

Politics and Economics of the Middle East



IJAZ KHAN

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE *and* FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

*A Study of Pakistan's Post 9/11
Afghan Policy Change*

Novinka

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE AND FOREIGN POLICY MAKING:

A STUDY OF PAKISTAN'S POST 9/11 AFGHAN POLICY CHANGE

No part of this digital document may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means. The publisher has taken reasonable care in the preparation of this digital document, but makes no expressed or implied warranty of any kind and assumes no responsibility for any errors or omissions. No liability is assumed for incidental or consequential damages in connection with or arising out of information contained herein. This digital document is sold with the clear understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering legal, medical or any other professional services.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Additional books in this series can be found on Nova's website
under the Series tab.

Additional E-books in this series can be found on Nova's website
under the E-books tab.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE AND FOREIGN POLICY MAKING:

A STUDY OF PAKISTAN'S POST 9/11 AFGHAN POLICY CHANGE

IJAZ KHAN

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR**



Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

New York

Copyright © 2012 by Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means: electronic, electrostatic, magnetic, tape, mechanical photocopying, recording or otherwise without the written permission of the Publisher.

For permission to use material from this book please contact us:

Telephone 631-231-7269; Fax 631-231-8175

Web Site: <http://www.novapublishers.com>

NOTICE TO THE READER

The Publisher has taken reasonable care in the preparation of this book, but makes no expressed or implied warranty of any kind and assumes no responsibility for any errors or omissions. No liability is assumed for incidental or consequential damages in connection with or arising out of information contained in this book. The Publisher shall not be liable for any special, consequential, or exemplary damages resulting, in whole or in part, from the readers' use of, or reliance upon, this material.

Independent verification should be sought for any data, advice or recommendations contained in this book. In addition, no responsibility is assumed by the publisher for any injury and/or damage to persons or property arising from any methods, products, instructions, ideas or otherwise contained in this publication.

This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information with regard to the subject matter covered herein. It is sold with the clear understanding that the Publisher is not engaged in rendering legal or any other professional services. If legal or any other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent person should be sought. FROM A DECLARATION OF PARTICIPANTS JOINTLY ADOPTED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND A COMMITTEE OF PUBLISHERS.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA

Khan, Ijaz.

Pakistan's strategic culture and foreign policy making / Ijaz khan.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN: ; 9: /3/84: 2: /824/9 (eBook)

1. Pakistan--Foreign relations--Afghanistan. 2. Afghanistan--Foreign relations--Pakistan. 3. Pakistan--Foreign relations. 4. Pakistan--Strategic aspects. 5. Strategic culture--Pakistan. I. Title. DS383.5.A45K536 2012
327.5491--dc23

2011037421

Published by Nova Science Publishers, Inc. † New York

CONTENTS

Glossary	vii
Acronyms and Abbreviations	xi
Introduction	xiii
Chapter 1 Studying Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy	1
Chapter 2 The Making of Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Pro Taliban Afghan Policy	15
Chapter 3 Pakistan's Afghan Policy Shift: Response to the War on Terrorism	43
Chapter 4 Impact of Pakistan's Changed Afghan Policy on the Region	63
Chapter 5 Pakistan's Domestic Foreign Policy Debate in the Post September 11 Era	83
Chapter 6 Conclusions: Towards a Changed Strategic Culture	113
Bibliography	133
Index	143

GLOSSARY

Anarchy: the absence of an international authority.

Balance of power: an international system in which states enjoy relatively equal power, states form alliances or make policies to counteract the acquisition of power by other states, and no one state is able to dominate the international system.

Behavioural Approach: An approach to the study of politics or other social phenomena that focuses on the actions and interactions among units by using scientific methods of observation to include quantification of variables whenever possible. Accordingly, behaviour can be described, explained, and predicted.

Belief system: the organised and integrated perceptions of individuals in a society, including foreign policy decision-makers, often based on past history, that guide them to select certain policies over others.

Bipolar: an international system with two major powers or two groups of states having relatively equal power.

Bureaucratic politics: the model of foreign policy decision-making that posits that national decisions are the outcomes of bargaining among bureaucratic groups having competing interests; decisions reflect the relative strength of the individual bureaucratic players.

Complex Interdependence Theory: The term 'complex interdependence' defines International relations as various, complex transnational connections resulting in interdependencies between states and societies. Interdependence theorists noted that such relations, particularly economic ones, were increasing; while the use of military force and power balancing were decreasing but remained important.

Democratic peace: the classical theory that claims democratic states are least likely to wage war against each other.

Dependency theory: derived from Marxism, an explanation of poverty and underdevelopment in developing countries based on their historical dependence and domination by rich countries.

Deterrence: the policy of maintaining a large military force and arsenal to discourage any potential aggressor from taking actions; states commit themselves to punish an aggressor state.

Diplomacy: the practice of states trying to influence the behaviour of other states by bargaining, negotiating, taking specific non – coercive actions or refraining from such actions, or appealing to the public for support of a position.

Ethnic Nationalism: a form of nationalism that bases appeals for national action on common culture, language, religion, shared history or myth of shared kinship and uses these criteria to exclude people from the nation.

Hegemon: a dominant state that has a preponderance of power; often establishes and enforces the rules and norms in the international system.

Historical or traditional realism: views realism as a licence to take any course of action necessary to ensure political survival.

Imperialism: the policy and practice of extending the domination of one state over another through territorial conquest or economic domination. In radical and Marxist political philosophy, the final stage of expansion of the capitalist system.

International Political Economy: A method of analysis concerning the social, political and economic arrangements affecting the global systems of production, exchange and distribution, and the mix of values reflected therein. As an analytical method, political economy is based on the assumption that what occurs in the economy reflects, and affects, social and political power relations.

International society: the states and sub – state actors in the international system and the institutions and norms that regulate their interaction; implies that these actors communicate, sharing common interests and a common identity.

Irredentism: the demands of ethno nationalist groups to take political control of territory historically or ethnically related to them by separating from their parent state or taking territory from other states.

Legitimacy: the moral and legal right to rule, which is based on law, custom, heredity, or the consent of the governed; with reference to a government, a state recognised by members of the international community.

Liberalism: the theoretical perspective based on the assumption of the innate goodness of the individual and the value of political institutions.

Multi-national corporations: (MNCs) private enterprises with production facilities, sales, or activities in several states.

Multi-polar: an international system in which there are several states or great powers of roughly equal strength or weight.

Nation-State: the entity formed when people sharing the same historical, cultural, or linguistic roots form their own state with borders, a government, and international recognition; trend began with French and American Revolutions.

Nation: A group of people who see themselves as distinct in their culture, history, institutions, or collective principles and who aspire to self-rule.

National Interest: the interest of the state, most basically the protection of territory and sovereignty; in realist thinking, the interest is a unitary one defined in terms of the pursuit of power; in liberal thinking, there are many national interests; in radical thinking, it is the interest of a ruling elite.

- Nationalism:** devotion and allegiance to the nation and the shared characteristics of its peoples; used to motivate people to patriotic acts, sometimes leading a group to seek dominance over another group.
- Neo-liberal Institutionalism:** a reinterpretation of liberalism that posits that even in an anarchic international system, states will cooperate because of their continuous actions with each other and because it is in their self-interest to do so; institutions provide the framework for cooperative interactions.
- Neo-realism:** A systemic, balance of power theory in which states do not seek to maximise power, but merely balance it. And because the international system is regarded as anarchic and based on self-help, the most powerful units set the scene of action for others as well as themselves. These major powers are referred to as poles; hence the international system (or a regional subsystem), at a particular point in time, may be characterised as uni – polar, bipolar or multi – polar.
- Non-Governmental Organisations:** private associations of individuals or groups that engage in collective civic activities having bearing on the political space, across national borders.
- Normative:** relating to ethical rules; in foreign policy and international affairs, standards suggesting that a policy should be.
- North:** refers to the developed countries, mostly in the Northern Hemisphere, including North America, the European countries, and Japan.
- Organisational Politics:** A foreign policy decision-making model that posits that national decisions are the products of sub – national governmental organisations and units; the procedures and processes of the organisation largely determine the policy; major changes in policy are unlikely.
- Pluralist model:** a model of foreign policy decision-making that suggests that policy is formed as a result of the bargaining among the various domestic sources of foreign policy, including public opinion, private interest groups, and multinational corporations; these interests are generally channelled through democratic institutions like legislatures or persons holding elective positions.
- Power:** a relationship between two individuals, groups, or states in which one party has the ability both to influence the other and to force outcomes that the other party may not want.
- Public Diplomacy:** use of certain diplomatic methods to create a favourable image of the state or its people; methods include, for example, goodwill tours, cultural and student exchanges, and media presentations.
- Rational Actor:** in the realist assumption, an individual or state that uses logical reasoning to select a policy; that is, it has a defined goal to achieve, considers a full range of alternative strategies, and selects the policy that best achieves the goal.
- Realism:** a theory of international relations that emphasises states' interest in accumulating power to ensure security in an anarchic world; based on the notion that individuals are power seeking and that states act in pursuit of their own national interest defined in terms of power.

-
- Regime:** in international relations means an all-encompassing term that includes the rules, norms, and procedures that are developed by states and international organisations out of their common concerns and are used to organise common activities.
- Sanctions:** economic, diplomatic, and even coercive military force for enforcing a state's policy or legal obligations; (punishing a state).
- Satisfice:** in decision-making theory, the idea that states and their leaders settle for the minimally acceptable solution, not the best possible outcome, in order to reach a consensus and formulate a policy.
- South:** the developing countries of Africa, Latin America, and southern Asia, generally located in the Southern Hemisphere.
- Sovereignty:** the authority of the state, based on recognition by other states and by non – state actors, to govern matters within its own borders that affect its people, economy, security, and form of government.
- State:** the organised political unit which has a geographic territory, a stable population, and a government that is externally independent and has not come into existence in violations of Public International Law.
- Structural realism:** sees realism as a permanent condition of conflict or the preparation for future conflicts. Structural realism is further divided into two wings: those writers who emphasise human nature as the structure (structural realism I) and those who believe that anarchy is the structure which shapes and shoves the behaviour of states (structural realism II).
- Superpower:** highest-power states as distinguished from other great powers; term coined during the Cold War to refer to the United States and Soviet Union.
- Talibanization:** refers to the political process of, officially sanctioned, that is through government policy or through the activities of non state entities, including political parties and other associations, that transforms a Muslim society towards an extreme form of Islamic principles. Alludes to the practices of Taliban government in Afghanistan, 1996 – November 2001.
- Terrorism:** the use of violence by groups or states to intimidate, cause fear, or punish their victims to achieve political goals.
- Track-two Diplomacy:** unofficial overtures by private individuals or groups to try and resolve an ongoing international crisis or civil war.
- Transnationalism:** Interactions and coalitions across state boundaries that involve such diverse nongovernmental actors as multinational corporations and banks, church groups, and terrorist networks. In some usages, transnationalism includes both nongovernmental as well as transgovernmental links.
- Uni-polar International System:** an international system where there is only one great power, commonly used to describe the post Cold War International system, in which United States is the sole Super power with no matching balancer or balancing alliance.
- Unitary actor:** an assumption made by realists that the state speaks with one voice and has a single national interest.
- Universal Jurisdiction:** a legal concept that permits states to claim legal authority beyond their national territory for the purpose of punishing a particularly heinous criminal or protecting human rights.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AJ&K	Azad (Free) Jammu and Kashmir [Pakistani controlled Kashmir]
ANP	Awami National Party
CARs	Central Asian Republics
CENTCOM	United States Central Command
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
CMLA	Chief Martial Law Administrator
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
DCC	Cabinet Defense Committee
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organisation
EEC	European Economic Community
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GOC	General Officer Commanding
ICRC	International Committee of Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (in Afghanistan)
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence (Directorate of)
ISPR	Inter Services Public Relations
JCSC	Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
JI	Jamaat-e-Islami
JUI	Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam
JUP	Jamiat-Ulema-e-Pakistan
LOC	Line of Control
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCCA	Nuclear Command and Control Authority
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSC	National Security Council
NWFP	North West Frontier Province

OIC	Organisation of the Islamic Conference
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PML–N	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif faction)
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
RAW	Research and Intelligence Wing (Israel’s intelligence Agency)
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNOCAL	Union Oil Company of California
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WTO	World Trade Organisation

INTRODUCTION

That Pakistan, a nuclear state of one hundred and eighty million people, has become a focus of international attention in post 9/11 International Relations is stating the obvious. A question that is increasingly being asked is whether Pakistan is an ally or foe in the 'War against Terrorism'. It made a decision to support U.S. in its 'War against Terrorism' immediately after the tragedy of September 11, 2001 (9/11). The question persists due to Pakistan's distinction as the only state supporting Taliban at least till 9/11. Pakistan tried to broker between U.S.A. and Taliban even after announcing support for and becoming an ally in the 'War against Terrorism', apparently trying to save Taliban rule of Afghanistan minus Osama and Al-Qaeda. Pakistan continued diplomatic relations with Taliban for quite some time even after declaration and commencement of attack on Taliban-ruled Afghanistan with Pakistan's active support through provision of various facilities as requested by the International Coalition.

The Pakistani role in the 'War against Terrorism' related to Afghanistan, whether it is action within Pakistan including Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), believed to have become a sanctuary for forces fighting against International Coalition and Afghan Government forces in Afghanistan, or support for them in Afghanistan, or against extremist religious forces providing training or other kinds of support for terrorism in the rest of the world is both criticized and appreciated. At best it is suspected. Suspected, mistrusted or appreciated, everyone agrees Pakistan's role to be crucial in the 'War against Terrorism' in Afghanistan as well as Muslim religious militancy and extremism that breeds terrorism elsewhere. The suspicion is fuelled both by the fact of a continued open expression of praise for the bygone Taliban rule and a very discernible sympathy towards them even now, not just in Islamist circles, but also in the Islamabad-based official intelligentsia as well as statements of government officials.

There have been a number of studies on Pakistan in recent years. Hussain Haqqani¹ and Hasan Abbas² have explained and described Pakistan's drift towards extremism and militarism with a clear and excellent grip on facts and concepts. Stephen Cohen³ made a

¹ Haqqani., Hussain, *Pakistan: Between Military and Mosque*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, 2005

² Abbas., Hasan, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism – Allah, the Army and America's War on Terrorism*, Pentagon Press, 2004

³ Cohen., Stephen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, 2004

good effort to help understand the state and idea of Pakistan as well as on the Pakistan Army. Lawrence Ziring's study of Pakistan is considered a must read for its balanced treatment of Pakistan's historical development and its politics⁴. Ayeha Siddiqua Agha⁵ has written in depth about Pakistan's military both recently and earlier, bringing to the fore many hitherto known yet taboo subjects. Both her books look at the economic dimensions of military control of the Pakistani state. Hasan Askari Rizvi⁶ has dealt with the role of military in Pakistani politics with an unrivalled insight and understanding. Even if the works of Haqqani, Abbas and Ayesha can be termed as very liberal treatments of their subjects, they still take a unitary centrist viewpoint. These studies while covering different angles of their subject take a unitary view of Pakistan considering it to be a rational actor. There have been a number of other works highlighting various aspects of the 'enigma called Pakistan'. Yet there is a need to further look into this enigma.

