



Combating Terrorism Center
at West Point



Afghanistan-Pakistan Reading File

An Overview of Actors, their Interests, Key Challenges and Security Dynamics

1 July 2010

Afghanistan and Pakistan Reading Syllabus

Section I: Historic Context for Current Events in Afghanistan and Pakistan

A) Afghanistan: A Historic Battleground for State Interests and a Review of Tribal Context

The Great Game: British-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia (1800s-1900s)

- Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia*, Kodansha International (New York), 1994, "Prologue," pp. 1-9.

Description: This chapter is the introduction to the definitive book on the Great Game in Central Asia. It sets the historical context for inter-state rivalry in Afghanistan.

Anti-Soviet Jihad (1979-1989)

- William Maley, *The Afghanistan Wars*, Palgrave Macmillan (London), 2009, Chapter 3 "The Development of the Afghan Resistance," pp. 48-70.

Description: This article provides a review of internal factors leading to popular mobilization in Afghanistan. It also explores how Pakistan and other international actors came to support the Afghan resistance.

- Barnett Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, Yale University Press, 1995, Chapter 11, "Mujahidin after Soviet Withdrawal," pp. 247-265.

Description: This article describes the disintegration of the Afghan insurgency after the departure of Soviet forces in 1989. It also assesses local and international attempts to restructure and use the Afghan insurgency for their own interests.

- Shah M. Tarzai, "Politics of the Afghan Resistance Movement: Cleavages, Disunity and Fragmentation," Vol. 31, No. 6, June 1991, pp. 479-495.

Description: This article examines the impact of the traditional cleavages in shaping the politics of the Afghan resistance. It also aims to discern the role of: 1) the split within the Afghan resistance along an internal-external axis (as opposed to fundamentalist vs. moderate) and 2) the problem of leadership within the resistance movement.

Taliban Period (1994-2001)

- Ahmed Rashid, "The Taliban: Exporting Extremism," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1999, Vol. 78, No. 6, pp. 22-35.

Description: Written by veteran Pakistani journalist, Ahmed Rashid, this article is arguably the best article on the Taliban and its relationship with Osama bin Laden prior to 2001. This article also explores how the Taliban have the potential to destabilize the Central / South Asia region. It is a must read.

- Barnett Rubin, "Afghanistan under the Taliban," *Current History*, Vol. 98, No. 625, February 1999, pp. 79-91.

Description: This article provides good background on the Taliban movement during the 1990s. It also discusses external support for the Taliban and the geopolitical climate and interests of various state actors in Afghanistan at the time.

- Anthony Davis, "Foreign Fighters Step up Activity in Afghan Civil War," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, 1 August 2001.

Description: This article is the most comprehensive, open-source assessment of foreign fighter activity in Afghanistan and the relationship between these fighters and local forces. It is insightful as it was published one month prior to the 9/11 attacks.

Suggested

- Anthony Davis, "How the Taliban became a Military Force," in William Maley, ed, *Fundamentalism Reborn: Afghanistan and the Taliban*, New York University Press, 1998.

Description: This article, written before 9/11, is one of the best written about the emergence of the Taliban during the mid 1990s and its military transformation, from a bunch of students studying in Deobandi madari (pl. madrassas) in Pakistan to a military force who eventually captured Kabul.

B) Geopolitics, Principal State Actors and their Interests in Afghanistan Today

Overview

- Shiza Shahid, "Engaging Regional Players in Afghanistan: Threats and Opportunities," Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 2009, http://csis.org/files/publication/091124_afghan_players.pdf

Description: This report defines the role and interests of regional players in Afghanistan and Pakistan – primarily China, India, Iran, Russia and Saudi Arabia – in promoting stability in the region. It specifically explores where these interests are in tension, and what each of these actors can bring to the table to promote regional integration and reconstruction efforts. It also looks at how these actors can be incentivized to play a more positive role.

Pakistan

- See “Section III – Pakistan” below for Articles

India

- Jayshree Bajoria, “India-Afghanistan Relations,” CFR Backgrounder, 22 July 2009, http://www.cfr.org/publication/17474/indiaafghanistan_relations.html.

Description: This backgrounder outlines India’s interests in Afghanistan and relations between the two countries in the post 2001 period. It also explores Pakistan’s concerns about India’s role in Afghanistan.

- Sumit Ganguly and Nicholas Howenstein, “India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan,” *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1, Fall/Winter 2009.

Description: This article also defines India’s interests in Afghanistan and investigates this issue through the lens of inter-state competition between India and Pakistan. It is an important piece of work to understand Pakistan’s motivations and support for the Taliban today.

