Brothers in Arms: The Case for Military Aid to Pakistan

By Kathryn Sumner

***Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.***

Case Summary: The United States and Pakistan have, in the past, worked together to fight against terrorism. However, President Trump decided to freeze the military aid to Pakistan because he didn’t believe Pakistan was doing enough. Unfortunately, he was only looking at one side of the picture. The United States needs to maintain a good relationship with Pakistan, and the only way to restore it would be to un-freeze the military aid.

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Brothers in Arms: The Case for Military Aid to Pakistan

Rafia Zakaria said it best in January 2018 QUOTE:

The controversy began, as nearly everything in Washington, DC, does these days - with a [tweet](https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/947802588174577664). The New Year had barely dawned over the eastern United States when President [Donald Trump](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/profile-president-donald-trump-161109050153947.html) shot out a nasty warning to [Pakistan](https://www.aljazeera.com/topics/country/pakistan.html). "The United States has foolishly given Pakistan more than 33 billion dollars in aid over the last 15 years, and they have given us nothing but lies & deceit," complained the US president, ending his missive with the ominous warning, "They give safe haven to the terrorists we hunt in Afghanistan, with little help. No more!" [[1]](#footnote-1)

END QUOTE. Foreign policy by tweet is a bad idea and ditching Pakistan is even worse. Please join my partner and me as we gain the comparative advantages of affirming that: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.

OBSERVATION 1. We offer the following DEFINITIONS.

**Foreign aid**: “the international transfer of capital, goods, or services from a country or international organization for the benefit of the recipient country or its population. Aid can be economic, military, or emergency humanitarian (e.g., aid given following natural disasters)” (*Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018 https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-aid*)

**Reform**: “to put or change into an improved form or condition” (*Merriam Webster, 2018 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reform*)

**Freeze**: “to immobilize by governmental regulation the expenditure, withdrawal, or exchange of” (*Merriam Webster, 2018 https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/freeze*)

OBSERVATION 2. INHERENCY, the structure of the Status Quo. One key FACT: US military aid to Pakistan suspended.

Trump suspended over a billion dollars in military aid to Pakistan

Reuters news service 2018. (Journalists: Arshad Mohammed – Diplomatic Correspondent for Reuters News Agency. Jonathan Landay – National Security Correspondent at Thomson Reuters.) 4 January 2018 “U.S. suspends at least $900 million in security aid to Pakistan” https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-pakistan-aid/u-s-suspends-at-least-900-million-in-security-aid-to-pakistan-idUSKBN1ET2DX

On Friday, Pakistan criticized what it called “shifting goalposts” and said the U.S. suspension of aid was counter-productive. U.S. officials said two main categories of aid are affected: foreign military financing (FMF), which funds purchases of U.S. military hardware, training and services, and coalition support funds (CSF), which reimburse Pakistan for counter-terrorism operations. They said they could make exceptions to fund critical U.S. national security priorities. CSF funds, which fall under Defense Department authority, are covered by the freeze, said Pentagon spokesman Commander Patrick Evans, saying Congress authorized up to $900 million in such money for Pakistan for fiscal year 2017, which ended Sept. 30. None of that money has yet been disbursed. The freeze also covers $255 million in FMF for fiscal year 2016, which falls under State Department authority and whose suspension has already been announced, as well as unspecified amounts of FMF that went unspent in earlier fiscal years.

OBSERVATION 2. The RISK. Suspending military aid to Pakistan risks retaliation with serious impacts.

We see this in 2 sub-points:

A. The Link: Pakistan could retaliate. Pakistan has leverage over the US and the aid cutoff can trigger retaliation

Zeeshan Aleem 2018. (Staff writer for Vox. He covers economics and energy for the foreign affairs team. Prior to Vox, he was a senior politics staff writer at Mic, where he wrote columns on public policy. Before that, he was a writer for The Huffington Post, handling public commentary on politics and international affairs..) 8 January 2018 “Trump’s sudden new fight with Pakistan, explained” [http:// www.vox.com/world/2018/1/8/16850116/trump-pakistan-suspend-aid](http://armscontrollaw.com/2013/02/11/why-the-wto-is-not-an-appropriate-venue-for-addressing-economic-cyber-espionage/)

What makes this tricky for the US is that Pakistan could choose to retaliate by doing things like cutting off intelligence sharing and blocking the US from using supply routes that are crucial for its ability to conduct its military operations in Afghanistan. The US has influence over Pakistan with its aid, but Pakistan is so crucial to the US’s foreign policy initiatives in the region that it too has plenty of leverage. In other words, if the US pushes too hard, it could backfire.

B. The Impact: Retaliation could wreck peace negotiations in Afghanistan, create extremist backlash and even let jihadis get nukes

Dan De Luce 2018 (Foreign Policy’s chief national security correspondent) FOREIGN POLICY 26 Mar 2018 " Is Trump Ready to Dump Pakistan?" http://foreignpolicy.com/2018/03/26/is-trump-ready-to-dump-pakistan/

Some former diplomats worry that piling pressure on Pakistan — through sanctions or even unilateral drone strikes against militants — could have unintended consequences. Given its history with the Taliban, Pakistan could effectively wreck any prospect of peace talks. And with the country’s strategic location and nuclear arsenal, a confrontation could risk a backlash by extremists and even a nightmare scenario where jihadis get hold of Pakistan’s nuclear weapons.

