

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

Pakistan Historical Background

Notable Ideas and Terms

Government Policies and Actions

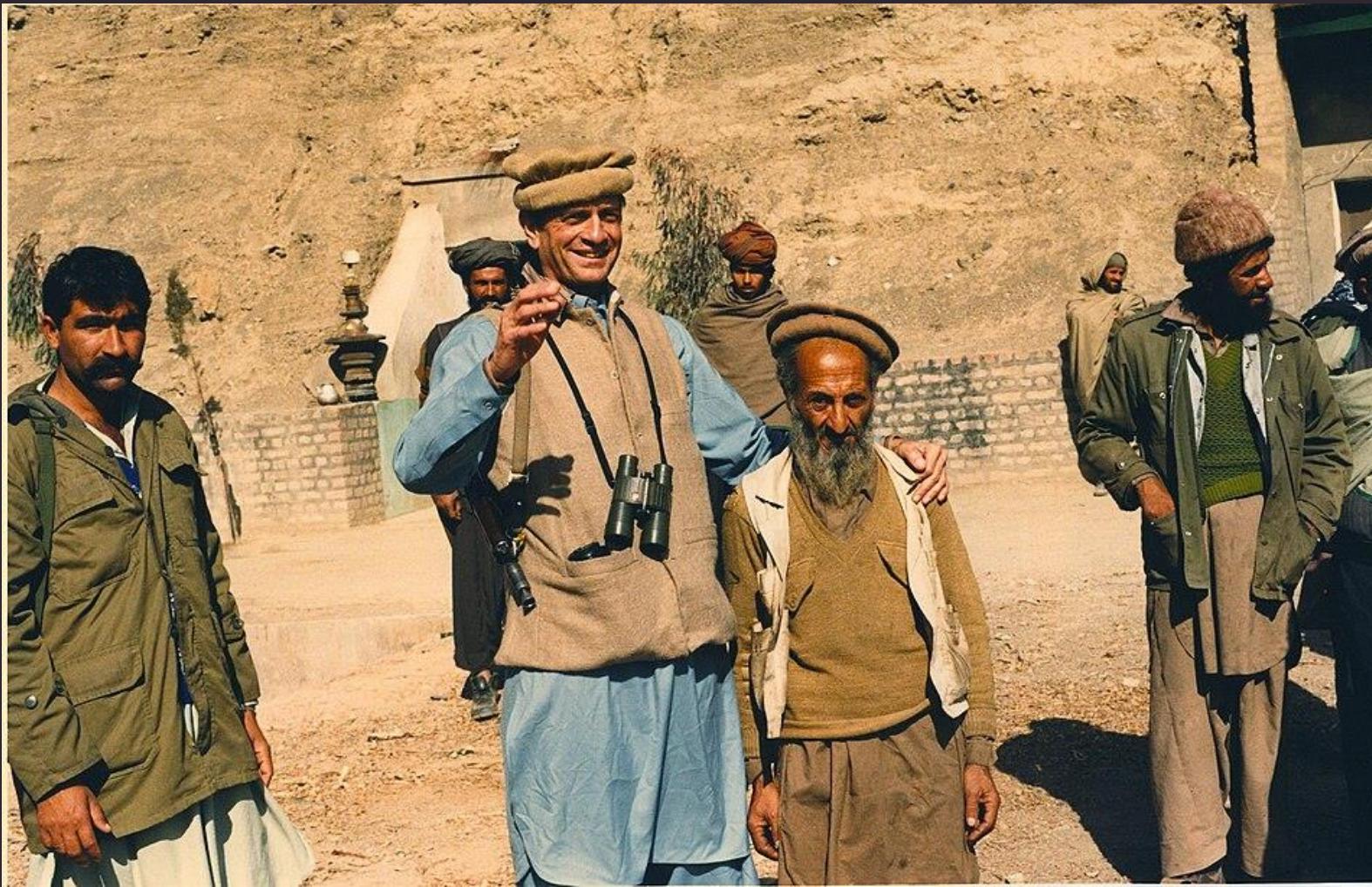
- Basics of Pakistan as a regional power in South Asia
- Pakistan government's security priorities

Other Concepts and Events

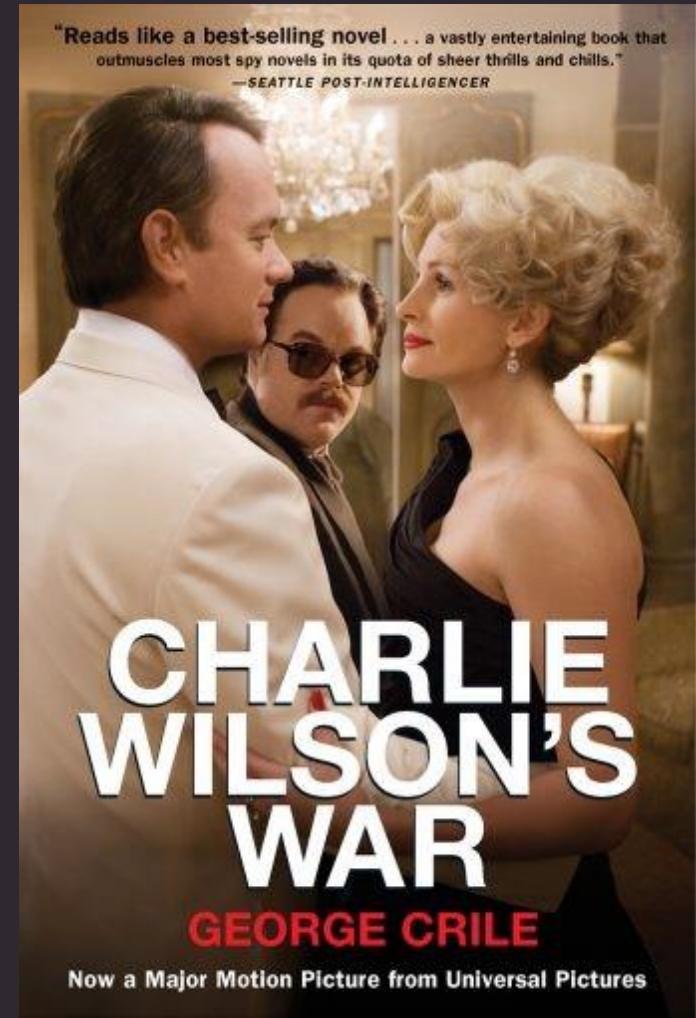
- Creation of India and Pakistan 1947
- Bangladesh War of Independence (1971)
- Ethnic (linguistic) diversity in Pakistan
- Idea of Pashtunistan

Common American Complaints About Pakistani Policy

1. The Pakistani government facilitated the return of the IEA (the “Taliban”), even as it claimed to be advancing America’s goals in Afghanistan.
2. The Pakistani government kept al-Qaeda members and other dangerous international militants (“terrorists”) out of America’s reach.
3. The Pakistani government pocketed ample US development, military, and intelligence assistance without delivering equal benefits for the United States.