Iran

- Barnett Rubin, “The US and Iran in Afghanistan: A Policy Gone Awry,” Massachusetts Institute of Technology, October 2008, <http://www.cic.nyu.edu/afghanistan/docs/US%20&%20Iran%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf>

Description: This article reviews the United States’ tenuous relationship with Iran regarding Afghanistan. It argues that this confrontation has served the interests of the Pakistani military, Taliban and al-Qa`ida and that re-establishing the basis for U.S.-Iranian cooperation in Afghanistan would provide significant additional leverage over Pakistan.

Suggested

- Michael Rubin, “Understanding Iranian Strategy in Afghanistan,” Paper Presented to the Royal Danish Defense College and RAND, 14 June 2007, http://www.aei.org/docLib/20070801_RubinRDDCspeech.pdf.

Description: In this speech Michael Rubin provides an overview of Iran’s ties to Afghanistan. He also argues that Iran’s interests and actions are guided by pragmatism.

United States

- “White Paper of the Interagency Policy Group's Report on U.S. Policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan,” White House, March 2009, http://www.whitehouse.gov/assets/documents/Afghanistan-Pakistan_White_Paper.pdf

Description: This report, released by the Obama administration in 2009, defines core U.S. interests and objectives in Afghanistan. It also provides a number of recommendations to guide our policy and way forward.

- “Afghanistan Still Crucial to US Interests, Obama Says,” *American Forces Press Service*, 28 June 2010, <http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=59800>.

Description: In this press statement President Obama articulates the United States’ commitment to Afghanistan over the long-term and re-affirms the interest outlined in the document above.

C) Understanding Afghanistan’s Tribal and Cultural Context

- Hayder Mili and Jacob Townsend, “Tribal Dynamics in the Afghanistan and Pakistan Insurgencies,” *CTC Sentinel*, August 2009, <http://www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/CTCSentinel-Vol2Iss8.pdf>.

Description: This article focuses on the intersection of tribalism and insurgency. It provides a history of the three major Pashtun confederations in Afghanistan and Pakistan; examines how the Haqqani network and global jihadists have exploited Pashtun tribalism; and identifies how tribal militias have recently been used to combat the Taliban in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

- “‘My Cousin’s Enemy is My Friend: A Study of Pashtun ‘Tribes’ in Afghanistan’,” Afghanistan Research Reachback Center White Paper, TRADOC G2, United States Army, September 2009.

Description: This report consists of two main parts: the first part is an overview of the existing historical and anthropological research on Pashtun “tribes” in Afghanistan, and the second part examines how “tribes” behave in Afghanistan.

- Thomas Ruttig, “How Tribal are the Taliban,” Afghanistan Analysts Network, April 2010.

Description: This article aims to clarify the often complex forces that shape the Afghan Taleban movement. It explores several central questions, including the following: Are the Taleban a Pashtun tribal or even nationalist force or are they, as they claim to be, supra-ethnic Islamists who do not acknowledge tribal, ethnic and linguistic differences but ‘only know Muslims’?

- Thomas Barfield, “Afghan Customary Law and its Relationship to Formal Judicial Institutions,” U.S. Institute of Peace, 26 June 2003, <http://www.usip.org/files/file/barfield2.pdf>

Description: This report explains the concept of Pashtunwali – a cultural and tribal code that guides the Pashtuns way of life. It also discusses how Pashtunwali and other cultural practices are used as indigenous dispute resolution mechanisms.

Section II – Afghanistan’s Security Challenges

A) Militant Landscape Post 9/11 – Non-State Actors and State Proxies

Overview

- Seth Jones, “The Rise of Afghanistan’s Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad,” *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4, Spring 2008.

Description: In this overview article Seth Jones examines why the Afghan insurgency began. In doing so, it also examines governance problems in Afghanistan and provides an assessment of the ideological motivations of a number of Afghan insurgent groups.

- Thomas Ruttig, “The Other Side: Dimensions of the Afghan Insurgency: Causes, Actors and Approaches to ‘Talks’,” Afghanistan Analysts Network, July 2009.

Description: This article, written by one of the world’s foremost experts on Afghanistan and the Taliban, is the most concise break-down of the major insurgent actors driving the Afghan insurgency. It is a must read.

- Oxford Analytica, “Insurgency Operates at Multiple Levels,” *Global Strategic Analysis*, 30 September 2008.