OBSERVATION 3. We offer the following PLAN implemented by Congress and the President

1. Restore all suspended military aid to Pakistan

2. Funding and enforcement through normal means.  
3. Timeline: Plan takes effect the day after an affirmative ballot.   
4. Addendum: Affirmative speeches may clarify

OBSERVATION 4. ADVANTAGES

1. Fighting Terrorism in Afghanistan

Link: US aid to Pakistan is key to adequately fight terrorism

Kings Think Tank 2018. (Europe’s largest student-led Think Tank. They strive to empower students with the skills necessary to devise and implement policy solutions effectively and efficiently. The author of this article is Habiba Paracha, a first-year student studying International Relations at King’s College London. She is particularly interested in security issues and foreign policy in the Middle East and Asia.) 5 March 2018 “Trump Cuts Aid to Pakistan: the Future of US–Pakistan Relations” https://kingsthinktank.com/2018/03/05/trump-cuts-to-pakistani-aid-and-their-impact-on-us-pakistan-relations/

The Pakistani Ambassador to the US remarked that Pakistan was not responsible for cross-border migration from Afghanistan but that better management and the “need (to) secure that border” was necessary to prevent rise of terrorism in Pakistan. It is valid to suggest that Pakistan cannot be fully responsible for the growth of terrorism as seen in the recent attacks in Afghanistan, however, Pakistan should do more with cross-border migration of terrorists in terms of investing in border control. Nevertheless, without proper funding from the US., it is hard to see how they can achieve this alone.

Impact: Slacking off on fighting terrorism means people die

former US Ambassador to Afghanistan, James Cunningham 2018. (quoted by ABC News journalist Julia Macfarlane.; London-based reporter covering global affairs for ABC News; graduate of University of St. Andrews in Scotland, MA in English Literature.) 2 February 2018 “Why is the US still in Afghanistan?” (brackets added) https://abcnews.go.com/International/us-afghanistan/story?id=52763044

"These crimes against humanity, the targeting and slaughter of innocents, are undoubtedly guided by the Haqqani network and the senior Taliban leadership operating from Pakistan," he said. "Pakistan’s role is critical if the Taliban leaders are to come to the conclusion that continued terror is not going to prevail."

2. Fighting Terrorism in Pakistan

Link: US aid to Pakistan is key to maintaining the drone base

*D. Parvaz 2018. (Global Politics Reporter at ThinkProgress; MA from the University of Arizona and a BA from the University of British Columbia; McGill Medal for Journalistic Courage from Univ. of Georgia's Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication) 4 January 2018 “Trump’s move to withhold military aid to Pakistan is unlikely to serve U.S. security interests” https://thinkprogress.org/trumps-move-to-withhold-military-aid-to-pakistan-wont-serve-security-interests-11f89d387ad2/*

Stephen Tankel, assistant professor at the School of International Service at American University, told ThinkProgress that the United States stands to lose a lot from cutting or withholding this military aid. “It helps maintain that military-to-military relationship, which is important for access for supply lines from Pakistan into Afghanistan, access to Pakistan’s airspace and also for drone strikes in Pakistan, which have taken place with Pakistan’s tacit consent, and for other forms of tactical cooperation,” he said, adding that the security assistance is viewed as “non-essential” by Pakistan.

Impact: Drone bases are critical because drones counter terrorism

*Dr. Daniel L. Byman 2013. (senior fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings, where his research focuses on counterterrorism and Middle East security; formerly policy analyst and the director for research in the Center for Middle East Public Policy at the RAND Corporation; PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology) 17 June 2013 “Why Drones Work: The Case for Washington’s Weapon of Choice” https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-drones-work-the-case-for-washingtons-weapon-of-choice/*

In the end, drone strikes remain a necessary instrument of counterterrorism. The United States simply cannot tolerate terrorist safe havens in remote parts of Pakistan and elsewhere, and drones offer a comparatively low-risk way of targeting these areas while minimizing collateral damage.

3. The War in Afghanistan

Link: US aid to Pakistan is key to maintaining supply roads in Afghanistan

BBC News 2018. (British Broadcasting Service, the world's leading public service broadcaster.) 5 January 2018 “How will the US move to cut aid affect Pakistan?” https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-42579077

Pakistan's main leverage with the US lies in its geographical location and its role in Afghanistan - the fact that it controls the only supply line into the landlocked country for international troops, and has influence over the militant groups that are fighting there. The question is, will Pakistan try to press its advantage by shutting overland access of US supplies to Kabul? It's happened before. Pakistan blocked this route for several months in 2011 and 2012 after a series of embarrassing events, including the killing of Osama Bin Laden in a secret operation by US Navy Seals, and the bombing of a Pakistani post by American jets that killed more than 20 soldiers.

Link: Supply roads are critical in order to win the war in Afghanistan

*Dr, Madiha Afzal 2018. (nonresident fellow in the Global Economy and Development program and in the Foreign Policy program at Brookings. Her research lies at the intersection of development, security, and political economy, with a focus on Pakistan; adjunct assistant professor of Global Policy at Johns Hopkins. Ph.D. in Economics from Yale Univ.) 12 January 2018 “The future of U.S.-Pakistani Relations” https://www.brookings.edu/blog/unpacked/2018/01/12/the-future-of-u-s-pakistani-relations/*

The current situation is, in a way, just a continuation of the Obama administration’s policy with much stronger rhetoric and a more single-minded focus on the Haqqanis. To win the war in Afghanistan, America needs Pakistan for supply routes as well as to negotiate a lasting settlement and peace in Afghanistan.

