



# Improving US-Pakistan Relations

Briefing Paper  
February 2017

© 2017, CommandEleven. All rights reserved.

#### REPORT AUTHORS

“Improving U.S.-Pakistan Relations: A Primer for the Trump Administration” was researched, compiled and written by **Khalid Muhammad**, Director General, **Shahid Raza**, Director – Operations, and **Faisal Aijaz**, Deputy Director General – Operations, with an exclusive interview with **Lt. General (retired) Tariq Khan**.

#### ABOUT COMMANDELEVEN

CommandEleven is a research organization focused on Pakistan’s national security aspects and enhancing global understanding and collaboration opportunities for the nation.

Founded in 2015, CommandEleven provides situational awareness to facilitate a better understanding of the key dynamics that effect Pakistan from a national security perspective, especially in relation to terrorism, insurgencies and extremism.

CommandEleven seeks to inform and guide public policy and decision makers in government, business and military through a rigorous program of publications, conferences, digital medias, policy briefings and recommendations.

Visit <http://commandeleven.com> for more information or contact [info@commandeleven.com](mailto:info@commandeleven.com).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	4
Background	5
Analysis	7
State Sponsor of Terrorism and Diplomatic Isolation	9
Bringing Pakistan's Military to Book For India	11
Pakistan Military Anti-US Stance in Afghanistan	12
Rogue Nuclear State	16
Policy Considerations	19
US Efforts to strengthen Pakistan's military	20
Conclusions	27

## PREFACE

The entire world knows the Haqqani Group that operates in Afghanistan, supposedly with Pakistan Army support, but very few outside Pakistan know the other Haqqani Network. This Haqqani Network, consisting of Husain Haqqani, Christine Fair and Bruce Riedel, operates outside Pakistan to damage and weaken Pakistan's armed forces and intelligence structure. This Haqqani Network is led by Pakistan's former Ambassador to the United States, Husain Haqqani, who has written numerous books detailing his dislike, disapproval and disagreement with Pakistan's military leadership. He was also implicated in a treason case while serving as Ambassador and has since refused to return to Pakistan to face the court. We will discuss the details of the treason case in this analysis to give further understanding to the background of this report.

On Friday, last week, The Hudson Institute issued a report titled, "***A New U.S. Approach to Pakistan: Enforcing Aid Conditions Without Cutting Ties.***" The report, packaged as a white paper outlining potential foreign policy and counter-terrorism opportunities with Pakistan, is a hatchet job against Pakistan's armed forces and their top leadership. The report attempts to portray Pakistan as the aggressor in the Indian subcontinent<sup>1</sup>, with an out-of-control military, dead set on creating a hegemony of their own.

Whether it is through the Taliban and Haqqani Group in Afghanistan who are "*killing U.S. soldiers with the support of Pakistan's armed forces,*" or Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Jaish-e-Muhammad, who are used to "*keep India off-balance and bring international mediators to resolve the Kashmir dispute,*" everything starts in either Rawalpindi or Aabpara according to the report.

We will be analyzing the major points and providing a clearer picture.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Time to Put the Squeeze on Pakistan," New York Times Editorial Board, The New York Times, May 12, 2016. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/05/12/opinion/time-to-put-the-squeeze-on-pakistan.html>

## BACKGROUND

Before discussing the details, we must establish a clear basis for our readers into the author.

Husain Haqqani is the Director – South & Central Asia for The Hudson Institute<sup>2</sup>, and a former Ambassador to Sri Lanka and the United States. He worked as a journalist and written a few books extremely critical of the past relationship between Muslim groups and the military.

His own political background started at the University of Karachi with Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba<sup>3</sup>, the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami. He told the Asian Wall Street Journal:

*“Over the last three decades, I have alternated between being attracted to and repulsed by political Islam.”<sup>4</sup>*

His entry into national politics was as a supporter of the ultra-Islamist military dictator, General Zia-ul-Haq, working with the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad<sup>5</sup> (IJI), an alliance of like-minded conservative parties assembled by the Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)<sup>6</sup>, led by Nawaz Sharif. He worked as special assistant and spokesman for Nawaz Sharif before moving to the Pakistan People’s Party. He was quickly appointed as Ambassador to Sri Lanka, then Benazir Bhutto’s spokesman, and Chairman of the House Building Finance Corporation. His political career ended during his term as Pakistan’s ambassador to the United States, when he was linked to a memo<sup>7</sup>, requesting U.S. military assistance to stave off a military coup. He has not returned to Pakistan<sup>8</sup>. He has also been linked to the issuance of visas to CIA operatives to enter Pakistan, including Raymond Davis.<sup>9</sup>

*“The State Department, the CIA and the Pentagon all had separate channels to request visas for their personnel, and all of them led to the desk of Husain Haqqani, Pakistan’s pro-American ambassador in Washington. Haqqani had orders from Islamabad to be lenient in approving the visas, because many of the Americans coming to Pakistan were — at least officially — going to be administering millions of dollars in foreign-aid money. By the time of the Lahore killings, in early 2011, **so many Americans were operating inside Pakistan under both legitimate and false identities that even***

---

<sup>2</sup> Husain Haqqani Wikipedia profile - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husain\\_Haqqani](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husain_Haqqani)

<sup>3</sup> Jamiat-e-Talaba Wikipedia entry - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islami\\_Jamiat-e-Talaba](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islami_Jamiat-e-Talaba)

<sup>4</sup> Husain Haqqani, The Day I Broke With the Revolution, <http://www.husainhaqqani.com/1999/the-day-i-broke-with-the-revolution/>

<sup>5</sup> Islami Jamhoori Ittehad Wikipedia entry - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islami\\_Jamhoori\\_Ittehad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islami_Jamhoori_Ittehad)

<sup>6</sup> “Detailed judgement in Asghar Khan case issued,” DAWN, Nov. 9, 2012.

<http://www.dawn.com/news/762723/detailed-judgment-in-asghar-khan-case-issued>

<sup>7</sup> Memogate Wikipedia entry - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memogate\\_\(Pakistan\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memogate_(Pakistan))

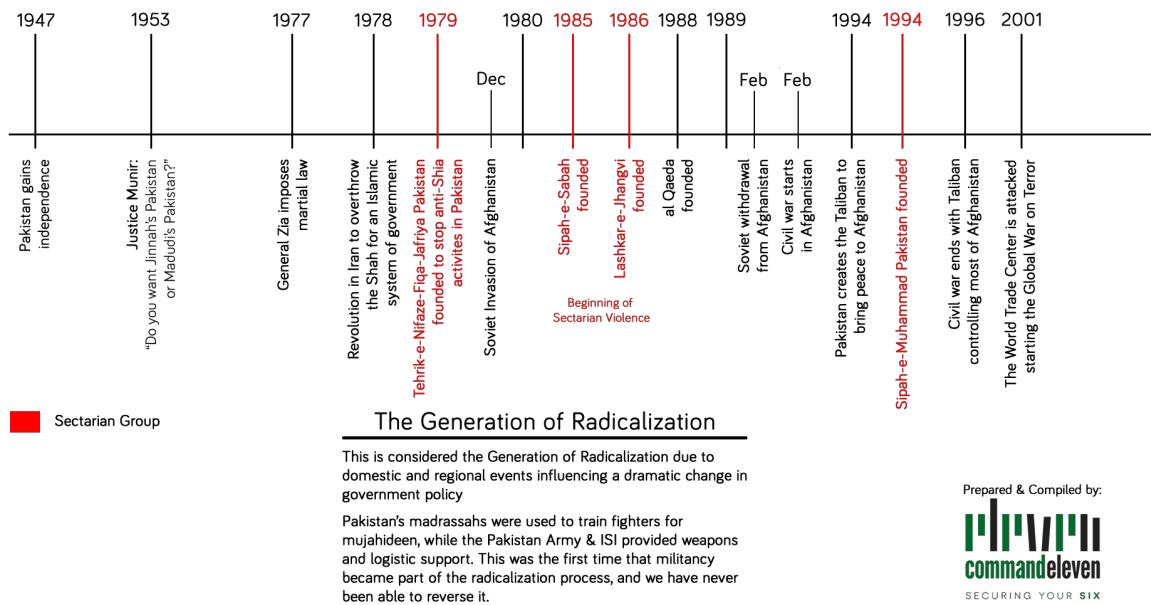
<sup>8</sup> “Why Does Pakistan Call This Man a Traitor,” Jehanzeb Aslam, June 14, 2012, Time Magazine.

