they
stay rich and powerful, and everyone else suffers.147 However, even though Pakistan is vulnerable to failure and revolution, we have not seen it. Also, for an excellent firsthand perspective from a reporter covering the drone war?page=full.
As countries develop, the rate tends to go down. But it was clear that he was very much in his element. By early 2011, analysts in American government and academic circles began to contemplate how a total rupture in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship might look, and whether, for instance, the threats posed by terrorists and Pakistan's nuclear arsenal
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could be contained within its borders if the official relationship turned completely hostile. The city of Karachi, Pakistan's economic capital and trading hub, is now home to hundreds of thousands of recent migrants from the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. Over a year later, it still had not managed to find its footing. Khan routinely writes about the
need to defend Pakistan's ghairat from American predations. 154 No Exit from Pakistan implications" such as "what effect, if any, an action might have on our relationships with other countries." Brennan's 2012 speech was an important contribution to the American productions with other countries.
South Korea and Israel over decades. See also, Rizvi, Military, State and Society in Pakistan, p. global power shift: china's rise With the benefit of hindsight, historians will frame the early twenty-first century as the beginning of a new era defined not by Iraq, Afghanistan, or al-Qaeda, Downloaded from . Sadly, much of Sindh is ruled in a similar
manner to this day.20 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto enjoyed the privileges of that wealth and the unusual opportunities it offered. In 2009, the army finally launched a major offensive in the Swat Valley of Pakistan's northwestern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial
government. Of the rest of the KLB Downloaded from . It is important, however, because it deprives the United States of vocal, articulate friends in elite Pakistani circles. Defensive insulation would demand more than U.S. eyes and missiles in the sky. The baffling spectacle of watching Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh struggle to win passage
of the Indo-U.S. civil nuclear agreement in 2008 is evidence enough of this reality. If U.S. assistance were conditioned on progress in these areas, or if its disbursement of U.S. funds required matching Pakistani commitments, incentive structures would be improved on both sides. I didn't eat for many days. Her reporting from the region over more
than a decade is marked by a focus on the everyday lives of Pakistanis. But the Untied States would also have strategic concerns. 148-60. Scientists predict that climate change will cause glaciers to melt more rapidly than in the past. Washington had clearly taken the minimum steps necessary to maintain its connection with Beijing, and once the
dramatic opening to China had been achieved, Pakistan lost even the utility perceived by Nixon and Kissinger. 17-20. The Reagan administration also framed the strategy for expanding the Afghan conflict well beyond anything Brzezinski had earlier considered. Hardly a day passed when Pakistan fell from the pages of American newspapers. See
Qamar Zaman, "Sino-Pak Relations: Chinese Call for Boosting Partnership," Express Tribune, October 18, 2012, . Women are taught (but not forced) to veil themselves, to study Quranic texts rather than praying at Pakistan's traditional shrines, and to accept practices that more "moderate" Pakistanis consider outdated, including polygamy. Extremists are taught (but not forced) to veil themselves, to study Quranic texts rather than praying at Pakistan's traditional shrines.
 have also made a point of desecrating symbols of Peshawar's traditionally tolerant Sufi culture. Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "Terrorism and Foreign Direct Investment in Spain and Greece," KYKLOS, 49, no. Charlie Wilson and his CIA friends deserve credit for realizing that, if properly armed, the mujahedeen might actually manage to beat the
Soviet empire. For the text of H.R. 1886, the final bill passed by the House on June 11, 2009, see .gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-111hr1886rh.pdf. See Malini Parthasarathy, "India, U.S. Natural Allies: Vajpayee," The Hindu, September 9, 2000, . Yet the often tumultuous character of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship is likely to
complicate that sort of under-the-radar approach. Markey Table of Contents More information Contents Maps Acknowledgments page ix xi 1 2 No Exit The Four Faces of Pakistan 1 29 3 4 Why Do They Hate Us? According to recent U.S. estimates, Pakistan has about 100 deployed nuclear warheads and enough fissile material to build 40 to 100
additional nuclear weapons.54 To hear Pakistani strategists explain it, the South Asian nuclear arms race is being spurred by India in two ways. See "Compliance Followup Review of Embassy Islamabad and Constituent Posts, Pakistan," U.S. Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Office of Inspector General, May 2012, p. Likear arms race is being spurred by India in two ways. See "Compliance Followup Review of Embassy Islamabad and Constituent Posts, Pakistan," U.S. Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Office of Inspector General, May 2012, p. Likear arms race is being spurred by India in two ways.
Sartre's sinners, the United States and Pakistan have tormented each other for decades, if in very different ways. Shahbaz Rana, "Diamer-Bhasha: WB Links Dam's Funding to Indian Agreement," Express Tribune, June 26, 2012, . From 2008 to 2011, the CIA expanded its use of "signature strikes." 93 This meant the agency had the authority to launch
strikes against people who acted like terrorists - for example, people who moved about in armed convoys or visited known terrorist camps - even if it was not entirely clear to the drone pilots who they were. Ismail Khan and Dilawar Khan Wazir, "Night Raid Kills Nek, Four Other Militants: Wana Operation," Dawn, June 19, 2004, . Khan's rally in
Lahore was different. China is the easiest regional target for securing greater investments in the Pakistani economy, but India offers the greatest untapped potential for trade and business collaboration. Markey Frontmatter More information No Exit from Pakistan America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad DANIEL S. But announcing the
timeline for military departure from the outset was still a crucial blunder. Nixon's pro-Pakistan tilt won Americans relatively little credit in Pakistan telegrature from the outset was still a crucial blunder. Nixon's pro-Pakistan tilt won Americans relatively little credit in Pakistan tilt won American tilt won A
influence of democratic rule or the value of individual political freedoms, its prescription for stability in Pakistan is likely to be a harshly repressive authoritarianism. Differences of perception and interest, not to mention a litany of historically bound grievances, now divide the two countries. Slowly but surely, however, both of these conditions appear
to be changing. And this is called pan-Islamism. Even so, if the United States opts to take another crack at comprehensive cooperation with Pakistan, Washington would need to change the way it handles all aspects of the relationship, from politics and security to assistance and regional diplomacy. Samuel F. Its success says good things about the
potential for a different Pakistani future. Those crossings were not reopened until July 3, 2012.9 Under Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, Washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure, washington also agreed to shut down its "secret" Shamsi airbase located in a barren valley of Pakistani pressure pressure
 Exit from Pakistan the context of the Obama administration's intensified counterterror operations. It also meant an about-face in Pakistan's supportive relations with the Taliban regime in Kabul as well as the need for intensive cooperation between the CIA and ISI in rounding up al-Qaeda operatives on Pakistani soil. The previous year, Ahsan had won
fame for being the driving force of the epic lawyers' movement that had defied Musharraf and forced him to reinstate Supreme Court Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. A dictator, weakened by the Denial and the Lawyers' Movement, turned to Washington. Instead, Washington would curry favor with the military by deferring to its authority
inside Pakistan. As a short-term fix, the gambit worked. These are not always simple calculations. Washington needed to answer two basic questions or to tackle head-on the broader problem of extremism in their society.
First, Pakistan's generals were not about to let the civilians have their way. 74. This argument was partially undermined over the course of 2012. Some of the details of the case, including who fired first, remain disputed. Armed only with plane tickets, box cutters, and some flight training, the attackers killed thousands of innocents, destroyed billions
of dollars of property, and sent a nation of 300 million people into crisis. 73-5. Politically, Washington should not waste energy attempting new and ambitious cooperative ventures with Islamabad that would only prove unpopular in both capitals. To many outside observers, it appeared that India and Pakistan were closer to a breakthrough on Kashmir
than ever before. 1 (March 2003), pp. The F-16 deal came about in the context of a new America was only a temporary, fickle ally."66 Nor was Pakistan's infamous 2006 peace accord the first (or last) of its kind. U.S. policies had not to remove historical irritants in its relationship with India as well. Afghans saw it as evidence that America was only a temporary, fickle ally."66 Nor was Pakistan's infamous 2006 peace accord the first (or last) of its kind. U.S. policies had not to remove historical irritants in its relationship with India as well.
 saved Pakistan from dismemberment or humiliation. 8 No Exit from Pakistan with America, nor completely opposed. For other moderates and minorities, especially Pakistan's Christians and Hindus, the killing was another reminder of the difficulties of living in an increasingly intolerant society. The Iraq war reconfigured U.S. priorities globally,
including in South Asia. The Saudis bankrolled the Afghan mujahedeen through the Pakistani conduit, matching U.S. contributions dollar for dollar. For details on Headley's surveillance role in the 2008 Mumbai attacks, see Stephen Tankel, Storming the World Stage: The Story of Lashkar-e-Taiba (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. And
- most frightening of all - if the army cannot or will not defend its own territory against the militants, how can anyone be sure it will protect Pakistan's 60 or so nuclear weapons?" "60 Miles from Islamabad," New York Times, April 26, 2009, Fortunately, that attack failed in its mission to kill India's top political leaders, but it nearly provoked a war.
Pakistan's Islamist extremists are not unified; fortunately their internal divisions keep them at war 3 4 According to a 2012 survey, 80 percent of Pakistanis viewed the United States as an enemy. Along with the aid deal, Washington also agreed to reimburse Pakistan for
military expenditures related to the war in Afghanistan. The White House would have done better without the hassle of shepherding a major new congressional authorization bill. That, in turn, would give Pakistan greater leverage in its relationship with the United States, something that Khan also believed would require a thorough overhaul. 120
Khan's many critics, and even some of his friends, worried that he erred in overstating just how quick and easy tax reform, anti-corruption, and renegotiating relations with Washington would be. These are the resources that we need to seize the initiative, while building the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of
Afghanistan."105 103 104 105 General Stanley McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general's findings in "McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general's findings in "McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general's findings in "McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general's findings in "McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general's findings in "McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general's findings in "McChrystal's request for troops was leaked to reporter Bob Woodward, who described the general findings in "McChrystal" in the findings in th
Pakistan's Fledgling Broadcast Media." On exchange programs, see ships/journalism-fellowships/pakistan-us-journalists-exchange. Pakistani officials chalked up the inconsistent demands to American hypocrisy. History is strong there. 107 On the complicated interaction between politics, socioeconomic status, and education as drivers for Pakistani
support of Islamist militancy, see Jacob N. A month later, a drone strike in Bajaur agency near the Afghan border sparked anti-U.S. protests by thousands of tribesmen. Unlike Dulles, who saw Nehru's India as irresponsible and hypocritical, the subsequent two administrations saw in India a potential Asian bulwark against communist expansion. On an
early morning in November 2006, as I stared out the window at the grayish brown winter landscape punctuated by farms and villages along the highway midway through a ride from Islamabad to Peshawar, the radio picked up the chilling news of Peshawar, the radio picked up the chilling news of Peshawar is an elite-
dominated basket case of a country, mired in a repressive tradition that makes sure a tiny number of "haves" possess a great deal of power and wealth while the rest have not. Their countrymen with the deepest pockets - the ones most capable of paying for improvements in education or the nation's physical infrastructure - are also the most heavily number of "haves" possess a great deal of power and wealth while the rest have not.
invested in perpetuating business as usual. "Chicago Resident David Coleman Headley Pleads Guilty to Role in India and Denmark Terrorism Conspiracies," U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Public Affairs, March 18, 2010, . Bhutto ran the PPP like the Sindhi feudal he was, with no regard for building an institution that was internally democratic.
 Because of the number of variables at play, America's future geopolitical interests in Pakistan are more difficult to pin down than U.S. concerns regarding terrorism and nuclear weapons. On November 5, The Nation warned its readers that "Agents of notorious spy agencies are using journalistic cover to engage themselves in intelligence activities" in
Pakistan's northwest and tribal areas.40 Considering that Daniel Pearl, the Wall Street Journal reporter beheaded by terrorists in Pakistan in 2002, was also declared a "CIA spy," the U.S. embassy in Pakistan feared these allegations were intended as an incitement to violence.41 Mazari's worldview begins with the conviction that the United States is
untrustworthy, India is the enemy, and China is Pakistan's one true ally.42 In this respect, she reflects a mind-set that runs throughout much of Pakistan over the decades. Pakistan could turn into something similar. 144. Author interviews in
Beijing, April 2011. The prevailing trends of the recent past - improved U.S. ties with India and China's assertive posture - raise serious doubts about the trajectory of U.S.-Pakistan relations. Reflecting the qulf between the two sides, the head of 111 112 113 114 This is undoubtedly how many Afghans view the reconciliation effort. 187. If that
happens, many of the other prerequisites for revolutionary change, or even for state collapse, will be found in abundance. See J. Even though Islamabad officially banned the group in 2002, LeT's humanitarian wing operates openly throughout Pakistan and LeT's founding leader, Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, taunts the United States before television
cameras and public rallies. The Let has won its greatest notoriety for attacking India, but its core ideology and mission is much more global, similar to that of al-Qaeda. The future may have some similarities with the Cold War past. Contrary to the Obama administration's approach, a Chinesestyle strategy with Pakistan would mean refraining from sharp
public criticism of Pakistan's military. Indeed, Mazari is less of a Talib than the archetype of a hyper-nationalist. Pakistan would be that much more inclined to foment trouble in India, to find common cause with other anti-Western regimes, and even, if the price were right, to again sell its nuclear technologies. U.S. officials found their Pakistanian would be that much more inclined to foment trouble in India, to find common cause with other anti-Western regimes, and even, if the price were right, to again sell its nuclear technologies. U.S. officials found their Pakistanian would be that much more inclined to foment trouble in India, to find common cause with other anti-Western regimes, and even, if the price were right, to again sell its nuclear technologies.
counterparts either evasive or utterly unrealistic in their demands for American partnership. To the contrary, fearing a terrorist attack on the first visit by any American president in over thirty years, Clinton arrived in an unmarked Gulfstream jet that trailed a decoy. The nation suffers from the cancerous growth of violent and extreme ideologies, now
embedded too deeply and dispersed too widely to be removed by the political equivalent of minor surgery. A number of Washington's policy choices fed Pakistani suspicions that a U.S. departure would come sooner rather than later. After terrible human sacrifice, the Second World War ended and brighter days returned. Clinton stated up front that
reconciliation required a great deal of Pakistan. Businessmen feared that the best days of the market were behind them. When satellite dish sales were banned, the networks streamed programming on the Internet.126 Eventually, for several weeks in November 2007, it looked as if the authoritarian power of the military-led state would win out. The
dominance of Pakistan's military has marred and complicated even the best periods of cooperation with the United States dating all the way back to the earliest stages of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship described in Chapter 3. For instance, in 2011, Dawn, the English-language daily newspaper, ran a series of seven large advertisements proclaiming
Jinnah's progressive views on women's and minority rights, good governance, and education.75 Dawn cited Jinnah's speech of August 11, 1947, in which he told the Pakistani constituent assembly: You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your temples.
was introduced to me most vigorously in a conversation with a senior Pakistani official in Peshawar, May 2010. India's concerted focus on primary education since the mid-1980s has posted impressive gains in terms of getting more boys and girls into school and keeping them there.26 India is moving ten times faster than Pakistan to reduce the
number of young children out of school.27 Failing Infrastructure Pakistan also faces other huge shortfalls when it comes to investing in the infrastructure required of a modern economy. It also reflects India's rising power and newfound sense of confidence. He worked overtime to minimize stresses on himself, his army, and his state (in roughly that
order) while maximizing the flow of assistance and reimbursements from Washington's decision to draw a tighter connection between its policies on Afghanistan and Pakistanis. The purpose of such rhetoric would be to convince Pakistan's own
democrats that they have an ally in Washington, not a pro-military adversary. It is true that U.S. interests in Pakistan or even in Pakistan or ev
the early post-9/11 period, it was marginally easier to identify local militant organizations with defensive, rather than global, objectives. Author interview with Ambassador Karl Eikenberry, January 24, 2012. "High Level Visits," website of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Beijing, China, china.php?men=2; "Pakistani PM Gilani Meets
Chinese State Councilor Dai Bingguo," Xinhua, December 24, 2011, .com/english/china/2011-12/24/c 131324947.htm. These rising powers have grand plans, even if they are not yet specific. No Exit from Pakistan 26 and kind-eyed CEO, Dr. Abdul Bari Khan, explains, that volunteer experience convinced him of how much more work needed to be
done. In 2007, she was hired by the lobbying firm Cassidy & Associates to lead a contract to represent the government of Pakistan in Washington. Pakistan in Washington.
balance/c5330.html; "India-China Trade Hits All Time High of $73.9 bn in 2011," Economic Times, January 30, 2012, *01-30/news/ 30676369_1_trade-deficit-bilateral-trade-china-s-jaishankar; "U.S.-China Business Council, . Again, Pakistani officials point to India as provoking the move, observing that the Indian
military has taken steps to improve its own ability to hit Pakistan harder and faster with a non-nuclear strike, as a means to punish Pakistan for any future terrorist strikes that might originate from its soil.59 Pakistan, fearing that India might get its punches in before defenses are adequately prepared, is developing a tactical nuclear program
featuring short-range missiles tipped with small plutonium-based warheads.60 There is little public information about how far Pakistan's program has progressed, but already a fair amount of hand-wringing is occurring in international arms control circles about what might happen if Pakistan fields tactical weapons after very limited testing in a
region plagued by routine crises and miscommunication, where the two adversaries share a land border of nearly 2,000 miles. 61 Nor is it clear how Pakistan intends to address India's ever-widening 58 59 60 61 Josh White, "Military Probes How Nukes Flew over U.S.," Washington Post, September 6, 2007, . Washington had come to the aid of
Pakistan's worst enemy. Constable, Playing with Fire, p. There are 1.2 billion Indians of diverse religions 75 76 Vojay Sakhuja, "The Karakoram Corridor: China's Transportation Network in Pakistan," BBC, October 8, 2010, . An improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations is unrealistic without the consent of Pakistan's generals, but at least some of them
have managed to put aside their hostility with India long enough to recognize that a cold peace would be better than another hot war. U.S. security and law enforcement would build upon existing efforts to interdict terrorists before they reach the United States or other important targets. A serving officer, Brigadier Ali Khan, along with four junior
officers, were charged with alleged HuT ties, sparking rumors that they had planned to stage a coup at a time when the army was feeling particularly vulnerable. 103 Later that summer, several others were arrested for their particularly vulnerable. 104 Looking back, it appears that HuT was behind at least two other failed coup attempts
as well as an unsuccessful 2010 plot to attack Pakistan," Hizb ut Tahrir Waliyah Pakistan, p. "Background Briefing by Administration Officials on U.S.-South Asia Relations," March 25, 2005,
www.fas.org/terrorism/at/docs/2005/StatePressConfer25mar05.htm. The news briefly made headlines in the United States but garnered nonstop media coverage in Pakistan. Delays ensued. 99 of Pakistanis, Afghans, and foreign fighters. As explained in the next chapter, distrust of the United States has roots in the way many Pakistanis think about
U.S. policy over the course of the Cold War, especially Washington's "abandonments" in the 1970s and 1990s. 38-51. Together, these will be four of the world's largest countries by population, all nuclear powers, and all with established - at times conflicting - interests in the heart of Asia. 86 No Exit from Pakistan normalizing relations in the hope
that the relationship would provide another means to balance against India.49 For all of these reasons, Washington's standing with Pakistan suffered after 1962. 5. For more, see Jacqueline Novogratz, The Blue Sweater: Bridging the Gap between Rich and Poor in an Interconnected World (Emmaus, PA: Rodale Books, 2009) and . Having been to
Beijing a month earlier where there seemed to be a lot less enthusiasm about such a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such as a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such as a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's other proteg enthusiasm about such as a scenario among Chinese officials and scholars, I recommended that Pakistanis should pay close attention to how China's attention to how 
Afghan Taliban as unthreatening, but most of Pakistan also perceived a difference between the remote "tribal areas" where hed trained briefly in the rugged tribal region along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan, where he translated a
bomb-making manual from Urdu to English and received some additional lessons in explosives. Cruise missiles are larger and less "surgical" than drone-launched Hellfire missiles. Ashley Tellis, "The Evolution of U.S.-Indian Ties: Missile Defense in an Emerging Strategic Relationship," International Security, 304 (Spring 2006), pp. Aziz and his Indian
counterparts met about two dozen times from 2004 to 2007 in various hotel rooms from Southeast Asia to London, hammering away at the text of an agreement on Kashmir and other outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan.55 All along the way, the policy challenge for the United States was to support, and if possible to accelerate, progress
between India and Pakistan without interfering in ways that might end up being counterproductive. Over its entire history, Pakistan kept its eyes trained on India. For more on this debate, see Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, "The Drone War," New Republic, June 3, 2009; David Kilcullen and Andrew Exum, "Death from Above, Outrage from
Below," New York Times, May 16, 2009; Daniel Byman, "Do Targeted Killings Work?" Foreign Policy, July 14, 2009; C. A.) legacy of, 79 comprehensive cooperation strategy for, 222-233 democratic initiatives and, 140-145 failures of, 32 military structure and, 215-216n29, 220n42, 222 public opinion of, 32n8, 32, 33 U.S. relations with, 83
235 Constable, Pamela, 67 counterterror operations Obama administration's focus on, 139, 160-161 U.S.-Pakistan cooperation on, 23-24, 117-118, 125-129, 206-214 Cribe, George, 93-94 Crocker, Ryan, 19, 205n11 Crowley, Philip J., 137 cruise missile strikes in Pakistan, potential for, 206-214 Cuban Missile Crisis, 84-85 Davis, Raymond, 136-139,
149, 158, 208-209 Dawn (Pakistani English-language newspaper), 49-50 241 Defence of Pakistan Council (Difa-e-Pakistan) (DPC), 52, 101-102, 208 defensive insulation strategy future of U.S.-Pakistan relations and, 235-237 overview of, 26-27, 206-214, 233-235 democracy Bush's "freedom agenda," 11-12 Democratic Peace Theory, 215n28
 Pakistan's experience with, 140-145, 215, 219-222 Deobandism, 54, 97 development projects in Pakistani intelligence officials, Davis's clandestine activities - and what they said about a wider network of American spies operating on Pakistani soil - were a lot more important than whether he had acted in self-defense or what his
legal diplomatic status might be. For an Indian take on the issue, see Arun Sahgal, "India and US Rebalancing Strategy for Asia-Pacific," Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, July 9, 2012, asahgal 090712. Islamabad simply looked elsewhere to meet its perceived needs: to nearby China, to an independent nuclear weapons program, and even to
nurturing violent antiIndian insurgents and terrorists. As Acumen's visionary leader, Jacqueline Novogratz, explained during a visit to Washington in 2009, the fund follows a model of "patient capital," which means that Acumen is not looking to turn quick profits. 48 Instead, its goal is to use donor funds to maximize social benefits while building
businesses that eventually make money. Yet the local dynamics shifted, and Peshawar's fragile balance could not last. That entanglement makes violent conflict less likely. They believed India could play a constructive role in the global balance with China. Finally, one of the challenges in implementing an effective strategy of defensive insulation over
Kashmir, that mountainous stretch of land due east from Pakistan's capital, known today for its recent violence and bloodshed, but once upon a time famous for its picturesque valley and romantic houseboats on Dal Lake that offered British colonials a refuge from India's hot, dusty summers. And in areas where size matters, India delivers: its
Downloaded from . Neither man could, however, afford to have his peacemaking efforts look like a weak capitulation to American pressure. The Bush administration took the message and shelved plans for more crossborder raids. Part of the reason Novogratz came to Washington in 2009 was to see whether USAID would be willing to help Acumen
expand its Pakistan portfolio. See also Tahir Andrabi and Jishnu Das, "In Aid We Trust: Hearts and Minds and the Pakistan Earthquake of 2005," Working Paper (September 2010), www.cgdev.org/doc/events/9.14 .10/InAidWeTrust.pdf; and Testimony of Andrew Wilder, "Hearing on U.S. Aid to Pakistan: Planning and Accountability," U.S. House of
between the two is that Obama was less prone to draw direct and public connections between his India policy and potential concerns about China's rising power. In an ironic twist, that threat becomes more likely if, under American pressure, Islamabad were to take an unmistakable but only partially effective turn against LeT. State officials, including
Holbrooke and Raphel, tended to emphasize the political and diplomatic utility of KLB funds. 285. But in the spring of 2007 their students launched a new movement, perhaps touched off by an escalating land dispute with the city government. 70 Whatever its proximate cause, the radicals began a mini-Talibanization campaign in nearby
not content with the way the lines are drawn on South Asia's maps. On the drive back to Islamabad, Tetlay explained that the successful community organizations represented a challenge to traditional rural politicians who, for generations, have enjoyed virtually unquestioned authority to dispense or pocket development funds from the provincial and
national government. Moreover, Pakistan has taken pains to improve the security of its entire nuclear program - weapons, labs, and storage facilities - as it has grown larger and more complicated. Gordon Corera, Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global Insecurity, and the Rise and Fall of the A.Q. Khan Network (New York: Oxford
University Press, 2006), p. For much of the past decade, Pakistan has been rocked by internal turmoil and exceptional levels of violence. They saw that homegrown extremists had turned against their own state. Mullen earned this distinction from spending long hours cultivating ties with Pakistan's army chief, General Ashfaq Kayani. The Korean
peninsula is especially dangerous because it has become a possible flashpoint for conflict between the United States and China. Artificially low energy costs (set by the state to appeal to consumers) also reduce the incentive for investment in the power sector. Behind closed doors, Pakistan's civilian leaders endorsed the American strategy.83 For their
 part, Pakistani military officials negotiated with Americans about where armed drones were welcome and where they were not, narrowing attacks to specific regions, or "boxes," inside the FATA.84 On a summer night in 2009, a drone-launched Hellfire missile decapitated Baitullah Mehsud, the Pakistani Taliban leader responsible for the murder of
the end of our term."58 By 2006, Washington was beginning to see Pakistan's peace negotiations as a real problem. Banned in Pakistan for its revolutionary ideology, HuT maintains its headquarters in the United Kingdom. Among the high-living liberal elites, who commonly employ drivers, cooks, maids, and security guards, it sent a chilling message
that their families were not safe. Pakistani leaders ignored the fact that the United States had promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan had been dictated by broader Cold War calculations and the United States had promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked a fight with India.52 That said, Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors, not to provide assistance if Pakistan picked and promised only to defend against unprovoked aggressors.
not by any specific American interest in Pakistan per se. Yet we must face up to all of these challenges in Pakistan. No Exit 25 Pakistan's dramatic policy. 123. CPLC was founded in 1990 to help address a range of citizen concerns that
were not being handled by the police. But in the process its ally had destroyed the judicial edifice. 37 In Pakistan, as in many other states around the world, liberal ideals that are so thoroughly embedded in American society have been trumped by U.S. interests, above all the need to deal with immediate security threats. Second, India unlocked the
door to expanding its own nuclear program when it concluded a civilian nuclear agreement with the United States in 2005. Like Khan and so many politics.117 In a country of so many political dynasties, where parliamentary seats are often bequeathed from fathers
to sons, this was in itself a meaningful distinction. But Zia was made of sterner, or at least more ruthless, stuff. Why Do They Hate Us? Raja Mohan, whose soft-spoken commentary carries weight with the most senior foreign policymakers in New Delhi and Washington, takes the argument one step further. As one astute Pakistani officer explained in a
moment of candor, Islamabad would much prefer to squeeze benefits from both China and the United States than to pick one over the other.41 Recognizing this, U.S. officials have less to fear from Pakistan playing the "China card," and more to gain by offering an alternative to Beijing's dominance in the region. Q.) contact with, 119 kidnappings by,
149 Obama administration focus on, 23-24 in Pakistan, 11-16, 99, 158 Salafist ideology of, 97 U.S.-Pakistan cooperation concerning, 7-11, 108-117 al-Shibh, Ramzi, 8 al-Zawahiri, Ayman, 12, 208, 213 evolution of, 200-202 historical origins of, 1-4
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 Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. So severe is the tax problem in Pakistan that only 1 percent of the country's citizens - and only a third of its legislators - paid taxes in 2011, helping to make Pakistan's tax-to-GDP ratio the
 lowest in South Asia.35 Many of the country's rich may also be deliberately denying resources to the poor for fear that an 32 33 34 35 Douglas J. 228 No Exit from Pakistani nationalists have developed an entire narrative of relations with the
United States centered upon America as a fair-weather friend. America's Options 213 allies within the Pakistani state or society, the United States would reinforce a self-fulfilling prophecy. Among Bush's national security team, they were arguably better than anyone at actually getting things done in the world, but less persuasive when it came to
determining what ought to be done in the first place. I know I still have much more to learn from him. 263. Pakistan's nuclear past is often summarized in one name: Dr. A. Pakistani opposition could lead Washington to limit its air strikes to only the top terrorist targets like bin Laden's successor, Ayman alZawahiri. After that, the question is whether
Pakistan's media might also help reformers implement their idealistic agendas. A video released online by the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) shows Tarar being shot in the head as the bloodthirsty TTP leader Hakimullah Mehsud looks on.6 The killing was widely interpreted as evidence of the TTP's unrelenting hostility toward the Pakistani state and its
 agents, even longtime Taliban sympathizers like Tarar. In this sense, Zia was the classic striver from humble beginnings. Properly employed, Pakistan's bulging youth population could spark massive economic growth as it has in neighboring countries like China and India. He was in a hurry to shake things up, convinced that the prior administration
had wasted billions of dollars in projects that had failed to help the government or improve Pakistani perceptions of the United States. That would put vital oilfields and shipping routes within Moscow's reach, precisely as John Foster Dulles had feared during the early days of the Cold War. One of the most stunning features of the partnership between
Washington and Islamabad during the Afghan war was the extent to which Pakistan," New York Times, November 6, 2011, . From the Outside-In 199 States would be an albatross around India's neck and a costly obstacle to America's ambition for a
peaceful, prosperous region in which India plays a major, if perhaps independent-minded, role. Under a defensive insulation posture, Washington would address the threat of Pakistan-based terrorism at multiple levels. For an insider account of the challenges to developing the CIA's Predator program prior to 9/11, see Henry A. Around the world, HuT
may have as many as 1 million members.102 Shortly after America's 2011 bin Laden raid, the Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold. Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords: Pakistani generals would never wish to see this scenario unfold.
Press, 2008), p. Butt's English is impeccable, and everything about him seems tailored specifically to reach a target audience within the Pakistan's own decision to violate clear U.S. conditions. U.S. covert operations inside Pakistan would
need to grow, but the official American footprint inside Pakistan - its embassy, consulates, and USAID presence - would be downsized or even eliminated as part of a defensive insulation strategy. The Pakistani government devotes less than 2 percent of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP) to education, which is half the level India spends and
just over a third of the American figure.25 Resources are not the whole of the ensuing conflict. Yet Washington would find it politically, if not strategically, impossible to look past the Afghan war in its relationship with Pakistan. In
retrospect, the strategy behind the U.S. military alliance with Pakistan looks, as historian Robert J. In 1985, the U.S. congress passed legislation requiring a yearly White House certification that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear device. 4 5 As Steve Inskeep points out, the self-conscious creation of "Mohajirs" as a politically active ethnic identity was
the seminal work of Altaf Husain, leader of the MQM, which initially stood for "Mohaijir Qaumi Movement," Instant City: Life and Death in Karachi (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), pp. Over time, American frustrations mounted. Without tangible signs that Islamabad was serious about curtailing drone strikes, however, U.S. officials could only
interpret Pakistan's stance as a wink and a nod. At times, they could even circumvent politicians in soliciting money from the federal government. He asserted, often in a 82 83 84 85 A good discussion of the so-called
string of pearls strategy can be found in Kaplan, Monsoon, pp. Part of the Chinese concern was over the prospect 60 61 62 Shirley A. Before 2006 much of Peshawar was considered relatively safe. Zia preferred to wait until the new Reagan team took office. They would most likely be launched from Afghanistan to reduce flight times and to make clear
that they were not being directed from India (so as to avoid an unnecessary crisis between New Delhi and Islamabad). Thanks go to Dr. Abdullah Riar for playing host that memorable night in Islamabad. That would be over ten times its number at independence in 1947. For one such story, see "Wikileaks: Kayani Wanted More Drone Strikes in
Pakistan," Express Tribune, May 20, 2011, . Unfortunately, Pakistan's public schools do not fare much better. Finally, if the United States takes another shot at comprehensive cooperation, it would require new U.S. policies characterized by less hype, more tangible follow-through, and longer timelines. Driven by a deep nationalism and an over-
arching fear of India, he kick-started Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's favorite sport today, but she - like all other members of Pakistan's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s. The India Threat America bashing is Mazari's nuclear quest in the early 1970s
(LeT) has been favored by the army and Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) as a group that brought terror to India, first inside Kashmir, then farther afield. Then, after 9/11, working under intense American pressure, Pakistan executed significant - if incomplete - changes in its foreign and defense policies. It is now one of the nation's best
schools. The Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration maintains a variety of other technical teams to deal with a range of potential nuclear contingencies at home and overseas. U.S. officials could, for example, impose targeted sanctions and visa restrictions on Pakistani officials suspected of ties to terrorist organizations,
steps that U.S. officials have contemplated but avoided to date for fear that they would jeopardize other forms of bilateral cooperation. 14 As long as the terrorist threat persists, defensive insulation would feature a U.S. drone campaign inside Pakistan. In the years that followed, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the United States all paid a heavy price. 68
Exit Musharraf Washington had always known that Musharraf's regime could not last forever. Later, after Musharraf left the stage, it did not take long for the Obama administration to start dealing directly with Pakistan's generals. Second, even though Pakistan's media is growing more outspoken and its activists successfully took to the streets to
bring down the Musharraf regime, 144 145 146 147 "The Failed States Index 2011," Foreign Policy, 06/17/2011 failed states index interactive map and rankings. 7, . Yet those allegations overstate the level of support and the extent to which these groups depend upon India's largesse or are directed in any way by New Delhi.46 From an outsider's
point of view, one puzzle is why Pakistan feels so threatened by India. Proudly flanking the newlyweds were their "parents," a beaming President Bush and Secretary Rice. In addition, Washington's inadequate planning, the limitations of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and bureaucratic infighting delayed the delivery of most
new aid dollars for over a year after they were announced. For instance, the more frustrated Washington gets with Pakistan, the more inclined U.S. leaders are to favor a relationship with India, the more frustrated Washington gets with Pakistan, the more stable, democratic partner in South Asia. The United States was also on the way to electing a very different sort of president, one who pledged to
the next Indian government. The legislative process that yielded KLB was an unusually messy one, reflecting clear differences between Berman's vision and that of the bill's Senate sponsors. For an even-handed historical review of the 1970 elections and Bhutto's involvement in the events that led to Bangladeshi independence, see Talbot, Pakistan: A
Modern History, pp. It would, however, mean staking out a principled and public position on the U.S. preference for elected civilian rule. They saw his decision to align the country with America after 9/11 as the chief cause of violence inside Pakistan. The human costs, from violence, refugee flows, and internal dislocation would hurt Pakistanis and
their neighbors. On Haqqani, see Coll, Ghost Wars, p. Muslims are required to take up arms against the oppressor. See Dexter Roberts, "China's Growing Income Gap," Bloomberg Businessweek, January 27, 2011, 11_06/b4214013648109.htm; Dr. Damian Tobin, "Inequality in China: Rural Poverty Persists as Urban Wealth Booms," BBC, June 29, 2011, 11_06/b4214013648109.htm; Dr. Damian Tobin, "Inequality in China: Rural Poverty Persists as Urban Wealth Booms," BBC, June 29, 2011, 21_06/b4214013648109.htm; Dr. Damian Tobin, "Inequality in China: Rural Poverty Persists as Urban Wealth Booms," BBC, June 29, 2011, 21_06/b4214013648109.htm; Dr. Damian Tobin, "Inequality in China: Rural Poverty Persists as Urban Wealth Booms," BBC, June 29, 2011, 21_06/b4214013648109.htm; Dr. Damian Tobin, "Inequality in China: Rural Poverty Persists as Urban Wealth Booms," BBC, June 29, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011, 2011,
2011, Thant Myint-U, Where China Meets India: Burma and the New Crossroads of Asia (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), p. The Council on Foreign Relations takes no institutional positions on policy issues and has no affiliation with the U.S. government. Declan Walsh and Zia ur-Rehman, "Taliban Spread Terror in Karachi as the New
Gang in Town," New York Times, March 28, 2013, taliban-extending-reach-across-pakistan.html?pagewanted=all& r=0. Thanks also go to CFR's director of studies, James M. All of the information is then keyed into a nearby computer connected to a remote server and loan database. 3 Why Do They Hate Us? These important insights help to frame the
following three conclusions about Pakistan's trajectory. Pakistan's foxes could take over the henhouse. military-first security cooperation In Beijing, Chinese government officials and policy analysts - who are all more or less affiliated with the state and work hard to toe the party line - are more than happy to lecture American visitors about how the
Pakistanis hate to be lectured. Mohan, the strategist, astutely notes that if "pressed publicly by the U.S. leaders to fall in line with U.S. policy (for example, on Iran), the Indian political class will be compelled to affirm its unwillingness to be dictated to."90 86 87 88 89 90 Sunil Khilnani et al., "Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for Indian
in the Twenty First Century," Centre for Policy Research, 2012, NonAlignment%202.0 1.pdf. The brilliant Indian strategist C. Britain and France, for instance, pose no threat. This remains true; the primary purpose of the Pakistani military is to advance or defend its institutional interests. Put simply, Washington's goal is to navigate this shift in global
power in a way that least disrupts American interests. Just outside one entryway an old clock sat in the dirt, forever stopped at three thirty-five. He argued that a range of considerations influenced U.S. targeting decisions, including the "broader strategic 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 "Policy Options for Unmanned Aircraft Systems," Congressional Budget
Office, June 2011, p. It is also true that Khan's transactions made him rich. It is possible that over time Pakistan's civilian leaders will wrest power from the generals, or simply chip away at it, bit by bit. Whether the conversation turns to government corruption, suicide bombers, or routine electrical blackouts, the United States usually takes a share of
the blame. America's Options 215 democracy. I will never forget his belligerent mood on the eve of the lawyer's historic twenty-four-hour march from Islamabad to Lahore in early May 2007, when he harangued the United States up and down during a long, late dinner at the home of a mutual friend.35 Even in the car on my ride home my ears range
with Ahsan's message that time was up for Washington and its army puppet. No longer could the secretary of state speak "general" with the Pakistani, either to provide frank counsel or a boost of confidence. "Reforming Pakistani, either to provide frank counsel or a boost of confidence." International Crisis Group Asia Report No. 203, March 30, 2011, p. See, for instance, the
exchange between Senator Robert Menendez and Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher in "U.S. Foreign Assistance, Economic Affairs, and International Environmental Protection of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate
110th Congress, First Session (Washington, DC: U.S. GPO), December 6, 2007, pp. Imagine, for instance, if a Pakistan-based terrorist group managed to pull off a catastrophic attack in the United States. Another military coup would also hurt the military itself. Osama bin Laden cut his teeth recruiting Arab fighters in Peshawar, and the city's ties to
terrorism and the Taliban have persisted well after 9/11. When Pakistani student protesters ransacked the U.S. embassy in Islamabad in 1979, Pakistani's ruling general Ziaul-Haq cynically decided to let the protest burn itself out rather than to venture a serious rescue attempt. Clinton then emerged to address the Pakistani public in a live,
uncensored television broadcast. Media rep.)," January 30, 2011, . A long-standing border dispute spiraled out of New Delhi's control when Chinese forces overwhelmed Indian positions in the country's north and east. 2 (January 1964), pp. Most striking to U.S. officials at the time was the sense that Musharraf faced enemies within his own military
centuries. This led New Delhi to be receptive to diplomatic engagement with Islamabad and explains why the 77 78 79 80 "General Note," Census Data 2001/Census Data 2001/Census Data Online/Language/gen note.htm. All things equal, however, if Islamabad sees no
particular upside potential to cooperation with the United States, it will be more likely to devote itself to upsetting the American apple cart, starting in India. Their punishments were brutal. Unfortunately, the post-9/11 decade has added new layers of frustration, grievances, and complications. Too many people had heard the drones circling overhead
606-7. Publicly, Pakistani leaders denied supporting the Taliban. New Delhi's independent streak will continue to test the patience of American policymakers; it may eventually lead them to throw up their hands and leave India to its own devices. 3 (1998), pp. To be 20 Author conversations with Dr. Abdul Bari Khan, Dr. Muhammad Amin Chinoy, and
Dr. Akhtar Aziz Khan, May 22, 2012. tantamount to a declaration of war on Pakistan."71 Finally, and most painfully for the Pakistani army, a suicide bomber retaliated for the Bajaur strike. That is when the US did some stitch-work and pitched in with the demand for elections. Just two weeks after the killing of Osama bin Laden, when U.S.-Pakistan
relations were especially tenuous, Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani embarked on a state visit to Beijing. Each of these perspectives actually captures an important truth about Pakistan's present as well as clues to foreseeing its deeply uncertain future. By picking fights and belittling staff in Islamabad's USAID mission and throughout the
 embassy, Holbrooke made enemies of the people who were on the ground to implement new programs. In retrospect, it is possible to imagine that U.S. officials might have handled each of these challenges more effectively. Schmidt, "From Suburban Father to a Terrorism Suspect," New York Times, May 4, 2010, p. One need not go so far as some
analysts, who claim that the Pakistani nuclear arsenal is already a virtual "Sunni" bomb, to recognize that Saudi money and influence could buy Pakistani security guarantees and even, in short order, nuclear-tipped missiles deployed on Saudi soil.62 The sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday to the sharing of nuclear technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would wanted a sunday technology need not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would not stop in Riyadh, since other oil-rich Arab states would not state a sunday technology need not stat
to get into the act. He felt that Pakistan's leaders were too subservient, too willing to facilitate U.S. intervention in their sovereign affairs. Munter protested to no avail. If KLB was the new administration's carrot to dangle before the eyes of the Pakistani people, drones were its biggest stick for hitting Pakistan-based terrorists. 10 (October 1988), pp
But as these gained steam in Pakistan's major cities, al-Qaeda took greater advantage of its refuge in the FATA. Washington's primary policy tool for helping Pakistan behind? All of these U.S. interests are tied up in the fate of Pakistan itself. Raja Asghar
"Outraged Parliament Wants Border Raids Repulsed," Dawn, September 5, 2008, . Why not let China tend its troubled Pakistani ally while America cultivates the far more fertile Indian soil? The Military Balance 2012, International Institute of Strategic Studies (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. Neither Americans nor Indians honestly believed that
Musharraf's pledge would end terrorist infiltration once and for all, but Armitage's intervention was welcomed as a politically expedient means to defuse a war. That state of affairs was very comfortable for China. As U.S.-Pakistan relations frayed in 2011, American officials like Munter raised questions about whether killing no-name militants was
worth the high diplomatic price with Islamabad.94 That summer, the White House instituted minor changes in its drone policy intended to give the U.S. ambassador (and his boss, the secretary of state) more input. Retreating to an increasingly unilateral, coercive, and India-centric approach would do exactly that. Increasingly, Washington's top
policymakers felt a personal animus toward Pakistan. Even so, Pakistani fears of an American raid could have counterproductive consequences. None of these costly exercises has yielded tangible gains; India has shown itself able to absorb the butchery, deliver punishing blows of its own, and bear tremendous costs. The Four Faces of Pakistan 47
Military Inc. 74 No Exit from Pakistan with one another in ways that undermine their prospects for seizing power over the state. Arun Mohan, "Behind the Pakistan F-16 Deal, a Tale of Many Wheels," Hindu, May 30, 2011. India might profit more from such an arrangement than Pakistan, but the only real losers would be low-cost Chines
manufacturers. In a February 6, 2006, plea to Secretary Rice for additional resources, Neumann concluded, "We have dared so greatly, and spent so much in blood and money that to try to skimp on what is needed for victory seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials and spent so much in blood and money that to try to skimp on what is needed for victory seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky." 63 Unfortunately, the ambassador's calls for more resources made little headway. 64 Officials are not seems to me to be too risky.