Description: This short policy-focused article argues that the insurgency in Afghanistan differs significantly from the insurgency waged by the Taliban during the 1994-2001 period. It identifies changes in tactics, command structures and ideology – operating in local, regional and global theaters of operations simultaneously as being the most important.

Principal Insurgent Actors

- Quetta Shura Taliban (QST)
 - Jeffrey Dressler and Carl Forsberg, “The Quetta Shura Taliban in Southern Afghanistan: Organization, Operations and Shadow Governance,” *Backgrounders*, Institute for the Study of War, 21 December 2009.

Description: This backgrounder provides an overview of the Quetta Shura Taliban’s organization, objectives and strategy.

- Gilles Dorransoro, “The Taliban’s Winning Strategy in Afghanistan,” *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, June 2009.

Description: In this report Gilles Dorransoro addresses three questions: 1) what is the nature of the Taliban organization?; 2) how does the insurgency exploit key social and

political issues?; and 3) how does the insurgency adapt its strategy to various local conditions? Dorronsoro also presents an alternative strategy for the Obama administration.

- Gulbuddin Hekmatyar / Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin (HiG)
 - “Terrorist Group Profile: Hizb-e-Islami Gulbuddin,” CENTRA Technology, 15 November 2006.
Description: This profile explores the historical trajectory of veteran Afghan mujahidin commander Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and assesses the evolution of Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin, an organization which he leads. It also assesses how the HiG uses media and the Internet to craft and propagate its messages, and to conduct recruiting and fundraising.
 - Carlotta Gall, “Insurgent Faction Presents Afghan Peace Plan,” *New York Times*, 23 March 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/24/world/asia/24afghan.html>.
Description: This newspaper article presents information about the HiG’s reported attempt to reconcile with the Afghan government.
- Haqqani Network (HQN)
 - Vahid Brown, “Jalaluddin Haqqani and the Haqqani Network: A Backgrounder,” Combating Terrorism Center, unpublished, August 2009.
Description: This backgrounder is the most focused review of the evolution and trajectory of Jalaluddin Haqqani and the Haqqani network, from the 1970s to today. It also addresses the transition in Haqqani network leadership from Jalaluddin to his son Sirajuddin.
 - Anand Gopal, “The Most Deadly US Foe in Afghanistan,” *Christian Science Monitor*, 1 June 2009, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2009/0601/p10s01-wosc.html>.
Description: This article explores the deadly, important and increasing sophisticated role that the Haqqani network plays in the Afghan insurgency today.
 - Matthew Cole, “Killing Ourselves in Afghanistan,” *Salon.com*, 10 March 2008, <http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2008/03/10/taliban>.
Description: This article is based on interviews with Haqqani and other Taliban commanders and it best captures how the Haqqani network occupies a nexus position between local, regional and global jihadist actors. It also reveals the nefarious activity of Pakistan’s intelligence services.

- Al-Qa`ida (AQ)
 - Matthew Rosenberg and Siobhan Gorman, "Al-Qaeda's Diminished Role Stirs Afghan Troop Debate," *Wall Street Journal*, 5 October 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125469118585462615.html>.
Description: This article looks at al-Qa`ida's limited presence and "diminishing role" inside Afghanistan. This article is thought-provoking on one level, but it also reveals that we lack proper metrics to assess al-Qa`ida's local role in Afghanistan. For example, just because al-Qa`ida doesn't have a heavy presence in Afghanistan does not mean that they are not being impactful in shaping the direction and contours of militancy there.
 - Barbara Sude, "Al-Qaeda Central: An Assessment of the Threat Posed by the Terrorist Group Headquartered on the Afghanistan-Pakistan Border," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, February 2010.
Description: This article, written by a 20-year veteran of the CIA, is the best review of al-Qa`ida and its role in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region. It is a must read.
- Uzbek Groups – Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)
 - Guido Steinberg, "A Turkish al-Qaeda: The Islamic Jihad Union and the Internationalization of Uzbek Jihadism," *Strategic Insights*, July 2008.
Description: This report is the best base-line profile of the Islamic Jihad Union. It describes the IJU's emergence, its operations, media and its relations with al-Qa`ida, the Haqqani network and the Taliban more broadly.
 - Susanne Koelbl, "German Soldiers Face New Enemy in Kunduz," *Der Spiegel Online*, 12 April 2010, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,688434,00.html>.
Description: This article describes the opening of a Taliban front in the northern Afghan province of Kunduz and the role Uzbek militant groups are playing to support the Taliban's expansion.
 - Jeremy Binnie and Joanna Wright, "The Evolving Role of Uzbek-led Fighters in Afghanistan and Pakistan," *CTC Sentinel*, August 2009.
Description: This article updates the profile written by Guido Steinberg above and is the best reflection of the IJU and IMU's current role in Pakistan and Afghanistan.
- Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)
 - Adam Entous, "US Sees Hand of Elite Iranian Unit in Afghanistan," *Reuters*, 21 September 2009, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN21522027>.

