



Pakistan Army

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Introduction

The Pakistan Army has grown steadily since 1947, when Pakistan was formed from the erstwhile British Raj. During the 1950s, it received considerable assistance from the United Kingdom and the United States, with which it was variously allied through the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Baghdad Pact (subsequently renamed the Central Treaty Organization [CENTO]). This assistance enabled Pakistan to increase the size of the army, expand the quantity and quality of its inventory, and enlarge its cantonments to meet the growing Indian threat. While the 1960s and 1970s were turbulent times for US-Pakistan ties, Pakistan again became closely allied with the United States in the 1980s, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. That alliance, based on the need to expand the Pakistan Army to enable it to better counter the emerging Soviet threat and continue to aid the US effort, enabled further expansion of the army and Pakistan's acquisition of US weapons systems. By 1989, the Pakistan Army had grown to nearly 450,000. Pakistan had to modify the army's organizational structure to keep step with its expanding size. At independence, all of the army's divisions were commanded directly from General Headquarters in Rawalpindi. As the army continued to grow and as it fought (and lost) several wars with India (in 1947, 1965, and 1971), army leadership realized the need to add additional corps headquarters. The first addition was I Corps (now located in Mangla), which was formed in 1957. The IV Corps (in Lahore) was formed in 1965. Several corps headquarters (II, V, X, and XI) were added in the 1970s, and several more (XII, XXX, and XXXI) were added during the 1980s. The current Pakistan Army is comprised of nine corps and the Army Strategic Forces Command, which was formed in 1999 to exercise control over Pakistan's nuclear arsenal and is thus treated as an equivalent to a corps command. It has an end strength of 560,000 active-duty personnel.

General Overviews

Numerous volumes provide overviews of Pakistan's evolution into a praetorian state and the development of the Pakistan Army and its strategic culture, its history of warfare, its role in securing Pakistan's geographical and ideological frontiers as well as its long-standing use of Islamist militants under the security of its nuclear umbrella.

Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. *The Armed Forces of Pakistan*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

This volume examines the evolution of Pakistan's armed forces tracing their emergence as disciplined and well-trained organizations despite the challenges posed by partition and the demanding security environment of South Asia. It primarily draws upon Pakistani institutional sources.

Chishti, Fai Ali. *Betrayals of Another Kind: Islam, Democracy and the Army in Pakistan*. Cincinnati: Asia Publishing House, 1990.

This volume specifically focuses upon General Zia-ul-Haq from his coup to his demise and the influence Zia had upon the country and its institutions.

Cloughley, Brian. *War, Coups & Terror: Pakistan's Army in Years of Turmoil*. New York: Skyhorse, 2008.

This volume is an account of the army spanning the days of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to more recent years during the so-called War on Terror. This time period encompasses Pakistan's flirtations with democracy and coups as well as the Kargil crisis with India.

Fair, C. Christine. *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

This book details the strategic culture of the Pakistan military primarily through the use of primary source documents published by the Pakistan Army or memoirs of retired officers. The book seeks to explain why Pakistan has persisted in pursuing a military rivalry with India for nearly seven decades despite repeatedly suffering defeat in war and incurring ruinous costs to its economy and the health of the polity.

Khan, Fazal Muqem. *The Story of the Pakistan Army*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1963.

This volume provides an early history of the Pakistan Army beginning with the division of the armed forces of the subcontinent under the British through the 1958 military coup of Mohammad Ayub Khan.

Nawaz, Shuja. *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

This volume provides an account of Pakistan's various wars and how they were understood at home. It also provides an account of the rise of the Pakistan Army in the management of the state. The author is a brother of a deceased Pakistan Army chief, a relationship that afforded him access to previously classified Pakistan Army materials.

Rahman, M. Attiqur. *Our Defence Cause: An Analysis of Pakistan's Past and Future Military Role*. London: White Lion, 1976.

This book offers a historical account of the development of the Pakistan Army and the organization of its higher command and its educational institutions, doctrine, and tactics.

Riza, Shaukat. *The Pakistan Army, 1947–1949*. Dehradun, India: Natraj, 1997a.