back in Washington obligated available funds, manpower, and focus to Iraq. In Pakistan, businessmen are typically the most supportive voices for a normalized relationship with their Indian neighbors. Krasner, "Talking Tough to Pakistan, businessmen are typically the most supportive voices for a normalized relationship with their Indian neighbors. Krasner, "Talking Tough to Pakistan, businessmen are typically the most supportive voices for a normalized relationship with their Indian neighbors. Krasner, "Talking Tough to Pakistan, businessmen are typically the most supportive voices for a normalized relationship with their Indian neighbors. Krasner, "Talking Tough to Pakistan," Foreign Affairs (January/February 2012), talking-tough-to-pakistan. 19. Throughout 2012, Pakistan energized its
diplomatic outreach to India as a means to avoid simultaneous tension with Washington and New Delhi. They vented, publicly, in ways that once would have been impossible. That issue will be revisited at the end of the chapter. 130. But they were not, in the main, implacably hostile or irrational. It would hardly be surprising if American officials
choose to back a friendly Pakistani face, whether autocrat or democrat, in order to ride out a threatening political storm. If the Pakistani military no longer clears airspace for American drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones into other parts of Pakistani face, whether autocrat or democrat, in order to ride out a threatening political storm. If the Pakistani military no longer clears airspace for American drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones into other parts of Pakistani face, whether autocrat or democrat, in order to ride out a threatening political storm. If the Pakistani military no longer clears airspace for American drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border, or if U.S. officials decide to send drones along the Afghan border and the Afghan border along the Afghan border and the Afghan border along the Afghan border and the Afghan border along the Afghan border alon
current generation of slow, low-flying drones like the Predator would be fairly easy for 12 13 14 This figure reflects the increase, in the ten years since 9/11, in federal, state, and private sector expenditures on homeland security and intelligence, not including the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. 95 For Zia, hawkish Republicans were more committed to
the fight against communism and more likely to put aside issues that had plaqued his relationship with Carter, such as Pakistan's nuclear program and his dictatorship's human rights violations. For instance, shortly after the United States invaded Iraq in 2003, he argued in an interview that "Jihad is prescribed in the Quran. A Tumultuous Transition
Stepping back to 2007-8, the final years of the Bush administration, both Pakistan itself and relations between Washington and Islamabad were in turmoil. The city is a vast sea of concrete, asphalt, and super high-rise towers stretching on into the distance. An American, David Coleman Headley (born Daood Sayed Gilani), was the primary source for
LeT surveillance on targets in Mumbai prior to the attacks. 100 Judging by Saeed's own rhetoric, none of these developments should be particularly surprising. Other groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, such as LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups, however, and the LeT and various Punjabbased terrorist groups are punjabbased terrorist groups.
and the Baloch (in the southwestern desert) together make up about 35 percent of the population but have historically had less access to the levers of Pakistani power. pagewanted=all&src=pm. Author conversation, New Delhi, October 2010. 202 No Exit from Pakistani's erstwhile Taliban allies in Afghanistan and opening Pakistani's soil to
U.S. supply routes and counterterror operations, Musharraf had committed an unforgivable crime against the nation. 33 34 35 36 Kamran Yousaf, "Kayani Initiates USAID Project in S Waziristan," Express Tribune, June 19, 2012, . As always, rumors and conspiracy theories abounded. In a series of coordinated attacks across the city, young LeT
commandos methodically gunned down innocent civilians in hotels, the train station, a trendy cafe, and along the street, while other team members butchered a Jewish family on specific orders from their Pakistani handlers. More often than not, U.S. policies amounted to picking the "least bad" option from an unappetizing menu. Those "coalition
support funds" sent a billion dollars per year into Pakistani coffers. The women estimated that Iraq would demand the lion's share of America's attention even as al-Qaeda and the Taliban regrouped in Afghanistan and Pakistan. From 2007 to 2013,
the Chinese premier visited Pakistan only twice.64 Over the same period, Pakistan is a terrorist incubator. Its Communist Party leadership appears desperate to keep a lid on possible
sources of domestic discontent. "India," United Nations Children's Fund, statistics .html. Newly married, she lives with her husband and mother-in-law. Anyone with the means to leave Pakistan would be more likely to exercise that option, resulting in a new "brain drain" that the country can ill afford. Masood, "Satirical Song, a YouTube Hit,
Challenges Extremism in Pakistan," New York Times, November 6, 2011. Managing and mitigating threats over time is a more realistic expectation, as hard as that may be to stomach for Americans, whose "can do" spirit often mobilizes crests of energy followed by troughs of impatience. See also "Letter from the Officer in Charge of Pakistan-
Afghanistan Affairs (Poullada) to the Special Assistant at the Embassy in Pakistan for Mutual Security Affairs (Linebaugh)," Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960, 15, p. Neighboring states were sucked into the conflict that brought death, displacement, and destruction to millions of Africans over the subsequent decade. Q.) role in
Pakistan's development of, 87-88, 88n56, 90, 103, 119, 187-188 Pakistan's expansion of, 7-11, 69-70, 91-92, 187-188 U.S.-India partnership on, 181-184, 196-197 as "vital threat" to U.S., 16-18 Oakley, Robert, 91 Obama, Barack "AfPak" strategy under, 161-167 China policies under, 177 Davis affair and, 136-139 democratization initiatives in
Pakistan under, 140-145 drone policy of, 153-154, 154n66, 156, 158, 160-161 election in 2008 of, 59 India policy under, 23-24, 103-104, 109, 205-206, 216-217, 219-222 surge in Afghanistan and, 164-167 U.S.-Pakistan relations and, 4, 107, 136-151, 167-168 Obama's Wars (Woodward), 162 Omar, Mohammed
Mullah, 99, 127, 162-163 On China (Kissinger), 175 Pakistan. My gratitude is even deeper for the many Pakistanis who have so generously opened their offices and homes to me over the years. At that time, Washington and Beijing encouraged, and when necessary cajoled, Islamabad to seek real progress in Indo-Pakistani negotiations. Stimson
Center, 2004); Michael Krepon and Chris Gagne, eds. In the spring of 2003, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee took the first step back from the hostilities of 2001-2 and extended a "hand of friendship" to Pakistan. But it was Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who most effectively combined his antiAmericanism with his political agenda. Friedberg, A Contest
for Supremacy, p. Bush administration that American leaders spoke of placing China at the center of their global vision and declared that China should be viewed less as a "strategic competitor." 20 That shift had its limits. India's long, porous borders, weak defenses, and open society will expose it to Pakistan-based
terrorism for the foreseeable future, 254. As White House counterterror chief John Brennan put it a year after bin Laden's death, "for the first time since this fight began, we can look ahead and envision a world in which the al-Oaida core is simply no longer relevant,"81 The drone was the breakthrough tool that made such a vision possible. She had
every reason to fear; there were many extremists in Pakistan who hated everything she represented and wanted her dead. Pakistan - Strategic aspects. He came much closer to the Sunni extremes revived at the end of the nineteenth century by movements such as the Deobandis - from which today's Taliban draw inspiration - and the Salafis - from
which al-Qaeda and Lashkar-e-Taiba derive their views.86 Zia was more pious than radical in his own religious observance, and his deep attachment to the army made it inconceivable that he would have subscribed to the sorts of anti-state views held by al-Qaeda. www.cambridge.org/9781107623590 ©
Daniel S. In many case, instructors collect paychecks but never bother to show up to the classroom, 21 In response, millions of Pakistani parents simply have given up on public schools. Nearby, just off a dusty alleyway is the simple two-room home of a Kashf borrower. Indians have long criticized Washington's military aid to Pakistan, but now that
they worry more about Pakistan's weakness and instability than its strength, they place a greater value on the restraining influence of a viable U.S.-Pakistan relationship. The scandal-prone Texas congressman, Charlie Wilson, waged the battle on Capitol Hill to secure funding for the mujahedeen. Boiled to its essentials, the disagreement hinges on
how to deal with the Afghan Taliban and especially the Haqqani network based inside the Pakistan are confident Pakistan and especially the Haqqani network based inside the Pakistan are confident Pakistan are confident Pakistan and especially the Haqqani network based inside the Pakistan are confident Pakistan and especially the Haqqani network based inside the Pakistan are confident Paki
both China and the United States - would be more inclined to seek a diplomatic breakthrough on core political and military issues like Kashmir. Returning to the discussion in Chapter 2, a failure of Pakistan's military would be tantamount to the failure of the state. 78 No Exit from Pakistan At various points in his political career, Bhutto moderated his
anti-Western rhetoric, but he never surrendered his basic suspicions of the United States. The trouble with painting such a portrait is that Pakistan shows different audiences. He sought to do so in an effort to rally his own supporters and deflect attention from the domestic crisis of his own making.33 Bhutto's desperate ploy failed.
Pakistan shot to the top of the American agenda. For an extended discussion of LeT, see Chapter 3. Lieven writes that the "highly conservative, archaic, even sometimes quite inert and somnolent" Pakistan is most likely to shrug off the competing forces of modernization and change and then "roll over and go back to sleep." 136 Lieven cautions that
Pakistan is a "hard country," immunized to most threats of revolution because the basic building blocks of its society - those immensely powerful kinship networks that bind individuals to their families and communities - "so far have changed with glacial slowness." Pakistan is less susceptible to change, for the better or the worse, than we think.
Pakistan's moderates (not to mention many American policymakers) have comforted themselves with the observation that even at their most successful moments, Pakistan's 1965 war with India that knocked the
relationship to a new low. xii. Khalid, "Religious Schools Court Wealthy Women in Pakistan." Downloaded from . U-Turn to Drift 135 By the summer of 2008, however, Musharraf was out, a fresh army chief installed, and a new civilian government elected. In 1986, Saeed joined with sixteen others to found an organization devoted to proselytizing the
Ahle Hadith creed through preaching and social services (dawa) and war (jihad).96 With the war raging in full swing, Saeed and his compatriots - including Osama bin Laden's early co-conspirator, Abdullah Azzam - could not have asked for
a more auspicious time to start. The messy - and often corrupt - process of democratic rule is rarely improved without practice. 12 No Exit from Pakistan democracy and greater freedom in the Muslim world was driven in large part by the observation that repressive and autocratic regimes were to blame for the alienation and anger behind al-Qaeda's
mission. Roshaneh Zafar addresses this issue in her essay, "The Conundrum of Microfinance Growth in Pakistan," April 2012, p. Just because a country has nuclear weapons does not necessarily make it a concern to the United States. Failing at that mission and facing a costly stalemate or worse, Ayub grudgingly accepted a settlement brokered by the
Soviets in Tashkent that delivered a cease-fire but no Indian concessions on Kashmir. Nominal allies since 2001, nearly a decade later they could not even agree on who the terrorists were. If not, Washington will again find itself tipping the political scales in the army's favor. See Bruce Riedel, Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of
Global Jihad (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2011), p. Thirty-one percent of Pakistanis felt the quality was unchanged. Even in the early days of Obama's term when he ordered a sixty-day review of "AfPak" strategy, it was clear that for many U.S. officials Pakistan was first and
foremost an extension of the American mission in Afghanistan.98 In early 2009, when Pakistani Taliban briefly extended their control over territories just sixty miles from Islamabad, some prominent American commentators likened the situation to the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan.99 They 97 98 99 Greg Miller, Ellen Nakashima, and Karen De
Young, "CIA Drone Strikes Will Get Pass in Counterterrorism 'Playbook,' Officials Say," Washington Post, January 19, 2013, .washington Pos
Pakistanis also have greater access to health services and education than their parents or grandparents did before them.10 Yet Pakistan might have done a lot better for itself if its government had invested greater resources in the health and education of its people. No Exit 21 will be true even if New Delhi never seeks or accepts a formal alliance
with Washington. The fact that Pakistani leaders continued to draw distinctions between different militant groups - favoring some and attacking others - muddled the picture even more. 236 No Exit from Pakistan other words, they should ask the following guestion: What mixture of policies will best allow the United States to prepare for the worst,
aim for the best, and avoid past mistakes? His cobbled-together party, known as the Pakistan Muslim League (Quaide-Azam), was neither internally democratic nor a strong voice for policies that would reduce extremism, improve relations with the United States, or contribute to economic development. Ouch."46 45 46 money appropriated for FY
2010, the vast majority was not obligated until late September 2010, when the GAO reports that "USAID signed a bilateral assistance agreement with the government of Pakistan for up to $831 million." The remaining $171.2 million was neither obligated nor disbursed by the time the GAO report was released. Alone, each of these broad strategic
options is therefore conceivable but flawed. When the lime-green uniformed Khan finally hoisted the globe-shaped trophy over his head in triumph, it was a victory of mind over matter. Kevin's enthusiasm and attention to detail were invaluable down the home stretch. Later, it was the attacks of 9/11, rather than any particular concern about internal
Pakistani dynamics, which rekindled U.S.-Pakistani ties. Even in those areas, USAID officials were rewarded for soliciting and reviewing proposals and granting awards to a select group of outside contractors. The more Pakistani's military leaders become convinced of hostile American intent, the more their insecurity would lead them to take the
 "weapons of the weak" - the nuclear warheads and terrorist proxy forces originally developed for use against neighboring India - and repurpose them for duty against the United States. (2) Pakistan is already vulnerable to nightmarish scenarios, even if they are not likely to result in revolution or state collapse. 1151-69. In May 1954, the United
States and Pakistan formally signed a mutual assistance agreement. Most important of all, every bit of the hospital's work is free to the patients, financed by charitable contributions. The main problem was the instability of Pakistan's own political system. Patience would be thin from the very beginning. But a whiff of the acrid winter air from New
Delhi's innumerable dung fires, the frustration of unremitting traffic jams in Bangalore's overcrowded thoroughfares, or the experience of several power outages during a single morning meeting on one of the city's technology campuses suggests even India's globally competitive cities have a long way to go to get their infrastructure up to par.
Pakistani generals might continue to build more tactical nuclear weapons to keep up, or they might decide that a minimal arsenal is enough. India's 2001-2 military mobilization alone came with a price tag of more than $1.4 billion, over 10 percent of the national defense budget.48 Tragically, even without engaging the Pakistani army, nearly 800
Indian troops died and 900 Indian civilians lost their lives, most in land mine blasts.49 Other Pakistan-based terror attacks have also imposed huge costs. His military mind was closed to the practice of genuine political competition. In Pakistan's major wars with India as well as in more recent Indo-Pakistani crises, Beijing's assistance has been
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marginal. He argued that Washington should send a "clear and consistent" message to Pakistan: "democracy, reconciliation, the military out of politics, a new policy for the tribal areas - and more democracy, reconciliation, the military out of politics, a new policy for the tribal areas."
representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan. As has been the case for decades, and as explained at greater length in the second chapter of this book, Pakistan society is dominated by a small, elite class of feudal land barons and industrialists, usually in collusion with the most powerful institution of the land: the army. See also U.S.-Pakistan relations
assistance programs in Pakistan by, 23-24 China's relations with, 175-178, 188-192, 197-199 competing priorities in Pakistan and, 206-214 drone strike debate in, 158-159 economic sanctions against Pakistan by, 91-92 F-16 aircraft deal with Pakistan, 91, 95, 123-124 247 financial
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109-114, 143n22, 181-182 China's role in, 182-184, 188-192, 197-199 Cold War and, 178-179 comprehensive cooperation strategy for, 222-233 covert operation strategy for, 206-214 distrust and disagreement in, 165n108, 167-168 drone
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Pakistan and, 91-92 nuclear expansion in Pakistan and, 90, 209-212 Obama administration and, 136-168 overview of U.S. options in, 26-27 political climate in U.S. and, 202-204 © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press www.cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured
Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. There are reasons to suspect that Hayat Ullah Khan may have paid for this story with his life. Armitage then shuttled to India where he publicly revealed Musharraf's pledge. Raja Mohan, "Poised for Power: The Domestic Roots of India's Slow Rise," in Ashley Tellis and Michael Wills, eds., Strategic Asia 2007-8
Domestic Political Change and Grand Strategy (Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2007), p. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 164 No Exit from Pakistan Mixed Messages Mixed, confusing signals from Washington reinforced existing Pakistan idoubts about U.S. intentions and commitment in Afghanistan. India graciously returned the favor by
welcoming Obama to New Delhi, where his visit got rave reviews, not least because the president arrived with a surprise gift: America's support for India's bid to become a permanent member of the United States
continue to be hatched. America would be better off if its leaders are able to brave the political storm; to seek cooperation with and even assistance for Pakistan if and when it serves U.S. interests, whatever Islamabad's perfidy in Afghanistan. If U.S. officials again aim to build trust with Pakistan's military, they could attempt to implement a policy
process similar to that of the Bush administration during its early years, when Secretary of State Colin Powell and his team set much of U.S. policy and also managed the diplomatic relationship. At the same time, Washington would need to frame its deterrent threats
in ways likely to encourage responsible nuclear stewardship, not recklessness. Others worried that with no new diplomatic breakthrough on the horizon, relations with India would naturally lose steam. There is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present, as there is indeed a tension in Peshawar between past and present past an
was never any doubt in Washington that Musharraf was a less-than-ideal partner and Pakistan a difficult ally. uk/news/world-south-asia-13873188; Kamran Yousaf, "Alleged HuT Links: 'Brigadier Ali Likely to Be Released Soon,'" Express Tribune, June 29, 2011, 198538/alleged-hut-links-brigadier-ali-likely-to-be-released-soon/. 34 35 36 "Yesterday,
Today, and Tomorrow," MR Zine, Monthly Review Foundation, November 11, 2008, . The country cycled through a series of ineffectual and weak governments and ran up an astronomical debt along the way. Days before, Shahzad had published a story about secret negotiations between the Pakistani military and al-Qaeda. Presumably the basic point
is already appreciated in Islamabad.19 U.S. threats would be even more credible if Pakistani leaders were convinced that Washington could launch a non-nuclear 17 18 19 On the CIA compound in Abbottabad (New York: Crown, 2012), pp. In a country of nearly
200 million people, even KLB's authorized $1.5 billion per year would amount to only about $7.50 per person. For them, getting the money was all-important. Over time, America will be better off if it advocates universal principles and supports stronger democratic institutions in Pakistan rather than specific individuals. To help secure Pakistan's
nuclear arsenal, Washington granted the Pakistani military's Strategic Plans Division at least $100 million, along with technical information and training.23 Although there is no publicly available record, it is widely accepted that the United States also provided hundreds of millions of dollars or more to the ISI to encourage its cooperation and improve
its ability to help find and kill terrorists. Even if Musharraf disappeared, the Pakistani "establishment" - the army and its political allies - would end up following a path similar to the one Musharraf was not a bunch of wild-eyed jihadists but a
look-alike from the all-powerful Pakistani army. The trim, graving sixty-three-year-old president of Pakistani's Supreme Court Bar Association offered me a nod and then, gazing somewhere over my right shoulder, stated in a matter-of-fact tone, "I hope you realize the extreme discomfort I feel dining with an American these days." Ahsan, born just two
years before Pakistan's birth, is the quintessential Pakistan iliberal anti-American. Frustration and disgust with Pakistan shows little sign of abating. Bhutto, Ayub's foreign minister at the time, later claimed that he opposed Tashkent and offered his resignation over it several times but was at first refused by Ayub.25 Whatever the case, Bhutto was out
of a job and thoroughly alienated from Ayub. The Four Faces of Pakistan 31 of Partition. But to the extent that the United States influences Pakistan's future, that prophecy could be a self-fulfilling one. Yet the future is complicated by the aspirations of the Chinese and Indians themselves. In the process they helped to avert at least one major war
between India and Pakistan. But because LeT's ideological compulsions also did not permit a soft line in its struggle against India or the United States, it chafed at attempts by Islamabad to rein in the jihad. U.S. operations inside Pakistan and Afghanistan sent Osama bin Laden to a watery grave and killed or captured many of his top lieutenants. They
were only loosely based on verifiable Pakistani costs. His political strategy had inherent contradictory impulses. Like many officers, Mullen placed a great deal of stock in the notion that personal connections with foreign officers build
more effective state-to-state relationships. Bush administration threw its weight behind President Musharraf's undemocratic regime or launched its war in Afghanistan, before President Obama accelerated the use of drones in Pakistani's Federally Administered Tribal Areas or sent Navy SEALs to kill Osama bin Laden, the Pakistani public had deep
misgivings about the United States. The Khan denouement followed a string of public reports that Pakistan had been the source of nuclear smuggling activity. The
diplomatic consequence of Pakistan's nuclear program was that it drove a deep wedge between Washington and Islamabad. Weaving together several unlikely conspiracies, he argues that Tarar was the victim of an elaborate American assassination plot. 103 anti-Americanism to new heights. Sanger, The Inheritance (New York: Harmony Books,
2009), pp. Pakistan: Do More Pakistan resisted U.S. pressure despite an intensive series of diplomatic dialogues between political and military leaders in Washington and Islamabad. But what is encouraging, even inspiring, is that there are so many similar efforts in the works focused on improving healthcare, low-income housing, primary education,
and agriculture across Pakistan.52 Many Pakistanis are working hard to improve their country, their lives, and the fortunes of their children. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, "Afghanistan National Country, their lives, and the fortunes of their children. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, "Afghanistan Index," Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, September 30, 2012, *\Phi\text{media}/media/Programs/foreign%20policy/afghanistan National Country, their lives, and the fortunes of their children. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, "Afghanistan Index," Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, September 30, 2012, *\Phi\text{media}/media/Programs/foreign%20policy/afghanistan National Country, their lives, and the fortunes of their children. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, "Afghanistan Index," Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, September 30, 2012, *\Phi\text{media}/media/Programs/foreign%20policy/afghanistan National Country, their lives, and the fortunes of their children. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, "Afghanistan Index," Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, September 30, 2012, *\Phi\text{media}/media/Programs/foreign%20policy/afghanistan National Country, their lives, and the fortunes of their children. Livingston and Michael O'Hanlon, "Afghanistan National Country, "Afghanistan National Country," Brookings Institution (National Country) (
from its professional duties over nearly a decade, the army lost strength, unity, and the respect of the public. I hope this book reflects well the lessons I have learned from U.S. government colleagues, particularly the policy planning directors, staffers, and officers of the embassies and consulates in Pakistan, India, and China. Their views are already
influencing policymakers and legislators in Washington. Successful U.S. military and intelligence operations have diminished, not eliminated, the terrorist threat. All told, foreign influences - the jihadist ideology of al-Qaeda and the Taliban, along with the heavy-handed presence of the Pakistani army - were destroying what remained of the region's
traditional political and social hierarchy. By this logic, Washington's threatening actions intended to deter could actually encourage greater Pakistan Needs to Act against Haqqani Network: US," Dawn, April 20, 2012, dawn.com/
2012/04/20/pakistan-needs-to-act-against-haqqani-network-us/. In the autumn of 1962, India badly miscalculated its military balance with China. It could be reconstituted if Washington takes its eye off the ball. America's Options 237 To be clear, however, a tilt toward defensive insulation does not mean a wholesale embrace of that strategy
"Afghanistan Opium Survey 2007: Executive Summary," United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (August 2007), ExSum web.pdf. Once again, it is not clear that the American problem was an over-ambitious agenda in Pakistan. The rest were forced to run for cover from the drones. More freedom, the logic ran, would make for less terrorism.
Therefore, it did not make sense to worry too much about Musharraf per se. It was an American citizen, David Coleman Headley, born to a Pakistani father and an American mother, who trained for months in Pakistani father and an American mother, who trained for months in Pakistani LeT camps and conducted the surveillance of Mumbai in preparation for the 2008 attacks. The more they interact, the more the
sinners come to appreciate that they are perfectly suited to the task, each vulnerable to precisely the psychological torture meted out by the others, and each capable of inflicting similarly devastating punishment in return. But what does China want from Pakistan and South Asia over the long run, particularly as its own power and influence grow?
With outside help, including from the United States, other projects of this sort could be implemented. More and more, rather than asking how U.S.-Pakistan relations with the Pakistanis on track long enough to avoid ruining our counter-terror
agenda and our plans for Afghanistan?" Even Pakistani supporters of cooperation with the United States had trouble explaining the specific benefits of KLB assistance. It sounded like Washington was asking Pakistan to put the screws to the Afghan Taliban so the United States could secure its own face-saving way out of the war. the end of the affair to put the screws to the Afghan Taliban so the United States could secure its own face-saving way out of the war.
What made the Raymond Davis affair especially tragic was that it heralded the end of an era of great expectations for the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. The United Nations Goodwill Ambassador was calling upon the well of support he built by raising money for countrymen in need, as in 2010 when he released the single "Open Your Eyes" with Peter
Gabriel to help Pakistan's millions of flood victims. Islamabad sought to turn Washington's diplomatic initiative to its own advantage.112 Some influential Pakistani analysts and policymakers had long perceived a deal with the Taliban as an opportunity for a grand diplomatic masterstroke.113 In one fell swoop they envisioned ending U.S. pressure to
turn against the Afghan Taliban, winning greater influence over Afghanistan's future, and accelerating the U.S. military drawdown from the region. When crises have hit over the past decade, New Delhi has expected Washington to put pressure on Islamabad. One can debate the morality of this fact, but it is necessary to recognize that states are
typically moved to action by what they perceive to be their own interests. India can absorb the cost of major terrorist attacks, as long as they remain sporadic. Gelb, "The Richard Holbrooke I Knew," Daily Beast, January 2, 2011, s-contributions-to-foreign-policy.html. If a small group of technical experts from NEST rotated through a nearby base in
Afghanistan or one of the Gulf states, Washington would be able to respond even more quickly to a regional emergency. 345. Persistent differences of the defensive insulation strategy in order to protect its people and interests. The Ford
administration was the first to recognize what Bhutto and his nuclear scientists, including Khan, were up to. Shapiro and C. Properly crafted aid projects, from the traditional USAID point of view, would bear fruit in terms of alleviating poverty and stabilizing the society over the long term. Pakistan always valued Washington's assistance as an
external balancer in the regional competition against its larger neighbor, with which it had split in the violent Partition of 1947 after years of political infighting among the top leaders of the movement that ejected British rule from the subcontinent. Turning cash into progress on any of these fronts would be the next challenge. New Delhi suspected
that Islamabad, facing rocky times with Washington and a violent insurgency at home, simply wished to avoid additional troubles with India. Pakistan is the training base and haven for militant anti-Chinese outfits like the East Turkestan Independence Movement (ETIM), a Uighur separatist organization operating out of China's Xinjiang Autonomous
Region. Yet he believed he was serving a higher purpose, 59 60 61 For more on official Pakistani complicity, including the involvement of Musharraf and Benazir Bhutto in transfers to North Korea, see Matthew Kroenig, Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. Author's
conversation, Islamabad, May 2010. Press Freedom Index 2013, Reporters without Borders, Paris, France, pdf/classement 2013 gb-bd.pdf. Other states in the region will hedge their bets, uncertain of U.S. commitments. It is also the reason that the Obama administration never lived up to the hopes of Pakistan's most idealistic supporters of democracy
in the early days after Musharraf was toppled. In Pakistan, over 60 out of 1,000 children die before the age of one, putting it right between Rwanda and Uganda in global rankings.13 9 10 11 12 13 Alex Rodriguez, "Survey: Young Pakistanis Harbor Doubts about Future, Democracy," Los Angeles Times, April 3, 2013, 0,2015291.story. India is not
ready - and may never be eager - to join hands with the United States in ways that tie them. Pakistan has an abundance of dynamic forces that have already rendered parts of its landscape unrecognizable to its founding generation. At other times, similarly faulty American assumptions led Washington's policymakers to perceive - and portray -
Pakistan as if it stood just at the edge of violent Islamist revolution. Schmidt turns Lieven's argument on its head. The combination of homeland defense and overseas disruption of safe havens has so far saved America from another devastating attack. Author conversation, November 2011. Indian reluctance to enter a formal alliance with Washington
goes beyond the fact that the United States and India have different interests with respect to major global issues, like climate change and trade. This is one of the many insightful observations in Nayak and Krepon, U.S. Crisis Management. Army operations that year forced 2 million people to flee their homes. They worry first and foremost about
internal economic and political stability, including everything from political opposition and labor unrest to restive territories like Xinjiang and Tibet. they had perfect law and order with no formal police force, only traffic cops without sidearms."86 Armed with conspiracy theories and vitriol, Gul stands at Pakistan's nexus of the Taliban, Lashkar-e-
Taiba, Islamist political parties, international terrorists, and the nation's most bloodthirsty sectarian outfits. Looking back, Baig muses, those early missteps foreign and defense policy both suggested that his goal was to
circumvent or escape from the messiness inherent in democratic political competition. At present, the ideal mix of U.S. strategies should tilt toward defensive insulation. The promise of Pakistan's history or likely future trajectory could
reasonably lead to that conclusion. Those high-flying surveillance aircraft flew Cold War missions across Soviet territory. As one prominent Pakistani think tank observed, "Apart from some historic achievements during its five year term, the 13th National Assembly remained unsuccessful in providing workable recommendations on resolving
Pakistan's key issues including terrorism, law and order situations in Balochistan, Karachi and FATA, and growing sectarianism. Salman Taseer had dared to question Pakistan's law against blasphemy, which was at the time being used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged use of the prophet's name in vain. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Arnaud de Borchgrave," (Arnaud de Borchgrave) and the time being used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged use of the prophet's name in vain. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Arnaud de Borchgrave," (Arnaud de Borchgrave) and the time being used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged use of the prophet's name in vain. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Arnaud de Borchgrave," (Arnaud de Borchgrave) and the time being used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged use of the prophet's name in vain. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Arnaud de Borchgrave," (Arnaud de Borchgrave) and the time being used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged use of the prophet's name in vain. Arnaud de Borchgrave, "Arnaud de Borchgrave," (Arnaud de Borchgrave) and the time being used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to prosecute a Christian woman for her alleged used to p
de Borchgrave's Exclusive September 2001 Interview with Hamid Gul," Washington Times, July 28, 2010, jul/28/deborchgrave-sept-2001-interview-hameed-gul/?page=all#pagebreak. The administration chose to focus on what Pakistan had provided - from high level arrests of al-Qaeda operatives to logistical support for the U.S. invasion of
Afghanistan - and not on what Pakistan had failed to do, like taking a decisive stance against the Taliban fighters who fled from Afghan battlefields. "In fact, it was foreseen. As part of its nuclear security tool kit, the U.S. Department of Energy has assembled a group of technical experts known as the Nuclear Emergency Support Team (NEST).24 In
combination with U.S. Special Operations Forces, members of NEST would be on the front lines if one of Pakistan's future is that the country is pregnant with possibilities. Looking to the future, unless Pakistan takes a different approach toward terrorism,
militancy and extremism, cooperation between Washington and Islamabad will continue to rest on rickety foundations. Salman Masood, "Musharraf Defends Raid that Ends Red Mosque Siege," New York Times, July 13, 2007, . Zia mistakenly believed that "Islam" offered a solution.89 The problem was that Islam meant different things to different
Pakistanis. Several young journalists have been forced to leave their homes in Pakistan and resettle in the United States because their stories had so upset the authorities. When they hit, U.S. sanctions were painful. Well before Bush entered the White House, congressional frustration over Pakistan's military coup and nuclear program had ended U.S
assistance. 110 No Exit from Pakistan their differences with other members of the Bush administration in academic jargon, drawing contrasts between the "neoconservatives" and the "realists." And it is true that Powell and Armitage (along with Powell's Director of Policy Planning, Richard Haass) defined U.S. national interests narrowly. China has
long maintained a huge active-duty military, with well over 2 million personnel in 2010, but those impressive numbers did not translate into a modern or especially capable force. See Joshua Pollack, "The Secret Treachery of A.Q. Khan," Playboy (January/February 2012). Joint ventures with Indian counterparts would open new and lucrative vistas for
Pakistanis who have tapped out their domestic market and find it difficult to work in China or the Middle East.65 In late 2011, Pakistan's business community supported moves by Islamabad to expand cross border trade by granting Most Favored Nation status to India.66 In return, New Delhi moved to allow greater Pakistani direct investment in
India. If this book also reveals a measure of academic wisdom, it is because I have benefited from my time at Johns Hopkins and Princeton, and xi © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge.org Cambridge.
The Bush administration failed to resolve fundamental contradictions in its strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. Few would have guessed that the United States would find itself mired in the war in Afghanistan even longer than that. Musharraf's alliance
was in fact grudging and incomplete. Attacks escalated in the tribal areas as well as in the nation's urban centers. See K. The United States will have great difficulty conducting these operations without some cooperation or consent from their Pakistani counterparts. Nothing about this early period of his life suggested any particular ideological or
religious commitment. When Pakistan was helpful, it enjoyed generous American assistance and attention. Instead, the move triggered the passion and vigor of the black-suited lawyers' movement, expertly organized by Aitzaz Ahsan (described in the previous chapter) and his associates. This school of thought had gotten so strong that Pakistan's
media even gave it a name: the "Ghairat [honor] Brigade." 67 Having been freed from the muzzle imposed during the Musharraf years, today, A. In spite of U.S. claims to the contrary, many Pakistani's arsenal. 41-78. 3 (1996), pp. 12. On the
march, see Salman Masood, "Throngs Attend Speech by Pakistan's Suspended Justice," New York Times, May 7, 2007, .html. Q.), 17-18, 87-88, 88n56, 88n57, 90, 103, 119, 187-188 Khan, Akhter Hameed, 228n53 Khan, Ali, 56n103, 58 Khan, Ayub, 75-76, 82, 85-86, 221 Bhutto's relations with, 77-78 on India, 178-179 Khan, Hayat Ullah, 154 Khan, Akhter Hameed, 228n53 Khan, Ayub, 75-76, 82, 85-86, 221 Bhutto's relations with, 77-78 on India, 178-179 Khan, Hayat Ullah, 154 Khan, Ali, 56n103, 58 Khan, Ayub, 75-76, 82, 85-86, 221 Bhutto's relations with, 77-78 on India, 178-179 Khan, Hayat Ullah, 154 Khan, Ali, 56n103, 58 Kh
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04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Sooner or later, from Baig's point of view, the United States and its allies will be driven from Afghanistan just as the Russians were. Pervez Musharraf's Address to the Nation on December 30, 2004,"
.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/document/papers/mussaraf 30Dec04.htm. After leaving his office, the spy chief never fully abandoned the Taliban or the other violent extremists he had done so much to nurture. In addition, a trust fund would operate outside the annual U.S. budget cycle. Peshawar found itself at the leading edge of a shocking
wave of violence that would soon crest over Pakistan. Ahsan was the chief justice's attorney and, at times, his "chauffeur." The two cruised at a snail's pace in Ahsan's Mitsubishi SUV as they led massive street protests through a number of Pakistan's largest cities, surrounded by boisterous, black-suited lawyers and their rose-petal throwing
supporters. Different segments of the Pakistani public have had different misgivings about the United States. In one of the most egregious examples of this trend, in March 2009 they bombed the mausoleum of the revered seventeenth-century Pashtun poet, Rahman Baba.3 Not surprisingly, Pakistan's terrorists attacked U.S. facilities in Peshawar with
a special vengeance. But Pakistan remains the greatest external threat to Indian growth and security. At least from China's point of view, Islamabad has not always shown adequate commitment to killing or capturing these groups. Other Pakistanis, including some relatively senior army officers, have explained in euphemistic terms that they are
"certain" that many of the fighters along the Afghan border are Hindus, noting that many of the men they have killed or captured are uncircumcised. Holbrooke was right to see grave failings in USAID's Pakistan mission. 58; Salmaan Taseer, Bhutto: A Political Biography (1980) reproduced by Sani Hussain Panhwar, pp. 200-205, esp. All three are
causes. After 9/11, this was again the case. Pakistan also poses a special sort of threat to India because of its historical and cultural connections. Bald and seemingly as wide and deep as he is tall, Armitage uses his heft to political advantage. Shahid Javed Burki, "Educating the Pakistani Masses," in Robert Hathaway, ed., Education Reform in Pakistan
(Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2005), p. This book explores the main trends in Pakistani society that will help determine its future; traces the wellsprings of Pakistani anti-American sentiment through the history of U.S.-Pakistan relations from 1947 to 2001; assesses how Washington made and implemented policies
regarding Pakistan since the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001; and analyzes how regional dynamics, especially the rise of China, will likely shape U.S.-Pakistan relations. President Carter had arrived in office without any expectation that he would turn up the heat on Moscow. Ministry of Home Affairs, "Provisional
Population Totals: Rural-Urban Distribution," Census of India 2011, files/india/ paper2 at a glance.pdf. Siddiga, Military Inc., p. This does not absolve Islamabad for its failure to tackle some of the worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan's tribal dilemma in context. See Bob Woodward, "McChrystal: More Forces on the Worst Afghan Taliban groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, but it does place Pakistan groups, like the Hagganis, like the Hagganis groups, like the Hagganis grou
delivered a soaring speech received by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee with the words, "Mr. President, your visit marks the beginning of a new voyage in the new century by two countries which have all the potential to become natural allies." 33 In his inimitable style, Clinton then went on to charm local Indian audiences at joyous receptions
around the country. For Powell and Armitage, major changes in the world were possible yet difficult to engineer and, more often than not, unpredictable. These quarrels are likely to resurface until U.S. officials gain confidence that Pakistan's civilian democrats are not merely more popularly legitimate than (or morally superior to) their military
conditioning can make modern buildings uninhabitable. Instead of granting tiny loans to individuals with minimal oversight, they decided to give slightly larger loans to female-owned businesses and treat the loan more like an investment, collecting additional information and collateral at the outset, monitoring progress, and providing simple businesses
training courses to encourage effective practices. From the perspective of U.S. diplomats, however, no one in Islamabad should have been the least surprised. Unfortunately, KLB stumbled right out of the gate. Downloaded from . The Bush administration's "freedom agenda" was also kicking into a higher gear. In the spring of 1961, Kennedy
country. Pakistan offers direct, albeit treacherous, land access from western China to Central Asia. It would still confront a regional security environment in which the United States maintains the most powerful military. That fear would help to motivate responsible, even obsessive, nuclear stewardship. Within twenty-four hours of the initial Soviet
invasion, he concluded that Washington would need a new relationship with Pakistan to channel assistance to Afghan insurgents. It is less clear precisely what Pakistan's military and civilian leaders knew about all of his many export activities. "Timing of US Drone Strike Questioned by Munter," Associated Press, August 2, 2011, . They argued that
Washington should avoid being sucked into 38 39 Celia W. drift and distraction By crafting a narrow deal with Musharraf after 9/11, the Bush administration pot what it needed to launch its opening salvo in the campaign to punish alQaeda and its allies. Dulles's predecessors in the Truman administration had also appreciated that logic, but not to the
extent of seeking a formal alliance with Pakistan. Mirza Aslam Beg, "Confirmation: Bin Laden 'Clone' Killed at Abbottabad," Veterans Today, May 20, 2011, . Like Kerry and Lugar, Berman supported aid to Pakistan's civilian government and wanted to see 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 The language on civilian control over the military is found in Section
302(a) (15) of the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act. China wants to have it all in South Asia: stability across the region, trade with India, and long-term strategic investments in Pakistan. Sentinels are believed to have flown undetected over the Pakistani compound of Osama bin Laden both before and during the May 2011 raid. Pakistan's
ambiguous stance on regional terrorist groups and Musharraf's clumsy steps along the path to democratic transition threatened American interests. The first U.S. drone attack in Pakistan killed Taliban leader and al-Qaeda affiliate Nek Muhammed in 2004. 67, www.bhutto.org. 393-6. The Bush administration confined its attention to the hunt for al-
Qaeda rather than taking on a comprehensive approach to its dealings with Pakistan. 3 (Winter 2009/2010), pp. But declaring U.S. principles won't go far enough when it comes to defending civilian rule in Pakistan. 3 (Winter 2009/2010), pp. But declaring U.S. principles won't go far enough when it comes to defending civilian rule in Pakistan. 3 (Winter 2009/2010), pp. But declaring U.S. principles won't go far enough when it comes to defending civilian rule in Pakistan. 3 (Winter 2009/2010), pp. But declaring U.S. principles won't go far enough when it comes to defending civilian rule in Pakistan.
analysts who opposed the agreement - asserted that it would free up limited Indian stocks of fissile material and allow it to go on a bomb-making spree.55 Pakistan's National Command Authority - its top leaders and nuclear decision makers - most likely decided to accelerate Pakistan's nuclear production at a meeting in early April 2006, after the
IndoU.S. civil nuclear deal and India's non-nuclear defense plans became clear to Islamabad.56 The size of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal makes a difference. Similarly, American contributions to India's recent
economic growth. That said, neither these counterterror victories nor Washington's military surge in Afghanistan were crafted in ways designed to contribute to a strategic breakthrough with Pakistan. In the corridors of U.S. power, from the White House and State Department to the Pentagon and CIA, a gallows humor hangs over most Pakistan
policy debates. 7. Rasmussen et al., "Pakistan: Scaling Up Rural Support Programs," pp. If a civilian government proved itself in this way, it would also muster public support sufficient to keep the military in its barracks. Unfortunately, they were met with ferocious counterattacks. This takes us to the heart of the matter: the main reason for
Washington's concern about Pakistan's nuclear arsenal is uncertainty about the future character and intentions of Pakistan's leadership. The White House announced plans to seek what it called a "strategic" rather than "transactional" relationship with Islamabad, intensified diplomatic interaction across the board, and received from Congress a
massive infusion of new funds to assist Pakistan's ports and airstrips made it far easier for the United States to launch an invasion of Afghanistan. Hard-line Pakistan's political, and other differences
mean they cannot agree on much else. American officials stationed in Pakistan face debilitating security threats, and they also confront the more mundane challenge of living and working in a society that tends to view the United States with hostility. Many of the primary obstacles to India's rise are internal ones, such as ineffective state institutions,
entrenched poverty, insufficient infrastructure, and political corruption. Prior to government service, he taught in the Department of Politics at Princeton of Princeton University, where he also served as executive director of Princeton of Princeton of Princeton of Princeton of Princeton of Princeton University, where he also served as executive director of Princeton of Princeto
Pakistani-based militants could not be taken seriously. Instead, USAID's focus had shifted to service delivery (health and education) and various training programs. It explains, as described in Chapter 4, why many in Washington believed that working with Musharraf and treading lightly on the issue of democracy was their only option. The State
Department - first under Holbrooke's direction and then, after his death, under the less flamboyant stewardship of career diplomat Marc Grossman - started to explore what it termed a "reconciliation" agenda. 498; Bush, Decision Points, p. That potential for upward mobility opens peaceful and productive doors to a rising generation. Inside
Afghanistan, Kabul's barely-there government and weak economy opened the door to insecurity as the new democratic state struggled to get off the ground. Washington's intention had been to demonstrate the value of U.S. partnership to a wide swathe of the Pakistani public, but the diplomatic rollout of new American aid was botched from the start
distrust and disagreement Of course, this was never Washington's intention. Khan appears never to have forgotten the trauma of Partition. Sanjeev Miglani, "In Pakistan's Gwadar Port, Chinese Whispers Grow," Reuters, May 26, 2011, . President Reagan understood that when he sat down with the Soviets. In a strategy of military-first cooperation,
Washington would focus on cultivating a businesslike relationship with Pakistan's military, not unlike the one China enjoys. 275. The best of these were priced beyond the reach of most Pakistani families. Americans are inherently uneasy with undemocratic states that do not respect the sovereignty of the people. In March 2005, the Bush
administration announced that it would resume sales of F16 aircraft to Pakistan. 50 No matter what Pakistani and American officials said at the time or since, the planes were valuable to Islamabad mainly in the context of its regional rivalry with India, not as a tool for fighting insurgents along the Afghan border. Secretary Clinton even went so far as
to suggest that the Pakistani Taliban might topple the government and get its hands on the "keys to the nuclear arsenal." 100 This faulty analysis was taken seriously only because too many Americans viewed Pakistan through the prism of the Afghan experience, where Taliban fighters had indeed taken the capital city of Kabul in the mid-1990s. In the
midst of the crisis, Bhutto's anti-Americanism was on display once more. No U.S. public relations campaign, no matter how sophisticated, will redefine Pakistani attitudes. One part of the trouble in U.S.-Pakistan relations has been that the two sides often disagree over the type of threat they face. From Oddity to Commonplace Washington's use of
drones in Pakistan from 2004 to 2012 reflected the broader shift of unmanned platforms in the American arsenal from oddity to commonplace. The positive response was immediate. Some of the missteps were even apparent without the benefit of hindsight. All views expressed in its publications and on its website are the sole responsibility of the
author or authors. Even so, such violence in the heart of heavily fortified Kabul cast new doubts about whether the United States had any serious prospect of winning the war. On December 27, 2007, terrorists murdered Benazir Bhutto on the campaign trail at a rally in Rawalpindi.77 Her death deprived Pakistan of its only politician with a large,
relatively progressive, and truly national following. It would endanger any security gains that Washington was seeking from military cooperation in the first place. 56 No Exit from Pakistan example for the others and re-unify the Islamic world."100 Unlike al-Qaeda, however, HuT claims not to engage in terrorism. From the Reagan White House came
authorization for dramatic expansions of the Afghan war, first with improved weapons and satellite intelligence, later with the Stingers. 79 In hindsight, critics of the Reagan administration argue that the Cold War victory in Afghanistan was purchased at the cost of causing 9/11. See Peter Bergen, The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between
America and Al-Qaeda (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), p. Until then, a combination of unarmed high-flying or stealthy surveillance drones plus satellites could direct U.S. cruise missile strikes from outside Pakistan. 34. China's Gini coefficient, a standard metric used to measure income inequality, has worsened from 0.3 in 1986 to 0.5 in 2011.
