

## EDITORS' FOREWORD

Eight years after the attacks of 9/11 and the toppling of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, Western leaders recognize that achieving success in Afghanistan—however that is defined—will require the support of its powerful neighbor Pakistan. This issue of the *Journal of International Affairs* brings together work from American and South Asian scholars and policy leaders to address the issues critical to stability and development in the region. For years, American leaders prioritized regional stability over democratic development, with limited success in achieving either. With thousands of NATO troops tied down in Afghanistan and thousands more Pakistani troops engaged in a civil war on their western border, both countries remain at the center of international debates over terrorism, democratization, state-building and counterinsurgency.

While Pakistan and Afghanistan continue to grapple with violent insurgencies, their civilian governments are working to consolidate the domestic support necessary for counterinsurgency and counterterrorism measures to succeed. Winning this domestic support, however, requires that governments achieve some success in improving the daily lives of their citizens. We therefore precede our considerable analysis of political and security issues with two articles that concern economics and the provision of government services in Pakistan.

**Ishrat Husain** opens this issue with an in-depth study of Pakistan's economic development through decades of instability under both military and civilian rule. He pays particular attention to Pakistan's evolving relationship with the United States and its effect on the major economic and political developments of recent years. Husain argues that despite a longstanding consensus on the pursuit of liberal economic policies, political volatility, particularly following transitions to military rule, has wreaked havoc on social and economic development in Pakistan.

Our second scholar, **Andrew Wilder**, posits that a wealthier Pakistani state may be of limited benefit unless the government and its international donors pri-

oritize a politically astute public administration reform program. Wilder describes how the fundamental obstacles to reform in Pakistan are political in nature rather than gaps in understanding or technical expertise. The main challenge, he contends, is that those with the power to push for reform—namely the military, politicians and civil servants themselves—have historically had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

The way that the government responds to pressures from its citizens is the subject of **C. Christine Fair's** article, in which she examines Pakistani public attitudes toward domestic militants operating in Pakistan. Fair first describes the militant landscape in Pakistan before turning to polling data that illuminates Pakistani beliefs about domestic militant groups and how they are treated by the state. She concludes by discussing the implications of popular opinion on the success of Pakistan's efforts to combat militancy.

**Ayesha Siddiqa** provides a valuable analysis of the origins and goals of various *jihadi* groups and describes how the changing landscape of *jihadi* across Pakistan's provinces is forcing a new evaluation of how Pakistanis and their government think about extremism. Siddiqa argues that this reassessment is constrained both by internal political dynamics and by Pakistan's reaction to American pressures.

**Marvin Weinbaum** delves into militancy issues with a study identifying the factors feeding insurgency in the Pakistani tribal borderlands and neighboring regions. Weinbaum describes how the expansion of the recent crisis from the tribal areas into Swat and Buner may have instigated a major shift in Pakistan's willingness to confront threats to state authority. The study also examines the role U.S. policy may play and how progress against terrorism and the Afghan insurgency strongly hinges on Pakistan's success with both political reform and security efforts along its northwest border areas.

**Saeed Shafqat** discusses how the United States and Pakistan are struggling to build a partnership that addresses the geostrategic and security goals of both states. Shafqat suggests that the relationship should have a solid footing based on genuinely shared interests that include the stabilization of civilian rule, the elimination of terrorism and the containment of nuclear proliferation. He argues that despite Pakistan's struggles with alternating military hegemonic and single party dominant governance, renewed American support can help Pakistan in its consolidation of genuine multi-party democracy.

**Bruce Riedel** addresses a major potential roadblock in American-Pakistani relations in discussing the terrorist attack of the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) organization in Mumbai, India in November 2008 and its implications for the entire region. He suggests that American interests in South Asia, including

NATO war efforts in Afghanistan, would be set back considerably by another similar attack, especially if it led to a major Indian military response. He argues that, in addition to quietly expanding its involvement in South Asian security issues, the United States should undertake a major diplomatic effort to pressure Pakistan into shutting down LeT's operational capability.

The Indo-Pakistani rivalry is further developed by **Sumit Ganguly** and **Nicholas Howenstein**. Their article traces the origins of the Indo-Pakistani rivalry in Afghanistan, assesses India's current role in Afghanistan in this context and discusses the implications for American policy. They argue that American and Indian interests in Afghanistan are increasingly aligned and that long-term stability in the country will require a similar move toward concurrence of aims between India and Pakistan.

**Syed Hasnat** focuses on Afghan-Pakistan relations, highlighting the historical tensions between the two states and outlining how their strategic policy concerns have overlapped and diverged at various times. Hasnat suggests that it is the historical differences between Afghanistan and Pakistan—not their similarities—that should guide U.S. policy in the region. He argues for both a reevaluation of America's AfPak strategy and for a reorientation of Pakistan's approach to dealing with its western neighbor.

The difficulty of drawing analogies between the historical experiences of Pakistan and Afghanistan is highlighted by **Kimberly Marten** in her analysis of how outside powers have attempted to deal with tribal militias in the two states. In Afghanistan's Pashtun areas, where neo-Taliban insurgents have their ethnic base, U.S. commanders are hoping to repeat the apparent success achieved in Iraq where local militias were paid to guard their communities and support the government. Marten warns that this approach is a strategic mistake. She discusses the lessons that can be learned from a similar plan pursued by British colonial troops in what now forms the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan and argues that by funding and supporting new local warlords, the United States and its allies will unwittingly plant the seeds for a future round of radical Islamist backlash against warlord rule.

**Justin Mankin**, the author of this issue's Andrew Wellington Cordier essay, addresses the impact of the drug trade on localized Afghan power structures. Mankin describes how the consolidation of state power in Kabul is impeded by the strength that involvement in the drug trade provides to local power centers, including both allies and opponents of the central government in Kabul.

As Pakistan and Afghanistan struggle with the fundamental problems of achieving domestic security and consolidating democratic governance, it is important to question the role that external actors can and should play. This collection

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of essays provides a valuable examination of the complex relationships among the countries of this region and their ongoing political and security developments. Our contributors offer clear analysis to inform American engagement by highlighting the region's brimming tensions and, more importantly, by outlining future prospects for sustainable peace and security.

—*The Editors*