This volume provides an account of the Pakistan Army beginning with the colonial period through the partition and the first two years of independence.

Riza, Shaukat. *The Pakistan Army, 1966–1971*. Dehradun, India: Natraj, 1997b.

This volume focuses upon the role of the army in the run-up to the 1971 war and the subsequent loss of East Pakistan.

Schofield, Carey. *Inside the Pakistan Army: A Woman's Experience on the Frontline of the War on Terror*. London: Biteback Publishing, 2011.

In this book, the author offers a glimpse into the worldview of a selection of Pakistan's military officers in what the author describes as a "woman's experience."

Pakistan's Officer Corps and Enlisted Ranks

Works that provide insight into the composition of the officer corps and enlisted ranks are limited. Fair 2012; Fair 2014; Fair and Nawaz 2011; and Staniland, et al. 2020 collect and analyze novel data sets to provide insights into the characteristics of officers of the Pakistan Army.

Cohen, Stephen P. *The Pakistan Army*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

This volume constitutes one of the first inquiries into the Pakistan army. Cohen was given unprecedented access to the Pakistan Army by General Zia-ul-Haq. His volume reflects this access.

Fair, C. Christine. "Increasing Social Conservatism in the Pakistan Army: What the Data Say." *Armed Forces & Society* 38.3 (2012): 438–462.

This essay examines popular beliefs about Islamization of the Pakistan Army officer corps and the sources from which the army recruits.

Fair, C. Christine. "Using Manpower Policies to Transform the Force and Society: The Case of the Pakistan Army." *Security Studies* 23.1 (2014): 74–112.

Whereas recent manpower studies focus on how socially marginalized groups employ military service to achieve greater access to citizenship, this analysis considers how an army uses service in its ranks to cajole reluctant citizens into the national project of Pakistan and endow them with the responsibilities and rights thereof.

Fair, C. Christine, and Shuja Nawaz. "The Changing Pakistan Army Officer Corps." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 34.1 (2011): 63–94.

This essay deploys novel data to examine the army's geographical recruitment base. The authors find that the Pakistan Army has been successful at expanding the geographical recruitment base at the same time that some groups remain highly underrepresented.

Rashid, Maria. *Dying to Serve: Militarism, Affect, and the Politics of Sacrifice in the Pakistan Army*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020.

This book is unique, and thus extremely important, because it is the only account of Pakistan's enlisted servicemembers and what motivates them to serve, and even die, for the Pakistan Army.

Staniland, Paul, Adnan Naseemullah, and Ahsan Butt. "Pakistan's Military Elite." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 43.1 (2020): 74–103.

The author researches open sources to develop a novel data set on the backgrounds, careers, and post-retirement activities of post-1971 corps commanders and directors-general of the Inter-services Intelligence Directorate (ISI).

The Pakistan Army's Dominance in Domestic and Foreign Affairs

Numerous books offer arguments about how the Pakistan Army has come to dominate the domestic and foreign affairs of the country. Niaz 2010, Shah 2014, Paul 2014, Haqqani 2005, and Ahmed 2013 offer various accounts of the dominance of the Pakistan Army at home and abroad. Moore 1979 offers an account of the Pakistan Army in the work of nation-building between 1947 and 1969. Rizvi 2000a, Rizvi 2000b, and Shafqat 1997 meticulously describe civil-military relations in Pakistan. Siddiq 2007 offers insights into the business ventures of Pakistan's armed forces, which, in effect, enrich serving and retired officers at the expense of the public.

Ahmed, Ishtiaq. *Pakistan, the Garrison State: Origins, Evolution, Consequences, 1947–2011*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013.

This book seeks to understand how the Pakistan Army has come to be the most powerful institution in the country despite the fact that, at independence, the Pakistan military was poorly armed and lacked the requisite infrastructure and training to function as an arm of the state.

This volume was published under the title *The Pakistan Army in Politics: Origins, Evolution, Consequences* (New Delhi: Amaryllus Press, 2013).

Cohen, Stephen P. "Pakistan: Army, Society, and Security." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 10.2 (1983): 1–26.

In this article, Cohen argues that the Pakistan Army is the dominant institution in Pakistan, ostensibly ensuring national stability while also undermining the development of effective civilian governance.