They are mostly descriptive studies or analysis of decisions as if they were the only options available. They mostly study what has been the policy and how it has been executed or at most why they were taken. They at best treat the questions "What?" and "Why?" None of them deals with the question of "How?" Even if most of them answer the question partially and indirectly. It is how decisions are made that helps better understand a policy. It is argued that decisions are made not taken. Those who finally announce the decisions have much less role personally than is mostly realized even by those individuals themselves. The current study is an attempt to answer the question of how Pakistani Foreign Policy is made.

To answer the question how, this study develops an understanding of the 'Strategic Culture' of Pakistan. The essential ingredients of this 'Strategic Culture' are: India is the source of security threats that has never accepted the creation of Pakistan and will do everything possible to undo it; Islam is the basis for Pakistan's existence and a useful protection; United States, Peoples Republic of China and Saudi Arabia are states on whose right side Pakistan must always be. By applying an adaptation of Prof. Karl Deutsch's three streams of information model, different inputs into the decision-making process, the gradual development of a particular 'Strategic Culture', and mindset is traced. It is this 'Strategic Culture', and a particular mindset that makes Pakistani Foreign Policy responses and not some well thought out system of decision-making weighing different options. To be correct, 'Strategic Culture' develops and exists in every society, but that work in certain systems, especially in democratic societies there is popular as well as educated and academic debate and independent inputs and analysis of different policy responses to events or policies of others. This is what makes democracy a better, even if admittedly not an ideal system of decision-making. In Pakistan, policy responses come out of this mindset, with strong individuals at particular times giving them some personal style.

This study using Pakistan's Afgan policy decision after 9/11 helps in developing an understanding of Pakistan's foreign policy and role in the 'War against Terrorism', thus also explaining why Pakistan's role is still so controversial. Significantly, it is a non-centrist view

⁴ Ziring., Lawrence, *Pakistan: at the Crosscurrent of History*, Oxford University Press, 2003

⁵ Agha., Ayesha Sadiqua, *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Build-up, 1979 – 1999; In Search of a Policy*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2003. *Military Incorporated: Inside Pakistan Military's Political Economy*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2007

⁶ Rizvi., Hasan Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publishers, 2003.

unlike most of the literature present or related to the subject of the study. It shows to those interested in understanding Pakistan a view from the one of the pluralities of Pakistan and it emphasizes that Pakistan is made of many. In that sense it claims to be a different look at quite a popular subject today, that is the 'War against Terrorism' and Pakistan's role in it. It also in the process brings to the fore Pashtun politics, who straddle the Durand Line (Pakistan Afghanistan Border), issues in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Pakistan's identity, as well as democracy issues and the role of religion and military in Pakistan.

The study is divided into six chapters. Chapter one titled, "Studying Pakistan's Strategic Culture and Foreign Policy" lays down the theoretical basis for it. It provides the understanding of Strategic Culture as used in the study. It explains the main postulate of the decision-making approach to the study of Foreign Policy, which is the way decisions are made determines what they are. Taking a pluralist view of human political organization at various levels, the approach identifies multiple inputs into the decision-making process of a country which are grouped under three broad headings; 1) Memory 2) External Environment and 3) State's domestic. It also develops a basic introduction to Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making system

Chapter two, titled "The Making of Pakistan's Pro Taliban Afghan Policy: 1994-Septemehr 2001" identifies the inputs into Pakistan's foreign policy decision to support Taliban when they emerged in 1994. The historical, external as well as domestic sources for that particular choice are identified and studied. It is argued that the memory filled with a threat perception from India, Afghanistan's alliance with India since 1947 and its irredentist claims over Pakistani territory, the postcolonial nature of the Pakistani State, its relations with United States during the Cold War, combined with the more recent additions to the state memory from Pakistan's support to Afghan resistance in the 1980s to fill Pakistan's memory and make it perceive its relations with Afghanistan in a specific manner. The US, especially International energy and routes politics, and the regional power game fought in Afghanistan between Iran, Central Asia and India provided the external context and push for this particular Pakistani decision. Pakistan's internal power dynamics and an uneven institutional growth which had resulted in control of Pakistani politics generally and its security policy especially concerning Afghanistan, Kashmir and Nuclear programme by its Military. Another significant feature of this development was the emergence and growth of a Military – Religious groups nexus. All these various inputs combined in 1984 in the making of Pakistan's policy to support.

The third Chapter titled "Pakistan's Afghan Policy Shift: Response to the War on Terrorism" discusses making of the change in Pakistan's pro – Taliban Afghan policy. This Chapter describes in some detail the international system with United States at its center. Then it goes on to discuss how Pakistan that had ignored the inputs from the International system due to a stagnant domestic decision-making process inability to correctly see the growing international intolerance of terrorism and thus its policy of continued support for Taliban became unsustainable after 9/11. This chapter argues that due to the unbalanced domestic decision-making process Pakistan landed in a the least maneuverable diplomatic position and so had to yield to US pressure and take what has been described as a 'U – Turn'. The decision to become US ally in the 'War against Terrorism' was a result of external inputs combining with those internal inputs that had been arguing for a change in Pakistan's Afghan

policy, as well as the personality of President Gen. Musharraf worked together to out number and balance those elements of the decision-making elite that wanted to continue with the earlier policy.

Chapter four, titled “Impact of Pakistan’s Changed Afghan Policy on the Region”, analyses the impact of Pakistan’s changed foreign policy on its regional environment. The argument is that Pakistan’s changed decision has created a diplomatic room for it, however, to get real and long term advantage from that room would depend on the the capability of its diplomacy and foreign policy decision-making.

Chapter five, titled “Pakistan’s Domestic Foreign Policy Debate in the Post September 11 era” records and analyses the debate generated by Pakistan’s post 9/11 Afghan policy decision. Three main divisions are identified 1) Pakistani Nationalists 2) Religious and 3) Liberal. The chapter also identifies the implications of this policy change for Pakistan’s decision-making process. This chapter also deals with the issues rising out of Pakistan’s post 9/11 Afghan Policy and addresses the issue of religious parties strenfthened showing in general elections of 2002 as well as the situation in FATA.

Chapter six, which concludes the study is titled, “Conclusions: Towards a Changed Strategic Culture”. This chapter concludes that the way decisions are taken do affect the decisions. It is inputs that determine the outputs. Strategic Culture of Pakistan is a result of inputs from a particular interpretation of history, an India centric view of the international and regional environment and military dominance of decision-making. This chapter argues that Strategic Culture is not permanent and unchangeable. It then identifies where and how to change, the memory, deal with the external environment and reform the domestic decision-making system. It identifies the need, for changes in education system /sylabi, thus correcting the historical misperceptions and ideological induced distortions, for democratic decision-making system based on the plural existance and a system of educated and independent inputs and a pragmatic and proactive forward looking foreign policy.

Chapter 1

STUDYING PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE AND FOREIGN POLICY

Theory provides coherence and direction to a study. The purpose of theory is to explain why a particular phenomenon occurs. Foreign policy studies mostly try to answer the questions “why” and “what”. Among many different ways to answer these questions, one very significant method is trying to answer the question “how”. It is argued that the why and what of foreign policy decisions are mainly dependent on how they are made. It is referred to as the ‘Decision-Making Approach’. Most theories having originated and developed in the west are based on and addresses, the experiences and needs of the developed western state. Broadly speaking, the modern state also referred to as the ‘Westphalian State’ has similar basic characteristics irrespective of location. However, people living within those states and by those principles vary in history, culture, religion and outlook. Thus any student of behaviour of any specific state, while using general IR theories, must keep the peculiarities of the given state in view. They must also keep in sight the type of state, its developmental level and cultural and historical ethos while applying a theory to it. This brings us to another approach and that is the study of ‘strategic culture’ or ‘culturist approach’⁷. It is simply argued that different states would react to the same set of events differently. Rationality is relevant and what appears as a rational choice in one culture may seem totally irrational in another. So, it is vital for understanding of behaviour of particular state to understand its ‘strategic culture’. There are many definitions of ‘strategic culture’, however, for the purposes of this work being a policy study, Colin Gray’s treatment is considered more appropriate, who writes, “modes of thought and action with respect to [force], derived from

⁷ Alastair Iain Johnston, “Thinking about Strategic Culture,” *International Security* 19, No. 4 1995, pp. 36–39; Alastair Iain Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Ming China*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995; Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996; Thomas U. Berger, *Cultures of Antimilitarism: National Security in Germany and Japan* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998; Ken Booth and Russell Trood, eds., *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region* New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998; and John S. Duffield, *World Power Forsaken: Political Culture, International Institutions, and German Security Policy after Unification* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998.

perception of national historical experience, aspiration for self-characterization, and from state-distinctive experiences.”⁸ Also a very relevant definition for our purposes is the one given by Alastair Iain Johnston, “different predominant strategic preferences rooted in early formative experiences of state, influenced to some degree by philosophical, political, cultural, and cognitive characteristics of state and its elites.”⁹ Still more helpful is the definition given by a Pakistani Political Scientist defines ‘Strategic Culture’ as, a collectivity of beliefs, norms, values and historical experiences of the dominant elite in a polity that influences their understanding and interpretation of security issues and environment, and shapes their responses to these.”¹⁰

This study of Pakistan’s foreign policy attempts to explain its subject through developing an understanding of its strategic culture. That understanding is in turn developed through an adaptation of Karl Deutsch’s (1912–1992)¹¹ the three streams of inputs, or information as he puts it, in foreign policy making.

According to Deutsch, Foreign Policy Decision-making is a continuous process of “mixing, blending, analysing, and selective use of the contents of three separate streams of information. One of these is the stream of messages from the outside world; the second is the stream from the actor’s own system and resources; the third is the stream of messages recalled from memory. Any autonomous (self governing) system, therefore, must contain within itself three operative information-processing structures (we might say ‘receptors’, ‘channels,’ and the like) with which to do the job that combining and balancing these streams require.”¹² The external environment limits the whole domestic process based on memory and the existing system. The essential function for successful foreign policy decision (successful from the point of view of the state concerned) is a correct assessment of the limits available in the international arena and the capability of the state of pursuing those decisions. A contradiction between the internal decisional outcome and the limitations the international system imposes, results in crisis and conflict, both within and without states. The crisis Pakistan is faced with after the post 9/11 ‘Policy U-Turn’ is one glaring and very obvious example of such a scenario.

“In the real world, neither a regime nor a whole state is a unitary actor unit. Both are fluctuating, only partially stabilised patterns of individual human beings performing interacting, often interdependent, and partially conflicting roles. Each individual is pursuing a personal equilibrium, just as each responsible leader is trying to harmonise domestic with

⁸ Colin Gray, “National Styles in Strategy: The American Example,” *International Security* 6, no. 2, Fall 1981

⁹ Alastair Iain Johnston, “Thinking About Strategic Culture,” *International Security*, 19, Spring 1995.

¹⁰ Askari Rizvi, “Pakistan’s Strategic Culture,” Chap 12 in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2002, 307.

¹¹ Prof. Dr. Karl. Deutsch taught International Relations at Massachusetts Institute of Technology before joining Harvard as Professor of Government. He wrote extensively during his illustrious academic career. Prof. Deutsch authored 14 books and hundreds of scholarly articles. His main books include especially relevant to this study are, *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control* Free Press, New York, 1963, and *The Analysis of International Relations* Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1968.

¹² Deutsch., 1968, p. 81.

external changes, argue issues as she or he sees them, apply whatever leverages can be brought into play, and look for help (allies) from what ever corner.”¹³

INPUTS IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF PAKISTAN

This section introduces and explains the three inputs identified by Karl Deutsch or as he puts it ‘streams of information’ in the decision-making system of Pakistan; a) Memory of Historical Inputs b) the Inputs from International System, and c) Domestic Systemic Inputs with reference to Pakistan.

Memory

According to Karl Deutsch,¹⁴ “Decision-making is a process of combining new information with old memories. When an event is reported, requiring a response, the decision maker starts with the information he already has. An important influence is the manner and wordings used for the initial report, which in turn depends on the person of the reporter as well as the institution he belongs to. This information is stored in different places. These memories are stored in the minds of heads of states, high officials and ruling elites as well as in the numerous minds of the members of the state’s politically relevant social strata. The crucial framework or boundaries are provided by memories stored in the minds of the entire population; in their cultural, ethical and social values and beliefs. These stores of words and images and cultural and moral preferences may imply important biases and predispositions toward certain kinds of responses to certain kinds of events. Predispositions, of which the individuals concerned, may not often be aware until the moment of responding. These memories are stored in papers, books, and files; in maps, in pictures, monuments, and libraries; in diplomatic reports and policy memoranda; in staff plans for war; in the records of governmental bureaus and of business organisations; in laws and in treaties. These historical inputs determining the perceptions of the decision makers also influence who is at the position of influencing the decision-making process more.”

Pakistani decision makers’ memories are filled by their recollection of the freedom movement, which was more of an anti-Hindu than anti-British Colonial Movement. This memory is shaped by the belief that Hindus had never accepted the partition of India in 1947, and thus may do whatever to undo that. This fed the security threat perception from India. This has led to the Military domination of decision-making in Pakistan.

The use of Islam by the Pakistani state establishment to mobilise opinion in favour of Afghan resistance in the 1980s and then its use by the religious political parties to oppose the decision of the government of Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf to join the ‘War Against Terrorism’ in Afghanistan are some very obvious examples. The uses of human rights rhetoric by the

¹³ North., Robert C., *War, Peace Survival: Global Politics and Conceptual Synthesis*, Westview, San Francisco, 1990, p. 83

¹⁴ Deutsch., 1968, p. 82–96.

western countries, especially, United States or that of social and economic justice by the Soviet bloc, during the cold war, are some of the examples that can be cited readily.

Memory both limits and guides the actions of states. States always, and it is natural of them, attempt to popularise their decisions and find justifications in national interest as well as on moral and the so-called ideological grounds. Normally a policy made through a process of debate and open discussion reflecting a national consensus may not require a subsequent decision that is inconsistent with decisions made in the past. However, if due to a variety of reasons a state needs to change policy, then it becomes a much more difficult task. History is for states as habits are for individuals. Just like an individual tends to repeat what he/she has been doing over a period of time out of necessity, even when the necessity is no more, states too find it easier and decision makers being human tend to pick responses they are familiar with rather than trying something new.

Inputs from the International System

The understanding of the state as a complex and plural human organisation leads to looking at the International System as that of 'Complex Interdependence' with multiple channels of communication. "Multiple channels connect societies, including: informal ties between governmental elites as well as formal foreign office arrangements: informal ties among nongovernmental elites (face to face arrangements and through telecommunications); and transnational organisations (such as multinational banks or corporations). These channels can be summarised as interstate, trans-governmental and transnational relations."¹⁵

International system is a function of state capabilities, actions, and interactions, and strictly speaking, individual national leaders are the ultimate authoritative deciders and actors on the international systemic level. These leaders, the national chief executives perform a very crucial function i.e. the two-way linking of domestic and international events. States through mutual interaction continuously shape and re-shape the International System, which in turn constrains and influences the behaviour of individual states, influencing their foreign policy decision-making process and final decisions.¹⁶ Pakistan link with that international system was a leadership that mainly emigrated from the Hindu Majority areas of united India, thus the fear of a Hindu majority played a vital role in shaping the Pakistani state's perceptions of India, Soviet Union and United States as well as the Muslim World.