<http://world.time.com/2012/06/14/why-does-pakistan-call-this-man-a-traitor/>

<sup>9</sup> “How a Single Spy Helped Turn Pakistan Against the U.S.,” Mark Mazetti, April 9, 2013, New York Times. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/magazine/raymond-davis-pakistan.html>

**the U.S. Embassy didn't have accurate records of their identities and whereabouts."**

Clearly, Haqqani understands the extremist problem being part of the inception. General Zia-ul-Haq was responsible for the Islamization of Pakistan, including limiting women's rights and empowering jihadi organizations. It should also be understood that at the time of Zia's regime, the Soviets had invaded Afghanistan and the CIA was closely working with Pakistan's military, the Mujahideen and the Saudis to defeat them. India, at the time, was aligned with the Soviets presenting a real threat on Pakistan's border.



Haqqani has also been accused by the current government in Islamabad of working against Pakistan's interests<sup>10</sup>, but he continues to claim that he is blameless, stating the following:

*"Pakistan's difficulties in the U.S. were the result of years of supporting 'jihadis' and making excuses that are having less and less effect on Americans. Moreover, Pakistan's dependence on U.S. aid made it susceptible to changes in the U.S. national mood and attitude," elaborated Haqqani in the statement released.*

*"I did not make the AQ Khan network, support the Taliban as they killed U.S. soldiers in Afghanistan or allow UN designated terrorist groups to function openly so there is no point in blaming me for these policy failures. Neither I nor any other former ambassador was responsible for the OBL fiasco," said Haqqani, elaborating on the reasons for the trust deficit witnessed in Pak-US relations."*

<sup>10</sup> "Not lobbying against Pakistan's interests, Husain Haqqani hits back at Sartaj Aziz." Mateen Haider & Raza Khan, DAWN, June 21, 2016. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1266293>

## ANALYSIS

“A New U.S. Approach to Pakistan: Enforcing Aid Conditions Without Cutting Ties” is a construction of assumptions and beliefs that are no longer valid. While many of the points that are mentioned were true in the 1980s and 90s, they are no longer valid in the current frame.

The 1980s was a decade of military intervention under General Zia-ul-Haq, who Haqqani himself supported. The 80s were also a decade of war for the region with Pakistan serving as the staging ground for the fight against Communism and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The 1990s was a time of instability for the nation, as no democratically elected government was able to complete more than 2 years of their 5-year elected term, repeatedly being dismissed on charges of massive corruption. Interestingly, Haqqani worked for the leaders of both the major political parties, receiving many preferred posting and opportunities.

From 2007 onwards, Pakistan’s armed forces and Frontier Corps began a coordinated large-scale military operation starting from Operation Zalzal. As of 2017, the Pakistan Army has captured and cleared 48,000 km<sup>2</sup> of the conflict zone in the FATA region. At the time, operations were not launched in North & South Waziristan due to coordination problems with the U.S. & ISAF forces in Afghanistan. On numerous occasions, the Pakistan armed forces requested the U.S. command in Afghanistan to deploy a brigade size unit on the border to control the flow of militants entering and leaving Pakistan, but the request was ignored each time.

Early in the 2007 campaign, the army and FC leadership provided the military strategy to the US-led coalition and requested coordination with the ISAF forces. The response was an increase in drone attacks in the south, while the army and FC were fighting in the north.

Pakistan’s military leadership requested U.S. Commanders in Afghanistan to contain military operations in Kunar, Afghanistan, as the terrorist groups, under India and Northern Alliance favor, established camps there. Instead of providing support to the Pakistan Army, the U.S.-led coalition abandoned their positions in Kunar and Nuristan.

On many occasions, the rules of engagement practiced by coalition forces were irreprehensible. When Pakistan Army identified groups of militants crossing over in areas such as Bajaur, Swat, Dir, which were also confirmed by satellite, they were never engaged by the coalition troops. This was mainly due to the fact that militants had built caches inside Afghanistan, dumping their weapons, and showing themselves as “unarmed.”

Pakistan also requested the US to halt Thuraya satellite services, as it was being used by the TTP leadership for communications and command, but the U.S. rejected the request stating they have no control over the actions of private companies.

Since 2007, Pakistan has lost over 85,000 souls in terrorist attacks within our own borders. The Pakistan armed forces have been resoundingly<sup>11 12 13</sup> celebrated for their successful dismantling of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and their affiliated groups. They have implemented military courts for terrorism cases<sup>14</sup>, a mandate that has recently ended. Karachi, Pakistan's financial center, has been cleansed<sup>15</sup> of extremist<sup>16</sup> and militant groups, including those with political affiliations, and peace has returned to the city after decades of unrest<sup>17</sup>. The insurgency that was managed from foreign countries in Baluchistan has been quelled and fighters are surrendering their weapons to the armed forces.

And, despite numerous opportunities to overthrow the government of the day, democracy continues to reign supreme in the country.<sup>18</sup>

It is also that democracy that has kept the armed forces from moving into Pakistan's most powerful province, Punjab, where many jihadi groups maintain their base of operations and strong support from political parties and industrialists. For those who recall, it was the DawnLeaks story<sup>19</sup> that brought the strained relationship to light in the media, where a heated exchange between Shahbaz Sharif, Chief Minister Punjab, and Lt. General Rizwan Akhtar, then Director General – ISI, was made public.

It is clear from the 18-page document that the focus is fourfold in its recommendations to the Trump administration:

- Threaten to brand Pakistan as a "state sponsor of terrorism" and diplomatically isolate it
- To bring Pakistan's military to book for any perceived attacks against India
- To paint Pakistan's military as anti-U.S. by suggesting that our military has a hand in the attacks against U.S. and ISAF forces in Afghanistan

---

<sup>11</sup> "General Nicholson praises Operation Zarb-e-Azb," Daily Times, January 10, 2017.

<http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/10-Jan-17/gen-nicholson-praises-operation-zarb-e-azb>

<sup>12</sup> "Erdogan praises Pak Army achievements in Zarb-e-Azb," Ali Zain, Daily Pakistan, June 1, 2016.

<https://en.dailypakistan.com.pk/headline/erdogan-appreciates-pak-armys-achievements-in-zarb-e-azb/>

<sup>13</sup> "McCain very impressed with the success of Zarb-e-Azb," Kamran Yousaf, Express Tribune, July 4, 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1135748/mccain-impressed-zarb-e-azb-successes>

<sup>14</sup> "The Fallout Around Military Courts," Khalid Muhammad, The Nation, January 4, 2015.

<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/04-Jan-2015/the-fallout-around-military-courts>

<sup>15</sup> "Karachi Operation – A Successful Interlude," Faraz Khan, Express Tribune, December 31, 2016.

<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1279802/karachi-operation-successful-interlude/>

<sup>16</sup> "Karachi Operation – An Analysis," Mazhar Abbas, The News, January 21, 2017.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/180634-Karachi-operation-an-analysis>

<sup>17</sup> "Karachi Operation: An Appraisal," Dr. Huma Baqai & Maria Hassan, Hilal Magazine, May 2016.

<http://hilal.gov.pk/index.php/layouts/item/2054-karachi-operation-an-appraisal>

<sup>18</sup> "Army Chief Holds Off Generals seeking Pakistan PM's ouster," Mehreen Zahra-Malik, Reuters, September 5, 2014. <http://in.reuters.com/article/pakistan-crisis-army-idINKBN0H015K20140905>

<sup>19</sup> "Exclusive: Act against militants or face international isolation, civilians tell military," Cyril Almeida, DAWN, January 9, 2017. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1288350>



- To portray Pakistan as a rogue nuclear state building an arsenal to attack the world, specifically India and Israel

## STATE SPONSOR OF TERRORISM AND DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION

For almost two decades now, Pakistan has lived under the threat of being declared a state sponsor of terrorism. The claims were made during each government since 9/11, linked back to the Taliban and Haqqani Group in Afghanistan and jihadi groups that attack India. Most will recall Musharraf's famous good and bad Taliban argument, as being the "proof" of the support.

Does Pakistan not have its own interests to safeguard, rather than being concerned with another superpower coming to its backyard?

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, the fight was against Communism and Pakistan was ground-zero with training camps established to funnel fighters to the Mujahideen, but when the Soviets left, so did the Americans leaving Pakistan with cleaning up the entire mess.<sup>20</sup> Simultaneously, other Muslim countries saw the opportunity to further radicalize the nascent Pakistani population and took full advantage of the greed in the democratic parties and governments.

Is Pakistan without blame in this situation?

Not at all. Pakistan's own failure to shore up a democratic dispensation that *could* deliver for the people is one that continues today. Democracy in Pakistan has never emerged from personalities to issues, and no politician in the country is able to deliver on the issues that they bring to office. Couple this with the fact that each of the leaders of the political parties has some influence from a military dictator in launching or legitimizing their journey. This has assured that democratic governments and political parties continue through a dictatorial style – one-man rule – rather than through standard democratic process.