Haqqani, Husain. *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005.

This volume provides an account of the Pakistan military and its particular ideology that understands its role as one of protecting Pakistan's ideological and geographical frontiers. It details how the institution early on came to rely on Islamist militancy as tools of domestic and foreign policy.

Jalal, Ayesha. *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Jalal examines how Pakistan's political economy was influenced by the army's dominance, weak civilian institutions, and Cold War exigencies.

Moore, Raymond A. *National Building and the Pakistan Army, 1947–1969*. Lahore, Pakistan: Aziz, 1979.

This book chronicles the role of the Pakistan Army in nation-building.

Niaz, Ilhan. *The Culture of Power and Governance of Pakistan, 1947–2008*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

This volume endeavors to understand the rise of the Pakistan Army in Pakistan's governance and the factors that explain its durability.

Paul, T. V. *The Warrior State: Pakistan in the Contemporary World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

This volume details how the Pakistan Army imbricated itself into Pakistani politics, rendering it a "garrison" state with numerous adverse outcomes for viable state-building and ensuring peace at home and abroad.

Rizvi, Hasan Askari. *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000a.

This book is an account of Pakistan's civil-military affairs, detailing the durable ascendance of the Pakistan military in Pakistan's governance and society.

Rizvi, Hasan Askari. *The Military & Politics in Pakistan, 1947–1997*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel, 2000b.

This volume examines the involvement of the military in Pakistan's politics between 1947 and 1997.

Shafqat, Saeed. *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan from Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to Benazir Bhutto*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997.

This book offers a historical understanding of civil-military relations as they evolved during the tenures of Zia-ul-Haq and Benazir Bhutto.

Shah, Aqil. *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Shah explains how the Pakistan Army came to be the predominant institution in Pakistan, involving itself in all aspects of foreign and domestic policies.

Siddiq, Ayesha. *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*. London: Pluto Press, 2007.

In this volume Siddiq offers insights into the opaque business dealings of the armed forces, which have enabled serving and retired military personnel to access incalculable wealth at the public expense.

Pakistan's Intelligence Agency: The Inter-services Intelligence Directorate (ISI)

To understand the Pakistan army it is essential to acquire a knowledge of the history and function of Pakistan's notorious intelligence agency, the Inter-services Intelligence Directorate (ISI). Because information about this organization is scarce, volumes on the agency are also rare. Five of the most notable volumes on the organization are cited here. Richards 2024 and Sirrs 2017 offer histories of the organization and its mission. Oakley and Gady 2009 describes what the authors call the Islamization of the ISI and its parent organization, the army. Coll 2018 specifically focuses upon one department in the ISI—Directorate S—and its role in the revival of the Taliban, al-Qaeda, and other militant groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Coll, Steve. *Directorate S*. New York: Penguin Press, 2018.

This volume provides a history of how the US Central Intelligence Agency and Pakistan's Inter-services Intelligence Directorate contributed to a Taliban revival in Afghanistan and the resurgence of al-Qaeda and associated militant groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Kiessling, Hein G. *Faith, Unity, Discipline: The ISI of Pakistan*. London: Hurst, 2016.

This volume provides a history of Pakistan's Inter-service Intelligence Directorate and its evolution since its inception in 1947.

Oakley, Robert B., and Franz-Stefan Gady. "Radicalization by Choice: ISI and the Pakistani Army." *Strategic Forum* 247 (October 2009): 1–8.

The authors argue that while the Pakistan Army and the ISI are essential for the security and stability of Pakistan, both have deliberately embraced Islamic radicalism in an effort to counter India's conventional superiority.

Richards, Julian. *Pakistan's ISI: A Concise History of the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2024.

This volume provides a detailed and current introduction to the ISI and its historical evolution since its inception in 1947.

Sirrs, Owen L. *Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate: Covert Action and Internal Operations*. London: Routledge, 2017.

This book addresses empirical gaps in information about the ISI, including its domestic security mission, its covert backing of the Afghan Taliban, and its links to al-Qaeda.

