

Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly

“The people of Afghanistan do not want a return of the Taliban.”

– Afghan National Army Chief of General Staff

“For the first time in years, we have put in place the strategy and resources that our efforts in Afghanistan demand.”

– President of the United States



“The Taliban control far less territory than they did a year ago. They are increasingly demoralized.”

– U.S. Secretary of Defense

“The Afghan people’s appreciation and respect for their security forces remain steady as we begin to achieve major milestones.”

– Independent Newspaper Journalist

Afghanistan Over 11 Years On

2001-2006 (Air Power and Warlords)

- Focused on lethal actions and caused imbalance in governance and development
- Created expectations gap and over relied on air power and warlords
- Witnessed al Qaeda/Taliban flee only to regenerate in Pakistan's tribal areas
- Underestimated effort and resources to build Afghan Army and Police

2004-2008 (Taliban Resurgence and Iraq Surge)

- Relied on economy of force, too few civilians, few resources due to other priorities
- Encumbered by convoluted command and control arrangements
- Allowed corrupt/inept Afghan leaders to alienate people/fuel Taliban
- Recognized the need but did not resource comprehensive counterinsurgency effort

2009-2012 (New Campaign and Counterinsurgency Fundamentals)

- Built civil-military capacity and improved command and control structure
- Improved the unity coherence from strategic to operational to tactical level
- Focused finite resources on comprehensive counterinsurgency in key areas
- Achieved unprecedented scope in leadership, forces, resources in theatre

2012-2014 (Initiate Transition to Afghan Government)

- Create conditions that enable population to resume routine daily activities
- Improve security forces/weaken Taliban to achieve security without Coalition
- Achieve local governance that holds central government accountable
- Neutralize criminal patronage networks adversely affecting populations

Enemies of the Afghan People

Insurgency

- Creates a wedge between the government and the people via parallel hierarchies, armed propaganda, and responsive, but merciless justice
- Exploits sanctuary in Pakistan to attack and undermine the Afghan state



Poor Leadership

- Aggrieves the population: ineptitude and corruption manifest in Government officials, Afghan National Police, and judicial officials
- Erodes the trust of Afghans through malfeasance and greed



Criminal Patronage Networks

- Subvert legitimate governance and prey on the people
- Thrive on the influx of poorly managed aid dollars and imbalanced governance, development, and security efforts

