

# US-Pakistan Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Dynamics and Challenges

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## Abstract

*Pakistan is a frontline ally of the US in its Global War on Terrorism. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the military regime was compelled by Washington to join the US effort to dismantle the Taliban-Al Qaida terrorist infrastructure in Afghanistan and Pakistan that successive regimes had nurtured. While the Pakistani military regime's cooperation is deemed to be crucial for the success of the US counter-terrorism strategy, there appear to be growing strains and challenges that give rise to fundamental questions about the outcome of such cooperation. This is clearly seen in the revival of the Taliban and the continuing activities of terrorist and militant groups based in Pakistan, the increasing anti-American backlash among segments of the Pakistani and Afghan populations, and the electoral gains made by the Islamist parties in Pakistan. The US-Pakistan counter-terrorism efforts clearly suffer from myriad shortcomings. Alternative approaches by the United States that move beyond engaging the Pakistani military alone and focus on the civilian sector are necessary if the goals of counter-terrorism are to be achieved in the region.*

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11 attacks on the United States, Pakistan emerged as a 'crucial partner' in the United States-led Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). Given Pakistan's geo-strategic position, its strong linkages with the Taliban, and the presence of dozens of armed militant Islamic groups in the country it was called upon to play 'an important' role in destroying the operational capabilities of the Taliban-Al Qaida combine – a situational turnaround in US-Pakistan relations from what prevailed through the 1990s.

The relations between the two countries have been marked by periods of alliance and dissension. As perceived by US policy-makers, Pakistan was a 'frontline state' in aiding the armed Afghan *mujahideen* groups against

the Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the late 1970s. Having bled the Soviets white in Afghanistan, the US interest waned in the region and Pakistan was left to free-wheel its policy in Afghanistan, culminating in the emergence of the Taliban in the 1990's. The US-Pakistan 'patron-client' relationship of the Cold War period was transformed into a 'frozen relationship' following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Concerns regarding Pakistan's role in nuclear proliferation, its deteriorating economic situation and uneasiness with its support for the pariah Taliban came to dominate American perception, without parallel policy measures to deal with the dangers that such a situation posed.<sup>1</sup> This policy, however, transformed radically after the 9/11 attacks, resulting in Pakistan emerging as an "important ally", "a frontline state", "pivotal ally", "crucial partner" in the GWOT. Pakistan's cooperation with the US commenced with Islamabad joining the "coalition of the not-so-willing,"<sup>2</sup> in response to an ultimatum issued by the Bush Administration.

However, five years after the initiation of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), the security situation instead of taking a positive turn, seems to be deteriorating in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. The central goals of OEF - the destruction of terrorist training camps and infrastructure within Afghanistan, the neutralization of the Al Qaida and Taliban combine<sup>3</sup>, and the cessation of terrorist activities in Afghanistan<sup>4</sup> are yet to yield tangible results mainly because of the 'marginal' role played by Pakistan in the GWOT. The remnant Taliban-Al Qaida forces, have been able to conduct "hit-and-run" attacks against US-led coalition units in Afghanistan and are able to find refuge on the Pakistani side of the border. Not surprisingly, any praise from top US Government (USG) officials for Pakistan's counter-terrorism cooperation is invariably punctuated by statements of frustration and mistrust.<sup>5</sup> Despite Pakistan's posturing as a 'reliable partner' in the GWOT, for many American commentators, it continues to be "a refuge for the remnants of Taliban-Al Qaida combine."<sup>6</sup> Moreover, several terrorist outfits — whom Pakistan refers to as *jihadi tanzeems* (organizations) — with an agenda on Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) appear to be fortifying their activities. This heightens concerns about Pakistan's role in curbing or abetting terror in the region.

While President Musharraf has ensured that the counter-terrorism cooperation with the United States brings in huge benefit to Pakistan in terms of aid, he has used various techniques ranging from cajoling to issuing veiled threats to the West on the failure of the War on Terror without

Pakistan's cooperation. In response to the findings by a leaked Britain's Ministry of Defense report on the linkages between Pakistan's intelligence and the Taliban, President Musharraf in an interview with the BBC in London warned "without Pakistan's cooperation and the services of its intelligence, the West would fail in its war against terror and would be brought to its knees".<sup>10</sup> The support to the terror groups and the increasing levels of violence in Afghanistan has led to rancor in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. President Karzai has been blunt in his condemnation of continuing interference, alleging in January 2006 that 'a neighbour of Afghanistan has had a hand' in the increased number of suicide terrorist attacks since mid-2005<sup>11</sup> and on Pakistan's role in "keeping and training snakes".<sup>12</sup> Though President Musharraf denies charges of official involvement in Taliban recruitment, Pakistan's approach to terror groups remains circumspect.

Similarly, commanders from five NATO countries-United Kingdom, the United States, Denmark, Canada and the Netherlands— whose troops are fighting an deadly insurgency of an estimated 8,000 Taliban in southern Afghanistan,<sup>13</sup> have asked their governments to get tough with Pakistan by delivering bluntly to Musharraf 'either you are with us or against us' at the highest political level for the support and sanctuary that its security services are providing to the Taliban in the southern province of Balochistan. They expressed concern that even after Pakistani President Musharraf's meeting with US President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair in late September, 2006, Western leaders are reluctant to call Musharraf's bluff. <sup>14</sup> The issue of evidence on Pakistan's purported support to the Taliban is expected to be taken up during the visit of General David Richards, the head of NATO forces in Afghanistan, and Lt. General Karl Eikenberry, the head of US forces in Afghanistan, to Islamabad in the coming days. While the fault lines between the two important allies in the War on terror intensifies, the United States counter-terrorism strategy in the region might flounder, if it does not address the issue of support and sanctuary to terrorist groups in a realistic manner.