As a further slap in Pakistan's face, the Johnson administration left the management of postwar negotiations to Moscow, which Pakistan assumed would be biased in India's favor. Perhaps there is truth to this theory, but unless relations between India and Pakistan are altered in fundamental ways, a nuclear exchange will remain a legitimate fear. His
father, a junior civil servant, was from the Arain caste, stereotyped by the British colonials as hardworking, frugal farmers, not soldiers. Joining the task for shorter stints were several generations of bright CFR interns: Azmat Khan, Reyad Allie, Arsla Jawaid, Emilie Shumway, Emma Barnes, Bradley Saunders, Jesse Sedler, Edward Krasniewski,
Mashal Shah, and Sikander Kiani. 69-73, www.bhutto.org. Even in the half of Pakistan that remained, significant ethnic and linguistic diversity ruled out cultural appeals to unity. President Musharraf authorized it.67 Publicly, Pakistan's military took responsibility for the missile strike, calling it a rocket attack even though eyewitnesses saw a drone
overhead.68 Washington stood by silently. 229. America's Options 221 Yet Washington's ability to control political developments inside Pakistan is limited. U.S. military commanders in the field, reacting to deteriorating security and the growing momentum of the insurgency, had requested 40,000 more troops.103 The surge came close. 216. The
mental scar remained forever, and the pain of that wound could never subside." In his words, after India's own "peaceful nuclear explosion" in May 1974 "the world was shaken. In addition to poisoning cooperation in the short run, such experiences leave lasting scars. pagewanted=all. The video was accessed at . Bhutto, who had by then emerged assistance in the short run, such experiences leave lasting scars.
a chief critic of the American alliance, saw America's "betrayal" as a confirmation of his long-standing distrust.51 But 1965 was a bitter pill to swallow for many other Pakistanis who had perceived their alliance with the United States primarily as a means to secure their nation against India. Now reformed, Nawaz was once a member of the
organization but has since founded the Quilliam Foundation, a counterterrorism think tank that receives significant support from the British government. Beijing's relationship with Islamabad might wane in significant support from the British government. Beijing's relationship with Islamabad might wane in significant support from the British government.
American covert operations in Pakistan is accessible to only a tiny handful of the most frequent questions Americans ask about Pakistan is whether it might suffer an Iran-style revolution or surrender to
a Somalia-like collapse. To help answer these questions, the Obama administration appointed Ambassador Robin Raphel as the "coordinator for non-military assistance in Pakistan," a job that had not existed before her. As a consequence, America blinded itself to the resurgent Taliban threat and sent mixed signals to the region. At that time, more al-
Qaeda operatives lived in Pakistan than any other country. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 161 a level playing field in the policy debate between the intelligence community, military, and diplomats. Any legislation should engender the greatest level of cooperation by winning the trust of our civilian and military partners in Pakistan."28
"Whether the Pakistani uproar was warranted or manufactured, it was foreseeable," explains Jonah Blank, who at the time of the KLB episode was South Asia policy director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and intimately familiar with the KLB process. On his own initiative, Khan started stealing plans and equipment for Pakistan's own
fledgling nuclear program in 1974. All countries, including the United States, are vulnerable. Moreover, they argued that Washington was asking Pakistan's army - already overtaxed by its fight against insurgents - to assume too heavy a burden along its western border. Since Pakistan cannot yet launch a ballistic missile or long-range bomber
capable of striking the United States, the only nuclear threat to the U.S. homeland would be a nuclear device, or pieces of one, smuggled in a shipping container. During a visit to Pakistan with Armitage in February 2010 as part of a Council on Foreign Relations project, I watched as Pakistanis of all stripes treated him like returning royalty. Indians inner threat to the U.S. homeland would be a nuclear device, or pieces of one, smuggled in a shipping container.
positions of power view neither military conquest nor the breakup of Pakistan as realistic or even desirable, despite having suffered from so many Pakistan-based terrorist attacks. Over chilled cucumber soup, they explained that Pakistanis pay an average of about twice what their Bangladeshi competitors pay for gas and electricity. 29 Worse, because
they could not be sure of a steady power supply, their factories could not operate at full capacity and faced unexpected delays. The model is simple: buy wholesale and resell door to door so that modest neighbors need not venture out of their homes. 4 5 6 Author conversation, May 15, 2012. He also remained close with Pakistani colleagues who had a
hand in supporting Afghan fighters during the 1980s and 1990s, like former Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) chief Hamid Gul. Kux recounts that the U.S. embassy in Pakistan was under instruction to counsel Pakistani leaders against the anti-democratic 1958 coup, but that advice went unheeded, perhaps because there was nothing
backing it up. LeT will be a difficult knot to untangle, under any circumstances. Markey Copyright Information 32 Avenue of the University Press is part of the University of Cambridge. Cooperation with Pakistan's business community and civilian officials - in addition to
relationships with the Pakistani military - would open windows to developments on the ground that would otherwise escape American notice. In a small but influential number of cases, seminaries were simply dressed up militant training camps that prepared students only to serve as cannon fodder in Afghanistan or Pakistan's other enduring
insurgency, Kashmir. At other points, Washington was obsessed with Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. See Woodward, Obama's Wars (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), pp. 134 No Exit from Pakistan house arrest. Beyond that, America's emergent interests extend to the geopolitics of the region, as explained in Chapter 6. A video clip
circulated on the Internet and broadcast on Pakistani television of the Taliban mercilessly flogging a seventeen-year-old girl fueled public outrage against them. 8 Over a similar period, the army also expanded and intensified its fight in the tribal agencies of South Waziristan and Bajaur along the Afghan border, where anti-state militants were
uprooted only at great cost, and then held at bay only by persistent army occupation. Although the civilian politicians have suffered the worst abuses at the
hands of pundits and columnists, even the military came under fire from the media in 2011 after the U.S. raid on bin Laden's compound. However, because both al-Qaeda and the Pakistani state, and because their ethnic and regional backgrounds (Arab or tribal Pashtun) set them apart, their appeal
throughout most of the country is limited. Second, Washington considered its security agenda in Pakistan too urgent to jeopardize with a risky bet on a new crop of politicians. The Resurgent Threat Unfortunately, Pakistan's active diplomacy was not limited to its pathbreaking negotiations with India. In spite of the fact that Pakistan has seen its share
of population movements over the centuries - whether from invasion, colonial rule, or partition - history runs deep. Nevertheless, the 37 38 39 40 News Transcript, "DoD News Briefing with Adm. "The Drone Wars," Wall Street Journal, January 9, 2010. As a consequence, Pakistan will go through decades of unpredictable floods and droughts. 88
Neither of these two Asian giants prefers to see South Asia divided into competing blocs, with India and the United States on one side, China and Pakistan on the other. Khan's party claimed it would back its idealism with action. As the hospital's bearded 17 18 19 Indeed, it is even possible to argue that the military's institutional interest in
maintaining its budgets and autonomy leads it to overstate the threat posed by India and, as a consequence, to work at cross purposes with the national interest. New dams, power plants, and irrigation canals are massive and jump-start
economies on a huge scale. While there, he remembers sending many of his best officers to the United States, see Shuja Nawaz, Crossed Swords (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. When he stepped to the podium, Khan
described the PTI's success as a "tsunami" and warned, "Anyone up against it will be swept away."113 Many of Imran Khan's supporters that day were young urbanites, a population that has grown rapidly over the past several decades. Washington's goal then was to build a "stay-behind organization" of Pakistani officers that could melt into the
population and resist occupation in the event of an invasion by the Soviet Union. 1 Three decades later, similar guerrilla training and billions in U.S. and Saudi funding helped to turn the fierce Afghan mujahedeen into an effective fighting force that held the field against the Red Army. What we do know is that a serious debate on the subject was
delayed by several years, during which time the threat posed by the Taliban and their terrorist allies grew. 6 No Exit from Pakistan interests, even vital ones. See, for example, Myra MacDonald, "Pakistan's Arrest of Mullah Baradar: Tactics or Strategy?" Reuters, February 17, 2010, pakistan/2010/02/17/pakistans-arrest-of-mullah-baradar-tactics-or
strategy/. By 2007, it was clear that Washington's relentless drone campaign. By over-promising and at least appearing to
Moreover, with his second electoral win, Bush promoted his national security advisor, Condoleezza Rice, to the position of secretary of state and displaced Powell and Armitage. LeT quickly grew into the most dangerous insurgent force in Kashmir. In its desperate effort to reach Davis in the crowded city, the unlicensed American vehicle drove up the
wrong side of a busy street, slammed into an oncoming Pakistani motorcyclist, and left him dead. To be sure, the current U.S.-Soviet conflict. By her logic, the "Mehran men" - lowermiddle-class owners of Mehrans, cheap Pakistani-made Suzuki hatchbacks that 119 120
Ahmad Hassan, "Imran Announces Intra-Party Polls," Dawn, March 26, 2012, .dawn.com/2012/03/26/imran-announces-intra-party-polls.html. Salman Masood and Pir Zubair Shah, "C.I.A. Drones Kill Civilians in Pakistan," New York Times, March 17, 2011, . Few Americans or Pakistanis now recall that episode in 1979, but many young Pakistanis are
taught to recite a litary of other low points in the relationship. While $1.5 billion would not be nearly enough to meet every Pakistani need, it was still vastly more money 30 31 For the history of the Foreign Assistance Authorization Act and efforts to reform the process, see Susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan, and the process are susan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan B. Even if China does not have a grand scheme in mind for Pakistan B. Even if China
the steady process of Chinese business investment is expanding Beijing's influence into a country that borders the Arabian Sea and offers overland access from there to China's western provinces. In fact, Khrushchev had taken a number of steps to reach out to the incoming President Kennedy, hoping that he might be a more cooperative partner than
his Republican predecessor.40 Kennedy should also have been advised that Khrushchev's words were primarily directed not at the United States but at the Chinese in a vain attempt to manage their revolutionary appeal within the communist world. Together, these power brokers have suppressed radical change, but more and more they are besieged
along two fronts. 174-175. Over 20,000 personnel serve to protect that program in one way or another, and all Pakistanis who have contact with nuclear facilities are screened and monitored to reduce the chance of an insider threat.11 Starting in the early 2000s, the United States also provided the Pakistani nuclear establishment with selective
training, limited funds, and technological recommendations to enhance security, and by extension, to open lines of communication with the aim of building confidence on both sides. Nor is the U.S.-Pakistan relationship necessarily condemned to repeat the disappointing patterns of the past. These are not easy tasks, but they at least hint at how
Pakistan's reformers might team up with foreign allies - possibly even with the United States - to achieve a better future for Pakistan. The question is whether Washington could implement a version of the strategy in ways that would improve U.S. defenses while holding out the possibility for better relations with Islamabad over time. Bush
administration saw great potential in India. Compared with the gleaming, modernity of China's Pudong district, most of India's landscape still feels primitive. Supporters of Abdul Rashid Ghazi, who was killed at the Red Mosque by Pakistani forces and was the brother of the mosque's head cleric, even formed their own shadowy terrorist organization.
 the so-called Ghazi Force. Oddly enough, when Indians and Pakistanis come together to talk about the nuclear issue, they tend to discount the potential for nuclear war. Baig's public break with the United States came shortly thereafter. Some U.S. relationships with undemocratic regimes - including the close partnership with Saudi Arabia
withstand their inherent unpopularity in Washington because the stakes are high and appreciated by the public. On the other hand, the combination of Musharraf's undemocratic practices and inadequate performance in the fight against regional and international terrorists was harder and harder for Americans to ignore. To put it bluntly, they wanted
the United States to outsource the Afghan endgame to Pakistan. It is widely rumored that Mullen took a lead role in advocating a three-year extension for Kayani at the army's helm. Susan B. After two years, the hospital's doctors had already conducted over 10,000 surgeries. Rather than pulling the country together, Zia's Islamization strengthened
divisions in 86 87 88 89 For a detailed discussion of the Deobandi tradition in historical context, see Barbara Daly Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Unfortunately, Pakistan will have the opposite incentive. The twenty-first century has only accelerated the speed and density of global
interconnections. Almost overnight, Pakistan opened its ports and airspace to U.S. forces flowing into Afghanistan. Resolved to neutrality in a war that had no potential benefit to the United States whatever its outcome, Washington suspended military aid to both India and Pakistan. Williams, "The CIA's Covert Predator Drone War in Pakistan," pp.
Pakistanis old enough to recall the 1990s will remember that at the end of the Cold War when relations with the United States took a nosedive, the country's friendships with China and Saudi Arabia failed to save it from a decade of terrible economic and political turbulence. When the United States failed to provide money, diplomatic backing, or
equipment that would be useful against India, Pakistan hardly reconsidered its hostile stance. The core question is how their interplay will shape Pakistan's future. In vain, Pakistan attempted to win its own nuclear concessions from the United States to lessen the blow. 158. He repeatedly sought the
trappings of democratic legitimacy to validate the political power that plainly flowed from his position as the army chief. U-Turn to Drift 115 an audacious raid on India's parliament in New Delhi. In both cases, extremist sympathizers within the Pakistani military tipped off the terrorists about Musharraf's travel plans. Tellis, "The Merits of
Dehyphenation: Explaining U.S. Success in Engaging India and Pakistan," Washington Quarterly, 41, no. That historical pattern and its implications for antiAmerican sentiment in Pakistan is the central theme of the third chapter in this book. The Pakistan is implications for antiAmerican sentiment in Pakistan is the central theme of the third chapter in this book. The Pakistan is implications for antiAmerican sentiment in Pakistan is the central theme of the third chapter in this book.
was impossible to contain. Both countries mobilized hundreds of thousands of troops along their shared border until late 2002.30 Analysts call this period the "Twin Peaks crisis" because there were two high points of Indo-Pakistani tension, the first after the parliament attack and the second in May 2002 when Pakistani terrorists massacred several
dozen Indians, including women and children, at an army camp in Kashmir. In an over-aggressive effort at harassment, a Chinese fighter pilot flew too close to the EP-3. Progress on opening Indo-Pakistani trade and business travel, jump-started by a return to formal peace talks in February 2011, reflected the Indian calculation that taking steps
toward normalizing the relationship with Pakistan might prop open the door to dialogue about security issues later. See U.S. Department of State, Cable, "Deputy Secretary Downloaded from . The PPP was already under intense pressure owing to an ongoing scandal (dubbed "memogate" by the hyperbolic media) that painted its leaders as pro-
American, anti-army stooges. Pakistani leaders, military and civilian, pay frequent visits to Beijing, often toting long wish lists for financial and military assistance. Pakistani leaders, military and civilian, pay frequent visits to Beijing, often toting long wish lists for financial and military assistance. Pakistani leaders, military and civilian, pay frequent visits to Beijing, often toting long wish lists for financial and military assistance.
America was reflected, if temporarily, in Pakistani opinion polls. 49 During this period there were other developments that also suggested the potential for a brighter future between the United States and Pakistan. Adam Graham-Silverman, "House to Consider Revised Pakistan Aid Measure," Congressional Quarterly Today, June 10, 2009. Musharraf,
whose political allies suffered massive losses at the polls in early 2008, was forced to resign from the presidency in August 2008. That may be a necessary stopgap, but the better way to think about Pakistan's economic opportunity is to more effectively realize its geographic potential. Since Pakistan's founding in 1947, its relationship with the United
States has gone through extreme highs and lows. This, in turn, raised questions about whether China's growing power will put it irreversibly at odds with the United States and its interests.25 Other China watchers and policy analysts have been less inclined to see China as an especially belligerent power.26 Geography and history bequeathed China
more than a few territorial disputes, but many of these have been settled peacefully. 32; Vali Nasr, The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future (New York: W. What is clear from the Obama administration's attempt to ramp up civilian assistance to Pakistan, to maintain close ties with the military, and to engage in a series of
diplomatic exchanges or "strategic partnership talks" is that neither U.S. dollars nor rhetoric can turn the tide quickly in Pakistan. In the future, Islamabad has the potential to play the part of the spoiler on a much grander stage, whether by undermining India's progress or exacerbating differences between Washington and Beijing. Today, 50 percent
of Pakistani schoolchildren between the ages of six and sixteen cannot read a sentence.15 In 2011, there were twenty-six countries in the world that sent a higher percentage of their children to primary school even though they were poorer than Pakistani.16 According to the United Nations Children's Fund, roughly 60 percent of Pakistani kids finish
primary school and only about a third attend secondary school.17 These figures are appallingly low. From the start, U.S. officials have recognized that publicizing the nature of American assistance would jeopardize cooperation since anti-American critics in Pakistan would portray it as part of a plot to compromise the nuclear program. But Pakistan is
no Yemen: it is far larger and more developed, and it possesses a nuclear arsenal, putting it in the company of only a handful of other states, including its much larger neighbors India and China. What a difference a decade made. Worse, the on-again, off-again pattern of U.S.-Pakistan cooperation resulted in growing mistrust. Pakistan's cities are
growing fastest of all, and the country's young urbanites are already demanding change. Twenty-eight F-16s on order for delivery to Pakistan were instead put in storage in Arizona. Without a U.S. military presence in Pakistan were instead put in storage in Arizona. Without a U.S. military presence in Pakistan had to
provide their own security or depend upon local law enforcement. They would have offered the Americans latitude to kill important terrorist leaders while maintaining the convenient political fiction that Pakistan exercised full control over its sovereign territory. On close examination, however, it is clear that the U.S.-Pakistan relationship is one of
mutual vulnerability. It began with the 2007 uprising at the Red Mosque, or Lal Masjid, in the center of normally staid Islamabad. McKiernan, the U.S. general in charge of the mission in Afghanistan from 2008 to 2009, "There was a saying when I got there: If you're in Iraq and you need something, you ask for it. Like too many of his fellow Pakistanis,
the conspiracy-minded retired general doubts the official story of 9/11. For the moment, however, the country's reformers - young and old - are not up to the task. Goldstone, "Pathways to State Failure," Conflict Management and Peace Science, 25 (2008), p. Heightened American defenses - from closer scrutiny of all the people and goods that come
into the United States to greater coordination and vigilance by domestic law enforcement agencies - is a start. "Bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh, "United Nations Children's Fund, desh bangladesh," United N
share a very different temperament from that of most other members of the administration's national security team. By all accounts, those installations are far better protected than Mehran was. Without Pakistan as a conduit for the weapons and money that flowed to Afghan insurgents, the anti-Soviet resistance there would have been crushed. How
will Washington assess its geopolitical interests in the wider region five or ten years from now? 209-10. 72 "Full Text of General Kayani's Speech on Pakistan Independence Day," archives/227063. 84-5, 97-101), Carter (pp. The new loans would run into the hundreds of dollars, enabling clients to buy things like sewing machines or livestock. All of
these scenarios would at least temporarily stymic cooperation and could raise new, more permanent obstacles. In the 1990s Hafiz Saeed's organization enjoyed carte blanche to rail against all enemies of Islam, safe in the assumption that LeT enjoyed full state protection. In reality, there were several noteworthy successes and reasons to hope that the
future would be brighter than it has turned out to be. An unstable Pakistan that feels jilted by the United Downloaded from . 5-27. That downside prospect cannot diminish the fact that so much of China is already developing at breakness pace. "No Muslim would possibly do such a thing to other Muslims," was a common refrain. Yet, even if world is
shrinking, some places matter more to the United States than others. It raised the possibility - perhaps for the first time since shortly after 9/11 - that Afghanistan's insurgents had finally met their match. Lieutenant General Asad Durrani, who directed the ISI during the period in question, admitted in court that he followed instructions from the then-
Pakistan army chief to distribute the equivalent of $1.6 million to right-wing candidates in 1990.70 This practice is no relic of the distant past. Forging ties with businessmen across the border was perceived as a way to build stronger peace constituencies inside Pakistan. Public schools were weakened, their textbooks and curriculum infused with
jihadist ideology, rhetoric, and historical revision.87 The decay of public schools also contributed to the rise of private ones. In many ways Aitzaz Ahsan represents the world, and more than a little about how it functions at home as well
The Four Faces of Pakistan 45 two nearly-activated hydrogen bombs on board, two of which contaminated the nearby area with plutonium; or how in 2007 the U.S. Air Force lost track of two nuclear warheads and flew them from North Dakota to
Louisiana without proper security.58 In Pakistan, similar incidents are possible, even if Pakistani officials claim their safety and security are every bit as good as those of the United States. Each day, their solution grows more difficult. Armitage made seven specific requests to Mahmoud in their September 13 meeting, all of which were quickly
accepted by Musharraf. From the Outside-In 179 problem from the very beginning was the Indian attitude of hostility towards us: we had to look for allies to secure our position."32 If not for Moscow, Washington might have had a very different sort of relationship with both India and Pakistan. A deeper Pakistani shift toward India appeared far more
likely during the waning years of the Musharraf regime, when Pakistan enjoyed better relations with the United States. Anatol Lieven, Pakistan: A Hard Country (New York: Public Affairs, 2011), pp. The apparent failure of Washington's intensified diplomacy threw the entire enterprise into doubt. The historical record is full of disappointments, but
rather than simply interpreting these episodes as evidence of an American pattern of over-ambition, it is smarter to read them as individual Downloaded from . It would also be bad for the United States. Christensen, "The Advantages of an Assertive China: Responding to Beijing's Abrasive Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs (March/April 2011). Perhaps,
however, the United States can successfully tip the scales in favor of Pakistan's reformers over its revolutionaries or build incentives that encourage greater security and diplomatic cooperation even if Washington and Islamabad never completely see eye to eye. He seemed to believe that he was cleaning up Pakistani politics even though his partners
in the project were some of Pakistan's most unprincipled politicians, the army, and ISI. Kissinger describes this strident tone as one pole in a Chinese debate about its national destiny. Pakistan's most unprincipled politicians, the army, and ISI. Kissinger describes this strident tone as one pole in a Chinese debate about its national destiny. Pakistan's most unprincipled politicians, the army, and ISI. Kissinger describes this strident tone as one pole in a Chinese debate about its national destiny.
1971, fares better.19 And this is to say nothing of the abysmal quality of education in most Pakistani schools. 7 America's Options General Mirza Aslam Baig could not have been any more polite as he rearranged the pillows on his finely upholstered sofa to make space for his American guest. The army's claim to being the sole defender of the nation
and the fact that many rank-andfile soldiers felt deep misgivings about U.S. counterterror policies would pose real obstacles. Washington and Beijing would find themselves on opposite sides of another ugly regional flashpoint if a hostile Pakistan assumes a role in the U.S.-China relationship similar to that played by North Korea. 135-9. while the
electoral process unfolded."78 The move turned out to be a smart one; at just about the same time Kerry was considering his visit to Islamabad, Musharraf decided to fly home and re-launch his own political campaign. To be clear, it is not as if Pakistani strategists are crazy or irrational. But that is not how one makes peace. Imran Khan and his fellow
travelers suffer from wishful thinking when they suggest that an American military withdrawal from the region would in itself bring a quick end to Pakistan's security troubles. Kayani and other senior officers grew more and more incensed by Washington's cavalier disregard of their concerns. She knew it was a make-orbreak opportunity for her and
her party. 133. India simply cannot meet its projected energy demands by domestic reserves alone.55 Indian dreams of gas pipelines from Turkmenistan and Iran may never come to fruition, but they stand no chance at all if Indo-Pakistani tensions rise. See also Mukund Padmanabhan, "China's 'Hold' Stopped Designation of LeT, Jaish Leaders," The
Hindu, June 7, 2011, article 2082626.ece. When including opportunity costs (e.g., economic deadweight losses, airport passenger delays), the total increase in spending comes to over $1.1 trillion. The Four Faces of Pakistan 65 The media has relished its role as a government watchdog, if perhaps too gleefully and indiscriminately for the taste of the
last ruling coalition in Islamabad. They terrorized city residents who violated harsh interpretations of Islamic practice, including owners of local DVD shops, and even "liberated" a number of Chinese women who they claimed to be prostitutes. Underlying differences between the Punjabi-dominated west and the Bengali-dominated east were only
exacerbated in the decades after independence. Musharraf cannot be absolved from blame for the many failures of his regime, but it is clear that one of the worst failures of all was to expect different results from the same, tired old politicians. See Dawn's half-page description of this ad campaign on May 23, 2012, p. The entire team at Cambridge
deserves great credit for managing the publication process with impressive speed and skill. Keither Bradsher and Hiroko Tabuchi, "China Is Said to Halt Trade in Rare-Earth Minerals with Japan," New York Times, September 24, 2010, business/global/25minerals.html. Author conversation with I. Barring a crisis, almost everything else comes second.
94 No Exit from Pakistan jaunty history, when Pakistan's President Zia was asked to explain the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, that was only a part of the Russians in Afghanistan, he uttered but three words: "Charlie did it." 74 Of course, which is a part of the Russians in Afghanistan in Afghanista
that would prioritize 44 45 Benazir Bhutto, "Address at Woodrow Wilson Centre," speech given at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, DC, February 9, 2004, .org/speeches/speech-54.htm. "Kerry-Lugar Bill a 'Triumph for India': Shujaat Hussain," Asian News International, October 8, 2009, . These differences persisted
in spite of a series of "strategic dialogues" in which top U.S. officials attempted to explain to senior Pakistan would feel if it undermined those plans, and the benefits Pakistan would enjoy if it got onboard with the American strategy. 114 Those conversations went nowhere. Khan is said to
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have built an "Islamic bomb" and to have supported anti-Western Pakistani military strategies. 60 On the other hand, it is clear what motivated Khan to steal classified information from the Europeans in the early 1970s. He became increasingly worried about the spiraling costs to Washington of building a Pakistani military that was well beyond the
means of Pakistan's own developing economy. These changes opened the door to U.S. financial assistance and expanded cooperation on a range of counterterror and looted. Pakistan would be an adversary, in league with countries like
Iran and North Korea, and committed to a policy of standing up to the United States. That it never happened was primarily a reflection of Pakistan's senior officer corps has been carefully scrutinized for possible radical leanings.94 Even
so, the trends in Pakistan are worrisome. If, on the other hand, Washington and Islamabad find a way to rekindle a cooperative relationship, two models present themselves. He has admitted to membership in a group that tried to share nuclear information with al-Qaeda prior to 9/11.82 An unabashed critic of the United States, Gul called the 9/11
attacks "a bloody hoax" and "an inside job."83 He claimed that Osama bin Laden "has sworn to me [Gul] on the Koran it was not him [responsible for the attacks] and he is truthful to a fault."84 What separates Gul from other garden-variety anti-Americans or Pakistani nationalists is that he sees Pakistan's Muslim identity as its defining feature. The
real question is how best to balance (and re-balance) between the three in order to advance American goals in the short and long run. Had drones remained a rarity, Pakistan's official claims might have been just plausible enough to get by. The grandiose ambition of the early Obama administration to transform relations with Pakistan's civilians
appeared to have died with its most active proponent, Richard Holbrooke and cooperation with Pakistan. Not surprisingly, Pakistan aided Afghan fighters who took direction from Islamabad. India will be too independentminded and ambitious to
accept eagerly the role of America's dutiful client, which is apparently the direction many Indians believe a formal alliance with the United States would take them. Devastating inundations like those of 2010, which temporarily left one-fifth of the country under water, are likely to be a regular occurrence unless Pakistan builds new dams and modern
water management systems.33 Even today, however, Pakistan lives on less water per person than any other country in Asia. On the various dilemmas raised by drones, see Micah Zenko, "Reforming U.S. Drone Strike Policies," Council on Foreign Relations Special Report No. 65, January 2013; Jane Mayer, "The Predator War," The New Yorker, Pakistan lives on less water per person than any other country in Asia.
October 26, 2009; Scott Wilson, "Drones Cast a Pall of Fear," Washington Post, December 4, 2011, pp. Mullah Mohammed Omar's Afghan Taliban, Baitullah Mehsud (allegedly responsible for, among other attacks inside Pakistan, the killing of Benazir Bhutto, Zulfikar's
daughter and leader of the PPP), are the most important Pashtun faces. The Americans thought they were fighting communists; India and Pakistan knew they were fighting each other. During Pakistan's parliamentary debate, one prominent politician called the bill a historic defeat.14 Another called it a "triumph for India."15 Instead of energizing and Pakistan knew they were fighting each other.
new relationship between Pakistan and the United States, skeptics of that relationship saw it as proof-positive of Washington's malign intent. Together, they helped push policies through a bureaucracy that was unused to the idea of a transformed relationship with India, and as usual, resistant to change. Sebastian Abbot, "New Light on Drone War's
Death Toll," Associated Press, February 26, 2012. The United States need not necessarily fear Chinese involvement in Pakistan. Washington had expanded its annual funding to over $600 million and armed Afghan forces with the shoulder-launched Stinger missile that was deadly accurate against Russian attack helicopters. To its credit, Washington
has explored the idea of helping to finance the construction of Pakistan's long-delayed Diamer Bhasha dam.55 That project, if successful, could represent a signature "made in America" contribution with tangible as well as political benefits. Lerski, "The Pakistan-American Alliance: A Reevaluation of the Past Decade," Asian Survey, 8, no. Khan clearly
bought into his own greatness, and judging from his boastful tone in recent newspaper columns, he still does. At the core of the AL's 1970 appeal to East Pakistan treated them more like a colony than an equal part of the nation. Most frightening, Pakistan has nurtured militants and terrorist organizations that have
pulled off spectacular attacks inside India, such as the suicidal raid on India's parliament building in December 2001 by five Pakistani gunmen. Khan, "Corps Commanders Express Concern over Kerry-Lugar," Dawn, October 8, 2009, . Despite her globetrotting ways, Hashmi remains a household name in Pakistan, where radio stations broadcast her
sermons and she can easily draw thousands for her live appearances. 97 94 95 96 97 Owais Tohid, "Pakistan Gradually Purges Army Extremists," Christian Science Monitor, September 11, 2003, . Washington - and perhaps Musharraf himself - had little idea of the trouble just over the horizon. Later, they graciously made time to read and respond to
the entire manuscript despite the demands of new government jobs. Just One Damned Thing after Another The fact that relations between the United States and Pakistan came full circle in the post-9/11 decade suggests a grand, tragic narrative. Just sixty miles to the northeast, an even more revolutionary project is under way at Jassar farm, where
owner Shahzad Iqbal believes he has figured out how to improve dramatically the milk yield of Pakistan's 60 million dairy cows (the third largest herd on earth). Worse still, some Pakistanis believe that India has been playing nasty tricks inside Pakistan itself. Washington was simultaneously asking Islamabad to turn against the Afghan insurgents and
to facilitate talks with them. Even if the generals had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue, they would have had trouble making the case effectively. It smacked of a willful Pakistani ignorance about the generals had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue, they would have had trouble making the case effectively. It smacked of a willful Pakistani ignorance about the generals had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue, they would have had trouble making the case effectively. It smacked of a willful Pakistani ignorance about the generals had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue, they would have had trouble making the case effectively. It smacked of a willful Pakistani ignorance about the generals had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue, they would have had trouble making the case effectively. It smacked of a willful Pakistani ignorance about the generals had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue, they would have had tried to shift the national debate away from the sovereignty issue at the sovereignty is such as the sovereignty 
better, or, more likely, for worse. In Cold War Europe, one of Washington's answers to that problem was to develop and field very short range, or "tactical," nuclear weapons; a risky and unpopular move among many Europeans, but one that signaled to Moscow that a Soviet armored offensive into Germany would trigger a nuclear conflict.
Unfortunately, her worldview is pervasive throughout the Pakistani military. If the lawyers' movement united Pakistan's progressives and centrists against the regime, the Red Mosque crisis angered most other palitical spectrum. 270-83. Numerous prominent Pakistanis are profiled in this book, but my appreciation of their political
significance was informed by hundreds of conversations with knowledgeable Pakistani diplomats, politicians, scholars, journalists, officers, civil servants, and concerned citizens from across the political spectrum. Washington can, for instance, fund the 65 66 67 "Pakistan Businesses Want Trade Barriers to India Cut," Indo-Asian News Service,
.news.yahoo.com/pakistan-businesses-want-trade-barriers-india-cut-134801058.html. It works Downloaded from the past demonstrates how American aid to Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for Pakistan can pay off many times over. The real way for pay of many times over. The real way for pay of many times over. The real way for pay of many times over. The real way for pay of many ti
capable of governing in ways that bring tangible benefits to large segments of the population. On the campaign trail, he never missed an opportunity to blast the Ayub regime for its ignominious acceptance of Tashkent.27 When this charge was lashed to Bhutto's fiery rhetoric about American imperialism, it was quite clear that the charismatic
politician had found a devastatingly effective way to tar Ayub and Washington with the same brush. Andrew J. They're not made in Afghanistan. Like many Pakistanis (and more than a few Americans), he railed against USAID's dependence on expensive private contractors. 99-103. He conspired with well-placed partners back in Washington, DC, like many Pakistanis (and more than a few Americans).
Condoleezza Rice, then the national security advisor, and Richard Haass, the director of policy planning at the State Department. Here too, the United States had many options. In particular, they point to the fact that a U.S. rupture with Pakistan over immediate concerns like the Afghan war would have long-lasting implications that extend well
beyond Afghanistan itself. India's vulnerability to Pakistani ally soured relations with much larger India. Most chose to cast blame on Washington rather than to accept responsibility for their own leaders' disastrous decision to start another wan
over Kashmir. Coll, Ghost Wars, p. On the other hand, the announcement also looked as though Washington was doling out gifts to both sides as a means to quell inevitable Indian and Pakistani resentment. A major American initiative of fundamental importance to the global balance of power could not 49 50 51 52 53 McMahon, Cold War on the
Periphery, p. 873. But as long as the military continuity than by change. No matter the specifics of the incident, the toxicity of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship made it impossible to resolve matters quickly or easily. Berman and John F. A
country that is riven by a range of internal conflicts, suffers from ever-greater bouts of internal violence, and could well adopt a far more hostile anti-Americanism as its official posture is hardly the sort of place where Washington would prefer to see a significant and growing nuclear arsenal. It did not hurt that New Delhi's ruling political coalition not have the new Delhi's ruling political coalition not have the
longer included the oncedominant Indian National Congress party and therefore had little compulsion to hew to its policies of Nehruvian non-alignment. The entire exercise provided only the thinnest democratic veneer to Musharraf's regime, and the ham-handed manipulation of the polls really only undercut his claims of popularity and legitimacy.33
His determination to invoke a constitutionally derived authority for his rule also set the tone for future conflicts with political opponents. Nearly every Pakistani blamed the Bush administration for something. Since even his rigged 2002 elections had failed to produce a malleable and dominant parliamentary coalition, Musharraf struggled throughout
2003 to pass a constitutional amendment that granted him sweeping authorities as president. Washington might be better able to manage that difficult feat if its Pakistan policies were handled through quiet consultations between the executive branch and Congress, away from the media spotlight. Among the American opponents of the deal, Michael
Krepon has made this point repeatedly. If U.S.-Pakistan relations break, India would lose a form of indirect leverage. During his meeting with the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of terrorist training camps on the Pakistani president in Islamabad, Armitage had shared evidence of the Islamabad, Armitage ha
Pakistan Work for Both Sides," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2011, p. And when the army has set its mind to taking the fight to domestic insurgents, it has been effective, if brutal. The results served both U.S. and Pakistani interests. AlHuda's hybrid identity is a testament to the fact that Pakistan, similar to many other Muslim
countries, is in the middle of a national debate not readily characterized as liberal versus fundamentalist or modern versus traditional. Dennis Kux, India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1941-1991 (Washington: National Defense University Press, 1992), p. By avoiding the sticking points of the past, such as nuclear nonproliferation and
Kashmir, they could focus on new areas of cooperation. This was certainly true in the spring of 2009 when Pakistani Taliban were ousted from control over the Swat Valley. However, if war memories should ever start to fade, they have routinely been brought back into sharp relief by Indo-Pakistani crises in 1987, 1990, 1999, and 2001-2, not to
mention the escalation of tension after the Mumbai terrorist attacks of 2008.52 Each of these crises, to a greater or lesser extent, raised the realistic prospect of another full-blown war.53 The Nuclear Dimension Fortunately, recent Indo-Pakistani crises have all cooled before they turned into anything truly horrific. Four research associates dedicated
their time, energy, and impressive intellectual talents to this book. Like other retired senior officers, Gul lives in a comfortable home granted to him as part of his retirement package. Both are artists who, like U2's Bono, have devoted their talents to larger humanitarian causes. Most outside observers suggest that at the very least Pakistan's military
was grotesquely negligent in its failure to oversee Khan's activities, and there is evidence to suggest that its complicity, and even the complicity of Pakistan's civilian leaders, went much further than that.59 There are many theories about why Khan shared nuclear secrets with other countries. The early days of the Obama presidency raised some
concerns in India. Washington could provide financial support to Pakistani government programs, hire private contractors, partner with nongovernment organizations, or even hire and deploy its own technical experts. Others, however, could poison the relationship and kill prospects for cooperation, perhaps for decades to come. A 2011 report to
Congress by the U.S. Department of Defense found that China's total military-related spending exceeded $160 billion in 2010.15 That same Pentagon report noted that "during 2010, China made strides toward fielding an operational anti-ship ballistic missile, continued work on its aircraft carrier program, and finalized the prototype of its first stealth
aircraft."16 As a consequence of these and other investments over the past two decades, Princeton professor Aaron Friedberg concludes that China's "PLA [People's Liberation Army] is approaching the point where it may have (or its leaders may believe that they have) a real chance of knocking U.S. forces out of the Western Pacific, at least in the
opening stages of a war, using only conventional weapons and without hitting targets on America's home soil."17 China may not be there yet, but in time its new military capabilities are likely to alter fundamentally the balance of power and influence in the region. Even if U.S. nuclear forensics teams manage to get their hands on samples, they would
need time to conduct their analyses. See, for instance, Bruce Riedel, "A New Pakistan Policy: Containment," New York Times, October 14, 2011, Stephen D. Pakistani fears of an American tilt toward India therefore have a solid basis. In 1991, he expressed his support for Saddam Hussein's side in the Gulf War. Pakistan's elites will always be better
placed to forge ties with American officials, better equipped to argue their case to American audiences, and, one way or another, to shut out other voices of opposition and reform. And that would take U.S.-Pakistan relations to new lows. In that case, U.S. policymakers should always remember that another bout of military rule is in no one's best
interest. Nor, ultimately, did the tsunami of youthful energy and idealism launch Khan into the prime minister's office in May 2013. For many Pakistan might in fact be spies. That changed years later when they learned what he had done right under
their noses. However much drones might be appreciated in Washington, in Islamabad's highest offices, or even in the humble homes of many long-suffering tribesmen, they came at some political cost with the rest of the Pakistani public. "People laughed at me when I said this soon after 9/11," he recalls, "but look what is happening now. It also
reinforced ties between the Pakistani state and Islamist militants. Indeed, New Delhi's prickly Jawaharlal Nehru railed against U.S. plans to assist Pakistani's military. Naxalites, Maoist-inspired insurgents, are active in large swathes of India's east and south.78 Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has on multiple occasions termed it the single greatest
internal threat to India's security.79 That said, India's long history of tension and war with Pakistan is still a political hot button for many of its people and leaders. Indian strategists fear Pakistan instability more than its strength. I. Khan won fame in Pakistan for playing a leading role in the national nuclear program. 610. Anyone who claims
otherwise has not been paying attention. On every border, it faces weak or difficult neighbors. It is more likely to yield confusion, frustration, and disappointment on all sides, the immediate threat: terrorisms. That fear is aggravated by the
fact that both sides are taking steps to develop military options that make a war more likely. playing out the regional game What then is the answer to the question raised by the assembly of Peshawar's university students? For instance, Najam Sethi, one of the country's most decorated and outspoken journalists, was first detained in 1978 by the
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government, then in 1984 by the Zia-ul-Haq regime, and again in 1999 during the rule of Nawaz Sharif. Ahmed Rashid, "Pakistan Civilian-Military Ties Hit New Low," BBC, October 16, 2009, . Whatever China's goals and intentions, it has grown so large that its actions will affect the American interest one way or another. For the
most part, the Chinese practice what they preach on this score. As one jaded U.S. State Department official explained in early 2005, "pretty much every new secretary of state comes in thinking that solving Kashmir will be an easy ticket to a Nobel Prize. Pakistan still kept its prized F-16 jets flying with American support, even when much of
Washington's military assistance was suspended and many of its personnel and contractors were forced to leave Pakistan. 30 Most revealingly, over the course of the seven months that Pakistan closed its ground supply routes to Afghanistan, U.S. planes continued to shuttle personnel and equipment across Pakistani airspace. 31 These examples
suggest that if military officials in Washington and Islamabad agree to work together without fanfare, they can make progress even on issues that are politically sensitive. 4 No Exit from Pakistan were to shift, it is conceivable that America would find new allies and partners in Pakistani society. Unlike the sparsely populated Pashtun tribal areas, it is
nearly impossible to imagine drones (American or otherwise) raining missiles upon these settled parts of the country. Dr. Markey earned his bachelor's degree in international studies from the Johns Hopkins University and his doctorate in politics from Princeton University. Bhutto's intransigence in negotiations with the Awami League (AL) - the
majority party of East Pakistan, later Bangladesh - contributed to the breakup of the state. 30 Of course, the pairing of East and West Pakistan in a single political unit separated by a hostile India was an odd one from the start. The second strand of "nationalist anti-Americanism" comes from the centerright, and reflects a sense that partnership with
the United States has never lived up to its strategic promise. Earlier that day, the provincial governor shared tea and his views on regional diplomacy in his palatial Britishera residence, surrounded by manicured grounds and strolling peacocks, its interiors graced by enormous paintings of noble warriors and muskets mounted above fireplace mantels
They will not always decide wisely, but it is hard to imagine anyone else who could do better. 239-48. 212 No Exit from Pakistan defense systems of the sort designed to thwart an Iranian attack so they could also be directed toward Pakistan defense systems of the sort designed to thwart an Iranian attack so they could also be directed toward Pakistan.25 Finally, a strategy of defensive insulation would be most effective if Washington could count on firm Indian
support. Each day, we draw nearer the hour of maximum danger, as weapons spread and hostile forces grow stronger."43 In transforming this rhetoric into action, President Kennedy - and after his assassination President Johnson - expanded civilian and military assistance to a wide range of states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Even the most
sophisticated security precautions will offer cold comfort if the hands that rest upon Pakistan's nuclear buttons become far more belligerent or irresponsible because the military has crumbled or turned completely anti-Western in its orientation. 76 No Exit from Pakistan including timely leaks to the media, Pakistan skillfully lobbied Washington.