Impact: Peace and security in Afghanistan

Luke Coffey 2018 (Director, Douglas & Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy, Heritage Foundation) 16 May 2018 "No, We Have Not Failed in Afghanistan. Here’s Why the U.S. Should Stay." https://www.heritage.org/middle-east/commentary/no-we-have-not-failed-afghanistan-heres-why-the-us-should-stay

Today, the Afghans are in the lead, and the U.S. mission is one of training, advising, and assisting. The Afghan security forces are that country’s ticket to long-term security and stability. If the U.S. and its allies continue to mentor, train, and fund the Afghan military, the Afghans will be able to do a better job at taking on the insurgency themselves. Not only will that help the Afghans prevent their country from becoming a hub for transnational terrorism, but it also will eventually establish the security conditions in which a genuine political process can take place. That latter point is the most important. In his speech last year when announcing his new strategy, Trump alluded to an eventual political settlement “after an effective military effort.” That is right. You can no more fight your way out of a insurgency campaign any more than you can drink yourself out of alcoholism. The goal of any counterinsurgency is to allow those who have legitimate political grievances the ability to address these grievances through a political process and not through violence. If the insurgency in Afghanistan ever ends, it will be through a political settlement between the Afghan government and the Taliban.

2A Evidence: Un-freeze Military Aid to Pakistan

OPENING QUOTES

The US needs to tread carefully

Kings Think Tank 2018. (Europe’s largest student-led Think Tank. They strive to empower students with the skills necessary to devise and implement policy solutions effectively and efficiently. The author of this article is Habiba Paracha, a first-year student studying International Relations at King’s College London. She is particularly interested in security issues and foreign policy in the Middle East and Asia.) 5 March 2018 “Trump Cuts Aid to Pakistan: the Future of US–Pakistan Relations” https://kingsthinktank.com/2018/03/05/trump-cuts-to-pakistani-aid-and-their-impact-on-us-pakistan-relations/

Especially regarding red-hot tensions between Pakistan and India, the US must be very careful and strategic about how they interact with the Pakistani government. The US should be clear in their security objectives in Pakistan without prompting Pakistan to cosy up to China and undermine a viable counter-terrorism relationship.

INHERENCY

The United States has suspended at least $900 million in security assistance to Pakistan

Arshad Mohammed and Jonathan Landay 2018. (Mohammed – Diplomatic Correspondent for Reuters News Agency. Landay – National Security Correspondent at Thomson Reuters.) 4 January 2018 “U.S. suspends at least $900 million in security aid to Pakistan” https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-pakistan-aid/u-s-suspends-at-least-900-million-in-security-aid-to-pakistan-idUSKBN1ET2DX

The United States said on Thursday it was suspending at least $900 million in security assistance to Pakistan until it takes action against the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani network militant groups. The U.S. State Department announced the decision, saying it reflected the Trump administration’s frustration that Pakistan has not done more against the two groups that Washington says use sanctuaries in Pakistan to launch attacks in neighboring Afghanistan that have killed U.S., Afghan and other forces.

The suspension could freeze up to $1.3 billion

Zeeshan Aleem 2018. (Staff writer for Vox. He covers economics and energy for the foreign affairs team. Prior to Vox, he was a senior politics staff writer at Mic, where he wrote columns on public policy. Before that, he was a writer for The Huffington Post, handling public commentary on politics and international affairs. Some of his other experience includes: a co-columnist, foreign affairs blogger, and web producer at Politico as well as writing for the Atlantic.) 8 January 2018 “Trump’s sudden new fight with Pakistan, explained” [http:// www.vox.com/world/2018/1/8/16850116/trump-pakistan-suspend-aid](http://armscontrollaw.com/2013/02/11/why-the-wto-is-not-an-appropriate-venue-for-addressing-economic-cyber-espionage/)

It quickly became clear that Trump’s tweet was more than an idle threat. On Thursday the State Department announced that the US was [**freezing most military aid to Pakistan**](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-administration-suspends-security-aid-to-pakistan/2018/01/04/303145e4-f18a-11e7-b3bf-ab90a706e175_story.html?utm_term=.257f10e8ec84). The administration has declined to specify the exact amount of funds it will cut off, but the suspension could freeze [**up to $1.3 billion in aid.**](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/04/us/politics/trump-pakistan-aid.html?mtrref=www.google.com)

The suspension is estimated at roughly $1.3b

Rafia Zakaria 2018. (attorney and author. She is a columnist for Dawn in Pakistan and writes regularly for Guardian Books, The Nation, The New Republic, The Baffler, Boston Review and various other places.) 10 January 2018 “Who benefits from Pakistan's loss of US aid?” https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/aid-tirade-pakistan-story-180108095929965.html

In a testy State Department briefing the next day, a spokeswoman emphasised that Pakistan must do more to "earn" the aid that the US was giving. Before Pakistani leaders could hand in assurances, the sword fell. On January 4, the State Department announced that it was suspending security aid to the country, estimated to amount to roughly $1.3bn.

Explanation of the numbers: Amount Suspended and Total Impact

BBC News 2018. (British Broadcasting System; the world's leading public service broadcaster.) 5 January 2018 “How will the US move to cut aid affect Pakistan?” https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-42579077

The US has yet to announce exactly how much aid will be cut - but defence experts believe the total impact of the visible aid suspension may fall in the range of more than $900m (£660m). This includes the suspension of $255m due to Pakistan for military equipment and training under the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) fund, and $700m under the Coalition Support Fund (CSF) - paid to Pakistan for conducting operations against militant groups. Experts believe the total financial impact of an adverse US policy on Pakistan could be much higher than this though, especially as the US state department has said an unspecified amount of other security assistance managed by the department of defence could be cut.