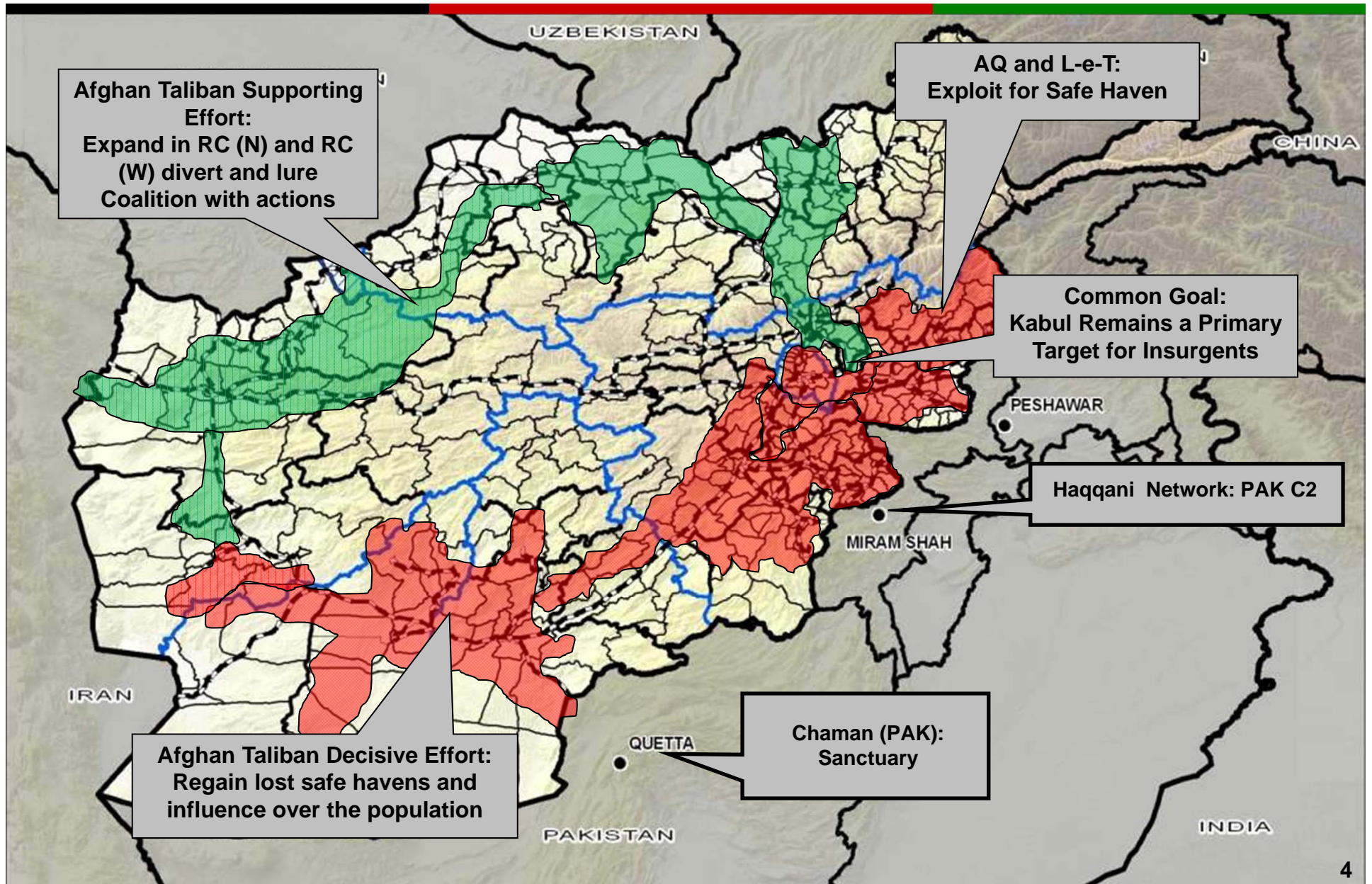


Bad International Community Practices

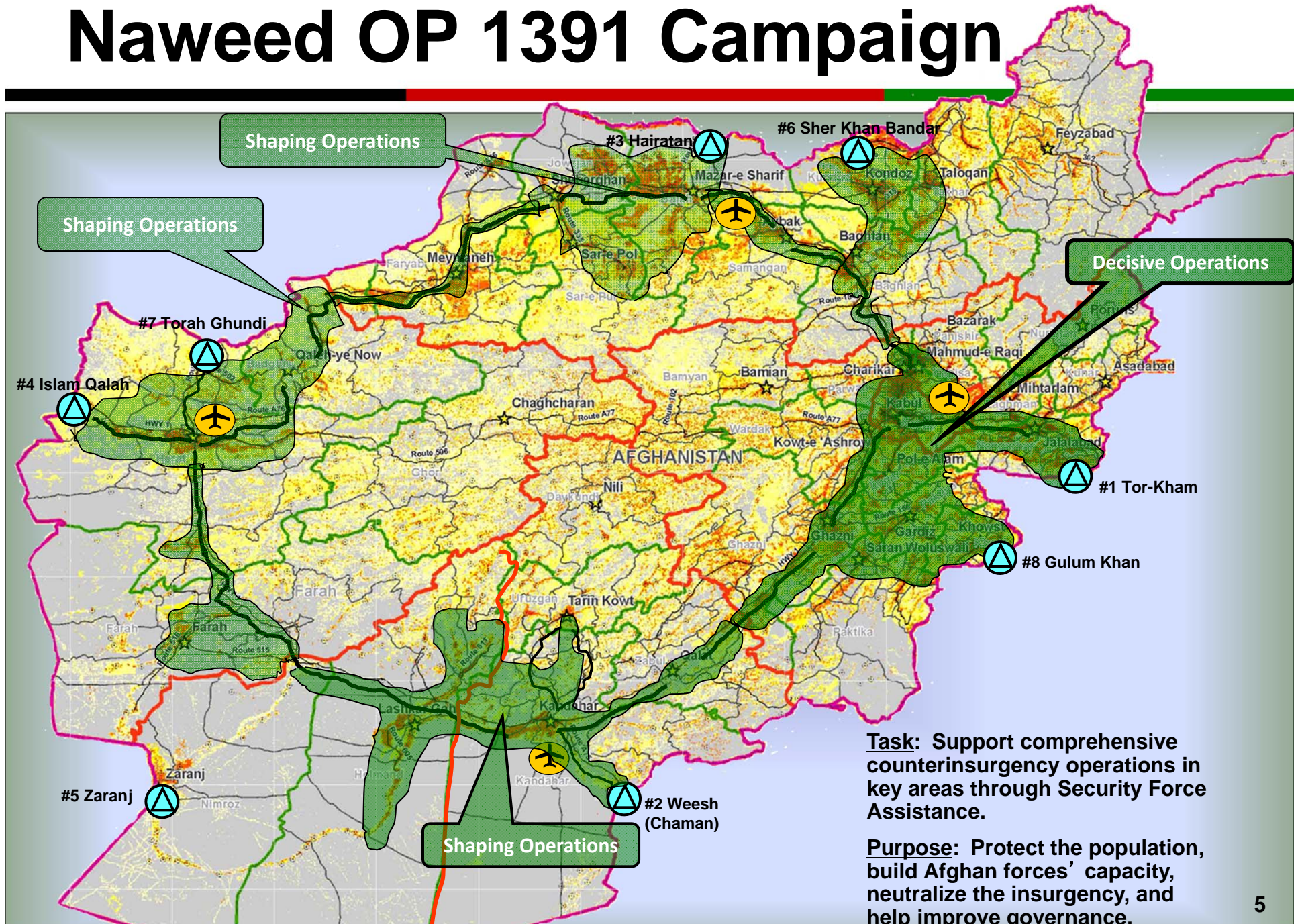
- Alienate the people, undermine traditional tribal leaders, and unwittingly contribute to malign networks and criminal patronage influence
- Ignore economic conditions, fair prices, and fair salaries at local levels