Description: This news article discusses the suspected role of Iran's IRGC in Afghanistan and the significance and implications associated with Iranian marked weapons, such as Explosively Forced Penetrators, found in Afghanistan.

- Chris Zambelis, "Is Iran Supporting the Insurgency in Afghanistan," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 7, Iss. 33, 6 November 2009, http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35708&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=26&cHash=33b7fc4e83

Description: This article also explores Iran's stake in Afghanistan and evidence indicating that the IRGC is providing lethal aid to the Taliban.

B) Other Dimensions of the Insurgency

Corruption, Development and Local Governance: A Major Trust Deficit

- Thomas Harding, "Afghanistan Police Corruption is Fueling Insurgency," *Telegraph*, 3 June 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/7801459/Afghanistan-police-corruption-is-fuelling-insurgency.html>.

Description: This article is based off on an interview with a commanding officer in charge of training the Afghan National Police. The officer discusses how widespread corruption in the Afghanistan police is driving people to join the Taliban and is fuelling the insurgency.

- Matthias Gebauer and Carsten Volkery, "Corruption in Afghanistan: UN Report Claims Bribes Equal to a Quarter of GDP," *Der Spiegel Online*, 19 January 2010, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,672828,00.html>

Description: This article discusses the depth of the corruption problem in Afghanistan. According to the UN report it reviews, 59 percent of Afghan citizens point to corruption, not security, as the greatest problem facing the country.

- USAID, "An Assessment of Corruption in Afghanistan," March 2009.

Description: This comprehensive report provides a brief overview of USG interests and efforts to counter corruption in Afghanistan. It specifically assesses anti-corruption issues and opportunities and provides recommendations to improve future programming.

- "Report on Progress Toward Stability and Security in Afghanistan, January 2009," http://www.cfr.org/publication/19109/report_on_progress_toward_security_and_stability_in_afghanistan_january_2009.html.

Description: This article provides a brief summary of the Department of Defense's congressionally mandated report on progress and stability in Afghanistan. It describes the deteriorating security situation and finds that the Taliban "has coalesced into a resilient and evolving insurgency." It is useful as it is a baseline product from which one can assess change.

- Manija Gardizi, Karen Hussman and Yama Torabi, "Corrupting the State or State-Crafted Corruption? Exploring the Nexus between Corruption and Sub-national Government," Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, June 2010.

Description: This report, produced by an independent Afghan research institute in Kabul, discusses the implications of corruption when viewed from a local perspective. It describes state-building challenges and the nexus between corruption, power, and sub-national governance.

- Mike Mount, "Taliban Governs Afghanistan from the Shadows," *CNN*, 19 February 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/02/18/analysis.afghanistan.shadow.governors/index.html>

Description: This is a short article about the Taliban's shadow-government system in Afghanistan.

Terrorist Financing and the Nexus between Crime and Insurgency: Sustaining the Insurgency?

- Catherine Collins and Ashraf Ali, "Financing the Taliban: Tracing the Dollars Behind the Insurgencies in Afghanistan and Pakistan," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, April 2010.

Description: This policy paper provides an assessment of the Taliban's connection to the opium trade and the involvement of other insurgent actors in criminal activity. It argues that understanding the broad nature of how the insurgency is financed on both sides of the border is essential to identifying the points at which pressure can be applied to reduce the Taliban's financial resources and ultimately starve it and its associates of the funds they need to continue their fight.

- Issam Ahmed, "New Taliban Code: Don't Kill Civilians, Don't Take Ransom," *Christian Science Monitor*, 31 July 2009, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2009/0731/p06s19-wosc.html>.

Description: This news article discusses the release of the Taliban's new code of conduct. The Taliban's new codebook has largely been interpreted as an attempt to exert control over unruly sub-commanders, streamline the flow of drug and other criminal funds and as an attempt to improve relations with ordinary Afghans. Unfortunately, the USG rarely uses this document to hold the Taliban to its own, publically released standards.

- Abdul Hameed Bakier, "Taliban Spokesman Discusses Relations with al-Qaeda and Opium Production in Afghanistan," *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol. 8, Iss. 25, 24 June 2010, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=36526&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=7&cHash=301094cd9d.