Richard Holbrooke, "Hope in Pakistan," Washington Post, March 21, 2008, .washington Post, March 21, 2008, .w
"darkest day in Pakistan's history" and remembers, "It was a very, very sad day. None of this had any effect on Bhutto or other top Pakistani officials, who were hell-bent on developing the bomb.63 Jimmy Carter's national security team, deeply committed to the nuclear nonproliferation agenda, was desperate to keep Pakistan's program in check. The
latter, along with the threat of violence posed by militants, helps to explain why in 2013 the group Reporters without Borders ranked Pakistan, but it still has a long way to go. Between 2002 and 2011, America has increased its homeland security
spending by nearly $700 billion.12 $50 billion has been poured into aviation security alone.13 Terrorist networks have been infiltrated and their financial flows disrupted. America's covert activities in Pakistan enjoyed a higher priority than normal, overt U.S. interaction. Either way, as long as the United States maintains a strong virtual presence in
Pakistan through drones and intelligence operations, some in coordination with Pakistani authorities, al-Qaeda's remnants are likely to be picked off, one by one, over time. To American cold warriors, it required no imagination to perceive another chapter in Russia's long historic quest for a warm water port.76 After Afghanistan, the Soviets would
strike Pakistan or Iran. On October 1, 2008, Bush's India team won its biggest victory of all: the U.S. Senate voted 86-13 in favor of a historic accord to open trade with India in civilian nuclear technologies.41 The deal tossed aside decades of U.S. nonproliferation rules, all with the goal of convincing India that the United States could be a trusted
friend and strategic partner. U-Turn to Drift 113 pots.21 By the end of fiscal year 2004, Washington had provided Pakistan with $4 billion in assistance.22 By later that summer, the terms of that new arrangement might be
recalibrated to better serve U.S. interests. A thirty-year veteran of the Foreign Service, Raphel is a confident, articulate woman with an almost aristocratic bearing. Inter Services Public Relations Press release, April 19, 2011, www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp? However bitter they were about their own government and military, they found U.S. policies Public Relations Press release, April 19, 2011, www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?
in the region even more confusing and frustrating. University of Sussex Library, on 05 Mar 2019 at 17:37:58, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . For decades, Pakistan's most intrepid journalists expected that they would land in jail as the inescapable consequence of speaking truth to power. Subrahmanyam Memorial lecture,
"China in the Twenty-First Century: What India Needs to Know about China's World View," New Delhi, August 29, 2012, p. Then-CIA Director Leon Panetta overruled him, either because the target was too important or he wished to send a firm message to Islamabad, or both. Any effort to improve America's relationship with Pakistan during this
period would have faced stiff headwinds, some of Washington's own creation. Born in 1950, Saeed is now heavy-set, his face framed by large glasses, a long scraggly beard, and the dark forehead spot common to Muslims who prostrate themselves routinely. The anthem of the lawyers' movement, "Kal Aaj Aur Kal" ("Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"
is an Urdu poem that Ahsan penned himself. An overwhelming majority of American troops were fighting and dying in Afghanistan, not Pakistan. Neither India nor Pakistan could ever lose sight of how U.S. relations with the other might tilt their own balance of power. Daniel S. He maneuvered himself into another presidential term through a
constitutionally suspect game, holding an indirect election before taking off his army uniform. 65. See "China's Century?" International Security, 36(3) (Winter 2011/12), pp. See Howard B. As journalists explained in Islamabad just one week after the raid, the shock and humiliation - first that bin Laden was discovered so deep inside Pakistani
territory, second that he was killed by American SEALs, and both without the apparent knowledge of Pakistan's armed forces - was too much for even some of the most "pro-military" television journalists to bear. But it also meant that the Bush administration was willing to brush aside previous U.S. concerns that had defined relations between
Islamabad and Washington for the better part of a decade, such as Pakistan's nuclear program or its undemocratic regime. "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2011," U.S. Department of Defense, p. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 159 strike would set back the
relationship just as it was coming out of a crisis. In response, the terrorists took out their aggressions on local tribesmen who they accused of spying for the Americans. Even so, the alternative urged by the United States - to crack down on these groups and their many sympathizers - had the potential to be even more painful, especially in the short of a crisis.
run. On the military front, India lags far behind China in many capabilities, but unlike America's allies in East Asia such as Japan, Korea, or Australia (or for that matter, unlike the members of NATO), India's army brings massive manpower, and all of its services are investing billions of dollars in new purchases of equipment and technology. The best
example of this came in 2010, when epic floods inundated a fifth of the country and displaced tens of millions of Pakistanis from their homes. Dulles, for his part, was confident in his approach and angered by Nehru's argument, being deeply skeptical that neutralist India would help the United States in its Cold War struggle under any circumstances.
Reuters, April 5, 2012, . In a single politician's family, indeed in his own head, different manifestations of modernity and globalization are often in conflict. In some instances the United States will find it exceedingly costly to address its vital security concerns unless it can find a way to work with Pakistan as a partner. As in the past, American-made
high-technology weapons and U.S. financial support would be used to win influence with Pakistan's generals by demonstrating the tangible benefits of partnership with America. "Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan," Office of the Press Secretary, White House, March 27, 2009, press office/ Remarks-by-the-
President-on-a-New-Strategy-for-Afghanistan-and-Pakistan /. In early 2011, just as efforts to spend KLB money (largely by funding Pakistan relationship took a nosedive for completely unrelated reasons, starting with the Raymond Davis affair. America's Options 219 but a close
military-to-military relationship would offer U.S. officials access to their Pakistani counterparts and the opportunity to argue the benefits of normalized relations with India. Chaudhary, "How Did They Do? The Obama team killed most of al-Qaeda's top leadership. Murtaza Ali Shah, "Hizb-ut-Tahrir Targets Pakistanis on Orders of Global Leaders," The
News, February 28, 2013, ••21279-Hizb-utTahrir-targets-Pakistan. See Kux, The United States and Pakistan. U-Turn to Drift 121 elections
and democracy, even in states of the Muslim world, like Egypt, where pro-American strongmen ruled. At times, such insecurity can pay dividends. The situation feels a lot like the dramatic point in Sartre's play when the living room door swings open, offering his sinners the chance to make a run for it. "New Investment Initiative Launches in Pakistan
with Up to $80 Million of U.S. Funding," Press Release, U.S. Embassy, Islamabad, September 14, 2012, pr 091312d.html; and for background, see Dustin Cathcart, Meredith Gloger, and Aaron Roesch, "Recommendations for the Pakistan Private Investment Initiative," John F. First and foremost, abiding differences of interest and perception continued
to drive a wedge between decision makers in Islamabad and their U.S. counterparts. The first of these was Bush's pledge not to pressure him in ways that were politically uncomfortable. Pakistani anti-Americanism is a noxious by-product of the interplay between U.S. foreign policies, wider trends within the Muslim world, and Pakistan's own
domestic politics. The principal civilian faces of the party leadership - the Chaudhry family of Punjab - were unwilling to take a firm, public stance against extremists. In Pakistan, the average rural family spends 13 percent of its income on public stance against extremists. In Pakistan, the average rural family spends 13 percent of its income on public stance against extremists.
warranted it a special role in any future government, but of course the AL's leader, Sheikh Mujib, argued that his party was entitled to rule as it had won a majority of Pakistani's national assembly seats. The unhealthy personalization of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship was widely derided at the time by Pakistani's national assembly seats. The unhealthy personalization of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship was widely derided at the time by Pakistani's national assembly seats.
from Pakistan All of these problems could be swept away if any one of America's strategic options offered the realistic prospect of a bright new future with Pakistan. Each of these helped to beat the Soviets in Afghanistan, and by extension, to win the Cold War. Unlike Iran or North Korea, at least for the time being, Pakistan is far less likely to use its
nuclear weapons against the United States or its treaty allies. Both the Bush and Obama administrations have routinely identified Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer, How Pakistan as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer as one of the world. Schaffer as one of the most difficult foreign policy challenges in the world. Schaffer as one of the world. Sc
the explanation has to be that the Pakistanis who suffered most from the floods were also disproportionately poor and incapable of turning their desperate needs into political action. In practice, this boils down to preparing for the worst, aiming for the best, and avoiding the most dangerous mistakes of the past. C. 402. When Washington attempted to
signal resolve, Islamabad perceived desperation. They lament that the industry is thoroughly corrupt and that some prominent news editors expect reporters to earn their livings through extortion or trading in privileged information. Moreover, in
spite of many sensationalistic essays to the contrary, Pakistan's arsenal is not so heedlessly guarded as to make it an easy target for terrorists or other potential thieves. 10 Nuclear weapons are not all that easy to pilfer, and they are usually even harder to detonate without authorization. Pakistanis and Chinese may claim deep, abiding friendship, but
in their rhetorical excesses, both tend to mistake China's hardheaded realism for 42 43 44 45 Glenn Kessler, "Washington Objects to China-Pakistan Nuclear Deal," Washington Post, June 14, 2010, 61404680.html. As the more powerful party in the relationship, the United States can put the screws to Pakistan in various ways, but America's power is
not always easily turned into useful coercive leverage. That may or may not lead them to make sacrifices for humanitarian or altruistic purposes. See also financial assistance programs in Pakistan absence of development with, 33-35 Asian regional policies and, 197-199 comprehensive cooperation strategy for, 225-231 education levels in Pakistan
33-35 Eikenberry, Karl, 125-126, 127 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 74-76, 221 elections in Pakistan corruption and rigging of, 47-49, 78-80, 116, 121, 132 reform agenda for, 60-62 electricity infrastructure in Pakistan Al-Huda schools and, 54-55 anti-Americanism among, 80-83 caste system and, 30-32 © in this web service
Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Like South Korea, India might manage to grow in the shadow of its threatening, nuclear-armed neighbor, but India lacks (and might not even accept) a superpower patron
to foot its security bill as the United States has done for South Korea over decades. Author conversation, Washington, DC, April 2012. 45. It went off like a grenade in the midst of Pakistan's already tense civil-military standoff. In the near term, however, both are fixated on economic development and regional stability. Relations with China will not set
the parameters for everything the United States does in South Asia; the endgame and aftermath of the war in Afghanistan and the persistent challenge of international terrorism will command Washington's attention for at least the next several years. These were big changes, 49 50 51 52 "A Dramatic Change of Public Opinion in the Muslim World,"
Terror Free Tomorrow (2005), 20Poll%20Report-updated.pdf. Pakistan - for reasons explained throughout this book - has refused.7 Should differences over Afghanistan warrant jeopardizing the entire U.S.Pakistan relationship? Although much of the American agenda with China centers on East Asia and the Pacific where the two countries deal with
one another most directly, both the George W. This strand is founded upon a rejection not merely of U.S. policies and strategies but of American principles and ideals. A1, A16. But it must be understood that the temptation to get involved in Pakistani politics in 2007-8 was more of a well-intentioned response to Pakistani overtures than a unilateral
American interference. People who had never before attended political events came out in droves, especially students, eager to show their dissatisfaction with the ruling government and the other major parties that have dominated Pakistani politics for decades. Chief among those culprits, at least in Baig's estimation, was General Pervez Musharraf.
In addition to U.S. funds, Pakistan also profited from the support of the Saudis, equally engaged on the side of the Afghan anti-Soviet mujahedeen. Baig's list of charges against Musharraf is long. At Washington's forceful urging, he also helped to shut down and investigate nascent links between a small group of Pakistani nuclear scientists and
alQaeda.27 Overall, cooperation between the CIA and ISI led to the arrest of hundreds of al-Qaeda members, including the mastermind of 9/11, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, in March 2003. upon the development of collective security and community power rather than upon purely national potentials."8 Dulles fit Pakistan - and a good many other states
- into his sweeping vision of the Cold War conflict, even though 5 6 7 8 "Man of the Year," Time, January 3, 1955. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 153 to buy over 700 new medium and large drones. 59 This does not likely
to continue funneling scarce resources to a Pakistan that has proven decidedly unhelpful in Afghanistan and which has gone out of its way on several occasions to stick a high-profile finger in America's eye - for instance, by jailing the Pakistani doctor who assisted U.S. efforts to find Osama bin Laden.68 Moreover, even if Washington's lawmakers and
the White House were somehow convinced to take another run at comprehensive cooperation, serious questions would linger about whether the United States is up to the task of turning its dialogues and dollars into constructive change. Thus far, Pakistan's sclerotic political system has done rather little to meet these needs, but the tide may yet turn
A series of leaks from within the Obama administration preceded the president's announcement of the surge. Pakistan's troops, trained to fight India, were poorly prepared for guerrilla warfare. They were well aware of the fact that state-supported groups like LeT could cause terrible trouble. The U.S. Congress had also drafted legislation intended to
deter Pakistan's program by threatening what remained of U.S. civilian aid. Women arrive, usually accompanied by husbands or fathers, to apply for loans. With their demonstrated capacity to improve economic conditions and to change political dynamics in rural Pakistan, the RSPs are but one example of an organization that would benefit from a
U.S. strategy of comprehensive cooperation. Sudarshan, "Uncle Sam's Sly Sally," Outlook India, April 5, 2004, .com/printarticle.aspx?223514. 9-13. She changed her Facebook profile to show support for PTI and might have fit right in with the crowds of young, idealistic Americans who helped Barack Obama win in 2008. See also John R. Kissinger, On
China (New York: Penguin, 2011), pp. Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing with the Taliban. As the war has taken a turn for the worse, many U.S. officials lay the blame at Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing with the Taliban. As the war has taken a turn for the worse, many U.S. officials lay the blame at Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing with the Taliban. As the war has taken a turn for the worse, many U.S. officials lay the blame at Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing what they were doing with the Taliban. As the war has taken a turn for the worse, many U.S. officials lay the blame at Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing with the Taliban. As the war has taken a turn for the worse, many U.S. officials lay the blame at Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing with the Taliban. As the war has taken a turn for the worse, many U.S. officials lay the blame at Pakistanis saw this as a green light to keep doing what they were doing what they were
and an obsequious manner would never challenge the politician's authority. During a limo ride across town, shuttling between a think tank discussion and an interview at CNN, she explained that she was not at all convinced she would be able to strike a deal with Musharraf. Markey Index More information Index "abandonments" by U.S. in Pakistan,
history of, 2-4 Abbas, Athar, 156 Ackerman, Gary, 4 Acumen Fund, 226 Afghanistan border closings with Pakistan in, 107-108 drone strikes in, 153-156 "economy of force" operation in, 117-118 India's relations with, 41 as Indo-Pakistani proxy battleground, 46 infrastructure investment in, 127n64 insurgency in, 114-117, 125-129 "lead nation"
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strategy and, 161-167 U.S. surge in, 164-167 U.S. surge in, 164-167 U.S. war in, 11-16, 105-108, 111-112, 125-129 "AfPak" strategy, 161-167 Aga Khan, Karim, 228n53 agricultural programs in Pakistan, 227-229 Ahle Hadith, 54, 99-100 Ahmad, Mahmoud, 111-112 Ahmad, Salman, 60 Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 118 Ahsan, Aitzaz, 80-83, 103, 130, 215 Al-Huda school
network, 54-55 al-Qaeda attacks on Pakistani military by, 69-70 Bush administration focus on, 23, 110-118 Christmas bomb plot of, 12 drone strikes against, 153-156 Khan's (A. Ann Scott Tyson, "U.S. Protests Chinese Shadowing in International Waters," Washington Post, March 10, 2009, www.washingtonpost.com/wp-
dyn/content/article/2009/03/09/AR2009 030900956.html. And from a final vantage point, Pakistan is a youthful idealist, teeming with the energy and reform-minded ambition of its rapidly growing population. Taseer, Bhutto: A Political Biography, p. Even if there are reasons to doubt Pakistani claims about extensive Indian meddling in the Pashtur.
tribal areas along the Afghan border, it is undeniable that India has played sides in Afghanistan. The upshot of this unhappy history is that for each side, disagreements have been layered one upon the next. Second, an American tilt toward India is likely to increase Pakistan's entanglement with China. In April 2001, an unexpected turn of events
catapulted China to the top of the Bush administration's agenda. Not only were the "realists" with their decidedly low expectations for a Pakistani democratic transition out of power, but the close working relationship between the Powell/Armitage team and President Musharraf was lost. 874, 882. Henry Korson, "Contemporary Problems of Pakistan,"
International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, 15 (1974), p. If possible, the United States and its allies. Markey Index More information Index 242 elites in Pakistan (cont.) corruptionate that are consistent with, or at least not threatening to, those shared by the United States and its allies. Markey Index More information Index 242 elites in Pakistan (cont.) corruptionate that are consistent with, or at least not threatening to, those shared by the United States and its allies.
in, 66-67 future projections concerning, 66 governing power of, 30 growth of middle class and, 60-62 leadership failures of, 37-38 political challenges to, 68-69 vulnerability of, 6-7 enterprise funding, proposals for, 230-231 ethno-linguistic groups in Pakistan, 30-32 extremism in Pakistan, 49-55, 66. less confident, less willing to ask questions in
class, and most have become silent note-takers. 134-47. She needed a deal that would protect her (and other members of her party, including her husband) 75 76 Ahmed Rashid, Descent into Chaos (New York: Viking, 2008), p. Those benefits came at a cost; Pakistani leaders knew they were riding a tiger. "The Terrorist Threat to the U.S. Homeland,"
National Intelligence Estimate (July 2007), www.c-span.org/pdf/nie 071707.pdf. If not for Pakistan's surreptitious assistance, Kissinger's secret mission to China in multilateral settings like the UN, rustling up votes from other Muslim-majority
states in defense of Beijing's position on sensitive matters like Tibet and Taiwan. Epstein and Matthew C. Public Chinese scolding of Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions to the rule send shockwaves through Pakistan is exceedingly rare; exceptions through Pakistan is exception in the rare and through Pakistan is exception in the rare and through Pakistan is exception in the
had been a trusted friend and comfortable partner for Beijing.27 Wrong as this interpretation of Pakistani history might be, it reveals Beijing's underlying bias in favor of the "stability" born of government repression. 112 No Exit from Pakistan America's demands were urgent, yet in a sense they were also defined quite narrowly. 204. The fact that
well-placed Pakistanis believed such a deal might be on the table demonstrated just how far apart the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance . When they have felt threatened by civilian leaders, they have fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. Tipping the Balance is the two sides had fallen. The t
Holbrooke dismissed the excuses offered by sluggish bureaucrats. Simon Ross Valentine, "Fighting Kufr and the American Raj: Hizb-ut-Tahrir in Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 56, University of Bradford, February 2, 2010, . In the early 1980s, Saeed returned to Pakistan to take up an Islamic Studies professorship in Lahore
A close look at Pakistan's public school curriculum reveals that its typical graduates do not just leave the classroom unprepared for work, but they are also indoctrinated in a harshly anti-Indian, anti-Semitic, and anti-Western view of the world.24 Across the board, the failure of Pakistan's public education system has made the country less productive
and more dangerous. The coordinates he shared were wrong by nine miles. 42 43 For example, the authors of a prominent Asia Society Task Force released in April 2009 urged Washington to "Reform the way in which the United States deals with the Pakistan military so as to help establish civilian control, and ensure that all U.S. military aid to
Pakistan is fully transparent to the civilian authorities and subject to monitoring by both them and the United States." See "Back from the Brink? For him, the purpose of the PPP was to serve as a 29 30 31 This is the conclusion reached by historian Ian Talbot in his excellent review of Bhutto's legacy in Pakistan: A Modern History (New York: Palgrave
Macmillan, 2005), pp. A decade earlier, it would have been possible to stroll the short distance from Baig's home to the official residence of Pakistan's Fledgling Broadcast Media," Huffington Post, March 14, 2012, . Yet this is the tragic nature of the
circumstance in which the United States is trapped, much like one of Sartre's characters in Huis Clos described at the outset of this book, with no exit in sight. As China's interest in economic growth and trade has grown, it has placed a greater priority on 66 67 68 69 Kux, Disenchanted Allies, pp. Beijing has already taken steps to try to restrain
conflict between Islamabad and New Delhi, and it would prefer to avoid a rupture in relations between Pakistan and the United States. Quoted in Rashid, Descent into Chaos, p. By and large, Americans also accept the dictum that democracies avoid wars with each other.28 Even though many Pakistanis accuse Washington of preferring to deal with
their generals rather than their politicians, history suggests otherwise. The White House quickly agreed to send emergency military aid to India, which was now embroiled in a full-scale war, and followed up by moving the USS Enterprise aircraft carrier task force to the Bay of Bengal in a show of support. As always, information is power. At the same
time, past American policymakers had often appreciated that criticism delivered in public would be hard for their Pakistani counterparts to swallow, and should therefore be used sparingly and with purpose.12 Unfortunately, neither the Mullen testimony nor the Salala non-apology were put to constructive ends. Together, these three strands of anti-
Americanism define the vast majority of Pakistani public opinion. 104 No Exit from Pakistan includes a realistic plan that begins to address the socioeconomic and especially the political trends that have given strength to Pakistani's jihadists. 107 Otherwise, Pakistani's terrorists will silence the liberals and co-opt the nationalists. Part of the problem
between the United States and Pakistan throughout the first five decades of their interaction was that both sides failed to value in trade, cultural affinities, or a shared worldview. Islamabad's ill-fated peace deals resemble Neville
Chamberlain's appeasement of Germany prior to the Second World War: tactically appealing but strategically unwise. Americans drew a variety of lessons from Musharraf's downfall. For some of the most extensive scholarship on Al-Huda to date, see Fazia Mushtaq, "A Controversial Role Model for Pakistani Women," South Asia Multidisciplinary
Academic Journal, April 2010, . "Hashmi Terms Govt's Stance on KLB as a Historic Defeat," Daily Regional Times, October 17, 2009; "Kerry Lugar Bill Worth 'Peanuts': PML-N," Asian News International, September 29, 2009, . Over a two-week period at the end of 2003, the general-turned-president narrowly escaped being blown up in two separate
attacks. American helicopters flew the commandos across the border from Afghanistan and the mission was supported by an AC-130 quaship circling overhead. They guestion her academic credentials and preach against the idea that women should pray outside the home or lead their own prayers. 99 Al-Huda threatens their control over how religion
is taught. The circumstances of that deal revealed another problem 63 64 65 66 U.S. Embassy (Kabul), Cable, "Afghan Supplemental" February 6, 2006, Secret, 3 pp. 749. Nevertheless, they complicated Pakistani drone politics and further soured relations between the Pakistani military and Washington.89 America's Drone Debate This is not to say
that Washington was in complete denial about the political and diplomatic downsides to the drones. 2 Ackerman, quoted in Richard Leiby, "Pakistan's Power Crisis May Eclipse Terrorist Threat," Washington Post, May 27, 2012, . Their common bond was forged when they chose to work for Karachi Civil Hospital's Patients Welfare Association, a
student group dedicated to helping indigent patients. No Exit from Pakistan 60 have found themselves at home in one of the "Arab Spring" uprisings earlier the same year.116 Young Pakistanis cheered for Khan, but also for the popular musicians who participated in his Lahore rally and at another enormous gathering in Karachi at the end of
December. But the problem with Ahsan, and with other like-minded Pakistan's military. 6 From the Outside-In U.S.-Pakistan Relations in the Regional Context The city of Peshawar stands at the door to Pakistan's semi-autonomous tribal lands, the famed
Khyber Pass, and Afghanistan. In late 2011, the government of Bangladesh claimed to have foiled a coup plot by over a dozen mid-ranking officers who were HuT members to Pakistan is relatively recent and intensified only after the country's 1998 nuclear tests, when HuT sent ten senior members to Pakistan hoping to spark a
revolution so that the new caliphate would be born as a nuclear power.107 British HuT members also managed to recruit several Pakistani army officers during their training at Sandhurst military academy, but in 2003 the men were arrested by the Musharraf regime. Washington's strategic compulsions, especially the appeal of a closer relationship
with India, will make it hard to live with Islamabad. U.S. officials are, for instance, fully convinced that Pakistan employs some terrorist groups as proxy fighters in Afghanistan and India. Pakistan is expanding its nuclear arsenal and investing in new ways to launch warheads against neighboring India, including tactical (very short range) missiles. For
instance, General Musharraf's 1999 coup against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was prompted by Sharif's own plan to dismiss Musharraf. Top Bush administration officials, enthusiastic advocates for India, cared little for Pakistan. Bush administration found it impossible to overlook Pakistan's nuclear transgressions. For instance, the al-Qaeda-linked
perpetrators of the July 2005 London bombings trained in LeT camps before carrying out their attacks. 104 David Headley's LeT handlers also shared him with al-Qaeda, who sent him to conduct surveillance in Denmark against the newspaper that had published what al-Qaeda considered blasphemous cartoons in preparation for a planned attack in
2009.105 These facts belie the notion too often voiced by Pakistanis that Washington's concerns about LeT are overblown or driven merely by an eagerness to cultivate better relations with India. To wage its drone campaign from Afghan soil well after
other U.S. and NATO forces depart. Amanda Hodge, "CIA Slur Has Chilling Parallel with Daniel Pearl," The Australian, November 26, 2009, el-with-daniel-pearl/story-e6frg6so-1225803878082. Over time, Pakistan's RSPs have produced meaningful change. 34 No Exit from Pakistan Those miserable living standards, however, are not the worst part of
the story. Washington's response to two wars in the region clarified its new stance and sent shockwaves through Pakistan in 1965 and again at the close of the Cold War. One small but impressive example of such an organization is the Acumen Fund. On
Hekmatyar, see Coll, Ghost Wars, p. In spite of these grave risks, Washington could still opt to work with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan. 68 Declan Walsh and Ismail Khan, "News tin partnership with Pakistan."
Details Emerge on Conviction of Pakistani Who Aided Bin Laden Search," New York Times, May 30, 2012, world/asia/new-details-on-conviction-of-shakil-afridi-pakistani-doctor-who-aided-cia-in-track ing-osama-bin-laden.html. Up until 2007, however, when Musharraf's world came tumbling down, the trends looked encouraging. A global village under
divine order, or we will have global bloodshed until good triumphs over evil." The Taliban in Afghanistan, he observed, represented "Islam in its purest form so far . 101. Bright Spots in U.S.-Pakistan relations back through the entire history since 9/11. See The United
States and Pakistan, 1947-2000, p. Rashid, Descent into Chaos, pp. If LeT goes too far in attacking American interests, for instance, Islamabad would be unable to protect it from an American reprisal. This balancing act was ultimately unsustainable. To be sure, Pakistanis will make their own decisions about how to interact in the region, many of
which will have little to do with what Washington says or does. The greatest threat to Pakistan's stability comes not from the prospect of violent conquest - a virtual impossibility in the face of the army's size and overwhelmingly superior firepower - but from confusion, deterioration, or division within the army itself. A second model, similar to what
the Obama administration attempted during its first two years in office, would strive for a comprehensive partnership across military and civilian sectors. On the present state of Sindh's feudals, see William Dalrymple, "A New Deal in Pakistan," New York Review of Books, April 3, 2008, a-new-deal-in-pakistan; also Lieven, Pakistan: A Hard Country
(New York: Public Affairs, 2011), pp. On revolutions in military affairs, see Stephen Peter Rosen, Winning the Next War: Innovation and the Modern Military (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). U.S.-India relations are warm and growing warmer for many reasons that have nothing to do with geopolitics, from business ties to cultural affinities
Properly crafted and implemented, a range of defenses could enable America to address many immediate security concerns, with respect to both terrorism and the nuclear threat. The Bush administration was playing a catch-up game in Afghanistan and hardly looking for more trouble with Pakistan. Pakistan's people are distributed among
principal ethno-linguistic groups: Punjabis, Sindhis, Baloch, Pashtuns, and Mohajirs. Punjabis, who have long maintained a dominant position in Pakistan's politics, military, and economy, comprise just under half of the total population and are clustered in the north and east, Pakistan's agricultural and industrial heartland. As President Musharraf
explains in his 2006 memoir, Pakistan chose to partner with America out of fear that Washington and New Delhi might unite against Pakistan, not because Islamabad felt a genuine compulsion to assist after the 9/11 tragedies or a sense of shared interest in confronting Islamist terrorism. 106 For its part, Washington has also held true to its historical
pattern of using Pakistan to serve other regional and international goals. When Zia died in 1988, Baig immediately assumed the most powerful job in the country. 5 Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations U.S.-Pakistan Relations after Musharraf In the mid-afternoon of January 27, 2011, a burly thirty-six-year-old Virginia native named Raymond
Davis killed two Pakistanis. In 2010, drones pounded Pakistanis Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) at a rate of one strike every three days.62 From 9/11 to early 2010, drones had killed more than half of the twenty most-wanted alQaeda suspects.63 By 2012, drones were an open secret; President Obama even discussed using them in
Pakistan's FATA during an online "town hall" meeting sponsored by YouTube and Google. On the beginning of this Pakistani re-think, see Christina Lamb, "U.S. Carried out Madrasah Bombing," Sunday Times, November 26, 2006. Schmidt, "The Unravelling of Pakistan," Survival, 51, no. He was determined not to give Islamabad the sort of "blank".
check" President Bush had offered Musharraf. In sum, military-first cooperation may offer the best way to address shortand medium-term security concerns, but it should not be mistaken for a longterm solution. He writes, "There is no reason for India to wish that Washington and Beijing abandon their cooperative relationships with Islamabad. By
November, India's leaders feared that China might strike Calcutta and could even seize control over much of eastern India. Not only did more of Pakistan's militants turn against the state in the tribal areas but they also extended their reach into nearby settled parts of the country and unleashed suicide bombers on its cities. For an overview of Zaid
Hamid's rapid ascent in 2008, see Manan Ahmed, "Pakistan's New Paranoia," The National, March 11, 2010, . Unless USAID retools itself, and quickly, Washington would probably have a better shot at success by channeling at least a portion of its aid dollars through other organizations with greater on-the-ground experience that can devote more
time and energy to the task. In sum, this means pursuing comprehensive cooperation when possible, with the goal of tipping the balance toward stability inside Pakistan and improved U.S.-Pakistan ties over time. Author conversation with Pakistan in flicial, Islamabad, May 2012. Instead, once the administration was convinced that the language in the
bill was all bark and no bite - that is, the bill made it relatively simple for the administration to waive any of its paper thin "certifications" - Holbrooke and company focused on the bottom line. Most important, LeT's humanitarian outreach efforts - from hospitals and schools to rapid disaster response teams in the wake of earthquakes and floods -
have won over converts as well as sympathizers who may not share Saeed's particular brand of religion. That "military-first" approach would retain a tight focus on pressing issues of insurgency and terrorism, these
groups now make terrifyingly sophisticated adversaries. All told, KLB's first year was a difficult one. p. Identities are inculcated into each of Pakistan's rapidly expanding generations, reinforcing patterns of behavior and, to a greater extent than one might expect in this era of individualism and globalization, thought as well. Tellis, Mercy Kuo, and
Andrew Marble, eds., Strategic Asia 2008-9: Challenges and Choices (Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2008), p. They really need to take action."14 In September 2012, Washington officially designated the Haqqani network a Foreign Terrorist Organization.15 How the Afghan war ends will set the stage for future U.S.-Pakistan
relations. In times of grave national crisis, such as 2010's epic floods, its personnel have performed heroically. On the other hand, Beijing might continue to see Pakistan as a useful piece in its expanding sphere of influence throughout much of Central Asia. Progress is indeed possible in Pakistan, but not always at the speed or in the manner that
Americans might hope. In 2010, a group of Peshawar university students proudly recounted to me how their peers had chased away Zaid Hamid, one of Pakistan's most rabid anti-Western and hyper-nationalist television pundits, when he tried to give a lecture on campus. That is a group of Peshawar university students proudly recounted to me how their peers had chased away Zaid Hamid, one of Pakistan's most rabid anti-Western and hyper-nationalist television pundits, when he tried to give a lecture on campus. That is a group of Peshawar university students proudly recounted to me how their peers had chased away Zaid Hamid, one of Pakistan's most rabid anti-Western and hyper-nationalist television pundits, who sports a trademark bright red hat and spins the most fantastical
conspiracy theories with conviction and fervor, rose from obscurity in 2008. I could only have written it while working at an institution that values both. what is achievable? In 70 71 See, for instance, Manu Raju and Tomer Ovadia, "Paul May Hold Up Senate over Pakistan," Politico, July 12, 2012, . When it came to the timetables, Obama kept his
promises. It concludes with three options for future U.S. strategy, described as defensive insulation, military-first cooperation, and comprehensive cooperation, and comprehensive cooperation, and comprehensive described as defensive insulation, military-first cooperation, and comprehensive cooperation.
Washington will always retain the military and diplomatic upper hand. The 1979 Iranian revolution that swept out the U.S.-backed Shah and catapulted the fire-breathing Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini to power was the most recent and dramatic of these. On a trip to Islamabad in June 2005 with Stephen Krasner, then Secretary Rice's director of policy
planning, my suspicions of Musharraf's weak political instincts were strengthened by their contact with al-Qaeda operatives. In this case, the stick was much more effective than the carrot. But the problem between the
United States and India is not just one of different goals or policy perspectives; it is also that India will not suffer the indignity of being told what to do. It is clear that Pakistan's civilian leaders are no paragons of virtue; even their commitment to democratic principles can be called into question. 94. In the first week of May 2011, the shocking
revelation that the United States had found and killed bin Laden right under the army's nose raised a chorus of Pakistani criticism about the army's ineptitude. Pakistani criticism about the army's nose raised a chorus of Pakistani criticism about the army's ineptitude.
almost certainly coursing with ISI money. 3 (Winter 2007/8), pp. The resulting Indian furor over Powell's diplomatic "stab in the back" was intense.54 But the bad feelings blew over in time and Washington's careful management of the March 2005 announcements, including a preview of American plans by Secretary Rice in New Delhi, showed that
U.S. officials had learned a valuable lesson about how to manage relationships in the region. 23. Too many sipped cool cucumber soup even as their countrymen struggled to find safe drinking water. He officially joined Khan's party and was later nominated head of its youth wing. Just as the violent "Kalashnikov culture" of Pakistan's frontier regions
near Peshawar spilled into the settled parts of the country, disrupting traditional, civilized ways of life and threatening far greater instability and violence, so too could Pakistan's extreme ideologies, sophisticated terrorists, and well-armed militants export mayhem into the surrounding region, starting with India. 218 No Exit from Pakistan A Pakistani
colonel proudly described how his forces had hammered the militants and how, as part of their wider counterinsurgency campaign, they had convinced the local tribesmen to fight on the army's side. Along the way, U.S. policymakers should seek to determine which pieces of defensive insulation, military cooperation, and comprehensive cooperation
can be combined so as to maximize the strengths inherent to each approach. Moreover, if Washington were forced to choose a partner in South Asia, its top choice would be India, not Pakistan. [Excised], ~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/NSAEBB/
4 pp. Not surprisingly, their main concerns are jobs and education. Both the Mullen and Salala incidents demonstrated the significance of public, as compared to private, diplomacy between Washington and Islamabad. Yet they were not transformative. Along similar lines but in the context of non-nuclear counterterrorism, Bob Woodward reveals that
the United States had in place a "retribution plan" for bombing up to 150 sites in Pakistan in the event of a terrorist attack in the United States traced back to Pakistan in the Engagani network or Mullah Omar's Afghan Taliban. 120 No Exit from
Pakistan stability. 158 No Exit from Pakistan opponents, U.S. officials viewed Pakistan as little more than its battleground, its leaders as stooges, and its people as pawns, or worse, as "collateral damage." In different ways, these arguments fit into many of Pakistan opponents, U.S. officials viewed Pakistan opponents, U.S. officials viewed Pakistan as little more than its battleground, its leaders as stooges, and its people as pawns, or worse, as "collateral damage." In different ways, these arguments fit into many of Pakistan opponents, U.S. officials viewed Pakista
have been several recent profiles of Khan that discuss his life, personality, and place in Pakistani politics. "He thought everything we were doing was a failure," recalled one U.S. aid official.36 Befitting his Balkans-era nickname, "the bulldozer" rolled over any lesser mortal who stood in the way. University of Sussex Library, on 05 Mar 2019 at
17:33:44, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . A trickle of U.S. support for the Afghan insurgents was already flowing through Pakistan before he came on the scene. If not for these sorts of institutions and the people who sustain them, serious and policy-relevant research would be an American hobby, not a profession. 329-38
174 No Exit from Pakistan village to one in which she could earn a university master's degree and aspire to a well-paid corporate job in China's new globalized economy. The early part of the Afghan war was prosecuted through a "lead nation" approach, in which the United States and its allies each took primary responsibility for specific
regional/functional tasks. In an economy where textiles account for over 40 percent of urban jobs and about 60 percent of export earnings, such lost opportunities are costly. 30 Even if Pakistan manages to address its electricity woes, it is still running out of water. We just wanted verification of our HUMINT, a war to employ our intelligence and to
eliminate UBL." See Crumpton, The Art of Intelligence, p. He is surrounded by family, including his son Abdullah, who is following in his father's footsteps to launch a national youth movement with a revolutionary, anti-Western agenda. 81 Gul was removed from his ISI job when civilians retook power in Islamabad from the military dictator Zia-ul-Haq
who died in a mysterious plane crash. Back then, the same villagers who confidently walked us through a budget briefing and a tour of their resources toward a common aim. Tariq is an idealist of boundless energy and patience. Bhutto's Legacy In spite of all the weaknesses
of the PPP, the aspiration of civilian democratic rule that Bhutto symbolized in the early 1970s also left an imprint that persists to this day. Salman Siddiqui, "Hardline Stance: Religious Bloc Condones Murder," Express Tribune, January 5, 2011, . The wisecracking, and in fact rather wise, Tetlay was RSPN's chief operating officer. As cited earlier, Ed
wrote his own book detailing his experiences as an Islamist. If, for instance, Pakistan's military shows itself willing to tackle threats of extremism and internal disorder (as Army Chief Kayani stated was the need of the hour in an August 2012 address to the nation), that would begin to re-open prospects for greater military cooperation. 72 Similarly, if
Pakistan's elected civilian leaders choose to renegotiate the terms of their relationship with the United States rather than simply playing to the public's anti-Americanism, they should find allies in Washington willing to explore cooperative ventures that serve long-term U.S. interests. In late summer 2008, gunmen opened fire on the vehicle of the top
diplomat at the U.S. consulate as she left the gates of her home in what had been considered one of Peshawar's most secure, upscale neighborhoods. These threats forced many of the U.S. diplomats and development officials who would normally live and work in Peshawar to decamp to Islamabad. See Benazir Bhutto, Daughter of the East: An
Autobiography (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p. So far, however, rural politicians have chosen mainly to avoid confrontation. Aurakzai is an intense military man with a closely cropped mustache and present, generously agreed to sit for interviews but
were not always able to be cited by name in the text. The 18th amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan was signed into law on April 19, 2010. This need not require a confrontational approach toward the military, which would only jeopardize cooperation in the near term. For an American visitor, having the lights go out abruptly in the middle of a
conversation is unnerving, yet most Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape, only to be arrested minutes later by Pakistani report, Davis got back into his car and attempted to escape at the pakistani report of the pakistani report at the pakistani rep
defense, and that the two men had approached him waving guns. If sitting in the pitch dark, they may simply flip on their cell phones and place them on the table as dim bluish torches. If, for instance, Washington were to pressure Pakistan's military and intelligence services, it would be targeting some of the same individuals and institutions
responsible for securing the nation's nuclear arsenal. In cooperation with Pakistan, on the other hand, Washington tended to focus on external goals, such as containing communism, opening secret talks with Beijing, or arming the Afghan mujahedeen. Markey Index More information Index India's relations with, 41, 85, 190, 194-195 Pakistan's
relations with, 6-10, 20-22, 38-39, 43, 70-71, 85-86, 182-184, 188-189, 189n64, 192 Soviet relations with, 84-85 terrorist attacks in, 214n26 U.S. relations with, 175-178, 188-192, 211 Citizens for Free and Responsible Media, 64 Citizens-Police Liaison Committee (CPLC),
224-225 civilian rule in Pakistan Bhutto's (Z. India has changed a great deal in recent years, but a visit is still an assault on the senses. Of course, an increasingly prosperous India offers ample attraction for the United States in its own right, but there is no escaping the fact that the more Washington tilts toward New Delhi, the more insecurity that
inspires in Islamabad. At once, the lawyers' protest gained steam across the nation. Yet her nickname doesn't quite do Mazari justice. Yet, Indian officials remained skeptical that Pakistan's diplomatic overtures would ever amount to more than tactical half-measures. Normally, it is a mistake to judge an aid program on the basis of how much money is
spent and how quickly. 41. The defeated military lay in shambles. No point in backing losing insurgents; better to push them to the negotiating some of their own frustrations with the United States and perhaps reflecting more than a little time spent talking with Pakistanis like
General Baig, the Chinese explain that Pakistan drove a hard bargain, winning a U.S. assistance package of $3.2 billion over six years and a fast-tracked deal for forty F-16 fighter jets. 78 For Islamabad, such assistance would go a
long way toward rebalancing its military competition with India. When characters like Hafiz Saeed, Hamid Gul, and Sami ul Haq appear to enjoy at least the tacit support of the state. LeT's spectacular 2008 attack dominated television news across the world. If the United States puts all its eggs in the Pakistani
military's basket, it commits the same error it did with Musharraf or as it has with other authoritarian allies like Mubarak's Egypt, the Shah's Iran, or Marcos's Philippines. And yet at his acceptance reception, he observed: The U.S. administration takes pride in advancing the cause of democracy in Pakistan. The Four Faces of Pakistan 61 its first
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ninety days.119 After making examples of some of the nation's most thoroughly corrupt leaders, Khan argued, others would quickly fall into line. 335. Rajasthani villagers showered the beaming president in a colorful blizzard of rose petals. In September 2009, as Raphel was preparing to depart for Islamabad, she met with a small group of Pakistani villagers showered the beaming president in a colorful blizzard of rose petals.
watchers at the Middle East Institute in Washington. On assuming office, the new Obama administration expanded its agenda in Pakistan in a variety of important ways, each discussed in Chapter 5. Al-Qaeda may be nearly beaten. All of these points are made in detail by Ishrat Husain, "The Economy of Pakistan: Past, Present and Future," in Robert
Hathaway, Wilson Lee, and Ishrat Husain, eds., Islamization and the Pakistani Economy (Washington launched the war in Afghanistan and extensive manhunts across the globe. The more fragile Pakistan's ruling clique felt, the more it turned to Washington for support. So
Americans need not fear that a tidal wave of Pakistani-trained bomb makers is about to hit U.S. shores. 195-209. As a consequence, both sides failed repeatedly to build a relationship to serve beyond the immediate needs of the day. It has also accomplished at least some of its own strategic purposes, above all, maintaining the nation's sovereign
independence from India. "Resistant to change, disposed to muddle through, inclined to blame others for their problems and single-mindedly determined to preserve their narrow class interests even as their world is collapsing around them, [Pakistan's elites] are leading their country along a short road to chaos," he warns darkly.138 Fearing that
Pakistan is playing with fire as it faces "a dangerous and fluid moment" in its history, veteran Washington Post reporter Pamela Constable takes up the third position in the debate.139 Unlike Schmidt and Lieven, who focus on Pakistan's repressive continuity, Constable is more concerned about the forces of change. This irrigated network accounts for
one-fourth of Pakistan's GDP, two-thirds of its jobs, and 80 percent of its exports.31 Canal construction 29 30 31 Author conversation with Karachi businessmen, October 2011. For a broader discussion on the evolution of extremism in Pakistan, see Ayesha Jalal, Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008);
Hassan Abbas, Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2005); and Zahid Hussain, The Scorpion's Tail: The Relentless Rise of Islamic Militants in Pakistan - And How It Threatens America (New York: Free Press, 2010). America's Options 211 that radioactive sources inside a container
can be shielded in ways that make them very difficult to detect, it is clear that America's homeland defenses still need work.23 A breakthrough in the technologies devoted to locating nuclear weapons by satellite, plane, or drone Wars,
Foreign Policy, May 28, 2010. First, Pakistan's ruling elites and its army are still strong enough to resist revolutionary change or a dramatic collapse. Better to back a new horse before that final crisis, or at least to deftly pull back from Musharraf before it was too late. It is equally applicable to U.S. policy in Pakistan. Finally, the intensely charismatic
Bhutto was worried about her personal security. When framed in this context, Pakistan's nuclear challenge, like the terrorist threat, is clearly here to stay. A central question for U.S. policymakers since 2001 has been how the United States should best defend itself against international terrorism in the future. His secret dealings would make him
wealthy and powerful. Central to Cold War era theories of nuclear deterrence was "mutually assured destruction," the idea that when two hostile countries 49 50 51 52 53 On the American effort to broker peace in Kashmir, see Howard B. 2, 4, 196-7. That required ground and air access for U.S. planes and troops, preferably through Pakistan's ports
roads, and airspace. Americans kept a low profile in joint counterterror operations. America was having a hard enough time with al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and near-war between India and Pakistan. Unlike the other major parties, the PTI would require its candidates to submit tax records and run in internal primary elections to win the right to fight in
national polls. 345, 443-5; see also Cheney, In My Time (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), p. From 1966 to 1970, he built the PPP from scratch, assiduously cultivating a range of constituencies. If Pakistan had a firmly entrenched, moderate, and democratic government in control of its nuclear program, perhaps some of those fears would be
mitigated. 79-118. The final straw came later that year, when President Johnson explained to General Ayub that the alliance, at least in anything resembling its earlier form, was over.50 In Pakistani eyes, the U.S. abandonment was complete; not only was Washington content to walk away when Pakistani's partnership was less prized, but the
Americans were even willing to abandon their ally to India's depredations without remorse. The threat of attacks, harassment, and kidnappings was quite real. "Construction of Dams Is the Only Solution to Prevent Floods: ICCI," Pakistan Today, September 7, 2011, . No Exit 19 has been a conduit for NATO supplies into Afghanistan, and Islamabad
has held considerable influence over the stability of the Afghan state as well as the success of the fight against the Taliban insurgency. 962, Downloaded from . One day, if Islamists win control over Pakistan, they are likely to have more in common with Saeed than either bin Laden or Baitullah Mehsud. al-Qaeda offensive under, 11-16, 23, 110-118
127 Bhutto (B.) and, 131-133 China policy under, 175-176 drone policy under, 153-156 F-16 aircraft deal with Pakistan and, 123-124 "freedom agenda" of, 114-122, 215, 221 Pakistan policy under, 23, 82, 103-104, 109-114, 143n22, 181-182, 215 Butt, Naveed,
57-58 Carter, Jimmy, 87, 90-91 Pakistan policy under, 91, 95n78, 221 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and, 208-209 drone strikes and, 153-161 ISI relations with, 111-112, 137 Chamberlain, Neville, 129 Charlie Wilson's War (film), 93-94 Chaudhry,
Iftikhar Muhammad, 80-83, 130 China Bhutto's (Z. Above all, however, he is a gifted leader. For its part, Islamabad is guilty of misrepresenting its commitment to American goals in order to extract the material benefits of partnership with a superpower. American goals in order to extract the material benefits of partnership with a superpower.
these groups. 200. "$2-Billion Irrigation Project Will Tame the Indus," New York Times, January 19, 1968, search.proquest.com/docview/118371546/fulltextPDF/1381FD9F3D74626F4CF/1? 68 No Exit from Pakistan magazine articles that have too often predicted Pakistan's imminent collapse. 666-7. These are not new relationships; some date back to
the anti-Soviet jihad of the 1980s, others to the formation of the Afghan Taliban movement in the mid1990s. Based on author conversations, Beijing, April 2011. Even in Pakistan's teeming cities, vast majorities also feel powerful ties to communities that pre-date Pakistan's teeming cities, vast majorities also feel powerful ties to communities that pre-date Pakistan's teeming cities, vast majorities also feel powerful ties to communities that pre-date Pakistan's teeming cities, vast majorities also feel powerful ties to communities that pre-date Pakistan's existence as a state. General Musharraf uses Pakistan's importance to the
United States in Afghanistan to further his own dictatorship. New social movements like Al-Huda are picking up whatever works and running with it. This was not a surprise. A year later, he declared that 10,000 troops would be home before 2012, that the rest of the surge would be recovered by September 2012, and that, "by 2014 . Any one of these
would be a tall order. 208 No Exit from Pakistan the Pakistanis to shoot out of the sky.15 Rapid advances in drone technologies could solve this problem, but the answer is not yet in America's arsenal. This is an important corrective to the hyperventilating newspaper headlines and 138 139 140 141 142 143 Schmidt, "The Unravelling," p. Each
deserves particular attention even as it must be balanced against the others. Military and nuclear cooperation between Islamabad and Beijing took off in the years following the Sino-Indian war of 1962. Khan was freed from house arrest in 2009, he alleged that Karamat, among others, had known - and profited - from his deals. They explained that
goats had nibbled away their plantings. Some members of the early Bush administration simply held out less hope than Rice that history would ever amount to more than one damned thing after another. On the early history of LeT, see Tankel, Storming the World Stage, pp. It is not surprising that when Baig predicts that the U.S. mission will fail in
 Afghanistan, there is more than a hint of schadenfreude in his voice. Then, on that clear blue September 11 morning, Washington's gaze was redirected by the horror of al-Qaeda's attacks. Fewer troops and resources devoted to Afghanistan will also mean less concerted attention from senior American officials. The Four Faces of Pakistan 49 the
Pakistani Taliban, the ISI is said to have lost some seventy officers by the end of 2009.74 One glance at the ISI's fortress-like compound in Islamabad suggests that even its own leaders doubt its omnipotence. Sooner or later, Pakistanis figured, whatever fragile edifice Washington constructed in Afghanistan would collapse. All of this might have been
entirely different if Washington had not invested so heavily in the Pakistani president. America's Cold War with the Soviet Union defined the global strategic context for four decades after the Second World War. See also military assistance to Pakistan China and, 6-7 Clinton's (Hillary) comments on, 140 in Cold War era, 74-76 comprehensive
cooperation strategy and, 222-233 democracy initiatives and, 140-145 earthquake disaster assistance, 122-123 "KLB" aid package and, 141-150 Reagan-era programs, 112 USAID programs and, 149-145 earthquake disaster assistance, 122-123 "KLB" aid package and, 141-150 Reagan-era programs, 112 USAID programs, 112 USAID programs, 120-125, 126 Avrakotos, Gus, 93-94 Awami League (AL), 78-80 Azim, Kamran, 226-227 Aziz, Tariq
124-125 Azzam, Abdullah, 100 Baba, Rahman, 170 Baig, Mirza Aslam, 200-202, 208, 213-214, 234 ballistic missile defense, U.S.-Indian negotiations concerning, 180-181 Baloch ethnic group, 30-32 Bangladesh education levels in, 33-35 electricity infrastructure in, 36 formation of, 78-80, 97 HuT activism in, 57 India and, 42, 46 Iraq war and, 117-
118 Barelvi school of Islam, 50-51 Beckley, Michael, 175n18 Berehulak, Daniel, 38-39 Berman, Howard, 141-145, 222 Beygairat Brigade, 92 Bhutto, Benazir, 31, 80 civilian government of, 81 criticism of U.S. by, 120 killing of, 99, 133n77, 157 Musharraf and, 131-133 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 62 execution of, 96, 221 nuclear expansion under, 87-90
political legacy of, 79n31, 80-83 sectarian identity of, 96, 96n85 U.S. relations with, 77n21, 77, 83, 85-86 bin Laden, Osama. Third, Pakistan's size, location, and potential for instability and violence represent an emergent geopolitical challenge within the context of Asia's growing importance on the global stage. Eager to escape the historical dilemma
of picking sides between Pakistan and India, but fully aware that in the fight against al-Qaeda Pakistan was more immediately relevant than India, they worked to preserve the gains with New Delhi by "de-hyphenating" the Indo-Pakistani relationship. This suggests that as part of a comprehensive cooperation strategy, Washington should pay at least
as much attention to the practical performance Downloaded from . Sanger, Confront and Conceal (New York: Crown, 2012), p. He negotiated face-to-face with [Slobodan] Milosevic and ended a war [in Bosnia]."109 Like Obama's firm timelines for the surge, opening a dialogue with the Afghan insurgents made sense in Washington. All told, China's
official self-perception and its prevailing biases about Pakistan combine to favor a military-to-military relationship. China's parochial view of the world is more likely to render Beijing irresponsibly risk averse than dangerously aggressive.27 This
too could be problematic; a wealthy, powerful China that does too little to take on the burdens of leadership would be worse than a missed opportunity; it would be a terrible abdication of responsibility. He and his top generals drew distinctions between different types of militants and terrorists, fighting some, such as al-Qaeda and various Pakistani
sectarian extremist groups, while aiding and abetting others, such as anti-Indian terrorist organizations like Lashkar-eTaiba and the fleeing Afghan Taliban leadership.29 U.S. officials were reluctant to criticize Musharraf publicly, lest they jeopardize what help Pakistan was already providing. They spoke and acted as if the two countries were more
alike than different. 221-4. See Michael Kugelman, "Introduction," in Michael Kugelman and Robert M. 3-9, Congressional Research Service, April 25, 2012, nuke/RL31555.pdf. Even Khan's efforts to build a new style of party for the 2013 elections, one less rife with corruption and more responsive to constituents, ran headlong into the persistent
realities of Pakistani patronage politics. For this reason alone, many Pakistanis tend to welcome a strong, assertive China - especially one that takes a tougher line against India. Given Pakistanis tend to welcome a strong, assertive China - especially one that takes a tougher line against India. Given Pakistanis tend to welcome a strong, assertive China - especially one that takes a tougher line against India.