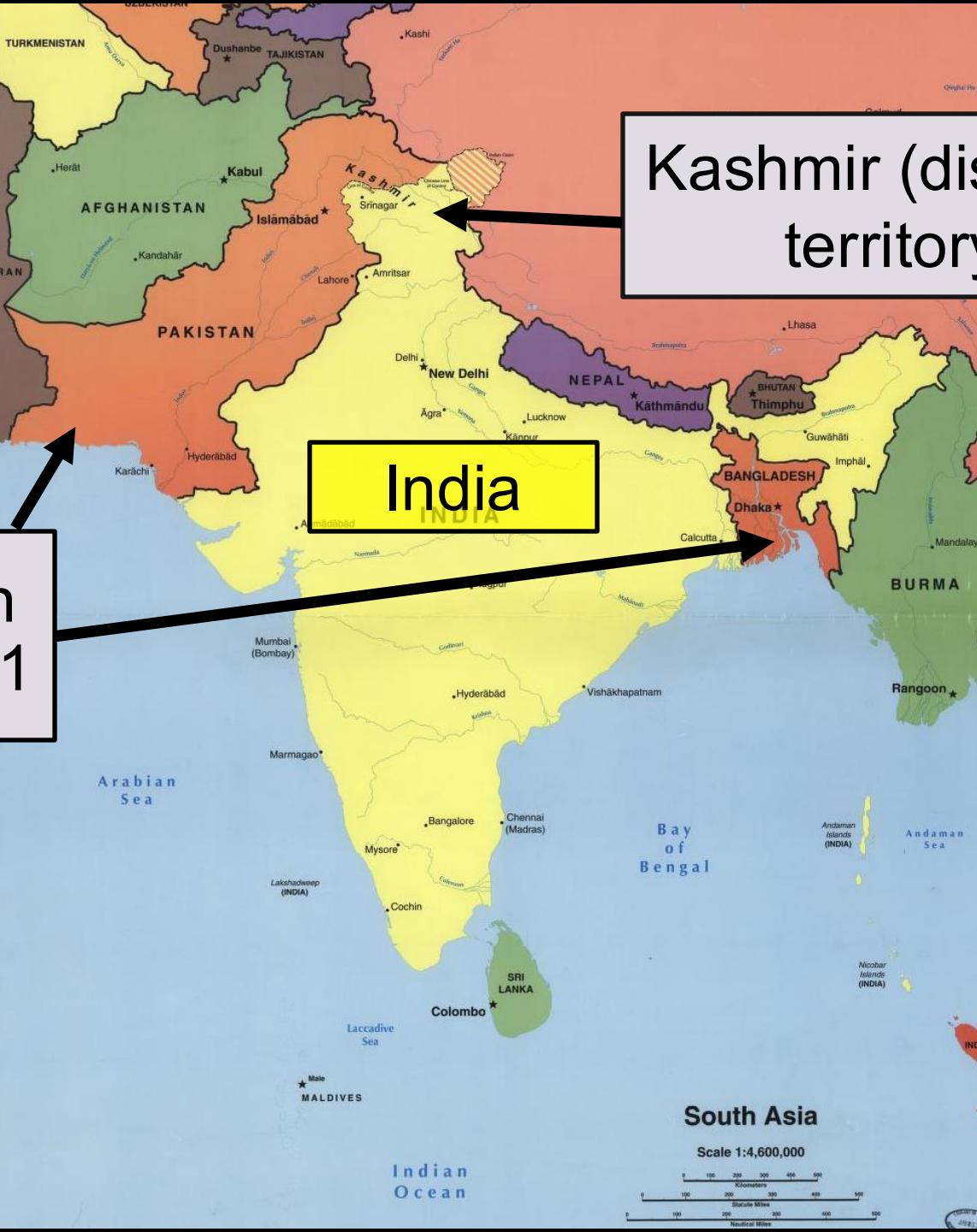


Texas congressman Charlie Wilson
(served 1973-1996) visiting Afghanistan.



The novel and film based
on his experience.

Pakistan
until 1971



Kashmir (disputed
territory)



Pakistan
(after 1971)

Bangladesh

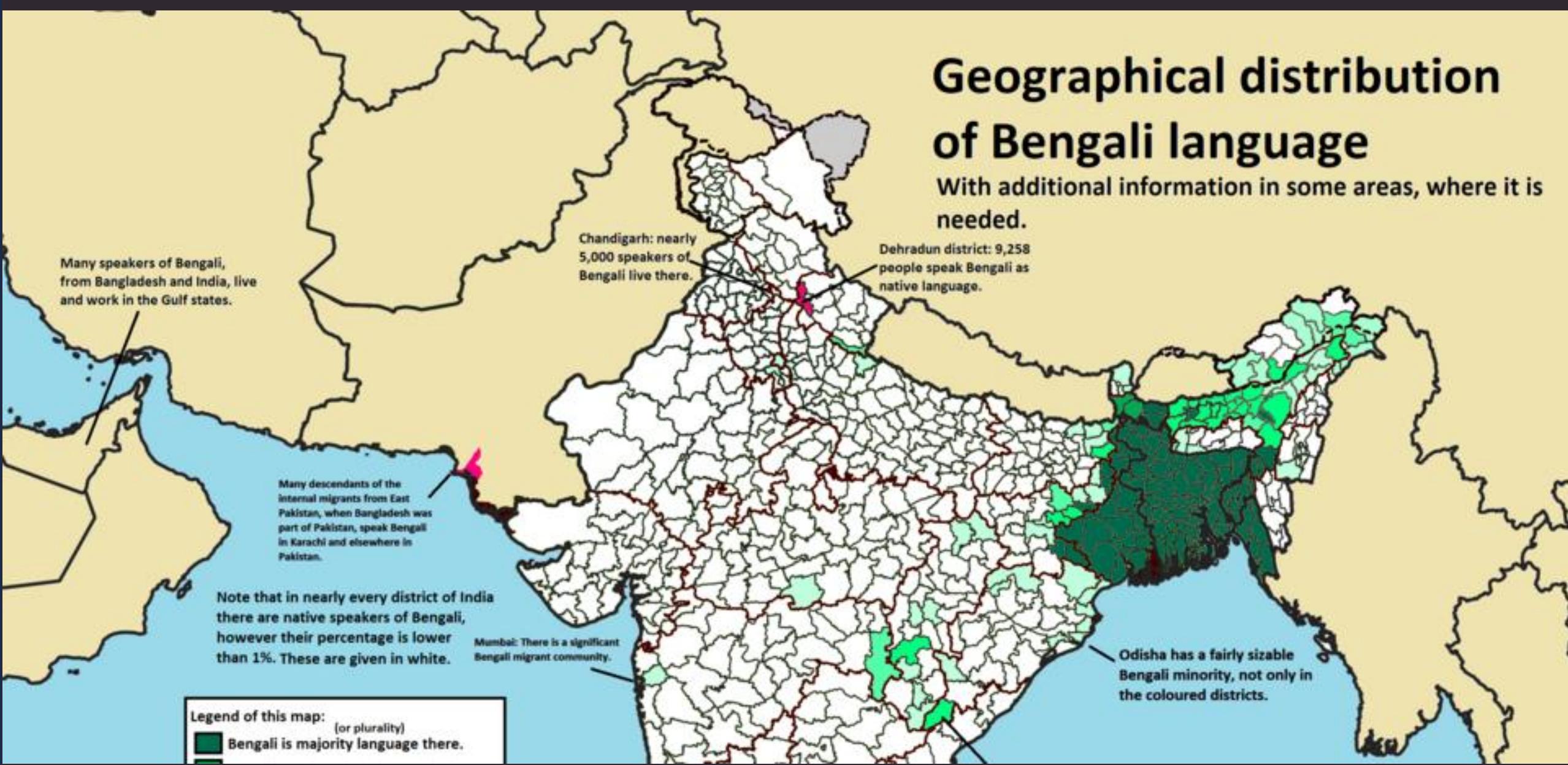
South Asia

Scale 1:4,600,000



Geographical distribution of Bengali language

With additional information in some areas, where it is needed.

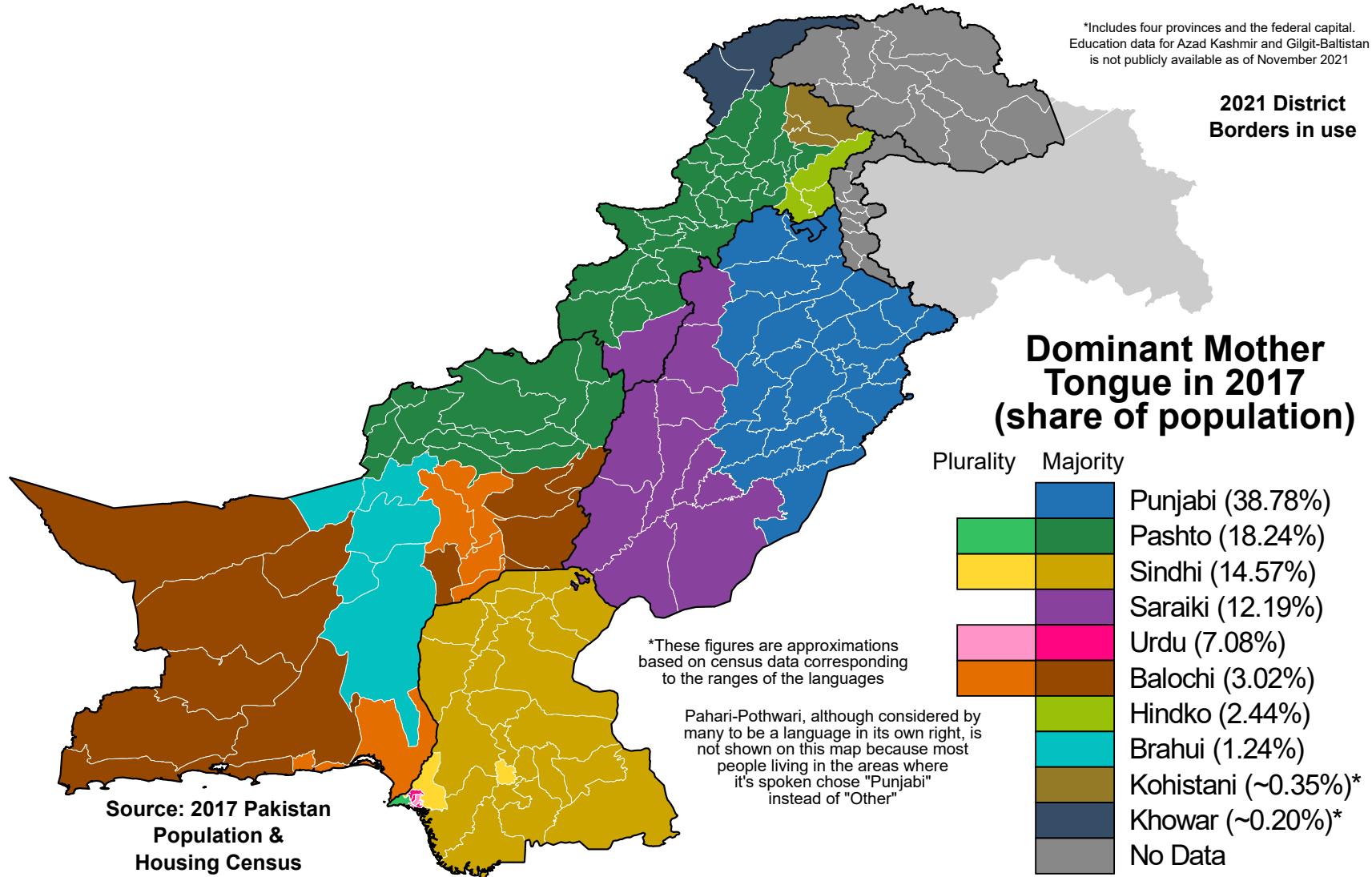




Pashtun human rights demonstrators inside Pakistan.