Description: This article summarizes an interview with Taliban spokesman Qari Yusuf Ahmadi. It typifies the Taliban's denials of any association with the opium industry and discusses the Taliban's relationship with al-Qa`ida and the impact of recent Taliban leader arrests in Pakistan.

Strategic Communications in Afghanistan and Pakistan: A Poor Track Record

- Greg Bruno, "Winning the Information War in Afghanistan and Pakistan," CFR Backgrounder, 11 May 2009, www.cfr.org/publication/19330/winning_the_information_war_in_afghanistan_and_pakistan.html.

Description: This article provides a brief overview of the Taliban's media machine and our efforts to develop an effective strategic communications program to counter these messages. It also discusses some of the main findings made in the International Crisis Group report below.

- International Crisis Group, "Taliban Propaganda: Winning the War of Words?," July 2008.

Description: This report, the most comprehensive of its kind, provides an analysis of the Taliban's messages and the various platforms (i.e. websites, night letters, DVDs, etc.) through which the Taliban communicates to varied audiences. Policy recommendations are also included.

- Daniel Kimmage, "Al Qaeda Central and the Internet," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, March 2009.

Description: This report is the most concise and up-to-date review of al-Qa`ida's media strategy to include the activity of its primary media production company as-Sahab and its relationship with key Arabic-language jihadist forums and distribution outlets.

Section III – Pakistan

A) State Formation, Security Interests and the Ties between Major State Players and Militancy

State Formation

- Stephen Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Brookings Institution Press (Washington, D.C.), 2004, Chapter 1, "The Idea of Pakistan," pp. 15-39.

Description: This chapter briefly explores Pakistan's historical roots and the role of key figures, such as Pakistan's first Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and events that led to the idea and eventual creation of Pakistan. It provides an essential snapshot of how Pakistan came to be.

South Asia's Security Dilemma, Kashmir and Pakistan's Security Interests in Afghanistan

- Lowell Dittmer, "South Asia's Security Dilemma," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 41, No. 6, November/December 2001, pp. 897-906.

Description: This paper explains South Asia's Security Dilemma through the issue of Kashmir and India and Pakistan's attainment of nuclear weapons. Understanding South Asia's security dilemma is essential to understanding the contours of militancy in the region today.

- Sumit Ganguly, "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Fall 1996, pp. 76-107.

Description: This article provides a detailed account of the historical origins of the Kashmir insurgency, placing it within the context of Indo-Pakistani relations and regional security.

- Frederic Grare, "Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations in a Post 9/11 Era," Carnegie Papers, Number 72, October 2006, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp72_grare_final.pdf.

Description: This article narrows the issues raised in the first paper in this section and explores how South Asia's security dynamic plays out in Afghanistan, given Pakistan's security concerns vis-à-vis India. It defines Pakistan's interests in Afghanistan and the country's role in helping to enable the Afghan insurgency. It also addresses the issue of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan regarding such issues as Pashtunistan.

- Jane Perlez, Eric Schmitt and Carlotta Gall, "Pakistan is Said to Pursue Afghan Foothold," *New York Times*, 24 June 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/25/world/asia/25islamabad.html>.

Description: This news article narrows the focus even more and explores how Pakistan is trying to shape Afghanistan's political landscape in 2010 through the use of militant proxies.

State Actors: their Role in the Afghan Insurgency and Historical Support for Militant Organizations

Overview

- Bruce Riedel, "Pakistan and Terror: The Eye of the Storm," *AAPPS*, 618, July 2008.

Description: This article discusses Pakistan's historic support for jihadist actors in Afghanistan and Kashmir over the course of three decades and how fear of India is driving the Pakistani Army's pursuit of these relationships. It also highlights the likelihood that Pakistan's support for these militants will blowback and create additional security problems for the country.

- Seth Jones, "Pakistan's Dangerous Game," *Survival*, Vol. 49, No. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 15-31.

Description: This article provides an overview of Pakistan's current support for the Taliban in Afghanistan. It also explores ways in which the United States and the NATO Coalition can incentivize Pakistan to reduce their support for the Taliban.

Role of Pakistan's Army

- Shuja Nawaz, "Pakistan's Security Complex," in Magnus Norell, ed, "Militancy in the Pakistani Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Afghanistan," Swedish Research Defense Establishment, FOI-R-2727-SE, February 2010.

Description: This article provides an overview of the role the Pakistani Army plays in the country. It describes the nature and footprint of the Army as well as a number of challenges which it faces.

Role of the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI)

- Shaun Gregory, "The ISI and the War on Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 30, No. 12., pp. 1013-1031.