Altitude Reconnaissance Aircraft, United States of America,". Since the United States will then be less dependent on Pakistan's cooperation, the argument goes, it will be easier to pressure Islamabad to comply on other issues with less fear of the potential repercussions. Talbot, Pakistan, pp. Brennan, Assistant to the President for Homeland Security
and Counterterrorism, Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, April 30, 2012, .org/event/the-efficacy-and-ethics-us-counterterrorism-strategy. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) expanded its counterterrorism-strategy. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) expanded its counterterrorism-strategy.
learned this lesson the hard way. Some of the greatest American successes in the fight against al-Qaeda, like the arrest of 9/11 organizer Ramzi bin al-Shibh in 2002, came through cooperation with Pakistani authorities. 3 On other occasions, like the raid on Osama bin Laden's compound in May 2011, Washington chose to act unilaterally, fearing that
its plans might be compromised if Pakistani officials were informed. First of all, a great deal will hinge upon the trajectory of relations between the United States and China. Contractors like Davis provided a way to expand Washington's presence in Pakistan without tipping its hand to the Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI). From the Outside
In 195 of expansion in the region as a "string of pearls." 82 Many subscribe to the view articulated by a prominent retired Indian diplomat who explained that Pakistan is now of concern to India only because it represents an "extension of Chinese power." 83 Then again, there are also excellent reasons to doubt that the future of relations between New
Delhi and Beijing will be defined by conflict. Some bonds are to family and tribe, others to language or the practice of a particular strain of Islam. U-Turn to Drift 129 they explained the stresses the tribal insurgency placed on their forces. Christi Parsons and Michael A. For more on Headley's surveillance of sites in India and in Denmark, including the
offices of the Danish paper Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten, see Tankel, Storming the World Stage, pp. The Four Faces of Pakistanis - many already sympathetic to the Afghan Taliban cause - chose to maintain and even to enhance their ties with the militants and to see them
as political allies for that inevitable day when the Americans would pack up and leave Afghanistan once again. If the world ever sees the likes of a second Osama bin Laden, there is a very good chance that he would be a Pakistani, raised in a climate of violent anti-Americanism and surrounded by experienced terrorists who command resources from
networks of financial support and ideological sympathy. At Khan's Karachi rally, Haq spoke movingly of the need for a government of the "common man, of the youth, not that of the VIPs," and declared that "a revolution is just waiting to happen." 118 A Reform Agenda These passionate endorsements and the palpable energy of Khan's fans
overwhelmed some of the cynicism of Pakistani politics, at least temporarily. Washington's regional - and some would say even its global - priorities turned upside down. Although a military regime might offer immediate improvements in terms of security or economic growth, without a functioning political system, deeper uncertainty about the future
would linger. The stage for Congressman Wilson's bravura performance was not set by itself. Where in 1999 the country had two television channels, in 2009 it had seventy-one.124 In late 2007, I. HuT is a modern and viciously intolerant organization. That position offered him the ideal platform from which to translate his scholarship into practice. In
1987, Baig was promoted to vice chief of the army staff. This push to promote Downloaded from . They still have a finger in every pie, even those, like Imran Khan's PTI, that claim to be dedicated to change. Dennis Kux attributes State Department intelligence analyst Eliza Van Hollen with some foresight on this point, but she was overruled by the
CIA. That is to say nothing at all about India's villages, home to some 70 percent of the country's people.76 India is, in its own way, moving to address all of these issues. In the past, Indians were primarily worried about Pakistan's military strength. Why not simply accept this trend? The limited official exchanges that did take place were often chilly
ix © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org © in this web service Cambridge University Press Pakistan and Its Region. Immediately after the 1979 Soviet invasion, the Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on detente with Moscow and announced that "any attempt of the Persian Carter administration slammed the door on the Persian Carter administration slammed the persian carter administration slammed the persian carter administration slammed th
Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."75 The White House cut off wheat and technology sales to Russia, pulled the plug on a nuclear arms treaty, started a new round of draft registrations, and boycotted the
1980 Moscow Olympics in protest. A third of all Pakistanis do not have access to safe drinking water. This fear is reasonable. Schmidt, The Unraveling: Pakistan in the Age of Jihad (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011). Aaron L. "Chairman Kerry and Chairman Kerry and Chairman Release Joint Explanatory Statement to Accompany Enhanced Partnership
with Pakistan Act of 2009," Office of Senator John Kerry, October 14, 2009, . Groups like al-Qaeda are never defeated all at once. Weed, "Foreign Aid Reform: Studies and Recommendations," Congressional Research Service, July 28, 2009, . "CNN Poll: Support for Afghanistan War at All Time Low," CNN, October 28, 2011, . In English, the title is
usually translated as No Exit. Their success is not unusual; small-time retailers are doing well in Pakistan's cities. Over the next two years, terrorists killed over 4,600 Pakistanis, even those with little sympathy for the extremists' cause, still found fault
with what they considered a heavy-handed use of force by Musharraf. See U.S. Special Forces, raids in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, potential for, 68-69 Storming the World Stage (Tankel), 102 Sufi Islam in Pakistan, 10
he had good personal relationships with his American counterparts, but he was troubled that Pakistani intelligence reports (with highly detailed social and economic information that would be salient in a counter-Soviet insurgency) were shared with the Americans. Because "massive atomic and thermonuclear retaliation is not the kind of power which
could most usefully be evoked under all circumstances," he wrote in Foreign Affairs, "security for the free world depends. It is conceivable that Islamabad might have shifted its own strategy in response. It projected the wrong message to Pakistan, the Taliban leadership, and the Afghans. 108 It weakened the punch that the surge delivered to the
insurgency by fostering a sense that the war's endgame was just around the corner. A1, A10. Over the period since he seized power in 1999, Musharraf had gradually alienated various constituencies. While any nuclear explosion would leave telltale signs of its origins, only something akin to a "nuclear DNA test," which starts with the collection of
samples of a country's nuclear fuel in advance, can yield conclusive results. If any experience could prove that no amount of American effort would "fix" Pakistan or build a better working relationship between Washington and Islamabad, this looked to be it. With access to army documents, she wrote Pakistan's official history of the 1999 Kargil
conflict, a near-war with India that began when Pakistan infiltrated fighters across its de facto border with India.37 Mazari's book, widely derided as a work of army propaganda, claims that India was responsible for escalating the conflict and that Pakistan's civilians have unfairly attempted to blame the army for the failed military campaign that
ensued. Multilateral diplomacy has so far failed to end Pakistan's nuclear or missile development, but as part of its defensive insulation Washington would lobby China to limit its sales and transfers of technologies that might aid Pakistan's missile development. 16. Hillary Rodham Clinton, "Report to Congress on the Haqqani Network," Press
Statement, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, September 7, 2012, 2012/09/197474.htm. Markey Index More information Index 240 Asia China's ascendancy in, 172-178, 188-192, 197-199 India's economic role in, 186-187 Iraq war and U.S. policy in, 117-118 Pakistan's role in, 8, 20-22, 187-188 U.S. policies in, 85, 110-114 assistance
programs in Pakistan. On the back of a Washington-brokered deal with Musharraf, Bhutto made her way to Pakistan in October 2007. 3, . Markey Index More information Index 244 McChrystal, Stanley, 164n103, 164n104 McMahon, Robert J., 75 media in Pakistan, 62-65, 68-69 journalist exchange programs and, 64 Megaports Initiative, 210n22
 "Mehran men," 60-62 Mehran naval base, attack on, 69-70 Mehsud, Baitullah, 13-14, 99, 157 Mehsud, Hakimullah, 202 "memogate" scandal, 80n32, 107 microfinancing initiatives in Pakistan, 6-7 in Cold War era, 74-76 U.S. policies concerning, 117-118, 120 military-first cooperation strategy, 233-235 U.S.
Pakistan relations and, 26-27, 214-222 military in Pakistan "AfPak" strategy and, 163 anti-Indian ideology in, 39-43, 218-219 Bhutto's (Z. A day later, President Obama took the unusual step of describing Davis as "our diplomatic number of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic
Relations. The challenge rests in improving USAID's ability to identify new LUMStype investments: programs that leverage resources to bring about lasting and significant change. It has undermined, at times fatally, Pakistanis who might otherwise stand up for a more moderate or progressive society. [Excised]
• nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB358a/doc21.pdf. Shanghai's combination of scale and wealth compares favorably to any city in the world. It reflected years of experience. The point is that the terrorist cancer has clearly taken root in parts of Pakistan's military. Markey Frontmatter More information Acknowledgments This book is a hybrid, born of
experiences in academia and government. Tellis, "Creating New Facts on the Ground," Policy Brief, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2011, policy.pdf. When reform-minded leaders have gained power in Islamabad, they have always found it expedient to depend on established politicians with a vested interest in the status quo. To
understand the nature of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship and to calibrate our expectations, it helps to adopt a tragic sensibility. Pakistan's erratic behavior, not to mention its inadequate control over terrorists on its soil, could make it especially tough for Beijing to restrain. Most Indian strategists see Pakistan as a huge mess, not one India would want
to inherit even if it had the military tools to sweep across the border unobstructed. Alan Kronstadt, "Pakistan: U.S. Foreign Assistance," Congressional Research Service, CRS Report 7-5700, June 7, 2011, organization/166839.pdf. Like Al-Huda, HuT harnesses the global telecommunications network to organize and spread its message. Beheaded
corpses with "American spy" placards were strung up in the street for all to see. Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Tellis and Aroop Mukharji, eds., "Is a Regional Strategy Viable in Afghanistan?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2010,
approach.pdf. Minutes later, nearby street vendors heard the sound of exploding fireworks and noticed smoke drifting from the interior of the SUV. A more ambitious strategy would require someone on the president's national security team to champion and implement new policies. Unfortunately, it has become a central part of the nationalist
worldview. 206 No Exit from Pakistan If the United States is unable to force (or induce) Pakistan to begin an about-face in its dealings with groups like the Hagganis and LeT while a large American military contingent is in the region and top U.S. officials are focused squarely on the matter, then Washington will be less likely - and less well placed - to
take another serious run at the issue later. In addition, a long-anticipated constitutional amendment by the new governments. Even setting aside everything other than the fight against al-Qaeda, the initial burst of post-9/11 counterterror successes gradually
slowed to a trickle. 56 57 58 Although Khan proudly takes credit for Pakistan's nuclear bomb, other Pakistan researchers and laboratories, especially Munir Ahmed Khan and the Pakistan at tempted attack, Shahzad menacingly explains his attack, Shahzad menacing his attack, Shahzad m
decision to join in a global struggle against those who would oppress Muslims, his desire to bring violent jihad into the United States, and his collaboration with top TTP leaders in conceiving the attack on New York City.6 Shahzad was unusual, perhaps even unique, for being an American citizen who chose for his own personal reasons to approach
members of the Pakistani Taliban and join their cause. Unlike a military-first approach, however, U.S. officials would need to temper their dealings with the generals in ways that encourage greater involvement by Pakistani civilians in defense and foreign policy making. As explained in Chapter 2, although it is not inevitable or likely in the immediate
forces killed twenty-four Pakistani soldiers along the Afghan border, believing them to be insurgents. It looked like a major turning point in Khan's post-cricket career as a national politician. 3 (April 1954). In one 2011 essay, he catalogues the litany of U.S. betrayals in 1965, 1971, and 1989 and observes that "now after 50 years we are still slaves to
the US."68 Again and again, his language is that of the archetypal nationalist, obsessed with honor and shame, pride and cowardice. Sara Burnett, "Former CIA Contractor Charged with Felony in Parking Fight," Denver Post, October 3, 2011, 19029853. He declared in 1965, "If India builds the bomb, we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but
we will get one of our own. The Obama South Asia team, with Holbrooke leading the charge, championed the bill as a means to trumpet America's sympathy for Pakistan's democrats. Reclining behind his office desk on a hot afternoon in May 2012, comfortable in a traditional white cotton tunic, baggy trousers, and sandals, Khan held forth on the
terrible mistake Pakistan's President Musharraf made by choosing to side with Washington after 9/11. By conjuring visions of historic diplomatic breakthroughs, it offered hope for an honorable, orderly American withdrawal from Afghanistan. 215-44. Over the next several years, Indo-Pakistani negotiations took two forms, one public - the "composite
mean feats. The next generation of Americans will come of age in a world where al-Qaeda may be history and the U.S. war in Afghanistan is but a dim memory, but by mid-century Pakistan will grow to be the world's fourth largest (and largest majority-Muslim) country, sitting nuclear-armed on the border of two other Asian giants, China and India. As
a practical matter, Washington is more likely to cobble together a set of policies to address whatever appears to be the most urgent need of the day. Al-Qaeda dominated U.S. attention. Short of the democratic ideal, as long as Pakistan's military remains disciplined, unthreatening, and in firm command of the nuclear arsenal, America will have reasons
for confidence, even if nuclear weapons are by their nature risky and dangerous things. Julian Pecquet, "Kerry Warned Off Trip to Pakistan Ahead of Elections," The Hill, March 25, 2013, . China outpaces India by more than three to one in terms of GDP. It effectively subordinated the State Department and Pentagon to the intelligence community
when it came to making U.S. policy in Pakistan. Few Americans leave the battlefront in Afghanistan without harboring anger toward Pakistan. 6 7 8 "Frontier Cabinet Okays Hasbah Bill," Daily Times, July 5, 2005, .pk/default.asp?page=story_5-7-2005 pg7_5. They now serve more than half of the students in many of Pakistan's cities.23 Other children
attend madrassas, or Islamic seminaries, where tuition is free. If Pakistan were to make these sorts of events routine, over time international investors and corporations might choose to steer clear and invest in less dangerous parts of the world. Founded in Pakistan in 1994 by Farhat Hashmi, the daughter of an Islamist party (Jamaat-e-Islami) leader,
the organization has over 200 "franchises" around Pakistan's liberals and hard-line Islamists alike, AlHuda is transforming the way many of Pakistan's most influential women, particularly well-educated ones from the middle and upper classes, relate to their faith. From the Outside-In 197 Part of the logic of the Bush
administration's civil-nuclear deal and the Obama administration's decision to support India for a permanent United Nations Security Council seat was that these steps would break down India's reluctance to partnership. In time, Pakistan's safe haven enabled a ragtag band of defeated refugees to regroup into an Afghan insurgency that challenges
NATO and the Kabul government to this day. 91 Pressler, Abandonment, and National Honor Pakistan's nuclear program came back to haunt the relationship again in the late 1980s. A country's infant mortality rate - the number of children in 1,000 who die before reaching one year of age - is a good way to measure living standards across countries.
No Exit 27 clear, these options are in fact points along a spectrum of U.S. policy choices and they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. 56-9. Both were of Musharraf's own making. As scholar Stephen Tankel argues in his extensive study of LeT, Storming the World Stage, in the years following 9/11 Saeed navigated his organization between the
seams of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. This suggests the strategy itself was not impossibly overambitious. Supposing that strategy worked, where would it leave Pakistan? In particular, it means appreciating the capacity of
the Pakistani reformers; avoiding statements and policies that irritate and humiliate without the prospect of delivering a powerful coercive blow; and never forgetting that Pakistani leaders will calculate their interests for themselves, often in ways that are frustratingly at odds with our own perspectives and preferences. It was a stunning blow to
Soviet prestige at the worst possible time for Moscow. "Poverty headcount ratio at $2 a day (PPP) (% of population)," The World Bank, .worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.2DAY. More weapons also increase the chance that something will go wrong.57 Historians of America's own nuclear program explain how on multiple occasions the United States
came perilously close to launching World War III by accident; how in 1961 a B-52 bomber fell apart in flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf's regime collapsed, Washington was caught between, unable to condone the sort of ruthless crackdown that might have permitted Musharraf to maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf to maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf to maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf to maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf to maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf to maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf for maintain flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, North Carolina, sending 54 55 56 57 David E. As Musharraf flight near Goldsboro, ne
his grip on power and yet unwilling to offer a full-throated call for him to step aside in favor of elected civilians. Dr. A.Q. Khan's notorious nuclear proliferation ring shared nuclear know-how with both of these pariah countries (along with Libya) in the 1990s. Starting in 2004, Musharraf's team was also cutting deals of a very different sort on its
western front. To ram home his disdain for business-as-usual in U.S. assistance programs in Pakistan, he inserted himself in the review process for ongoing projects and threatened to cancel some contracts. 214 No Exit from Pakistan proves impossible. Aside from poverty, millions of Indians also grapple with internal security challenges that have
practically nothing to do with foreign affairs. Similarly, the White House's initial refusal to apologize for Salala carried outsized political repercussions. 127-197; also Richard H. And Afghan-born Zalmay Khalilzad, the U.S. ambassador in Kabul from 2003 to 2005, practically screamed himself hoarse about those Taliban sanctuaries.65 Such warnings
did little to change U.S. policy toward Pakistan. At the very least, new and active diplomatic maneuvers would be needed to keep U.S.-Pakistan tensions from spiraling into a wider conflict. The Four Faces of Pakistan 35 doors. Very soon, the fight against al-Qaeda inside Pakistan became equally significant. There is life everywhere you look. Its side
effects would include a lasting hostility with Pakistan and a difficult regional dynamic. U.S. officials tended to harbor dark suspicions, based in part on evidence of ISI support to a range of other Pakistani militant groups, some of which were also quite sympathetic to al-Qaeda. The fact that thousands of privileged, upper-class women are choosing to
study at Al-Huda schools poses a special threat to liberals, who expect that with greater education and opportunity will also come a more progressive outlook and less outward religiosity. "Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, August 11, 1947," Dawn, Independence Day Supplement, August 14, 1999,
legislation/constituent address 11aug1947.html. Washington should never be in the business of propping up repressive Pakistani leaders - military or civilian - who have little inclination for improving and reforming the country just because they spout "pro-American" rhetoric. The following year, in another naval incident, a Chinese fishing boat
rammed two Japanese patrol vessels in disputed waters. Wells, "The Origins of Massive Retaliation," Political Science Quarterly, 96, no. The suffering went almost entirely unnoticed in Washington. Barnes, "U.S. Tightens Drone Rules," Wall Street Journal, November 4, 2011. India is an element in China's calculation, and it should be in America's too
And Richard Holbrooke made this his life's work. Pakistan's plans for when and how to use nuclear weapons also make for disturbing reading. 22-37. For instance, in 2008 and 2009, many in Washington dreamt that Islamabad's newly elected civilian leaders could implement a liberal agenda and finally rein in Pakistan's military after President (and
former General) Pervez Musharraf left the scene. Then, over the course of 2004, he fought to stave off opposition demands that I could not rule out a deeperal promise to hold only one office - either president or army chief - but not both. In a conversation with a small group of young Pakistani professionals in Karachi, I observed that I could not rule out a deeperal promise to hold only one office - either president or army chief - but not both. In a conversation with a small group of young Pakistani professionals in Karachi, I observed that I could not rule out a deeperal promise to hold only one office - either president or army chief - but not both.
rupture in relations between Pakistan and the United States. the stumbling block in afghanistan If American and Pakistani officials were able to put all emotions aside, let bygones, and speak honestly about their present differences, most, like General Baig, would land on Afghanistan. Bearing that in mind, Washington might opt to address
the threat narrowly, through defensive measures; aggressively, through a persistent and expanded counterterror campaign inside Pakistan; holistically, by attempting to address the underlying grievances that are believed to fuel violent extremism in the first place; or by some combination of all these approaches. He spent a glorious five days in India
and a tense five hours in Pakistan. india's independent streak As in China, India's people and top political leaders are, at least for the moment, preoccupied with domestic development and stability. What then about U.S. aid to Pakistan an impoverished communist outcast. In Pakistan, the United States still faces the threat
posed by al-Qaeda remnants, quite possibly including bin Laden's Egyptian-born successor, Ayman al-Zawahiri, who may have found safe haven along the rugged border between Pakistan and Afghanistan or may, like bin Laden, be more comfortably ensconced in some hideout elsewhere. On the whole, this 16 The term was originally used by Indian
Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in September 2000. "11 Killed in Peshawar PC Blast," Daily Times, June 10, 2009, default.asp?page=2009\06\10\story 10-6-2009_pg1_1. Islamabad had no good answer to these problems. "SIC Demands Ban on Renamed Terrorist Groups," Express Tribune, December 15, 2011, . So, when Obama asked the former
First Lady to take the helm of the State Department, it was hardly surprising that Raphel might be called back to work the Pakistan aid beat. Luckily, the American plane managed an emergency landing on a Chinese island and all twenty-four of its crewmembers survived, but the Chinese immediately detained them and impounded their sensitive
aircraft. Foreign buyers who needed guaranteed on-time deliveries had already moved on to more reliable manufacturers outside Pakistan. 172 No Exit from Pakistan These students and their professors are potential American allies, but they also threw darts. Unfortunately, the American experience to date suggests that U.S. officials are likely to be
presented with less-than-ideal options when it comes to Pakistani politics. To complicate matters further, LeT-trained fighters routinely work with other radical groups focused on the Afghan front and beyond. In the end, that was not enough. In the end, that was not enough. In the end, that was not enough of Musharraf's final days, Condoleezza Rice argues that a negotiated power-sharing
arrangement looked like the best way to assure a smooth path for Pakistani elections. 76 The deal unraveled as Musharraf's regime faced blistering attacks from all sides. To sing, dance, play sports or act in dramas is, of course, out of the question for these unfortunates. "98 At the same time, Al-Huda is considered dangerous among Pakistani's
traditional - and all-male - clergy. As U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates said in January 2010, "I think it is not unreasonable to assume that Indian patience would be limited were there to be further attacks." 64 Under such circumstances, it is hard to place great faith in the stabilizing attributes of nuclear weapons. If, however, terrorism is
sustained at a high level, the long-term economic costs 48 49 50 "Prakaram Cost Put at Rs 6,500 Crore," Business Standard, January 23, 2003, .business-standard.com/india/news/prakaram-cost-put-at-rs-6500-crore/176617/. 83 Be that as it may, American support to the army has cost it the admiration of natural partners in Pakistan. The military has
grown to control not only its own budgets and authorities but also to dictate national politics and a big slice of the economy as well. Pakistan's New Extremists Pakistan's N
near Washington, DC] within four hours of notification" of any emergency, it does not maintain personnel in South Asia. Politicians, including members of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force Report on U.S. Strategy in the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army's lead. Dr. Markey served as project director of the left-leaning Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government, followed the army (PPP) government (
Pakistan and Afghanistan (2010). Saeed Shah, "U.S. Support for Pakistan Dam Could Help Stem Flow of Bad Blood," The Guardian, August 29, 2011, . 94-101. The existence of terrorist sanctuaries in Afghanistan prompted America's military intervention in the region after 2001, not vice versa. Unfortunately, many journalists in Pakistan today are still
part of the problem. Markey Frontmatter More information x www.cambridge.org Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. For example, the experience of the past decade suggests that Pakistan is unlikely to end its support for violent extremist groups unless
Washington forces Islamabad's hand. 8. On the one hand, it demonstrated that Washington sought to improve relations with both New Delhi and Islamabad at the same time. Title. Alissa J. 184 No Exit from Pakistan generous altruism. Pakistan generous altruism.
Lt. General (retired) Khalid Kidwai, Director General of the Strategic Plans Division, Rawalpindi, May 18, 2012. Khan was not one he thought he could win. The scale of the challenge is immense. 366. At times, these U.S. administrations acted in ways they knew would expose them to harsh criticism but preferred that outcome to other even less
pleasant alternatives. Their responses to the manuscript, as well as those of two outstanding reviewers, Stephen Cohen and Ashley Tellis, helped me to revise and strengthen the final product. See S. By this logic, the United States simply lacks sufficient policy tools, whether carrots (like military and civilian aid) or sticks (like diplomatic coercion or
sanctions), to set Pakistan or the U.S.-Pakistan relationship onto a track that advances U.S. interests. Musharraf's return was ill-considered; he quickly ran afoul of Pakistan's courts and spent the 2013 election under 77 78 Responsibility for the attack is still a matter of some dispute, but at the time officials in Islamabad blamed the Pakistani Taliban
University of Sussex Library, on 05 Mar 2019 at 17:29:19, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . Q. One revealing indicator of this is that many of Pakistan's wealthiest citizens have prepared quick exit plans. McMahon, Cold War on the Periphery, p. The answer was not immediately evident in a country where vast needs could
easily outstrip the most generous American financial contributions. Of course, these jobs are never done; terrorists pose a resilient and evolving threat, and are opportunistic in their exploitation of vulnerabilities. There can be no doubt that the jihadist seeds planted in that war eventually grew into the hopelessly crooked trees of al-Qaeda, the Afghan
Taliban, and other terrorist groups. Saba Imtiaz, "Revisiting Rahman Baba's Shrine," Express Tribune, June 26, 2010, .com.pk/story/23782/revisiting-rahman-babas-shrine/. See Daniel Dombey, "Holbrooke Dies after Heart Surgery," Financial Times, December 14, 2010, .com/8301-504763_162-20025578-10391704.html. Arif and Shahnaz Hamid,
"Urbanization, City Growth, and Quality of Life in Pakistan," European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan," European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan," European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break. When the Cold War ended, Pakistan, "European Journal of Social Sciences, 10, no. That pattern could take decades to break."
represent a tragic repetition of the already costly mistakes of the past. Facing American pressure to go after al-Qaeda, and believing these traditional administrative methods would never uproot the well-armed, well-heeled international terrorists, Musharraf sent his army into the FATA, starting in 2002 and more extensively in 2004. For a man
described by one of his former high school classmates as "friends with everyone, just a salt of the earth person," Davis had ended up in an unusually tight spot. No Exit 17 Somalia. Today, there is a far greater - and justifiable - fear of Pakistan's weakness and instability, coupled with anger over Pakistan's use of terrorists. "The Ethics and Efficacy of
the President's Counterterrorism Strategy," Wilson Center, April 30, 2012, . If China remains, on balance, more risk averse than aggressive in South Asia, this pattern could continue for many years to come. Instead, it will stand tall as an independent third power, capable of charting its own course. Musharraf's political shenanigans stirred no public
rebuke from the Bush administration. Overcoming initial skepticism, Khan managed to convince Bhutto's advisers that his access and expertise would be invaluable. On my tour was the famous "Skunk Works" facility that gave birth to the U-2 spy plane. Ahsan and other Pakistani liberals have correctly diagnosed one problem: by bolstering the army
the United States contributes to Pakistan's dysfunction.36 They have failed, however, to appreciate the second problem: the United States has been forced by circumstances to deal with whatever government it finds in power. The situation may be bad, but it could always get even worse. CNN's expert on alQaeda, Peter Bergen, notes that since 2001
at least eight Americans have been caught after they received training from LeT. Because China has so many other priorities, its relationship with Pakistan is marked by a stark asymmetry. As Gul explained in a 2004 interview, he has long been "a proponent of the idea that all the Muslim countries, which are an endangered species, they must get
together and sign a defense pact. Sitting in its courtyard under the stars one spring evening in 2010, a Pakistani army officer recounted tales of daring raids on militant compounds along the Afghan border. Indians still recall the visit fondly. Well-placed Pakistani sources suggest that China's quiet support for nascent peace talks between New Delhi
and Islamabad from 2003 to 2007 played an important part in bringing Musharraf's regime to the negotiating table, as part of a process that appears to have made more progress than any before it.70 Given that in 2012 China did over five times more trade with India than with Pakistan, and that Beijing and New Delhi see eye-to-eye on a number of
global issues like trade and climate change, this prioritization of interests makes sense.71 China may never choose a relationship with India over one with Pakistan, but it would prefer never to make such a choice at all. India's rise is likely, but not assured. Like many Pakistanis, he believed that the 1971 war exposed the nation's profound
vulnerability to Indian conquest. Instead, the United 36 37 38 39 Tom Wright, "Setbacks Plague U.S. Aid to Pakistan," Wall Street Journal, January 21, 2011, . A month after the al-Qaeda attacks, Bush met with Musharraf in New York City and, in response to a question about whether the United States might again "abandon" Pakistan as it had at the
end of the Cold War, Bush replied, "You tell your people that the President looked you in the eye and told you that he would stick with you." 25 21 22 23 24 25 David E. In fact, each one provides an important layer of truth, but a layer that must be combined with the others to achieve a full picture. 1 1 Stephen P. Eight years later, and just seventy miles
to the north, U.S. Navy SEALs raided Osama bin Laden's compound in the Pakistani town of Abbottabad. Many other intellectual debts are paid in footnotes. Pakistani officials, particularly the generals who control the country's foreign and defense policies, believed that Washington was insensitive to their concern that the Afghan state being built by
NATO was a house of cards poised to collapse into a warring mess once international forces pulled out. Only then can America's democratic principles and security interests achieve an easy harmony. It would require intelligence gathering and covert operations of the ground to go after groups like LeT that operate inside densely populated regions of
Pakistan and with the active or passive support of state authorities. That bet may pay off in time, but strategic autonomy is still India's dominant foreign policy paradigm, and there are good reasons to believe that it could remain that way well into the future. Pakistan is a country of crises. Unfortunately, strength and resolve were not the only
messages the Pakistanis received from Washington. Almost exactly a year earlier, for instance, Secretary Powell had conferred "Major Non NATO Ally" status on Pakistan just forty-eight hours after departing New Delhi. And still others, jihadists like Hafiz Saeed, have been indoctrinated in a worldview that places hostility toward the United States
India, and Israel at its core. Not only did he dispatch Bhutto in 1977 in the face of wide international condemnation, but he also stayed on to rule Pakistan until 1988, when he finally met his end in a mysterious plane crash along with the American ambassador and several other top Pakistani officials.82 Some biographers view Zia's political successes
as a consequence of his background and family upbringing. Most felt Washington had propped up a dictator far too long, demonstrating its self-serving, hypocritical disregard for democracy. If in the future Pakistan's army is ever divided against itself,
Washington would have greater incentive to take sides in an incipient civil war. As explained in Chapter 2, however, it was driven by a calculation that some of these groups still offered strategic benefits; namely, the prospect of Pakistani influence in Afghanistan and the ability to cause trouble for India. Stewart, Terror, Security, and Money (New
York: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. China is also busy transforming its wealth into military power. Zia was correct. In American policy debates, it is now commonplace to argue that if not for Iraq, Washington might have kept its focus on Afghanistan and finished the job it started after 9/11.35 This critique is fair. Authority undermined, resources
The News, December 6, 2011, . 98 No Exit from Pakistan increasingly violent ways.90 Sectarian and theological debates fed spasms of communal bloodletting.91 U.S. dollars undoubtedly contributed to radicalizing trends in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and America's departure from the scene in the 1990s left a dangerous, festering sore. He zeroed in
on problems that plagued American aid efforts there and elsewhere around the world. Bhutto's political legacy, inherited by a range of influential intellectuals and politicians, informs a leftist and liberal anti-Americanism that is today a tiny minority view. Frustrated with a Pakistani system that has failed them, indoctrinated in a pervasive anti-
Western worldview that blames the United States for the better part of their miseries, and encouraged to devote their energies to global jihad, this rising generation of young radicals will pose a threat to U.S. security. U.S. drones circling over Pakistan's tribal areas have killed dozens of al-Qaeda operatives. Ron Moreau and Sami Yousafzai, "Killings
Spark CIA Fears in Pakistan," Daily Beast, February 17, 2011, . The AL campaigned for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline, and capacity of the Pakistani army - undoubtedly the nation's most powerful and professional institution - cannot be taken for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline, and capacity of the Pakistani army - undoubtedly the nation's most powerful and professional institution - cannot be taken for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline, and capacity of the Pakistani army - undoubtedly the nation's most powerful and professional institution - cannot be taken for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline, and capacity of the Pakistani army - undoubtedly the nation's most powerful and professional institution - cannot be taken for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline, and capacity of the Pakistani army - undoubtedly the nation's most powerful and professional institution - cannot be taken for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline, and capacity of the Pakistani army - undoubtedly the nation's most powerful and professional institution - cannot be taken for greater autonomy from Islamabad. Yet, even the motives, discipline are the professional institution are the professional instituti
 Pakistan's Partial U-Turn All of this mattered a great deal to relations between the United States and Pakistan because President George W. 188 No Exit from Pakistan irritant in Beijing's relationship with Washington, just as it was throughout much of the 1990s.60 A belligerent, anti-American Pakistan could also align with other dangerous regimes
like Iran and North Korea. In September 2008, U.S. Special Forces in Afghanistan launched a raid on a compound in Angoor Ada, South Waziristan. As they marched through their own narrative of the past six decades of history, they concluded that whatever America's professed motive or agenda, the superpower had supported Pakistani dictators and
abused Pakistani sovereignty. As a consequence, they were far less skilled at getting out into the field to implement projects themselves. His undergraduate years at the University of California at Berkeley exposed him to political science, history, and a heavy dose of the American "high life" that was easily afforded by the well-heeled playboy. 32. By
the numbers as well, China's rise is very real. Michael Wines, "China Blames Foreign-Trained Separatists for Attacks in Xinjiang," New York Times, August 1, 2011, &pagewanted=all. Stephen F. There is at least a nugget of truth to the Pakistani lament that America has used their country when it suited the superpower's agenda and then tossed it
away when inconvenient. In February 2004, Bhutto herself proclaimed to an audience in Washington: At this time of political crisis in Pakistan, with a military dictatorship strangling our Constitution, America should stand for its values and principles, and reject tyranny. the emergent threat: regional instability Over the past several years, when
American officials spoke of Islamabad's regional role, they were usually referring to the war in Afghanistan. U.S. partners in the defensive scheme. To withstand a deteriorating U.S. Pakistan relationship, that campaign might also need to grow and change. Peshawar had
entered a tragic new era. Each time, the detentions were politically motivated. An armed, high-altitude stealth drone might begin to solve the problem. Shireen Mazari, "America's Mala Fide Intent," Express Tribune, February 25, 2011, http:// tribune.com.pk/story/123887/americas-mala-fide-intent/. Some of America's frustrations with Isla
result from what Pakistan does, others from what Pakistan does, others from what Pakistan seems incapable of doing. Nathan and Andrew Scobell, "How China Sees America," Foreign Affairs (September/October 2012); Alastair Iain Johnston, "How New and Assertive Is China's New Assertive Is China's Ne
Musharraf remained in office, held that he and his army were the primary obstacles to Pakistan's 41 42 43 For the former CIA director's version of this episode, see Tenet, At the Center of the Storm, pp. r=1. Zia, after all, exceeded expectations and overcame his adversaries at multiple points throughout his career. See "Responding to Emergencies,"
National Nuclear Security Administration, responding to emergencies. The Pakistani army cut its first major peace deal, known as the Shakai Agreement, in 2004. These moves sidelined Musharraf's political opponents and installed a pliant "king's party" in Islamabad. Lodhi argues that constructive - rather than destructive - change is quite possible in
Pakistan. Musharraf expected that the judiciary, long a pliant institution manipulated by successive Pakistan's approach to territories like North Waziristan along the border with Afghanistan, where Taliban insurgent leaders continued to find safe haven after years of war.
Clinton was in his element. That, in turn, would tee up the prospect of revolutionary change and instability in a nuclear-armed state. Washington's failure to conclude a strategic partnership agreement with Kabul until May 2012 - long after the timelines for military drawdown were announced - further hurt the credibility of U.S. claims that it would
remain committed to Afghan security well after the surge was over. Nor would it be a simple matter for Washington to sustain the strategy indefinitely. This did not sit well with the ambitious Bhutto, who argued repeatedly during the post-election period that "a majority alone doesn't count in national politics," thus revealing at least some discomfort
with one of democracy's core principles.31 Bhutto's intransigence on this point - coupled, of course, with the army's genocidal mishandling of opposition in East Pakistan in two and created an independent Bangladesh. On the floor of the
National Assembly, he charged, without any serious basis, that the United States was financing a "vast, colossal, huge international conspiracy" against him. Built on farmlands starting in the early 1990s, Pudong alone now boasts a population of 5 million, a gross domestic product (GDP) larger than that of Croatia, and one of the world's most
dramatic skylines, especially at night when the bulbous forms of the soaring Oriental Pearl television tower are illuminated in garish hues. Bankers know it as the home of the Shanghai Stock Exchange, where the daily trading volume exceeds $18 billion. There have been charges of corruption on cabinet members while the state of economy is worse
than in 2008."7 Indeed, according to national surveys conducted in late 2012 and early 2013, 58 percent of Pakistanis felt the overall quality of democratic governance had deteriorated over the period from 2008 to 2013.8 Nearly all (94 percent) of Pakistanis surveyed between the ages of eighteen and twenty-nine believed the country was heading in
the wrong direction. Epstein and K. These defectors from other political parties, such as Javed Hashmi (from PML-N) and Shah Mahmood Qureshi (from PPP), were not credible standard-bearers for a new style of reformed politics. One of the most significant problems with Pakistan became apparent mere months after 9/11, when on December 13,
2001, Pakistani terrorists launched 26 27 28 29 Rice, No Higher Honor, p. Unfortunately, Pakistan has never in its history been a stable democracy and its recent civilian leaders have no real say over the nuclear program or its management. Chinese troops then pulled back from eastern India but retained control over the areas that Beijing had from
the start claimed as its own.47 Not surprisingly, Pakistan was enraged by America's assistance to India. Those concerns could only have been reinforced by the Haggani network's attack on the Isl.74 Nevertheless, given the relatively accommodating attitude that top
leaders in Islamabad had so far demonstrated about drone attacks, Washington assumed there would be a similar response to its new escalation. 75 That assumption was wrong. The mixed experience of Pakistan's counterterror cooperation with the United States since 9/11 provides one illustration of the point. 2 (April 2004). Even inside the U.S.
State Department and parts of the National Security Council, officials scrambled to figure out how Mullen's statement - which apparently had not been blessed in detail by a full interagency consensus - would affect U.S. policy.6 In the end, the White House and State Department tried to sweep the entire incident under the carpet. Rain falls
infrequently in Pakistan; seasonal snow melt from the Himalayan glaciers provides the freshwater that flows through Pakistan's rivers, and those early days was how long it might take to bring Osama bin Laden and his organization to justice.