Pakistan's regional and international environment and the security threat perceptions from India limited her options in 2001 to a deterministic level. On the one side Pakistan little if any choice but to abandon Taliban on the other hand provided her with opportunities and a bargaining power, both in 1978–79 and 2001. In 1978–79 Pakistan was able to reject the initial offer economic aid from US and peanuts. In 2001 Pakistan has been able to use US for relieving pressures on her southern borders with India as well as getting a reasonably good aid package for her ailing economy.

¹⁵ Keohane., Robert O., *Power and Interdependence*, Little Brown, Boston, 1977, pp. 23 – 27 at 24.

¹⁶ North., Robert C., 1990 p. 102

Inputs from the Domestic System

Decisions may be reached as victorious or compromise outcomes in a clash of virtually independent, equal, and hostile actors (representing factions, interests, institutions, or bureaucratic segments) in the decision-making process. Decisions may evolve as the unconsciously coordinated outcomes of the activities of independent entities/groups with separate spheres of influence. Decisions may be the final determinations of one heroic, authoritative, or tyrannical sovereign who has received applications, petitions, and advice. Decisions may be reached as the result of a coalition of chieftains, a collection of virtually independent, equal, partly cooperative sovereignties, largely enough to override rivals without serious clash. Or decisions may be reached as the result of an executive's construction of a consensus, an "executive Centreed 'grand coalition of coalitions': the later patterns seem more likely to produce stable, adaptable, coherent policies than the former."¹⁷

Decisions are a response to demands. These demands come from various sources. Demands represent the interests of those making them. Hence, decisions are a response to interests articulated by various interest groups. The descriptive question here is what groups are articulating interests, voicing and transmitting these from the individual and private sector of the political culture into the public sector of political life. These include: i) Individuals ii) Anomic groups iii) Non-associational groups iv) Institutional groups v) Associational groups and vi) Specialised mass-media structures.

Thus, one procedure for comparative study is to ask of each polity which kinds of actors articulate interests, and which kinds have primacy in interest articulation? While a large variety of groups and interests articulate their views on the same subject, only one, or more probably a combination of, a compromise of some is successful and thus get converted into authoritative policies. Each interest group faces a competition from other interests, new or entrenched, active or potential, and the success of its demands depends on the total process of interest aggregation, decision-making making, and implementation.¹⁸

- i) *Individual* articulators are those who try to influence the decision makers at various levels for personal and private interests. Those seemingly personal and private interests may have bearings on larger policy issues, knowingly or unknowingly. This is mostly but not exclusively, the case in less developed states, with institutionalisation of political, bureaucratic or social values at an earlier stage.
- ii) *Anomic interest groups* are unorganised mobs and riots, more or less spontaneous expressions of grief or protest, quickly rising and usually quickly subsiding. It is, of course, understandable that many riots and demonstrations, in reality, deliberately provoked by organised groups. Particularly where elements of a society lack organised groups or do not have adequate representation of their interests by such groups, as are present, smouldering discontent may be sparked by an incident or by the emergence of a leader and may suddenly explode in unpredictable and uncontrollable ways. A case of reference may be, the emergence of Zulfiqar Ali

¹⁷ Wilkinson David O., *Comparative Foreign Relations: Framework and Methods*, Dickenson Publishing Company, California, 1969, p. 115.

¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 115-117

Bhutto¹⁹, on the Pakistani political scene in 1967, giving expression to popular discontent with the rising prices, dictatorship, and the popular belief that President Ayub Khan had lost the 1965 war with India on the negotiating table at Tashkent,²⁰ which Pakistan had won, according to popular belief, on the battleground. That popular movement had far reaching consequences for decision-making, as it impacted both, the sociological and political map, of Pakistan tremendously.

- iii) *Non-associational Interest Groups* are also distinguished like the anomic groups by the absence of any specialised organisation. However, such groups differ from anomic interest groups because they are based in commonly perceived interests of race, language, religion, region, occupation, and class and even in kinship and lineage. Examples include ethnic, regional, cultural, religious, sectarian, class, and various occupational or professional groups. There may be some groups organised on the basis of representing them, but all members may not belong to these groups. Mutahida Qaumi Movement (United National Movement) (MQM) claims to represent the interests of those immigrants who came to Pakistan after partition in 1947, does not have all members of that community as its members. The same can be said of the various nationalist parties of various ethnic groups in Pakistan or for that matter elsewhere. The point is that these organised ethnic groups are not the only expression of the interests and attitudes of these communities. What is meant by some shared influences arising out of belonging to one or other of these groups is the influence of such belonging on the individual member's views and attitudes. It is practically impossible to organise the whole of these groups in associations. The group may largely remain unorganised, and its interests only intermittently articulated through individuals, anomic subgroups, informal delegations, and the like. Gen. Fazle Haq, Martial Law Administrator and governor of North West Frontier Province of Pakistan, was an important member of the ruling clique around the military ruler Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq, opposed the construction of Kalabagh Dam.²¹ One explanation of his position is the fact of his being a member of the ethnic non-associational interest group of Pashtuns. Additionally, he was member of the geographic non-associational interest group, that is, he belonged to District Mardan, one of the districts that might have been affected by the construction of the dam.

Institutional Interests Groups are found within such organisations as corporations, legislatures, armies, and bureaucracies. Except for the degree of formal organisation, the characteristics of these groups are somewhat like those of the face-to-face kinship and

¹⁹ Raza., Rafi, *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan: 1967-1977*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1997, pp. 9-13.

²⁰ Soviet Union sponsored treaty of peace between Pakistani and Indian leaders at Tashkent after the 1965 war between the two neighbours.

²¹ Kalabagh Dam is a proposed Dam whose huge water reservoir may perceptions inundate the plain areas of North West Frontier Province, especially Nowshera, Swabi, Mardan and Charssada districts, according to the perceptions of most of the political parties based in these districts these areas would either drown or become waterlogged due to rise of water level, and so are opposed to its construction. Awami National Party (ANP) is in the forefront of opposition to the Dam. Read Ziauddin., M. 'Kalabagh Dam - its Economy, History and Politics' *Daily Dawn* 24 July 2000

lineage groups. Other networks of social interaction are used to provide an organisational basis that can be pressed into service and may provide a common interest in articulating demands in the political arena. Institutional interest groups, either as whole institutional structures or as subgroups, are likely to be quite powerful because of resources and access provided by their organisational basis. The tendency of governmental officials to expand their organisations through the discovery of new problems and policies is common throughout the world.

In authoritarian regimes, where other types of groups are more or less directly prohibited or controlled by the central institutions, institutional groups become even more important. In less developed political systems, where associational groups are limited in number or are ineffective, a more prominent part is played by military groups, and powerful bureaucracies. This specially is the case in the postcolonial states like Pakistan. The inability of the weak civil society to effectively balance the power of the powerful, deeply entrenched colonial bureaucracies, both civil and military has resulted into the near to total domination of the decision-making process by these bureaucracies. In foreign policy generally, and in its security aspects specially, military has a complete control over decision-making.²²

Associational Interest groups include general purpose organisations that are political parties and the specialised structures established specifically to represent specific groups, for example, trade unions, ethnic associations, organisations for particular political causes, such as women rights, human rights or civic reforms. They play an important role in influencing the final outcomes of a decision-making process. Due to their organised nature and more focussed goals, they have an advantage over larger unorganised non-associational groups.

Political parties' role in decision-making varies according to the state one is looking at. In states with mature and assertive civil societies they control or balance the state monopoly of decision-making. They are the systemic tools for non-state inputs into the decision-making process.²³ Their role in decision-making, especially foreign policy decision-making decreases when one is looking at a less developed state. Their status in the decision-making process of a state reflects the state/society relations in a given state. Political parties at times give direction and voice to anomic interest groups, especially in third world states. In postcolonial states, where one or more of them had led the freedom struggle enjoy a special status. However, due to the lesser level of maturity of civil society, this revolves more around individual leaders. Their ability to match the controlling ability of the uniformed and non-uniformed bureaucracy is greatly hampered. This results in an unbalanced and uneven growth of state society relations.

There are various actors involved in any decision-making system. The role of these actors varies from state to state. The bare structural models of most states may be similar to a large extent. However, in substance there may be great variety. That variety is the result of culture including political culture, historical experiences, belief systems and the international

²² Waseem Mohammad, 'The Dialectics between Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy', in *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?*, Editor Christophe Jafferlot, Manmohar, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 263-282 at p.264

²³ Almond Gabriel A., & Powell G. Bingham., *Comparative Politics*, Little Brown New York, 1987. Also read Wilkinson David O., *Comparative Foreign Relations: Framework and Methods*, Dickenson Publishing Company, California, 1969.

and regional environment. One needs an identification of those actors in the state system, and their relative strengths and influence in the decision-making process, which varies from state to state, to be able to correctly analyse the decisions and decision-making process of a given state.

Understanding Pakistan's Strategic Culture

The Pakistani State has its own peculiar strategic culture developed and shaped by its history, religion, socioeconomic conditions, geography, demographic composition and its international alignment with the West during the cold war, giving Pakistani foreign policy a specific orientation and thus creating a response system. This particular international alignment becoming a part of its memory, influencing the state society relations, has played an important role in determining the relative strengths of inputs in the foreign policy decision-making process of Pakistan. The formal institutions and processes are reflective of these influences as, in fact, they are everywhere.

Memory

History, culture, religion, ethnic composition, socio-economic class divisions have an impact on the growth of individual as well as group interest formation and aggregation. "As conventional wisdom has it, the more democratic a political system is, the more its ruling elite is influenced by public opinion, and, therefore, the more representative of national aspirations is public policy. The typical examples of this model are drawn from Western democracies. Conversely, the more authoritarian a State is, the greater is the concentration of decision-making power in the hands of the ruling elite which is typically shielded from the deterministic influence of the public opinion."²⁴ Due to Pakistan's chequered constitutional history punctuated by three military governments, the country's memory has shaped the system of decision-making in such a manner where policy input into the business of State from public at large is somewhat limited. The feudal socio-economic structure of Pakistani society has also contributed to the unbalanced decision-making process in Pakistan.

The way the British Government at Delhi perceived the role of Russia in terms of its southward expansion in the context of the Asian geopolitical system, during the late nineteenth century substantively influenced the worldview of the State of Pakistan after 1947. On the eve of departure, the British argued that future Pakistan is ideally situated as a bulwark against Soviet Communism. This argument strongly influenced the strategic thinking of the emergent State. All this pointed to the continuity of the old institutional ways of handling diplomatic issues without recourse to eliciting public opinion.²⁵ The role of religious slogans to popularise the movement for Pakistan, the threat perceptions from India and the cold war alignment with United States of America has all combined to create a certain outlook shaping the contours of Pakistan's strategic culture.

Pakistan movement, more of an anti Hindu than anti colonial struggle, gave two basic directions to Pakistan's international posturing; balancing perceived Indian regional

²⁴ Waseem Mohammad, 2002, pp. 263-282 at p.263

²⁵ *ibid.* p. 278.

hegemony and an identity based in religion. Religion has become a source of contradictory pulls in pulling the interests of the State of Pakistan at times at odds with its so-called ideological basis. These have become the two basic International postures and are the essential deterministic ingredients of Pakistani state memory.

Becoming part of the Western Alliance System in the 1950s, then moving closer to People's Republic of China in the 1960s and the Muslim Middle East in the 1970s, was essentially driven by the above mentioned historical inputs (memory). The same foreign policy orientations helped in shaping Pakistan's response to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 and Pakistan's support to Taliban after 1994.

International Inputs

A hostile India, an assertive and suspicious Iran, an unstable Afghanistan and a major power, Peoples Republic of China that has been friendly, describe the regional environment of Pakistan. United States of America, Peoples Republic of China and Saudi Arabia are the main sources of external support Pakistan has looked at and also a real external influence on Pakistani Foreign Policy decision-making process. Another significant source of external influence has been the former Soviet Union and the Russian Federation after its break up (in a negative sense). Proximity with Central Asia also makes it an attractive destination for international oil and gas companies also needs to be taken into account to complete Pakistan's external environment.

Regional and international system has its own direct and indirect bearing on the decision-making process of Pakistan. The changed and changing international systemic processes termed generally as 'globalisation' means an increased significance of external inputs and impact on the decision-making and decision makers.

Domestic Systemic Inputs

Institutionally, Pakistan can be divided into two broad groups; Military and non-military. Military being a very closed, disciplined and organised body, consists of the three normal divisions of Ground, Air and Naval forces. There are sub-divisions within all of these three. Though many other sources of inputs do exist, due to lower level of maturity of Pakistani civil society, the state apparatus strongly dominates decision-making. Within the state structure military has clear dominant position. And within the Military, Intelligence agencies have acquired a very strong role. "The ISI is like the CIA. The CIA is a developed organisation in a developed state. The ISI is a developed organisation in an underdeveloped state"²⁶, results in its exaggerated role.

Civilian Bureacracy, the heir to the British colonial 'Indian Civil Service', also referred to as the 'steel framework of the British empire' enjoys a privileged status, and jealously protects it. Despite attempts to tame it²⁷, it has somehow survived with its elite status and pivotal role in decision-making. Though it must be acknowledged, after 1947, it quickly

²⁶Yasmin., Samina, "Pakistan's Cautious foreign policy", 'Survival' the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) Quarterly, London, Summer, 1994 p.132

²⁷ Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced widespread administrative reforms in the Civil Bureaucracy in 1973 as well as sent home 1300 bureaucrats on corruption charges and President Gen. Musharraf

accepted the upper hand of the military. This tendency and more important ability to maintain its position has direct bearing on the overall administrative, constitutional, political and (un) democratic development of Pakistan. In the post 9/11 era, when Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have become a strategic battleground in the 'War against Terrorism', it has been able to convince the military of the usefulness of the special colonial administrative system for FATA. That system gives unchecked powers to Political Agent. This is despite sea changes on ground and demands and proposals for change from many different quarters.²⁸

Formally, Pakistan's foreign policy establishment is represented by a Ministry of Foreign affairs, headed by a political minister and administratively, by a bureaucrat, called Secretary, ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry has a number of directorates, each headed by a director general, for countries, regions and issues. At all these levels there is supporting staff and assistants, who also play an important role in the working of the ministry. As foreign relations are not confined to the traditional issues of political relations between states alone, therefore, other ministries dealing with other aspects of state activity also have an interest in the working of the foreign ministry. Ministries of Defence, of Commerce and Trade and of Petroleum are some with crucial role in the decisions and decision-making in foreign policy areas. All these ministries have interests in foreign policy almost in all states; however, in Pakistan the Defense Ministry plays a dominating role. However, interestingly and rather peculiarly, one must also note, the ministry of Interior played a more conspicuous role in Pakistan's Afghan Policy when Maj. Gen. Naseerullah Babar, was the Interior Minister (1993–1996). A special unit called Afghan Trade Cell was established in the ministry to deal with Pakistan's Afghan Policy that dealt with Afghanistan, more specifically Taliban in their initial stages. Other ministries also may at times have serious stakes in foreign policy issues. Besides these ministries, the military, its three branches, Army, Air force and Navy and a number of intelligence agencies are important actors of the foreign policy making process. The army and intelligence agencies, especially Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), have a very pronounced and dominating role in the whole process.