Description: This article explores the nature of the ISI and its aims and objectives in the post-9/11 era. It argues that the focus of the ISI's actions are to shore up Pakistan's ruling elite and to destabilize Pakistan's enemies by the promotion of Sunni Islamism at home and of pan-Islamist jihad abroad. The ISI's strategy, however, deeply conflicts with that of the West, a point underlined by the resurgence of al Qa`ida and the Taliban almost six years after the War on Terrorism began.

- Matt Waldman, "The Sun in the Sky: The Relationship between Pakistan's ISI and Afghan Insurgents," *Discussion Paper 18*, Crisis States Research Centre, June 2010.

Description: This provocative article is based off of field interviews with Taliban commanders in Afghanistan. It provides useful evidence that the ISI is actively supporting the Taliban by providing materiel, logistics, field advice and protection in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Numerous Taliban commanders even claimed that the ISI is even has representation on the Quetta Shura, the Taliban's supreme decision-making body.

B) Islamism, the Role of Religious Communities in Pakistan and Public Perceptions of Militancy

Islamism in Pakistan

- Joshua T. White, "Pakistan's Islamist Frontier: Islamist Policy and U.S. Policy in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier," Center on Faith and International Affairs 2008.

Description: This monograph examines in historical perspective the interaction between Islamic politics and the state in the Frontier, paying particular attention to the NWFP proper and the nearby settled-tribal border regions. It seeks to provide a framework for understanding the religious and political dynamics which are critical to the development of any successful U.S. strategy in the Frontier.

- Hussain Haqqani, "Pakistan and the Islamists," *Current History*, Vol. 106, No. 699, April 2007, pp. 147-152.

Description: This article, written by Pakistan's current Ambassador to the United States, explores the relationship between former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Islamist political factions in the country; many of which have deep ties with the Taliban and a mix of domestic jihadist groups.

Islamism, Militancy and Pakistani Public Opinion

- "Pakistani Public Opinion: Growing Concerns about Extremism, Continuing Discontent with U.S." Pew Global Attitudes Project, 13 August 2009, <http://pewglobal.org/2009/08/13/pakistani-public-opinion/>.

Description: This survey gauges Pakistani popular grievances about the state of their country and problems that affect it. It finds that support for al-Qa`ida and the Taliban declined significantly from 2008 to 2009 and that crime and terrorism in the country are seen as major problems.

- Jacob Shapiro and C. Christine Fair, "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," *International Security*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Winter 2009/2010, pp. 79-118.

Description: This article uses sub-national survey data in Pakistan to test four conventional wisdoms about militancy in the country: 1) that poverty is the root cause for militancy in Pakistan; 2) that personal religiosity and support for Sharia are strongly correlated with support for Islamist militancy; 3) that support for political goals espoused by legal Islamist parties predicts support for militant organizations, and 4) that those who support democracy in Pakistan oppose Islamism and militancy.

- "Tuning out the Taliban," *New York Times Video*, Produced by Adam Ellick, <http://video.nytimes.com/video/2009/11/11/world/1247465633296/tuning-out-the-taliban.html>.

Description: **[Only available online]** This video broadcast indirectly counters the poll above and explores the depth of anti-American sentiment in Pakistan through the lens of popular musicians in Pakistan. It specifically looks at their reluctance to address issues of militancy or even acknowledge that the Taliban is a significant problem facing the country.

C) Pakistan's Militant Landscape Post 9/11 – Actors and Shifting Alliances

Overview

- Jayshree Bajoria, "Pakistan's New Generation of Terrorists," CFR Backgrounder, 6 May 2010.

Description: This backgrounder is useful in that it breaks down Pakistan's complicated landscape of militant actors into five easy to understand militant group clusters. These five clusters include: 1) Afghan Taliban, 2) Pakistani Taliban, 3) Sectarian groups, 4) Anti-Kashmir groups and 5) Global jihadist entities.

- International Crisis Group, "Pakistan: the Militant Jihadi Challenge," March 2009.

Description: This report provides an overview of the state of jihadist militancy in Pakistan and the landscape of actors operating from or based in the country. It also explains how Pakistan's militant landscape has changed in recent years and provides a number of policy recommendations for how the United States and other can more effectively confront the challenges posed by Pakistan-based militant actors.

Afghan Taliban, the Haqqani Network and Pakistan's Tribal Areas

- Anand Gopal, Mansur Khan Mahsud and Brian Fishman, "The Battle for Pakistan: North Waziristan," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, 19 April 2010.