The Obama administration made its share of mistakes; there are good reasons to suspect that a more sure-footed American approach might have done more to snap Pakistan out of its dangerous, entrenched patterns. Bowing to American approach might have done more to snap Pakistan out of its dangerous, entrenched patterns. Bowing to American approach might have done more to snap Pakistan out of its dangerous, entrenched patterns.
of Pakistan Council (Difa-e-Pakistan, or DPC). Public school teachers are absent from the classroom an average of 15-20 percent of the time, "Education Emergency Pakistan," p. Musharraf's political allies stood to gain from these moves, but at root they exposed a deep political naivete on Musharraf's part. But by March 17, he had enough of a sense
about Pakistan's military to understand that the CIA's planned drone 87 88 89 For instance, Kayani was willing to accept U.S. training for Special Operations forces, as long as it was done quietly. 32 No Exit from Pakistan After Musharraf's collapse, the new civilian government benefited from the legitimacy of popular elections and the public
euphoria of seeing the military sent back to the barracks. Khan Pakistan did not ride this roller-coaster comfortably; no self-respecting state appreciates being treated as a pawn in another's game. Having spent billions of dollars in military and civilian assistance to Pakistan, many representatives and senators have reached the conclusion, as Gary
Ackerman, a Democratic congressman from New York, put it in May 2012, that "Pakistan is like a black hole for American aid. Unfortunately, that potential remains a long way off. Numerous eyewitnesses said the raiders appeared to know the compound and may have been wearing navy uniforms. Moreover, those choices will be circumscribed by
events inside Pakistan, including the country's selection of new leaders, whether through the normal process of elections and promotions, or the drama of coups and revolutions. We have no other choice."55 In the process, Bhutto was joined by a range of other Pakistani nationalists, among them the now-infamous Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, who shared
Bhutto's fear of India and skepticism about the United States, not his leftist ideology. Bush entrusted Powell and Armitage to manage South Asia policy at critical junctures in the early post-9/11 period. Carlotta Gall, "Airstrike by U.S. Draws Protests from Pakistanis," New York Times, January 15, 2006, Pakistan, on the other hand, exports a lot of
unfinished goods - raw cotton, yarn, and cloth - because its factories are in such sorry shape. Ambassador Robert Oakley had pointedly warned Pakistan's president, prime minister, and army chief. com.pk/story/453178/sino-pak-relations-chinese-call-for-boosting-partnership/. In the event of a military crisis, U.S. bases, or at least temporary basing
rights on Indian soil, would offer geographic and political advantages over alternatives, whether at sea, in Afghanistan, or in the Persian Gulf. Author interview, May 15, 2012; also Alex Rodriguez, "Pakistan Cricket Legend Imran Khan's Political Cachet Grows," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2012, mar/01/world/la-fg-pakistan-khan-20120302/2. Most
Pakistanis practice other variants of Islam and perceive Salafism as a dangerous, imported creed that threatens to rid Islam of a rich tradition of centuries-long practice. These deals are less strategically valuable for China's military than for its defense contractors, who are reaping the benefits of Pakistan's insecurity through a range of supply
contracts with the Pakistani army. U-Turn to Drift 123 Swinging into action without delay, the U.S. military and its Chinook helicopters based in Afghanistan played a vital role in humanitarian operations, delivering food and medical supplies to stranded survivors. By 1972, Khan had married a Dutch-speaking, British-South African dual national
named Henny. Islamabad perceived the U.S.-India civil nuclear deal as a costly defeat. His madrassa, the Darul Uloom Haggania, is based along the Afghan border and trained many of the region's most notorious Taliban leaders. These innovative projects are risky. By 2008, the threat posed by al-Oaeda and its affiliates in the FATA had gotten out of
hand. But Pakistan in early 2007 was not living under normal conditions. In each of these instances, the goal was to disrupt the safe havens that had permitted al-Qaeda and similar groups to plan and implement their operations. In Salman Ahmad's case, he was lending the credibility of his own struggle to promote greater tolerance within the Muslim
world and between people of different faiths. We are pressing the Pakistanis very hard on this. Senior administration officials could also have blocked legislation if they had determined it would be as counterproductive as it turned out to be. Not surprisingly, Washington is growing its drone arsenal quickly. Sanger, The Inheritance: The World Obama
Confronts and the Challenges to American Power (New York: Crown, 2011), pp. The nation's politics, rhetoric, and practices are more self-consciously "Islamic" than they were in Jinnah's day. Bhutto instead attempted to rebuild the military, believing he could control it and use it to suppress opposition in the provinces of Baluchistan and the
northwest frontier. Billions in U.S. assistance appear to have carried little weight, either with Pakistan's leaders or its public. He then calmly stepped out of his car to take photos of the corpses with his cell phone camera. the anti-americanism of pakistan's leftists and liberals In January 1955, John Foster Dulles was named Time's Man of the Year. No
Exit 3 parochial or corrupt, oftentimes driven by a combination of fear, poor options, and a firm conviction that whatever Washington's promises of Afghan stability, eventually Pakistan will be left to fend for itself. His duties are likely to have
included helping a larger U.S. intelligence team track the movements of various militant groups, in particular Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). 124 No Exit from Pakistan spearheaded by a small group of officials who surrounded Condoleezza Rice when she arrived at the State Department.53 By combining its announcements of progress in relations with India
and Pakistan, the Bush team walked a fine line. In the context of Peshawar's storied history, connections with the United States are short indeed. In Pakistan a few weeks after his testimony, I found widespread concern that Mullen's statement might be a precursor to war with America. Unless China starts to look far more menacing than it does now,
India will probably prefer to fulfill its national ambitions by working with the United States when it makes sense and, wherever possible, with China too. Maleeha Lodhi, Pakistan's former ambassador to the United States and now one of the country's best-known political commentators, believes an agenda of "bold reform" is conceivable despite
Pakistan's huge challenges. Whatever its factual basis, there is little doubt that Mazari's book won her friends inside the army and cost her the respect of the academy. The loss of such a political heavyweight would have been difficult under any circumstances; it was doubly so in a situation beset by crises and increasingly hostage to U.S. policies that
gave little weight to trying to build cooperation between Washington and Islamabad. Over that period, China has been Pakistan's largest arms supplier.67 Military drills and war-gaming sessions between the People's Liberation Army are commonplace, and the two have entered into co-development and production agreements
for weapon systems like the IF-17 fighter aircraft and Pakistan's main battle tank, the Al-Khalid, America's Options 209 of 2010 until the May 2011 raid, Washington has already attempted a range of efforts of this sort.17 These high-profile episodes prompted an ISI crackdown on official U.S. activities around the country, 18 Washington will find it
increasingly difficult to place spies or handlers inside Pakistan, but defensive insulation would demand it. Shahid Javed Burki, South Asia in the New World Order: The Role of Regional Cooperation (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. George W. McMahon, The Cold War on 
as essential sources for this chapter. For the world's most notorious terrorist to live practically under the Pakistani military's nose revealed complete incompetence, gross negligence, or outright complicity. 113- 132. For a profile of Zaid Hamid, including his references to the controversial hadith on Ghazva-eHind, see Amber Rahim Shamsi, "Will the
Real Zaid Hamid Please Stand Up?" Express Tribune, May 9, 2010, . International investors were also scarce. Swathes of Punjab are already sympathetic to these sorts of ideas. That these critics did not win the day in the traumatic period shortly after al-Qaeda's attacks makes sense. What they decide will have something to do with the character of
Pakistan's relationship with the United States, which means that Washington can exert an important influence. This is true in spite of their many other differences in power, wealth, culture, and history. American leaders saw Pakistan as but a pawn in the broader geopolitical chess match. And yet as the U.S.Pakistan relationship wore on, it was
Pakistan's own behavior, especially its decision to develop a nuclear arsenal over American objections, which created the deepest rifts with the United States. For that understanding and her love, I thank her most of all. Its members are also sophisticated in their marketing and outreach efforts, consciously seeking new ways to build Al-Huda's
"brand" in Pakistan and beyond. Neither India nor Israel had suffered a similar fate, they observed. It is safe to conclude, however, that the ISI is one essential element in a larger military machine that remains far and away Pakistan's single most powerful institution. For a smart take on how Pakistan's younger generation is starting to mobilize
politically, see Arsla Jawaid, "Game Changer," World Policy Journal, Winter 2012/2013, .worldpolicy.org/journal/winter2012/game-changer. xx. Nuclear security cooperation has always fallen into this category. Pakistan Downloaded from . Even so, the possibility that Pakistan's warheads might be smuggled onto U.S. shores or transferred to other
states or terrorist groups makes this issue one of Washington's highest security concerns. Meanwhile, the Pakistani media feverishly recounted new details of the case. 128. From the Outside-In 187 India remains preoccupied with its own internal troubles or turns into a country that is willing and able to take on global challenges. The very fact of
China's military might is the greatest equalizer in Pakistan's stand against India. It is hard even to imagine the sort of stabilizing military force required to intervene in a broken Pakistan. Geo defied the government and was soon back on the air. Unlike the United States and Soviet Union, whose economies were walled off from one another and
governed by fundamentally different principles, Americans and Chinese buy, sell, lend, and borrow from each other on a massive scale. With speed that surprised even the extraordinarily ambitious Bhutto, the PPP grew into a mass movement and catapulted him to victory in West Pakistan's 1970 elections, even though the PPP had no appeal in East
Pakistan. China is undoubtedly useful to Pakistan, and China's rising power makes it even more attractive to its weaker neighbor, but if Pakistan were forced to rely upon Beijing as its sole patron, the professions of friendship - on both sides - would ring increasingly hollow. National Islamist politicians picked up the story and castigated the American
drone strike as "an alien attack . Rather than hedging its bets, the Pakistanis might have jumped on the powerful American bandwagon. Kennedy's first State of the Union speech, in January 1961, provided that opportunity. In the future, however, as China extends its trade and military activity throughout the region, it is possible that Pakistania
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territory will be useful to China in new ways. The Four Faces of Pakistan 55 At its core, Al-Huda promotes practices one might associate with today's Arab Gulf states. As former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice describes in her memoir of the Bush administration, "I once described [Pakistan] as taking care of a critically ill patient; you got up every
day and dealt with the symptom of the moment, hoping over time to cure the underlying disease of extremism."13 A few U.S. officials acted upon that hope, especially during the exhilarating period of political transition in 2008 and 2009, when leadership changed in both Islamabad and Washington. University of Sussex Library, on 05 Mar 2019 at
17:35:49, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at . Although U.S. military assistance did not factor into the colonel's briefing that day, a subsequent conversation back in Peshawar clarified that American training, funds, and equipment had improved the paramilitary Frontier Corps that waged those battles.37 These were changes that
Pakistan's top army officers favored, but without U.S. insistence and resources they might never have been implemented. He appeared before LeT flag-waving crowds to taunt the United States, even after Washington declared it would offer $10 million for "information leading to his arrest or conviction." The question now is whether LeT really
intends to take its fight all the way to American territory: whether it will launch attacks on U.S. soil. Pakistani antiAmericanism in the post-9/11 period has its roots in the tortured history of U.S.-Pakistan relations from the early stages of the Cold War. The truth is, China itself may not be sure of its own international course. Kux, Disenchanted Allies
p. 150 No Exit from Pakistan Pakistan Pakistani ears it sounded like Washington's delivery had fallen well short of its promise. Bhutto traveled to Washington, DC, in late September 2007, a couple of weeks before she returned to Pakistan. The reality is that all of the options are flawed. Projects like Pakistani's colossal Tarbela Dam, for instance, have shown
that the United States can assist Pakistan's economy, and - indirectly at least - address some of the country's underlying causes of instability and violence. The situation quickly went from bad to worse. 7, 11. Some even said they supported America's drone campaign, because without it they would suffer from either Taliban oppression or destructive
Pakistani army operations. Average wages increased fivefold for Pakistanis from 1947 to 2003. Members of the media and some citizen groups have attempted to start various forms of nongovernmental regulation. 148 For a catalogue of many "insider threats" over the past two decades, see Imtiaz Gul, "Jihadis in the Ranks," Newsline, September 28,
2012, cover-story-jihadis-in-the-ranks/. Today, it seems more than a little quixotic that Washington could have cajoled Pakistan, Bangladesh, or India (among other states) into sending their soldiers into the quicksand of Iraq. Over the summer and autumn, Musharraf's desperation mounted. In the early years of the program, it was managed in Pakistan
by a CIA station of only a half-dozen officers. 70 American trainers and other technical experts would come to Pakistan, but only for short stints. 71 Due to the small footprint of the covert program, Islamabad and Washington could plausibly deny the existence of their joint venture. The Pakistani military was sensitive to these political costs. From
January 2007 through December 2009, the number of Pakistanis killed or wounded by terrorism exceeded 2,300 in Peshawar, 1,300 Downloaded from . In retrospect, it is difficult to tell whether it was the Brigadier's HuT affiliation or his outspoken criticism of the army's cooperation with the United States that landed him in jail. Contrary to the
suspicions Pakistanis harbored, the American champions of the bill were genuinely interested in fostering a long-term, broad-based relationship between the United States and the people of Pakistan in ways that reflected Pa
these areas was ballistic missile defense. On the Bush policy shift in July 2008, see Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, Counterstrike: The Untold Story of America's Secret Campaign against Al-Qaeda (New York: Henry Holt, 2011), pp. Chris Buckley, "Pakistan Plays China Card with Prime Minister's Visit," Reuters, May 17, 2011, . Winning strategies
will be rare, and the more realistic goal may be to mitigate the downside risks inherent in any choice that Washington makes. Farhan Bokhari and Serena Tarling, "Pakistan Seeks Access to Western Markets," Financial Times, March 21, 2010, $\phi$11df-9cfb-00144 feabdc0.html#axzz1rBpQ5lSR; Umar Cheema, "Representation without Taxation: An
Analysis of MPs' Income Tax Returns for 2011," Center for Peace and Development Initiatives, 2012, 20Copy.pdf. Once in office, Holbrooke set about putting his money where his mouth was. Author conversations, Islamabad, April 2007. In ways that echo and complement Khan's own life story, ul Hag's career began as a teacher at the same Aitchison
College that Khan had attended. Throughout much of the late Cold War and the post-9/11 era, Beijing and Washington either stood shoulder-to-shoulder with Pakistan or worked together to promote Indo-Pakistani restraint. Many others - from the Afghan government in Kabul to America's European allies - were simultaneously sending out feelers to
the Taliban to gauge prospects for a negotiated settlement. In the political wilderness, Bhutto founded the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), "an anti-U.S., and anti-India foreign policy." 26 Bhutto appealed to the masses like none other, promising "roti, kapra,
makaan," or food, clothing, and shelter for all. What did the United States have in mind for Peshawar - and Pakistan - now? When asked why the well had not been selected as the village's first project, Nazir replied it was probably because the men had organized before the women. Chief among these would be the dramatic changes experienced by
Pakistan's news media over the past decade. American observers, many of whom thought the deal was far too generous to India, were shocked to see that if not for the prime minister's last-minute heroics, a motley political opposition could have blocked the passage of enabling legislation in the Indian parliament.89 India's stance on Iran offers
another example of strategic autonomy in action. 60-1. It will make the margin of our victory tighter and the Taliban's role easier." Six months later, Neumann reiterated that "because we have not adjusted resources to the pace of the increased Taliban offensive and loss of internal Afghan support we face escalating risks today." His bottom line: "The
stakes in Afghanistan deserve a bigger margin for victory." See U.S. Embassy (Kabul), Cable, "Afghanistan: Where We Stand and What We Need" August 29, 2006, Secret, 8 pp. Author conversation with former State Department staffer, January 19, 2012. By midcentury, Pakistan is likely to be home to over 300 million people. In short, the United
States has been the more fickle partner, its approach to Pakistan shifting dramatically across the decades. That said, de-hyphenation was enormously successful in the one way that mattered most. "The Case for US Market Access for Pakistani Textiles," Punjab Board of Trade & Investment, Government of Punjab, December 4, 2009, p. Holbrooke died
after emergency surgery failed to repair a torn aorta. 71. They lack experience and viable allies that can compete in the rough-andtumble world of Pakistan in Pakistan. If someone like General Baig, the anti-American former army chief, ever assumes power again
in Islamabad, a strategy leaning heavily toward defensive insulation would undoubtedly be Washington's best option. That aversion manifested itself in a range of ways. Hundreds of Pakistanis, mainly those with technical educations, have also traveled to China to participate in government-sponsored training programs. The hospital is paperless; tens
of thousands of patients and their procedures are tracked by a proprietary database that was conceived and coded at the hospital (and cost much less than off-the-shelf computer programs). But that commute also came with serious security risks. No Exit 5 In May 2011, America closed the first chapter of the post-9/11 era by killing Osama bin Laden.
Fifty years after the U-2, the Skunk Works facility introduced the Sentinel drone. When possible, funds would support military-backed construction projects, such as 30 31 32 use" guarantee (Michael Traub, "Can Pakistan Be Governed?" New York Times, March 31, 2009, . Shortly after bin Laden was killed, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad
declared, "We have precise information that America wants to sabotage Pakistani nuclear facilities in order to control Pakistani officials have justified their nation's conventional armed forces, nuclear weapons, and even its
investments in militant groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) or the Afghan Taliban by citing the threat posed by Pakistan's much larger neighbor. 65 66 Vilified in Pakistan, the Pressler amendment was in fact an attempt to water down the nuclear restrictions imposed by Senator Glenn. 13. 208. This gave Musharraf confidence that when he spoke to
Powell, he understood where the Bush administration stood. Leaving aside real but lesser American concerns about a potential arms race or nuclear crisis between Pakistan's Barelvi school of Islam, one
followed by a majority of Pakistan's Sunni Muslims and widely viewed as more "moderate" in its teachings.78 The Sunni Ittehad Council, a conglomerate of Barelvi groups, went so far as to call on Pakistan's president to pardon Taseer's assassin and declared it would celebrate January 4 as Mumtaz Qadri day.79 Later, when 77 78 79 For an excellent
study of Pakistan's largest Islamist political party, see Syed Vali Reza Nasr, The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). The next step is to learn from our shared history, keeping a close eye on how Pakistanis have come to understand the United States (Chapter 3), and
paying careful attention to how American officials have handled recent episodes in the relationship (Chapters 4 and 5). Bowing to the local votegetting power of entrenched politicians, the PTI only partially implemented internal partly elections even as it took on board a number of seasoned, high profile candidates. KLB was not a reincarnation of the
infamous Pressler amendment.17 Its "conditions" did not apply to civilian aid, and the certifications that were required from the secretary of state were carefully worded so as to provide flexibility on military aid as well. See "Pakistan Assistance Strategy," GAO-11-310R, Government Accountability Office, February 17, 2011, p. 27. But that desire has
been tempered by the recognition that even though India may be the greater military power, any victory over Pakistan would be Pyrrhic. Tellis, Travis Tanner, and Jessica Keough, eds., Strategic Asia 2011-12: Asia Responds to Its Rising Powers (Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2011), pp. For many Pakistanis, even those with no
sympathy for Teheran's new Shia regime, the revolution revealed that a Muslim nation could stand up to any country on earth, including the American superpower. Alan Kronstadt, "Pakistan: Chronology of Events," Congressional Research Service, August 4, 2003, . Squeezed between terrorists and drones, many locals started to see drones as the
lesser evil.82 Islamabad continued to issue pro forma statements against the drones, but its position was transparently absurd. Picking India During the Cold War, America usually tilted in Pakistan's favor. Assuming that mounting mutual frustrations stymie cooperation with Islamabad, U.S. policies would rely on coercion, deterrence, and closer
military and intelligence cooperation with Afghanistan and India. Three weeks after the U.S. raid on bin Laden's compound, a very different sort of raid took place in Karachi. On Eisenhower's "New Look" strategy, see John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, (Oxford: Oxford: Oxford
the future that places Pakistan into a much larger regional context (Chapter 6). It claimed over 86,000 Pakistani lives, flattened tens of thousands of buildings, triggered landslides, and left 4 million without homes. 48 48 Earthquake data retrieved from "Magnitude 7.6 - Pakistan," United States Geological Survey, . Christine Fair, "A Better Bargain for
Foreign Aid to Pakistan," Washington Post, May 30, 2009, article/2009/05/29/AR2009052902620.html. Pakistan went from peripheral, near-rogue state to indispensable "front line ally" in President Bush's new "Global War on Terror." Talk of great powers and traditional allies turned to terrorism, the Muslim world, and homeland security. Michael R.
1868-9, .library.wisc.edu/FRUS/EFacs2/1952-54v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus.frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/reference/frus195254v11p2/refe
a world where Pakistan's full cooperation is not - and can never be - assured. U-Turn to Drift: U.S.-Pakistan Relations during the Musharraf Fra Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations during the Musharraf Era Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations during the Musharraf Era Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations after Musharraf Era Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations during the Musharraf Era Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations after Musharraf Era Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations after Musharraf Frustrations: U.S.-Pakistan Relations after Musharraf Era Great Expectations after Musharraf Era Great Expectation
239 vii © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Moreover, Pakistan's civilian political class has not - from the 1950s to the present - offered compelling evidence of its ability or desire to
stabilize Pakistan itself, let alone meet America's needs, "History starts today," stated Armitage, meaning that Pakistan had to make up its mind whether it would stand with or against the United States. Two Americans died that day, and only the stout walls of the embassy vault and some lucky timing allowed another 139 American and Pakistani
personnel to escape the smoldering embassy grounds alive. 1 Had the story ended differently, an already tense relationship between Washington suffered from distraction, setbacks, and stalemate, all the while failing to resolve fundamental differences with
Islamabad over how to fight the war or how to fight the war or how to end it. One highly speculative article suggests that Khan's nuclear technology may have even ended up in Indian hands. Over its history, Pakistan has dramatically expanded its network of roads, factories, power plants, dams, and canals. Looking to the potential for constructive change, it is clear that any
successful reform of Pakistan will require a great deal of hard work by Pakistanis themselves. According to the World Bank, in 2005 the number of poor people living on less than $1.25 per day in India was 456 million. See Independent Task Force on U.S. Strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan, Task Force Report No. 65, Council on Foreign Relations
(November 2010), . Its ranks swelled not only due to its principled defense of the judiciary but also because it served as a powerful unifying vehicle for all of Pakistan for, 68n146, 68, 69 Rice, Condoleezza, 109, 120, 124, 125, 127, 132,
180-181 Rosenberg, Matthew, 38-39 Rumsfeld, Donald, 175-176 Rural Support Programmes Network (RSPN), 227-228, 228n53, 229 Saeed, Hafiz Muhammad, 14-15, 52, 58, 69-70, 99-102 Salafism, 54, 98, 99-100 Salala incident, U.S.-Pakistan tensions over, 108, 205 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 1, 5, 27, 237 Saudi Arabia Pakistan's relations with, 6-7, 95n78
98, 169, 187-188 Salafism supported by, 100 U.S. relations with, 215 Schmidt, John, 66-67 September 11, 2001 attacks Baig's skepticism concerning, 201 drone development following, 181-182 U.S.-Pakistani relations in wake of, 4, 103-104, 108-117, 134-135 Sethi, Najam,
62 Shahzad, Faisal, 13-14 Shahzad, Syed Saleem, 62 Shakai Agreement (2004), 127-128 Sharif, Nawaz, 132 censorship in regime of, 62 coup against, 31, 47-48, 116, 221 military relations with, 88 re-election of, 61 Sharif, Shahbaz, 235 Shia Islam in Pakistan, 97n89, 96-99 Siachen glacier, 42 Singh, Manmohan, 124-125, 193-194, 196-197 "Skunk
Works" drone facility, 151-152 South Korea, 187 Soviet Union China and, 1-4, 74-76, 83-85 U.S. relations with, 94-95 Spain, terrorism in, 186 Special Forces. Officers inside Pakistan's nuclear establishment today consider Khan
ancient history, but Washington will not soon forget or forgive his involvement in 10 11 12 See, for instance, Jeffrey Goldberg and Marc Ambinder, "The Atlantic (December 2011), 8730/. As President Obama explained in his West Point speech, "After 18 months, our troops will begin to come home. Theirs was neither a special
relationship of the sort that exists between America and Britain, nor a mature alliance like the United States has developed with countries such as Japan and South Korea. Washington might, for instance, enact specific U.S. trade policies designed to promote trade and investment between all three countries, or invest in infrastructure projects like
roads, ports, and rail lines, designed to link India and Pakistan. Fortunately, it is also possible to envision a more optimistic future for Pakistan and its neighbors - one defined by economic integration rather than strategic competition. Christine Fair, Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan (Washington: United States
Institute of Peace, 2008), pp. Commentators noted 110 111 112 On Butt's alleged arrest, see www.freenaveedbutt.com. 142 No Exit from Pakistan The army and its civilian mouthpieces were especially upset over the KLB requirement that the state department report on civilian control over the military's "chain of command" and "the process of
promotion for senior military leaders."13 Given the history of tussles between the army and civilian leaders, this language was considered the most vital U.S. interests in Pakistan, perhaps this subordination was defensible, even if it contributed to
a near rupturing of relations between Washington and Islamabad. The Four Faces of Pakistan becomes stable enough to make the peace hold, India will be stuck with an albatross around its neck. That era, from 2008 to early 2011, was filled
with extreme highs and lows, often over the course of the same week. Bush, Decision Points (New York: Crown, 2010), p. He got his wish; when the Japanese detained him, Beijing demanded his release. 11 12 "US Equipment Vacated from Shamsi Air Base," Geo News, December 9, 2011, .geo.tv/GeoDetail.aspx?ID=28257. No; Powell and Armitage
judged it was wiser to curb American ambitions and focus on the immediate problems at hand. On the one hand, he reserved the authority to behave as a dictator, shunting aside opponents with the backing of the army and the courts. "Now the women are catching up," he added with a smile. He won global notoriety for being the world's most
successful nuclear proliferator. Even for wealthy Pakistanis who have invested in generators for the embassy attack, see Coll, Ghost Wars, pp. the anti-americanism of pakistan's nationalists Returning to the depths of the Cold War
Eisenhower's successors in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations had even less patience for Pakistan. For years, the group had established and maintained a network for recruitment and fundraising that included members in Asia and Europe.99 After 2008, it was painfully clear that LeT's global network even extended into the United States. This
discouraging track record could easily lead to the Conclusion that the United States has repeatedly set its sights too high in Pakistan. "The Year of the Drone," New America Foundation, drones/2010. As Chapter 4 reveals, the White House publicly professed a commitment to promoting democracy. U-Turn to Drift 125 pretty soon they realize just how
complicated Kashmir really is. For this reason, most Indian leaders would prefer to maintain good ties with a sympathetic American partner that also enjoys significant influence in Pakistan. 36. Some of the shift has been driven by China's own behavior. To these Pakistani developments, America will have no choice but to respond. He includes China's
influence as a positive force in Pakistan. Markey Frontmatter More information Maps TURKMENISTAN CHINA GilgitSiachen BaltistanGlacier a kh w Azad Kashmir OL LINE OF CONTR Abbottabad Pa ktu n Kabul Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) Torkham Peshawar er G A Khy b F T Indus A H A N I S N Kandahar Islamabad Rawalpindi
Jammu and Kashmir Wagah Faisalabad Lahore Punjab Chaman Quetta Chagai Hills Balo ch is tan Indu s IRAN Sindh Gwadar I N D I A Hyderabad Karachi 0 Arabian Sea 0 100 50 200 100 150 300 200 400 km 250 miles Pakistan. Most U.S. officials, however, tended to find that emergency triage was more than enough of a challenge to keep them
occupied, particularly when other troubles, like Iraq, loomed large. That would offer a transparent, accountable way to ease the workload and danger for USAID staff. The benefits of organizing are social and political as well as economic. For obvious reasons, if U.S.-Pakistan relations fray, Washington will have every incentive to limit the size of
Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and associated delivery vehicles. u.s. options In contemplating its options with Pakistan, Washington finds itself in an impossible bind. It requires Americans to appreciate that some problems may be too big to solve, and yet still too important to avoid. Slightly The clearest shortcoming of a comprehensive cooperation
strategy is that it takes two to tango. It is important to recall that throughout the 1990s, the working relationship between Washington and Islamabad was sharply constrained. At the time, these advocates suggested that all dealings with Islamabad was sharply constrained. At the time, these advocates suggested that all dealings with Islamabad was sharply constrained.
head start on India in economic and military terms. From a Pakistani perspective, Washington was either unaware of or resigned to the fact that the Taliban were gradually reasserting their influence in Afghanistan. "Liberty is the universal longing of every soul," she concluded, "and democracy is the ideal path for every nation." 46 More important
than ideological developments in Washington, Pakistan was itself starting to stir against Musharraf. Washington is guilty of placing other goals, from anti-communism and nonproliferation to counterterrorism, over its commitment to Pakistan per se. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 149 States focused on diverting more than $500 million in
previously unspent aid (pre-KLB funds) to pay for urgent relief and recovery operations. 40 Pakistan's own messy politics and bureaucracy also got in the way of speedy aid delivery. Aside from their implications for regional stability, these developments make the program more complicated and more difficult to secure. Washington may even seek to
encourage it as a means to improve infrastructure, provide much-needed foreign investment, and help to stabilize Pakistan selling Downloaded from . 18 No Exit from Pakistan selling nuclear technologies to the anti-American regimes of Iran, North Korea, and Libya. His January 2011 "Open Letter to Pakistan Armed Forces" begins with the
exhortation: "Oh, officers of Pakistan's armed forces! You are leading the largest and the most capable Muslim armed forces in the world. Moreover, Washington's use of radical Islamists for military purposes, or for that matter, Zia's appeal to religion for political ends, would never have been possible if not for other contemporaneous changes taking
place in the Muslim world. A terrorist had strapped explosives to his chest and blown himself to pieces near a city police van. Hawkish Indian military strategists see evidence of Chinese encirclement from Pakistan, to Sri Lanka. The People's Liberation Army is almost twice the size of the Indian military. 113-51. A motto need not
have grave significance, but in Pakistan's case it lays bare a central question of national identity: What is the role of Islam in the state? An eager mid-level analyst jumped in to say, "One big shift is that we shut down the political wing." He might have expounded upon this issue but his boss, one of the ISI's most senior officers, cut him off quickly,
stating, "Of course, you must understand, there never was a political wing of the ISI."72 The former head of the ISI, Lieutenant General Asad Durrani, later contradicted both of these statements when he testified before Pakistan's Supreme Court in May 2012 and explained that the ISI's political cell was still operational.73 For all its political
scheming and activities throughout Pakistan's neighborhood, the ISI has earned guite a bit of attention and even more notoriety. Retaining and expanding ties with the Pakistani military would also help Washington keep a close eye on Chinese military and economic activities inside Pakistan. From Beijing's vantage point, South Asia seems very
distant. There was no expectation that it would end up looking or driving like a Porsche. The chief justice episode presaged the downfall of Musharraf's army-led regime. Moreover, when it came to nuts and bolts of how to talk to the Taliban, Pakistan found itself betwixt and between. They established a pattern of interaction with Pakistani President
Musharraf and the Pakistani military that persisted for nearly three years after they had retired from public office. A.) civilian government and, 140-145, 215-216n29, 219-222 comprehensive cooperation strategy and role of, 222-233 drone strikes supported by, 153-158 future projections concerning.
66 garrison mentality of, 38-39 growth of, 29 Hizb ut-Tahrir and, 55-58, 218 Lashkar-e-Taiba and, 14-15, 102 lawyers' movement against, 80-83 media censorship by, 63-64 media criticism of, 65 Musharraf's relations with, 118-122, 130 nationalist ideology in, 38-39, 92 nuclear arsenal and, 18 political manipulations of, 116 power and autonomy of,
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time of his arrest, Davis was said to be carrying multiple illegal handguns, GPS equipment, a telescope, identity cards with different names, and theatrical makeup commonly used for disguises. 162 No Exit from Pakistan fanned fears of an imminent collapse in Islamabad. Some have described 13 Rice, No Higher Honor (New York: Crown, 2011), p.
Building on the model established by the famous Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, Kashf innovated by directing its tiny loans - up to about a $100 at a time - to women and by working in cities, where microfinance banks had never before succeeded. In Lahore, one eighteen-year-old Pakistani student sported a badge labeled "hope" under a picture of
Khan. Even more, Zia got what he took to be a wink and a nod on the contentious nuclear issue and a promise that Washington would not meddle in Pakistan's internal affairs. For a nation like India, in which over 400 million people live on less than $1.25 per day and where a decade of 10 percent growth is needed to liberate roughly 40 percent of the
population from poverty, such lost opportunities take on added meaning.56 India's needs are as vast as its growing population. See P. 90 91 92 93 94 Adam Entous, Siobhan Gorman, and Julian E. Based on Wikileaks' online
release of thousands of classified U.S. government documents, the news stories were hardly the product of a considered policy decision in Washington. The weakness of Pakistan's civilian leaders is largely the consequence of an overweening military that has too often failed to accept the limits of its power or authority. Two prominent musicians to
take the stage were Salman Ahmad and Abrar Ul-Haq. It is revealing, for instance, that aside from Ambassador Richard Holbrooke the Obama team has filled nearly all of the top jobs in Afghanistan and Pakistan with career Foreign Service Officers or uniformed military personnel. 11 Such individuals are likely to be competent and professional, to be
sure, but they also tend to lack the political clout needed to shepherd major policy initiatives. Of course, as any Karachi businessman can explain, sitting in the dark over dinner is the least of his troubles. At the time, his anger with Washington was probably also linked to the sanctions that the United States had just slapped on Pakistan for developing in the dark over dinner is the least of his troubles. At the time, his anger with Washington was probably also linked to the sanctions that the United States had just slapped on Pakistan for developing in the dark over dinner is the least of his troubles.
a nuclear bomb. 2 From that point onward, Baig's anti-Americanism only grew deeper. As Crile records in his 70 71 72 73 Coll, Ghost Wars, p. The problem was not simply that Afghanistan drew attention and resources away from Pakistan. Although Washington and New Delhi have already taken tentative steps in some of these directions, the United
States would want to expand and accelerate the process - perhaps in ways that would initially make India's risk-averse leaders uncomfortable - in order to address Pakistan-based threats with greater confidence. pages: maps; cm Includes bibliographical references and index. See "Remarks by the President on a New Strategy for Afghanistan and
Pakistan," White House, Office of the Press Secretary, March 27, 2009, . The only possible path to salvation is through struggle against their special tormentors. Bob Woodward, Obama's Wars (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010). Pakistan's weak and increasingly undemocratic governing institutions could not manage the country's rolling political
and economic crises. And a final camp suggests that change is brewing, but it will be more reformist than revolutionary.135 The preeminent example of the first perspective is found in Anatol Lieven's magisterial review of Pakistan's state and society. If so, the weapons would be more vulnerable to theft or accident, two of the very circumstances
Washington is most eager to avoid. Crowley that the media actually had Davis's name wrong - Washington clarified that Davis was a member of the "administrative and technical staff of the U.S. embassy," and declared that he should be granted diplomatic immunity. Over the past twenty years, however, the People's Republic has expanded its
defense budget to address those shortcomings. See "A Journalist in the Tribal Areas," Front Line, taliban/tribal/hayatullah.html. U.S. Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955-1957: South Asia, p. Like Musharraf, Kayani was willing to push the bounds of his cooperation with Washington in narrow ways where he felt the
politics could be managed and when the targets were not Pakistan's proxies.87 Drone attacks were acceptable as long as they were targeted against groups that had declared war on the Pakistani state, like al-Qaeda and the Pakistani Taliban (TTP). On the U.S. miscalculation, see Sean D. Founded in the early 1950s in East Jerusalem, it is also a
foreign transplant into Pakistani soil. The country was rocked by two different, unanticipated crises almost at the same time. Islamabad is addicted to U.S. assistance dollars, whether in the form of grants, projects, or loans. Bush's secretary of defense, Donald Rumsfeld, recalls that the ensuing diplomatic crisis foreshadowed the potential for future
tensions with China. 99 where he cites "State Department telegram to Embassy Karachi," October 6, 1958, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1968-60, Vol. On the mutual Indo-Pakistan-India Trade - Peace Dividend," Global Research, Standard
Chartered, June 7, 2012. Pant, "India's Continuing Search for 'Strategic Autonmy,'" ISN Insights, May 18, 2011, .ch/isn/Current-Affairs/ISN-Insights/Detail?lng=en&id=129264&conte-xtid734=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129264&conte-xtid735=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&tabid=129261&
military intervention in neighboring Afghanistan and Islamabad's public alignment with Washington against al-Qaeda and its affiliates have been painful. Above all, the United States must recognize that as dim as the present outlook may seem, Pakistan is not yet a lost cause. For comparison, the FY2011 U.S. military budget for operations in
Afghanistan was $113.3 billion, which represented 16.53 percent of the total FY2011 U.S. defense budget. In other cases, however, achieving U.S. goals in Pakistan may require coercion or confrontation. Martin Ravallion and Shaohua Chen, "The Developing World Is Poorer, but No Less Successful in the Fight against Poverty," Development
Research Group, World Bank Group (August 2008), 949/080827_The_Developing_World_is_Poorer_than_we_Thought.pdf; "India Needs Larger Number of Creative Leaders: Former President Kalam," IANS, July 5, 2011, times.indiatimes.com/news/politics/nation/india-needs-large-number-of-creative-leadersformer-president-
kalam/articleshow/9112459.cms. In Washington, views of Pakistan seem to swing like a pendulum between the extremes of ungrounded exuberance and overstated fear. No Exit 23 failures that occurred for a variety of reasons, some even because Washington lacked sufficient ambition to seize opportunities when they presented themselves. He was
neither. Pakistani officials disputed Davis's diplomatic status, refused to grant immunity, and charged Davis with two counts of murder. 26, 20Annual%20K.pdf. 131-7. On similar themes, see also Ashley J. Finally, close ties with Pakistani generals would come in handy if China decides to pursue a more aggressive regional strategy in the future. 2 No
Exit from Pakistan at high points in the relationship, there were still underlying irritations and disagreements that got in the way of building any sort of strong, sustainable cooperation. The typical conclusion was that Washington was a "fickle
friend" who had used Pakistan then discarded it "like a piece of used Kleenex." 66 By 9/11, the Pressler episode had assumed almost legendary proportions for Pakistan are destabilizing for some of the same reasons as they fear
democracy in China. They have learned new, more sophisticated tactics and adopted aspects of al-Qaeda's worldview, at times trading local and parochial grievances for the Rational Assembly in Islamabad to decry KLB's "insulting" language
that violated Pakistan's sovereignty and imposed unreasonable "conditions" on the aid.12 They asked why the U.S. Congress had used the public language in an assistance authorization bill to raise questions about sensitive issues like Pakistan's nuclear program and counterterror policies. They especially resented strikes - like the one on March 17,
2011, just a day after CIA contractor Raymond Davis was freed from jail in Lahore - that exposed their own very limited control over U.S. operations.88 In May 2011, Kayani was further stung by public reports that unmasked his tacit consent on America's use of drones. The task was considered too daunting, too costly, and too prone to creating an
even greater violent backlash against American intervention. In 1988, he served in Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's cabinet in the first civilian government after General Zia's death. In addition, Pakistan maintains some 300,000 paramilitary soldiers and a reserve force of another half-million men.43 This makes Pakistan's armed forces the sixth
largest, by 40 41 42 43 Kaswar Klasra, "Journalists as Spies in FATA?" The Nation, November 5, 2009, .nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/politics/05-Nov-2009/Journalists as Spies in FATA?" The Nation, November 5, 2009, .nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/politics/05-Nov-2009/Journalists as Spies in FATA?" The Nation, November 5, 2009, .nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/politics/05-Nov-2009/Journalists as Spies in FATA?" The Nation in FA
far easier time achieving its goals in Asia - above all managing the rise of China and cultivating better ties with a rising India - if it can also find a way to work with Pakistan. In those Chinooks, Pakistanis witnessed the tangible benefits of cooperation with the United States. Other terrorist groups operating in the region are driven by global visions of
jihad. 114 No Exit from Pakistan Later, at the end of 2007 when Musharraf's grip on power was slipping, Bush appears to have recalled that initial pledge. Yet the scheme to use Moscow's own aggression - its involvement in brushfire wars across the globe - against it, to bleed the Soviet empire by way of a thousand cuts, was neither their work alone.
nor Afghanistan-specific. Lodhi's call to arms suggests that if Pakistani reformers are effectively mobilized, they still have a chance to alter Pakistan's unsettling trends. If it did not, the administration, congressional appropriators, and other committees would violate its turf. In particular, see Stephen P. Some focus on personal motivations, like ego or
wealth. India may instead keep its sights set on "strategic autonomy," pocketing Washington's willingness to share intelligence and support India's beefed up defenses against Pakistan without offering a matching contribution of its own. And people are afraid, the West is afraid of this spirit of pan-Islamism."85 To another interviewer, 80 81 82 83 84
85 "Lawyers Shower Roses for Governor's Killer," Associated Press, January 5, 2011, .dawn.com/2011/01/05/lawyers-shower-roses-for-governors-killer.html. U-Turn to Drift 133 from outstanding legal cases that might otherwise tie them in knots on their return to Pakistan. His only real constituency was the one that usually mattered most: the army.