Constitutionally speaking, the cabinet headed by the prime minister, has the final authority over the foreign ministry, which is headed by the foreign minister. Parliament has a very limited role in decision-making through the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs (Both, National Assembly or the lower house and Senate, the upper house, has their own separate committees). The 17th amendment to the Constitution provided for the creation of a National Security Council and National Assembly through a bill established it on 7 April 2004.²⁹ This council, which formalises the informal military input into decision-making at the highest level is a new addition as of 2004. So, how it is going to play its role in decision-making is yet to be seen. One thing is clear, being headed by the President rather than the Prime Minister; it further reduces the powers of a directly elected prime minister and thus his or her role in decision-making. There is no political culture of debating and questioning the government on most foreign policy issues in the parliament, nor does the constitution provide any controlling role to the parliament in the area of foreign relations. The cabinet may

introduced very fundamental changes in 2002 through introduction of the system of local government, however, despite complaints, the bureaucracy remains deeply entrenched and privileged.

²⁸ For more details read below the section of FATA in Chapter 5 below

²⁹ Daily *The News* Islamabad, 8 April 2004

undertake any international commitments, sign or ratify any treaty without any constitutional requirements to inform the parliament, let alone seek its approval. However, the foreign minister does give an overall foreign policy brief to the parliament, at least once a year. Parliamentary groups may also raise some foreign policy issue that has caught the popular eye. However, the parliament is largely uninvolved in foreign policy decision-making. A very significant element of the weak parliamentary role is the lack of any debate on the defence related parts of the annual budget, when it is presented to it for debate and approval.

The role of Individuals has been made more prominent by the feudal nature of Pakistani society. Their ability to influence the final outcome of the decision-making process is more pronounced than can be possible in states with developed institutional structures. History of Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making is replete with examples of strong individuals leaving a larger than life imprint on the decisions. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Zia-ul-Haq and Naseer Ullah Babar are some of the obvious examples.

Anomic groups do assert themselves on some of the more popular issues from time to time, and limit the ability of the top decision makers to take some crucial decisions. Kashmir or recognition of Israel are issues on which any policy innovation can face strong resistance. However, when the decision makers have really felt pressed they have taken decisions in total disregard for any popular opinion. Support for British during the Suez crisis in the 1950s or the recent changes in Afghan or Kashmir policies can be cited as some of the examples. One must quickly point out another explanation for the role of public opinion and the anomic group interest articulation that may be created and controlled by the establishment itself. So when they do not want to do something they can take the shelter of fear of public opposition. The use of fear of popular opposition to sending troops to Iraq recently as one of the reasons not to send troops there without UN mandate can be cited as glaring example of such a use or abuse of public opinion. Similar is the excuse given when asked to do more in the 'War against Terrorism'.

The role of non-associational interest groups is significant, given, broadly speaking, the weaknesses in the associational articulation of interests and policy positions of the civil society. The impact of ethnic, provincial or sectarian identities as well as that of various professional and class on stands their individual articulators may take at whichever level of decision-making its members may be is important. The sectarian considerations do have an impact on Pakistan's relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia, while ethnic considerations have left its imprint on Pakistan's Afghan policy.

Society is divided both in vertical and parallel directions. Centre province divide is supplemented and at times cross crossed by ethnic divide. Though 98% of the population is Muslim, there are sectarian differences within Muslims. There is the divide between different economic classes and interests. Dominated by agriculturists and feudal social structure, an increasingly assertive urban middle class, and industrial and trading interests are making themselves felt thus creating another contradiction. The civil society is represented by large number of political parties, interest and cause based lobbies, (organised in Non Governmental Organisations, Trade and other professional organisations, as well as in informal non organised manner).

There is a nominal academic input into the process as well, as a few think tanks do exist focusing on foreign policy issues. Besides, there are six Area Study Centres, six Departments

of International Relations and one Department of Strategic Studies at various public sector universities. Their relationship with and input in the policy making process is, however, minimal. Lack of democratic culture and critical thinking and writing, a result of political order justifying its existence by appeals to emotionalism and religious rhetoric with a false sense of patriotism, forbids any fresh thinking in any policy area.

Political parties have generally a weaker position in the decision-making process in Pakistan. This weakness is sustained and compounded by the absence of any significant role for parliament in foreign policy decision-making, as it is parliament where they can assert their control. However, role of some political parties, both as sources of inputs into the decision-making process and more importantly as means of implementation of policy decisions must be acknowledged. There are ethnic, regional, religious, secular societal groups also active for influencing Pakistan's foreign policy decisions. Though one must note, some political parties at times do play a more important role, as is exemplified by Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) (Islamic Party) and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) (Party of the scholars of Islam, [Muslim Clergy]), especially in Afghan policy.

The institutions involved in foreign policy decision-making in Pakistan are Army, Intelligence Agencies, and Foreign Office. To a much lesser degree, one must acknowledge the role of public opinion as expressed through political parties [in government or outside it] and media. The role of research institutes and academia in provision of any real inputs into decision-making process is negligible. Military and intelligence agencies by far dominate this process of decision-making. The ability of the [military and intelligence] elite to influence formation of public opinion further decreases the role of any civil society inputs into the decision-making process. This particular structure of decision-making is the result of historical growth of the postcolonial State of Pakistan in a particular manner. The International and Regional Situation have reinforced this growth.

CONCLUSIONS

While studying the decision-making process of Pakistan, one must search for the loci of the decision with more care and not take constitutional provisions or formal procedures at their face value. The role of Army as an institution as much more than any formal constitutional provisions is a statement that is obvious. However, that institutional role also may not be enough, the personality of its chief at a given time may be more important; the personality of its chief at the time General Zia-ul-Haq attracts a closer look while studying the use of religious extremists as policy tools in Afghanistan in the 1980s, especially their ascendancy to partners in decision-making. One must try to take into account the individual heads of institutions as well as the mutual balance of power between different sources of input, which would vary from time to time and situation to situation. The centralized nature of Pakistani state and the dominance of Army as an institution of both the state institutions and civil society is another important feature and peculiar condition that became more pronounced during the 1980s. Similarly Pashtun politics becomes more central when one is looking at Pakistan Afghan policy making. For that the researcher must take cognizance of the ethnic Pashtuns, of whatever political persuasions, within the institutional as well as

political landscape of the state. Unlike the developed world, in Pakistan, like most of the third world, the lack of institutionalization has to be understood. This requires a correct assessment of the power co-relation of various interests; power centers, and individuals, institutional as well as associational and non-associational interest groups. The role of history, that overall filled the memory of state and society with a threat perception from India, and the religious basis of the division of India has left a lasting and defining imprint, clearly showing itself in Pakistan's handling of its policy towards Afghans and Afghanistan. The India Centric Policy that landed Pakistan in the US camp during the cold war helped in Pakistan's easily filling in the role of the frontline state against Soviet advances in Afghanistan that brought it on Pakistan's border and from Western point of view within the striking distance of Middle East and Oil routes.

The institutions involved in foreign policy decision-making in Pakistan are Army, Intelligence Agencies, and Foreign Office. To a much lesser degree, one must acknowledge the role of public opinion as expressed through political parties [in government or outside it] and media. The role of research institutes and academia in provision of any real inputs into decision-making process is negligible. Military and intelligence agencies by far dominate this process of decision-making. The ability of the [military and intelligence] elite to influence formation of public opinion further decreases the role of any civil society inputs into the decision-making process. This particular structure of decision-making is the result of historical growth of the postcolonial State of Pakistan in a particular manner. The International and Regional Situation have reinforced this growth.

According to Feroz, a Pakistani Army Officer turned academic, "The ascendancy of the military in Pakistan is a direct outcome of its security intensive environment. The Pakistan military inherited the British tradition: subservient and answerable to the civilian masters, while still playing a significant role in governance and security. After partition, unlike its neighbour India, Pakistan's political and security structures took off on quite a different trajectory. Save for the military, Pakistan never had robust state institutions. Based on its historical experience over time, certain traits peculiar to the Pakistani nation are discernable. Pakistanis are extremely proud of their history, culture and traditions. They are always eager to compete with neighbours and accept challenges much greater than might be handled objectively. They have a belief in their own self-righteousness. Pakistanis internally have a penchant to confront state authority and generally distrust government. This is part of a broader tendency to reject or express scepticism on face-value explanations. Pakistanis are always searching for conspiracies. These traits, coupled with Pakistan's intrinsic national insecurity, entwine to form images of self and others."³⁰

Colonial past, the mixing of local cultural heritage with Islamic religious identity, and the feudal social structure has created the peculiarity called Pakistani state. Study of foreign policy decision-making of Pakistan must take cognisance of these influences and inputs. These factors have played a major role in the pre-eminence of military mind set and thus of the armed forces as an institution in the decision-making system and keepers of the strategic culture of this postcolonial state, sometimes referred to as the 'garrison state'.

³⁰ Khan, Feroz Hasan, "Comparative Strategic Culture: The Case of Pakistan", *Strategic Insights*, Volume IV, Issue 10 Oct 2005. <http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/2005/Oct/khan2Oct05.asp>

Chapter 2

THE MAKING OF PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE AND PRO TALIBAN AFGHAN POLICY

Pakistan's Afghan policy was based on support for Taliban from their emergence in 1994, till it had to be changed in the aftermath of the events of September 11, 2001. Sympathy towards Taliban, at both the official and unofficial level, has persisted even after President Gen. Musharraf announced Pakistan's joining of the War Against Terrorism declared by United States after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks against United States of America.

This chapter answers the question how Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy was made and sustained? It is argued here that the policy of supporting Taliban (1994–Sept. 2001) was a logical development of Afghan policy Pakistan had been pursuing since 1947, based in its strategic culture as it evolved and took a particular shape. The defining elements of Pakistan's strategic culture are an India centric threat perception, Islam as a tool of policy and Military as the guardian of Pakistan's existence. Based on it, Pakistan's Afghan policy has been simply to balance and counter Indian influence in Afghanistan and make Afghanistan give up her claims over Pakistani territory. Pakistan adopted various Afghan religious groups opposed to the Afghan government in 1974 and then in 1989 built further on that particular adoption, to oppose the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. In 1994, this support shifted to another religious group Taliban. This change was a tactical adjustment rather than a strategic policy change.

The current chapter studies the making of the particular Pakistani 'strategic culture' resulting in the creation or adoption of and persistence of Pakistan's pro-Taliban Afghan policy by looking at the inputs from memory, external environment and the domestic system. The nature of Pakistani state, the broad dominant non associational interests and perceptions that resulted from the nature of Pakistani state, the role of individual decision makers, institutional inputs and associational influences, and the regional and international inputs in the decision-making system are identified and analysed. Within this broader context, the evolution of Pakistan's Afghan is studied focusing on Pakistan's decision to support/prop up Taliban in 1994 and its continuous support of them in the face of growing international isolation; thus the persistence of sympathy towards them even after 2001 also becomes clear.

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE

“Politico-military policy-makers do not necessarily make a comprehensive net assessment of threat based on reality, but often shape their security disposition by their image of the situation.” This does not imply that security policy dispositions and responses are made impulsively but in essence from a mix of realism, organizational dynamics, and a backdrop of a relatively permanent strategic culture. Hasan-Askari Rizvi, a well-respected Pakistani scholar has defined strategic culture as a collectivity of beliefs, norms, values and historical experiences of the dominant elite in a polity that influences their understanding and interpretation of security issues and environment, and shapes their responses to these.

Pakistan is a young nation-state, with a still evolving concept of itself and its role in the world. In the world of states, it is a teenager—internally struggling with hormones, living in a bad neighborhood, and still in the process of developing its strategic personality. It has a well-defined “strategic enclave,” however, which directs the strategic dialogue in the country. This group is dominated by the military in Pakistan, with the support of professional bureaucrats, particularly those in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These individuals are the keepers of Pakistan’s strategic culture. Like most bureaucracies, they are slow to admit mistakes, resistant to alternative worldviews, and tend to lean on organizational preferences when faced with new situations that require change. These inertial forces in policy may give Pakistan a greater consistency in strategic thought than might be expected given its often turbulent domestic political situation.”³¹

Pakistan’s strategic culture is studied by looking at the nature of State and Society of Pakistan, gradual growth of the role of religion and religious forces in Pakistan’s security policy, domination of military, its early security issues and threat perceptions, and joining of the American Camp during the Cold War. This particular strategic culture provided the context and basis for Pakistan’s Afghan policy that found religious extremists as allies or tools. The religious justification for its creation, the nature of Pakistan as a post-colonial /neo-colonial and highly centralised state that defined civil society–state as well as Centre province relations, threat perceptions from India which helped in military dominance and neatly fitted Pakistan into the US camp during the cold war all left a clearly identifiable and lasting mark. It is argued that this particular strategic culture explains a visible continuity in Pakistan’s Foreign Policy and puts its Afghan policy in context rather than any strategic planning or policy decisions resulting from either national debate or process.

Threatened by a larger and stronger neighbor, Pakistan had two choices, either capitulate or stand up. Pakistan’s strategic culture dictated a policy of standing up to balance the threat that it felt it cannot meet on its own. The choice Pakistan made dictated a policy of seeking alliances and outside support for its balancing act. It sought that in USA, China and Muslim countries as well as Islamic movements.³²

³¹ ibid. Also read, Rizvi., Hasan Askari, “Pakistan’s Strategic Culture,” Chapter 12 in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2002, 307.

³² Lavoy., Peter R., “Pakistan’s Strategic Culture: A Theoretical Excursion”, *Strategic Insights*, Volume IV, Issue 10 October 2005.

Nature of Pakistani State

Pakistan fits the description of a postcolonial state. Postcolonial states, by inheriting the bureaucratic structures made and trained to suppress the civil society, continue to face the dilemmas of a conflict over control between the civil society and the military and non military bureaucracies.

In the case of Pakistan, as in the case of a number of other former colonies, they simply underwent a process of adjustment and adaptation to the new realities of the world order which included the Cold War, displacement of the European imperial powers by the strength and leadership of the United States, the creation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the rise of the giant multinational corporations and the ascendancy of the liberal agenda of open trade and free markets. Pakistan at the end of British rule in South Asia was faced with a number of historically specific conditions, which made it particularly vulnerable to the embrace of the new world imperialism.

A small number of Muslim and British officers from the elite Indian Civil Service (ICS), the so-called "steel frame" of the British Raj had opted to serve the newly installed government in Karachi. Similarly, through the division of the colonial army Pakistan inherited some manpower but little by way of skills, organisation and weaponry. Besides, there was a severe shortage of funds to finance the administration of the new country, to rehabilitate millions of refugees, and conduct other functions of the state. Yet it did not take long for the colonial system of bureaucratic control and authoritarian centralism to reproduce itself in the new state structure. A primary reason for this outcome was the weakness of the available political organisation and its roots in the civil society.³³

While this process of state formation was taking place, two major interrelated problems on which there was some consensus between the politicians and bureaucrats, were being defined and addressed as a top priority. One was the territorial defence of Pakistan and the other had to do with economic development and industrialisation. The resolution of both these problems had critical implications for the role of the bureaucracy and the military in the state, and the dependence of the state on metropolitan capital and assistance versus self-reliance.

