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Pakistan's Enduring Challenges surveys the  
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in the wake of U.S. military withdrawal. Experts in the domestic and international affairs of the region consider the country's prospects from a variety of angles, including security issues and nuclear posture, relations with Afghanistan, India, and the United States, Pakistan's Islamist movements, and the CIA's use of drone warfare in Pakistan's tribal areas.

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Pakistan's Enduring Challenges. Edited by C.  
Christine Fair and Sarah J. Watson. Published  
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"Pakistan's Enduring Challenges draws the  
portrait of a country trapped in its own

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contradictions, and where the search for security and status has only exacerbated existing fragilities and people's sense of insecurity. The book accurately describes the many tensions, domestic and external, that have led the country to become its own worst enemy, without ignoring the positive societal developments that have taken place in Pakistan's recent past.

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The country's economy is in shambles, and continuing tensions with India endanger efforts to bring a durable peace to a region haunted by the distant threat of nuclear war. 'Pakistan's enduring challenges' surveys the political and economic landscape of Pakistan in the wake of U.S. military withdrawal. Other authors:

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From the start of the U.S. war in Afghanistan in 2001 to the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 2014, Pakistan's military cooperation was critical to the United States. Yet Pakistani politics remain a source of anxiety for American policymakers. Despite some progress toward democratic consolidation over the last ten years, Pakistan's military still asserts power over the country's elected government. Pakistan's western regions remain largely ungoverned and home to the last remnants of al-Qaeda's original leadership as well as multiple militant groups that have declared



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use of drone warfare in Pakistan's tribal areas. This timely volume offers a concise, accessible, and expert guide to the currents that will shape the country's future.

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Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) is the most lethal terrorist group operating in and from South Asia. LeT was founded in 1989 in Afghanistan with help from Pakistan's external intelligence agency, the Inter services Intelligence Directorate (ISI). Since 1990 it began operations in India. Until Thanksgiving

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weekend in November 2008, U.S. policy makers tended to dismiss LeT as India's problem-hardly that of the United States. However, on that weekend, LeT made its debut as an international terrorist organization when it launched a multi-site siege of India's port city of Mumbai that lasted some four days. The attack, which claimed 166 lives-including several Americans and Israelis-was reported without halt on global media. It was the first time LeT had targeted non-Indian civilians. However, the group had been attacking U.S. troops and its international and Afghan allies in Afghanistan since 2004.

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Revelations that David Headley Coleman (née Daood Gilani), an American citizen of Pakistani origin, facilitated the attack has galvanized renewed fears about American homegrown terrorism and the ability of LeT to attack the American homeland.<sup>2</sup> Headley's ties to an al Qaeda leader, Ilyas Kashmiri, have furthered speculation about LeT's ties to al Qaeda.<sup>3</sup> Rightly or wrongly, some American officials believe it is only a matter of when LeT will strike a devastating attack on U.S. soil, rather than if.<sup>4</sup> Scholars of South Asian security and media analysts explain Pakistan's reliance upon LeT-and a raft of

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other groups-as a response to its enduring rivalry with India over the disputed territory of Kashmir specifically and deep neuralgic fears about Indian intentions towards Pakistan more generally. Lacking military, diplomatic or political options to resolve its security competition with India, Pakistan has developed a series of proxies that operate in India and Afghanistan, with presumably plausible deniability. Pakistan's activities and use of militants in Afghanistan stems directly from Pakistan's fears about India and a desire to prevent it from developing influence and deepening its



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capabilities of fomenting insurgency along the border I Pakistan (e.g. in Balochistan, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and Khyber Pakhtunkha). This widely-held explanation for Pakistan's reliance upon LeT among other Islamist militants results in policy recommendations that stress resolution of the enduring rivalry between India and Pakistan as a necessary if insufficient condition for Pakistan to strategically abandon its Islamist proxies. Inevitably, calls are made for international intervention to encourage both sides to reach some accommodation.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, this has led to

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specific arguments that Afghanistan will be stabilized only when the status of Kashmir is resolved as this alone will permit Pakistan to relax its aggressive efforts to manage efforts there with Islamist proxies, including the Afghan Taliban, the Jalaluddin Haqqani and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar networks, LeT among others.<sup>7</sup> I argue in this testimony that this conventional understanding of Pakistan's reliance upon militancy, framed within the logic Pakistan's external security preoccupations, is dangerously incomplete as it excludes the domestic politics of militant groups and the support they enjoy from the

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state.