Pashtun human rights demonstrators inside Pakistan. Nobel Peace Prize laureate (and ethnic Pashtun) Malala Yousoufzai.



U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

Pakistan Political Background

Notable Ideas and Terms

Government Policies and Actions

- Role of the military in Pakistani politics
- Role of religion in policymaking in Pakistan
- 1999 coup in Pakistan

Pakistani Politicians

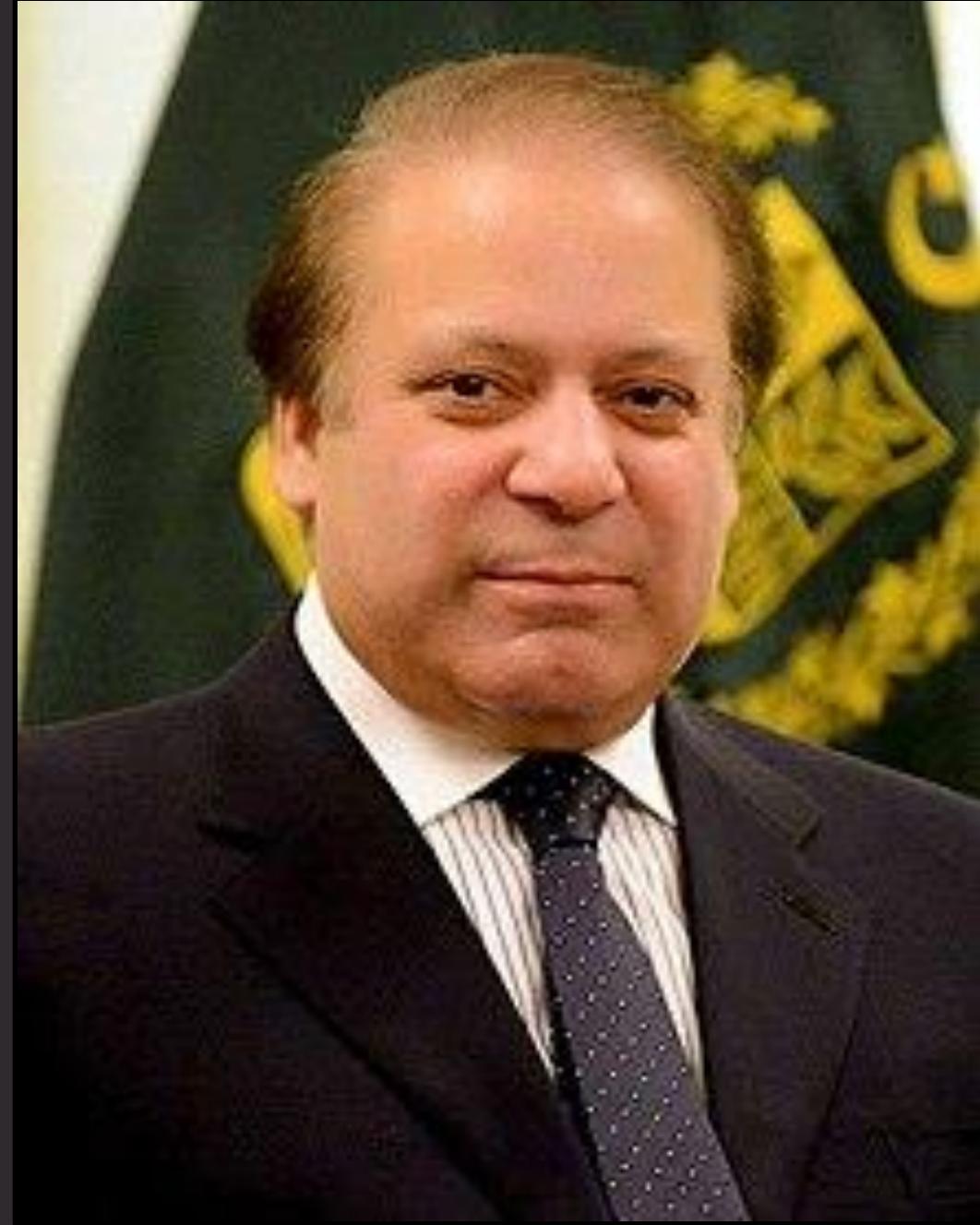
- Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan People's Party (PPP))
- Nawaz Sharif (Pakistan Muslim League (PML))
- General Pervez Musharraf



Benazir Bhutto
Pakistan's People Party (PPP)
(b. 1953, d. (assassinated)
2007;
Prime Minister of Pakistan
1988-1990,
1993-1996)

Nawaz Sharif,
Pakistan Muslim League (PML)
(b. 1949;
Prime Minister of Pakistan
1990-1993, 1997-1999, 2013-
2017)









A television image of COAS [Chief of Army Staff] General Pervez Musharraf, on October 12, 1999, as he announces he has taken power, from PM Nawaz Sharif.



Pervez Musharraf (b. 1943, d. 2023;
Chief of Army Staff, 1998-2007,
President of Pakistan 2001-2008).
With President George W. Bush
in 2006.

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

US–Pakistan, 2001-2004

Notable Ideas and Terms

Government Policies and Actions

- Pakistan-IEA relations before 9/11
- Pakistani support of US forces invading Afghanistan
- US-Pakistani capture of al-Qaeda operatives in Pakistan
- Reported treatment of alleged al-Qaeda members in US custody

Non-State Organizations and Members

- al-Qaeda
- Abu Zubaydah
- Khaled Sheikh Mohamed
- Ramzi bin al-Shibh



Elements of Pakistan's pre-9/11 Support for the IEA

- Military advisers to help the IEA manage its military vehicles and weapons
- Fuel (oil) for the IEA's military
- Large numbers (estimated in the thousands) of Pakistani Pashtuns to bolster IEA ground forces in the fight against the Northern Alliance
- Pakistani special forces to enhance IEA combat operations against the Northern Alliance

Source: Bruce Riedel (CIA analyst 1997-2006, Chair of Obama's Af-Pak review committee in 2009). <https://perma.cc/ZW5Y-A777>.



Dep. Sec. of State Richard Armitage
meeting with Musharraf
(This photo is from 2004)





List of "Ghost Prisoners" Possibly in CIA Custody

Summary

Human Rights Watch published a list of 20 individuals suspected of involvement in terrorist activities, including the September 11 attacks, who were reportedly in CIA custody. The list includes individuals from various countries, such as Pakistan, Yemen, and Indonesia, and includes alleged al-Qaeda operatives and financiers. The locations of these prisoners are unknown, and there are concerns about potential torture or mistreatment.

List of Detainees Published by Human Rights Watch

November 30, 2005 2:07PM EST

The current location of these prisoners is unknown.

List, as of December 1, 2005:

1. Ibn Al-Shaykh al-Libi

Reportedly arrested on November 11, 2001, Pakistan.

Libyan, suspected commander at al-Qaeda training camp.

Previously **listed** as "disappeared" by Human Rights Watch.