### **US Counter-Terrorism Cooperation with Pakistan**

Pakistan reemerged as an important country in the United States geo-strategic calculus to counter terror in the region following the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US. The 2004 State Department's Country Reports on Terrorism characterised Pakistan as one of the most important US partners

in the GWOT. According to the US Departments of State and Defense, Pakistan has played a vital role by permitting the US military to use bases within the country, helping to detain extremists, and deploying around 80,000 security forces to secure the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The White House maintains that the "US-Pakistan strategic partnership is based on the shared interests of the two countries in building a stable and sustainable democracy and in promoting peace, security, stability, prosperity, and democracy in South Asia and across the globe."<sup>14</sup>

The February 22, 2006 statement of President George W. Bush summarises the essence of US-Pakistan cooperation. He said,

Five years ago, Pakistan was one of only three nations that recognized the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. That all changed after September the 11<sup>th</sup> President Musharraf understood that he had to make a fundamental choice for his people. He could turn a blind eye and leave his people hostage to terrorists, or he could join the free world in fighting the terrorists. President Musharraf made the right choice, and the United States of America is grateful for his leadership. Pakistan now has the opportunity to write a new chapter in its history, and the United States wants to build a broad and lasting strategic partnership with the people of Pakistan.<sup>15</sup>

This statement while highlighting Pakistan's important role, broadly underscores the choice confronting Pakistan in lieu of the 'carrot and stick' approach adopted by the Bush Administration in 'either-or' partnership between the two countries.

In March 2004, Christina Rocca, the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, in her statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee stated that the top US policy goal in South Asia remains "combating terror and the conditions that breed terror in the frontline states of Afghanistan and Pakistan".<sup>16</sup> Despite Washington's diverse policy interests in Pakistan encompassing a myriad range of issues — nuclear proliferation, Afghan stability, democracy, human rights, trade and economic reform, counter-narcotics — the focal point of the relationship remains counter-terrorism. Post-9/11, US counter-terrorism assistance to Pakistan has essentially focused on augmenting and enhancing Pakistan's counter-terrorism capabilities in the military and the civilian sectors. While major attention has been given to military cooperation along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, the civilian security component has been less emphasised. This article deals with both the hard security and civic component in a comprehensive manner to understand the workings of US counter-

terrorism strategy and its cooperation with Pakistan in curbing terror in the region.

### *1. US Security and Military Assistance to Pakistan*

To boost Pakistan's operational capability in tracking and nabbing the remnant Taliban-Al Qaida combine, the Bush Administration initiated several security-related programmes, including improved control of border areas; activities to counter illicit movement of goods, narcotics and persons; police reform and other civilian counter-terrorism-related training<sup>17</sup>. Post-9/11 cooperation, Pakistan is among the world's leading recipients of US aid, obtaining more than \$2.6 billion in direct US assistance for FY 2002-FY 2005, including \$1.1 billion in security-related aid.<sup>18</sup> In passing the Foreign Operations FY 2005 Appropriations Bill (PL 108-447), the Congress approved the President's \$700 million aid request for Pakistan, half of which was to fund security-related programmes.<sup>19</sup>

The US Government has taken several initiatives to bolster Pakistan's counter-terrorism and law enforcement capacity. The Joint Working Group on Counter Terrorism and Law Enforcement (JWG-CTLE) established in May 2003 in Washington DC encompasses a range of areas including counter-narcotics, counter-terrorism, extradition, money laundering, human trafficking, reducing demand for illegal substances, alternative development and poppy eradication, police and legal system reform, and issues pertaining to the repatriation of Pakistani nationals held for visa violations.<sup>20</sup>

Pakistan's support to the US led counter-terrorism operations has also secured for it a huge windfall in terms of military and financial aid. In a post-September 11 scenario, President Bush concluded that the sanctions imposed on Pakistan would be counter-productive and most were waived aside. In early November 2001, the US agreed to provide Pakistan with \$73 million in "border security" military hardware, including Huey helicopters and spare parts for F-16 fighter planes.<sup>21</sup> "In 2002, Pakistan was granted \$75 million in Foreign Military Financing (FMF), the country's first grant in more than 10 years. In 2003, the nation's FMF totaled \$49.5 million, supplemented by an anti-terrorism grant of \$175 million. For 2004, FMF totaled \$74.5 million with no supplemental appropriation. Another \$148 million was allocated in 2005."<sup>22</sup> (See Annexure 1)

Pakistan currently is one of the largest recipients of US security assistance. In June 2004, Pakistan was designated as a "major non-NATO ally" (MNNA) of the US under Section 517 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, making it one of the select group of nations outside NATO that have the benefit of a variety of military and financial advantages. The MNNA status entails formal benefits that include closer military-to-military ties with the United States as well as access to certain American defence equipment.<sup>25</sup> The US has pledged \$1.5 billion of Foreign Military Financing (FMF) to Pakistan from 2005-2009.<sup>26</sup> The Pentagon reports Foreign Military Sales agreements with Pakistan worth \$343 million in FY2003-FY2004 and an estimated \$492 million in FY2005. According to the Bureau of Resource Management, "Pakistan will have accumulated a total of \$821 million in FMF support between 2002 and 2005. Additionally, military training funds are on the rise- from zero in 2001 to a \$2 million request for 2006."<sup>27</sup>

Though the presence of US troops in Pakistan remains a contentious subject, reports indicate the existence of the FBI, CIA and other agencies aiding counter-terrorism operations in Pakistan. The US has undertaken to train and equip new Pakistan Army Air Assault units and in training the security detail of the Pakistani president, by funding a 650-officer Diplomatic Security Unit.<sup>28</sup> Both, the US and Pakistan have carried out a number of joint air assault exercises, the recent one was held at a Pakistani military facility at Cherat, in North West Frontier Province (NWFP).<sup>29</sup> In November 2004, the Pentagon notified Congress of three possible major Foreign Military Sales to Pakistan involving eight P-3C maritime reconnaissance aircraft, 2,000 TOW anti-armour missiles, and six Phalanx naval guns. The Department of Defense (DoD) even characterized the P-3Cs and TOW missiles as having significant anti-terrorism applications and it asserted that the proposed sales would not affect the military balance in the region.<sup>30</sup>

In March 2005, the Bush Administration announced that the US would resume sales of F-16 fighters to Pakistan after a 16-year hiatus. In July 2006, the Bush Administration announced a massive \$5.1 billion arms package for Pakistan which includes 36 F-16 fighter jets, armaments, and upgrades for its existing fleet of F-16s<sup>31</sup>, without adequate prior consultation with the Congress.<sup>32</sup> On October 2, 2006 Pakistan Air Force announced that Islamabad had signed an agreement with the US for purchase of 18 F-16 fighter jets. The announcement read, "The ongoing negotiations

regarding F-16s have culminated in the signing of letter of acceptance between the Governments of Pakistan and United States of America on 30 September 2006 at Rawalpindi. The package includes the supply of 18 new F-16s, upgraded used F-16s, upgradation of the present fleet of 32 PAF F-16s, air-to-air and air-to-ground weaponry and other support infrastructure.”<sup>31</sup>