China and Pakistan, India's two most powerful neighbours, share an 'all-weather' relationship that is as reputed for its depth as it is layered in secrecy. Based on years of research and interviews, Andrew Small has put together the story of China and Pakistan's growing, and in parts troubled, friendship. The China-Pakistan Axis is essential to understanding the economic, political and security map of Asia, especially India's neighbourhood. It explains Beijing's extraordinary support to Pakistan's

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nuclear programme and defence planning, their strategic cooperation on India, the United States and Afghanistan, and the implications for counter-terrorism efforts. A special chapter for this Indian edition brings the book up to date on China's involvement in the Taliban talks.

Pakistan's army has dominated the state for most of its 66 years. It has locked the country in an enduring rivalry with India to revise the maps in Kashmir and to resist India's slow but inevitable rise. To prosecute these dangerous policies, the army

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employs non-state actors under the security of its ever-expanding nuclear umbrella. The Pakistan army started three wars with India over Kashmir in 1947, 1965, and 1999 and failed to win any of them. It has sustained a proxy war in Kashmir since 1989 using Islamist militants, some of whom have now turned their guns against the Pakistani state. The Pakistan army has supported non-Islamist insurgencies throughout India as well as a country-wide Islamist terror campaign that have brought the two countries to the brink of war on several occasions. Despite Pakistan's efforts to coerce India,

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it has only achieved modest successes. Even though India vivisected Pakistan in 1971, Pakistan continues to see itself as India's equal and demands the world do the same. The tools that the army prefers to use, non-state actors under a nuclear umbrella, has brought international opprobrium upon the country and the army. In recent years, erstwhile proxies have turned their gun on the Pakistani state itself and its peoples. Why does the army persist in pursuing these revisionist policies that have come to imperil the very viability of the state itself, from which the army feeds? This volume argues that the

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answer lies, at least partially, in the strategic culture of the army. From the army's distorted view of history, the army is victorious as long as can resist India's purported hegemony and the territorial status quo. To acquiesce is defeat. Because the army is unlikely to abandon these preferences, the world must prepare for an ever more dangerous future Pakistan.

Politics in Pakistan has traditionally been understood in the context of civil-military relationship. In May 2013, for the first time in history, Pakistan saw an elected

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government complete a full term in office and transfer power through the ballot box to another civilian government. In view of such an important development, this book offers critical perspectives on Pakistan's current democratic transition and its implications for national politics, security and foreign policy. It critically analyses the emerging political trends in the country, including their underlying sources, attributes, constraints, and prospects of sustainability. Drawing on history, diverse theoretical perspectives, and empirical evidence, it explains the dynamics of the democratic



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process, contested borders and spaces, and regionalism. Contributions are from 13 prominent scholars in the field, who provide a wide-ranging analysis of Pakistan's contemporary national and regional challenges, as well as the opportunities they entail for its viability as a democratic state. Taking the debate on Pakistan beyond the outmoded notions of praetorian politics and security, the book explores the future prospects of civilian supremacy in the country. It will be of interest to students and scholars of South Asian Politics, Political Sociology and Security Studies, as

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well as policy-makers, diplomats, security experts and military professionals.