RISK

Pakistan on the brink: There's a growing sense that the US is against them

Sikander Ahmed Shah 2018. (Professor of Public International Law at Lahore University of Management Sciences, will analyze the deteriorating relationship between the United States and Pakistan, and what that means for stability and human rights in the region.) 7 May 2018 “US – Pakistan Relations: A Marriage of Inconvenience” https://www.justsecurity.org/55842/us-pakistan-relations-marriage-inconvenience/

Over time, decision-makers in Pakistan have begun to believe that previous attempts to appease the United States at all costs have only resulted in Pakistan losing out; and that Pakistan’s efforts would have been better spent concentrating on improving relations with hostile neighbors such as India and Afghanistan – independent of any U.S. involvement. Put differently: there is a growing sense within Pakistan that preserving relations with the U.S. has only worked against Pakistan’s own interests, a feeling which has generated significant antipathy towards the U.S. within Pakistan.

SIGNIFICANCE

The US has a lot to lose if Pakistan retaliates

Retaliation from Pakistan would have harmful affects

Arshad Mohammed and Jonathan Landay 2018. (Mohammed – Diplomatic Correspondent for Reuters News Agency. Landay – National Security Correspondent at Thomson Reuters.) 4 January 2018 “U.S. suspends at least $900 million in security aid to Pakistan” https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-pakistan-aid/u-s-suspends-at-least-900-million-in-security-aid-to-pakistan-idUSKBN1ET2DX

South Asia expert Christine Fair of Georgetown University voiced concern that Pakistan might retaliate for the suspension by closing the highways from the port city of Karachi on which equipment is trucked to land-locked Afghanistan and the airspace through which supplies are flown to U.S.-led international forces there. “What is the plan if they close the GLOCs?” she asked, using the military acronym for Ground Lines of Communications. “What if the Pakistanis shut down the ALOCs (Air Lines of Communications). How do you keep supplying the ANSF?” she asked, referring to the Afghan national security forces. “Pakistan could be within their rights if they tell us you don’t have flyover rights anymore,” she said.

Pak retaliation would have consequences: Cut supply lines to Afghanistan, stop sharing intel on terrorism

Zeeshan Aleem 2018. (Staff writer for Vox. He covers economics and energy for the foreign affairs team. Prior to Vox, he was a senior politics staff writer at Mic, where he wrote columns on public policy. Before that, he was a writer for The Huffington Post, handling public commentary on politics and international affairs..) 8 January 2018 “Trump’s sudden new fight with Pakistan, explained” <http://www.vox.com/world/2018/1/8/16850116/trump-pakistan-suspend-aid>

Experts say thatif Pakistan shuts off this access, the alternative would likely involve using Central Asian countries north of Afghanistan and more aircraft to deliver supplies, which is far more expensive. “The alternative routes for US supplies into Afghanistan cost seven to eight times more,” Mosharraf Zaidi, a former adviser to Pakistan’s foreign minister from 2011 to 2013, told me.  If Pakistan decides to retaliate, some or all of these benefits could go away. Pakistan could stop sharing intelligence on terrorist groups with the US. It could seal off its bases. It could shut down supply routes, [**as it did in 2011**](http://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-15908345/pakistan-shuts-down-nato-supply-routes-into-afghanistan) after the US attacked a Pakistani border post, killing 25 Pakistani soldiers, (They reopened supply routesafter the US apologized in 2013.) Pakistan could also end up embracing the US’s rivals, China and Russia, to compensate for Washington’s rejection.

The US is reliant on Pakistan

First Post 2018. (a trusted guide to the crush of news and ideas around you. With thoughtful analysis and fearless views their team of editors and writers will track news in India and the world and provide a perspective that is reflective of a changing dynamic.) 5 January 2018 “US freezes military aid to Pakistan: Donald Trump's adhoc policy unlikely to force Islamabad's compliance” https://www.firstpost.com/world/us-freezes-military-aid-to-pakistan-donald-trumps-adhoc-policy-unlikely-to-force-islamabads-compliance-4289149.html

By virtue of its geographical location, Pakistan still holds vital aces when it comes to the US war in Afghanistan. The US is still disproportionately reliant on Islamabad letting its troops access the ground and air supply routes to Afghanistan. There's also the argument that pressing Pakistan's weak civilian government too hard to "do more" will end up disempowering it more and enabling the right wing and the military-industrial complex in undermining the democratically elected government. Such an eventuality may end up destabilising further a nuclear-armed state.

Pakistan is easing off counterterror efforts

ABC News 2018. (writer is Julia Macfarlane. She is a London-based reporter covering global affairs for ABC News. She began her career as a freelance photojournalist working in Indonesia, where she was born. She then moved to Beirut, Lebanon and worked for the BBC News bureau as a producer and TV journalist. A graduate of University of St. Andrews in Scotland, Macfarlane received her MA in English Literature.) 2 February 2018 “Why is the US still in Afghanistan?” (brackets in original) https://abcnews.go.com/International/us-afghanistan/story?id=52763044

British diplomat Arthur Snell, previously stationed in Helmand province, said it is perfectly plausible that Pakistan may have responded to the withholding of aid by taking the pressure off counterterror efforts on its border with Afghanistan – likely easing the movement of militants and their supplies. “That is why they have a relationship with the [Afghan] Taliban – it allows them to project power beyond their borders in an asymmetric way,” he told ABC News.