Abu Zubaydah

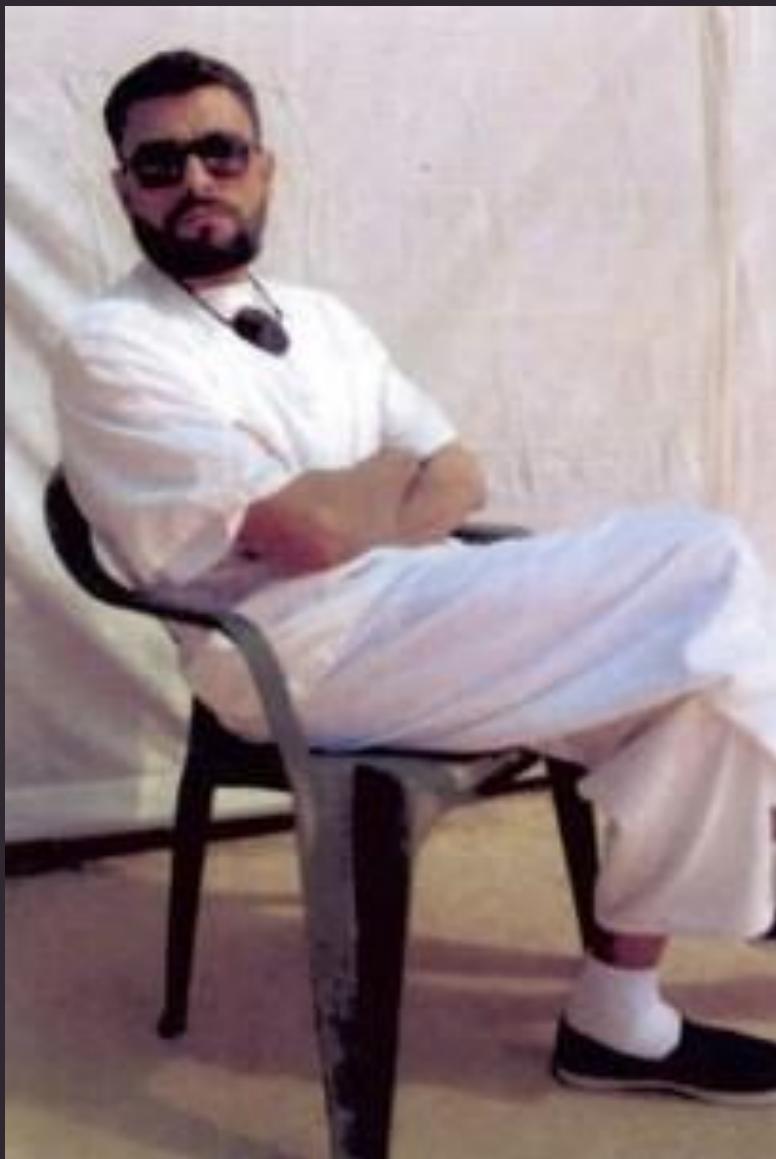
Birthyear: 1971

Nationality: Palestinian

Country of birth:
Saudi Arabia

Captured: March 28,
2002 in Faisalabad
(Punjab province),
Pakistan

Arrival at Guantanamo
Bay detention camp:
September 2006



nytimes.com

Lawyers Expand Legal Fight for Longest-Held Prisoner of War on Terrorism

Abu Zubaydah was the first prisoner waterboarded by the C.I.A. He has never faced charges at Guantánamo Bay.

Oct. 4, 2023

theguardian.com

The CIA tortured him after 9/11. Then they lied. Will the truth ever come out?

Summarize

Ed Pilkington



The New York Times

Waterboarding Used 266 Times on 2 Suspects



Share full article



1K

By Scott Shane

April 19, 2009

C.I.A. interrogators used waterboarding, the near-drowning technique that top Obama administration officials have described as illegal torture, 266 times on two key prisoners from Al Qaeda, far more than had been previously reported.

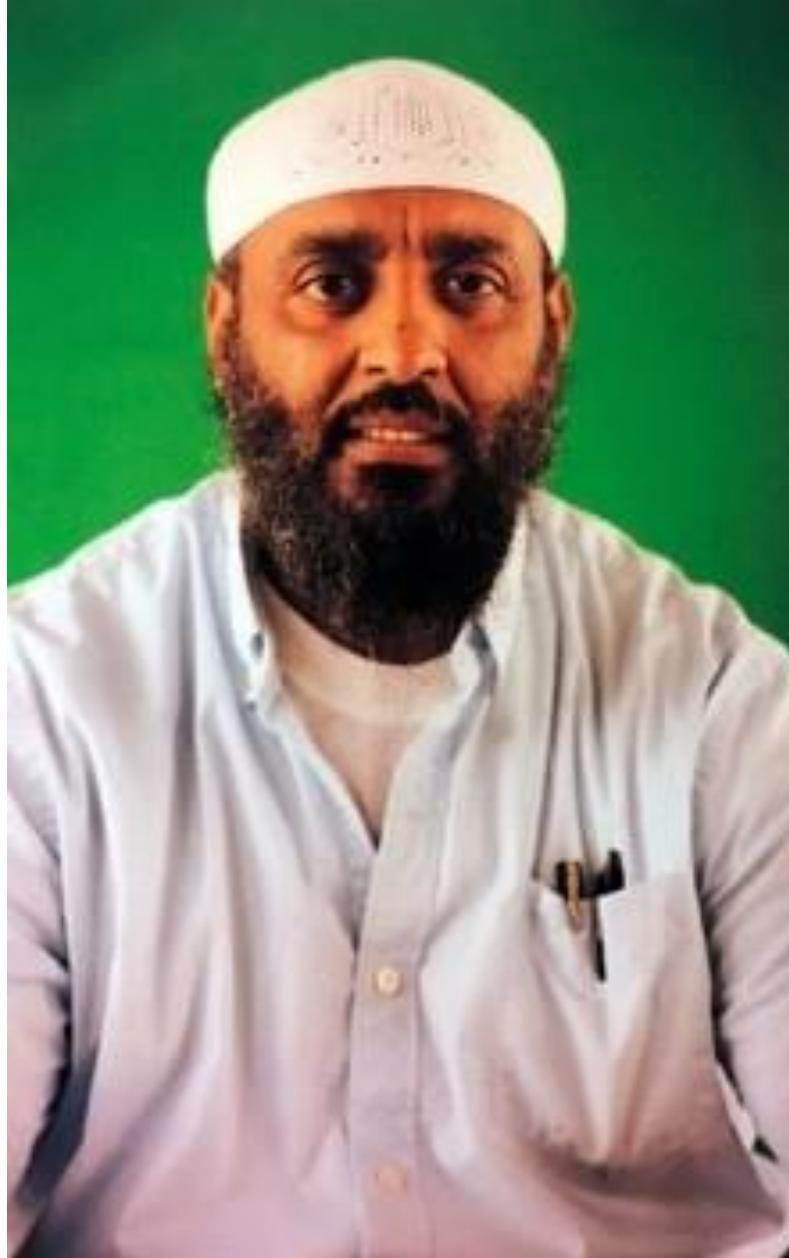
The C.I.A. officers used waterboarding at least 83 times in August 2002 against Abu Zubaydah, according to a 2005 Justice Department legal memorandum. Abu Zubaydah has been described as a Qaeda operative.



Ramzi bin al-Shibh after his capture by American and Pakistani operatives

Source:

<https://perma.cc/X2C4-MJJ3>



Ramzi Bin al-Shibh

Birthyear: 1972

Nationality: Yemeni

Country of birth:
Yemen

Captured: September
11, 2002 in Karachi
(Sindh province),
Pakistan

Arrival at Guantanamo
Bay detention camp:
September 2006

 <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/21/us/politics/september-11-g>   

The New York Times

9/11 Defendant Not Fit for Death-Penalty Trial, Judge Rules

A military mental health panel said that Ramzi bin al-Shibh had PTSD, psychosis and delusions, which his lawyer blamed on his torture by the C.I.A.



Khaled Sheikh Mohammed (sometimes called “KSM”)

Birthyear: 1965

Nationality: Pakistani (his father is from the province of Balochistan)

Country of birth:
Kuwait

Captured: March 1, 2003 in Rawalpindi (Punjab province), Pakistan

Arrival at Guantanamo Bay detention camp: December 2006



nytimes.com



The New York Times

Waterboarding Used 266 Times on 2 Suspects

Share full article



1K

By Scott Shane

April 19, 2009

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

US–Pakistan, 2004–2008

Notable Ideas and Terms

Policies and Related Concepts

- US aid to Pakistan
- Expansion of anti-al-Qaeda campaign into Pakistan
- Relation of Pakistan central government with the FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Area)
- Introduction of UCAVs (unmanned combat aerial vehicles)
- “Kill-not-capture”

People and Groups

- al-Qaeda members living in FATA
- Nek Muhammad

Pakistan's Tribal Districts

POPULATION:

5 million (97% rural)

LANGUAGE:

**99% speak Pashto
as mother tongue.**

LITERACY RATE:

33%



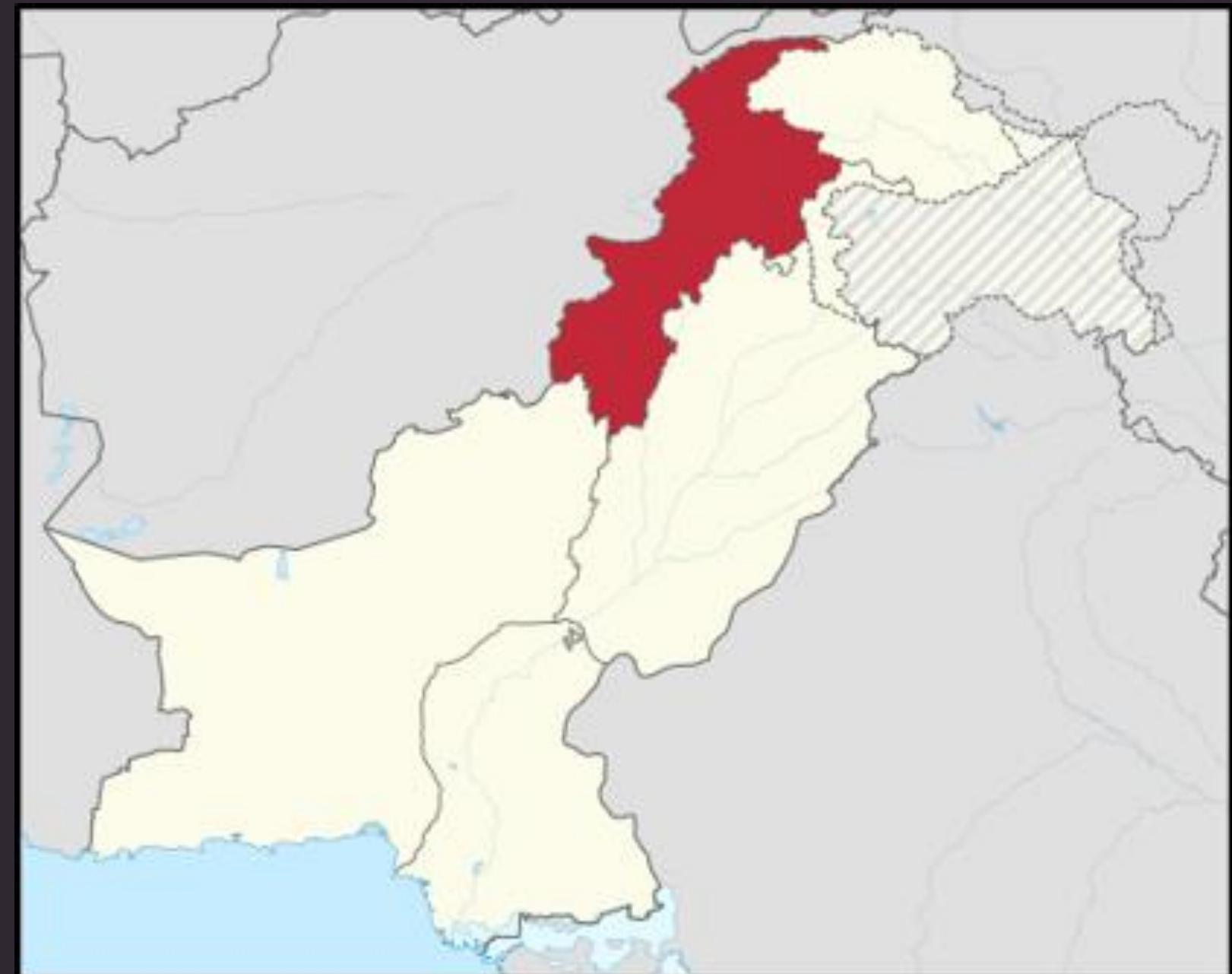




Nek Muhammad (Wazir)
(b. 1975, k. July 2004;
tribal leader in Wana,
South Waziristan and
supporter of Taliban and
al-Qaeda fighters there)



In 2018 the Government of Pakistan incorporated the FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) into the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (which, before 2010, had been called the North-West Frontier Province). The red area indicates post-2018 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.



U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

US-Pakistan 2009-2010

Notable Ideas and Terms

Government Policies and Related Concepts

- Increase in UCAV (drone) strikes
- Expansion of targets in Global War on Terror

People and organizations

- Ali Zardari
- Ashfaq Kayani
- Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)
- Differences across al-Qaeda, IEA, TTP

Pakistan People's Party

پاکستان پیپلز پارٹی



Abbreviation

PPP

Pakistan Muslim League (N)

پاکستان مسلم لیگ (ن)



Abbreviation

PML(N)

2008 Pakistani general election



← 2002

18 February 2008

2013 →

All 342 seats in the [National Assembly](#)

172 seats needed for a majority

Registered 80,724,153

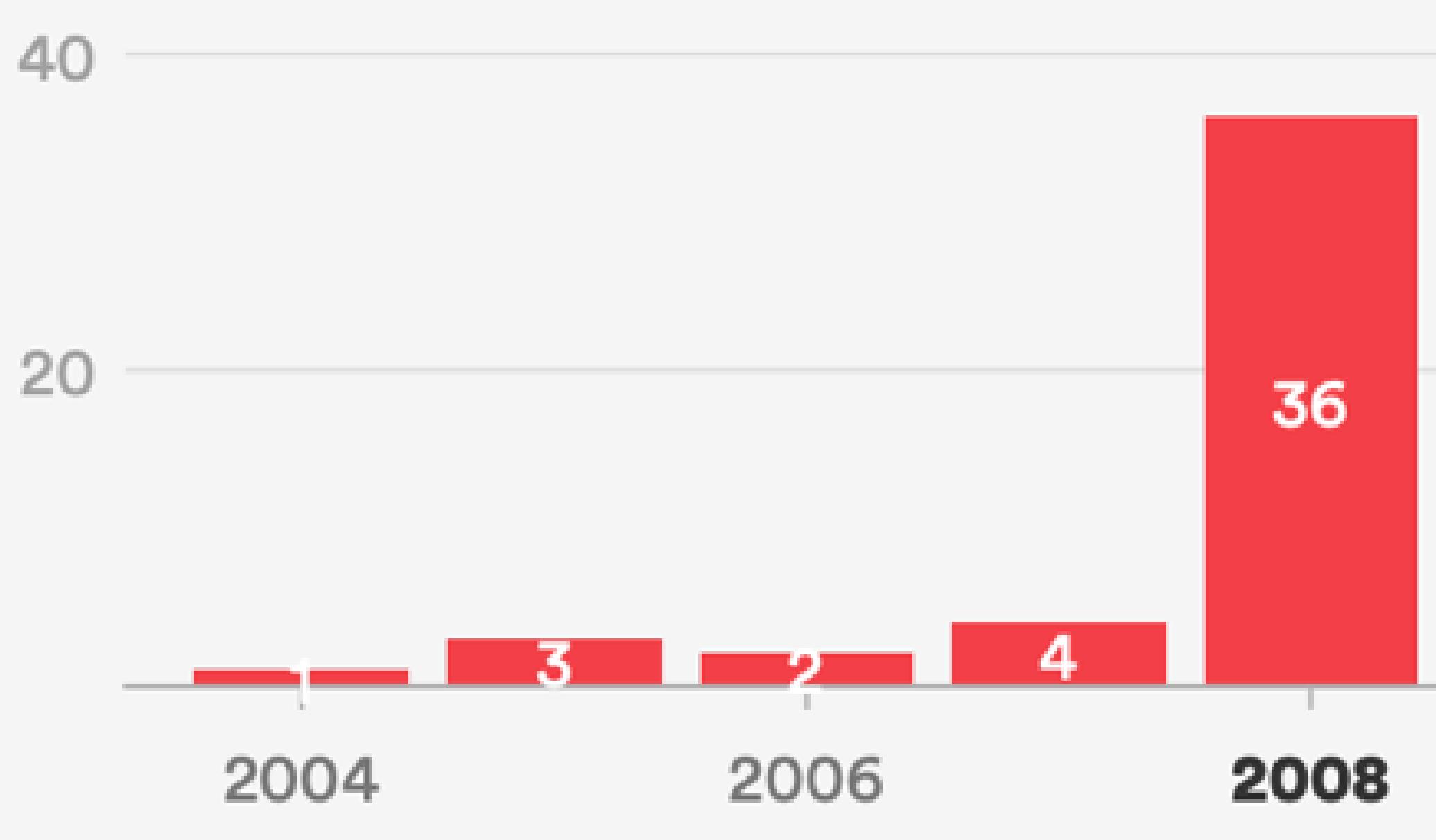
Turnout 44.34% (▲ 2.58pp)



Leader	Asif Ali Zardari	Nisar Ali Khan	Shujaat Hussain
Party	PPP	PML(N)	PML(Q)
Last election	79	19	105
Seats won	116	88	54
Seat change	▲37	▲69	▼51
Popular vote	10,666,548	6,917,752	7,962,473
Percentage	30.77%	19.95%	22.97%