The same political parties that gained political mileage from the extremist and jihadi groups refused to distance themselves when the time came for democracy to reign. From the liberal Pakistan People's Party to the conservative Jamaat Islami, and every flavor in between, each has maintained a militant wing within their own party structure. Some have aligned themselves with jihadi and sectarian groups, but at the end of the day, everyone's hands are dirty.

Today, even after the supposed implementation of the National Action Plan, radicalization has not decreased. Many would argue that the voices are getting much louder<sup>21</sup> and are supported through different politicians and government institutions. The ruling PML-N's own affiliations and allegiances make it impossible for them to take any action against

---

<sup>20</sup> Hilary Clinton on Pakistan. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dM1BG\\_NnHaA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dM1BG_NnHaA)

<sup>21</sup> "The Pakistani curriculum and extremism," Dr. Madiha Afzal, The Express Tribune, May, 17, 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1105130/the-pakistani-curriculum-and-extremism/>

these groups, otherwise their own party could suffer from political extinction.<sup>22</sup> Radical madrassahs, like the Red Mosque (Lal Masjid) in Islamabad, are still functioning without any control over the teaching or preaching from the pulpit. The Imam of Lal Masjid, Abdul Aziz, publicly pledged his allegiance to the Islamic State and invited them to Pakistan to avenge the military operation of 2007.<sup>23</sup>

A violation of the anti-terrorism laws? Yes.

Arrest made? No.

Suggesting that the military is solely and wholly responsible for the problem is completely incorrect.

There is no political will to tackle this problem head on. There is no attempt at drafting a counter-extremism, counter-radicalization strategy. Even looking at the FATA region of Pakistan, cleared of terrorists by Pakistan's armed forces, the government has yet to step forward with any economic rehabilitation projects, development efforts or anything that shows their commitment post-Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

There is a lack of judicial will<sup>24</sup> to convict and sentence those involved in terrorism related offences, which was the reason for the implementation of military courts in the country. When Pakistan's courts aren't able to convict hired assassins with political support, where does anyone believe that they will be able to convict terrorists with the ability to slaughter and maim? However, there will always be those who criticize the military for small achievements, while allowing the courts to slide for lack of action.<sup>25</sup>

The regularly abused Pakistan Army has been successful in clearing the FATA region of domestic and foreign terrorists through Operation Zarb-e-Azb.<sup>26</sup> They have worked with domestic security agencies in Karachi<sup>27</sup> and Baluchistan<sup>28</sup> to identify, isolate and neutralize any threat to the people, usually without any support in the domestic media. They have been able to bring insurgents to the table to surrender their weapons and pledge their allegiance to a united Pakistan, rather than an independent Baluchistan.

From the military operations to the courtroom convictions, it has been Pakistan's armed forces that have stepped in to root out terrorism, not a democratically elected

<sup>22</sup> "Interesting Days Again," Cyril Almeida, October 9, 2016, DAWN.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1288977/interesting-days-again>

<sup>23</sup> "The Red Scare," Khaled Ahmed, Newsweek Pakistan, December 9, 2014.

<http://newsweekpakistan.com/the-red-scare/>

<sup>24</sup> "Prosecuting terrorists: Out of 559 cases in 2012, suspects acquitted in 414," Aatekah Mir-Khan & Asad Kharal, Express Tribune, April 1, 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/529353/prosecuting-terrorists-out-of-559-cases-in-2012-suspects-acquitted-in-414/>

<sup>25</sup> "The Sun has set on Pakistan's military courts – here's why it should never rise again," DAWN, January 8, 2017. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1306792>

<sup>26</sup> Operation Zarb-e-Azb Wikipedia entry - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Zarb-e-Azb](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Zarb-e-Azb)

<sup>27</sup> "The keys and chronicles of the Karachi Operation," The News, February 25, 2015.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/26023-the-keys-and-chronicles-of-the-karachi-operation>

<sup>28</sup> "Situationer: Who's Who of Baloch insurgency," Naziha Syed Ali, DAWN, June 1, 2015.

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1185401>

government, whose first act in power was to start peace negotiations with the terrorist groups, including potentially giving up Pakistani soil in return.

While India has lobbied in every international capital of the world, yet unable to convince that Pakistan, as a state, is linked to terrorism. They have tried on numerous occasions to have Pakistan blacklisted by the United Nations as a state-sponsor of terrorism, but unable to tally the votes.

This might provide background to Haqqani's argument that Pakistan, when isolated, will attempt to build stronger relationships with Beijing, Moscow and Riyadh. What seems to be forgotten is that China and Saudi Arabia have long been allies of Pakistan, and Russia's recent opening of their diplomatic and military cooperation as India got cozier with the United States, is also a welcome development. China<sup>29</sup>, Russia and Pakistan are working together to stabilize Afghanistan<sup>30</sup>, pushing the Taliban<sup>31</sup> and the Afghan government back to the negotiating table, through guarantees of developmental support and economic aid.

### **BRINGING PAKISTAN'S MILITARY TO BOOK FOR INDIA**

From spy pigeons and terrorist camels to cross-border terror attacks, Pakistan is a regular target for India's own security failures, while India's own security apparatus is focused on dividing Pakistan through any means possible.

Ajit Doval, the National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Modi, is famous for his strategy to cause numerous small insurgencies in Pakistan to draw their attention away from India.<sup>32</sup>

Manohar Parrikar, the Secretary of Defense in India, openly stated that they are not afraid to fight terrorism with terrorism, a statement that he later tried to clean up, but the message was understood.<sup>33</sup>

Prime Minister Modi's numerous politically motivated statements against Pakistan and Indian Muslims, coupled with the Gujrat massacre<sup>34</sup>, don't earn him any brownie points for

---

<sup>29</sup> "Afghan Taliban meet Chinese Officials in Beijing: Why China is interested in the Afghan peace process," The Islamabad Times, July 31, 2016. <https://timesofislamabad.com/afghan-taliban-meeting-with-chinese-officials-in-beijing-stuns-world/2016/07/31/>

<sup>30</sup> "An Afghanistan conference without Afghanistan," Shamil Shams, DW, December 27, 2016. <http://www.dw.com/en/an-afghanistan-conference-without-afghanistan/a-36922029>

<sup>31</sup> "Pakistani government and Taliban begin tentative negotiations," Jon Boone, The Guardian, February 6, 2014. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/06/pakistani-government-taliban-begin-negotiations>

<sup>32</sup> NSA Ajit Doval speech at SASTRA University, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4RaCJrT51w>

<sup>33</sup> "'You have to neutralize terrorist through terrorist only,' says Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar," Pranav Kulkarni, The Indian Express, May 22, 2015.

<sup>34</sup> Gujrat Riots Wikipedia entry - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002\\_Gujarat\\_riots](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Gujarat_riots)

unity and brotherhood among Indians. Don't forget that Modi himself was not allowed entry to the United States because he was on a terrorist list for the same massacre.<sup>35</sup>

On the Pakistan side, the observer will only see statements of this caliber being made by the leaders of jihadi and terrorist groups. No member of Pakistan's government or military leadership would ever issue such statements, but it's Pakistan's military that must be brought to book for their support of terrorism.

Each time India has blamed Pakistan for a perceived terror attack on its soil, no evidence, no consular access and no information has been provided to Pakistan's institutions to follow-up and prosecute the supposed masterminds of the attacks. Jamaat-ul-Dawah and Hafiz Saeed are regularly named in supposed "Pakistan-orchestrated" terror attacks in India, but when the courts move to act, there is no evidence provided from India.

We won't get into the multiple dossiers that have been prepared and provided to Western capitals and the United Nations detailing Indian involvement in insurgencies, terrorism and cross-border attacks inside of Pakistan.<sup>36</sup>

Those would open another Pandora's Box.

### **PAKISTAN MILITARY ANTI-U.S. STANCE IN AFGHANISTAN**

Making the argument that Pakistan's military is involved in the killing of U.S. soldiers in Afghanistan is outlandish.

Pakistan's support of the Taliban ended during Musharraf's government according to numerous published reports. The only reason that the government and military is engaged now is to bring peace to Afghanistan by bringing all the parties to the table.

By this standard, is the United States going to declare Qatar as anti-U.S. because they opened an office for the Taliban in Doha? Are they also not guilty of providing support to those who "kill U.S. soldiers"?

The United States' longest argument has been for Pakistan to take punitive action against the leaders of the Haqqani Group that operate from safe havens in Pakistan. There are claims that they enjoy facilities in Islamabad, Quetta, and Karachi, all at the behest of the Pakistan Army and the powerful ISI.