Pakistan Retaliation

Pakistan has retalitated in the past

Mujib Mashal and Salman Masood 2018. (Mashal - The New York Times senior correspondent in Afghanistan. Before joining the paper, he wrote for magazines such as The Atlantic, Harper’s, Time and others. He received a degree in history from Columbia University. Masood - has reported on Pakistan for The New York Times since 2001 and focuses mainly on politics and terrorism. In 2009, he contributed reporting for the team that won the Pulitzer Prize for coverage of Pakistan and Afghanistan. His writings have also appeared in several other local and international news publications. He holds a master’s degree in international relations.) 5 January 2018 “Cutting Off Pakistan, U.S. Takes Gamble in Complex Afghan War” https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/05/world/asia/pakistan-aid-afghan-war.html

In past cases when relations frayed and Pakistan blocked American access to its supply routes, the United States military relied on a more expensive alternative that connects Baltic and Caspian ports through Russia and Central Asian countries. But that route is vulnerable to Washington’s chilly relations with Russia, which has used its influence over Central Asian states to limit access.

Without aid from the US, Pakistan turns to other countries

Pakistan is turning from the US to Russia and China

*Michael Peel and Kiran Stacey 2018. (Peel – Bangkok regional correspondent of the Financial Times. He has written for various publications including Granta, New Republic, New Statesman and London Review of Books. He joined the FT in 1997 and has done various jobs in London, as well as postings as West Africa correspondent and Middle East correspondent, where he covered the uprisings that swept the region. He is the author of "A Swamp Full of Dollars: Pipelines and Paramilitaries at Nigeria's Oil Frontier," which was shortlisted for The Guardian's first book award. Stacey – previously energy correspondent for the Financial Times and is now the South Asia Correspondent for the Financial Times He has also contributed to BBC, HuffPost, CNBC, Irish Times, BusinessDay Nigeria, and Australian Financial Review.) 28 January 2018 “Pakistan turns to Russia and China after US military aid freeze”* [*https://www.ft.com/content/81aea830-0238-11e8-9650-9c0ad2d7c5b5*](https://www.ft.com/content/81aea830-0238-11e8-9650-9c0ad2d7c5b5)  
Pakistan is deepening its relationships with Russia and China, the country’s defence minister has said, as the fallout continues from the US decision to suspend $2bn in military aid to Islamabad. Khurram Dastgir Khan told the Financial Times that his government was engaged in a “regional recalibration of Pakistan’s foreign and security policy” that threatens to undermine the US war effort in Afghanistan. Mr Khan said Pakistan would look to Russia and China — as well as Europe — for new military supplies, as the US had “chosen castigation over co-operation”. “We have already bought some Russian helicopters in the past three years,” he said. “This is what we call a regional recalibration of Pakistan’s foreign and security policy. It’s because of the unfortunate choice the United States continues to make.”

Pakistan is turning to China

*First Post 2018. (a trusted guide to the crush of news and ideas around you. With thoughtful analysis and fearless views their team of editors and writers will track news in India and the world and provide a perspective that is reflective of a changing dynamic.) 11 January 2018 “US-Pakistan relations take nosedive: A look back at the tempestuous ties between the two nations” https://www.firstpost.com/world/us-pakistan-ties-on-the-fritz-a-look-back-at-the-tempestuous-diplomacy-between-two-nations-4297987.html*

The United States announces it will continue withholding $255 million in aid from Pakistan over what the Trump administration describes as a failure to sufficiently fight terrorism. The worsening ties between the two nations may push Pakistan further into the arms of long-time ally China, which backed Islamabad after the fallout from Trump's tweet. Beijing's diplomatic and financial support has also strengthened Pakistan's hand, analysts say, as per a Reuters report.

Pakistan looking to China and Iran

Sikander Ahmed Shah 2018. (Professor of Public International Law at Lahore University of Management Sciences, will analyze the deteriorating relationship between the United States and Pakistan, and what that means for stability and human rights in the region.) 7 May 2018 “US – Pakistan Relations: A Marriage of Inconvenience” https://www.justsecurity.org/55842/us-pakistan-relations-marriage-inconvenience/

Relations between the U.S. and Pakistan were also acrimonious under the Obama administration and previous [articles](https://www.justsecurity.org/51128/weve-before-sticks-dont-work-pakistan/) in *Just Security*suggest that efforts to pressure Pakistan will not have any lasting impact on Washington’s influence over Islamabad. The recent spat between these two troubled allies is however part of a deeper rift — a divide that is only widening under the Trump administration. Over time, repeated threats from the United States have pushed Pakistan to look to China and Iran for assistance — a move that will likely have serious and long-term ramifications for rights protections and security in the region.