Major government-to-government arms sales and grants in recent years have included six C-130 military transport aircraft; six Aerostat and six AN/TPS-77 surveillance radars; air traffic control systems; military radio systems; and 60 Harpoon anti-ship missiles. Sales underway include six Phalanx guns and 2,014 TOW anti-armor missiles. In 2004, eight excess P-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft were granted and plans for their major refurbishment and service could be worth up to \$970 million in coming years. Other pending sales include 300 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and 115 self-propelled howitzers. Major Excess Defense Article grants have included 40 AH-1F Cobra attack helicopters in 2004 and two F-16A fighters in 2005.<sup>32</sup>

## *2. Internal/Civilian Security Assistance*

The US has invested considerable resources to improve Pakistan’s civil security infrastructure in recognition of the rising internal security threats in Pakistan and its inability to respond adequately. Most of this support has taken the form of law enforcement assistance and reform programmes enacted through the Department of State (DoS) and Department of Justice (DoJ).<sup>33</sup> These programmes have significant overlap in terms of their objectives and intra-agency coordination. The majority of organizations operating under the DoS in providing “internal security assistance” to Pakistan, are within the purview of the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL), though several other agencies like the Office of Counterterrorism (S/CT), the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, Office of Antiterrorism Assistance (DS/ATA) and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) are also involved at varying levels.<sup>34</sup>

The INL initiated several key assistance programmes in Pakistan that are designed to strengthen control of and access to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border; improve Pakistani law enforcement capacity and interagency cooperation; and bolster the country’s counter-narcotics capabilities.<sup>35</sup> To attain these objectives, the INL programmes include the introduction of a

computerized Personal Identification Security, Comparison and Evaluation System (PISCES), establishment of an air wing in the Ministry of Interior (MoI) in Quetta (Balochistan) to facilitate counter-terror and counter-narcotics operations, paved border security roads in FATA, provide basic police training and introduced an Automated Fingerprint Identification System (AFIS), in addition to supporting counter-narcotics programmes (undertaken in conjunction with the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA)).\*

The main aim of the S/CT programmes in Pakistan is to provide the Pakistani government with the tools to decisively confront militant extremist threats emanating from within. Thus, most of the funding is directed towards augmenting Pakistan's basic investigative capabilities. It is the objective of S/CT to develop these skills within the civilian sector<sup>20</sup> vis-à-vis the military and the intelligence. The most significant endeavour in this regard has been the establishment of a dedicated Counter-terrorism Special Investigation Group (SIG) at the National Police Academy in Rawalpindi.

In Pakistan, the security Assistance from the DoJ takes place under the patronage of the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP) and the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). The basic objectives of the ICITAP programmes include enhancing border security; law enforcement reform and training; the establishment of an automated finger print identification system (AFIS); the institution of a national criminal database; and forensics. The ICITAP in conjunction with the INL<sup>21</sup> has taken important initiatives in Pakistan to improve the state's capacity in detecting and intercepting illicit cross-border activities. Most of the training takes place in Quetta and Peshawar with emphasis on institution building within the Frontier Corps (the main security detachment in FATA), the Anti-Narcotics Force (ANF), customs intelligence agencies, the Federal Investigative Agency (FIA) and Immigration. The ICITAP also conducts various external instructional courses in the United States and has conceptualised training modules for Border Security Augmentation, Crime Scene Investigator and First Response, and Senior Executive Management.<sup>22</sup>

The main thrust of DEA assistance to Pakistan is directed toward the ANF aimed at curbing the flow of heroin originating in Afghanistan. This support involves the provision of new investigative resources, all-terrain vehicles and surveillance motorcycles.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the DEA has been



instrumental in setting up at one Special Investigative Unit (SIU) in Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> Given Pakistan's location as a conduit for the South Asian drug trade, aid for building up its counter-narcotics capabilities and surveillance is important. Thus, the USG has invested considerable resources both in the military and civilian security sector to enhance Pakistan's counter-terrorism capabilities, with the focus primarily on hard security issues.

### **Pakistan's Role in the GWOT: Reports from the Field**

Pakistan, identified as a key ally in the GWOT, however continues to experience severe internal strife and instability under the present military regime. Sectarianism, terrorism, internal discord, narco-trafficking, organized crime and corruption – continue to wrack Pakistan.<sup>5</sup> The military regime while thwarting the growth of civilian institutions and democracy has been willing to take “the risk of an Islamist takeover in Pakistan to consolidate its hold on power”.<sup>6</sup> Pakistan's flirtations with Islamist extremism, both in its internal and external policy, appear to have boomeranged for successive military regimes and governments and have resulted in the growing strength of several sectarian and militant groups. According to some analysts, “Pakistan's struggle with militant Islamic extremism appears ...to have become a matter of survival for that country.”<sup>7</sup> The sectarian strife carried out by Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) on the Sunni side and the Tahrik-e-Jafaria (TJP) and its militant wing Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP) on the Shi'a side has plagued Pakistani society for years.<sup>8</sup> As the International Crisis Group's report on Asia, observed in 2005, the sectarian conflict is “the direct consequence of state policies of Islamisation and marginalisation of secular democratic forces”,<sup>9</sup> and the manner in which successive military governments in Islamabad have manipulated Sunni orthodoxy and militancy as an instrument of control and subjugation.