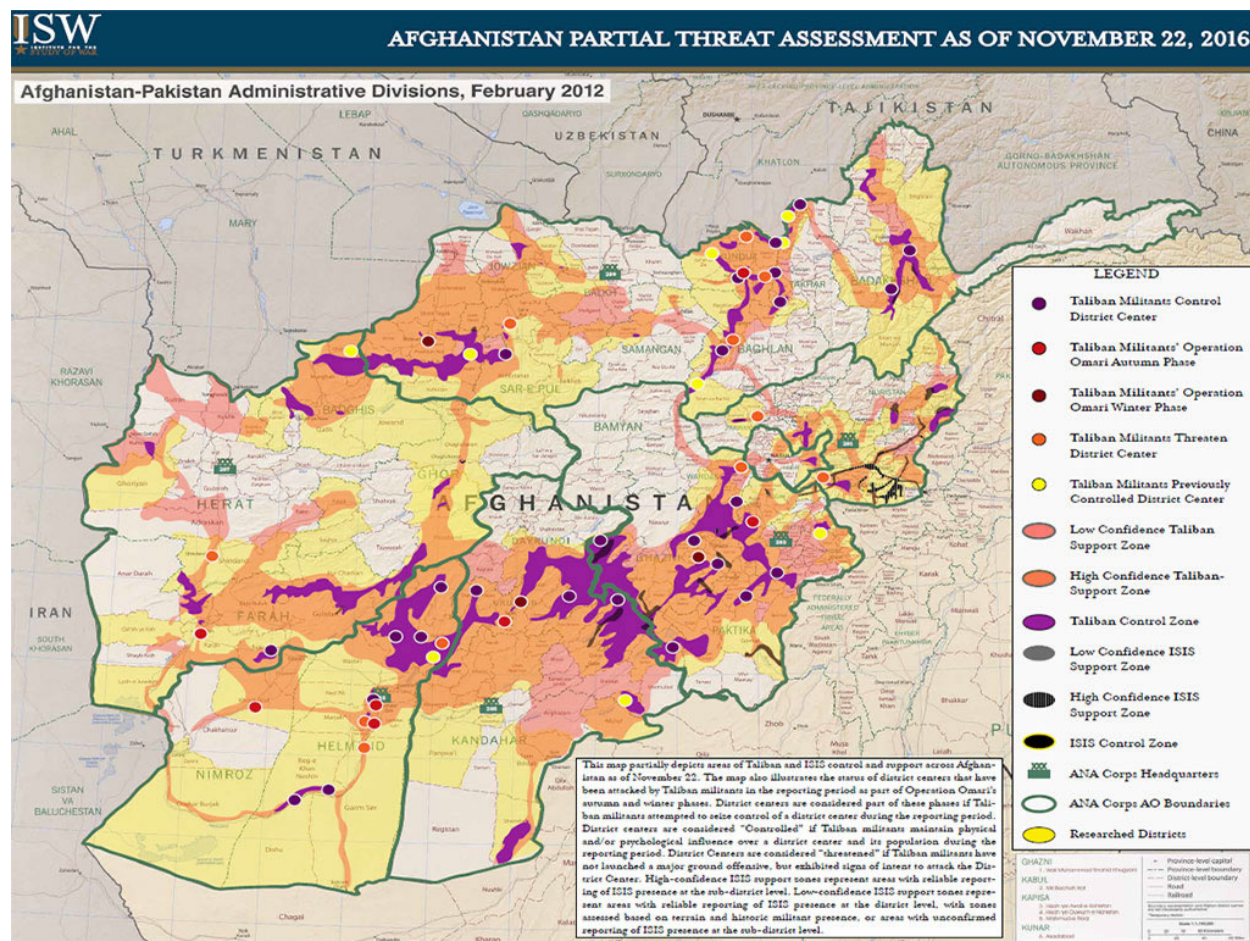
Our question is when the group actually operates in Afghanistan, why hasn't the ISAF alliance neutralized them?

---

<sup>35</sup> "Once banner from the U.S., India's Modi set for historic address to Congress," Annie Gowen, Washington Post, June 6, 2016.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/06/06/from-pariah-to-capitol-hill-narendra-modis-extraordinary-rise/?utm\\_term=.ea1f523a5b8c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/06/06/from-pariah-to-capitol-hill-narendra-modis-extraordinary-rise/?utm_term=.ea1f523a5b8c)

<sup>36</sup> "Pakistan hands over dossier on 'India's interference' to UN chief," Hindustani Times, January 6, 2017. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/pakistan-hands-over-dossier-on-india-s-interference-to-un-chief/story-ecNvYg47C6BXfygAB22mgL.html>



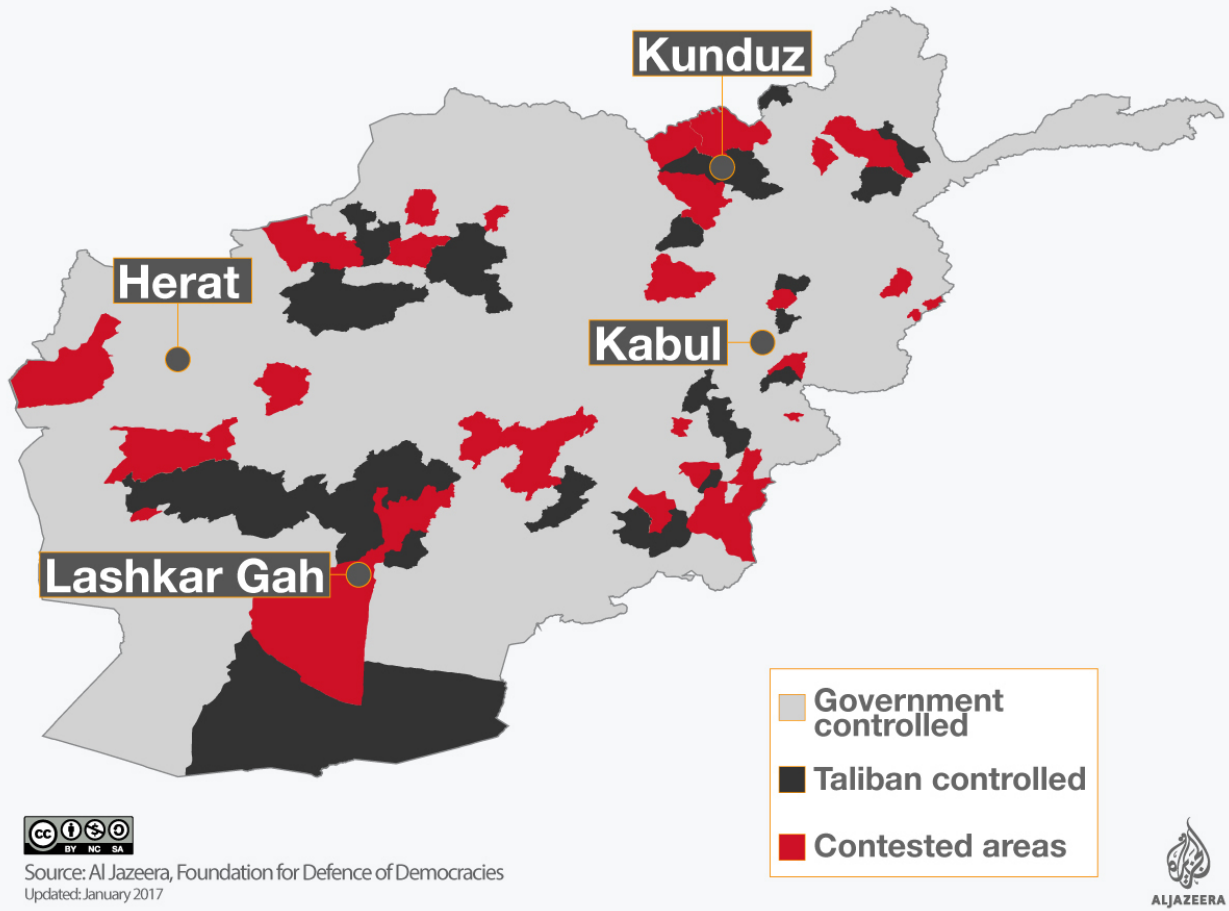
When Operation Zarb-e-Azb started, the TTP and their affiliated groups were completely eliminated from Pakistan's soil. Their safe havens continue to exist in Afghanistan, protected by Afghan intelligence and the government in Kabul,<sup>37 38</sup> but they have no capacity to carry out spectacular attacks in Pakistan. Additionally, with the success of the operation, tribesman have entered into agreements with the army to not allow these groups to return to their areas.

This is how an effective CT/COIN strategy is implemented.