Pakistan is looking beyond the US to China and Russia

The Nation 2018. (writer is Shafqat Ali. The Nation is Pakistan's most respected publication in English, with firm and constructive views, and excellent news coverage. With five editions published daily from three stations, it is the market leader in the Punjab and Islamabad areas, and has established a strong presence in Karachi since its inception there in 2000. The Nation is the most quoted Pakistani newspaper internationally. This is the result of efforts by a professionally skilled and highly motivated editorial team, backed up by state-of-the-art information technology, a huge network of correspondents at home and abroad, and an excellent syndication and wire service network.) 14 May 2018 “Pakistan looks beyond US as tension soars” https://nation.com.pk/14-May-2018/pakistan-looks-beyond-us-as-tension-soars

Pakistan is looking beyond the United States to ‘move on’ as tension between the two nations touched new heights, diplomatic sources said. Senior officials at the foreign ministry told The Nation that Pakistan will support China and Russia’s policies on the global issues rather than toeing Washington’s line. One official said Pakistan had ‘decided’ to end dependence on the US and build ties with Russia and other influential countries. “With China, we already have friendly relations. We will build them further. We are getting closer to Russia and have intensified contacts with influential countries like the UK (United Kingdom) and France,” he said. Another official said Pakistan was now ‘fed-up’ with Washington’s undue expectations and was ‘ready to move on’. “Why should we not stand with the countries who are listening to us (Pakistan)? We are tired of convincing Washington on the issues (related to anti-terror war),” he said.

Reliance on China is bad: Chinese influence reduces human rights & democracy in Pakistan, turns them more authoritarian

Dr. Aasim Sajjad Akhtar 2018 (PhD from Univ. of London; Master's degree in economics from Yale; assistant professor at the National Institute of Pakistan Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad) [The China–Pakistan Economic Corridor](https://monthlyreview.org/2018/06/01/the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor/) 1 June 2018 <https://monthlyreview.org/author/aasimsajjadakhtar/>

The fear that Beijing will reinforce the Pakistani state’s authoritarian tendencies is not based only on circumstantial evidence or speculation. A significant section of the LTP focuses on how China will facilitate the surveillance capacities of local security agencies. The major infrastructural investment in this regard is the laying of a country-wide fiber-optic cable, which would both transform Pakistan’s communication network and give China extensive control over information flows in the country. China Mobile already accounts for 20 percent of domestic telecommunications traffic, and this share is projected to increase dramatically in the near future. Meanwhile, the Huawei group is likewise acquiring monopoly-like dominance over the digital technology and hardware markets. The LTP also makes no secret of China’s plan to use communications networks, including digital television channels, to disseminate Chinese culture in Pakistan, while the explosion of Mandarin-teaching institutes across the country, alongside initiatives in the realm of arts and culture, reflects Beijing’s desire to project China’s power in new ways. It is against this backdrop that left debates over China’s increasingly hegemonic role in Pakistan’s polity and economy must be understood. To a significant extent, these differences revolve around the question of the Pakistani state, and particularly the army. There is a palpable sense that China’s interventions will empower the coercive arm of the state and further constrict democratic space in the country, particularly in the historically oppressed peripheral regions outside the Punjab.

SOLVENCY

1. Pakistan needs the US to help fight terrorism

Pakistan needs the aid in order to adequately fight

The Express Tribune 2018. (first internationally affiliated newspaper in Pakistan. Partnered with The International New York Times – the global edition of The New York Times – the paper caters to the modern face of Pakistan. With its groundbreaking layouts created by an international award winning designer, the newspaper covers a variety of topics ranging from politics to the economy, foreign policy to investment and sports to culture.) 27 March 2018 “US considering permanent freeze on Pakistan military aid: American magazine” https://tribune.com.pk/story/1670344/9-us-considering-permanent-freeze-pakistan-military-aid-american-magazine/

There have also been murmurings that cutting off aid to the country permanently would make it harder for Islamabad to access high-tech military hardware, hampering the fight against terrorism in the tribal regions bordering Afghanistan, emboldening militants and destabilising the nuclear-armed nation.

2. The US needs Pakistan to help fight terrorism

Pakistan plays an important role in the war on terrorism

Gardiner Harris 2017. (covers international diplomacy for The New York Times; previously served as a White House, South Asia, public health and pharmaceutical reporter for The Times; graduated from Yale University.) 30 August 2017 “U.S. Gives Military Assistance to Pakistan, With Strings Attached” https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/30/us/politics/us-aid-pakistan-terror.html

The United States has provided Pakistan more than $33 billion in aid since 2002. But the annual funding has declined in recent years as Washington became increasingly disenchanted with Pakistan’s quiet support for the Haqqani network and the Taliban, whose attacks have been responsible for the deaths of American troops in Afghanistan. Still, American officials have long recognized that Pakistan has tried to crack down on terror groups, and plays an important role in facilitating supply shipments to the United States military in Afghanistan.

Pakistan has made enormous sacrifices to help the US fight terrorism

*Hannah Bloch 2018. (Lead International Digital Editor for NPR. She has also contributed to the Wall Street Journal, the National Geographic, Time Magazine, and CNN.) 4 January 2018 “U.S. Suspends Most Security Assistance To Pakistan”* [*https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2018/01/04/575492300/u-s-suspends-most-security-assistance-to-pakistan*](https://www.ft.com/content/81aea830-0238-11e8-9650-9c0ad2d7c5b5)

Relations between Pakistan and the U.S. long have been strained, and tensions have only grown since the summer, when the Trump administration announced its policy on Afghanistan and South Asia. Pakistan, which serves as a key transport route for supplies to U.S. forces in Afghanistan, denies harboring terrorists. Officials say the country has made enormous sacrifices to support the U.S. war on terror.