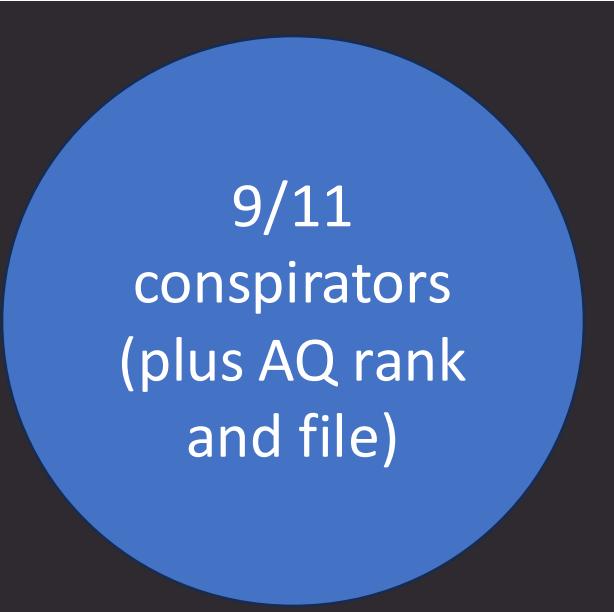
Ashfaq Parvez Kayani
(b. 1952; Director
General of the Inter-
Services Intelligence
(ISI) 2004-2007; Chief
of Army Staff (COAS)
of Pakistan 2007-
2013*)





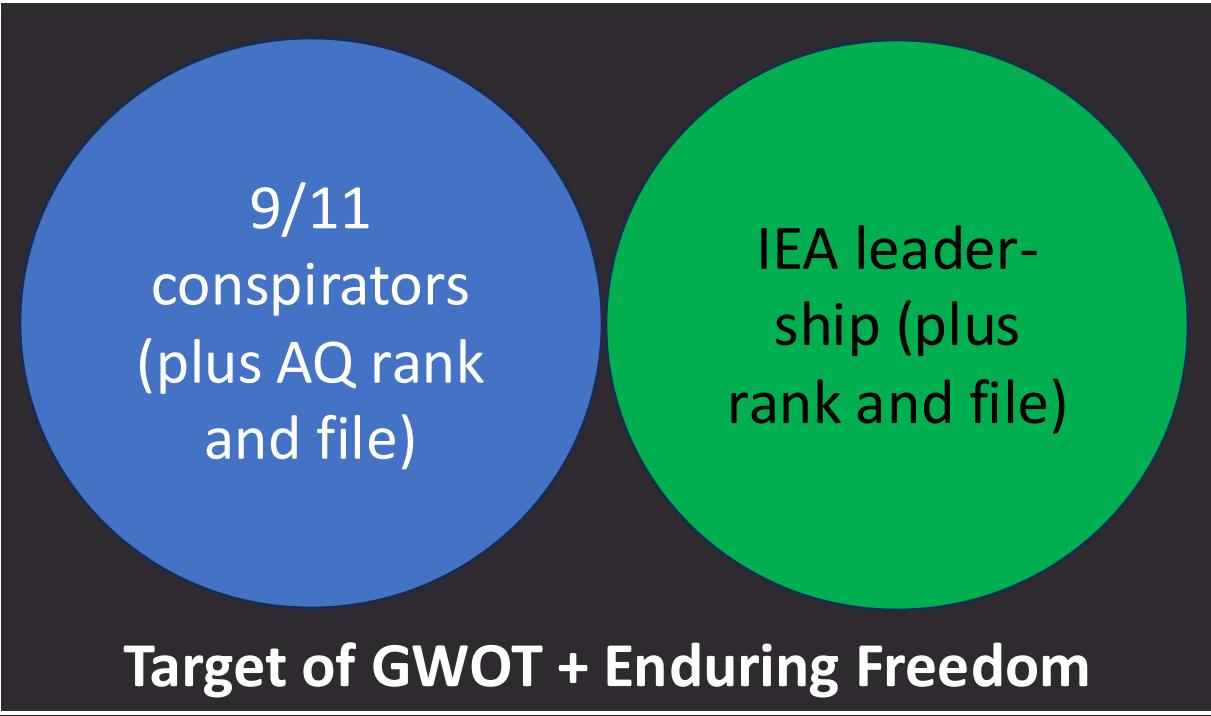
- Source: New America Foundation. <https://perma.cc/R5UW-KPBC>





9/11
conspirators
(plus AQ rank
and file)

Core target of GWOT



9/11
conspirators
(plus AQ rank
and file)

IEA leader-
ship (plus
rank and file)

Target of GWOT + Enduring Freedom

9/11
conspirators
(plus AQ rank
and file)

IEA leader-
ship (plus
rank and file)

FATA leaders
hosting IEA
and AQ

Target of GWOT, OEF, and US-Pakistan policy 2002-2006

9/11
conspirators
(plus AQ rank
and file)

IEA leader-
ship (plus
rank and file)

FATA leaders
hosting IEA
and AQ

*Pakistani
opponents of
US-Pakistan
war In FATA*

Target of GWOT, OEF, and US-Pakistan policy 2002-2006, and 2007-2013

AN ENEMY WE CREATED

THE MYTH OF THE TALIBAN-AL QAEDA MERGER IN AFGHANISTAN

ALEX STRICK VAN LINSCHOTEN
AND FELIX KUEHN



*An Enemy We Created: The
Myth of the Taliban-al-Qaeda
Merger in Afghanistan*

Alex Strick Van Linschoten and
Felix Kuehn

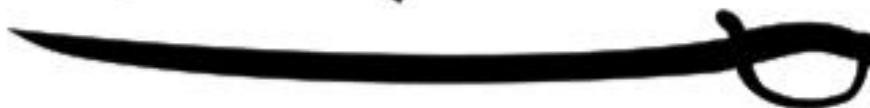
Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan

تحریک طالبان پاکستان

Pakistani Taliban Movement

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُوَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ

تَحْرِيک طَالِبَانِ پاکِستان



Also known as

Pakistani Taliban

(پاکستانی طالبان)

Leaders

[Baitullah Mehsud](#)



(2007–2009)

[Hakimullah Mehsud](#)



(2009–2013)

[Mullah Fazlullah](#)



(2013–2018)

[Noor Wali Mehsud](#)

(2018–present)

Dates of operation December 2007 – present

Al-Qaeda (AQ) GLOBAL	IEA government in exile AFGHANISTAN-FOCUSED	Tehrik e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) FOCUSED INSIDE PAKISTAN
<p><i>Liberate areas of the world under foreign, non-Muslim, or illegitimate Muslim rulers.</i></p>	<p><i>Restore Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan under Taliban and Mullah Omar.</i></p>	<p><i>Try to build Islamic emirate (not happening). Implement Islamic law/practices at local level (mainly FATA).</i></p>
<p>High level of US-Pakistani cooperation, especially in initial years of GWOT.</p>	<p>Low level of US-Pakistani cooperation (because Pakistani government preferred IEA to US-backed government in Afghanistan).</p>	<p>Medium level of US-Pakistani cooperation (mainly when TTP appeared to be a threat to US operations in Afghanistan).</p>