Rising political stars already view Afghanistan and Pakistan as radioactive, career-ending posts. 86, from James Carney and John F. "Obama's Address on the War in Afghanistan," New York Times, December 1, 2009, . For this reason, the administration came into office concerned primarily about shoring up traditional alliances and managing relations
with other powerful states. 190-2. In 2010, the United States began to refurbish and improve the dam as part of its expanded assistance programming in Pakistani's internal challenges. Pakistanis must do that job. Big plans were hatched, big money spent, big egos
clashed. On Washington's interpretation of tacit consent from Islamabad, see Adam Entous, Siobhan Gorman, and Evan Perez, "U.S. Unease over Drone Strikes," Wall Street Journal, September 26, 2012, .html. At the time, the trend was more likely to raise an unpredictable ruckus than to inspire reasoned debate, but if the media started to take its
role more seriously, the future might look brighter. In May 2011, as I hopped out of the car to have a quick lunch with a Pakistani colleague at an upscale market in Islamabad, he turned to me and pointed to a spot just to our left: "That's where Salman Taseer was shot dead." And so it was. Such developments offer too little confidence in Pakistan's
ability to ward off the entire range of insider threats it faces. 148 (3) To achieve their goals, reformers need to think beyond Pakistan," Los Angeles Times, November 15, 2009, . 16-28; Zubeida Mustafa, "The Continuing Biases in Our Textbooks," Policy Brief, Jinnah Institute, April 30, 2012,
429-the-continuing-biases-in-our-textbooks. Given Washington's grand promises of assistance and the Pakistani skepticism that already prevailed about U.S. intentions, such delays were costly. Dickerson, "Inside the War Room," Time, December 31, 2001, 0,9171,1001573,00.html. Yet these "inside the Beltway" explanations received little notice in
Pakistan. Washington was mostly eager to avoid a risky, disruptive transition in Islamabad, one that would jeopardize American counterterror operations or the war in Afghanistan. 50. In short, Beijing wants to maintain its "all-weather" friendship with Pakistan and it probably has designs on a long-term future in which Pakistan offers a land route to
the Arabian Sea, a stepping-stone to Iran and Central Asia, and access to India's western flank. In the end, everyone lost. Even an increasingly powerful China will not likely enjoy enough of India's trust to play a similar role. In turn, that victory cultivated a taste for jihad in a small, hardened group 90 91 92 For more on the various aspects of
Islamization, from its exacerbation of Sunni-Shia tensions to judicial reform, the Islamic Penal Code, economic activity, education, and impact on women and minorities, see Talbot, Pakistan, pp. "Hearing before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, and impact on women and minorities, see Talbot, Pakistan, pp. "Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Judiciary, and impact on women and minorities, see Talbot, Pakistan, pp. "Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Judiciary, and impact on women and minorities, see Talbot, Pakistan, pp. "Hearing before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Judiciary, and Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the Internal Security Laws, "Committee on the Internal Security Laws," Committee on the I
U.S. Senate, June 16, 1961," . Most of that debate centered on the question of whether Washington has overreached in its use of drones; whether the political costs in Pakistan outweigh the counterterror benefits. In early 2012, the group Citizens for Free and Responsible Media launched an Internet and letter campaign against a morning show that
purported to film raids on Pakistani parks, where young men and women were socializing against the wishes of their conservative families. Zeeshan Haider, "Pakistan Grants India Most Favoured Nation Trade Status," Reuters, November 2, 2011, USTRE7A13VE20111102. Eventually, at Pakistan's urging, Washington dropped the "AfPak" label. Mark
 Tran, "Pakistan Orders Troops to Fire on US Cross-Border Raids," Guardian, September 16, 2008, . A small group of terrorist commandos attacked the Mehran naval base. Pamela Constable, Playing with Fire (New York: Random House, 2011), p. That fertility translated into vast wealth for the Bhuttos, who ruled over huge tracts of farmland in a style
that can only be described as feudal. It was also undeniably courageous, given the degree of political violence that plagued Pakistan at the time. No. However appealing it might seem for America to wash its hands of Pakistan at the time. No. However appealing it might seem for America to wash its hands of Pakistan at the time. No. However appealing it might seem for America to wash its hands of Pakistan at the time.
neglecting the challenges posed by Pakistan will make them go away. 37, 20Pakistan%20Aiding%20Without% 20Abetting.pdf. Yet because he fills a room so easily, his graciousness and extreme capacity for politeness in diplomatic settings can also be shockingly disarming. R. A 1957 review of U.S. South Asia policy by the National Security Council
explained that "Pakistan's membership in SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and U.S. military assistance to Pakistan are interpreted by many [in India] as U.S. intervention in these issues on behalf of Pakistan."31 According to Field Marshall Ayub Khan, Pakistan's army chief (1951-8) and first military dictator (1958-69), "The crux of the 30 and 10 
31 Ashley Tellis explores these complicating factors of the U.S.-China relationship in his overview chapter to Strategic Asia 2011-12. Musharraf was trying to erect a bulwark against political instability in the only way he thought viable - by granting the military a permanent veto. The country is too vast and complicated to be "fixed" from the outside
in. 1. He went on to become a huge Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who built a general hospital in his hometown near Lahore. In the summer of 2008, Pakistani pop star, and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthropist who have a summer of 2008 and later a philanthro
tell it, their spy-versus-spy games extend throughout the region - including Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. American historians describe these events differently. At the lowest levels, HuT is broken into groups of five who receive anonymous calls to inform them of weekly meetings and may not even know the identities of other cell members.101
Some claim that HuT's total size in Pakistan is in the low thousands, others suggest it may be far larger. america's missed opportunities All told, ten years after 9/11, relations between Washington and Islamabad looked at least as bad as they did before Musharraf was drafted into Bush's war on terror. Democratically accountable U.S. leaders face
stiff political headwinds when they attempt publicly to justify assistance to, or close cooperation with, Pakistan. 804. All is not lost after 2014, but it would be little more than wishful thinking to assume that the challenge of dealing with Pakistan will get easier down the road. When the army has wanted to tip 65 66 67 68 69 The title of this section
borrows from Ayesha Siddiqa, Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's rise. Thank you to my parents, who have always been a vital source of love and strength, and to my grandmother, Sophie Fischer, who at one hundred years of age expresses her
affection by urging me to stay closer to home. More than anything else, Baig concludes, Pakistan needs to show, just like revolutionary Iran, that it can stand up to any country in the world. Polly Nayak and Michael Krepon, The Unfinished Crisis: U.S. Crisis Management after the 2008 Mumbai Attacks (Washington, DC
Henry L. They believed that U.S. pressure combined with the popular mood in Pakistan would force the generals to see that the tide had truly turned and accept a subordinate role to their civilian masters. 42 This noble defense of democratic principles struck out against Pakistan's civil-military realities. After its own assessments, the Pentagon
endorsed Dulles's plan for Pakistan, based on a similar logic of regional defense. Along the way, India, China, and the United States would also find themselves better positioned to avoid conflicts with Islamabad or each other. First, India's non-nuclear military advantage is growing, and Pakistan has no other way to address that asymmetry. "We are
proud to have China as our best and most trusted friend," he told his hosts, "and China will always find Pakistan standing beside at all times." 45 Not a trip to Beijing goes by without Pakistanis reciting their time-worn mantra that Pakistan enjoys an "all-weather friendship" with China that is "higher than the mountains, deeper than the oceans,
sweeter than honey, and stronger than steel." By coincidence, I was in Islamabad for a research trip the nerve-jangling week after the May 2011 U.S. raid on Osama bin Laden's compound. Some analysts also give greater credence to the idea that India has aided other insurgent movements in Pakistan, foremost among them the Baluch separatists, as
a part of its titfor-tat spy games with Islamabad. If Pakistani politicians are smart, they will do something similar." Tetlay went on to observe that some communities were already planning town hall meetings before the next national elections, offering them an unprecedented chance to hold their local politicians accountable and to quiz their
challengers. 88-102, 150-71. First, India may not want to play ball, at least not on U.S. terms. No Exit 9 single-track strategy will almost certainly allow other important issues to slip through the cracks. They stress that public hectoring is precisely the wrong way to seek leverage with the politicians in Islamabad or the generals in nearby Rawalpindi
U.S. troop strength reached roughly 100,000 by the summer of 2010. They conducted a range of "contingency planning exercises" to assess how hypothetical crises in and around Pakistan might escalate into full-scale wars. "Army Foils Coup Plot aAgainst Hasina," BDNews24.com, January 19, 2012, 24.com/details.php?cid=2&id=216375&hb=top;
"Former Bangladesh PM Accused of December 2011 Coup Attempt," ANI Dhaka, February 14, 2012, report/former-bangladesh-pm-accused-of-december-2011-coup-attempt/20120214.htm. It allowed the Bush administration to continue building a partnership with India even as it became increasingly entangled with Pakistan. China has been more
good cheer. And soon after the 2011 Abbottabad raid that killed Osama bin Laden; "This was a CIA operation, meant to fool the world and embarrass Pakistan but the fact of the matter is that the whole exercise was a fake and a lie, same as the 9/11 episode was to
find an excuse to launch the crusade against the Muslim World."3 When pressed to consider when he first had doubts about cooperation with the United States, Baig says he should have seen trouble brewing even during the 1950s. These basic guidelines for American strategy still provide cold comfort for anyone who seeks an easy solution to
Pakistan. By coming to terms with the militants - young hotheads with little traditional standing in their tribes - the army granted its enemies legitimacy and preserved their safe havens. By the time President Clinton made his landmark March 2000 trip to South Asia, however, the opposite was true. The Obama administration now had a flood of cash
to help grow Pakistan's economy, support its democratically elected government, and show millions of its people that America could be a trusted and helpful partner in the civilian as well as the military realm. These were the first major army operations in the semi-autonomous region in Pakistan's independent history. Stephen Tankel, Storming the
World Stage (New York: Columbia/Hurst Press, 2011), p. By building a comprehensive cooperation with Pakistan, Washington would stand a better chance of avoiding scenarios - as described in Chapter 6 - in which closer U.S. ties with New Delhi translate into greater tensions with Islamabad and, in a worst case, spark conflict with Beijing as well.
India has no serious military answer to the threat posed by Pakistan-based terrorist groups. In Obama's strategic review of late 2009 - recounted in scandalous detail by Bob Woodward's book, Obama's Wars - the lion's share of attention focused on the question of U.S. troop numbers in Afghanistan.101 Some of this was only natural. Thanks to
Cambridge University Press and to my editor, Lewis Bateman, for his quick and unstinting support of this project. As with many large, complicated societies, Pakistan's future - from the fate of its masses to the character of its leaders - will first depend on internal developments. American timelines and expectations need to reflect Pakistan's scale and
complexity. If a new army chief decides to seize the reins of power, American protests are likely to fall on deaf ears, just as they did when the Bush administration counseled Musharraf's coup against Nawaz Sharif, when the Carter administration warned Zia
against hanging Bhutto, or when the Eisenhower administration cautioned Ayub about the dangers of heading down an undemocratic path.44 The next military dictator need not be any more benign or effective than Musharraf. When Pakistan was unhelpful, the spigot was turned off. As they put it, their intent was to establish a "foundation for
strengthened partnership between the United States and Pakistan, based on a shared commitment to improving the living conditions of the people of Pakistan through strengthening democracy and the rule of law, sustainable economic development, and combating terrorism and extremism."45 Comprehensive cooperation takes seriously the notion
that the only way to achieve long-term security goals in Pakistan is for its people to build a stable, more healthy society. 48 49 50 51 Author conversation, June 4, 2009. In subsequent decades, his language would become increasingly peppered with religious overtones and references from the Qur'an. Karamat dismissed these allegations out of hand,
but the debate over who knew what and when is far from resolved. Leslie H. Pakistan also stands in the way of India's overland access to energy-rich Central Asia and the Middle East. 108 No Exit from Pakistan different sort of hunting. These efforts were met with initial enthusiasm on both sides, but the high-flying bubble burst within less than two
years. In order to pursue his scientific studies, he moved to Europe in the early 1960s. Since 9/11, it has focused mainly on Pakistan's cooperation in fighting international terrorists. Yet even if Beckley's argument is correct, China's absolute rise is real and Beijing will have an increasing role to play on the world stage. Holbrooke's bureaucratic
wrangling and USAID's lack of experience in working through governments and other local institutions were not the only reasons for KLB's slow start. the anti-americanism of pakistan's jihadists After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan became more strategically important to the United States than ever before. 105 Downloaded from
. Perhaps the most shocking aspect of the entire episode, however, was that mainstream religious leaders sat silently or openly blamed Taseer, the victim, for having questioned Pakistan and America. Still, final responsibility remained
with the CIA director. Pakistan's top general had resigned, handing uncontested power to Bhutto.28 24 25 26 27 28 See George J. Washington got the relationship with Pakistan up and running again like one of Powell's old Volvos. Answering such questions first requires us to paint a realistic portrait of Pakistan's state and society. As many observers
  pointed out, Musharraf was hardly a lonely defender of Pakistani stability. This tactical issue misses the larger point. America's Options 235 to debate how best to improve or reform USAID's efforts. 70 Most of Pakistanis. Indian cynics feared the
new administration would lean toward China. Washington wanted Pakistan to cut off the head of the snake that was biting NATO and Afghan forces, 100 101 to their fragile democracy. The Four Faces of Pakistan 71 For reform-minded Pakistanis, the goal in any of these ventures would be to structure new economic relationships in ways that provide
jobs and expand tax revenues so that even if Pakistan's rich and powerful continue to take a healthy cut, there is more left over for everyone else. In an attempt not to be outdone by howling Islamists and nationalists, Pakistan's prime minister accused Washington of having launched a premeditated strike on Pakistani forces. On the diplomatic
initiative, she remarked, "I know that reconciling with an adversary that can be as brutal as the Taliban sounds distasteful, even unimaginable. If Pakistan were to undertake serious reforms in education and the economy, some of the nation's liabilities could turn into assets. Washington may be able to shield itself from many of the potential ill effects
of these developments, but a healthy Pakistani society and a stable Pakistani society and passively supported al-Qaeda's Taliban hosts, thereby promoting the rise of international terrorism in Afghanistan. The figure was a grand,
symbolic gesture but laden with the heavy responsibility of considerable resources to manage. Clearly, Washington would need to prioritize its goals, to decide which sorts of projects were likely to offer the most bang for the buck. McMahon, Cold War in the Periphery, p. In their public and private conversations, Pakistanis routinely hold America
responsible for an enormous range of events inside their country, sometimes by way of tangled conspiracy theories. In other words, to its nearly 200 million citizens 133 134 Jane Perlez, "Pakistani Army, Shaken by Raid, Faces New Scrutiny," New York Times, May 4, 2011, . 138 No Exit from Pakistan Americans, including contractors, CIA officers,
and U.S. military, were told to leave the country. The ISI must have believed it was making progress, because on March 16, Davis's release was brokered and the U.S. embassy immediately flew him home to America. The real tragedy is that Pakistan's wealth should have translated into a better quality of life. 192 No Exit from Pakistan only grand
scheme for transportation corridors that is being dreamed up by the Chinese and Pakistanis.75 Over time, Pakistani ports and highways could turn into essential lines of communication for a new Chinese land empire. Yet the post-9/11 deal with Islamabad established a pattern of U.S. generosity that would prove difficult to escape even as its faults
became more apparent. The generals have never even managed to set Pakistan on the path to better governance, unlike celebrated strongmen in other countries such as Turkey or Singapore. It has cost Pakistan on the path to better governance, unlike celebrated strongmen in other countries such as
arming and training militant groups and expanding its nuclear arsenal. Mindful of the tragic circumstances in which they toil, they toil nonetheless. Naylor, "Spec Ops Raids into Pakistan Halted," Army Times, September 26, 2008, border ops 092608w/; also Schmitt and Shanker, Counterstrike, p. Wolf, "Irrigation Management in Pakistan: Four
Papers," IMI Research Paper No. 4, p. Today's overhead imagery can identify many things, but not, for instance, the difference between conventional and nuclear artillery shells. Ken Dilanian, "CIA Drones May Be Avoiding Pakistani Civilians," Los Angeles Times, February 22, 2011. U.S. officials never took firm action to defend electoral democracy in
Pakistan, even if they did fear the consequences of its failure.15 Pakistan's first attempt at elected government ended in 1958 when General Ayub Khan placed the country under army rule. If Pakistan falls into an extended civil conflict, India would face the prospect of millions of refugees, or worse, of energized revolutionary movements aspiring to
take their violent struggle beyond Pakistan and into Muslim-majority communities in India. From 2003 to 2007, Dr. Markey held the South Asia portfolio on the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State. The political, social, or religious sympathies of their hired help could make them dangerous. It pointed to the dangers of
personalizing a relationship between states, of becoming too dependent upon an autocrat, no matter how accommodating - or relatively enlightened - he might appear. She argues that Pakistan is already witnessing the rise of an urban middle class that is better able to engage in organized politics. "The Year of the Drone," New America Foundation,
drones. 232 No Exit from Pakistan they fear Indian competition, most relish the thought of cracking into India's vast and growing market. Shifting from counterterrorism to the nuclear challenge, rather than attempting to help Pakistan improve the safety and security of its arsenal through cooperation, reassurance, and assistance (as has been the
case over the past decade), Washington would shift its emphasis to determined to deliver a crushing blow to al-Qaeda, if necessary without Pakistan's cooperation or consent. A1. Although General Musharraf suspended the case following his 1999 coup, activist judges
on Pakistan's Supreme Court decided to revive the case in early 2012. The Kennedy administration, confronting Soviet adventurism in the Cuban Missile Crisis at almost the same time, saw an opportunity to confront another face of communist aggression. Karen DeYoung, "U.S. Goes after Haqqani network," Washington Post, October 14, 2011,
2011/10/14/gIQAj2i6kL story.html. The group held rallies in each of Pakistan's major cities and published a polished website to proclaim its commitment to "defending Pakistan should begin, Gul believes, with a "soft revolution" that would "return" the
country to its roots in Muslim law and do away with the current multiparty political system. 88 Gul and the DPC hope to trigger that revolution through nonviolent protests against the United States, to translate anti-American fervor into anti-government action. One way or another, America will be forced to grapple with the challenges posed by
Pakistan, even if that means selecting from a slate of unattractive policy options. The Insider Threat Another very different Islamist organization is also taking advantage of global networks to assert itself in Pakistan and, for that
matter, whether Pakistanis themselves want the country to be fixed. To be clear, this does not make the military any more effective or legitimate in running the state of Pakistan. Over the course of the nation's history, too many of them sent their children to private boarding schools while millions of other children never learned to read. Moreover, it is
a far easier thing to destroy a couple of planes than to make off with a nuclear weapon. There was dissent, turmoil, and more than the usual turnover of personnel. Formative American decisions to engage or distance from Pakistan were made in the context of Cold War developments, from Washington's early fear of Soviet advances into the Persian
Gulf, to the subsequent reality of Moscow's withdrawal from Afghanistan. From the Outside-In 183 Ignoring widespread international objections, China obliged.42 It is not hard to imagine similar patterns in the future: Washington assisting India, Beijing helping Pakistan in response. Sagan and Kenneth Waltz, "The Great Debate: Is Nuclear Zero the
Best Option?" The National Interest (September/October 2010). U.S. officials dispute the claim and argue that the group was heavily armed and "acted in a manner consistent with al-Qaeda-linked militants." Either way, the fact that the strike came immediately on the heels of the Davis deal infuriated Islamabad. At the same time, Pakistani doubts
about U.S. resolve were further compounded by a diplomatic initiative out of Washington. Rubin, Ray Rivera, and Jack Healy, "U.S. Embassy and NATO Headquarters Attacked in Kabul," New York Times, September 13, 2011, asia/14afghanistan.html? Situated between India, China, and the energy-rich lands of the Persian Gulf and Central Asia,
Pakistan is naturally positioned to benefit from freer trade and investments in corridors that would improve, for instance, the flow of fossil fuels across Asia from west and north to east and south. My lunch companions went on to explain that their Bangladeshi competitors squeeze over four times more export value out of a bale of cotton by turning it
into finished goods ready for sale to rich Western consumers. Nadler, Edward J. Looking back, Ambassador Eikenberry observes that "until at least 2005, the Bush administration simply did not prioritize the Taliban's Quetta sanctuary in its discussions with Pakistani officials. Washington cannot afford to deal with Islamabad in a vacuum; it must
consider the implications of its policies with respect to other countries, especially India and Afghanistan. If the destructive trends of the present hold, if Washington and Islamabad fail to find a mutually acceptable way to cooperate in Afghanistan, then U.S. officials will blame Pakistan for the deteriorating security and instability that Afghanistan is
likely to experience as NATO forces depart. Cold War history also shows that both India and Pakistan viewed American support as another dimension in their own bilateral conflict. Among his many bloody deeds, Saeed is said to have blessed personally the Mumbai terrorist operation over Thanksgiving weekend in 2008 that ended 166 innocent
lives.94 Saeed is a "hafiz" because he learned to recite from memory all 114 chapters of the Qur'an, a feat he accomplished by the age of twelve. A member of Bhutto's PPP, Ahsan has been elected to the Punjab Provincial Assembly and the National Assembly. Sanger, and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Weighs Taliban Strike into Pakistan," New York Times,
March 17, 2009, . The White House refused.8 The U.S. embassy in Islamabad and the Pentagon shared their condolences, but that did rather little to assuage Pakistani, which is in Pakistani, which is in Pakistani, which is in Pakistani, and the Pentagon shared with new tools of
communication and social mobilization, like cell phones and interactive media. Once Bangladesh had broken away from Pakistan in 1971, Paki
well as Douglas Frantz, "Deadline for Nuclear Scans of Foreign Cargo Passes By," Washington Post, July 16, 2012, post.com/world/national-security/port-security-us-fails-to-meet-deadline-for-scanning-of-cargocontainers/2012/07/15/gJQAmgW8mW story.html. Within this context, Pakistan's close ties with China and its historical animosity toward India
have important implications for U.S. plans in Asia. Although the United States launched a war in Afghanistan to bring al-Qaeda to justice, many of the terrorist group's top leaders have been found in Pakistan. Israel has also succeeded in spite of its hostile neighborhood. It was important, Rumsfeld believed, not to look like a "weak supplicant" in a
way that might "embolden China's military and political leaders to commit still more provocative acts." 21 Rumsfeld's hawkish advice was only partially heeded by the White House, but his recollection of events reveals the mind-set of the era. The Four Faces of Pakistan 67 traditional political culture props open the door to the extremists. Whatever
troubles may ail Pakistan, many of its people remain unfailingly hospitable and willing to share their perspectives. On March 16, 2007, Musharraf attempted to shut down broadcasts by GeoTV - Pakistan's most popular Urdu-language broadcasts by GeoTV - Pakistan's most popular Urdu-language broadcasts.
its shape and materials make it exceedingly difficult to detect by air defense systems. America's choices will depend in large part on the decisions Pakistanis make, above all whether and how they choose to confront the terrorists themselves. Founded in 1921, the CFR carries out its mission by maintaining a diverse membership, with special programs
to promote interest and develop expertise in the next generation of foreign policy leaders; convening meetings at its headquarters in New York and in Washington, D.C., and other cities where senior government officials, members of Congress, global leaders, and prominent thinkers come together with CFR members to discuss and debate major
international issues; supporting a Studies Program that fosters independent research, enabling CFR scholars to produce articles, reports, and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy; and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy; and books and hold roundtables that analyze foreign policy issues and make concrete policy recommendations; publishing Foreign Affairs, the preeminent journal on international affairs and U.S. foreign policy;
sponsoring Independent Task Forces that produce reports with both findings and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and American foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy topics; and providing up-to-date information and analysis about world events and policy prescriptions on the most important foreign policy policy prescription foreign policy prescription for the most important foreign policy policy
there is any single terrorist organization in Pakistan most likely to provoke an all-out war with India, it is LeT.90 Second to Saeed was Maulana Sami ul Haq, whose ties to the Afghan Taliban are legendary. In both cases, the problem facing the country threatening to use nuclear weapons has been how to convince its adversary that the nuclear threat
- one that would likely carry devastating consequences for both sides - is not hollow. HuT is made up of a secretive network of cells, rendering it difficult to know just how many members it actually has. Aside from violent and revolutionary forces of change. Pakistan also faces the pressures and opportunities afforded by massive population growth.
Eventually it would come to be known as the "Reagan Doctrine," and it was most vigorously applied in Nicaragua and Angola along with Afghanistan. Future U.S. policies would be improved if they take seriously the problems, so well appreciated by Pakistan's liberals, of Pakistan's civil-military imbalance. Whereas a military-first model would deal
with Pakistan as it is, a comprehensive cooperation strategy would aim for the more ambitious goal of lending a helping hand to Pakistan as it navigates through massive social and political change without falling into violent revolution on the one hand or military dictatorship on the other. Islamabad has tended to emphasize the role of local
"miscreants" where Washington has been more inclined to see international terrorists. In a letter to the editor of a German magazine in 1979, he revealed his disdain: I want to question the bloody holier-than-thou attitudes of the Americans and the British. For the United States, these are scenarios to be feared, for however dangerous Pakistan is
today, its collapse or breakup would be disastrous. In those early days, there was no financial reward either; Khan took a pay cut to return home to Pakistan. As one senior U.S. policymaker explained, the Afghan war is fading into history and as the military
departs Americans will appreciate - as they have in Iraq - just how limited their interests really were in that distant, landlocked country. Could it simultaneously demand democratic reform by a country that 33 34 For more on this episode, see Rashid, Descent into Chaos, pp. More influential was the Saudi money that sponsored a vast array of other
Pakistani mosques, schools, and organizations, especially those that hewed to Salafism, the official Saudi creed. 92 All told, Zia's Islamization, Charlie Wilson's war, and the Sunni-Shia competition engulfed Pakistan in weapons, money, and radical ideas. America's Options 229 his community organizing in the area nearly two decades earlier. There
should be no mistaking that Pakistan's failure to meet U.S. expectations in the fight against terrorism represented the core stumbling block in the relationship. Washington may have planted the seeds of jihad, but they were well tended in Pakistan's fertile soil.81 78 79 80 81 In contrast, the Carter administration had offered an initial deal of $400
million. Rhetoric aside, the Carter and Reagan administration official explained, "Given the kind of historic nature of where Pakistan is right
now, we wanted to be holier than the Pope on this one on staying away. Markey Frontmatter More information No Exit from Pakistan America's Tortured Relationship between the United States and Pakistan. There would be little reason to present soft targets to
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Pakistani violence. Leaders in both capitals across a wide range of the political spectrum have proclaimed the world's oldest and largest democracies to be "natural allies."16 In addition to its own rising power and appeal to American businessmen and policymakers alike, India also offers a pluralist and democratic alternative to the authoritarian
Chinese model. 7; see also "Pakistan: The Next Generation," British Council Pakistan (November 2009), p. 3-4, 21-2. Other American officials had made similar accusations, but Mullen's tone, setting, and timing suggested the potential for a deeper policy shift within the administration. 2 (Fall 2008), pp. Back in 2006, rumors swirled that al-Qaeda
leader Ayman al-Zawahiri took shelter there.36 The complex included fortress-like buildings as well as a warren of tunnels dug deep into the hills. Just as the Bush administration unveiled its decision to sell F-16s, it also explained its intention "to help India become a major world power in the twenty-first century." 52 As a practical matter, this would
mean accelerated and intensified diplomacy, military cooperation and sales, and most important, a breakthrough deal between Washington and New Delhi on civilian nuclear technology. Pakistan - Foreign relations - United States. 116 No Exit from Pakistan ramifications of the Taliban safe haven in Pakistan for what was by then a stalemated war in
Afghanistan. "Parakram Killed More than Kargil," Times of India, August 2, 2003, .timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2003-08-02/india/27173886 1 indo-pak-border-terrorism; Praful Bidwai, "A Failure India Cannot Afford," Frontline, May 24 - June 6, 2003, . Now, after over a decade of war, many of the regional militants that started
with only parochial interests have picked up increasingly sophisticated tactics and jihadist rhetoric. For more on this, as well as a larger response to the "Non-alignment 2.0" paper, see Ashley Tellis, "Nonalignment Redux: The Perils of Old Wine in New Skins," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2012. Washington's tightly constrained
definition of its post-9/11 mission in Pakistan was also made clear along a very different front. Nuclear nonproliferation activists around the world howled. 42 As a practical matter, Bush administration officials saw greater utility in focusing on pressing threats - like the possibility that al-Qaeda had made contact with Khan's network - than in turning
up the heat on Musharraf to unravel the nature of the historical relationship between Khan and the Pakistani military. Comprehensive cooperation has few fans left in Washington. According to many others, he was a Shia who may have hidden his sectarian identity for political or other reasons. Hathaway, eds., Running on Empty: Pakistan's Water
Crisis (Washington: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009), pp. 224 No Exit from Pakistan of Pakistan imilitary are quick to point out that the generals have always exaggerated the threat posed by India to serve their own purposes.65 Even if
much of the rest of the country has suffered, Pakistan's military has always done well for itself.66 For proof, one needs only to visit the Pakistani military's cantonments, where roads are well tended, schools are good, and high-quality hospitals treat servicemen and their families. The famous "Powell Doctrine," for instance, sets firm limits on when and
how the United States should go to war. As each of these crises unfolded, Musharraf was frantically seeking a way to extend his grip on power. In the end, however, it is the threat of Pakistan as a catastrophic spoiler that makes the two-bloc scenario (United States and India versus China and Pakistan) most unappealing. Their motives may always
have been more cynical than altruistic or sympathetic. "It's Time to Say 'No' to Foreign Aid: Shahbaz Sharif," Express Tribune, May 17, 2011, . For a revealing exchange between Bhutto and President Lyndon Johnson, see Kux, The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000, pp. Pakistani officials acted stung, as if they had thought Washington would
never actually follow through on its threats. 403-21. Indians fear some of the implications of China's rise, but in other ways they find common ground with Beijing. That program was eventually named the Khan Research Laboratory (KRL) in his honor. Central to Pakistani calculations about Afghanistan was the reality that U.S. forces would eventually
depart. By remaining focused on the long term even as it grapples with crises and by selectively implementing parts of defensive insulation as well as cooperative strategies, America can successfully "get on with it" in Pakistan. No Exit from Pakistan 96 Zia's Islamization Initial responsibility for Pakistan's enthusiastic embrace of the most radical
Afghan fighters and their associates falls in the lap of the man who hanged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. One of the most important tasks of American statecraft over the next decade will therefore be to lock in a substantially increased investment - diplomatic, economic, strategic, and otherwise - in the Asia-Pacific region."29 25
26 27 28 29 a strategic commodity, see Keith Bradsher, "Earth-Friendly Elements, Mined Destructively," New York Times, December 25, 2009, 26rare.html?pagewanted=all. China would naturally prefer to have the best of both worlds. Points of cooperation were few and far between, overshadowed by fundamental policy differences and stiff U.S.
sanctions. The man proudly explained how his crops were far better off than those of his neighbors who still depended upon infrequent rains. The war in Iraq redirected American money, troops, weapons, intelligence assets, and the attention of senior administration officials away from South Asia. 202. Inattention and missed opportunities, not the
attempt and failure to achieve overambitious ends, characterized this frustrating period in U.S. relations with Pakistan. This is especially true for my wife, Robyn, and our children, Zachary and Chloe. Americans too will struggle to explain how the various pieces of U.S. policy fit together. "Musharraf Forms Accountability Bureau," Associated Press,
November 2, 1999, .indianexpress.com/Storyold/130023/. Compared to Iran or North Korea, Pakistan is an open society where it is possible to forge working ties with Pakistani groups, individuals, or political parties who already share U.S. concerns about groups like the Taliban, LeT, and international terrorists. See the conversation with Pakistani's
prime minister as recounted by U.S. State Department officials in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954, Vol. Eventually, however, it was Beijing's own restraint that ended the war. "The Ethics and Efficacy of the President's Counterterrorism Strategy," Transcript of Remarks by John O. For more on this issue, see Teresita C. It is worth
noting, however, that contrary to Washington's apprehensions, Moscow may have been sucked into Afghanistan by "mission creep" rather than a considered strategic offensive to conquer warm water ports. At present, Pakistan is playing its most challenging regional role in Afghanistan. "Pakistan's Water Economy," World Bank Group,
TERNAL/COUNTRIES/SOUTHASIAEXT/PAKISTANEXTN/0,, contentMDK:21102841 pagePK:141137piPK:141127theSitePK:293052,00.html. In 2007, after a dinner conversation with Mazari and several others in Islamabad, a Pakistani friend observed that Mazari - who does not wear a headscarf, sometimes dyes her hair in bright, unnatural colors,
and has a Ph.D. from Columbia University - would not last five minutes in a country ruled by the obscurantist Taliban. It is more likely to send Pakistan off a revolutionary cliff than to bring lasting stability. The remainder of the $676 million was money left over from prior year U.S. commitments. 272-3; "Pakistan Army," GlobalSecurity.org,
military/world/pakistan/army.htm. Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Prepares for a Curtailed Relationship with Pakistan," New York Times, December 25, 2011, Zia Khan, "CIA likely to resume drone strikes," The Express Tribune, January 9, 2012, 318690/cia-likely-to-resume-drone-strikes/. If Iran develops a nuclear bomb, the Saudis will almost certainly seek to
match it, and the most likely source for Riyadh's program would be Pakistan. Here and there, scrub brush dotted the hills, but for the most part the soil was untethered to the land, subject to wind erosion and heavy downpours during the rainy season. Khan, felt that Pakistan could not trust America when the chips were down, particularly when it
came to dealing with arch-nemesis India. Khan took the initiative and contacted the Bhutto government multiple times in 1974. She also enjoyed close, long-standing ties with the Clinton family. In February 2012, during her first public speech on the job as Pakistan's newly appointed ambassador to the United States, Sherry Rehman reflected a
persistent confusion in Pakistan about what had and had not been delivered in the way of U.S. assistance to that country. We will nibble them to exhaustion all over the globe, in South America, Africa, and Southeast Asia."39 37 38 39 Aitzaz Ahsan speech to the American Bar Association, New York, August 9, 2008,
.americanbar.org/rol/luncheon 08/aitzaz ahsan speech 8-9-2008.pdf. See Public Verdict on Democracy 2008-2013, Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, Islamabad, Pakistan, February 2013, .pildat.org/Publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publications/publ
Americans can determine the destiny of nearly 200 million Pakistanis. 89 When A. They inveighed against America's humiliating violation of Pakistani sovereignty. Musharraf took the question as a cue to launch into a lengthy monologue about Pakistani sovereignty. Musharraf took the question as a cue to launch into a lengthy monologue about Pakistani sovereignty.
from its many conversations with USAID empty-handed.49 The good news is that groups like Acumen have found a number of Pakistani projects worth supporting. Thomas J. See Ayesha Siddiqa, Military Inc., and Ayesha Jalal, The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistani's Political Economy of Defence (Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press,
1990). The relatively free, still immature media trained its vicious gaze on the president. But as a Pakistani reporter from South Waziristan explained during a visit to Pakistan in December 2008, some of 44 The Military Balance 2012, pp. Years later, the arrangement came out of the shadows. 201-230. And because the Saudis saw themselves in a
political and sectarian competition with revolutionary Iran, they shoveled cash into Sunni projects throughout the Muslim world. Immediately after 9/11, Pakistani fears led its leaders to cooperate and compromise with the United States. The same cannot be said for the United States. Despite some misgivings, their fast-growing trade ties are mutually
beneficial and lend stabilizing ballast to their bilateral relationship. New defenses and procedures make the United States far less likely to suffer from the specific sorts of suicide hijackings it faced on 9/11. The Chinese envisioned the value of this route in the 1960s, when Chinese and Pakistani workers started a nearly two-decade-long project of
building the 1,300 kilometer Karakoram Highway, which (weather permitting) linked Islamabad with Kashgar.72 At any given time, roughly 10,000 Chinese engineers are at work inside Pakistan on a range of other projects, from infrastructure to mining. Even 9/11 and the start of America's new war in Afghanistan did not sever the ties between these
seasoned fighters and their Pakistani handlers. The manipulation was so blatant that opposition groups came out to protest en masse, and Bhutto could only restore order by calling the army into the streets. Just as Washington tried to balance the overwhelming size of the Soviet ground forces in Europe by threatening to use nuclear weapons,
Pakistan also rattles its nuclear saber to ward off India's more capable military. Rather than using U.S. aid to bolster democratically elected leaders - as envisioned in the Kerry-Lugar-Berman legislation described in Chapter 5 - Washington would step back and allow the army a greater say in directing the flow of U.S. assistance dollars. On the F-16
announcement as well as the Bush administration's new South Asia Relations," Press Conference, Washington, D.C., March 25, 2005, www.fas.org/terrorism/at/docs/2005/ StatePressConference, Washington, D.C., W
aided and abetted "freedom fighters" in Kashmir, better known to most Indians as terrorists, in 47 48 Navnita Chadha Behera, Demystifying Kashmir (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2006). Jane Perlez and Ismail Khan, "Aid Package from U.S. Jolts Army in Pakistan," New York Times, October 7, 2009,
www.nytimes.com/2009/10/08/world/asia/08pstan.html?scp=7&sq=kerry% 20lugar%20pakistan&st=cse. I am forever grateful to CFR President Richard N. He lacked the pedigree of the men who routinely rose to the most senior ranks of the army. 147-8. In the tumultuous years immediately after 9/11, American officials tended to give their Pakistan
counterparts the benefit of the doubt, hoping that over time the relationship would mature and improve. 196 No Exit from Pakistan tone that sounded irritatingly moralistic to American ears, that India had no dog in the fight between imperialists and communists. Nehru rejected formal alliances with both Washington and Moscow. By some estimates,
congressional inaction has cost Pakistan well over a million jobs in volatile cities like Karachi.60 A decade of job losses of that magnitude, even in such an enormous city, is no small matter. Greg Miller and Karen DeYoung, "Adm. Peter R. Great Expectations to Greater Frustrations 155 fired the missiles. Pakistani journalists tend to write about the
agency in euphemistic terms, citing it as a driving force in the "establishment" or the "deep state." It is easy to get the impression that the ISI controls practically everything that moves in Pakistan (or for that matter, in Afghanistan). One possibility would be to place U.S. aid into a trust fund managed with help from the World Bank or another
international organization with a more consistent presence in Pakistan. From the Outside-In 189 that Beijing might find itself dragged into a conflict between Pakistan the United States. As Robert Kaplan imagines the future in his influential book Monsoon, Gwadar could become "the pulsing hub of a new silk route, both land and maritime: a mega
project and gateway to landlocked, hydrocarbon-rich Central Asia - an exotic twenty-first-century place-name." 74 And Gwadar is not the 70 71 72 73 74 Steve Coll, "The Back Channel," The New Yorker, March 2, 2009, .com/reporting/2009/03/02/090302fa fact coll. These are just a few of the developments that have the potential to turn China's boom
into a bust in the decades to come. In the past twenty years, the Asian giant has averaged an annual growth rate of over 9 percent.12 Even if China is unable to keep up its torrid economic expansion, its momentum may carry its GDP past that of the United States as early as 2027.13 In recent years, China pushed the United States aside to become the
top trade partner for India, Japan, and South Korea. A1, A22-3; Peter Finn, "A Possible Future for Drones: Automated Killings," Washington Post, September 19, 2011, pp. Congressman Howard Berman and Senator John Kerry explained the basic logic behind comprehensive cooperation in 2009, when Congress rolled out its plan to triple nonmilitary
aid to Pakistan. It is far better to focus on outcomes than inputs. They fill out a short worksheet designed to help Kashf personnel assess whether their business plans are viable. Questions will persist about China's long-term intentions in the region, but it is beyond doubt that Beijing is extending its influence in Pakistan and throughout Central Asia by
way of diplomacy, trade, and investment. It had no place in the strategic vision that the new team brought to the job. 74 75 76 77 Crile, Charlie Wilson's War, p. Instead, Kennedy read a great deal into the speech. Many foreign observers worried that this might be a turning point in Pakistan's history; that the already rickety institutions of the state
and society would finally come undone by the stress. They would be more likely to declare victory, consolidate gains, and rededicate themselves to a wider struggle. Had it not been for the 9/11 attacks and later, the war in Iraq, one would have to assume that "much of the money, manpower, and brainpower that has been directed to analyzing and
responding to more immediate threats would doubtless have been directed toward Asia and the long-term challenges of a rising China."22 More than a decade after 9/11, China is again beginning to garner the same sort of attention it did in the early Bush administration. By the end of 2010, they had treated over 100,000 patients in the hospital's
emergency room. Later, during the 1980s when the two sides worked hand in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued a nuclear weapons program that Washington opposed. On the political front, Washington would seek a more constructive role in the context of Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in their war against the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and in glove to assist the Afghan mujahedeen in the Soviet Union, the Pakistanis secretly pursued and the Soviet Union of Soviet Un
military imbalance, quite unlike the stance prescribed by a military-first style of cooperation. Given its ties to the Haqqanis, Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) had American blood on its hands. The terms of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) had American blood on its hands. The terms of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) had American blood on its hands. The terms of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) had American blood on its hands. The terms of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) had American blood on its hands. The terms of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence directorate (ISI) had American blood on its hands.
December 11, 2009, .thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2009/12/the-drone-dilemma.html. It was not until 1998 that the Clinton administration agreed to a plan that allowed Pakistan to recoup its financial losses in the deal. See Jerrold L. Raja Mohan, "The Essential Triangle," Centre for Policy Research, .org/blog/security/3373-essential-triangle. In
1947, the country could not feed its 30 million people, while in 2002 the country produced more than enough wheat, rice, sugar, and milk to meet the demands of its burgeoning population of 145 million. Ahsan had a point. 3 4 5 6 Jane Perlez and Ismail Khan, "Pakistan Tells U.S. It Must Sharply Cut C.I.A. Activities," New York Times, April 11, 2011
 "Security Check: Confronting Today's Global Threats," Stanley Foundation, May 2005, pp. After the dramatic changes of 2001 and early 2002, Washington's policies in Afghanistan and Pakistan entered what might best be described as a state of limbo. Even in the 1980s, questions were raised within and outside government about the wisdom of
supporting Afghan and Arab fighters with decidedly anti-Western worldviews.80 That said, to draw a straight line from Charlie Wilson to Osama bin Laden skips too many steps. Thousands of Chinese workers, mainly technical staff and engineers, are already hard at work inside Pakistan building power plants and ports, constructing mines, and
fulfilling defense contracts. Tribesmen dismissed out of hand the army's claim that its own helicopters had 66 67 68 69 70 According to one of the top CIA officers charged with developing the Predators, noted that drone attacks have become
a centerpiece of national security policy. The Stability-Instability Paradox: Nuclear Weapons and Brinksmanship in South Asia (Washington: Henry L. It has allowed American forces to track and kill terrorists in some of the most remote, hostile corners of the earth at financial and human costs that pale in comparison to fullscale military invasions or
bombing campaigns. "U.S. Has Designs on Pakistan's Nukes: Iran," Express Tribune, June 8, 2011, .com.pk/story/184086/us-plans-to-sabotage-pakistan-nuke-facilities-ahmadinejad/. America's Options 233 construction of a Diamer Bhasha Dam, but it cannot fix Pakistan's energy regulations, or reform broken distribution and budgetary practices that
today squander power production capacity that Pakistan already has. 216 No Exit from Pakistan The Obama administration also maintained quiet military-to-military links and CIA-ISI ties even through some of the darkest days of 2011 and 2012. No one can doubt that al-Qaeda's roots in Pakistan run chillingly deep. And they will dictate the terms of
settlement." 4 Baig never broke with the Taliban. Rather than doling out U.S. aid on a tight timetable as a symbolic gesture of support, Washington would make the same resources available over a longer timeframe, and only to Pakistani government agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that demonstrate success and can make the case
that their work would benefit from outside assistance. Pakistani officials demanded a full and public apology from Washington's main options is unappealing, might there still be a constructive way to deal with this mess? In the summer of 1944, just months after
Huis Clos debuted in Paris, invading American and allied forces collapsed the German occupation of France and went on to destroy Hitler's Nazi menace. A big part of the answer to this question takes us back to the identity of Pakistan's leadership. Worse, the treatment has been only partially effective. He has been awarded grants from the
MacArthur and Smith Richardson foundations to support his research, including regular trips to Pakistan and elsewhere in Asia. Pakistan, however, has been guilty of greater misrepresentation, claiming support for American purposes while turning the U.S. partnership to other ends. They are, however, able to intimidate the masses. Dugger, "U.S.
Envoy Extols India, Accepting Its Atom Status," New York Times, September 7, 2001, p. A return to military rule in Pakistan would contribute to the country's unhealthy political culture and the hollowing out of its civilian government as well as the dangerous politicization of the military itself. Bhutto's populist leadership in the early 1970s "cultivated
a mass perception that American intervention had worked against democracy in favor of the military establishment."18 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Bhutt
From the Outside-In 177 Some analysts interpreted Beijing's handling of these events as but one facet of a more confident, even strident, Chinese approach to foreign affairs. Their arrival has created opportunities for the TTP to exploit the city's wealth and to expand the scope of their fight against the Pakistani state.92 Earlier, starting in the mid-
2000s, a different movement of militants brought a spike in nationwide violence. Jeers erupted from the audience when Gilani observed without nuance or qualification that the ISI reported to the prime minister, and "Therefore they will do only what I want them to do."43 Until Pakistan's civilian leaders demonstrate greater capacity for
statesmanship and governance, Washington will be forced to deal with the military. "Voices from the Whirlwind: Assessing Musharraf's Predicament," PBS Frontline, March 2004, . Those figures alone should offer some perspective about the nature and scale of the changes Pakistan could experience. It is not surprising that Pakistan's leaders often
choose to temporize, negotiate, or at best divide and conquer these extremists rather than to tackle the whole of the problem at once. In short, a breakdown in U.S.-Pakistan relations would hurt U.S. efforts to build up a strong India, maintain a nonviolent relationship with China, and avoid greater instability throughout the Middle East. This is a
challenge inherent to any long-term strategy, but especially those that lack a vision of "victory" and demand a perpetual wartime footing. Yet even then Islamabad too often whistled past the graveyard, believing it could live and let live or harness such militant groups to suit its purposes. youthful idealist In 1992, Imran Khan captained an underdog
Pakistani national team to the World Cup championship, beating favorites New Zealand and England along the way. 225. Opened in 2007, the hospital was the brainchild of a group of Pakistani graduates of the city's prestigious Dow Medical College. Senior administration officials considered the package more like a reward for wartime services
Pakistan had already rendered than as a point of leverage for new negotiations. For weeks, Davis sat behind bars in a Pakistani prison, a dangerous spot for any American. In some ways, this was an unfamiliar dynamic; in a new era of intense Pakistani media scrutiny, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship was becoming more politicized and less amenable to
behind-the-scenes management. By comparison, U.S.-China trade in 2011 topped $500 billion. It has swung, pendulum-like, between different bottom line goals in Pakistan. The wellsprings of Bhutto's own anti-Americanism are not entirely clear. A former Navy commando, terminated from service in 2003, was arrested for providing support to the
raiding party. Barbara Metcalf, Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). One could no longer trust that the United States would be insulated by its surrounding oceans from the repercussions of decisions in far-off places like Berlin, Tokyo, or Moscow. For all of these reasons, the United States is
likely to have an interest in seeing India achieve its ambitions of growth and power. The secret deal making between Musharraf and Benazir was originally conceived as an effort to mate Musharraf, the moderate army chief who lacked a legitimate electoral base, with Bhutto, a popular and progressive politician, to enable a gradual transition away
from military rule. Fear is not a particularly firm foundation for partnership between nations, but it does sharpen the mind. Together, the history of these strands of anti-Americanism offers a window into the overall history of the relationship between the United States and Pakistan. This is not especially surprising, since if you look at any of the lists of
"fragile" or "failing" states, Pakistan usually shows up near the top in bright red.144 As this chapter shows, all of the standard warning signs are there. That is the face of Hafiz Muhammad Saeed. Most political rallies in Pakistan are staged events managed by party hacks and thugs. As Pakistani advisers to Musharraf explained at the time, he felt cut
adrift by the personnel change. A1; Andrea Elliott, "For Times Sq. Suspect, Long Roots of Discontent," New York Times, May 15, 2010, p. And the nation's most powerful institutions - the military and intelligence services - also prefer to maintain the status quo and to protect their privileges and autonomy. with key friendly powers - especially the
United States." For a revealing take on the heroics needed to push the nuclear deal through the Indian government, see Vinod K. Six Americans were among those murdered. In a country traumatized by violence and riven by social, political, and ideological cleavages, any new Pakistani military regime is more likely to be followed by dangerous
revolutionary change than by constructive reform or a bright new democratic order. The media often calls the seminary the "university of jihad." Over decades, it has indoctrinated thousands of Pakistanis, Afghans, and - before it was made illegal - young men from all over the world in a violent, anti-Western view of the world. This is not to say that
Pakistan's much more heavily populated heartland could open the door to a far more widespread Islamist movement in Pakistan. In late 2006, even early 2007, that script looked very likely to play out again. Collina, "The European Phased Adaptive Approach at a Glance," Arms Control Association, June 2012, . Between 1986 and 1997, infant mortality
in the communities of the Northern Areas and Chitral where the RSP was active dropped from 162 per 1,000. The assumption was that the specific language in the bill would amount to only a minor distraction. 31 That was a serious miscalculation. Markey, and Bennie G. Some of the most radical voices in Pakistan have also enjoyed the
active support of the state, including in the military and intelligence services. But the mental framework stuck. They would begin paying their taxes, creating a new stream of revenue that would allow Pakistan to improve government salaries and education funding, and would make Islamabad less dependent on outside donors or international loans.