The internal conflicts also find expression in the ongoing strife in Balochistan against the Pakistani army. The province, which borders Afghanistan, has witnessed unprecedented violence since 2004 with the groups like the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), the Baloch People's Liberation Army (BPLA) and the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF)<sup>10</sup>, locked in constant struggle against the military regime for a greater share of the returns from its natural resources, in particular oil and gas, to address the province's underdevelopment. The August 26, 2006 killing of Nawab Bugti

by the military regime and the violent protests that followed portend a sharpening of the Baloch movement. Incidentally, the weapons used in the killing were of US arms provided to Pakistan in its counter terrorism operations. Reacting strongly to the killing of Nawab Bugti, Akbar Mengal, a member of the provincial assembly from the Balochistan Nationalist Party, said, "All those weapons and aid that the US has given to Pakistan to fight Al Qaeda and the Taliban, the Pakistan Army is using against the nationalists in Balochistan."<sup>48</sup>

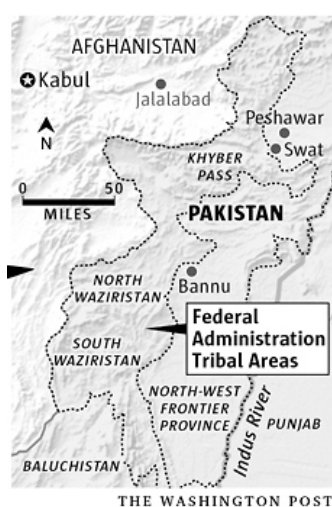
Apprehensions have been expressed by several analysts that such tactics of killings and illegal detention by the military government in Pakistan would further fuel insurgency in that province. The International Crisis Group (ICG) report of September 2006, observes "by using indiscriminate force, the military government is perpetuating this conflict and the reliance on Pashtun religious parties to counter Baloch opposition has strengthened Pashtun Islamist forces at the cost of moderates in Balochistan. With their chief Pakistani patron running the Balochistan government in alliance with Musharraf's Muslim League, a reinvigorated Afghan and Pakistani Taliban are attacking international forces, across Balochistan's border with Afghanistan".<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, the Taliban-Al Qaida combine have found refuge and been able to regroup in Pakistani cities and in the rugged terrain of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border region, inhabited by ethnic Pashtuns who express support for the Taliban. The growing influence of the Taliban North and South Waziristan as well as NWFP and the radicalisation of the Pakistani society<sup>50</sup> cannot be ignored. Present reports indicate that the Taliban's most important leadership council, the Quetta Shura, is based in the capital of Pakistan's Balochistan province; the Peshawar Shura in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar operates in the tribal areas of Dir and Bajur; Haqqani is based in Waziristan; and Al Qaida has a presence in Waziristan and Chitral, all in Pakistan's bordering areas with Afghanistan.<sup>51</sup> There also have been reports of Taliban ongoing recruitment and training in Pakistan for combat in Afghanistan and the existence of Al Qaida camps near the Afghan-Pakistan border.<sup>52</sup>

Al Qaida, reportedly, has forged alliances with Pakistani terrorist groups like Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM, proscribed in 2002 and now operates under the banner Jamaat-ul-Furqan)<sup>53</sup>, Harakat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI) and Harakat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM) implicated in both, anti-Western attacks

in Pakistan and terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir<sup>54</sup> and is exploiting the prevailing anti-American sentiment in the country. These terrorist groups in collaboration with the Al Qaida have created a 'lethal concoction' with overlapping linkages, membership and ideologies with serious implications for stability of that country and the region. This situation is further complicated by growing evidence of relocation of foreign extremists, linked to the Al Qaida, in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan's NWFP, leading to renewed offensives in Afghanistan and their spread even to Iraq. The lethal techniques adopted by the resurgent Taliban in terms of suicide and roadside bombings<sup>55</sup> indicate a trend of "Iraqisation of the conflict".<sup>56</sup>

### Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)



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While Pakistani officials deny the existence of Al Qaida leadership in the country and have as a proof of their sincerity cite the fact that they have captured and handed over several hundred Al Qaida militants to the US security forces, American officials continue to be skeptical.<sup>57</sup> There appears to be growing frustration among US policy makers with the lack of progress in nabbing "high value targets" (HVT)<sup>58</sup>. American officials privately acknowledge that parts of the Pakistani state may not be fully on board, but maintain that, given Musharraf's vulnerability, Washington needs to stick to a policy of "public support and private pressure," so as to not destabilize the regime — which is an important ally in the GWOT.<sup>59</sup>

In June 2005, former Director of Central Intelligence Porter Goss

claimed to have “an excellent idea of where [bin Laden] is” and suggested that “sanctuaries in sovereign states” and “our sense of international obligation” present obstacles to his capture.<sup>60</sup> President Musharraf continues to issue contradictory statements on bin Laden’s whereabouts.<sup>61</sup> In May 2006, Henry Crumpton, US Ambassador in charge of counter-terrorism stated explicitly that parts of Pakistan are a “safe haven” for militants and that Osama bin Laden was more likely to be hiding there than in Afghanistan.<sup>62</sup> Crumpton further added, “Pakistan is ‘not doing enough’ to root out Al Qaida and Taliban leaders who have found a safe haven on its soil. He added that an alliance of Al Qaida and Taliban leaders was stepping up violence in the Southern and Eastern Provinces of Afghanistan bordering Pakistan.”<sup>63</sup> As of date, almost half of Afghanistan is reeling under the impact of resurgence of the Taliban. (See Map)

### The Taliban Resurgence in Afghanistan



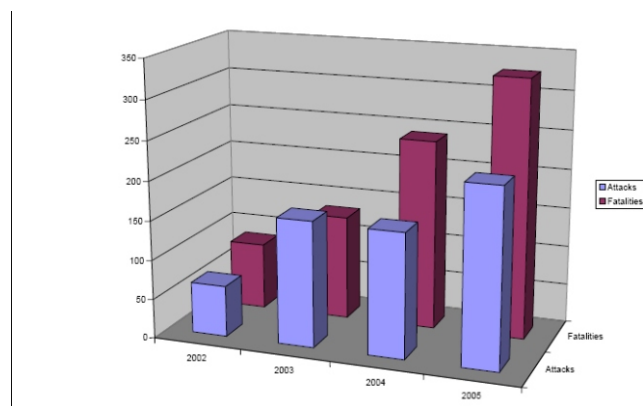
Source: “Afghanistan Five Years Later: The Return of the Taliban”, The Senlis Council, Spring-Summer 2006, p.62.