Pakistan has spent around $120 billion over 15 years

BBC News 2018. (British Broadcasting System; the world's leading public service broadcaster.) 5 January 2018 “How will the US move to cut aid affect Pakistan?” https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-42579077

The foreign office talked of Pakistan's efforts to bring peace to the region, which it said was done mostly at its own cost - $120bn over 15 years - and argued that "arbitrary deadlines, unilateral pronouncements and shifting goalposts are counterproductive in addressing common threats".

Pakistan has helped in the war on terrorism

The Telegraph 2018. (British newspaper) 5 January 2018 “America’s decision to freeze military aid to Pakistan won’t work” https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/01/05/pakistan-says-us-military-aid-suspension-counterproductive/

But Pakistan's foreign ministry issued a cautious statement in which it said it was "engaged" with US officials and awaiting further details. Without referring to the decision directly, it warned that "arbitrary deadlines, unilateral pronouncements and shifting goalposts are counterproductive in addressing common threats." Emerging threats such as the growing presence of the Islamic State group in the region make cooperation more important than ever, it added. Pakistan has fought fierce campaigns against homegrown Islamist groups, and says it has lost thousands of lives and spent billions of dollars in its long war on extremism.

Pakistan is important in the war on terrorism

The Express Tribune 2018. (first internationally affiliated newspaper in Pakistan. Partnered with The International New York Times – the global edition of The New York Times – the paper caters to the modern face of Pakistan) 27 March 2018 “US considering permanent freeze on Pakistan military aid: American magazine” https://tribune.com.pk/story/1670344/9-us-considering-permanent-freeze-pakistan-military-aid-american-magazine/

Pakistan is also important to the peace process in Kabul, as US forces seek a dignified exit from the war-torn country after over a decade of little progress. Two lethal attacks in Kabul in January claimed by the Taliban, occurring only days after the suspension of US aid was announced and after a tweet by Trump castigating Pakistan, have added urgency to the debate.

3. War in Afghanistan

War in Afghanistan is not hopeless: We have a strategy and we need to stick with it

Luke Coffey 2018 (Director, Douglas & Sarah Allison Center for Foreign Policy, Heritage Foundation) 16 May 2018 "No, We Have Not Failed in Afghanistan. Here’s Why the U.S. Should Stay." https://www.heritage.org/middle-east/commentary/no-we-have-not-failed-afghanistan-heres-why-the-us-should-stay

As Trump makes a decision later this summer about the future of the U.S. role in Afghanistan, he needs to start measuring success by achievements on the ground and not by unrealistic expectations. The president should drown out the constant criticism of the campaign and remain committed to the realistic, reasonable, and responsible strategy he outlined last year. Afghanistan is a complex place. There is a huge space between victory and defeat. That is where we are today—and where we will likely be for the foreseeable future. That does not mean we have failed. That is simply reality.

Must have Pakistan to win in Afghanistan

Dr. Mercy Kuo 2018 (PhD; former CIA specialist in Asian affairs ) 30 May 2018 "China-Pakistan Relations:  Challenging US Global Leadership" THE DIPLOMAT https://thediplomat.com/2018/05/china-pakistan-relations-challenging-us-global-leadership/

Pakistani support for U.S. operations in Afghanistan has been vital given the Pakistani supply lines that run across the Durand Line. By 2007, NATO forces were using nearly 575,000 gallons of fuel daily with nearly 80 percent of it coming from Pakistani refineries. Further, the storage capacity at key air bases accumulated to less than 3 million gallons, increasing the need for preserving Pakistani supply lines. Recognizing this, former Vice President Joe Biden once stated, “If you don’t get Pakistan right, you can’t win [in Afghanistan].” Any disruption makes the U.S. mission in Afghanistan more difficult and costly. Such was the case when Pakistan closed the supply lines temporarily following the accidental deaths of 24 Pakistani soldiers at the hands of NATO forces in November 26, 2011. The Trump administration decision to cut military aid and pursue sanctions against Pakistan, alongside Trump’s fiery rhetoric, at the same time as increasing U.S. troop presence in Afghanistan could hamper the U.S. mission if it leads to Pakistan again closing the trade routes providing important supplies for U.S. forces.

4. Advantages / Advocacy Back-up

The US benefits from a relationship with Pakistan

Zeeshan Aleem 2018. (Staff writer for Vox. He covers economics and energy for the foreign affairs team. Prior to Vox, he was a senior politics staff writer at Mic, where he wrote columns on public policy. Before that, he was a writer for The Huffington Post, handling public commentary on politics and international affairs.) 8 January 2018 “Trump’s sudden new fight with Pakistan, explained” <http://www.vox.com/world/2018/1/8/16850116/trump-pakistan-suspend-aid>

That’s because Washington still benefits a lot from the partnership between the two countries, and Pakistan knows it. Ahsan Butt, a professor of international relations focusing on security in South Asia at George Mason University, told me that that Pakistan has helped the US enormously in its fight against al-Qaeda (with the [**major exception of tracking down Osama bin Laden**](http://www.businessinsider.com/did-pakistan-know-about-bin-laden-living-there-2015-5)). The US military also uses Pakistani military bases to launch drone strikes against militants. And the US benefits a great deal from being able to use Pakistani roads and airspace for delivering war supplies to landlocked Afghanistan. The other best point of entry is Iran, which is unlikely to give the US the same kind of access anytime soon.