Pakistan's Nuclear Program

To understand the strategic culture of the Pakistan Army, it is essential to acquire knowledge of the country's nuclear weapons program. While the program began under the civilian auspices of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, after the coup led by Zia-ul-Haq the program has remained under the purview of the army despite ostensible claims to civilian oversight. Publicly available information about the program is limited; however, several works on the program are cited here.

Abbas, Hassan. *Pakistan's Nuclear Bomb: A Story of Defiance, Deterrence and Deviance*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

This book provides a comprehensive account of Pakistan's acquisition of develop nuclear weapons. The volume also provides profiles of the politicians and scientists involved and discusses assistance afforded to Pakistan's program by China and Saudi Arabia.

Abraham, Itty, ed. *South Asian Cultures of the Bomb: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009.

This volume includes several chapters that offer various public cultural approaches to understanding the impact of nuclearization on the publics in India and Pakistan.

Ahmed, Mansoor. *Pakistan's Pathway to the Bomb: Ambitions, Politics, and Rivalries*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2022.

This is a revisionist volume that reexamines the various influential persons who gave form to Pakistan's nuclear weapons program between 1968 and the May 1998 nuclear tests.

Dittmer, Lowell, ed. *South Asia's Nuclear Security Dilemma: India, Pakistan, and China*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2005.

This volume presents essays on the political economy of minimal deterrence and the various power structures in South Asia.

Khan, Feroz Hassan. *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012.

This account of Pakistan's nuclear program is notable because the author was a serving Pakistan Army officer whose last post was as the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs (ACDA) section within the Strategic Plans Division (SPD), the secretariat of Pakistan's National Command Authority (NCA).

Khan, Zulfikar, ed. *Nuclear Pakistan: Strategic Dimensions*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

This edited volume proffers the views of several contributors on Pakistan's nuclear arsenal, including tactical nuclear weapons, command and control, and Pakistan's minimum credible deterrent as import for conflict escalation or resolution.

Matinnudin, Kamal. *The Nuclearization of South Asia*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

The author provides an account based on limited empirical observation of the nuclearization of India and Pakistan and the internal and external drivers of nuclearization as well as the impacts of nuclearization upon the outstanding bilateral disputes between India and Pakistan.

Narang, Vipin. "Pakistan." In *Nuclear Strategy In the Modern Era: Regional Powers and International Conflict*. By Vipin Narang, 55–93. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

The author reviews Pakistan's evolving nuclear posture through the use of several historical examples.

Nizamani, Haider K. *The Roots of Rhetoric: Politics of Nuclear Weapons in India and Pakistan*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000.

This volume presents an analysis of nuclear discourse in India and Pakistan.

Sankaran, Jaganath. "Pakistan's Battlefield Nuclear Policy: A Risky Solution to an Exaggerated Threat." *International Security* 39.3 (2014): 118–151.

Jaganath Sankaran argues that Pakistan's deployment of the Nasr tactical nuclear missile is a risky response to an exaggerated threat posed by India's Cold Start doctrine, which itself lacks formal sanction and operational feasibility. He warns that battlefield nuclear use could trigger massive Indian retaliation and escalate to full-scale nuclear war, advocating instead for confidence-building measures and counterterrorism cooperation to reduce tensions.

Pakistan's Nuclear Black Market

Abdul Qadeer (A. Q.) Khan and his purported nuclear black markets are covered in several important volumes.

Corera, Gordon. *Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global Insecurity and the Rise and Fall of the A. Q. Khan Network*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

The author provides an account of the nuclear black market that Abdul Qadeer Khan oversaw for nearly thirty years.

International Institute for Strategic Studies. *Nuclear Black Markets: Pakistan, A. Q. Khan and the Rise of Proliferation Networks; A Net Assessment*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2007.

The contributors detail the evolution of Pakistan's nuclear program, focusing upon the illicit activities of Abdul Qadeer Khan.

Levy, Adrian, and Catherine Scott-Clark. *Deception: Pakistan, the United States, and the Secret Trade in Nuclear Weapons*. New York: Walker, 2007.

The authors provide an account of the illicit nuclear networks of A. Q. Khan, who transferred technology to Iran, North Korea, and Libya allegedly with the knowledge of the US government.