Issues of identity

Pakistan is a state of contending identities. These contentions are operational at two levels, both parallel and horizontal. At parallel level is the contention emerging from the religious basis of its creation. There is a debate between those who consider Pakistani identity to be basically religious, to be more precise, Islamic. They are countered by those who though agreeing to Muslim identity of Pakistan, argue that being Muslim does not mean Islamic. They point out to the essentially secular personality of leader of Pakistan movement,

³³ Gardezi Hasan, 'Making of the Neo-Colonial State in South Asia: The Pakistan Experience' in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. xvii No. 2 1997 p. 88. For an in depth study of Pakistani State and its evolution read, Waseem. Mohammad, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Progressive Publishers, Lahore, 1989.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah. However, both are centrist positions and have found each other as useful partners against the ethnic/national identity contentions. This has been true at least till the Gen. Musharraf took over in 1999 generally and more specifically after the post 9/11 2001 change in Pakistani foreign policy. These centrist identities are turn challenged by regional/provincial and ethnic identities, that include Pashtun, Baloch, Sindhi, Punjabi and since 1980s the Muhajir (*refugee*, [refugees from India who came to Pakistan after 1947, not the Afghan refugees]). There are other identities contending for recognition along with these. They include Saraikis in Punjab, and Barohis in Balochistan and Chitralis, and Hazarawals in NWFP. The real debate and contest is between the centrist religious based (irrespective of the debate between the Muslim Nationalist or Islamic fundamentalist stands) and these ethnic/national contentions that in the opinion of this study has the real potential for a fundamental change in Pakistan's strategic culture, decision-making and democratic or otherwise development. The state of Pakistan characterized by long direct military rules, and continuous military control, lack of democratic political culture and an immature and weak civil society had been pursuing a policy of creating a unitary religious based state national identity of Pakistan by negating the existence of the multi ethnic and plural reality of the society providing the basis and direction for its worldview.³⁴

Central leadership of Pakistan mainly came from areas that were left on the Indian side of the partition. More blood had been spilled during partition than for attainment of independence. The Security perception of this new State was shaped by experiences of freedom struggle. And for Pakistan freedom struggle was not just the struggle of the people of India from the British rule, but more significant was the movement of avoiding being ruled by the Hindu majority in a united and independent India. This religious undertone of Pakistan movement based on the fears of a Hindu Majority provides the basic point of reference to Pakistan's foreign policy through out its existence. This also is the basic contradiction this nation and state faces till today. Pakistani intellectuals are always at pains to somehow marry secularism with religion.³⁵ For Pakistani elite during the struggle for Pakistan, the real opponent was not the British Imperial rule, but Indian National Congress, which they perceived to represent Hindus. This has made religion to be a central component of State identity, shaped attitudes and policies towards rest of the world, making India as the focus of all policy debate.

According to a recent study of Pakistan, "From its very inception, the state of Pakistan was thought to be more than a physical/legal entity that provided welfare, order, and justice to its citizens. Pakistan was to be an extraordinary state—a homeland for Indian Muslims and an ideological and political leader of the Islamic world. Providing a homeland to protect Muslims—a minority community in British India—from the bigotry and intolerance of India's Hindu majority was important. The Pakistan movement also looked to the wider

³⁴ Khan., Ijaz, "Contending Identities of Pakistan and The Issues of Democratic Governance" Journal of Peace and Democracy in South Asia, Stockholm University Publication, <http://pdsajournal.com/journal%202006new/Ijaz%20Khan.pdf>

³⁵ For good articulation of this particular Pakistani predicament differentiating between Muslim nationalism which is the basis for Pakistani Nationalism and Islamic theocratic identity read Alvi, Hamza. 'Pakistan and Islam: Ethnicity and Ideology; State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan', in Fred Halliday and Hamza Alvi, (Ed.) '*Monthly Review of Press*', New York, 1988

Islamic world, however, and Pakistan's leaders have been concerned about the fate of other Muslim communities living under duress, stretching from Palestine to the Philippines. Both the history and the future of Pakistan are rooted in this duality, a complex relationship between Pakistan the state—a physically bounded territory with a legal and international personality—and Pakistan the nation—mission-bound to serve as a beacon for oppressed or backward Muslim communities elsewhere in the world. Other causes include an attempt to create a truly Islamic state within Pakistan, one that would be guided by Islamic scriptures and traditions.”³⁶ Religion has played a vital role in Pakistan's identity and world view.

Religion as Tool of Policy

To correctly assess the decision-making process of Pakistan and the evolution of its state memory, it is important to dwell a little more on the relationship between the Pakistani State and religious forces.³⁷ This alliance between the two is not a new phenomenon or something that just started with Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's military regime in 1980s. Pakistani decision makers have found religious extremists as natural choice for alliance/ usage as tools of foreign policy due to a) Its own religious identity basis, b) Perception of India as a Hindu State, which has not accepted Pakistan as an independent state deep down, c) United States also considered Islamic forces as good allies during the cold war against atheist Soviet Union and d) the centrist postcolonial State dominated by the military has always considered secular, nationalist and democratic forces as a challenge to its hold over power.³⁸ There is little that the Islamic movements and parties do and say that the military-controlled state itself has not supported. “From dawa (preaching) to jihad and from pilgrimages to interpretations of the Sharia (Islamic Law), the state performs all the functions that are part of the religious movements' mandate. Mullahs and the military-dominated official machinery use the same language and follow similar methodologies in the cause of Islam. Every government is constitutionally obliged to do so. Instead of confrontation, the military has, therefore, often favoured and promoted Islamic movements and causes. However, what an Islamic system might mean in practical terms has been subject to sectarian interpretations and unending intellectual debates over the last 55 years. Official adherence to vague notions of a religious system has led to unresolved ‘political, cultural and ideological confusion’”.³⁹ This ambiguity served the purposes of a Westernised civilian-military bureaucracy. Strategic alliances with the U.S., for instance, have resulted in political and economic rewards that advance both the military's institutional interests and its perceived national security needs. A pro-Western

³⁶ Cohen. Stephen, 'The Nation and State of Pakistan' in *'The Washington Quarterly'* No. 25:3 Washington, Summer 2002, pp. 109 – 122 at 109.

³⁷ MMA is the abbreviation for Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (United Conference for Action) an alliance of religious parties formed for the purpose of contesting the October 2002 general elections in Pakistan. This alliance has formed government in North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and is also a partner in the PML-Q Government of Balochistan.

³⁸ For a comprehensive study of United States support for militant religious groups in Afghanistan read, Cooley. John K., *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*, New Delhi, Penguin, 2001, pp.48-65.

³⁹ Sayeed., Khalid bin, *Western Dominance and Political Islam: Challenge and Response*, Oxford University Press, London, 1977, p. 126.

foreign policy is justified domestically as accommodating “pro-Westernism in the ideological framework of Pan-Islamism.”⁴⁰ Moreover, the personal proclivities of military leaders have determined the form and substance of Islamisation, as much as changes in the regional and international environments.

Under Pakistan’s first military ruler, General Mohammad Ayub Khan (1958–69), the military vowed to build a modern, pro-Western Islamic state that would serve as a bulwark against Soviet communism. Although, religious parties disapproved of some of the liberalising domestic programme of Gen. Mohd Ayub Khan, they shared with the military the perception that viewed communism as the main threat to Islam. The military and mullahs regarded Pakistanis who professed communism, socialism or secularism as their common enemy.

Another general, Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan, who fought a war against East Pakistan’s secession following the country’s first national elections in 1970, succeeded Gen. Ayub Khan. The religious lobby, led by the Jamaat–I–Islami’s (JI) youth wings, actively joined the war alongside Pakistani troops fighting their secular Bengali opponents. The Razakars (Volunteer) force organised by the Pakistan Army was manned by these youth.⁴¹ The war resulted in Bangladesh’s independence after India intervened.

The military–mullah nexus expanded and gained strength during the next period of martial law. There was a complete convergence of interests between the religious right and Pakistan’s third military ruler, General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq (1977–88). Their protest movement created the conditions for his coup d’état. The military and the mullahs had a common domestic enemy – the secular mainstream political parties. Zia’s personal proclivities also matched those of his religious partners. Rigid interpretations of Islamic injunctions and jurisprudence were introduced during Zia’s eleven years.⁴² During Zia era (1977–1988) religious forces graduated to becoming partners in decision-making from their earlier status as tools of policy. His legacy still haunts the state and society of Pakistan.

Formation of Security Threat Perceptions and Dominance of Military

The experiences of Pakistan movement and the tragic events of partition (discussed above) became the basis of a strong perception that Indian leadership had not accepted the division of the Sub-Continent and would not miss any opportunity to undo it. These perceptions were strengthened by the annexation of Hyderabad, Junagardh and most of Kashmir by India. The denial of what Pakistan considered to be its fair share in assets of united India, was interpreted as a further indication of Indians plan to economically strangulate the new state at birth.⁴³ Thus security policy became the central concern which

⁴⁰ Waseem Mohammed, ‘Military in the Power Structure of Pakistan, Unpublished Conference Paper, Jakarta 17-19 October 2000.

⁴¹ Niazi. A.A.K., *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1998, pp. 78-79.

⁴² International Crisis Group Asia Report ‘Pakistan: The Mullahs and the Military’ N°49, 20 March 2003. pp. 2-3.

⁴³ Jalal., Ayesha, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan’s Economy of Defence*, Vanguard, Lahore, 1991, pp. 25-48

determined the content and contours of Pakistan's foreign policy. Dominance of security policy paved the way for military dominance of decision-making.

With this background Army started a gradual journey towards almost total domination of other inputs into Pakistan's decision-making process, especially security policy. The domination of security concerns also led to the domination by security policy of overall foreign policy. "The primary reason for military's emergence as the most influential element in defence decision-making lies in its significance in the country's power politics. It assumed the responsibility of guarding the Islamic ideological identity and frontiers of the country. The threat perception from India, viewed as a Hindu power which cannot bear the existence of an Islamic Pakistan, has provided a certain ideological justification to the argument that it is only the military establishment that can provide security to this ideological state. Projection of threat from India is fundamental to the survival of the Pakistani establishment that even views internal insecurity as a continuation of the external threat. Islamabad has always looked at the internal political turmoil as the doing of a 'foreign hand' (insinuating India). It is in this back ground that Army has always kept the Kashmir issue on the hot burner."⁴⁴

Joining the American Camp

Desperately in need of external assistance to assure its very survival as a nation, Pakistan had been actively courting the United States since independence. But those efforts initially brought only frustration. The Korean War, and the broader fears about Western vulnerability that it sparked within the upper ranks of the Truman administration, gave Pakistan's leaders an opportunity to make a much more compelling case for a Pakistani-American connection. They seized the opening with skill and tenacity. By pledging their willingness to cooperate with Western – sponsored defense arrangements for the Middle East and contrasting their unblinkered support for U.S. Cold War policies with India's defiant independence, Pakistan's ruling elite managed to impress a growing number of American decision makers with the possible benefits of an alliance with Pakistan.⁴⁵

Under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, the founding Muslim League elite of Pakistan had consciously adopted a strong pro-Western orientation as the cornerstone of the new state's foreign policy. The predominantly West Pakistani civil bureaucracy and military establishment—fast emerging as rival power centres to the Muslim League politicians fully supported that orientation. Pakistan's understandable preoccupation with the Indian threat, the possibility of renewed fighting in Kashmir, the need to defend its northern border in light of Afghanistan's irredentist claims to portions of the Northwest Frontier province, pressing internal security imperatives, and the woefully inadequate defence establishment inherited as its share of the partition settlement all combined to form a national security dilemma of nightmarish proportions. Defence spending absorbed nearly seventy percent of the central government's total revenue expenditures between 1948 and

⁴⁴ Agha., Ayesha Sadiqua, *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Buildup, 1979 – 1999; In Search of a Policy*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, 2003, pp 55 – 78 at p.56.

⁴⁵ Robert J. McMahon, *The Cold War on the Periphery the United States, India and Pakistan* Columbia University Press, New York, 1994, pp. 124-156 at p.78

1950, a burden that far exceeded Pakistan's modest financial resources and severely handicapped its fledgling economic development efforts. Politicians, civil administrators, and military officers agreed that Pakistan's multiple security and financial needs could be served best by forging a bond with an external patron. Only one nation, they were convinced, had the wherewithal to supply Pakistan with desperately needed economic and military assistance and help guarantee its security from external attack.⁴⁶

Pakistan thus became 'the most allied ally' of the United States in Asia. They signed the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement in May 1954. Pakistan acceded to South East Asia Treaty Organisation in September (SEATO) 1954 and the Baghdad Pact [renamed as Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) after the Ba'athist revolution in Iraq in 1959] in September 1955. In March 1959 the two countries signed an Agreement of Cooperation (in military affairs). The last one is not a formal treaty, but an executive agreement, which is still in force. In July 1959, Pakistan permitted the United States to setup a surveillance and communication facility near Peshawar. This was a significant concession in the days when spy satellites had not been in vogue. Pakistan started receiving the much needed economic and military aid. Thus Pakistan came out of the precarious situation it was since its creation in 1947. Pakistan – US relations have continued with various intervals and levels of cooling off periods.⁴⁷ Studying the details of these relations would be going out of the scope of this study. However, the latest love affair started in 1979 with the start of Afghan Jihad against Soviet Union and the cooling off started immediately after the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989. Both have re-found each other after the terrorists struck US targets in 2001.

PAKISTAN'S AFGHAN POLICY

Pakistan Afghan policy very logically fits into its foreign policy emanating from its strategic culture based on threat perceptions from India and Islam in a centralized unitary state structure. Pakistan had felt threatened by closer relations between India and Afghanistan, backed by Soviet Union as well as suspicions of Pashtun ethnic aspirations. Afghanistan have territorial claims against Pakistan, was the only state that opposed Pakistan's membership of UN in 1947 and welcomed Pashtuns, especially tribal Pashtuns straddling along the Durand Line, challenging Pakistani authority. So, Pakistan's Afghan policy has always been aimed at settling the territorial / Durand Line issue with Afghanistan, stays away from Pakistani Pashtuns and having a friendly government there which keeps a distanced from India.

⁴⁶ Jalal., Ayesha, 1991, pp. 60-78, 93-100; Also read Cohen., Stephen P., *The Pakistan Army*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, pp. 136-38

⁴⁷ Read Rais Ahmad Khan, *In Search of Peace and Security; Forty years of Pakistan-United States Relations*, (Ed.), Royal Press, Karachi. 1990.