On the poor facilities in Pakistan's schools, see also "Education Emergency Pakistan," Pakistan Education Task Force, p. The commander-inchief started to look vulnerable. Among other common interests, New Delhi shares Washington's interest in at least hedging against the risks associated with China's rising influence. He said it threatened to paint
Pakistan's government as "an American puppet," and suggested this ran "counter to some of the things that we're trying to do."24 Senate staffers and 21 22 23 24 the final bill passed by the Senate on June 24, 2009, see: cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=111 cong bills&docid=f:s962es.txt.pdf. Candace Rondeaux, "Former Pakistani Intelligence Official
Denies Aiding Group Tied to Mumbai Seige," Washington Post, December 9, 2008, content/article/2008/12/08/AR2008120803612.html. Without it, Kayani would have retired in mid-2010. A third camp is similarly convinced of potential for social and political instability, but instead of blaming the weakness of the status quo it focuses on the strength of
rising challengers, especially Pakistan's violent extremists. Pakistanis who share U.S. counterterror goals could be strengthened with U.S. money, training, and in some cases, arms. By pushing the politicians to the exits and subordinating civilian administrators, another generation of Pakistanis would fail to gain experience in self-rule
at our lunch meeting was not a surprise. Pakistan's JF-17 jets (jointly manufactured with China) do not hold a candle to upgraded U.S. F-16s.34 This will remain true for years to come. 156 No Exit from Pakistan Two dozen militants were reported dead, none of them high-level terrorists.76 Musharraf's successor as army chief, the chain-smoking.
normally inscrutable General Kayani, went through the roof. 261-8. The president defended the use of drones, arguing that they have been very precise precision strikes against al-Qaeda and their affiliates."64 In addition to the president's comments, the White
forces, especially the Haggani network based just inside Pakistan's northwest frontier, to evade NATO forces even when the Obama administration tripled U.S. troop strength to roughly 100,000 by summer's end in 2010. His taut manner evokes the Prussian high command more than the tribal badlands of Pakistan's frontier. In the early Cold War era
when Pakistan joined America's global effort to contain the Soviet Union, contentious negotiations over the scale of U.S. assistance nearly derailed the nascent alliance. The generals dictate their own budgets, jealously guard their autonomy, and - with minor historical exceptions - set the nation's foreign and defense policy. David Rohde and David E.
For the text of the final agreement, see "Enduring Strategic Partnership Agreement between the United States of American and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan," .whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/2012.06.01u.s.-afghanistanspasignedtext.pdf. Since it is the direction of Pakistani society writ large that will ultimately determine the state's
stewardship of the nuclear arsenal, the numbers of militants and extremists who choose to take up arms, and the nature of Islamabad's relationships in the region as well as its global outlook, these issues are more than a matter of humanitarian concern. Only the United States has had sufficient power or influence to calm the two sides. Aligned with
Washington's war on terror, Musharraf's political deals with hard-line Islamist parties. As is true today, oil-rich Saudi Arabia had an important role to play throughout the 1980s. The generation of U.S. officers who served in the Afghan war is likely to emerge from that conflict perceiving Pakistan as
an enemy more than an ally. From its far-flung organization to the fact that Hashmi's veiled figure can be seen preaching on the Internet seated behind a black laptop, Al-Huda is stunningly modern in the way it transmits its illiberal worldview. Michael Krepon, "Arms Crawl That Wasn't," Dawn, November 2, 2011, 2011/11/02/arms-crawl-that-wasnt/s
Symbolically, at least, LeT had gone global. The decades-long Indo-Pakistani conflict blocks normal trade and commerce and hurts economic growth in both countries. Looking to the future, Pakistan's own weakness and fragility will also pose realistic threats to India. Too often over the past decade, America has stumbled in its dealings with Pakistan
because U.S. policymakers made incorrect assumptions about how Pakistan works. Hamid Gul, who served as the chief of the ISI from 1987 to 1989, is today one of Pakistan's most vocal champions of this mind-set. Standing alongside Tetlay at the irrigation reservoir was his junior colleague, Tarig Nazir, garrison state Pakistan's infamous journalist
and political analyst Dr. Shireen Mazari has been dubbed the "Lady Taliban" for her extreme views, not least her defense of the Taliban and diatribes against the United States. 160-6. One of his colleagues and co-founder is Ed Husain, now a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. The conflict started with Musharraf's ill-considered decision
to sack the judge in early March. None of these facts should make defensive insulation Washington's preferred approach. Faced with the stresses of population growth, environmental degradation, and urbanization, Pakistan's civilian 40 41 Daniel Markey, "Terrorism and Indo-Pakistani Escalation," Council on Foreign Relations Press, January 2010,
America's Vulnerability Americans yearn for the sense of safety that was lost on 9/11 when terrorists turned New York's twin towers to ash. A bright-eyed group, young and old, gathered in a sparsely furnished room to explain their plans for digging a new well. The grounds were torched and two Americans were killed; more than 100 others took
shelter inside the embassy's communications vault and barely escaped the violence.64 The U.S.Pakistan relationship had reached an all-time low. isbn 978-1-107-04546-0 (hardback: alkaline paper) - isbn 978-1-107-62359-0 (paperback) 1. It is no North Korea, no Iran. Our hopes go in. See Shahid Javed Burki, "Pakistan under Zia, 1977-1988," Asian
Survey, 28, no. It offers women a certain type of power - gained from greater comfort and understanding of religious texts - previously held almost exclusively by men. 136 Downloaded from . I responded by retracing the steps in their historical narrative, observing that in the past Washington's interest in Pakistan has been heavily influenced by the
broader regional and international context. From the Outside-In 193 and socioeconomic strata living in twenty-eight states. Such an arrangement made it far less likely that the Soviets would expand their war into Pakistan, a contingency that both Islamabad and Washington feared from the start. Such a scenario may seem far-fetched, but it is not.
But India's saber rattling spooked the international diplomats and business community as much or more than it did Pakistan. On the Indian business community's interest in opening to Pakistan, see Jim Yardley, "Industry in India Helps Open a Door to the World," New York Times, March 31, 2012, .com/2012/04/01/world/asia/private-sector-helps-
propel-india-onto-world-stage.html. Simon Cameron-Moore, "Pakistan Seeks to Allay Fears on Nuclear Security," Reuters, January 26, 2008, . In 2012, New Delhi hosted the so-called BRICS group (standing for Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) for its fifth summit. From 1991 to 2001, real per capita income grew by an average of 84
percent. Former senior Bush administration officials now blame several of these accords, struck between the Pakistani army and militants in Pakistani army army arms are army arms are arms army arms are 
also attempted to shutter GeoTV early in his presidency and later temporarily banned, multiple times, Facebook and YouTube.128 Yet the reality is that Pakistan's media, not to control it. MARKEY A Council on Foreign Relations Book © in this web
service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge University Press www.cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. In October 2012, for instance, Li Changchun, a member of the Politburo Standing Committee of the Communist Party of China led a two-day trip to Islamabad. For
many reasons, I will not name them here. Considering the other anti-Western influences that buffet Pakistani society and the fact that some groups like Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT) are specifically targeting the military for infiltration and indoctrination for the
potential benefits of U.S. partnership among a core of elite officers. Mary Louise Kelly, "Officials: Bin Laden Running Out of Space to Hide," National Public Radio, June 5, 2009, . With troops at the ready and patience near the breaking point, it looked like nucleararmed India and Pakistan would go to war. From the Outside-In 173 but by the
reemergence of the Asia-Pacific region. 76 77 78 79 80 81 Eric Schmitt and Mark Mazzetti, "Bush Said to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan," New York Times, September 11, 2008, .html?pagewanted=all&_r=0. In 2004, the Pakistan, of the Pakistan, of the Pakistan government dismissed Khan from his official position and placed him under house arrest. From about 2003 until pagewanted all to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan, of the Pakistan government dismissed Khan from his official position and placed him under house arrest. From about 2003 until pagewanted all to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan, of the Pakistan government dismissed Khan from his official position and placed him under house arrest. From about 2003 until pagewanted all to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan, of the Pakistan government dismissed Khan from his official position and placed him under house arrest. From about 2003 until pagewanted all to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed Khan from his official position and placed him under house arrest. From about 2003 until pagewanted all to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed Khan from his official position and placed him under house arrest. From about 2003 until pagewanted all to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders Allowing Raids in Pakistan government dismissed to Give Orders 
2007, the relationship stayed stuck in first gear, routinely buffeted by crises and, after 2003, increasingly a victim of the massive distractions caused by the U.S. war in Iraq. A handful of Pakistan's madrassas are better known as terrorist training centers than founts of theological wisdom. Bagels parking lot for stealing his spot.4 Davis may have been
freed from Pakistani captivity, but U.S.-Pakistan relations did not rebound. The economic influence of Pakistan's military has been documented in a recent book by Ayesha Siddiqa and an earlier one by Ayesha Jalal. 44 No Exit from Pakistan are nuclear-armed - and therefore have the unquestioned ability to unleash hell against the other side - fear of
the consequences will induce mutual restraint. At a meeting of the National Security Council on January 3, 1957, he lamented the "terrible error" of committing to military investments in such a weak ally. This scattershot approach is not unique to Pakistan; it is a reflection of Washington's bureaucratic and institutional rifts as well as competing
national priorities. As new Pakistani grievances against the United States pile up, they tend to look like variations on existing themes. 971-1002. Yet when the truth came out, he was let off the hook. HuT's Palestinian founder broke with Egypt's famous Muslim Brotherhood because he considered the Brotherhood not militant enough.105 HuT is active.
in many parts of the Muslim world. Often less well remembered is that his ascent to power was enabled, or at least accelerated, by the breakup of East and West Pakistan in 1971. Others, rabid nationalists like A. The consensus view within the U.S. government was that if he surrendered his uniform, his political power would be diminished, rendering
him even less able to respond to American demands. Since 1947, tens of thousands of Kashmiris have died in the conflict, and despite several valiant efforts to achieve a diplomatic breakthrough, it remains a core Pakistani grievance. 49 Given India's greater size and military power, the conflict is unlikely ever to be resolved to Pakistani's full
satisfaction. The scale of the assistance package would be a source of contentious negotiations over the next two years. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State. That said, comprehensive cooperation would not survive a return to military dictatorship in Pakistan, and U.S. officials would be a source of contentious negotiations over the next two years.
need to make that point painfully clear to their Pakistani counterparts. Far from it; the politician was an articulate U.S. green card holder and former pizza chef from northern Virginia, whose sons had attended American public high schools and believed that the same curriculum should be taught to boys and girls in northwest Pakistan. This was true
even under Pakistan's civilian leaders. Not only were they a more blatant violation of Pakistani generals did not want to pick a fight. Peshawar has always felt the reverberations of decisions made in distant capitals. 51. Cohen, The
Future of Pakistan (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2011); Michael F. Jack Goldstone, one of the world's foremost experts on revolution and state failure, argues that effectiveness and legitimacy (or the perception of justice) are the two factors that make a state prone to revolution. Glenn Kessler, "Senate Backs Far-Reaching Nuclear Trades
Deal with India," Washington Post, October 2, 2008, AR2008100100533.html. U.S. missteps set the stage for Pakistan's bad policy choices and magnified their consequences. As compared to the past, when smaller friendly fire incidents had also claimed Pakistani lives along the Afghan border, Islamabad was no longer willing to seek a quiet
accommodation with Washington or to chalk the latest deaths up to the tragedy of war. Yet there is one undeniable and dangerous consequence of nuclear weapons that has already taken place. They correctly observe that Pakistan's own choices - to go to war and to build a nuclear arsenal - led to predictable American responses, not betrayals
America's Options 225 directly with families of kidnapping victims to rescue their loved ones. Traditional elites face a welter of new challenges and threats. Schaffer, "Partnering with India: Regional Power, Global Hopes," in Ashley J. Senator John Glenn introduced the original legislation, but because Senator Larry Pressler amended it, the
mechanism came to be known in Pakistan as the Pressler Amendment.65 By 1990, the U.S. intelligence community found conclusive evidence that Pakistan would, like Iran and North Korea, seek opportunities to thwart U.S. interests. Karl Eikenberry, then the commander of U.S.
forces in Afghanistan and later the Obama administration's controversial ambassador in Kabul, reported at the time that the deal led to a tripling of Taliban attacks from Pakistan's 2006 deal for the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan. See also al-Qaeda; specification to blame Pakistan's 2006 deal for the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan.
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No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. Critics at the time, and since, have wondered whether Musharraf was quite so fragile, and whether the deal could have been conditioned from the outset in ways that would have offered Washington persistent sources of leverage in the relationship. Trade flows between
India and China are already greater in volume than flows between India and the United States.84 With economic opportunities aplenty, neither New Delhi nor Islamabad has wanted to see diplomatic disputes get out of hand. Placing 100,000 U.S. forces in land-locked Afghanistan was an impressive commitment of American power. "Pakistan
'Approved Saleem Shahzad Murder' Says Mullen," BBC, July 8, 2011, .bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-14074814. I got my own dose of Pakistani views about China. The Bush administration also called for an even more ambitious American undertaking: the transformation of societies within the Muslim world that had given birth to the violent ideas
espoused by al-Qaeda. Hopes ran high, as the famous veteran diplomat Richard Holbrooke reported from Pakistan during a March 2008 trip. Afghan leaders in Kabul, from Hamid Karzai down, routinely complained about the machinations of the "Quetta Shura" to anyone who would listen. Saeed is its chief ideologue and most outspoken voice.
Schaffer, The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009). Video shot by the Japanese shows that the Chinese captain clearly intended to provoke an incident. 36 No Exit from Pakistan to cut production. Between 2006 and 2010, over 400 terrorist attacks struck the city, killing 866 civilians and
Divide," New York Times, October 12, 2009, &sq=pakistan&st=nyt. "Clearly," she wrote, "there is a threatening U.S. agenda seeking out our nuclear sites and assassinating people, thereby adding to our chaos and violence." 38 Mazari angrily blamed the then-U.S. ambassador, Anne Patterson, for her ill fortune, but soon landed on her feet as the new
editor of a staunchly nationalist paper, The Nation.39 From that new perch, she lashed out again in late 2009 36 37 38 39 See Easterly, "The Political Economy of Growth without Development," pp. To break the logjam, reformers will need allies from beyond their borders, at least at the outset. W. 10 No Exit from Pakistan counterproductive steps: to
army, an institution he had failed to cut down to size when he had the chance. If, however, U.S. relations with Pakistan rupture, important elements of the U.S. counterterror mission would be jeopardized. His commentary has been featured in many newspapers, including the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times,
and International Herald Tribune. Zia's campaign was also a scheme to construct a unifying national identity and legitimize his own undemocratic authority. Bob Woodward's reporting in the Washington Post and his subsequent book that described the administration's internal debate in intimate detail also received great attention in Pakistan's
concerned that by arming Pakistan Washington was also alienating India. Bhutto's creation of the PPP as a party in civilian opposition to the military is only one piece of the story. In its historical allusions to antiimperialist heroes of the Cold War, it reveals Ahsan's leftist roots in ways that would have been familiar to Bhutto: And then when Che
[Guevara] leapt forward We all marched with him And when Cho [En Lai] raised his voice Hand in hand we followed Downloaded from . They have several major advantages over piloted aircraft, including an ability to hover for many hours without fatigue and to crash without risking human death or capture. America's outreach and aid to Pakistan
relations had scaled a new peak. Despite a severe shoulder injury, the fiercely competitive superstar - Pakistan's nearest equivalent to Michael Jordan - managed to keep his teammates inspired after they lost four of the tournament's first five matches. That had been the story for years before Berman assumed the committee chairmanship,
particularly with respect to military assistance.23 The idea that these sorts of congressional turf battles might set the tone for a major piece of foreign policy legislation would not surprise anyone familiar with Capitol Hill. While each of the participants wished her the best of luck in her new assignment, there was a strong consensus that she had
embarked upon an impossible mission. Many of them were well armed.71 At the time, one of the most stunning aspects of the situation was that no one in Islamabad seemed to know what was really going on. See also Katja Riikonen, "Punjabi Taliban and the Sectarian Groups in Pakistan," Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 55, University
of Bradford, February 12, 2010; Syed Saleem Shahzad, "The Gathering Strength of Taliban and Tribal Militants in Pakistan," Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University of Bradford, November 19, 2007. Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief Number 24, University Res
corrupt, ineffective state and the mainstream political parties. The assassination attempts undoubtedly reinforced a sense among senior U.S. officials that Musharraf's life was on the line because he had cast his lot on America's side in the war against the terrorists. Most of the liberalizing reforms of the Musharraf era, from the media to political
activity, were protected or even expanded during the five-year term of the democratically elected government led at the center by the PPP under Benazir Bhutto's widower, President Asif Ali Zardari. America's port defenses have been improved since 9/11, as has its ability to detect the movement of nuclear cargo through other ports around the
world.22 Yet given the number of containers entering the United States and the reality 20 21 22 Jeffrey T. By the public's reckoning, both parties had broken new records for corruption, mismanagement, and political gamesmanship. They know it. If you're in Afghanistan and you need it, you figure out how to do without it."38 In short, U.S. troops in
Afghanistan were too few and lacked too much of what they needed to do their jobs. Moreover, the Sino-Indian war had taken place at the same time that Pakistan was drawing closer to China, 46 47 48 Gaddis, Strategies of Containment, p. There is no point in tilting at windmills. They were skeptical of claims that Washington's intelligence only
picked up clear evidence of Pakistan having a nuclear bomb after the Soviets had been defeated in Afghanistan meant that unresolved differences between Washington and Islamabad over the Afghan war came to dominate the U.S.-Pakistan relationship more
than ever before. 7 8 For a revealing look at opinions of Pakistan's foreign policy establishment on U.S. and Pakistani policy toward Afghanistan. Perceptions of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Elite," Jinnah Institute, August 25, 2011, .pdf. The
book was made possible with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, and other generous donors. The political and strategic reasons. Some Pakistanis suggest that today's anti-Americanism and violence inside Pakistan is
product of current U.S. policy: the war in Afghanistan and the covert counterterror methods, from drones to Navy SEALs. One of Pakistan's most popular politicians, the charismatic former cricket star Imran Khan, routinely argues that if the United States would simply remove its forces from Afghanistan, the region would settle down and the few
remaining terrorists could be more easily targeted. The United States watched throughout the 1950s as its partners in Pakistan's military and civilian bureaucracy gradually edged out the vestiges of parliamentary democracy. By hitching its wagon to the giant Indian engine of growth, Pakistan's massive population can claw its way out of poverty.64
The history of American diplomatic efforts to mediate between India and Pakistan suggests that subtle encouragement and nurturing of Indian and Pakistan's Islamists point out that Jinnah founded the state in explicit opposition to
the Hindu-dominated politics of India.77 Under those circumstances, how could Pakistan not grant the primacy of Islamic law and practice? McMahon, The Cold War on the Periphery, p. Not only did America leave the region in turmoil, the narrative went, but it was punishing Pakistan for arming itself with nuclear weapons just as its foe, India, was
doing the same. Change, whether revolutionary and violent or evolutionary and peaceful, looms on the horizon. Or they could have taken a more active role in anticipating the difficult diplomacy that would ensue after the legislation was passed. By treating Pakistan as an adversary or "roque" state without holding out the serious prospect of improved
relations and without inducements to potential 25 For a summary of current status and future plans for U.S. missile defenses in Europe, see Tom Z. At the outset, neither Islamabad nor Washington could have anticipated where the use of drones would lead.66 Both struggled to manage the public face of the program. And diplomacy would be easy if
we only had to talk to our friends. U.S. Department of State, Memorandum, From Secretary of State Colin Powell to U.S. President George W. Assuming India's economic growth remains strong, its leaders gradually tame some of the country's greatest development challenges, and the state translates tax revenues into increasingly potent military and
diplomatic power, New Delhi will find itself less as a vulnerable supplicant playing for advantage between Washington and Beijing. These and other related issues pose serious challenges to regional stability. That said, few Pakistanis hate Americans for who they are or what they believe. In general, access to privileged, highly classified information
will always give the CIA (or any other agency conducting covert activities) an upper hand in a policy debate with officials from other departments. Author conversation with Pakistani journalists, Islamabad, May 16, 2012. When that failed, Islamabad prevailed upon Beijing to provide some of its old, second-rate nuclear power plants. Many
congressional observers perceived the Bush administration's use of Coalition Support Funds as a particularly cynical "blank check" exercise, yet. Assuming India's economy grows apace, it will offer an additional wealth-creating engine for a region that might otherwise depend too heavily on Beijing. Pakistan suffers from ethnic and sectarian conflicts,
state corruption, internal insurgency, a history of turbulent politics, and a troubled economy, 145 Its ruling governments are usually ineffective when it comes to meeting the basic needs of the country's people. The assassin's motive? For the backstory to these allegations, see Kux, The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000, p. Not only did Khan
enjoy nearly unquestioned authority over a range of state assets, but he had also armed himself with a team of propagandists who would make short work of anyone who got in his way. Bhutto's discomfort with the principles of democratic majority rule did not dissipate after the war. Siddiqa, Military Inc., pp. After the fact, Eisenhower harbored grave
doubts about the decision to assist Pakistan. Unfortunately, that piecemeal approach also betrays weakness and ambivalence. See also assistance programs in Pakistan; economic growth; specific projects, e.g. Tarbela Dam Diamer Bhasha dam project, 229-230 Dow Medical College, 25-26 drone strikes classified information about, 160-161 defensive
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economic growth. Pakistani politicians quailed at the prospect of taking the heat that would surely come from bowing to Washington's pressure tactics. In reality, such an operation, which would have to be mounted on a massive scale against well-fortified targets, is probably beyond U.S. means. The greatest burden of research and editorial
assistance fell to Kunaal Sharma, and later, to Kevin Grossinger. Instead, the goal should be to improve relations with India and Pakistan simultaneously and separately. 40 Taken to extremes, de-hyphenation was a thoroughly unrealistic, artificial construct. Since 9/11, the United States has overhauled its homeland security as well as its domestic and
international counterterror programs to better meet the threat posed by al-Qaeda and its affiliates. 503-7. Washington will never have enough influence to force either side to take conciliatory steps or to accept a settlement by diktat
314. Borrowing from a Booz Allen study conducted for the Pentagon, some describe Chinese points 81 As India's former foreign secretary, Shyam Saran, put it, "India and China harbour essentially adversarial perceptions of one another." See his Second Annual K. If it is permitted to spread, then the chances of a far more dangerous outcome, like the
gradual theft of small amounts of fissile material or the successful assassination of Pakistan's top political and military leadership, become immeasurably higher. Washington should also keep the door open to other strategies over the next several years. Whether or not LeT, Hafiz Saeed, and the Ahle Hadith creed enjoy continued success is less
important than the fact that they have already provided a model for how violent Islamist movements can gain steam in Pakistan. Sartre's drama featured three sinners, all dead to the world, who learn to their surprise that hell is not a land of fire, brimstone, and devils, but an oddly furnished living room where they are subjected to eternal torment by
each other. This makes the country more vulnerable to outside pressure and more dependent on outside aid. But the prescription is neither especially neat nor entirely satisfying. Quieter than Tetlay but quick to laugh, Nazir explained that he started 53 54 Based in Pakistan's remote, mountainous regions of Chitral and the Northern Areas (now Gilgit-
Baltistan), the program was intended to serve the needs of a large community of Ismailis, an Islamic sect led by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believed by His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, believe
claimed responsibility for a suicide motorbike bomb attack on an American vehicle headed from Islamabad to Peshawar can still evoke the spirit of a bygone colonial era. Stepping back from the immediacy of the Afghan war, an argument could be made that the Haggani network, the Afghan
Taliban, even all of Afghanistan are of such minor scale and importance to the United States, at least when compared to Pakistan itself, that Washington should not hold its relationship with Islamabad hostage to them. For more on this program, see David E. Steve Coll, "The Back Channel," The New Yorker, March 2, 2009,
.com/reporting/2009/03/02/090302fa fact coll. 207. There is something deeply realistic, even humble, about such a worldview. "China-economy-passes-japan-s-insecond-quarter-capping-three-decade-rise.html. "UAE mounts pressure to get
airbase decision reversed," Dawn, November 29, 2011, http:// www.dawn.com/2011/11/29/uae-mounts-pressure-to-get-airbase-decision-reversed.html. Pakistan took these steps even when it knew full well that they would anger Washington and threaten the basis of any lasting alliance with the United States. They did not know how to work with
USAID - or vice versa. Mullen at the Pentagon," July 2, 2008, . The ties also persist because after decades of ruthless, bloody intervention in Afghanistan, Pakistan has no other Afghan allies, nor even very many potential allies, but remains committed to the goal of fighting Indian influence by any and all means. "The Tilt: The U.S. and the South Asian
Crisis of 1971," National Security Archive, December 16, 2002, of the administration who argued for more aggressive tactics, including the expanded use of drones in Pakistan. In February 2013, as part of a wider campaign to win influence with Pakistan's rising generation, HuT
activists showed up in force at a meeting of youth leaders hosted by Oxford University of Illinois and worked for Motorola. See "The Highest Highway, Day Three," Economist, October 18, 2010, 10/karakoram diary 1. Yet in nearly every discussion with Pakistanis from
2010 to 2012, talk of KLB invariably turned to America's unmet pledges. But the real question was whether he would once again attempt to retain his job as army chief, stepping away from earlier pledges as he had done at the end of 2004. The
crisis dragged on, and on February 14, Senator John Kerry, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, flew to Islamabad to seek Davis's release. Not only did Musharraf sell his soul to the Americans, but he also backed the wrong horse in Afghanistan. The senior-most U.S. military officer spoke before Congress sitting shoulder-to-shoulder
with the secretary of defense, Leon Panetta. 164. Washington quickly cancelled $1 billion in Pakistani debts to the United States, deferred the payment of billions more, and directed international financial institutions to support Pakistan in other ways as well.20 In June 2003, President Bush met with President Musharraf at Camp David and pledged a
five-year aid package of $3 billion, split evenly between military and civilian 19 20 Armitage's Meeting with General Mahmud: Actions and Support Expected of Pakistan in Fight against Terrorism," September 14, 2001, Secret, 5 pp. The move failed. Nothing good ever comes out." Whereas the Obama administration spent its first two years seeking a
grand transformation in the U.S. relationship with Pakistan, most of 2011 and 2012 were devoted to salvaging a minimal degree of cooperation. Compared with average infant mortality rates among countries where people had similar incomes, out of every 1,000 infants, twenty-seven more Pakistanis died before age one.14 Nor is Pakistan very good
at educating its infants who survive until school age. 14; International Irrigation Management Institute: Digana Village, Sri Lanka (1986), states+investment+pakistan+irrigation Management Institute: Digana Village, Sri Lanka (1986), states+investment+pakistan Theorem (1986), states+investment+pakista
Power of (Classified) Information The Obama administration's internal drone debate was accompanied by greater public scrutiny and discussion. The process would have to be gradual and subtle. Event Transcript, "A Conversation with the New Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Ambassador Sherry Rehman," United States Institute of
Peace, Washington, DC, February 16, 2012. As she explained, "So the question is asked [by Pakistan and what's been sent out from here [Washington]." She concluded, "So the question is asked [by Pakistan Understanding
Pakistan on its own terms is no mere academic pursuit. Some of their projects are paying remarkable dividends. This particular critique is unwarranted. For Obama, as for Bush, India had an infectious appeal. How, Pakistanis asked during the early days of the crisis, could the uprising not have the support of the army and the ISI, considering that it
was taking shape almost literally under their noses?72 Only in July, when Musharraf sent army commandos to crush the uprising by force, would it be clear which side the regime was on. A tiny skeleton staff could manage U.S. diplomacy. Easterly, "The Political Economy of Growth without Development." "Country Comparison: Infant Mortality Rate,"
CIA World Factbook, www.cia.gov/library/ publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2091rank.html. The Four Faces of Pakistan 33 reviews from only 14 percent. Markey is a Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he specializes in security and governance issues in South Asia. In October 2006, another drone killed some
eighty people inside a Bajaur madrasah. Khan's Dutch colleagues considered him an affable and generous character. The question is whether they could have aimed higher. "No external force is allowed to conduct operations inside Pakistan," Kayani declared, warning that Pakistan's sovereignty would be defended "at all costs." 77 The military's
spokesman, Major General Athar Abbas, said the new orders to Pakistani forces were clear: "In case it happens again in this form, that there is a very significant detection, which is very definite, no ambiguity, across the border, on ground or in the air: open fire." 78 Pakistan's parliament echoed these calls and threatened to shut down U.S. supply
routes into Afghanistan. 79 In effect, Kayani was drawing a bright red line: U.S. commando raids were unacceptable. America's Options 217 roads and other much-needed infrastructure, which would serve the dual purpose of promoting development and enhancing the military's standing with the Pakistani public. 33 In closed-door negotiations, the
United States would use high-tech military equipment as a bargaining chip. In March 2009, five Chinese vessels surrounded a U.S. Navy reconnaissance ship, the USNS Impeccable, about seventy-five miles from Hainan Island where the EP-3 had crash-landed in 2001. For him, the mistake proved fatal. Washington's initial aid proposals of roughly
$30 million shocked Pakistan's leaders; they had expected a more generous offer.11 When General Ayub Khan, Pakistan's top military autocrat, heard Washington's proposal he complained to the U.S. consul general in Lahore, "I've stuck my neck out for the Americans. The benefits of civilian rule should not be
underestimated. Here was a man who took pleasure in putting things in their proper place, not someone who craved building something new from scratch. See I. Author interview with Pakistani expert, Islamabad, May 2010. Over the course of 2001, Indian officials credited LeT with responsibility for a majority of the twenty-nine suicide attacks on
their military personnel and installations.98 The next step came in Mumbai. He needed to win over skeptical House members and explain why sending billions of dollars to Islamabad would make a direct, material contribution to American interests. On LeT's global ambitions and networks, see Mark Mazzetti, "A Shooting in Pakistan Reveals Fraying
Alliance," New York Times, March 12, 2011; Tankel, Storming the World Stage, pp. Islamabad prefers not to alienate another of its well-heeled protectors, Saudi Arabia, which is engaged in a strategic and sectarian conflict with Iran. He thought that the Northern Tier, if properly trained and equipped, could blunt a Soviet move against the Persian
Gulf long enough for the United States to muster a counterstrike. Baig told him that by turning against 2 3 On the nuclear sanctions, see the discussion of the Pressler Amendment in Chapter 3. Judging from the history of the past decade, Pakistan requires routine cabinet-level attention simply to deal with too-frequent crises when they break out. But
the opposite was always far more likely. © in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge University Press 978-1-107-04546-0 - No Exit from Pakistan: America's Tortured Relationship with Islamabad Daniel S. U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) funds helped to establish the Lahore University of
Management Sciences (LUMS) in the 1980s. The long history of Peshawar, that quintessential frontier city, had taught them that decisions made in distant capitals like Washington could change their lives. Pakistan's military will see its nuclear program as its best guarantee against American aggression, just as North Korea does. The record of such
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| dealings is now public, thanks to court proceedings starting in the late 1990s Pakistani officers have clearly been schooled in Otto von Bismarck's theories geopolitics of Asia, spanning from the energy-rich Persian Gulf and Central A with the Taliban, indeed its entire policy of supporting militant and extremist   | of Realpolitik, for they never tire of explaining that a state must<br>Asian states to the thriving economies of the Far East, especially  | guard against its adversary's capabilities, not its intentions. Look<br>that of China. USAID disbursed only \$179.5 million out of the firs  | king ahead to the future - a difficult and speculative business to be sure - F<br>t \$1.5 billion authorized by the KLB legislation. Beijing fears that Pakistan  | Pakistan's most important role is likely to be the one it plays in the 's internal problems could threaten China. Pakistan's refusal to cut ties  |
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| have stepped up to the plate in the way Clinton asked. Nuclear differences sp. Afghan Taliban and terrorists in North Waziristan – along with suspicions about Washington's expanded counterterrorism operations on Pakistani soil, and m. Republic, January 8, 2010, . In 1999, Musharraf had grabbed power by toppli   | parked a short-lived rupture in the relationship; Washington suspout how bin Laden could have escaped Pakistan's attention in Abaixed U.S. signals regarding the war in Afghanistan all set the staing the civilian government of Nawaz Sharif. Given these immedi                 | bended civilian aid to Pakistan. A series of crises over the course of<br>bottabad for so long - had by that point led a number of American<br>ge for the calamitous deterioration in relations between Washing<br>ate, vital, and emergent U.S. interests in Pakistan, the next quest | of 2011 sent the relationship crashing to its lowest point since 9/11. 162-3. In policy analysts and politicians to argue for a purely coercive or "containing ton and Islamabad from 2010 to 2012. Quote is taken from Nicholas Schmitton is what Washington might realistically expect to achieve in its relations. | American frustration and anger over Pakistan's inaction against nent" strategy in Pakistan.116 In different ways, the KLB debacle, idle, "Shireen Mazari: The Ann Coulter of Pakistan," The New ship with Islamabad. Indeed, the rising tide of Asian wealth may be the         |
| only external force powerful enough to lift even Pakistan's leaky boat. 102 Or Pakistan, and China, many unfortunate souls have been lost to the elements i represented fundamental shifts in the global balance of power. Pakistan would honor) and released a single "Aalu Anday" ("Potatoes and Eggs"). Drones, CL  | in vain attempts to secure the commanding heights, even though<br>ld have to be ready for whatever followed. 78. In January 2010, to<br>A contractors, and the bin Laden raid - far more than KLB aid do   | they offer little discernible military utility. For a comprehensive she highway was submerged by a lake created when a landslide blurs, diplomatic dialogues, or American businessmen – defined the  | study of Afghanistan's regional context, see Ashley J. Yet the Bush team ap<br>ocked the nearby Hunza River. In 2011, a free-spirited Pakistani pop band<br>he U.S. presence in Pakistan. U.S. embassy Islamabad, in particular, has w  | opreciated that the end of the Cold War and the rise of China<br>satirically named itself the Beygairat Brigade (a brigade without<br>velcomed and assisted me during various research trips. Rajiv   |
| Chandrasekaran, "Pentagon Worries Led to Command Change," Washington political weight in Washington and Islamabad.4 In both instances, his damning for follow-through. 139; Fair, The Madrassah Challenge: Militancy and Religinuclear devices and rendering them safe. The muck seeps into every debate of Threat in Pakistan, in Sheep's Clothing," New York Times, August 3, 2012, 18   | ng conclusion came as a shock to many Pakistanis who had consi-<br>ious Education in Pakistan, pp. Over the same period, relations b<br>over how best to manage relations with the United States, but it   | dered Mullen a "pro-Pakistani" voice among Obama's top officials<br>etween Washington and Islamabad have run from frustrating to in<br>does not stop there. Their inability to steer the president away fro  | s. KLB became a tragic symbol of American diplomatic missteps in Pakistar<br>infuriating. In 1976, before the Dutch could arrest him, Khan fled to Pakista<br>om the Iraq war is the most widely cited example of that fact, but it was ha  | and the yawning gap between Washington's rhetoric and its capacity an with his family. Members of the team are experts at handling ardly the only one. For more on HuT, see Michael Kugelman, "Another  |
| suggest that Kashf managed the crisis poorly, and that inadequate oversight underperforming economy. From the Outside-In 181 assembly of Indian busing including taking decisive steps to ensure that the Afghan Taliban cannot continues conversations.75 In the early lead-up to elections in 2007, the deal held  | made the organization susceptible to this crisis in the first place,<br>ness executives that "President Bush has a big idea about India-U<br>tinue to conduct the insurgency from Pakistani territory. 145–150   | 51 Either way, rather than giving up, the leaders of Kashf decide<br>J.S. relations. For years to come, these political realities are likely<br>D. 230. A military-first approach to Pakistan would also do more h   | d to try out a new lending process. That, in turn, discourages the sorts of it y to frame the way Washington deals with Islamabad. In her Asia Society starm than good. 19, TheConundrumofMicrofinanceGrowthinPakistan-Rosh   | nvestments and entrepreneurial activity that could jumpstart the peech, she noted that "Pakistan also has responsibilities of its own, anehZafar.pdf. The United Kingdom also played an extensive role in   |
| reasserted his dictatorial authority. [Excised], ��nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBI asked about the lessons he had learned from the tumultuous end to his hold own terms and timetable. After the July 2011 ETIM attacks in the city of Kash glaciers feed the rivers that give life to India and Pakistan alike. The Inter-Se   | B358a/doc26.pdf. The incident was ultimately defused diplomatic<br>on power, his meandering, inconclusive reflections showed that h<br>hgar, Xinjiang, a local Chinese provincial official publicly suggest<br>ervices Intelligence directorate, or ISI, has typically handled the | cally, although Beijing did not return the U.S. EP-3 for three mont ne had not come to terms with his own failings as a politician.69 I deed that the perpetrators had trained in Pakistan.69 This unusual army's political manipulations as but one of its many responsibilit         | ths. Some, like alQaeda's 2009 Christmas Day scheme to bring down a Norn the end, Musharraf was a victim of contradictions inherent in his rule; he Chinese outburst sounded remarkably like Washington's routine refrain thies. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, May 2012, cache,                   | thwest Airlines flight bound for Detroit, have nearly succeeded. When e was a liberal autocrat who thought he could reform politics on his nat Pakistan must "do more" against terrorists based on its soil. Its /documents/23643/2364342.pdf. The group, Ummah Tameer-e-Nau    |
| (UTN), is considered a terrorist organization by the U.S. government. Given to in Africa, Central Asia, and Latin America. 14 With trade and investment compaffair and the CIA's ability to maintain a safe house in Abbottabad to facilitate for use as an expanded consulate. 4 In April 2010, the U.S. consulate itself - statement of the consulation of the co | te greater diplomatic influence, especially in China's case, since the surveillance on the bin Laden compound from the fall 15 16 Wilso well fortified that locals offering directions there said it looked  | he authoritarian state itself controls many business decisions. 17 th a maximum altitude of 25,000 feet, top airspeed of 138 miles place "Guantanamo" - was the target of a 'car bombing and comi  | 6 No Exit from Pakistan interpretations of international law - off-limits to for hour, and wingspan of 55 feet, a Predator is an easy target for Pakistan mando-style assault that killed six but failed to breach the perimeter. Afgha   | Foreign military planes and ships. Judging from the Raymond Davis in air forces. Washington had been in negotiations to purchase the hotel anistan turned into an "economy of force" 35 36 This point won easy  |
| and bipartisan support among the members of the Council on Foreign Relation in Washington fully appreciated the 30 31 32 For a thorough study of this epit "subconventional violence" between India and Pakistan in Stability in South Admiral Michael Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, testified before Afghanistan, including one in which armed gunmen briefly managed to fire in   | isode, see Polly Nayak and Michael Krepon, U.S. Crisis Managen<br>Asia (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1997), briefings/DB?<br>e the U.S. Congress that the Haqqani network - a branch of the A   | nent in South Asia's Twin Peaks Crisis (Washington: Stimson Cent<br>185. "Never before so few have plundered so many," he said at hi<br>Afghan Taliban based in Pakistan's tribal areas - operated as a "ve  | ter, 2006), .stimson.org/books-reports/us-crisis-management-in-south-asias s first news conference. 4 U-Turn to Drift U.SPakistan Relations during the critable arm" of the Pakistani state.1 The chairman's claim came in the after the contract of the pakistani state.   | s-twin-peaks-crisis/. 206. Tellis identifies the various dangers posed by<br>he Musharraf Era Almost exactly ten years after the 9/11 attacks,<br>ermath of several high-profile Haqqani-orchestrated attacks inside  |
| interaction over decades has contributed to three strands of anti-Americanism suggested deep internal doubts about the new escalation.104 Those doubts winterrogation by U.S. officials and to keep a firm lid on public opinion. To the From the start of KLB, there was a cultural, even a philosophical, difference in the start of the | m, each of which throws up new barriers to cooperation of the so<br>were also reflected in U.S. policy when the president combined his<br>extent that China devotes attention outside its borders, its prior<br>between the State Department and USAID. Chinese support to P       | ort that might once have been possible. Great Expectations to Great is surge with a public pledge that it would only be temporary. By ities begin with its eastern seaboard.63 There China faces a rangakistan's nuclear, missile, and conventional military programs will             | ater Frustrations 141 one of its early sponsors, Senator Joe Biden, became silencing Khan and shutting down his activities, Musharraf managed to dete of security issues that tend to place it more or less at odds with the United be more apparent to Washington if U.S. officials retain working relations         | e vice president, the idea was nearly ready for prime time. They flect American pressure for a more comprehensive investigation or ed States, such as Taiwan, Japan, Korea, and nearby maritime disputes. This with their Pakistani counterparts, even if the information is    |
| gleaned indirectly. India and Pakistan are locked in a hostile relationship tha Pakistani officers so as to encourage comfortable working relationships in the propaganda. 169 Downloaded from . Many of these groups are completely un and Pakistan might finally see eye-to-eye on the best way to win the war in A  | It has nearly spiraled into war on several occasions even after the<br>e future. In other words, success in dealing with the challenges of<br>tethered, even opposed, to the Pakistani state. See "Integrated I<br>fghanistan. Hawks who favored a tough antiIndian, anti-Western  | ey both tested their nuclear weapons in 1998. In addition to discu-<br>of the day was about the best you could expect to do. The powerful<br>Energy Policy, Report of the Expert Committee," Government of In-<br>stance were troubled by Musharraf's overtures to New Delhi and       | ssions at the very top of the military hierarchy, Washington could seek to rall western world is terrorizing the Muslims. In other words, Pakistani officendia, Planning Commission, New Delhi, p. In meetings with Pakistani official appalled by his cooperation with Washington. This is our clue to the Sovie     | maintain and expand exchanges and educational opportunities for rising ers were almost certainly suffering from blowback of their own ials from 2010 to 2012, more than a few shared their hope that America et Union."41 He believed Khrushchev was launching a new "campaign" |
| to seize control of anti-colonial and other revolutionary movements in the Thi China's military and nuclear assistance to Pakistan could still become a great Pakistani families that own cows. It is now part of the daily routine for homes Rosenberg, a reporter from the Wall Street Journal, and Daniel Berehulak, a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalis   | ter 57 58 59 Figure on India's Muslim population from "The Futus<br>s and businesses across Pakistan to experience power outages, or<br>photographer with Getty Images, of being CIA spies. Markey Fro   | are of the Global Muslim Population," Pew Forum on Religion and r as the locals say, "load shedding." Part of the problem is that Pa<br>ontmatter More information A Council on Foreign Relations Book   | Public Life, January, 2011, . If successful, that would translate into a surgensistan's energy supply has not kept up with growing demand. The Four Father Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan me   | e in milk production - and business opportunities - for the millions of aces of Pakistan 39 by running front-page stories that accused Matthew embership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a   |
| Kashmir – and not claimed by Pakistan – and then murdered people, like Israe Financial Times, September 28, 2010, ��11df-bf36-00144feab49a.html#axs streets – will be more likely to determine the fate of their nation than the coudefensive insulation, military-first cooperation, and comprehensive cooperation.   | eli Jews and Americans, who had nothing to do with that disputed zz29 Up6Ij7V. At first, this was not such a problem. Holbrooke, in antry's Islamist insurgents or feudal lords.121 Pakistan already h   | d territory. 171. The first order of business is to better understand<br>in particular, had no patience for this USAID approach in Pakistan<br>as the highest share of population living in urban centers among  | d the nature of the various problems Pakistan poses (Chapter 2). 12 13 14 . At times, this meant focusing only on Pakistan's role in the Cold War figh  | 15 16 17 Kevin Brown, "ADB Warns on China's Long-Term Growth," against Soviet influence. No Exit from Pakistan 62 clog many city  |
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