This book provides a unique Pakistani perspective and understanding of a region that has not been studied extensively to date. Pakistan's Frontier Region has been at the forefront of the War on Terror since 2001. The Federally Administered Tribal Agencies (now known as merged Tribal Districts) are a critical geostrategic area for Pakistan. This work highlights key economic, political, and religious issues in the FATA-KP region in order to identify means

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to eradicate ongoing conflicts and integrate the region within mainstream Pakistani society. This project proposes a series of phased economic development reforms that can guide FATA's transition as an integrated territory within the rest of Pakistan. These reforms can and should encourage dimensions of indigenous economic practices, women's empowerment, the education system, food security, subsistence agriculture, and transportation and communication infrastructure where possible. These improvements can be implemented in 10+ year plans designed to organize a committed effort

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to develop and integrate FATA with the rest of Pakistan.

While the war on terrorism may have provided the rationale for the latest U.S. engagement with Pakistan, the present relationship between the U.S. and Pakistan is at the crossroads of many other issues, such as Pakistan's own reform efforts, America's evolving strategic relationship with South Asia, democracy in the Muslim world, and the dual problems of religious extremism and nuclear proliferation. This report examines the history and present state of

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U.S.-Pakistan relations, addresses the key challenges the two countries face, and concludes with specific policy recommendations for ensuring the relationship meets the needs of both the U.S. and Pakistan.

The Council on Foreign Relations sponsors Independent Task Forces to assess issues of current and critical importance to U.S. foreign policy and provide policymakers with concrete judgments and recommendations. Diverse in backgrounds and perspectives, Task Force members aim to reach a meaningful

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consensus on policy through private and non-partisan deliberations. Once launched, Task Forces are independent of CFR and solely responsible for the content of their reports. Task Force members are asked to join a consensus signifying that they endorse "the general policy thrust and judgments reached by the group, though not necessarily every finding and recommendation." Each Task Force member also has the option of putting forward an additional or a dissenting view. Members' affiliations are listed for identification purposes only and do not imply institutional endorsement. Task Force observers participate

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in discussions, but are not asked to join the consensus.

With each passing day, Pakistan becomes an even more crucial player in world affairs. Home of the world's second-largest Muslim population, epicenter of the global jihad, location of perhaps the planet's most dangerous borderlands, and armed with nuclear weapons, this South Asian nation will go a long way toward determining what the world looks like ten years from now. The Future of Pakistan presents and evaluates several scenarios for how the country will develop,

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evolve, and act in the near future, as well as the geopolitical implications of each. Led by renowned South Asia expert Stephen P. Cohen, a team of authoritative contributors looks at several pieces of the Pakistan puzzle. The book begins with Cohen's broad yet detailed overview of Pakistan, placing it within the context of current-day geopolitics and international economics. Cohen's piece is then followed by a number of shorter, more tightly focused essays addressing more specific issues of concern. Cohen's fellow contributors hail from America, Europe, India, and Pakistan itself, giving the book a



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uniquely international and comparative perspective. They address critical factors such as the role and impact of radical groups and militants, developments in specific key regions such as Punjab and the rugged frontier with Afghanistan, and the influence of—and interactions with—India, Pakistan's archrival since birth. The book also breaks down relations with other international powers such as China and the United States. The all-important military and internal security apparatus come under scrutiny, as do rapidly morphing social and gender issues. Political and party developments are examined

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along with the often amorphous division of power between Islamabad and the nation's regions and local powers. Uncertainty about Pakistan's trajectory persists. The Future of Pakistan helps us understand the current circumstances, the relevant actors and their motivation, the critical issues at hand, the different outcomes they might produce, and what it all means for Pakistanis, Indians, the United States, and the entire world. Praise for the work of Stephen P. Cohen The Idea of Pakistan: "The intellectual power and rare insight with which Cohen breaks through the complexity of the subject rivals that of

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classics that have explained other societies posting a comparable challenge to understanding."— Middle East Journal India: Emerging Power: "In light of the events of September 11, 2001, Cohen's perceptive, insightful, and balanced account of emergent India will be essential reading for U.S. foreign policymakers, scholars, and informed citizens."— Choice

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