US should stop bullying Pakistan: It won't work and will only drive them to align with China, Iran or Russia

Sikander Ahmed Shah 2018. (Professor of Public International Law at Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan) 7 May 2018 “US – Pakistan Relations: A Marriage of Inconvenience” https://www.justsecurity.org/55842/us-pakistan-relations-marriage-inconvenience/

The U.S. is in a hard place, but further bullying from Washington is unlikely to work. Any criticism by the United States over Pakistan’s human rights situation will only fan local perception that the U.S. is using human rights as a pretext to advance its own geostrategic interests and drive it to further align with China, Iran, or Russia. The road to improved relations will be long, and requires careful diplomacy and investment in Pakistan to offset China’s economic and military influence.

Better relationship with Pakistan would benefit the US

*Kevin D. Williamson 2018. (has most recently written for the Atlantic. Before that, he was a staff writer with the National Review Institute.) 9 January 2018 “Cutting Off Pakistan” https://www.nationalreview.com/2018/01/us-pakistan-alliance-frustrating-necessary/*

About that elsewhere: Pakistan’s border with India has been a flashpoint since the 1940s, and its border with Afghanistan has been very much on American strategic minds since 2001. But Pakistan also borders Iran and the Arabian Sea, and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir borders China. Everything Pakistan touches is of strategic interest to the United States. **[END QUOTE]**

**[He goes on LATER IN THE SAME CONTEXT, QUOTE:]** A nuclear-armed Islamic nation bordering China, India, and Afghanistan: Pakistan needs our attention. If we aren’t interested, others are, in Riyadh and elsewhere.

DISAD RESPONSES

No Link to Any Disad – Pakistan won't respond positively to aid cutoff threats

The US has tried freezing aid in the past and it didn’t change anything

The Economist 2018. (respected British news magazine.) 12 January 2018 “America’s decision to freeze military aid to Pakistan won’t work” https://www.economist.com/asia/2018/01/12/americas-decision-to-freeze-military-aid-to-pakistan-wont-work

The State Department estimates the suspension will cost Pakistan $2bn in aid already budgeted. It is similar to many previous American efforts to change the behaviour of the generals who dictate Pakistan’s security policy. The administration of Barack Obama froze aid to Pakistan several times for the same reason—the generals’ refusal to crack down on the militants, chiefly, in recent years, a jihadist network founded by Jalaluddin Haqqani, a former anti-Soviet commander who is based in the Pakistani tribal area of North Waziristan (see map). Mr Obama suspended $800m in aid in 2011 and $300m in 2016. Congress blocked the sale of F-16 fighters to Pakistan the same year. None of those admonitions worked.

The US has little leverage on Pakistan

The Economist 2018. (respected British news magazine.) 12 January 2018 “America’s decision to freeze military aid to Pakistan won’t work” <https://www.economist.com/asia/2018/01/12/americas-decision-to-freeze-military-aid-to-pakistan-wont-work> (brackets added)

In particular, its assistance to the country has already been greatly reduced: in 2011 America furnished Pakistan with $3.5bn. Meanwhile, China, which has billed Pakistan as its “irreplaceable all-weather friend”, is increasingly making up the shortfall. It is rumoured to be planning a naval base close to the Pakistani port of Gwadar, on which it obtained a 40-year lease last year. (Both China and Pakistan deny this.) The port is part of a $57b[illio]n infrastructure project, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which is intended to connect landlocked western China to the Arabian Sea. America’s leverage with Pakistan looks modest by comparison.

Unrealistic Expectations

We can expect Pakistan to fight terrorism, but expecting to eliminate it is asking too much

[for an impact, use Solv. 1 & 2: we can’t eliminate terrorism, but we can fight it – although we need Pakistan on our side in order to accomplish anything]

Rafia Zakaria 2018. (attorney and author. She is a columnist for Dawn in Pakistan and writes regularly for Guardian Books, The Nation, The New Republic, The Baffler, Boston Review and various other places.) 10 January 2018 “Who benefits from Pakistan's loss of US aid?” https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/aid-tirade-pakistan-story-180108095929965.html

The US in [Afghanistan](https://www.aljazeera.com/topics/country/afghanistan.html) wants to eliminate "terrorism" and end the insurgency; it wants a declarable victory and a happy return of its troops back home. Pakistan, on the other hand, cannot go anywhere. It is stuck with active extremists, retired extremists, and the regional players (India and China). While Pakistan can and should do more to fight "terror", there may be some truth to what some within the Pakistani security circles are saying: that you can fight "terror", but you can never really eliminate it. Given the nature of extremism, "terrorist" groups, once disbanded, can simply re-emerge with another name and another local or regional sponsor. After all, "terrorism" is part of the political game.

Pakistan has been cracking down on terrorism

Civilian deaths from terrorism have dropped recently

Michael Kugelman 2018. (Asia Program Deputy Director and Senior Associate for South Asia at the Wilson Center.) 31 January 2018 “Winter is coming for Pakistan’s military as US aid freeze sets in” http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/01/31/winter-is-coming-for-pakistans-military-as-us-aid-freeze-sets-in/

The aid freeze sparked a predictable uproar in Pakistan. Officials angrily declared that their country has already [cracked down hard on terrorists](http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/05/pakistans-counter-extremism-narrative-called-into-question/), and to their credit, terrorist violence has plummeted in recent years. Pakistan’s military launched an offensive against the Pakistani Taliban (the group responsible for the majority of attacks in Pakistan over the last decade) in the tribal region of North Waziristan in 2014. [According to the South Asia Terrorism Portal](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm), civilian deaths from terrorist violence dropped from 1800 in 2014 to 540 in 2017.

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