The Insurgency

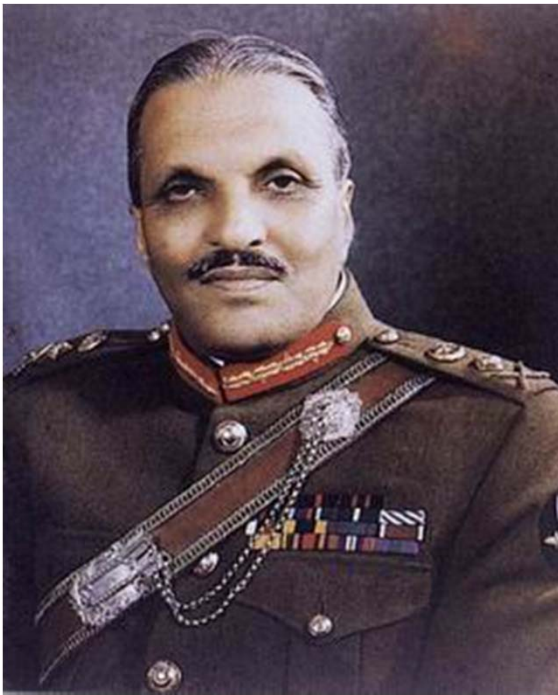


Naweed OP 1391 Campaign



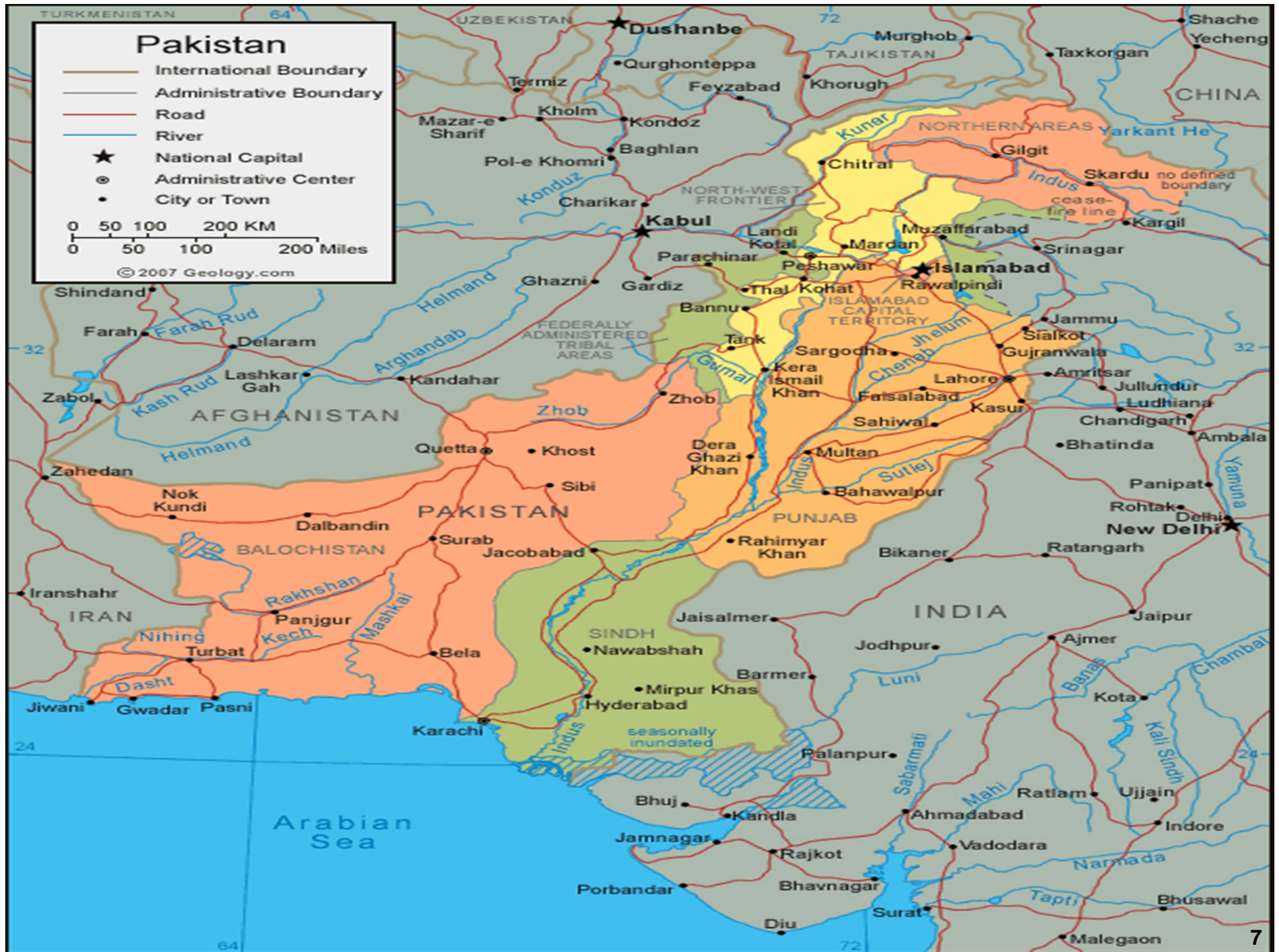
Pakistan and its Contradictions

“The complexity and contradictions of Pakistani behavior - most of which are driven by the Army’s obsession with India, actually - lay at the heart of the dispute between Islamabad and Washington.” - Bruce Riedel



“Pakistan’s strategic interests must be served in any future political arrangement in Afghanistan. A friendly Afghanistan can provide strategic depth.”

- General Ashfaq Kayani



Pashtun Areas in Afghanistan and Pakistan

“The Pathans combine the ferocity of the Zulu, the craftsmanship of the American Indian, and the marksmanship of the Boer.” - Winston Churchill



Pakistan and its Contradictions

Security

Insecurity

- The Pakistan security elites' behavior and actions to improve Pakistan's security often worsen Pakistan's security in the long term.
- Pakistan supports the Quetta Shura even though Neo-Taliban rule in Afghanistan would likely and ultimately undermine Pakistan's own security.

Partner

Enemy

- Pakistan pretends to be a U.S. partner while it engages in actions inimical and gravely pernicious to the Coalition effort in Afghanistan.
- The man the U.S. spends the most time with to counter insurgents and terrorists in the region is the man most responsible for supporting the regeneration of the Afghan Taliban and other militants of same ilk.