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

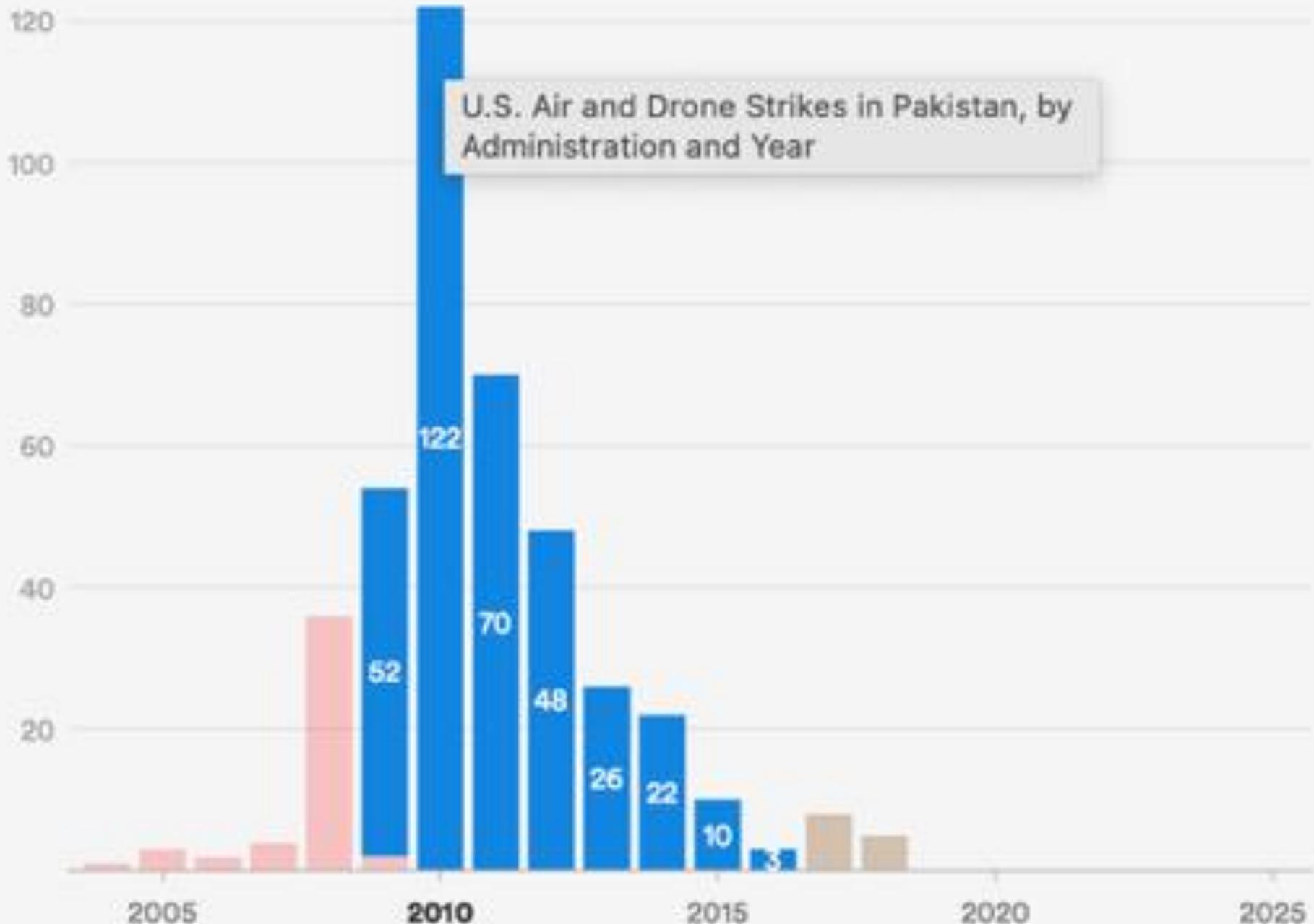
US-Pakistan, 2011-2012

Notable Ideas and Terms

Policies and Related Terms

- Trend in drone strikes across US administrations
- General shares of civilians and high-value targets among drone-attack casualties
- Potential arguments for drone strikes over alternative military operations
- Basics of Operation Neptune Spear/bin Laden raid/Abbottabad raid
- Salala incident and Pakistani response

Bush Obama Trump (Term 1)

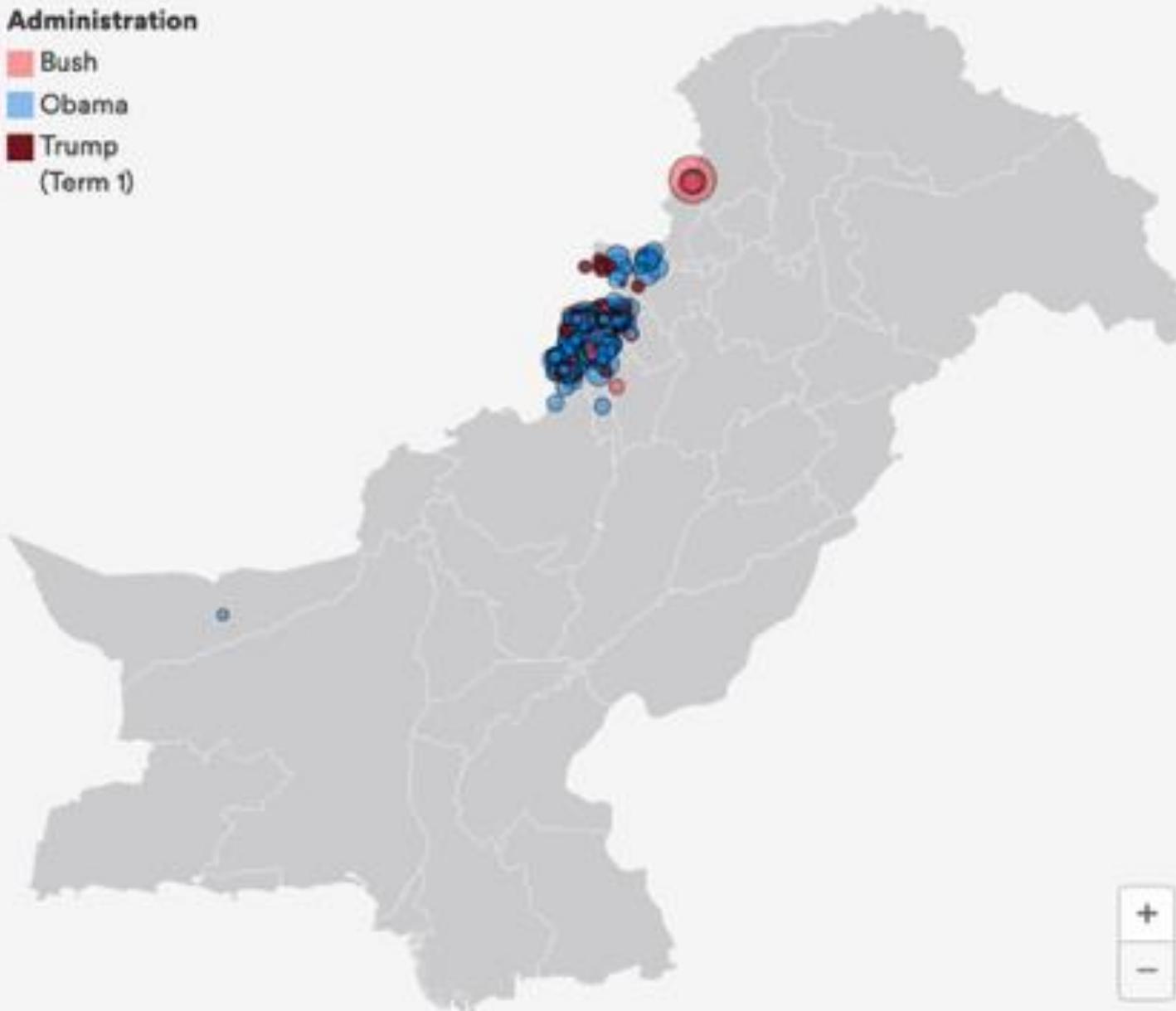


Air and Drone Strike Locations in Pakistan

Dots are sized by number of deaths. Locations of strikes are approximations based on the reporting available.

Administration

- Bush
- Obama
- Trump
(Term 1)



Out of Sight, Out of Mind.

ATTACKS VICTIMS NEWS INFO SHARE

PAKISTAN

ESTIMATED TOTAL FATALITIES 3341

EN FR

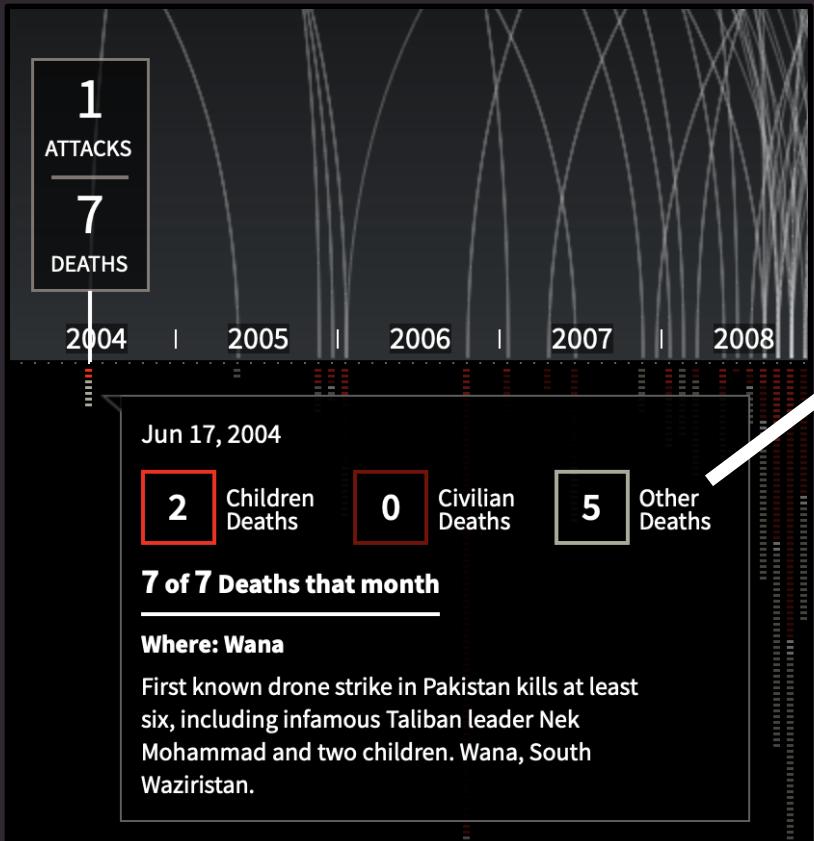
OTHER

76.8% 2565

CHILDREN
190 5.7

CIVILIAN
534 16%

HIGH PROFILE
52 1.6%



RECENT NEWS ABOUT DRONES

<https://drones.pitchinteractive.com>

Out of Sight, Out of Mind.