The Pakistan Army's Counterinsurgency Strategy

Pakistan has fought counterinsurgencies throughout the country since early 2002 and in East Pakistan in 1971. Ilahi 2019, Jones and Fair 2010, Lieven 2017, Nawaz 2011, Schofield 2012, focus on the post-9/11 period in describing the security environment in Pakistan and the evolution of the Pakistan Army's counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations as well as emerging doctrine. Bass 2013, Bieberman 2019, Bose 2011, Raghavan 2013, and Sisson and Rose 1990 focus upon the 1971 war.

Bass, Gary J. *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2013.

Bass provides the first robust account of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger's secret support for Pakistan's military regime in 1971 even as it committed shocking atrocities in East Pakistan.

Bieberman, Yelna. "Saving the House of Islam: Pakistan's 'Volunteers' in the War of 1971." In *Gambling with Violence: State Outsourcing of War in Pakistan and India*. By Yelna Bieberman, 37–63. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Bieberman examines Pakistan's strategy of using nonstate actors during the 1971 war.

Bose, Sarmila. *Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Bose, relying upon fieldwork and document analysis, revisits the allegations of atrocities during the 1971 war.

Ilahi, N. *Terrorism in Pakistan: The Tehreek-E-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the Challenge to Insurgency*. London: I. B. Taurus, 2019.

The author details the evolution of militancy in Pakistan as well as the army's response to its rise.

Jones, Seth G., and C. Christine Fair. *Counterinsurgency in Pakistan*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2010.

This document, based on detailed research in Pakistan and an examination of the quantitative and qualitative literature on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism, examines the evolution of militancy in Pakistan and assesses the government's efforts to address it.

Lieven, Anatol. "Counter-insurgency in Pakistan: The Role of Legitimacy." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 28.1 (2017): 166–190.

The author argues that the Pakistani military did not defeat insurgency on the basis of new tactics but rather because of the recovery of legitimacy among Pakistanis and the armed forces themselves.

Nawaz, Shuja. *Learning by Doing: The Pakistan Army's Experience with Counterinsurgency*. Washington, DC: Atlantic Council, 2011.

The author posits a doctrinal shift toward counterinsurgency (COIN) that the Pakistan Army has embraced in recent years.

Raghavan, Srinath. *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Raghavan chronicles the events in East Pakistan that culminated in the war in 1971. He argues that the creation of Bangladesh was not preordained.

Schofield, Julian. "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan." In *The Routledge Handbook of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency*. Edited by Paul B. Rich and Isabelle Duyvesteyn, 324–334. New York: Routledge, 2012.

The author recounts the evolution of Pakistan's counterinsurgency operations and doctrine.

Sisson, Richard, and Leo E. Rose. *War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

The authors trace the intricate decision making that shaped Pakistan's disintegration and the ensuing conflict with India, drawing extensively on interviews with key figures from Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh and including Indira Gandhi and senior Awami League

leaders.

Yusuf, Moeed, ed. *Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014.

The volume offers the perspectives of various contributors on the militant challenge facing Pakistan and how the state has countenanced them.

Pakistan's Grand Strategy

Works on Pakistan's grand strategy are limited and are cited here.

Aslam, Wali, and Bradley A. Thayer. "Pakistan's Grand Strategy: The Poverty of Imagination." *Contemporary South Asia* 28.3 (2020): 351–358.

This article addresses the significant grand strategic choices that confront Pakistan with regard to its relations with China

Butt, Usama, and Julian Schofield, eds. *Pakistan: The US, Geopolitics and Grand Strategies*. London: Pluto Books, 2012.

The authors examine Pakistan's ties with the United States following a decade of the War on Terror and alongside its regional relationships, offering readers a comprehensive insight into the country's strategic priorities.

Husain, Javid. *Pakistan and a World in Disorder: A Grand Strategy for the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

In this book, the author seeks to delineate Pakistan's role in a putatively largely anarchic world of the twenty-first century. It aims to guide Pakistan's policymakers in the formation of a grand strategy for the country.