Patron

Client

- Pakistan is a U.S. client but acts and narrates itself like it is the patron.
- U.S. assists Pakistan like a patron but succumbs to refrain like a client.

Frankenstein

Monster

- U.S. largesse and shortsightedness empowered the ISI and the anti-Soviet mujihadeen who then attacked and attack the U.S. as al Qaeda and the Taliban.
- The terrorist-insurgent proxies that Pakistan has supported for 4 decades for external use have turned inward against the Pakistani state, their creator.



Concluding Insights

- **Fomenting insurgency for ‘strategic depth’ is in the DNA of Pakistan’s security elites; they have been doing it for four decades but it has not brought them success in Afghanistan.**
- **Pakistan’s perfidy is not likely to change if we continue with the current political approach.**
- **Diplomacy, tough talk, and big money have not convinced Pakistan to stop its support of terrorists and insurgents.**
- **The U.S. and its partners must genuinely rethink and re-imagine the delusional relationship that casts Pakistan as a friend, and not a foe.**
- **Short-sighted actions and strategic attention deficit (SAD) on our part and on Pakistan’s part, for decades, have contributed to this mess.**

“Uncontested sanctuary in Pakistan contributed to the Soviet Union’s defeat in Afghanistan. The reduction of both sanctuary and the insurgents’ capacity to regenerate in Pakistan is a strategic imperative. - Précis ISAF Joint Command

"The fact that we were attacked on the 11th of September 2001 is a direct line relationship between what happened on that day and what could happen again if we don't get this right." - General John Allen

Must Read Books on Afghanistan and Pakistan

- Thomas Barfield, *Afghanistan: A Cultural and Political History*
- Peter Bergen, *The Longest War*
- Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars*
- Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*
- Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos*
- Bruce Riedel, *Deadly Embrace*
- T. and H. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the U.S.*
- Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History*
- Peter Tomsen, *The Wars of Afghanistan*
- Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

Afghanistan: Objectives and Momentum

What we are charged to do

- Deny al Qaeda safe haven
- Build capacity of Afghan forces
- Reverse the Taliban's momentum
- Deny Taliban ability to overthrow Afghan Government and degrade Taliban to levels the Afghans can manage
- Improve capacity of Afghan Government
- Deny Taliban control of key areas; disrupt Taliban outside key areas

What we are doing

- Preventing safe haven in Afghanistan
- Notably added size to Afghan forces
- Reversed Taliban momentum in some key areas (Progress is most evident in Helmand and Kandahar)
- Gains are not yet irreversible
- Improved capability of Afghan forces
- Reduced overall Taliban influence and arrested Taliban momentum in much of the country

“We can't hold ground, and we can't stop construction and progress, even with IED and suicide bombings.”
-Taliban Logistics Officer