America’s most wanted man - Osama bin Laden and his deputy, Egyptian Islamic radical leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, are believed to be in Pakistan’s NWFP and South Waziristan, which by mid-2002 had become “the hub of Al Qaida operations in the whole world.”<sup>64</sup> In 2006, reports of sightings of Osama Bin Laden have come from areas adjoining the

Afghanistan-Pakistan border regions, which include the provinces of Khost, Waziristan, Paktika and Kunar.<sup>66</sup> *The Washington Post* reported on October 2 that a letter found when Al Qaida's chief in Iraq Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was killed in December 2005 indicate that the group's leadership was based in Pakistan's Waziristan province.<sup>66</sup>

Several Taliban leaders are reported to be living in Quetta, from where Taliban spokesman Abdul Latif Hakimi regularly met reporters until his arrest in October 2005.<sup>67</sup> Through 2005 Afghan authorities apprehended Pakistani nationals fighting alongside the Taliban who claimed to have received recent military training at jihad camps near Mansehra. <sup>68</sup>The frequency of attacks in 2003 on US-led coalition forces in southern and eastern Afghanistan increased and in October of that year, the then-US Special Envoy and Ambassador to Afghanistan Zalmay Khalilzad warned that resurgent Taliban and Al Qaida forces presented a serious threat to Afghan reconstruction efforts.<sup>69</sup> The year 2005 was the bloodiest in terms of fatalities and the number of terrorism-related incidences in Afghanistan (See Figure 1), and the terrorist attacks have continued unabated in 2006.<sup>70</sup>

**Figure 1: Growth in Insurgency: Attacks on Fatalities of Coalition and Government Forces in Afghanistan, 2002-2005.**



Source: RAND-MIPT Terrorism Incident Database, cited in Barnett R. Rubin, *Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition from Turmoil to Normalcy*, Council on Foreign Relations (New York), CSR No. 12, March 2006, p.8.

The linkages between these terrorists groups and elements in the Pakistan's political-military structure remain murky, and remain a serious threat to US counter-terrorism goals in the region. Senior US members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard G. Lugar, (Republican) of Indiana, and Joseph R. Biden Jr., (Democrat) of Delaware, have voiced concerns that elements of Pakistan's intelligence agencies might be helping members of the Taliban and other Islamic militants.<sup>73</sup> In March 2003, Pakistani army officer, Major Adil Qudoos was arrested for his links with Al Qaida operative Khalid Sheikh Mohammed.<sup>74</sup> Further, in August 2003, at least three Pakistani army officers, including two colonels, were arrested on suspicion of having ties to Al Qaida. Soon thereafter, the then-Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage was quoted as saying he does "not think that affection for working with us extends up and down the rank and file of the Pakistani security community."<sup>75</sup> While US concerns on Pakistan's non-proliferation remain, given the AQ Khan Saga, some linkages between Pakistani scientists and the terrorist groups cannot be entirely ruled out. Two senior retired Pakistani nuclear scientists, Sultan Bashiruddin Mahmood and Abdul Majid, reportedly met with Osama bin Laden in 2001 to conduct "long discussions about nuclear, chemical and biological weapons."<sup>76</sup>

From the time of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, Pakistan's powerful Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency has had direct contacts with Al Qaida figures.<sup>77</sup> In October 2001, "in a front page story, *The New York Times* argued that Pakistan's ISI even used the Al Qaida camps in Afghanistan to train terrorists for covert operations in India. The American fears over the ISI's dealings with the Kashmiri militant groups and the Taliban were such that the US Secret Service opposed a plan by the then President Bill Clinton to visit Pakistan in 2000."<sup>78</sup> Sympathetic ISI officials may even have provided shelter to Al Qaida members in both Pakistan and Kashmir<sup>79</sup> and orchestrated Al Qaida's shift into South Waziristan in 2002.<sup>80</sup>

A research paper commissioned by Britain's Ministry of Defence, which was leaked to the BBC in late September 2006, while describing Pakistan as being on the verge of chaos is reported to have blamed the ISI for "supporting terrorism and extremism, whether in London... or in Afghanistan or Iraq" and has accused "The Pakistani Army's dual role of indirectly supporting the Taliban by backing Pakistan's religious parties like the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA)<sup>81</sup>, and by brokering the deal in Waziristan."<sup>82</sup> While the ISI is increasingly coming under closer international

scrutiny, the Report recommends dismantling the ISI, if the problem of Pakistan's support to Islamist terrorism is to be resolved.

The terrorist groups in Pakistan have been systematically carrying out terror acts in the Indian states and have now shifted their attention to urban infrastructure. The July 11, 2006, serial bomb blasts targeting the railway network in Mumbai had connections with Pakistan based terrorist groups.<sup>81</sup> On September 30, 2006, the Mumbai Police stated that Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) had conceived and executed through the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), using the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) and their own modules. The principal conspirator of the attack has been identified as a top LeT functionary, Azam Cheema, who runs a terrorist training camp at Bahawalpur <sup>82</sup>in Pakistan, and his three executive planners in India were Faizal Sheikh, Kamaluddin Ansari and Ehtesham Siddiqui.

In October 2003 testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter Rodman said, "There are elements in the Pakistani government who we suspect are sympathetic to the old policy of before 9/11," adding that there still existed in northwestern Pakistan a radical Islamic infrastructure that "spews out fighters that go into Kashmir as well as into Afghanistan."<sup>83</sup> Pakistan's record vis-à-vis the Taliban remains more questionable than its record on Al Qaida, and to date, no high-value Taliban leader has been captured. There appears to be a semi-official acquiescence in Taliban activity in regional centres such as Quetta, which British intelligence has pinpointed as a source of much cross-border terrorist activity<sup>84</sup> and the support of tribal elites in the frontier provinces and Pakistani Islamic parties.<sup>85</sup> Many Afghan analysts suspect that Pakistan is continuing to support Pashtun militant elements to regain 'strategic depth' in Afghanistan in case of US withdrawal from the region as also as a point of leverage with the regional powers in the evolving "New Great Game"<sup>86</sup> in Afghanistan.