<sup>37</sup> "U.S. Disrupts Afghan's Tack on Militants," Matthew Rosenberg, The New York Times, October 28, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/29/world/asia/us-disrupts-afghans-tack-on-militants.html>

<sup>38</sup> "Senior Pakistan Taliban captured in Afghanistan," Patrick Quinn, USA Today, October 11, 2013. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/10/11/pakistan-taliban-afghanistan/2965435/>

# Afghanistan: Who controls what



The Afghan governments have clearly shown they are unable to protect or reclaim their soil from armed insurgents,<sup>39</sup> simultaneously opening the door for more extreme groups, like the Islamic State – Khorasan<sup>40</sup>, to establish their roots and begin recruiting the remnants of al-Qaeda fighters still in Afghanistan.<sup>41</sup>

While speaking to analysts at CommandEleven, Lt. General (retired) Tariq Khan, the architect of Pakistan's CT/COIN strategy and former Corps Commander Mangla, shared his disappointment with General John Nicholson's, Commander U.S. Forces in Afghanistan, comments and the overall U.S. counter-terrorism strategy in the region.

<sup>39</sup> "Afghanistan: Who controls what," Shereena Qazi & Yamo Ritzen, Al Jazeera, January 24, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2016/08/afghanistan-controls-160823083528213.html>

<sup>40</sup> "Freedom is never free," Khalid Muhammad, The Nation, February 8, 2015, <http://nation.com.pk/blogs/08-Feb-2015/freedom-is-never-free>

<sup>41</sup> "The Islamic State in 'Khorasan': How it began and where it stands now in Nangarhar," Borhan Osman, Afghanistan Analysts Network, July 27, 2016. <https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-islamic-state-in-khorasan-how-it-began-and-where-it-stands-now-in-nangarhar/>

*"In December, he (Nicholson) participated in a photo shoot with the General Bajwa, Chief of Army Staff, praising Pakistan's war effort.<sup>42</sup> In February, he complained to the U.S. Congress that Pakistan was following its own agenda.<sup>43</sup> Though it's not much for an American to say one thing and do another, but the pattern has now become a national trait. So, what's the story, General, the part that impressed you was how we fight or the part in which you lose the war because of our agenda? And what, may I ask, is the US agenda, the good of Afghanistan and its people?"*

He went on to explain the U.S. strategy in Afghanistan:

*"The U.S. War on Terror has been a war in search of strategy since the day it came about. It involved a fluctuating number of NATO nations, who joined a fluid coalition under ISAF, that was commanded by the U.S. Here are some examples of its operational parameters and functional concepts:*

- 1. Get Pakistan to be the most allied Non-NATO country. What that means has escaped me up to now, other than Pakistan fights the U.S. war to the last Pakistani.*
- 2. Get Pakistan to maintain, secure and facilitate the Ground Lines of Communications (GLOC) from the Coast of Afghanistan. Promise them payment from Coalition Support Funds (CSF) for wear and tear but hold back payments to put 'pressure' on Pakistan to do more.*
- 3. Introduce a new constitution in Afghanistan that no one accepts. Announce Taliban have no future in Afghanistan and are not welcome.*
- 4. When the Taliban don't come in line, start with a bottoms-up approach – national integration.*
- 5. When that fails, start a top-down one, call it National Reconciliation.*
- 6. When that fails, start negotiations, when no one turns up for talks, ask Pakistan to facilitate negotiations.*
- 7. Since 2/3 of rural Afghanistan is controlled by Taliban, blame Pakistan for own tactical failures, knowing full well that Pakistan has cleared and managed 48,000 km<sup>2</sup> of space, secured 3500 lines of communication and established the writ of the government.*

*"I am now convinced that the U.S. has the unique distinction of being the only country in the world that first conjures up the threat, invents an enemy, goes to war against the fictional enemy and finally manages to lose that war single-handedly."*

The problem in Afghanistan doesn't trace to Rawalpindi, but sits firmly in Kabul's inability to take real action to secure their country themselves.

---

<sup>42</sup> "Commander U.S. Forces in Afghanistan calls on COAS Gen Bajwa," GEO News, January 9, 2017. <https://www.geo.tv/latest/126687-Commander-US-Forces-in-Afghanistan-calls-on-COAS-Gen-Bajwa>

<sup>43</sup> "U.S. Commander in Afghanistan Urges 'Holistic Review' of Pakistan Policy," Reuters, Voice of America, February 9, 2017. <http://www.voanews.com/a/us-afghanistan-review-pakistan-policy/3717381.html>

## ROGUE NUCLEAR STATE

Since the Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan's story became public, Pakistan has been linked with every emerging nuclear state. From North Korea to Saudi Arabia, Pakistan has been accused and implicated in selling nuclear secrets and weapons without proper IAEA or NPT safeguards followed. Simultaneously, the command and control of Pakistan's own nuclear weapons have been questioned, but due to reassurances by the Western capitals, those concerns were quickly quelled.

On numerous occasions, it has been suggested in the foreign media that a flat out purchase of Pakistan's nuclear weapons was also a possibility. In a 2008 Wall Street Journal article<sup>44</sup>, Bret Stephens suggests that Pakistan's democratic government could be convinced to sacrifice their nuclear capabilities<sup>45</sup> in return for a substantial payment. In his article, he suggests that the United States has accomplished this with other countries and should keep this on the table for Pakistan.

The Western media has kept Pakistan's nuclear program in focus<sup>46</sup> while turning a blind eye to longstanding issues that continue to plague the region, having the potential of pushing any conflict to the nuclear edge.<sup>47</sup>

The argument that the U.S. should stay out of the Kashmir dispute is unrealistic and a well-stated position from the Indian government.<sup>48</sup> Understanding that India & Pakistan both have the capability to ramp up any situation to the point of war<sup>49</sup>, staying out of Kashmir is a recipe for disaster. Haqqani cites the "1999 Kargil misadventure"<sup>50</sup> forgetting that Pakistan, according to India's own military commanders,<sup>51</sup> won.

---

<sup>44</sup> "Let's Buy Pakistan's Nukes," Bret Stephens, The Wall Street Journal, December 16, 2008. <https://www.wsj.com/news/articles/SB122939093016909205>

<sup>45</sup> "U.S. Exploring Deal to Limit Pakistan's Nuclear Arsenal," David E. Sanger, The New York Times, October 15, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/16/world/asia/us-exploring-deal-to-limit-pakistans-nuclear-arsenal.html>

<sup>46</sup> "The Pakistan Nuclear Nightmare," New York Times Editorial Board, The New York Times, November 7, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/08/opinion/sunday/the-pakistan-nuclear-nightmare.html>

<sup>47</sup> "India and Pakistan's Asymmetrical Nuclear Weapons Doctrines Raise the Risk of a Regional Nuclear War With Global Consequences," The Lyncean Group of San Diego, October 1, 2016. <http://www.lynceans.org/all-posts/india-and-pakistans-asymmetrical-nuclear-weapons-doctrines-raise-the-risk-of-a-regional-nuclear-war-with-global-consequences/>

<sup>48</sup> "India rejects U.S. mediation on Kashmir," Jawed Naqvi, DAWN, October 21, 2013. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1050752>

<sup>49</sup> "Why India Needs to Call Pakistan's nuclear bluff once and for all," Agency Rules, September 5, 2015. <http://www.agencyrules.com/india-should-call-pakistans-bluff/>

<sup>50</sup> "Kashmir: Choices before India," Dr. Shireen M Mazari, Defense Journal, September 1999, <http://www.defencejournal.com/sept99/kashmir-choices.htm>

<sup>51</sup> "Who won the Kargil War" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQBmiN5IFiE>



India has long held that the solution to Kashmir lies in negotiations between India and Pakistan, and no third party would be allowed to intervene.<sup>52</sup> The Indian goal has always been to keep their own atrocities in Kashmir quiet, while using their full media and diplomatic voice to decry the actions of those Kashmiris that live under their occupation. India has even refused to accept the United Nations resolution giving the Kashmiri people the right of self-determination.

Kashmir is the powder keg in the region, just like Palestine is in the Middle East.

While the world is concerned with Pakistan's nuclear program,<sup>53</sup> many have now started to point fingers at the inception of tactical nuclear weapons<sup>54</sup> and warheads that are able to deliver at significantly long-range<sup>55</sup> as an aggressive move by Pakistan's armed forces.

The concern with Pakistan's nuclear program is no longer centered in Delhi alone, but reached Tel Aviv<sup>56</sup>, when Shaheen III was successfully tested. Israel, however, sees the disintegration of Pakistan has a potential problem for both the Indian sub-continent and the Middle East.

With all the concern and bluster, Pakistan's nuclear program<sup>57</sup> is still more secure than India's.<sup>58</sup> The enhancements that completed the nuclear triad with Ababeel, a surface-to-surface nuclear-capable missile<sup>59</sup>, and Babar III, a nuclear capable submarine cruise missile<sup>60</sup>, has caused India's defense establishment to think more critically about their own arsenal and capabilities.