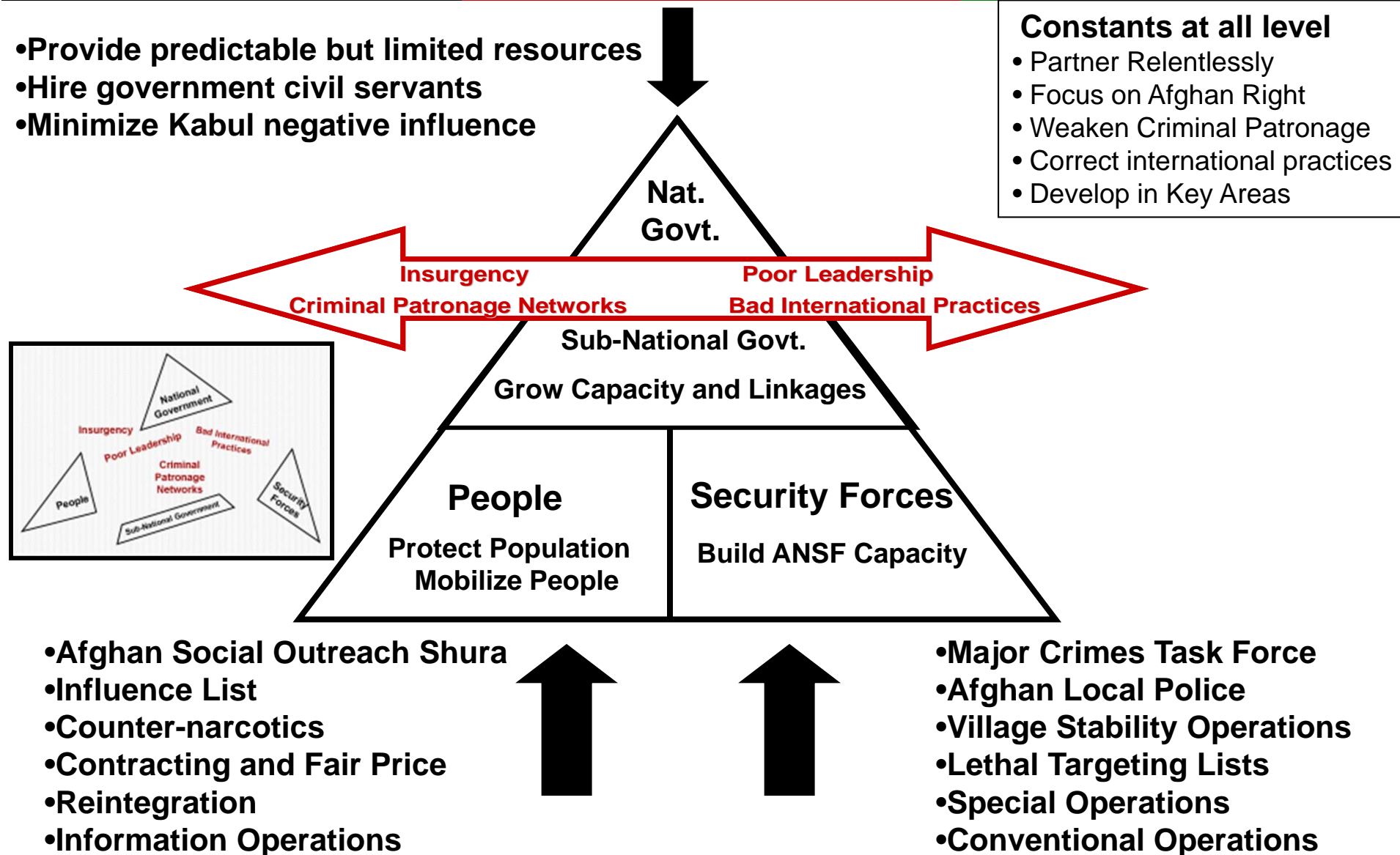
“We have been with the Taliban and have seen their cruelty. People don't want them back.”
- Kandahari Fruit Trader

Conceptual Approach to Campaign

- Provide predictable but limited resources
- Hire government civil servants
- Minimize Kabul negative influence

Constants at all level

- Partner Relentlessly
- Focus on Afghan Right
- Weaken Criminal Patronage
- Correct international practices
- Develop in Key Areas



U.S. Stipulations and Expectations for Pakistan

Armitage Ultimatum SEP 2001

- Stop al Qaeda operations on the Pakistani border, intercept arms shipments through Pakistan, and intercept logistical support for bin Laden.
- Curb all domestic expression of support for terrorism against the U.S. and its allies.
- Cut off support to the Taliban and stop Pakistani volunteers from joining Taliban.
- Assist the U.S. in destroying bin Laden and the al Qaeda network.
- Provide air, sea, and ground access via Pakistan.

Kerry-Lugar-Berman OCT 2009

- Demonstrate a sustained commitment to and make significant efforts towards combating terrorist groups.
- Cease support, including by any elements within the Pakistan military or its intelligence agency, to extremist and terrorist groups.
- Prevent al Qaeda, the Taliban, and associated terrorist groups from operating in the territory of Pakistan.
- Close terrorist camps in the FATA and dismantle terrorist bases of operations in other parts of the country.

Strategic Context

- **Pakistan confronts us with a strategic contradiction because Pakistani sanctuary and support preserve the will of the Taliban insurgency to protract the war, exhaust the Coalition's will, and to make our capacity to fight the insurgency irrelevant.**
- **We have seen success in taking away the insurgents' capacity, safe havens, and operational leadership, their capacity inside Afghanistan, but we have not really affected their strategic will, and we are running out of time.**
- **Good operational momentum in Afghanistan in the face of no operational momentum in Pakistan equates to strategic stalemate and long-term strategic risk.**