Description: This policy paper provides an overview of the major actors and structure of the insurgency in North Waziristan; a region which serves as the headquarters for the Haqqani network, Pakistani Taliban commander Hafiz Gul Bahadur and a number of foreign jihadist groups, including some elements of al-Qa`ida.

- Faisal Aziz, "Taliban Find Safe-Haven in Pakistan's Karachi," *Reuters*, 14 May 2010, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE64D20420100514>.

Description: This news article discusses a number of claims that senior Taliban leaders have moved from Pakistan's tribal areas to its most populated city – Karachi, where a number of these leaders allegedly enjoy safe-haven. The article suggests that these Taliban leaders have moved to the more settled areas of Pakistan to protect their safety in light of an intensified drone campaign.

Pakistani Taliban / Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan

- Mansur Khan Mahsud, "The Battle for Pakistan: South Waziristan," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, 19 April 2010.

Description: This policy paper provides an overview of the major actors and structure of the insurgency in South Waziristan; the primary base of operations for Hakimullah Mehsud and Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). It also explains the emergence and trajectory of the TTP.

- Katja Riikonen, "Punjabi Taliban and the Sectarian Groups in Pakistan," Brief 55, Pakistani Security Research Unit, 12 February 2010.

Description: This short article explores the connections between the TTP and sectarian terrorist groups historically based in Pakistan's Punjab province. This latter group has collectively been termed the 'Punjabi Taliban' and are believed to have been responsible for a number of terrorist attacks carried out against Pakistani targets in the Punjab and other settled areas.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and its Peripheral Jihad

- Stephen Tankel, "Lashkar-e-Taiba in Perspective: An Evolving Threat," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, February 2010.

Description: This policy paper explores the trajectory of LeT, its ties with other militant actors and LeT's recent orientation towards attacking a more global and Western oriented target set. It is the best, most concise piece that exists today.

- David C. Headley, Criminal Complaint, United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, October 2009.

Description: This criminal complaint presents the charges and list of evidence levied against David Coleman Headley, a Pakistani-American who is believed to have been the chief reconnoiter for the 2008 terrorist attacks conducted by LeT in Mumbai. The criminal complaint is useful in that it reveals LeT global network and Headley's ties with senior al-Qa`ida operatives based in Pakistan.

Foreign Fighters and Global Jihadist Entities

- Anne Stenersen, "Al Qaeda's Allies: Explaining the Relationship between al Qaeda and Various Factions of the Taliban post 2001," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, 19 April 2010.

Description: This policy paper provides an overview of the al-Qa`ida's relations with various elements of the Taliban, to include the Quetta Shura and the Haqqani network. It also discusses al-Qa`ida's hosts in the tribal areas and the group's operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

- Don Rassler, "Al-Qa`ida's Pakistan Strategy," *CTC Sentinel*, June 2009.

Description: As the title implies, this article describes al-Qa`ida's strategy in Pakistan. It provides an overview of al-Qa`ida's key partners in the country and the role the group has played in fostering militancy against the Pakistani state.

Section IV: Debates about US Policy in the Region and the Way Forward

Overview

- “US Afghan Strategy: The Big Questions,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,” 9 November 2009, http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/1110carnegie-afghanistan_big_questions.pdf.

Description: This document is the transcript of a discussion between Stephen Biddle, Peter Bergen and Afghanistan expert Gilles Dorronsoro from late 2009. It presents the perspective of each of the participants and their views and concerns about the way forward in Afghanistan.

- Robert Kaplan, “Man vs. Afghanistan,” *The Atlantic*, April 2010.

Description: This article provides an overview of the challenges facing Afghanistan. It also sheds light on whether this war is winnable.

Broad Policy Think Pieces

- Anthony Cordesman, “The Afghan War: A Campaign Overview,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, 23 June 2010.

Description: This report is the most comprehensive and up-to-date assessment of the war in Afghanistan. It is data and graphic heavy and includes a review of metrics to gauge the security situation and progress.

- “Back from the Brink: A Strategy for Stabilizing Afghanistan and Pakistan,” Asia Society, April 2009.

Description: This report outlines our objectives in Afghanistan in detail. It also provides key policy recommendations for how we can better address governance problems, economic challenges, the drug trade and many other pressing issues.

US Security Assistance to Pakistan – Striking the Right Balance

- Joby Warrick, “U.S. and Pakistan: A Frayed Alliance,” *Washington Post*, 31 October 2007.

Description: This article describes U.S. military assistance to Pakistan and some of the challenges plaguing the U.S. / Pakistan relationship.