Kapur, Paul. *Jihad as Grand Strategy: Islamist Militancy, National Security, and the Pakistani State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

The author argues that Pakistan uses Islamist militants under its nuclear umbrella as an elemental component of its grand strategy.

Parkes, Aidan. "Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Its Gordian Knot in Afghanistan." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 6.3 (2019a): 254–274.

The author argues that Pakistan's grand strategy reveals a paradox in its dealings with Afghanistan. The military has long relied on leveraging Islamist groups like the Taliban to counter Indian influence in the region. Yet, this approach increasingly threatens to undermine Pakistan's strategic relationship with China.

Parkes, Aidan. "Considered Chaos: Revisiting Pakistan's 'Strategic Depth' in Afghanistan." *Strategic Analysis* 43.4 (2019b): 297–309.

This article explores how Pakistan's enduring insecurity vis-à-vis India and the Islamization of its military have shaped its strategic identity and approach toward Afghanistan, rooted in colonial-era security doctrines.

Weinbaum, Marvin G., and Jonathan B. Harder. "Pakistan's Afghan Policies and Their Consequences." *Contemporary South Asia* 16.1 (2008): 25–38.

This article examines Pakistan's Afghanistan policies and their consequences.

Yousaf, Mohammad. *Silent Soldier: The Man behind the Afghan Jihad General Akhtar Abdur Rahman Shaheed*. Lahore, Pakistan: Jang, 1991.

Yousaf chronicles the involvement of Pakistani general Akhtar Abdur Rahman Shaheed with the Mujahideen during the USSR's occupation of Afghanistan.

Zaman, Arshad. "Sovereign Development: Outline of a Grand Strategy for Pakistan." *National Defense University Journal* 31 (2017): 19–32.

Amidst American drone strikes in Pakistan, the author contends that there is a drastic need for a grand strategy with which the country can better defend itself. The author offers outlines of such a strategy.

Pakistan's Conventional Wars

Pakistan has fought with India in 1947–1948, 1965, 1971, and 1999. Because the 1971 war is considered under the Pakistan Army's Counterinsurgency Strategy), this section will not cover this conflict.

Ahmed, Mahmud. *Illusion of Victory: A Military History of the Indo-Pak War, 1965*. Karachi: Lexicon, 2002.

This volume offers a refreshingly candid account of Pakistan's losses in the 1965 war with India.

Bajwa, Farooq. *From Kutch to Tashkent: The Indo-Pakistan War of 1965*. London: Hurst, 2013.

This book offers an in-depth exploration of the war's political dynamics, diplomatic negotiations, and military strategies, drawing on declassified British and American documents, personal memoirs, and select unpublished interviews. It delivers a thorough account of the conflict, unraveling the complexities of international diplomacy and the chaos of wartime decision making.

Ganguly, Sumit. *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions since 1947*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Ganguly introduces the reader to a relationship of "unremitting hostility" between the two nations and discusses the causes and consequences of Pakistan's four wars with India

Ganguly, Sumit, and Devin T. Hagerty. *Fearful Symmetry: India-Pakistan Crises in the Shadow of Nuclear Weapons*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012.

This analysis of India and Pakistan's crisis behavior in the nuclear era is the first comprehensive examination of Indo-Pakistani relations to systematically incorporate the influence of the United States on South Asia's security landscape over the past twenty years, shaped by the dynamics of unipolarity. It also proposes a strategic framework for US policy aimed at fostering a more constructive and forward-looking relationship between the two nations.

Lavoy, Peter R., ed. *Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

This edited volume contains several chapter on various aspects of the Kargil conflict.

Nawaz, Shuja. "The First Kashmir War Revisited." *India Review* 7.2 (2008): 115–154.

This article draws upon previously unassessed Pakistan Army archival material to give fresh insights into the causes and consequences of the first Indo-Pakistan war.

Rahman, Tariq. *Pakistan's Wars: An Alternative History*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2022.

Centering on the first Kashmir War (1947–1948), the conflicts of 1965 and 1971, and the 1999 Kargil War, Rahman examines the strategic choices made by Pakistan's elite that precipitated these confrontations, seeking to uncover the underlying factors behind Pakistan's initial involvement.