Despite Pakistan's public posture of radically changing its Afghan policy, reports indicate that Taliban recruiting and training continues to take place on Pakistani territory without much government interference. For example a report in the *Los Angeles Times* in September 2003 said, "A revitalised Taliban army is drawing recruits from militant groups in Pakistan, including Al Qaida loyalists, as it fights an escalating guerrilla war against US forces and their allies across the border in Afghanistan."<sup>87</sup> Another

report in the *Guardian* in May 2006 said, "The Taliban recruit, re-supply and coordinate their war effort from Pakistan. The insurgents slip across at several points along the 930-mile border, a largely un-patrolled stretch of sand, rock and mountain."<sup>8</sup> In the same month, senior NATO officials complained that Pakistan's military regime is turning a blind eye to Taliban recruitment taking place in Balochistan province.<sup>9</sup> The NATO's recent post-battle intelligence report on Operation Medusa,<sup>10</sup> the largest anti-Taliban set-piece battle that lasted from September 4-17 in the Panjwai district near the southern city of Kandahar, has demonstrated the extent of Taliban logistics capability and the clear involvement of Pakistan's ISI in providing it. According to a senior NATO officer, the estimates of the high cost of Taliban ammunition stocks of £2.6 million during the Operation, " could not have done this on their own without the ISI".<sup>11</sup> NATO captures of 160 Taliban, many of them Pakistanis, have described in detail the ISI's support to the Taliban and NATO is now mapping the entire Taliban support structure in Balochistan, ranging from ISI-run training camps near Quetta to huge ammunition dumps, arrival points for new weapons and meeting places for the Taliban leadership council in the province's capital.<sup>12</sup>

Reports indicate that the linkages between Al Qaida and Pakistani militant groups are informal and extensive, with Pakistani religious extremists facilitating Al Qaida activities. Although Al Qaida in Pakistan lacks physical infrastructure, the acts of terror are carried out with the help of Pakistani terrorist groups through a system of 'sub-contracting'.<sup>13</sup> Thus, despite Al Qaida's reported linkages to several anti-western attacks in Pakistan during 2002, the primary suspects in most attacks remain members of Pakistani groups.<sup>14</sup> There also appears to be "globalized" elements within Lashkar-e-Toiba (proscribed in 2002 and presently operates under the name of Jama-ul-Dawa) that are suspected to be pursuing an operational agenda that extends well beyond India.<sup>15</sup> The arrest of Abu Zubaydah in 2002 at a LeT safe house in Faisalabad, highlights the fact that the members of the group have actively cooperated with Al Qaida and possibly assisted with the movement of cadres throughout Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> In addition, there have been claims that the LeT has been instrumental in recruiting and training Islamists to engage American forces in Iraq<sup>17</sup> and, in the wake of the July 2005 London bombing, had provided some form of training to foreign jihadis wishing to carry out terrorist strikes in Western capitals.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, known Islamic extremists with ties to Al Qaida appear to have remained active on Pakistani territory.<sup>19</sup> The Associated Press reports



that suicide squads are being trained in Pakistan by Al Qaida operatives to hit targets in Afghanistan.<sup>100</sup>

Following Al Qaida's expulsion from Afghanistan in 2001 during Operation Enduring Freedom and ensuing relocation of some core elements in Pakistani cities of Karachi and Peshawar, some Al Qaida members are known to have joined forces with Pakistani Sunni militant groups, including LeT, JeM, SSP, and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), an FTO-designated offshoot of the SSP that has close ties with Al Qaida.<sup>101</sup> In January 2002, Pakistan banned five extremist groups, including LeT, JeM, and SSP. Yet, these groups continue to operate under changed names and with the support base of the Islamist parties in Pakistan. There is no evidence to suggest that President Musharaff is doing much to break these linkages; instead he seems to be playing this card as a bargaining chip with the Americans while targeting sectarian and indigenous nationalist groups.

In a dramatic turnaround of events, on September 5, 2006, the military regime in Pakistan signed a 'peace agreement'<sup>102</sup> with the Taliban leaders in North Waziristan to halt cross-border movement, and stop ever increasing attacks on Government installations and security forces.<sup>103</sup> Notwithstanding the truce deal, the Taliban have opened two offices in Miran Shah, the capital of North Waziristan and attacks in southern Afghanistan have increased threefold and could provide amnesty to Osama bin Laden as a "peaceful citizen".<sup>104</sup> According to Alexis Debat, a former French counter-terrorism official, "the traditional structures of tribal power were increasingly being supplanted by the rule of Islamic clerics with pro-Taliban sympathies";<sup>105</sup> this would make managing the deal an arduous task. While General Musharraf's attempts at 'building bridges' indicates the army's incapacity of quelling the Taliban<sup>106</sup> and the retreat of the state; it could also provide the Taliban-Al Qaida combine space to reinvigorate their activities and expand their area of influence.

The Taliban movement in Afghanistan began among Afghan refugees attending Pakistani *madrassas* (seminaries) during Zia's regime.<sup>107</sup> There exist varied perceptions of *madrassas* curriculum as potential training ground of terrorists.<sup>108</sup> However, In Pakistan, many of these *madrassas* are financed and operated by Pakistani Islamist political parties such as Jamaat-e-Ulema Islam (JUI), is closely linked to the Taliban, as well as by foreign sponsors in Saudi Arabia.<sup>109</sup> As many as two-thirds of Pakistan's seminaries are run by the Deobandi sect, with strong anti-Shia sentiment and linkages

with the SSP<sup>110</sup> and to several US designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations.<sup>111</sup> According to a report in 2005, the Taliban are still recruiting younger men in the age group of 18-25 from *madrassas* straddling the border with Pakistan.<sup>112</sup> Speaking in May 2006, President Hamid Karzai told a provincial gathering: "We know very well that in Pakistani *madrassas*, boys are being told to go to Afghanistan for *jihad*. They're being told to go and burn schools and clinics."<sup>113</sup> NATO's post Operation Medusa report identifies "Two training camps for the Taliban are located just outside Quetta where the Taliban are using hundreds of local *madrassas* with linkages with JUI, to house the fighters and rally them for the mission ahead before sending them to the front."<sup>114</sup>

Despite President Musharraf's claim of reforming the *madrassa* system not much has been done. In fact in September 2004, Musharraf provided assurances to leading Pakistani religious seminarians that his government would not interfere in the affairs of *madrassas*.<sup>115</sup> In July 2005, international attention to Pakistan's religious schools intensified after reports indicated that three of the four suspects in the London bombings visited a *madrassa* near Lahore.<sup>116</sup> The ensuing action against Pakistani religious extremists included a government deadline for *madrassa* registration, which has been resisted by the country's leading *madrassa* grouping — the Wafaq-ul- Madaris, which is opposed to certain requirements, including an obligation to report funding sources.<sup>117</sup> Little has been achieved despite the 9/11 Commission Report's recommendation that US support non-religious education and the legislation passed by the 108th Congress (PL 108-458) calling for increased US government attention to and resources for this issue.<sup>118</sup>