The Issue of Durand Line and Pashtunistan

Afghanistan in 1944 renounced⁴⁸ the Durand Line Agreement⁴⁹ with the British Government, which had marked the boundary between the two states. Pakistan considered itself to be the rightful successor to the British rights and duties in the territories that formed Pakistan. Afghanistan laid claim to both North West Frontier Province and Balochistan. It supported the demand for Pashtunistan, made by the Pashtun nationalist leadership of NWFP on the eve of partition. Though Abdul Ghaffar Khan, (1890–1988) commonly known as Bacha Khan among his Pashtun supporters, (also referred to as Frontier Gandhi, with reverence by his supporters and as derogatory slur by his detractors) had clarified that demand for Pashtunistan was not a demand for a separate independent state, but for autonomy within Pakistan. On 3 and 4 September 1947 a grand meeting of Khudai Khidmatgar Tehrik⁵⁰ ('in the service of God movement') was held at Sardaryab (a small village near the town of Charsada, NWFP) to decide their strategy as Pakistan had come into being. The meeting through a resolution declared severance of their relations with All India Congress and acceptance of Pakistan as their country. They also declared allegiance and loyalty to the new state. The meeting further clarified their demand for Pashtunistan as an autonomous province within the state of Pakistan. Abdul Ghaffar Khan clarified "Pashtunistan would be an autonomous unit within Pakistan."⁵¹ Abdul Ghaffar Khan had invited M. A Jinnah to visit Khudai Khidmatgar headquarters in Charssada after the first meeting of Pakistan's constituent Assembly (of which Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a member) was held in Karachi. Mr. Jinnah had accepted that invitation. However, when he was to visit the Khuddai Khidmatgars, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan⁵² advised Mr. Jinnah not to visit Khudai Khidmatgars as according to the Khudai Khidmatgar version of the story, the rapprochement between the Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. Jinnah would result in the ouster from power of Abdul Qayum Khan. In any case, the failure of Mr. Jinnah to arrive at the venue where Khudai Khidmatgars were waiting for him is a point of history in relationship between the Pashtun Nationalists and the State of Pakistan from which onwards they have continuously gone downwards. Despite many ups and downs the mistrust between the two sides has continued and had important consequences for Pakistan's Afghan policy, as well as democratic and secular development within Pakistan. This had implications for Pashtun

⁴⁸ Ghaus Abdul Samad, *"The Fall of Afghanistan: An insider's Account"*, Pergamon Brassey's, Washington D.C., 1988, p. 66

⁴⁹ Rasanayagam Angelo, *Afghanistan A Modern History*, London I. B. Taurin London, 2003, p. 29. See for details Sir Algernon Durand, *The Making of a Frontier* Pall Mall., London, 1899. The Durand line is a poorly marked 2,450 kilometer between Afghanistan and Pakistan. After being defeated in two wars against Afghans, the British succeeded in 1893 in negotiating border between Afghanistan and British India (now Pakistan). It is named after Sir Mortimer Durand, the foreign secretary of the Indian government, who drew the line and signed it on behalf of the British India.

⁵⁰ Khudai Khidmatgar Tehrik was the name of a social and political movement of Pashtuns led by Abdul Ghaffar Khan. This movement became part of All India National Congress for the purpose of becoming part of the anti colonial movement at a larger level, however, this movement had retained its own name.

⁵¹ Tendulkar., D. G., *Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Faith is a Battle*, Popular Prakashan Press, Bombay, 1967. p.451.

⁵² Khan Abdul Qayum Khan had been a member of Khudai Khidmatgars earlier, however, had left the movement before partition and joined Muslim League. He had been made Chief Minister of NWFP by government of Pakistan after it dismissal of the majority Congress government in NWFP after partition.

politics in very fundamental ways. Pakistani State considering the secular Pashtun (nationalist) of suspicious loyalty, found religious slogans and leadership as good counterweight to them. This became more so during the Afghan Jihad. It also fitted well in the over all process of increasing role of religious forces in Pakistan's both domestic and foreign policies.

Afghanistan and India became closer due to common misgivings towards Pakistan. For the highly centralised state of Pakistan that was in the process of creating a national identity, any talk of provincial rights and differences based on culture, language or ethnicity were anathema. These were considered as negating the very basis of Pakistani nationhood, which was based on religion and Urdu language. In case of Pashtuns, the sensitivity of the establishment was more pronounced, due to Afghan claims over Durand Line, Afghan friendship with India and Soviet Union and the Pashtun nationalist leadership being almost wholly composed of former members of Indian National Congress.

Pakistan had never enjoyed good neighbourly relations with Afghanistan. The story of Pak–Afghan relations fills the mind of an average Pakistani decision maker with mistrust. It must be added quickly that this mistrust was mutual. There have been many ups and downs in Pak–Afghan relations. The relations reached an all time low during the prime minister ship of Sardar Daud in Afghanistan (1953–1963) in 1961, when Afghanistan broke off diplomatic relations with Pakistan and Pakistan imposed a ban on transit facilities to the land locked Afghanistan. The breakdown was brought by Afghanistan's heightened activism in support of Pashtunistan during Sardar Daud tenure. They were resumed in 1963 after the resignation of Sardar Daud. However, to correct the historical record in correct perspective, Afghanistan had remained neutral during all the military conflicts Pakistan had with India [1948, 1965, 1971], thus setting aside Pakistani apprehensions of having to worry about northern frontiers in its conflicts on the southern borders.⁵³

In the early 1970s, Pakistan had a democratically elected government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which was at loggerheads with the provincial governments of North West Frontier Province and Balochistan formed by Pashtun Nationalist party, National Awami (Peoples) Party (NAP) in alliance with Jamiat–Ulema–e–Islam (JUI). In that background a coup d' tat in Afghanistan brought Sardar Daud to power. President Daud was a hardliner on the issue of Durand Line. The domestic political scene also took dramatic turn at around the same time. The federal government dismissed the provincial government of Balochistan. As both in NWFP and Balochistan the government was of the National Awami Party [NAP] and its allies, the provincial government of NWFP, headed by Maulana Mufti Mehmud of Jamiat – e Ulema – Islam (JUI) resigned in protest. In parts of NWFP and Balochistan, armed resistance started. NAP was banned; its leadership was jailed along with a large number of its activists.⁵⁴ The Government of Sardar Daud in Afghanistan supported the resistance. Some of its activists and leaders [which included Ajmal Khattak, the central General Secretary of

⁵³ Rasanayagam Angelo, 2003, pp. 27-37. For a detailed description of the Pashtunistan issue and Pak–Afghan relations read Burke, S. M., and Ziring Lawrence, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy; An Historical Analysis*, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1973, pp. 68-90. Also read Tendulkar., D. G., *Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Faith is a Battle*, Popular Prakashan Press, Bombay, 1967. pp. 451-53.

⁵⁴ Waseem. Mohammad, *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Progressive Publishers, Lahore, 1989, pp. 330-340.

NAP] took refuge in Afghanistan. The Pakistani state was at its coercive best during that time. It was in this background that some extremist religious leaders of Afghanistan⁵⁵ who were opposed to the secular and modernising policies of President Daud came to Peshawar.⁵⁶ Gen. (Retd.) Naseer Ullah Babar⁵⁷, who was governor of NWFP at the time, supervised this emerging alliance between Afghan religious extremists and Pakistani state.⁵⁸ Thus we had the making of a policy that passing through the tumultuous 1980s culminated in the Pakistani support of Taliban in Afghanistan in the second half of the decade of 1990. Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy that started in 1994, discussed below, was an adjustment of its Afghan policy of the 1980s.

The Pakistani decision makers mind set that believed in a strong centralised state and mistrusted India or anything or any one having the remotest link with India, could not take the secular Pashtun⁵⁹ as an ally. Pakistan's worries in Afghanistan were twofold; An Afghanistan friendly with India would always be a source of threat during Pakistan's conflict with India,⁶⁰ and the issue of Afghan claims over Pashtun majority territories of Pakistan⁶¹. The secular Pashtun, mostly represented by the former Congress members, would from time to time show resentment over division of Pashtuns by the Durand line, and had always maintained good relations with the Afghan rulers.⁶² And thus was never on the right side of the Pakistani establishment.

⁵⁵ These leaders included most of the Mujahideen leadership that during the Afghan resistance to Soviet Union in 1980s were to acquire international fame. They included Gulbadin Hekmatyar, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, and Ahmad Shah Masood. Read Rasanayagam Angelo, 2003, pp. 62-65.

⁵⁶ Rubin Michael, "Who is Responsible for the Taliban?" in *'Middle East Review of International Affairs'*, Vol. 6, No. 1 March 2002. pp. 3-4

⁵⁷ The same Gen. Babar, himself a Pashtun, as home minister in the second Benazir Government 1993-96, is credited with the Pakistan policy of creation/ support for the Taliban movement in 1994. Gen. Babar is a leader of Pakistan Peoples Party, with secular political outlook, however, with strong anti NAP political views.

⁵⁸ Wirsing., Robert G., *Pakistan's Security Under Zia, 1977-88* Macmillan, London, 1991, p.30 Also Girardet. Edward, *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1985, p.166.

⁵⁹ Secular Pashtuns till the emergence of PPP in NWFP during the 1970s, meant Nationalist followers of Abdul Wali Khan, son and political heir of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. To set the historical record straight there were some minor secular forces outside the nationalist fold in the shape of rather extremist leftist parties. One good example of such parties was the Mazdoor Kisan Party [Labour Tenant] led by Afzal Bangash. This party also had at least a tacit support of the central government of PPP in the 1970s to create trouble for the NAP-JUI government of NWFP. NAP and JUI were in opposition in the then National Assembly.

⁶⁰ This suspicious attitude had persisted despite the fact that during the three wars, 1948, 1965 and 1971, between India and Pakistan, Afghanistan had followed a policy of strict neutrality.

⁶¹ Rubin., Barnett R., *Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995. pp 63-84

⁶² Grant M. Farr, "Afghan refugees in Pakistan: definitions, repatriation and ethnicity", in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (eds.), *The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism*, Pinter Publishers, New York, 1990, p 141.

Pakistan's Afghan Policy; the Mujahideen era; 1979–94:

The alliance between religious extremists and Pakistani establishment in foreign policy arena really matured during the 1980s. As noted above, religious extremists were attractive to even the secular Pakistani decision maker's mind set as it had developed from 1947 onwards. However, it was Gen. Zia-ul-Haq martial law and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan that really saw the maturing of what appeared to be a natural and lasting alliance. The Talibanization of Pakistan foreign policy as well as domestic society and politics is really the legacy of Gen. Zia and his team, supported by the United States, in the context of its cold war priorities. The religious groups, during this period graduated from tools of foreign policy into partners in decision-making (or at least they thought so and behaved as such till 9/11). During that time, the military and its intelligence agencies, especially Inter Services Intelligence Agency (ISI) took over almost exclusive control of foreign policy making, more specifically Afghan policy.

Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan in late 1979 suddenly changed the whole geopolitical situation of the region. Pakistan had to make choices. What should be the reaction? And equally important was the question; how to go about it? Pakistan had three choices; a) To stay neutral, b) To support the Soviet Intervention and c) To oppose it. Pakistan chose to oppose Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan. This choice posed certain basic questions. How to oppose Soviet intervention? To what level Pakistan should take the opposition? Pakistan had again alternatives; a) to oppose it at political level only, b) to support the opposition more actively, i.e. is materially and c) who amongst the resistance should get Pakistan's support (The initial choice had to be made between a mix of nationalist, pro Zahir Shah and other non religious forces and the religious groups some of whom were already present in Pakistan). Pakistani decision makers chose option b) and chose the religious groups to be a better bet. A decision was made to resist the Soviet Intervention through providing material as well as political support to the religious Afghan resistance forces within Afghanistan and taking up the issue on various international forums.⁶³ Pakistan agreed to become the frontline state in America's [not so] covert policy in Afghanistan.⁶⁴ Pakistan also became in forefront of raising the issue on international diplomatic forums. The issue was taken to United Nations, where a special session of General Assembly adopted a resolution⁶⁵ condemning Soviet action and demanded its immediate withdrawal. Pakistan also raised the issue at Organisation of Islamic Conference.

Mujahideen as Tools for Implementation of Pakistan's Afghan Policy

Implementation of this policy choice required another very significant decision that had a bearing on policy which would last for a very long time. That decision was of selection from amongst the various religious resistance groups of any favourite or the support should be to

⁶³ Shahi Agha., *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, Lahore, 1988, pp. 1-53.

⁶⁴ Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "*Game Plan: A geo Strategic for the Conduct of the US – Soviet Contest*", Farrar and Straus, Boston, 1986.

every one, with priority be determined by the strength of a group on ground. Pakistan decided to have favourites based on considerations of its own interests, and both internal and external considerations, as perceived by the decision makers of the time. Gulbadin Hekmatyar became the favourite of Pakistani managers of the Afghan Jihad and thus the major recipient of the aid that started from different sources.⁶⁶ The parties that emerged inside Afghanistan to resist the Soviet intervention included both religious and secular. Among the secular ones was one very important organisation called, Afghan Millat' (Afghan Nation), a nationalist party and Shola-I-Javed, a pro Chinese Communist party, as well as members of the royal family and their supporters. There were seven major Islamic parties; Hizb-e-Islami led by Gulbadin Hekmatyar, Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan led by Prof. Rasool Syyaf, Harakat-Inqilab-i-Islam of Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi, Jamiat-e-Islami of Prof. Burhanudin Rabbani (Which included Commander Ahmad Shah Massood), National Islamic Front of Pir Syed Ahamd Gaillani Afghanistan and National Liberation Front of Prof Sibghatullah Mojadedi.⁶⁷ Pakistan was instrumental in making the Islamic parties form an alliance in 1983. Pakistan also helped in their strengthening, as it controlled the international aid flows. The non religious groups were totally ignored, rather actively discouraged by Pakistan.⁶⁸ Pakistan followed a clear policy of aiding only through the parties belonging to the religious parties' alliance. This policy meant no commander would get any support if he is not member of one of these seven parties. Independent commanders had to choose one of these even if they did not agree with any of the parties they joined.⁶⁹ The consideration for joining a party was the ability of the party to deliver foreign aid, not its ideology or leadership. This contributed substantially to the strength of Gulbadin Hekmatyar's party as it was the largest recipient of international aid that came by the route of ISI. This policy partially explains the reality of these parties strength as it depended on considerations other than loyalty to the leadership or the party programme. This also helped in creating a controlling role for the Pakistani institution given charge to manage the Afghan Jihad, namely ISI.

Pakistan was under the martial law regime of Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq. In Iran, the monarchy that had allied it to United States was soon toppled by a popular religious revolution that considered United States as enemy number one. Pakistan was not receiving enough military supplies which it needed to meet its security needs vis-a-vis India.⁷⁰ The military regime of Pakistan needed legitimacy. Soviet intervention in Afghanistan provided it with an opportunity that it could not resist. The United States needed Pakistan to wage its Jihad against Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Iran was also opposed to the Soviet Intervention but it could not have been co opted to play the American game. Pakistan's decision to become the frontline state for American anti Soviet plans in Afghanistan was not the result of only

⁶⁵ A/ES-6/7 GAOR, 6th emer. spec. sess., Suppl. No. 1.

⁶⁶ Cooly. John K., 2001, p.62.

⁶⁷ Yousaf., Mohammad and Adkin., Mark, *The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story*, Jang Publishers, Lahore, 1992, pp. 41-43.

⁶⁸ Barnett Rubin, *Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, New Haven, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, pp.181, 198-199.

⁶⁹ Yousaf Mohammad and Adkin Mark 1992. p. 40.

⁷⁰ United States had imposed a ban on weapons supply to both Pakistan and India during the 1965 war between the two countries.

American pressure and Zia-ul-Haq's need for international acceptance. Pakistan, as earlier noted, had its own interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan considered this an opportunity to gain enough influence inside Afghanistan a) to end the Durand Line and the Pashtunistan issue forever⁷¹ b) to end Indian influence in Afghanistan and c) that it can serve its need for 'strategic depth'⁷² [the possibility of this, however, became evident much later].

The choice of religious fundamentalists was made due to a number of factors, both domestic and international. Conversely, the Pashtun nationalist was not the choice due to a variety of very specific reasons. This was despite the fact that the mainstream nationalist political party then National Democratic Party⁷³ had welcomed Gen. Zia Ul Haq's Martial Law. Gen. Zia also freed all the nationalists jailed by Z. A. Bhutto. The nationalists at this point were in a dilemma. Their dilemma was due to their sufferings at the hands of secular Bhutto; they simply could not convince themselves of the political need to ignore that and see the dangers posed by the fundamentalist friendly (if not outright fundamentalist itself) government of Gen. Zia.⁷⁴ A fundamental change had taken place in the make up of Pakistani ruling class over the years. Pashtuns had gradually grown to become the junior partners of Punjabis, the erstwhile rulers of Pakistan. This changed situation demanded a changed attitude from the nationalists. However, the nationalist Pashtun and the Pakistani establishment simply could not trust each other.