---

<sup>52</sup> "Third party has no role in Kashmir row: India to UK," Times of India, January 20, 2017. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/uk/third-party-has-no-role-in-kashmir-row-india-to-uk/articleshow/56677221.cms>

<sup>53</sup> "Nuclear Fears in South Asia," New York Times Editorial Board, The New York Times, April 6, 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/06/opinion/nuclear-fears-in-south-asia.html>

<sup>54</sup> "The Dangers of Pakistan's Tactical Nuclear Weapons," Sajid Farid Shapoo, The Diplomat, February 1, 2017. <http://thediplomat.com/2017/02/the-dangers-of-pakistans-tactical-nuclear-weapons/>

<sup>55</sup> "Pakistan has 130-140 nuclear weapons, converts F16 to deliver nukes, claims U.S. report," Times of India, November 19, 2016. <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/pakistan/Pakistan-has-130-140-nuclear-weapons-converts-F16-to-deliver-nukes/articleshow/55505529.cms>

<sup>56</sup> "Pakistan is the only Muslim Nuclear State so Why Is Israel's Hysteria Reserved for Iran?" Azriel Bermant, Haaretz, May 20, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/.premium-1.657319>

<sup>57</sup> "Indian nuclear security measures weaker than Pakistan's: Report," DAWN Newspaper, May 16, 2016. <http://www.dawn.com/news/1247276>

<sup>58</sup> "Just how secure are India and Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons," Ankit Panda, January 21, 2016. The Diplomat, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/01/just-how-secure-are-india-and-pakistans-nuclear-materials/>

<sup>59</sup> "Pakistan conducts first flight test of nuclear-capable 'Ababeel' missile," Indian Defense News, January 25, 2017, <http://www.indiandefensenews.in/2017/01/pakistan-conducts-first-flight-test-of.html>

<sup>60</sup> "Babur-3: Salient features of Pakistan's nuclear capable submarine cruise-missile," The Indian Express, January 10, 2017. <http://indianexpress.com/article/world/babur-3-salient-features-of-pakistans-nuclear-capable-submarine-cruise-missile-4466855/>

The days of Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan are gone. Pakistan's nuclear program was introduced to the world in 1998 when then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif pushed the button in response to an Indian nuclear test. Pakistan was immediately sanctioned for their test and declared a rogue nuclear state. Since then, Pakistan has worked to fully secure their nuclear materials and weapons, even during the height of the terrorist and insurgent uprising in Pakistan.

## POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

Prior to discussing the recommendations of the report, we wanted to highlight two items that cause serious concern for Pakistan and its citizens.

First, the researchers state *“that the Trump administration should make it clear in all forums that the U.S. issue is not with the Pakistani people or the Pakistani nation. Rather, Washington takes strong exception to specific policy choices by parts of the Pakistani government – chiefly the military and intelligence apparatus centered in Rawalpindi – that support the existence and activities of terrorist proxies.”* While simultaneously stating that *“the objective of the Trump administration’s policy toward Pakistan must be to make it more and more costly for Pakistani leaders to employ a strategy of supporting terrorist proxies to achieve regional strategic goals.”*

Two concepts that work at polar opposites from each other, including the suggestion that Pakistani politicians and military officials should be arrested in foreign countries, a direct violation of diplomatic protocols. The United States, itself, is not a member of the International Criminal Court (ICC), thus keeping their own military and politicians from being charged under terrorism or war crimes offenses. So, before the U.S. considers arresting any Pakistani politician or military officials, they should join the ICC, which is the correct forum for these concerns. The United States has no moral authority to judge any country after the atrocities of Abu Gharib, Bagram, and Guantanamo Bay.

Additionally, with the regular support of U.S. government, intelligence and military of insurgent groups, currently in Syria, the United States would need to change their own war policy before making the same claims against another. As a matter of fact, the CIA, in a 2012-2013 still-classified review, found that *“many past attempts by the agency to arm foreign forces covertly had a minimal impact on the long-term outcome of a conflict. They were even less effective when militias fought without any direct American support on the ground.”*<sup>61</sup>

The second concerning statement is *“the Trump administration must link U.S. policies toward Pakistan directly to U.S. objectives, especially in Afghanistan. The U.S. must find ways to limit Pakistan’s ability to frustrate U.S. goals in Afghanistan. Likewise, the U.S. must refuse to get involved in the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir and instead focus on diplomatically isolating Pakistan over its continued support to terrorist groups that attack India and have connections to international terrorism.”*

Let’s be clear in what the researchers are suggesting.

They would like Pakistan to operate as they did during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan – allow the United States to use their soil and military to achieve a military objective in Afghanistan, while leaving Pakistan to sort out the mess after the conflict is completed. The current Pakistani environment is due to Pakistan following this model in the past.

---

<sup>61</sup> “CIA Study of Covert Aid Fueled Skepticism About Helping Syrian Rebels,” Mark Mazzetti, October 14, 2014. The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/15/us/politics/cia-study-says-arming-rebels-seldom-works.html>

When General Pervez Musharraf was President of Pakistan, Pakistan was regularly accused of playing a double game with the United States. On one side, Pakistan's military was working closely with the U.S., NATO and ISAF to achieve certain military objectives in the region, but was being accused of being lax against other groups. The "do more" refrain was commonplace during President George W. Bush's administration due to this supposed duplicitous policy.

Pakistan must first consider its own national security interests. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to millions of Afghan refugees migrating to Pakistan, an internal civil war immediately after the Soviet withdrawal, and the massive influx of drugs and weapons across Pakistan's borders. The madrassahs and masjids, radicalized during the invasion, have continued to be resource funnels for the extremist and terrorist groups that operate in the region. Iran has even been linked to recruiting, training and sending young Pakistani Shia men to Syria to fight for Assad.

These are the national security implications that Pakistan faces today because it put U.S. and international interests above its own.

Can Pakistan again afford to make the same mistake?

## **U.S. EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN PAKISTAN'S MILITARY**

Another common Indian government refrain is that U.S. military aid is used against India, domestically and in Kashmir. The Hudson Institute report makes the same argument.

Since 9/11, all of the "military aid" has been part of the Coalition Support Fund (CSF), which repays the Pakistan armed forces for the equipment used to support ISAF in Afghanistan and the fight against terrorism inside Pakistan. This is a repayment, as Musharraf made clear to CNN's Fareed Zakaria.<sup>62</sup>

All of Pakistan's significant military resources have been directed at the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, IS – Khorasan, and other affiliated groups. Thereby, also being one of the reasons for the success of Operation Zarb-e-Azb and other domestic CT/COIN operations. Pakistan's military hardware is also put to use countering Indian Border Security Force (BSF) firings on the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir.

Any claims that U.S. aid is linked to aggression against India is based on assumptions and disinformation.

The Hudson Institute report puts forward certain policy recommendations for the Trump administration, which are also based on the same assumptions and disinformation.

The first recommendation is to **avoid viewing and portraying Pakistan as an ally.**

---

<sup>62</sup> President Musharraf speaks with Fareed Zakaria - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XIW2SKahw4s>

This has never really been a problem for the United States government. The White House, State Department and Defence Department have clearly declared their aversion to Pakistan at times, however they continue to work together due to the strategic objectives of both nations. As China's relationship continues to enhance and strengthen, and with Russia opening its diplomatic and military ties with Pakistan, the U.S. can ill afford to lose Pakistan's support. We do believe that these statements originate from the numerous military and intelligence sharing agreements recently signed with India. However, isolation will be more counter-productive to U.S. interests in the region than the strained relations.

It should also be clear that many Pakistanis view China as a better ally than the United States in great majority. Looking back at China's assistance to Pakistan, they have been both a fair-weather and tough friend that has always stood at Pakistan's back.

If the United States would like to demonstrate its commitment to Pakistan's national interests:

- They could pressure the Afghan government to act against the TTP safe havens within their borders.
- They could prosecute and re-patriate all public monies that have been laundered in the United States or through US banks, as the United States courts are better suited to the prosecution than Pakistan.
- They could refuse to allow Pakistani politicians to take safe haven from prosecution in their country, under the protection of their government.
- They could also follow through on President Trump's offer of mediating the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, giving it international significance.
- Or they could advise the U.S. Congress that Baluchistan is a part of Pakistan and no support will be provided to any attempts to make it an independent state.

President Trump could show his willingness to work closer with Pakistan by releasing the F-16s, held under the Pressler Amendment for the past decade to Pakistan, as a show of good faith.

