

**Complete listing of references to Pakistan in
Bob Graham's *Intelligence Matters***

(page numbers refer to the [2004 hardcover edition](#))

Note: none of these implies Pakistani involvement in 9/11

Pakistan in the Index

Pakistan, 218
intelligence committees' oversight trip to, 86-90, 118
nuclear standoff with India of, x, 86-88, 184, 255

- ix-xi reference to the September 11th breakfast with General Mahmood Ahmed
- 218 "Between...February 2002..and..August 2002, al-Qaeda pulled off just two small terrorist attacks, one in Tunisia and one in Pakistan."
- 86-87 Meeting with Musharraf, he wants sanction lift, more access go military parts, promises open elections but not release of power, wants to be helpful in OBL search but tells of difficulty of control in western Pakistan
- 87 Trip to Line of Control with India, encourage Musharraf to continue negotiations
- 87-88 Trip to mountains between Pakistan and Afghanistan, "considered to be extremely sympathetic to both the Taliban and al-Qaeda, and only loosely controlled by Pakistan...On one side of the mountains is clearly in Afghanistan, the other side is clearly in Pakistan. But in a swath up to 100 miles wide in between are the Pashtun tribal areas, where national allegiance is a secondary concern and survival is the first."
Khyber Pass's two-lane paved road choked with UN truck caravans "bringing food aid and supplies to the people of Afghanistan, who were suffering tremendously from famine, drought, and the brutal reign of the Taliban."
- 88-89 Ruminations on the history of a region of "tribal skirmishes and blood feuds, battles of expansion and invasion, from the Moguls, to the Sikhs, to the British, to the Soviets.
- 90 "I was struck by how primitive and undeveloped the region looked.
"Notionally part of a nation-state, these were really tribal lands; it was hard to conceive that such a place -- barren, arid, sparse, harsh, and forbidding -- could harbor a significant enemy to any nation, let alone the United States of America.
"Perhaps that was why people like Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz would refuse to believe that out of Afghanistan could come an attack as coordinated and deadly as the one that occurred on September 11, 2001, or that nonstate terrorism is the biggest threat that the United States faces.
"To this day, I am haunted by the fact that two weeks before the attacks of September 11, my colleagues and I -- looking into a land that had seen battle after battle over the centuries -- were also looking at the place that would become the focal point in the first great battle of the twenty-first century."
- 184 "...when asked about his difficulties with Tenet, [Republican Senator and Inquiry member] Shelby immediately points to the failure of the intelligence community to realize the extent of India and Pakistan's nuclear programs..."
- 255 No reference found -- this is in the section on JCI recommendations