Pashtun nationalist leadership could not adjust itself to the changing situation due to a variety of reasons. For one, Pashtun nationalist political leadership was not intellectually ready to assume the new role of representing this new Pashtun interest in the changed power configuration of Pakistani state. Their rural agrarian background simply reduced their capability to change, much more than any ideological commitment or liking for the communist government in Afghanistan. This inability to change was partly due to the mistrust of Pakistani state that was not ready to trust them as well. This mutual mistrust, result of personal as well as historical experiences on both sides, along with the personal religious beliefs of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq played together in the making of Pakistani decision to promote the religious elements from amongst the Afghan resistance groups. This fitted or at

⁷¹ Grant M. Farr, "Afghan refugees in Pakistan: definitions, repatriation and ethnicity", in Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (Eds.), *The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism*, Pinter Publishers, New York, 1990, p.141

⁷² Quraishi., Ahmed M. "Strategic Depth Reviewed" Monthly, '*Newsline*' Karachi, March 2002. pp.22 - 24. Also read, Ahmad., Eqbal, "What After Strategic Depth?" Daily '*Dawn*', 23 August 1998.

⁷³ The Pashtun nationalist political party, National Awami Party had been banned by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Government earlier in 1974, when its government in Balochistan was dismissed and the government of NWFP had to resign. The main leadership was either jailed or had taken refuge in Afghanistan. At that time these nationalists regrouped in a new party, named National Democratic Party, and asked an ethnic Baluch from Punjab, Sardar Sherbaz Mazari to head it. Sardar Sherbaz Mazari was a nominal head. The real leadership was in the hands of Begum Nasim Wali Khan (Wife of NAP's jailed leader and Abdul Ghaffar Khan's son, Wali Khan). Wali Khan after release by Gen. Zia did not assume the leadership officially, however, he had the real control, as NDP consisted wholly of his followers. Later in 1996 NDP and a number of left of Centre political parties merged together to form Awami National Party (ANP). Khan Abdul Wali Khan was elected its central president.

⁷⁴ This was one of the most important factors due to which the leftists within the fold of NAP did not go along with NDP. Interview with Mukhtiar Bacha, leader of former Communist Party of Pakistan, which was then working within the fold of NAP and then for a while ANP. He was one of the many other leftist groups that had merged into ANP initially but left that party after a while as well.

least did not conflict with the United States perceptions of the situation in Afghanistan and methodology of dealing with Soviet Union. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA, the US intelligence agency), which was responsible for on the ground implementation of US policy of resisting Soviet Union in Afghanistan, carried out that responsibility with the assistance of Pakistani intelligence agency, ISI.

Throughout the war against the communist government and Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan asserted a mix of internal and external concerns. The ISI and Pakistan army sought leverage against the hostile neighbour on its eastern border, India, by giving Pakistan 'strategic depth', a secure Afghan frontier permitting the concentration of Pakistani forces on the Indian frontier and (after the war ended and Soviet Union collapsed) economic advantages through stronger political and economic links to Central Asia. An Afghanistan that facilitated those connections and provided Pakistan with a base to pursue its objectives in Kashmir would give it greater security against India. Pakistani support for Pashtun parties in Afghanistan helped solidify the position of Pashtuns in Pakistan's military and civilian elites. In addition, Pakistan promoted the emergence of a government in Afghanistan that would reduce Pakistan's own vulnerability to internal unrest by helping to contain the nationalist aspirations of tribes whose territories straddle the Pakistani-Afghan border⁷⁵. Further internal considerations motivated Pakistan to direct most of the funding and support it received during the Soviet intervention to Islamist groups. Specifically, Pakistan sought to avoid building up the strength of Pashtun nationalist groups that might subsequently want to carve an independent Pashtun state from Pakistani and Afghan territory. Pakistan also sought to quell local support for Afghanistan's ambitions of redrawing the Durand line. Thus, Pakistan came to throw its support behind the Hizb-Islami of Gulbadin Hekmatyar, a Pashtun-dominated group that espoused an Islamist rather than nationalist agenda. Because the U.S. granted Pakistan wide discretion in channelling its covert assistance to the Mujahideen based in Pakistan, Pakistan was able to give Hekmatyar the lion's share.⁷⁶

The Soviet forces left Afghanistan in 1989 as a result of Geneva accords signed in 1988.⁷⁷ However, the Communist government of President Najibullah continued to hold on to

⁷⁵ Tribal Areas of Pakistan, known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) inhabited by Pashtun tribes are today scene to 'War against Terrorism' on Pakistani side. Divided into seven administrative units called agencies include South and North Waziristan Agencies, where some Taliban and Al-Qaeda have taken refuge and are being used by them as safe heaven when the going gets tough in Afghanistan. They have quite widespread support in the mainly two local tribes called Wazir and Masood. Pakistan Army is engaged in counter insurgency operations in these two agencies currently. Today's Talibanization of these Pashtun tribes is a direct consequence of the policy of promoting religious forces in these areas during the 1980s. Pakistan may have achieved at least one policy goal here that is denying the secular Pashtun nationalist sympathy and support of these Pashtuns, however, what has been created is probably much more a serious threat to Pakistan long term security. This is one, maybe extreme, example of crisis of the Pakistani State in the wake of Pakistan's changed Afghan Policy as a result of International Inputs contradicting domestic inputs pushing for continuation of the pro Taliban Afghan Policy.

⁷⁶ Human Rights Watch Report, 'Afghanistan: Crisis of Impunity, The Role of Pakistan, Russia and Iran in Fuelling the War' Vol. 13, No. 3 (C). Also available on the internet at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/afghan2/>, 2001

⁷⁷ Far an in-depth and detailed study of the Geneva Accords read, Cordovez., Diego and Harrison., Selig, S. *Out of Afghanistan: The Inside Story of the Soviet Withdrawal*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995.

power for another four years. Pakistan, with US approval⁷⁸ continued to pursue policies that denied any compromise between Najibullah's government and the Mujahideen. Such a compromise would have meant compromise on Pakistan's objective of having relations with the post Soviet Afghanistan to the level of it providing the strategic depth. In 1992, when the government of President Najibullah fell, Pakistan cobbled an interim government of Mujahideen which was headed by Prof. Sibghatullah Mujadidi for an initial period of four months as a result of 'Peshawar accord'.⁷⁹ Prof. Mujadidi was a relatively weaker, albeit, a moderate leader among the Mujahideen leaders. He was succeeded in accordance with the 'Peshawar accord' by Prof. Burhanudin Rabbani for a term of four months. The Pakistani favourite Gulbadin Hekmatyar was to be the prime minister of the second interim setup under Rabbani, however, he refused to take over his new assignment. Prof. Rabbani, in violation of the Peshawar accord refused to surrender government after the expiry of four months period. He instead, convened a meeting of a selected Shura, and got himself elected President of Afghanistan. Pakistan did not like this and continued to call for implementation of the Peshawar accord. Prof. Rabbani was seen in Islamabad as growing closer to both Iran and India. This tilt sounded alarm bells in the policy making circles of Islamabad. The policy of having a government in Afghanistan that would be closely allied to it appeared to be not working.

It needs to be noted here that no Afghan government has ever accepted Pakistani dictates. The fiercely independent spirited Afghans has shown that it was not just Zahir Shah or nationalists with Indian or Soviet connections that were averse to Pakistani dominance, but the Mujahideen also kept the tradition of maintaining Afghan independence alive. This was so despite the fact that between 1992 and 2001, including that of Prof. Rabbani, all governments that were formed in Kabul were with the blessing and support of Pakistani State. As it would be shown later, even Taliban could not be made to act exactly as Pakistani decision makers wanted them to.

RISE OF TALIBAN AND PAKISTAN'S PRO TALIBAN AFGHAN POLICY

In midst of civil war, a total collapse of Afghan State, major international powers almost forgetting it, thus making it an open field for regional states power play. Pakistan, Iran, India and the Central Asian States all became players of the Afghan mess and competed or formed

⁷⁸ Prior to her election Benazir and her party had campaigned for recognizing the PDPA government in Kabul and seeking a political settlement of the Afghanistan conflict. But all that changed when Benazir paid her maiden visit to Washington in June of 1989 and later to London as Prime Minister of Pakistan. After her "very cordial" meeting with George Bush (senior), Benazir announced her total agreement with the US president that Najibullah must resign as a precondition for any political settlement with Afghanistan. In London Benazir was bluntly told by Margaret Thatcher that war in Afghanistan will continue until complete 'military victory' was achieved. Weekly, '*Manchester Guardian*', 16 July, 1989.

⁷⁹ Peshawar Accord was signed in Peshawar on 25 April 1992, between the different Mujahideen parties to form an interim government for Afghanistan after the fall of Najibullah. Full text available 'http://www.institute-for-afghan-studies.org/Accords%20Treaties/peshawar_accord_1993.htm'. Access date 20 January 2004

alliances through Afghan proxies. The emergence of the former Soviet Central Republics with their energy riches brought some energy and extra regional interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan considered the failure of achieving its policy objectives through the Mujahideen group as a negation of its legitimate interests and looked for alternates to reverse the trends. In this background the world saw emergence of Taliban and very quickly taking control of most of Afghanistan. Pakistan saw in Taliban a perfect solution for its problems with Afghanistan based on its India centric religious based strategic culture.

The International and Regional Context

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 and its subsequent collapse a year later, United States and the west's interest in Afghanistan decreased, if the word diminished would sound too strong. Barnett R. Rubin noted, "The entire international community had no political strategy for Afghanistan from 1992 to 1994."⁸⁰ That is not the same as saying it was forgotten, though one must acknowledge, in order of priorities, Afghanistan lost the centre stage it had acquired in Western strategic thinking, during the 1980s. The attention of US and the West had been attracted by the end of Communist control of Eastern Europe and the breakdown of Soviet Union. However, its proximity with Central Asia and Iran meant it could not be totally forgotten by the west. The west also had interests in Afghanistan in the 1990s as it had become the largest source for opium cultivation as well as a refuge for global terrorists, a concern that had been on the rise much before the September 2001 terrorist attacks on US, made it central. However, these interests were then, simply not considered in the policy making circles of western capitals, compelling enough to maintain a policy backed by enough resources towards peace in Afghanistan. As the out side (to the region) interest decreased, regional interests increased. Pakistan, Iran, India, Turkey and the Central Asian states became enmeshed in a new regional 'great game'.

Pakistan had gained enormous influence in Afghan affairs during the 1980s. India wanted to re-enter Afghanistan, or at least deny Pakistan the influence it had gained. Iran wanted to oppose the increasing influence of United States in Central Asia and considered, i), Afghanistan as its linkage to that region and ii), considered Pakistani influence as American influence or very close to it. Central Asian States were wary of the religious colour of the new post Soviet Afghanistan and looked with suspicion at Pakistani support for, first Mujahideen and then Taliban. "Since the 1990s Pakistan has pursued interventionist policies in Afghanistan to promote a wide range of objectives: to counter Afghan claims on Pakistan's Pashtun-majority areas, to gain access to the oil and gas resources of Central Asia via Afghan territory, to undermine Iran's influence in Southwest and Central Asia, to gain strategic depth against India, and to recruit Afghan religious extremists as well as Taliban trained Kashmiri and Pakistani militants for the insurgency in Kashmir."⁸¹

⁸⁰ Rubin., Barnett R., "U.S Policy in Afghanistan", Muslim Politics Report, No.11 Jan. Feb. 1997, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington D.C., no. 11., p. 2.

⁸¹ Rizvi, Hasan Askari, "Pakistan in 1998: The Policy Under Pressure", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 39, No. 1 January/February 1999, p. 184

There were some thoughts in some circles at least, that Central Asian republics being Muslim, will provide Pakistan with an ability to play a role that can weave these new states into a security arrangement with it, thus enhancing its prestige, strength and position internationally as well as vis a vis India. Such overtures brought Pakistan into competition with not just India but also other Muslim states, Iran and Turkey, who had their own policies and goals in these republics. The three allies of the cold war thus broke out quite publicly in Afghanistan. Thus one notes a convergence of policies between Iran, Turkey, India, most of the Central Asian Republics, and Russia in Afghanistan, expressed through their common support for the anti Taliban Northern alliance, leaving out Pakistan in isolation in support of Taliban. USA also gradually drew towards that grouping till 9/11 made it make the final leap, leaving Pakistan with neither much choice nor much time.

Despite the lowering of strategic significance of Afghanistan for US, it had maintained an interest mainly if not solely due to its proximity to Central Asia and Iran. When Taliban emerged in 1994, US had shown an interest in and sympathy towards them. US expected Taliban to (a) stop Russian, and Iranian influences in Afghanistan⁸² (b) restore order to all of Afghanistan (c) get rid of terrorist training camps (d) pave the way for the return of the former King Zahir Shah (e) 'most importantly, Taliban promised to open doors for the construction of giant gas and oil pipelines from Central Asia down through Afghanistan to Pakistan, thus avoiding Iran.'⁸³ However, the arrival of Osama Bin Laden and growing Human Rights concerns had led to distancing between the United States and Taliban since 1996, which almost completely broke after the 1998 US cruise missile attacks against terrorist camps in Afghanistan.⁸⁴

Energy Interests

The main International backer of Taliban appears to be International Oil interests rather than the US government. UNOCAL (Union Oil Company of California), an American Oil and Gas giant and its Saudi partner Delta were the real supporters of Taliban.⁸⁵

Since the break down of Soviet Union, a new element had entered the regional politics for control of Afghanistan and that was international oil interests. Afghanistan provided one of the best alternate outlets to Central Asian oil. At this stage UNOCAL an American oil giant entered the scene with interests in pumping out oil and gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Pakistan and beyond. United States wanted end to Central Asian [the Central Asian states also were interested in alternate outlets] reliance on Russian routes. However, in

⁸² Ahmed Samina, "The United States and Terrorism in Southwest Asia: September 11 and Beyond", *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 3 Winter 2001/02, pp. 79–93 at pp. 83–84

⁸³ Barnett R. Rubin, 1997. p. 6.

⁸⁴ Mackenzie., Richard, The United States and The Taliban, in *ibid* 1998, pp. 90–103.

⁸⁵ For details of the support Taliban received from UNOCAL and Delta, read Forsythe., Rosemarie, 'The Politics of Oil in The Caucasus and Central Asia, Adelphi paper no. 300, IISS London 1996. Mackenzie Richard, 'The United States and the Taliban, in *Fundamentalism Reborn; Afghanistan and the Taliban* Maley Williams, (ed.) Vanguard Lahore, 1998, pp. 90 – 103 at p.98–99.

this search for alternates Iran was also to be avoided, for political and strategic considerations rather than economic.⁸⁶

The significance of oil and gas considerations in influencing US policy and by extension that of Pakistan can be gauged from US Vice President Dick Cheney's statement concerning initial US policy towards Taliban, he remarked, "the good Lord didn't see fit to put oil and gas only where there are democratically elected regimes friendly to the United States. Occasionally we have to operate in places where, all things considered, one would not normally choose to go. But, we go where the business is."⁸⁷

These International and Regional inputs combined with the inputs from memory made the ingredients of Pakistan's decision to support Taliban in 1994, when they emerged in 1994.