Concerns about the resurgence in Taliban activities raise questions about the sources of funding for the movement. Failure of the post-OEF reconstruction process and the absence of an alternative livelihood programme in Afghanistan have resulted in a spike in Afghan opium production, raising concerns of Afghanistan becoming a "narco-state," aiding terrorist groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan.<sup>119</sup> In 2003, Afghanistan became the world's leading source of opiates, supplying three quarters of the global market.<sup>120</sup> Afghanistan today is the world's foremost narco-economy accounting for roughly one-third of total GDP.<sup>121</sup> According to the UN and IMF estimates "the total export value of opiates produced in Afghanistan in 2005–2006 equaled about 38 percent of non-drug GDP, and nearly 80 percent of the income from narcotics went not to farmers

but to traffickers and heroin processors, some of whose profits corrupt the government officials and support armed groups and warlords".<sup>122</sup> In fact, reports indicate Taliban and Al Qaida involvement higher up the drug trade chain, where profits are greater.<sup>123</sup>

There is Congressional concern that heroin trafficking has become a major source of funding for Al Qaida.<sup>124</sup> According to the US State department "Afghanistan drug profits support the Taliban and their terrorism efforts against the United States, its allies and the Afghan government."<sup>125</sup> Profits from the drug trade coupled with increased support from other benefactors have enabled the Taliban to purchase more sophisticated weaponry, including Russian and Chinese surface-to-air missiles. The downing of an MH-47 helicopter carrying 16 US personnel in June 2005 demonstrated the operational advantage that such weapons have conferred on the Taliban.<sup>126</sup>

Pakistan remains the conduit of drug trade from Afghanistan. The director of Pakistan's Anti-Narcotics Force has estimated that 70 per cent of narcotics produced in Afghanistan is trafficked through Pakistan.<sup>127</sup> The drug trade supports a network of smugglers, traffickers, organised crime syndicates and terror groups in a 'Vicious cycle of conflict'. The fugitive underworld don Dawood Ibrahim, the alleged mastermind behind the 1993 Mumbai blasts, has linkages with terror and Islamist extremist groups.<sup>128</sup> New Delhi's claims pertaining to Dawood are largely shared by the USG. According to a 2003 report by the US Treasury Department, the Karachi-based criminal "has found common cause with Al Qaida, sharing his smuggling routes with the terror syndicate and funding attacks by Islamist extremists aimed at destabilizing the Indian government. He is wanted for the 1993 Bombay Stock Exchange bombings and is known to have financed the activities of Lashkar-e-Taiba."<sup>129</sup> Dawood Ibrahim and his associates have been reported to have facilitated the transport of several Ahmedabad residents recruited by the Jaish-e-Mohammad to Dhaka and then to Karachi in 2001 and aided the transit of another group of terror recruits through Bangkok.<sup>130</sup> Following these findings, Washington has officially designated Dawood Ibrahim as a terrorist supporter.<sup>131</sup> Likewise, The US had signaled increased pressure on Islamabad in October 2003 when the Treasury Department designated the Pakistan-based Al Akhtar Trust as a terrorist support organization under Executive Order 13224.<sup>132</sup> Yet no action has been taken against Dawood so far and Pakistan has yet to extradite him to India. In effect, given Pakistan's mounting internal

instability and external activism, American commentators suggest that Pakistan presents “even tougher challenges to US security policy”.<sup>133</sup>

### **Lacunae in US Counter-Terrorism Strategy**

The USG’s dependence on President Musharraf has proved to be counter-productive in pursuing its counter-terrorism goals in the region. Interestingly, contrary to the USG’s approach, in a July 2004 hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a panel of Pakistani analysts highlighted the potential problems inherent in “over-reliance on President Pervez Musharraf as an individual at the potential cost of more positive development of Pakistan’s democratic institutions and civil society.” The US is attempting to deal with Pakistan through “policy triage and by focusing on the personal leadership of President Musharraf,” both of which are “flawed concepts.” Thus, as one leading American specialist on Pakistan observes: “The United States must alter the impression our support for Pakistan is essentially support for Musharraf”.<sup>134</sup> These perspectives suggest that many observers in the US are wary of USG’s dependence on President Musharraf and the Pakistani army for the success of its counter-terrorism goals. This dilemma and concerns of the USG, has been summarized by Strmecki, “Musharraf is a vital – but profoundly flawed – vehicle for such a counter-terrorism strategy”<sup>135</sup>

President Musharraf’s decision to join the GWOT does not reflect a structural transformation in Pakistan’s policy but is a result of tactical considerations aimed at minimizing losses that Islamabad would suffer because of the collapse of the friendly Taliban regime in Afghanistan.<sup>136</sup> The contradictions evident in Pakistan’s role in the GWOT reveal Musharraf’s desire for Pakistan to retain its status as a frontline state in the war on terrorism, due to the huge financial windfall of such cooperation. Recent estimates depict that Pakistan has cashed in \$50 billion (half of its GDP) in grants-in-aid, soft loans, debt write-offs, debt-rescheduling, preferential terms of trade, selective investment and remittances between 2001 and 2006.<sup>137</sup> Thus, Islamabad has adopted a dual policy of privately backing the resurgent Taliban, as well as publicly fighting them, as it does not want to lose billions of dollars flowing from Pakistan’s cooperation with the United States.

The bulk of US assistance to Pakistan has been towards hard security and little attention has been accorded to civic programmes crucial to address

some of the causes behind the growth of militancy and terrorism in the country. The USG has devoted most of its counter-terrorism assistance in enhancing border security primarily along Pakistan's northern and western borders with Afghanistan. While the Taliban-Al Qaida leadership has shifted to the major cities such as Quetta, Lahore and Karachi,<sup>138</sup> the direction of Washington's counter-terrorism policy has not kept pace with these developments. Also, there exist various areas of concerns like organized crime and smuggling, with which extremist and terrorist groups have often been linked, and most importantly the lack of political intent in developing viable structures of civil governance that the USG has not emphasised in its law enforcement support to Pakistan.

The perception within the US policy making circles on the efficacy of American assistance in helping Pakistan address some of the deficiencies in its domestic security apparatus seems positive. The internal security programmes, particularly, PISCES, AFIS and the SIG are considered as beneficial in building a strong regime of border control.<sup>139</sup> However, the true potential of US aid has been limited both by the lack of intent and capacity of Pakistan as well as by the specific way the US aid programmes have been developed and implemented,<sup>140</sup> without fully assessing the ground realities in Pakistan.