- Daniel Markey, “A False Choice in Pakistan,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 85-102.

Description: This article discusses the need for a nuanced American approach to Pakistan. It argues that getting Islamabad to play a more effective role in the war on terrorism will require that Washington strike a careful balance: pushing for political reform but without jeopardizing the military's core interests.

- Craig Cohen and Derek Chollet, "When \$10 billion is not enough: rethinking U.S. strategy toward Pakistan," *Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2007.

Description: This article provides an overview of U.S. engagement with and assistance to Pakistan since 9/11. It also poses a number of important policy relevant questions.

Interagency Challenges

- Michael T. Flynn, Matt Pottinger and Paul D. Batchelor, "Fixing Intel: A Blueprint for Making Intelligence Relevant in Afghanistan," Center for New American Security, January 2010.

Description: This paper, written by the senior intelligence officer in Afghanistan and by a company-grade officer and a senior executive with the Defense Intelligence Agency, critically examines the relevance of the U.S. intelligence community to the counterinsurgency strategy in Afghanistan. The paper argues that because the United States has focused the overwhelming majority of collection efforts and analytical brainpower on insurgent groups, our intelligence apparatus still finds itself unable to answer fundamental questions about the environment in which we operate and the people we are trying to protect and persuade.

Effectiveness of and Challenges Related to U.S. Counterterrorism / Counter-insurgency Policy

CT and Drones

- "Petraeus to Review Afghan War Rules," Al-Jazeera, 30 June 2010, <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/asia/2010/06/201062919912562401.html>.

Description: This article discusses General David Petraeus' plans to review guidelines and the rules of engagement established in Afghanistan by his predecessor General Stanley McChrystal.

- Peter Bergen and Katherine Tiedemann, "The Year of the Drone: An Analysis of U.S. Drone Strikes in Pakistan, 2004-2010," Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper, 24 February 2010.

Description: This article, the first of its kind, provides an overview of the U.S. drone campaign in Pakistan. It identifies the location and intended target for each drone strike and the number of militants versus civilians killed since the drone campaign began. It also explores debates about whether the drones have produced a high or low number of civilian casualties.

- Paul Cruickshank, "The Rupture: Could the Killing of al-Qaeda's No. 3, Mustafa al-Yazid, Sever the Ties between the Terrorist Group and the Taliban?," *Foreign Policy*, 3 June 2010, <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/03/rupture>.

Description: This article is useful in that it provides an overview of the targeted assassination of Mustafa Abu al-Yazid, al-Qa`ida's commander in Afghanistan, by a drone in 2010. It explores the importance of Mustafa Abu al-Yazid and how his death will likely further challenge al-Qa`ida and Taliban relations.

COIN

- David M. Snow, "Will COIN Work in Afghanistan," Atlantic Council, 20 July 2009.

Description: This short article presents some of the key questions related to whether COIN will actually work in Afghanistan.

- Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair, "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan," RAND, 2010.

Description: This report provides an assessment of Pakistan's counterinsurgency operations in the tribal areas since 2001.

- Major Jim Grant, "A Strategy for Success in Afghanistan: One Tribe at a Time," http://rohrabacher.house.gov/UploadedFiles/one_tribe_at_a_time.pdf

Description: This report is an opinion piece written by a U.S. Army Special Forces officer. It presents an overview of problems on the ground and discusses Pashtunwali and its tactical applications. It also identifies six problems with the current COIN campaign.

Reconciliation in Afghanistan

- Vanda Felbab-Brown, "Negotiations and Reconciliation with the Taliban: The Key Policy Issues and Dilemmas," Brookings Institution, not dated, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/articles/2010/0128_taliban_felbabbrown/0128_taliban_felbabbrown.pdf.

Description: This policy memo explores a number of key questions related to negotiating with the Taliban. It provides a brief overview of potential incentives and assesses a number of costs and benefits related to reconciliation.

- Fontina Christia and Michael Semple, "Flipping the Taliban: How to Win in Afghanistan," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2009, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65151/fotini-christia-and-michael-semple/flipping-the-taliban>

Description: This article describes the need for a political reconciliation strategy to accompany the U.S. military surge in Afghanistan, and what such a strategy might look like.

- Dexter Filkins, "Afghan Tribe, Vowing to Fight Taliban, to Get U.S. Aid in Return," *New York Times*, 27 January 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/28/world/asia/28tribe.html>.

Description: This article discusses U.S. and Afghan efforts to get the Shinwara tribe from Northeastern Afghanistan to turn against the Taliban.