Subramaniam, Arjun. *India's Wars: A Military History, 1947–1971*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2017.

Among other conflicts, Subramaniam assesses the causes and results of India's wars with Pakistan in 1947–1948, 1965, and 1971.

Zehra, Nasim. *From Kargil to the Coup: Events That Shook Pakistan*. Lahore, Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel, 2018.

Zehra weaves previously undisclosed insights from senior figures within Pakistan's military—directly involved in orchestrating the incursion—into a historically rich and analytically sophisticated examination of the India-Pakistan Kashmir conflict.

Pakistan's Asymmetric Strategies in Afghanistan and Kashmir

Pakistan has relied upon nonstate actors in Kashmir and Afghanistan from the earliest years of the state's existence. Pakistan has become bolder in using such strategies as it has developed a nuclear weapon.

Evans, Alexander. "The Kashmir Insurgency: As Bad as It Gets." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 11.1 (2000): 69–81.

This article documents the changing nature of the Kashmir insurgency as foreign fighters flooded the region from 1990 onward.

Fair, C. Christine. *In Their Own Words: Understanding Lashkar-e-Tayyaba*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Fair provides an account of how Pakistan uses Lashkar-e-Tayyaba under its nuclear umbrella to pursue its national security goals in Kashmir and elsewhere in India.

Ganguly, Sumit. "Nuclear Stability in South Asia." *International Security* 33.2 (Fall 2008): 45–70.

In this article, Ganguly contends, upon an examination of the onset, evolution, and termination of the 1999 and 2001–2002 India-Pakistan crises that nuclear deterrence is robust in South Asia.

Ganguly, Sumit, and S. Paul Kapur. "The Sorcerer's Apprentice: Islamist Militancy in South Asia." *The Washington Quarterly* 33.1 (2010): 47–59.

Pakistan has historically leveraged nonstate actors to impose significant costs on more powerful adversaries while avoiding the risk of total defeat. However, this strategy has become increasingly destabilizing, generating severe internal and external security threats.

Hussain, Rizwan. *Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.

Hussain examines how Pakistan's geopolitical goals and internal political dynamics influenced its backing of Islamist militant groups in Afghanistan, especially throughout the Soviet occupation and in the years after.

Jamal, Arif. *Shadow War: The Untold Story of Jihad in Kashmir*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2009.

Jamal offers a detailed narrative of the India-Pakistan conflict in Kashmir, uncovering the concealed dynamics behind the violence. His account highlights the Pakistani military's role in training insurgents and traces how CIA funds inadvertently reached Kashmiri jihadi groups.

Kapur, S. Paul. *Dangerous Deterrent: Nuclear Weapons Proliferation and Conflict in South Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007.

In this volume, Kapur invalidates the popularly held "stability/instability paradox" that holds that strategic stability fosters sub-conventional conflict. Instead, he argues for an instability/instability paradox in which strategic instability fosters sub-conventional conflict.

Kapur, S. Paul. "Ten Years of Instability in a Nuclear South Asia." *International Security* 33.2 (2008): 127–152.

Contrary to optimistic claims of enhanced stability, nuclearization has encouraged Pakistani adventurism under its nuclear umbrella, provoking increasingly assertive Indian military responses. Nuclear weapons not only destabilized the region over the ten years treated in the article but also may continue to heighten the risk of future conflict.

Kapur, S. Paul, and Sumit Ganguly. "The Jihad Paradox: Pakistan and Islamist Militancy in South Asia." *International Security* 37.1 (2012): 111–141.

This article systematically evaluates Pakistan's use of militants as a long-term national security strategy.

Swami, Praveen. *India, Pakistan and the Secret Jihad: The Covert War in Kashmir, 1947–2004*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Swami charts the evolution of jihadist violence in Kashmir from 1947–1948 to 2004, showing that the recent escalation is part of a long-standing, covert conflict. His analysis challenges the view of this violence as a new development, linking current unrest to enduring strategic patterns in the region.

Tellis, Ashley J., C. Christine Fair, and Jamison Jo Medby. *Limited Conflicts under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2002.