The U.S. policy of "minimally satisfying" Pakistan to keep it on their side must be backed up with real action, otherwise they risk further straining the relations between both countries.

The second recommendation is to **prioritize engagement with Pakistan's civilian leaders and continue humanitarian and social assistance programs that are administered by Pakistan's civilian authorities.**

Pakistan's civilian leaders are regularly in contact with decision makers in all international capitals, but Pakistan's foreign policy, or lack thereof, has always been driven from Prime Minister's House.

Claims that Pakistan's military or intelligence services control foreign policy may have been true, but since the end of the Musharraf government, foreign policy has firmly been in the hands of the elected government. The military and intelligence services do have

input into foreign policy on national security grounds, as is true in every government of the world, but they do not dictate to the elected government.

The problem for the international community has been motivating Pakistan's elected representatives to put Pakistan's interests first. If the Hudson Institute could please list each of the social initiatives taken by civilian governments that have benefitted a large portion of the population, we would be very interested. As we have seen, every Pakistani politician goes abroad for education, medical, investment, commerce and real estate. When the politicians themselves don't use the resources in the country, how will they ever understand the difficulties to the people of Pakistan?

The second problem with this recommendation is the level of corruption that exists in Pakistan's government. Whether you are discussing the bureaucracy or the elected officials, no Pakistani believes that any aid provided ever reaches them directly.

Additionally, the U.S. government and Congress cannot be seen as supporting any attempts to break Pakistan, especially in the case of Baluchistan. In 2012, U.S. Congressmen Dana Rohrabacher, Louie Gohmert and Steve King introduced a resolution in the U.S. House of Representatives calling upon Pakistan to recognize the Baluch right to self-determination<sup>63</sup>, yet have shown nothing but silence on the same right for the Kashmiri people. This kind of support shows the Baluch insurgents fighting against the Pakistan Army that they have international support for their cause, as well as opening doors for foreign countries to finance and arm them.

Humanitarian and social programs must first be initiated before then can be continued. There are numerous USAID projects going on in Pakistan, but they are easily questioned because they are performing tasks that are the responsibility of the federal government, thus quickly quashed or attacked.

The trust deficit that exists between the people of Pakistan and the U.S. can only be improved if the US takes real action against those who have stolen and oppressed them with international support, in their opinion.

The United States created the phrase winning hearts and minds, perhaps they should implement that strategy in Pakistan.

The third recommendation - **Work through diplomacy with other countries, especially China and Gulf Arab states that share U.S. concerns about Pakistan's tolerance of terrorist organizations and individuals.**

There are only a few problems with this recommendation.

---

<sup>63</sup> "U.S. Congressman table bill for Baluch right to independence," Huma Imtiaz, The Express Tribune newspaper, February 18, 2012, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/338079/us-congressman-tables-resolution-calling-for-independence-of-baloch/>

First, the Gulf Arab states are some of the biggest financiers of the radicalization of Pakistan, not to mention international terrorism. In 2014, the Daily Beast<sup>64</sup>, DW<sup>65</sup>, and The Washington Institute<sup>66</sup> reported that Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia were major terrorism financiers.

In 2016, The National Interest<sup>67</sup>, Salon Magazine<sup>68</sup>, and DWN<sup>69</sup> reported it again.

Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington<sup>70</sup> and the Saudi Gazette<sup>71</sup> attempted to portray themselves in a better light, but to no avail,<sup>72</sup> when German Intelligence again proved that things had gotten significantly worse, not better.

Thereby, forgetting the Arab Gulf States as a potential influencer, especially with their long relationship in funding the extremist ideology in Pakistan itself.<sup>73 74</sup>

China has maintained a long relationship with Pakistan both economically and militarily. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and JF-17 fighter jet programs being proof. China has also been a core partner in helping to stabilize Afghanistan by giving guarantees to the Taliban of their support once peace was established. The government in

---

<sup>64</sup> "America's Allies are Funding ISIS," Josh Rogin, The Daily Beast, June 14, 2014, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/06/14/america-s-allies-are-funding-isis.html>

<sup>65</sup> "Who Finances ISIS?" Andreas Becker, DW, June 19, 2014, <http://www.dw.com/en/who-finances-isis/a-17720149>

<sup>66</sup> "Saudi Funding of ISIS," Lori Plotkin Boghardt, Washington Institute, June 23, 2014, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/saudi-funding-of-isis>

<sup>67</sup> "Obama is Right: The Gulf Arabs Ride Free on Terrorism," David Andrew Weinberg, National Interest, April 26, 2016. <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/obama-right-the-gulf-arabs-ride-free-terrorism-15945>

<sup>68</sup> "Saudi Arabia funds and exports Islamic extremism: The truth behind the toxic U.S. relationship with the theocratic monarchy," Ben Norton, Salon Magazine, January 7, 2016. [http://www.salon.com/2016/01/06/saudi\\_arabia\\_funds\\_and\\_exports\\_islamic\\_extremism\\_the\\_truth\\_behind\\_the\\_toxic\\_u\\_s\\_relationship\\_with\\_the\\_theocratic\\_nation/](http://www.salon.com/2016/01/06/saudi_arabia_funds_and_exports_islamic_extremism_the_truth_behind_the_toxic_u_s_relationship_with_the_theocratic_nation/)

<sup>69</sup> "British Parliament: Gulf States Financing ISIS Militants," DWN, July 14, 2016. <https://southfront.org/british-parliament-gulf-states-financing-isis-militants/>

<sup>70</sup> "Combating Terrorism Financing in the Gulf," Arab Gulf States Institute in Washington, January 2015, [http://www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/AGSIW\\_Combating-Terrorist-Financing-in-the-Gulf.pdf](http://www.agsiw.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/AGSIW_Combating-Terrorist-Financing-in-the-Gulf.pdf)

<sup>71</sup> "Gulf States: Terror economies and combating the financing of terrorism," Saudi Gazette, November 3, 2016. <http://saudigazette.com.sa/opinion/gulf-states-terror-economies-combating-financing-terrorism/>

<sup>72</sup> "Reported Leaked German Intelligence Report Links Saudi, Qatar, and Kuwait to Spread of Extremist Groups in Germany," CATF Reports, Consortium Against Terror Financing, December 29, 2016 <http://stopterrorfinance.org/stories/511064554-reported-leaked-german-intelligence-report-links-saudi-qatar-and-kuwait-to-spread-of-extremist-groups-in-germany>

<sup>73</sup> "WikiLeaks: Saudi Arabia, UAE funded extremist networks in Pakistan," Reuters, Express Tribune, May 22, 2011, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/173744/wikileaks-saudi-arabia-uae-funded-extremist-networks-in-pakistan/>

<sup>74</sup> "Hijacking National Identity," Xenia Rasul Khan Mahsud, Spearhead Research, January 23, 2017, <http://spearheadresearch.org/index.php/researchopinions/hijacking-national-identity>

Beijing<sup>75</sup> has also pushed Pakistan on numerous occasions to act against insurgents, as well as sectarian groups taking cover in Punjab.<sup>76 77</sup>

The problem for the Trump administration is their own relationship with China. China is facing a potential conflict in the South China Sea with the U.S. military. China has been a regular target for President Trump, even as a candidate, not hesitating to criticize on trade and perceived expansionist attempts, could make diplomacy very difficult for this White House.

If the U.S. intended to use Saudi Arabia to pressure Pakistan, the Saudi relationship with Wahhabism and terror financing would make that a very difficult task. Also, with the possibility of lawsuits from 9/11 victims being filed against Saudi Arabia in the United States, the relationship with the Saudis could become even more tense in months to come.

Pakistan's government needs to be incentivized to develop and implement a counter-extremism/radicalization action plan from the grassroots to the national level. The ideology of violence is deeply embedded in many Pakistanis, no matter their socio-economic level.

A real strategy would include:

- respected Islamic scholars from all schools of thought
- heavy push media campaigns including talk shows
- madrassah and educational reforms to standardize the teaching of Islam in Pakistan
- creation of an information resource for all Pakistanis to be able to understand what has happened and what they can do as individuals to counter it, without putting their lives at risk.

This must start at the grassroots and spread, otherwise the ideology cannot be eliminated.

The next few recommendations in the Hudson Institute report center around one concept – **aligning Pakistan's counter-terrorism objectives with the U.S.**

Again, we are forced to remind the United States of our own counter-terrorism objectives, both while ISAF forces are in Afghanistan and when they leave. For those objectives to be properly linked with U.S. objectives, there must be a better understanding of which tactics are effective.