Pakistani Law enforcement agencies working on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border lack basic training, equipment and communication capabilities, according to reports.<sup>141</sup> The difficult terrain along the western border coupled with the local support for the Taliban among the Pushtun tribes have undermined the ability of extant law enforcement organizations to operate optimally. Moreover, Pakistan's military government has done minimal in the crucial areas of *madrassa* reform and police reform despite a promising start with the now defunct Police Order Act (POA) of 2002.<sup>142</sup> The functions of the police, on many occasions are taken over by the Intelligence resulting in inter-agency competition and weakening of civilian structures of law enforcement. Without adequate mechanisms to ensure transparency for the country's law enforcement community, the effectiveness of US assistance in achieving the goals of counterterrorism and good governance are severely undermined.

The efforts to establish a regime for countering terror financing in Pakistan have also proven to be unsuccessful. In Pakistan, the Al Qaida and other foreign jihadis are believed to transfer funds through the state's

informal cash-based *hawala* system<sup>44</sup> as well as drug trade. Yet, no steps have been taken to create a dedicated Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU).<sup>44</sup> Although, Pakistan is committed to work in accordance with the UN 1267 Sanctions Committee and freeze the assets of individuals and groups identified as terrorist entities linked to Al Qaida-Taliban and that Pakistan's Parliament passed an amendment to the 1997 Antiterrorism Act<sup>45</sup>, the Government's failure to pass an anti-money laundering or counterterrorist financing law that meets international standards undermines Pakistan's ability to cooperate with the US on curbing the financing of terrorism.

## Conclusion

The true potential of US-Pakistan counter-terrorism cooperation has not been achieved so far and because of the lack of Pakistan's willingness and capacity to implement US-aided counter terrorism programmes in the country. The 'marginal role' played by Pakistan and the dependence of the US policy makers on the military regime undermines US counter-terrorism goals in South Asia. Pakistan remains a sanctuary and safe haven for terrorists with international linkages in direct opposition to the US goal of creating an environment inhospitable to terrorists and all those who support them. The USG's strategy to act on four fronts – Defeat, Deny, Diminish and Defend (4Ds) appears to be failing in Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan's official or unofficial support to the Taliban is creating fissures between the two important allies in the GWOT—Afghanistan and Pakistan, and causing huge security concerns in the region. Meanwhile, the lethality and violence perpetrated by the resurgent Taliban is growing.

In the regional context, unless Islamabad abandons all state support for militancy in terms of aiding insurgency in J&K and expanding 'strategic depth' in Afghanistan, the counter terrorism efforts would best be ineffective. The distinction maintained by the Pakistani government between the threats posed by the Al Qaida, the Taliban and domestic jihadis is perfidious given that many of these groups have developed overlapping linkages in terms of membership and ideology and have the support of segments in Pakistan's intelligence and armed forces.

Given that the terror emanating from Pakistan-Afghanistan border affects the security in the region, a path-breaking step would be greater involvement of India as a member of the Tripartite Commission, which includes Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Coalition forces in Afghanistan. In

the light of the 'joint mechanism' on counter-terrorism, announced after the September 16 meeting between General Musharraf and the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Havana, India's inclusion in the Tripartite Commission in a regional security framework would be only be a logical corollary.

The US aid to military regimes in Pakistan, in the past, has impeded the growth of civilian structures of governance and has led to deligitimisation of the political class. In its present cooperation with Pakistan, US assistance does not appear to be strengthening the civilian structures of law enforcement, but instead it is enhancing the military regime's hold on power. Moreover, the increase in the resurgent Taliban activity coupled with growing anti-American sentiment in the region does not portend well for the US.

One of the prime challenges for the USG's policy towards Pakistan would be to utilise US assistance in a manner that would not enhance security problems in the long term. The provision of US aid needs to be made contingent on Pakistan meeting significant benchmarks in comprehensively cracking down on all forms of terrorism (not just dealing with sectarianism and Baloch nationalism) and fostering civilian structures of governance. The thrust of the US counter-terrorism cooperation with Pakistan needs to strengthen internal security structures so as to address the causes of terrorism, extremism and discontent in that country. Else, Pakistan would continue to be part of the 'problem' rather than a 'solution' to the US counter-terrorism goals.

### **Acknowledgement**

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## Annexure 1: US Assistance to Pakistan, FY2001-FY2007

Program or Account	FY2001 Actual	FY2002 Actual	FY2003 Actual	FY2004 Actual	FY2005 Actual	FY2006 Estimate	FY2007 Request
CSH	—	5.0	15.6	25.6	21.0	32.2	21.7
DA	—	10.0	34.5	49.4	29.0	40.6	29.0
ESF	—	624.5	188.0 <sup>d</sup>	200.0 <sup>d</sup>	297.6	337.1	350.0
FMF	—	75.0	224.5	74.6	298.8	297.0	300.0
IMET	—	0.9	1.0	1.4	1.9	2.0	2.1
INCLE	3.5	90.5 <sup>b</sup>	31.0	31.5	32.1	37.6	25.5
NADR	—	10.1	—	4.9	8.0	7.8	10.3
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$3.5</b>	<b>\$1,061.0<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>\$494.6</b>	<b>\$387.4</b>	<b>\$688.4<sup>e</sup></b>	<b>\$754.3<sup>f</sup></b>	<b>\$738.6</b>
Food Aid <sup>a</sup>	87.5	90.8	18.7	24.0	18.0	26.7	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$91.0</b>	<b>\$1,151.8<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>\$513.3</b>	<b>\$411.4</b>	<b>\$706.4<sup>e</sup></b>	<b>\$781.0<sup>f</sup></b>	<b>\$738.6</b>

### Abbreviations:

CSH: Child Survival and Health

DA: Development Assistance

ESF: Economic Support Fund

FMF: Foreign Military Financing

IMET: International Military Education and Training

NADR: Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining and Related

INCLE: International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (includes border security)

Sources: US Departments of State and Agriculture; US Agency for International Development cited in K. Alan Kronstadt, "Pakistan-U.S. Relations", Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report, Updated May 9, 2006, p.16.

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