ATTACKS VICTIMS NEWS INFO SHARE

PAKISTAN

ESTIMATED TOTAL FATALITIES 3341

EN FR

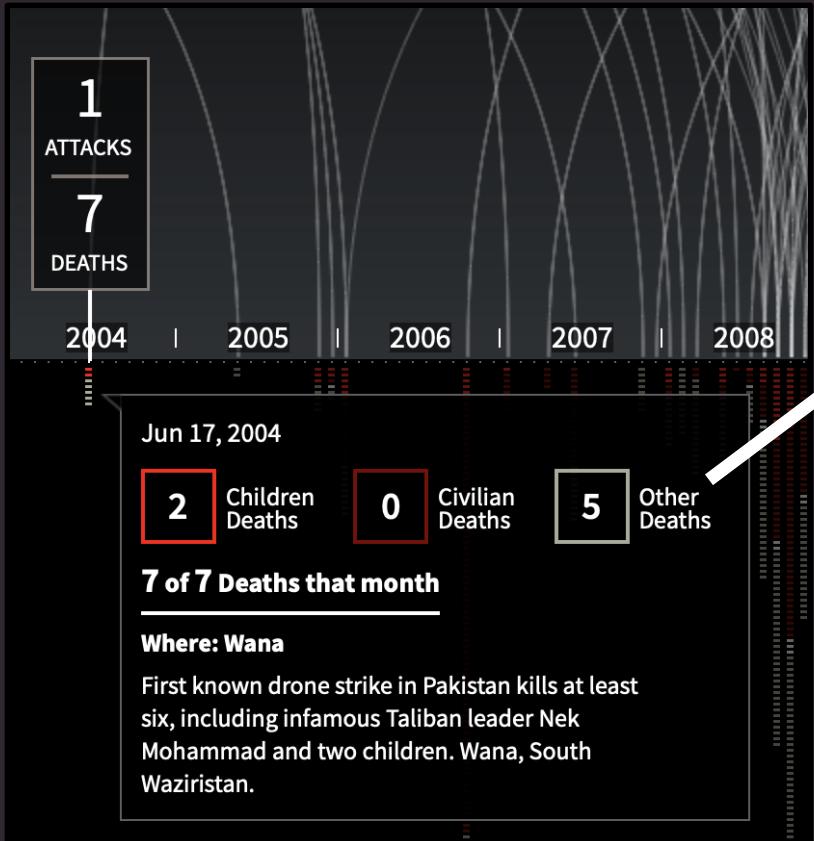
OTHER

76.8% 2565

CHILDREN
190 5.7

CIVILIAN
534 16%

HIGH PROFILE
52 1.6%



RECENT NEWS ABOUT DRONES

<https://drones.pitchinteractive.com>

Arguments for Expanding the Use of Drones (UCAVs) in Pakistan's FATA

1. *Less destructive* of human life when compared to offensive *ground* operations.
2. *More effective* at killing significant organizational figures (“high-value targets”).
3. Toll upon civilians is concentrated on voluntary affiliates of the targeted individuals.



Source: *New York Times*. <https://perma.cc/32NX-5VTW>



Source: New York Times. <https://perma.cc/32NX-5VTW>

U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

Dr. Jason Brownlee

Overview of the Arab Uprisings of 2010-2011 (also known as the Arab Spring)

Notable Ideas and Terms

People

- Mohammed Bouazizi (Tunisia)
- President Obama (US)
- Vice President Biden (US)
- President Ben Ali (Tunisia)
- President Mubarak (Egypt)

Policies and related concepts

- Uprising
- Arab Uprisings of 2010-2011 (Arab Spring)
- Differences in outcomes across Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Libya, Syria
- Differences between Arab outcomes and Eastern European outcomes (in 1989)
- US response to Egyptian uprising

Tunisia (12/17/10). Population 10.9 million. GDP/capita \$3,900.

Egypt (1/25/11). Population 87.3 million. GDP/capita \$3,300.

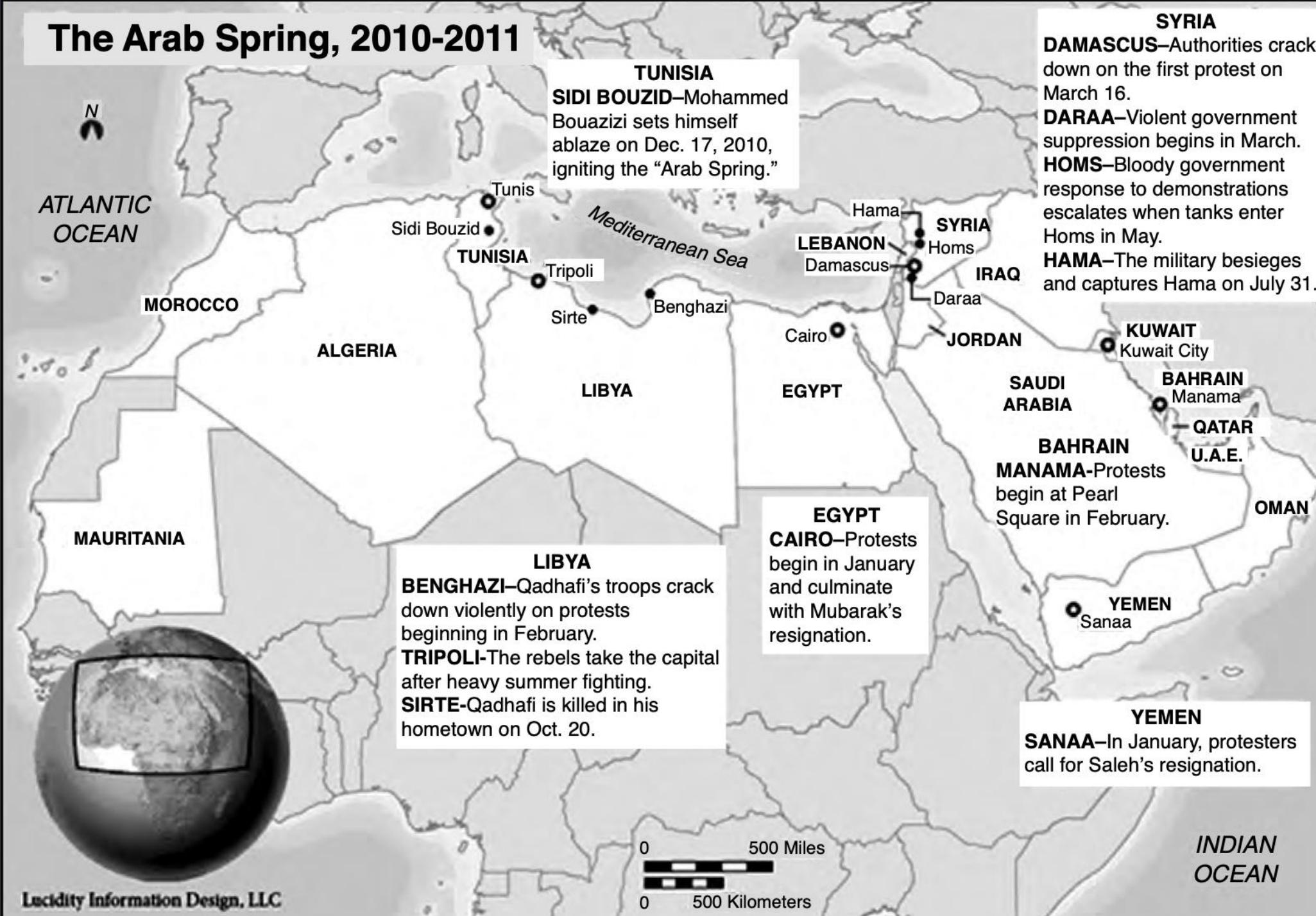
Yemen (1/27/11). Population 24.7 million. GDP/capita \$2,500.

Bahrain (2/14/11). Pop. 1.2 million. GDP/capita \$21,450 (oil, small pop.).

Libya (2/15/11). Pop. 6.5 million. GDP/capita \$12,900 (oil, small pop.).

Syria (3/15/11). Population 22.3 million. GDP/capita \$1,500.

The Arab Spring, 2010-2011





EASTERN BLOC MEMBERS

- Satellite States
- USSR-aligned until 1948
- USSR-aligned until 1960



Tunisia (ruler removed)

18 Dec 2010 – 14 Jan 2011

Egypt (ruler removed)

25 Jan – 11 Feb 2011

Yemen (ruler removed)

27 Jan 2011 – 27 Feb 2012

Bahrain (uprising suppressed)

14 Feb – 15 March 2011

Libya (ruler removed through foreign intervention)

15 Feb – 23 October 2011

Syria (uprising suppressed)

15 March 2011 – July 28, 2011 followed by ongoing civil war