---

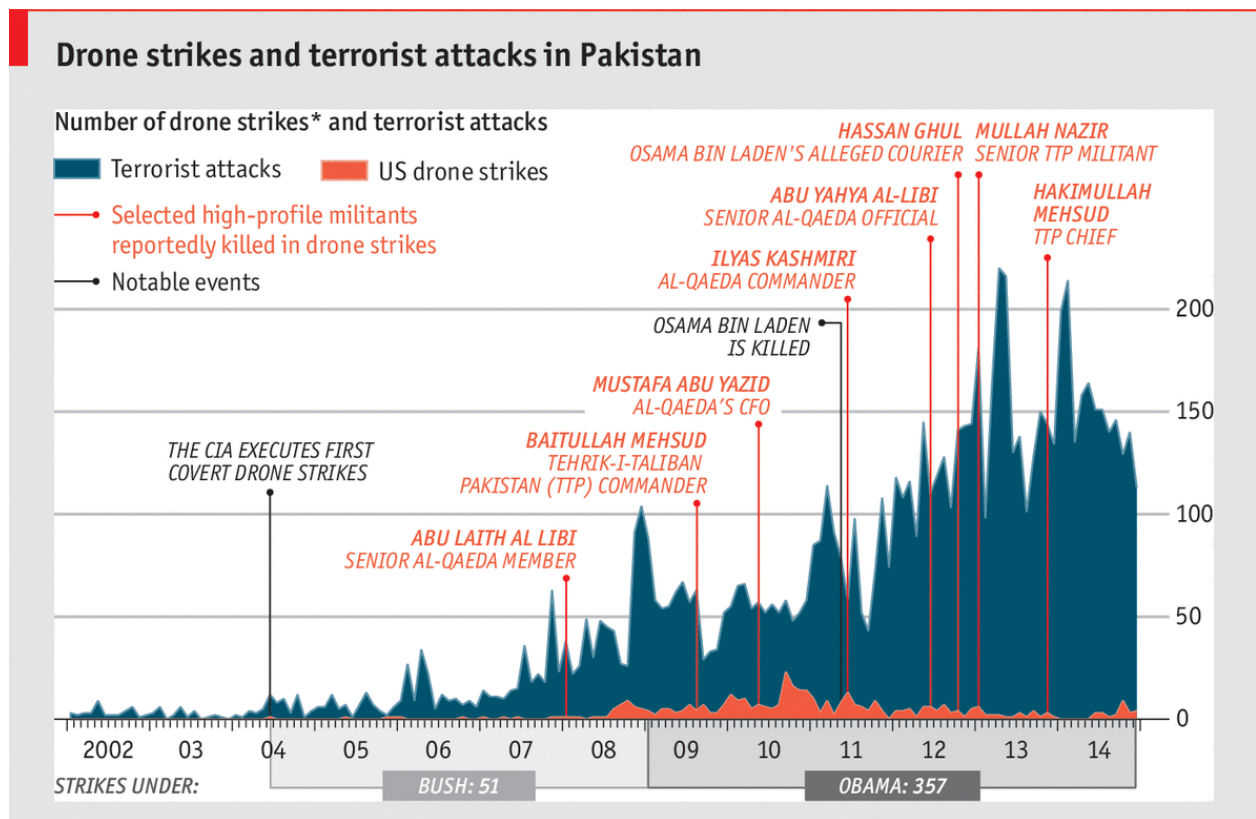
<sup>75</sup> "China reiterates support to Pakistan in countering terrorism," GEO News, February 8, 2017. <https://www.geo.tv/latest/130316-China-reiterates-support-to-Pakistan-in-countering-terrorism>

<sup>76</sup> "After Hafiz Saeed 'arrest', China sends top counterterror official to Pakistan," Ananth Krishnan, India Today, February 3, 2017. <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/hafiz-saeed-arrest-china-counter-terrorism-pakistan-jamaat-ud-dawa/1/873868.html>

<sup>77</sup> "Pakistan's Terror Machinery Under International Pressure, China Lone Savior – Analysis," Bhaskar Roy, EurAsian Review, February 15, 2017. <http://www.eurasiareview.com/15022017-pakistans-terror-machinery-under-international-pressure-china-lone-savior-analysis/>



In terms of drone strikes, which the Hudson report advocates, it needs to be clarified again that they are not counterproductive to the reduction of terrorism and extremism in Pakistan, but the unilateral employment of drone warfare is an issue of legality and morality. While drones are more precise and accurate than a fighter jet, equipped with sophisticated weaponry, the unilateral usage creates problems domestically in the Pakistan’s fight against terrorism, turning public opinion against the government and the military. Most of the drone strikes carried out in Pakistan’s FATA region have killed a significant number of terrorists.



Enforcing U.S. counter-terrorism conditions on Pakistan has already shown its results with the blocked funding of an F-16 sale, which would have been used in the CT/COIN operations. Pakistan is also still suffering from the effects of the Pressler Amendment in regards to a previous F-16 sale. Additionally, linking more focused U.S.-sponsored counter-terrorism activities will lose the significant gains made by the armed forces in terms of public opinion and belief that the War on Terror is our war.

Two of the recommendations made by the Hudson Institute are very interesting. In one recommendation, they state that **Pakistan must be given a calibrated list of actions to distance themselves from the Afghan Taliban and Haqqani Group, while doing everything they can to influence the Taliban to return to the negotiating table with the Afghan government.**

Pakistan, as previously stated, is already working with Russia and China to bring the Taliban to the negotiating table. This trifecta has the U.S. concerned. If China, Russia and Pakistan maintain strong influence in Afghanistan, the U.S. and ISAF stabilization efforts will be lost, as will billions in Indian investments. But if Pakistan can be convinced to leave

the trifacta and distance themselves from the Taliban, U.S. interests, and natural resource deposits, in Afghanistan will be protected.

## CONCLUSION

While the Hudson Institute does an admirable job presenting both U.S. and Indian interests for Pakistan, it hasn't taken Pakistan's own interests and national security objectives into account, which is disappointing with a former ambassador heading the panel.

Pakistan is an emerging economy<sup>78</sup>, gaining strength each day<sup>79</sup>. With the investment and confidence of China with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the economic growth and stability of Pakistan is becoming a more achievable objective.

China's weathered relationship with Pakistan does provide it with diplomatic influence in Islamabad, no matter which section of the government is the audience. Their continued involvement with Pakistan on CPEC will give them the ability to influence, or undertake, solutions to Pakistan's core problems.

Additionally, Russian interest in a stronger relationship with Pakistan has also bolstered Islamabad's confidence. With new military and diplomatic initiatives being discussed, Islamabad has found another partner that provides diplomatic strength and influence in all circles of government.

The U.S. must work harder with Pakistanis to understand their trust deficit, if they truly wish to make a difference in the country. Rather than focus on the government and NGO representatives, U.S. officials need to arrange town hall meetings with citizen groups all over Pakistan to understand what the average Pakistani thinks.

If President Trump wants to affect real change in the relationship with Pakistan, the best course of action is to consider our recommendations and ground realities.

Both Pakistan and the United States have a long history dating back to the Cold War era. Pakistan, as a nation, expected a great deal more from our American partners, but this has not been the America, Pakistan has known for years.

It was not the Afghan military, who saved the U.S. Marines in Somalia, it was Pakistan. It was Pakistan that joined the First Gulf War, supporting the U.S., with over 20,000 soldiers and fighter pilots.

The military leadership must settle their differences to face and defeat the common enemy, i.e. global terrorism.

General Stanley McChrystal, Admiral Eric Olson, and General James Mattis, among other members of the U.S. military command, have tried to bridge the gaps between the United

---

<sup>78</sup> "17 Predictions for Pakistan's Economy in 2017," Wali Zahid, The Express Tribune, January 17, 2017. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1297634/17-predictions-pakistans-economy-2017/>

<sup>79</sup> "Pakistan could become the 16<sup>th</sup> largest economy by 2050: PWC," Dilawar Hussain, Dawn, February 9, 2017

States and Pakistan by working with Pakistan's military leadership, but those efforts have been overshadowed with sanctions, embargos, and a deep mistrust.

Pakistan and the U.S. must settle their differences, if they are truly going to be partners in Afghanistan's stabilization. But the conflict that arises from false perceptions has made cooperation in the Global War on Terror difficult, if not impossible.

#### ABOUT COMMANDELEVEN

CommandEleven is a research organization focused on Pakistan's national security aspects and enhancing global understanding and collaboration opportunities for the nation.

Founded in 2015, CommandEleven provides situational awareness to facilitate a better understanding of the key dynamics that effect Pakistan from a national security perspective, especially in relation to terrorism, insurgencies and extremism.

CommandEleven seeks to inform and guide public policy and decision makers in government, business and military through a rigorous program of publications, conferences, digital medias, policy briefings and recommendations.

Visit <http://commandeleven.com> for more information or contact [info@commandeleven.com](mailto:info@commandeleven.com).