This report explores how India and Pakistan interpret the strategic importance of Pakistan's incursion into the Kargil-Dras sector during the limited war known as the Kargil Conflict. It aims to evaluate each country's perception of the crisis and the potential for similar future confrontations, while considering the implications of the lessons learned for regional stability. The study draws primarily from Indian and Pakistani sources.

Officer's Memoirs

Retired and serving officers have authored numerous memoirs. Arif 2001 shares his experiences serving under both Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. Khan 1993, written by the last army chief in a united Pakistan, is an account of his career. Khan 1967, written by Pakistan's first military dictator, offers the author's vision of Pakistan's domestic and foreign policies and agendas. Musa 1985 offers a rare account of an officer who began his career as an enlisted *jawan*. Musharraf 2006 is an account of Pakistan's most recent military dictator. Qureshi 2012, Salik 1977, and Siddiqi 2004 offer accounts of Pakistan's performance in the 1971 war with India in which Pakistan lost all of East Pakistan, the latter becoming the independent nation of Bangladesh.

Arif, K. M. *Khaki Shadows: Pakistan, 1947–1997*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

This volume is a memoir of General K. M. Arif, who served under both Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq. The book addresses several issues with which he was intimately familiar, such as the 1971 war, the military under Zia, several crises with India as well as the role of the military in governing Pakistan, including the formulation of foreign policy.

Khan, Gul Hassan. *Memoirs of Lt. Gen. Gul Hassan Khan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

This memoir was written by the last Pakistan Army chief of a united Pakistan.

Khan, Mohammad Ayub. *Friends Not Masters: A Political Biography*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967.

This political biography penned by Pakistan's first coup maker offers the author's analysis of the Pakistan Army, his own seizure of power, and his political vision for the country.

Musa, Mohammad. *Jawan to General: Recollections of a Pakistani Soldier*. New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1985.

The book recounts the life of the author in the Pakistan Army, beginning with his time in the ranks, rising through his period in the cadet college and onward through the officer ranks and retiring with the rank of general.

Musharraf, Pervez. *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir*. New York: Free Press, 2006.

In this volume the author recounts his life in the army and his role in rebuilding the nation, in fighting terrorism, and in defending Pakistan at home and abroad.

Niazi, A. A. K. *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

This author signed the instrument of surrender on 16 December 1971, surrendering forces to the commander of the Indian Army Eastern Command on the order of then president of Pakistan Yahya Khan. He offers a distinctive view on the loss of East Pakistan in that war.

Qureshi, Hakeem Arshad. *The 1971 Indo-Pak War*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012.

The book offers a biographical account of the officer's experience in the 1971 war in which East Pakistan was lost.

Salik, Siddiq. *Witness to Surrender*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1977.

The book recounts Pakistan's loss of East Pakistan from the point of view of the author who was a prisoner of war in the 1971 war with India.

Siddiqi, Brigadier A. R. *East Pakistan the End Game: An Onlooker's Journal, 1969–1971*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004.

This volume offers the author's firsthand account of the events that transpired during the 1971 war and the personalities behind them.

Periodicals

Several periodicals offer useful insights into the Pakistan Army. Only *Hilal* is available online. The *Pakistan Army Journal* has the imprimatur of the Pakistan Army and can be found in select libraries, which can be found in WorldCat. *Pakistan Defence Review* is issued by the Inspector-General of Training and Evaluation (IGT&E) Branch, General Headquarters, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, and can be found in libraries via WorldCat.

***Hilal*. 1948–.**

This publication is a current affairs magazine. Originally published only in Urdu, this magazine was intended for Pakistan's enlisted ranks. However, the English version has a more distinctive appeal as most soldiers do not know English. It also offers a newer edition for women, *Hilal Her*, catering to military spouses or female military personnel.

***Pakistan Army Journal*. 1956–.**

Bearing the imprimatur of the Pakistan Army, this journal publishes historical and contemporary articles on security-related issues written by current and retired officers. Published by the Pakistan Army General Headquarters and distributed by the Ministry of Defense, Rawalpindi.

***Pakistan Defence Review*. 1989–.**

Produced by the IGT&E Branch within Pakistan Army General Headquarters, this journal features articles by current and retired officers on a wide array of defense-related topics.

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