Pakistan's Domestic Processes and Influences in the Making of the Decision to Support Taliban

Whether Taliban were the products of Pakistan or later adopted by it, is debatable. However, going into that debate would take us away from our focus. It is beyond doubt that Pakistan did support them as soon as they emerged. The decision fitted well with Pakistan's erstwhile developments as a State and society and with the international and regional geo-strategic situation, the way it looked from Pakistan. Pakistani decision makers infatuated with the idea of controlling Afghanistan combined with many other influences to adopt Taliban for the purpose, when it was seen that Gulbadin Hekmatyar was unable to dislodge President Rabbani from Kabul. In this section we see how the internal political and institutional as well as individual influences made that choice in the overall external and historical context explained above.

"In the 1980s Pakistan's Afghan policy was conducted with the help of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), the main rival of JUI inside Pakistan, and the Afghan Hezb-e-Islami, led by Gulbadin Hekmatyar. For a decade the ISI's connection with JI and Hezb were the government's main instrument of policy, which for example ensured that armaments from the US and Arab Countries went largely to the Ghilzai Pashtun (Hekmatyar was also a Ghilzai Pashto, though he came from Northern Afghanistan, where non Pashtuns form the majority) warlords, who lived in central and north eastern Afghanistan. In comparison, the Durrani Pashtuns, who dominated the south and Kandahar and who generally backed the return of the former Afghan monarch Zahir Shah⁸⁸, were largely ignored by the ISI and the American

⁸⁶ Olcott. Martha Brill, "Pipeline and Pipe Dreams: Energy Development and Caspian Society", *Journal of International Affairs*, Fall 1999, 53, no. 1.p. 308.

⁸⁷ Callari., Ron "Energy Interests, The U.S. Government, And The Post-Taliban Trans-Afghan Pipeline" 'Central Asia - Caucasus Analysis' an online journal of SAIS John Hopkins University, <http://www.kiddmillennium.com/Trans-Afghanpipeline.htm>, 22 May, 2002

⁸⁸ King Zahir Shah was never liked by Pakistan as his government was remembered as friendly to India as well as closer to the Pashtun Nationalists of NWFP, and being the ruler responsible for revoking the Durand Line Agreement between Afghanistan and British India, and initiator of all the problems Pakistan had with Afghanistan since independence in 1947. In late 1980s there was a proposal for his return, which Pakistan was apparently giving at least a thoughtful consideration, however, a statement

CIA.”⁸⁹ By 1994, it had become clear that Gulbadin Hekmatyar is not able to militarily oust the government of Prof. Burhannudin Rabbani. By that time the differences between the Rabbani government and Pakistan had become public. It was in this background that Taliban suddenly emerged from Kandahar.

Institutional, Individual Associational and Non Associational Inputs

The lack of institutionalisation of decision-making in Pakistan makes it impossible to look at the role of institutions, individuals, associations and non associational sources of inputs separately. They intertwine, and mix with each other so profusely that this section looks at their role collectively in an attempt to understand their role in correct context and according to the relative strength of their influence on the final outcome.

The policy of support for Taliban were the joint working of Gen. Babar and Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, who with the agreement of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto acting on the behest of Americans who wanted to take Afghan policy out of the hands of ISI. Added to this were the political considerations of the new PPP government, which saw JI as a party diametrically on the opposite side of its political orientations and a challenge to its political strength. JUI on the other side had grown closer to it. ISI's preference for Hekmatyar was not liked by all these quarters and individuals due to his alignment with JI and thus by extension with International Islamic extremism that was increasingly associated with terrorism.⁹⁰ Even if ISI was not involved with its creation or initial emergence or as a US Embassy report claimed it opposed their emergence⁹¹, it quickly adopted them is evident from subsequent events.⁹² Interestingly, JI was also not in favour of this change. Qazi Hussain Ahmad leader of JI termed their emergence as a conspiracy hatched by United States and Britain.⁹³ However, JI also changed its hostile attitude along the time ISI's attitude changed. JI tried to play role of a reconciliatory between Hekmatyar and Taliban unsuccessfully. JI however, developed a cautious supportive attitude, hoping, and later developments proved them correct, that once in power, with ISI support, these Taliban would not be able to stay away from the international fundamentalist Islamic movement, of which JI was an integral part.⁹⁴

Pakistani military had continued to control major foreign policy decisions throughout the 1990s is an assertion that can be made on sound and strong grounds. For Pakistani military

from India in support of his return put an end to it as far as Pakistan was concerned. President Zia termed the Indian statement as a 'kiss of death' for any chance of King Zahir Shah's return. Interviews with Ilyas Khan, a well reputed journalist from Peshawar as well as Afrasiab Khattak, leader of ANP.

⁸⁹ Rashid Ahmad., "Pakistan and Taliban" in *Fundamentalism Reborn, Afghanistan and The Taliban*, (ed), William Maley, Vanguard, Lahore. 1998, p.74.

⁹⁰ *ibid.* p. 76.

⁹¹ U.S. Embassy (Islamabad), Cable, '[Excised] Believe Pakistan is Backing Taliban,' December 6, 1994.

⁹² ISI was directly involved in Taliban takeover of Kandahar in December 1994. U.S. Department of State, Memorandum, titled "Developments in Afghanistan," December 5, 1994. According to Ahmad Rashid ISI had bribed the governor of Kandahar, Naquib, not to resist the Taliban. The governor obliged. Ahmad., Rashid, *The Taliban: The Story of Afghan Warlords*, Macmillan, London, p.39.

⁹³ Rashid Ahmad, 1988 p. 81.

⁹⁴ Discussions with JI workers in Peshawar, on 15 February 2004. In this assessment they proved to be more correct than the United States or those Pashtun Nationalists [noted below] who considered Taliban would remain localized or would eventually give up power to King Zahir Shah or at least gradually drift towards moderation and accommodation of secular Pashtuns.

Taliban were tools of a specific policy. That policy continued to be based on having a government in Afghanistan that it controls, with which India has nothing to do, and provides a peaceful, and secure access to Central Asia as well as put an end to the Durand Line issue. The policy remained the same as it had been since at least 1979, with basis rooted in history since 1947 and may be earlier. The only thing that changed was the instruments of achievement of foreign policy goals.

In Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto had formed the federal government in 1993. Major Gen. (Retd) Naseerullah Babar⁹⁵ was made the home minister of her government. More significantly, JUI-F was an ally of this government and Maulana Fazal-Ur-Rehman head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly. The foreign minister of her government, Sardar Assef Ahmad Ali, belonged to a smaller faction of Pakistan Muslim League, allied to her party's government. The central role of Gen. Babar in the emergence of Taliban and Pakistan's all out support for them is an established fact of Pakistan's history. William Maley calls him the 'godfather of Taliban'.⁹⁶ Pakistani decision to support Taliban was initially opposed by ISI, the agency that had been running Pakistan's Afghan policy during the 1980s and early 1990s. Due to US pressure to cleanse the ISI of its extremist religious cadre, inducted into it during the 1980s, in 1993 a considerable number of officers were removed from the intelligence agency. For much of 1994 ISI had retreated into a shell as far as Afghanistan was concerned till the capture of Kandahar. Similarly, Foreign Ministry of Pakistan was also sidelined as far as Afghanistan went. The interior ministry under Gen. (Retd) Babar and PPP ally JUI spearheaded Pakistani support for Taliban and thus were both conducting and making Pakistan Afghan policy decisions. Gen. Babar had established an 'Afghan Trade Development Cell' in the Interior Ministry. The cell was supposed to look after development of trade interests with Afghanistan and Central Asia. Clearly that was the job of Commerce ministry. The real function of this cell was to coordinate government support for the Taliban. ISI's non involvement if not all out opposition ended by December 1995, when Taliban attacked and took control of Kandhar. By that time, ISI had taken over complete charge of Pakistan's Taliban policy. ISI's absence from Pakistan's initial support for Taliban should not be interpreted as Army having no role in, let alone opposition to Pakistani decision to support Taliban. The Army under ethnic Pashtun Chief of Army Staff General Waheed Kakar⁹⁷ agreed and supported the government's evolving pro Taliban policy. By 1995 the view that Taliban were the only hope for Pakistan's Afghan policy prevailed both in the Military and ISI. From that time onwards, ISI and Military adopted the Taliban till at least the fateful day of 9/11.⁹⁸ This support had US blessing has also been established.

⁹⁵ It was the same Gen. Babar who was governor of NWFP in 1974, during the Prime Minister ship of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

⁹⁶ Maley, William, *The Afghanistan Wars*, Palgrave, London, 2002. p. 229.

⁹⁷ One should not read too much into the ethnic identity of Waheed Kakar, as Pakistan Army is very well disciplined and highly institutionalized organization. Individuals groomed in its fold tend to forget their earlier identities and cultural traits. The higher they go in it the more they become Army men and not Pashtuns or Punjabis. Whatever, they would always strongly believe in the supremacy of the military mind.

⁹⁸ Ahmad Rashid, "Pakistan and Taliban", in Maley William, editor, *Fundamentalism Reborn, Afghanistan and Taliban*, Vanguard. Lahore, 1998, pp. 84-89.

Within Pakistan, the transport interests, a growing young population of graduates of Madrassas (Both Afghans and Pakistanis),⁹⁹ a lucrative business of oil permits for individuals with the right political connections all acted towards a specific outcome. Leader of Jamiat Ulema Islam, (JUI-F) Maulana Fazal Ur Rehman had an increased influence inside Afghanistan as a result of his party's control of most of the Madrassas that were providing an increasing number of recruits to various Afghan warring outfits. JUI-F was allied to the government of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. JUI-F was one faction of the party that had earlier been divided in two parts, after the death of Maulana Mufti Mehmood, father of Maulana Fazal Ur Rehman. One faction was led by Maulana Fazal Rehman and the other by Maulana Sami-ul-Haq, head of Haqqania¹⁰⁰, a Madrassa that claims most of the Mujahideen and later day Taliban as its students. Maulana Fazal Ur Rehman faction, however, lays claim to wider electoral support as well as control of much more Madrassas and hence influence in Afghan affairs.¹⁰¹

At this stage it is important to understand the relationship between JUI and NAP, which would help in understanding later developments, one must understand the NAP JUI relationship. Maulana Mufti Mehmud father of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman who was head of the united JUI was Chief Minister of the NAP-JUI coalition government of NWFP in 1973-4. Though they fought the 1970 general elections against each other, they formed an alliance afterwards. The reason for this alliance was mainly as far as NAP was concerned to stop Khan Abdul Qayum Khan¹⁰² from becoming Chief Minister of the province. The fact that JUI was the heir to Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind, a party that was allied with All India Congress during the freedom movement, helped the two get closer. JUI had an anti colonial heritage that was appreciated by the nationalists. JUI was also opposed to Jamaat-e-Islami, the party of urban middle class religious fundamentalists, who were considered the real enemy by the secular forces. Maulana Mufti Mehmud earned the respect of Pashtun nationalists, when he resigned as chief minister in protest against the dismissal of NAP government in Balochistan. This good will of the Pashtun nationalists that JUI earned explains to an extent the attitudes of some nationalists, if not all, towards Taliban, in their initial period. However, there were basic differences between the two, as both appealed to the rural based Pashtun, and NAP was a secular while JUI was a religious party. During the 1980s JUI had drifted away from its nationalist allies of the 1970s. The simple reason being the nationalists support or at least sympathy (according to their critics' confusion) towards the Communist regime in Afghanistan and the JUI's all out support for the Mujahideen, even if its role was initially secondary to that of JI.

⁹⁹ Madrassa is a Muslim religious seminary.

¹⁰⁰ Situated in District Nowshera of NWFP, it boasts to have among its graduates Mujahideen luminaries like Jala Ud Di Haqqani.

¹⁰¹ Rashid., Ahmad, 1998. p.76

¹⁰² Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan was an anathema to Pashtun nationalists. Starting his political career in All India Congress as a partner of the Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the 1930s, he later joined Muslim League and is largely held responsible by the Nationalists to have played the main role in foiling an understanding between Mr. Jinnah and Abdul Ghaffar Khan in 1948. Failure of that rapprochement started a chain of events that negatively influenced the relations of Pakistani state and Pashtun Nationalists for times to come and from which they never recovered. Interview with Ajmal Khattak, leader of ANP dated 12 December 2003.

The newly gained influence of JUI in Afghanistan through vast number of graduates of religious madrassas in Afghan civil war had made it play a new role. Maj. Gen. (Retd) Naseer Ullah Babar, a minister now in the PPP government in Islamabad, responsible for the original coming of Mujahideen leaders to Pakistan that included Gulbadin Hekmatyar, was not happy with the close association these leaders had with JI. JI was in strong opposition to the PPP government. Gen. Babar, an ethnic Pashtun, and secular by political persuasion, was, however, distrustful of the Pashtun nationalists as well. JUI, which was an ally of the government of PPP, was ready to take over the dominant role, in Afghanistan, from its political and religious rival JI. JUI having its roots in the rural Pashtuns, considered Awami National Party (ANP)¹⁰³ as competitor in that constituency. ANP after an initial alliance with PPP, had broken away to become allied with Pakistan Muslim League (led by the industrialist from Punjab, Mian Nawaz Sharif). The emergence of Taliban at such a juncture, even if one accepts the argument of them being totally indigenous, fitted into Pakistani decision makers' vision of Pakistani interests in Afghanistan.

Pashtun Nationalists and Taliban

One must quickly point out another interesting feature of this era. Although the makers of the Pakistan policy to support Taliban were doing it with the exclusion of these Pashtun nationalists, many among them [from both sides of the Durand Line, however, not the mainstream parties that opposed them from beginning] were sympathetic towards Taliban. They argued that the Taliban being traditional religious people, not connected to the Pan Islamism of Hezb-I-Islami of Afghanistan or JI of Pakistan, coming from Kandahar¹⁰⁴, and not very educated in terms of running a modern state, and more importantly, almost wholly being composed of Pashtuns would in the long run be beneficial to Pashtuns. They were expecting that once the Taliban had ousted the Rabbani government, they would welcome King Zahir Shah and other Afghan expatriates from Europe and North America, who would have the required expertise to rebuild the states. Another interesting component of the Taliban was some former Khalqis.¹⁰⁵ The Pashtun nationalists were fast disillusioned when

¹⁰³ ANP was formed in 1986, according to some at the behest of Afghan communists, who wanted to rival the religious appeal of its opponents to Pashtun identity. A large number of leftist political parties from all over Pakistan joined it, however, its leadership was given to Khan Abdul Wali Khan, the Pashtun nationalist leader. Interview with Mukhtiar Bacha dated 15 January 2004.

¹⁰⁴ At least one very prominent Pashtun nationalist remarked to this writer in 1995, that any movement that emerges from Kandahar has historically been in the interest of Pashtuns. Taliban origin there thus makes them in the interest of Pashtuns. This is confirmed by a number of Pashtun Nationalist activists in personal interviews with this author including Abid Jan Dir, Zakir Hussain Batkhela and Sahib Shah Sabir Sakha Kot, all in Malakand Division NWFP. A number of Pashtuns from Afghanistan at a workshop at Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar, in September 2006, expressed their expectations of the Taliban to give up government in Kabul to King Zahir Shah or other educated Pashtuns, once they had taken control of Kabul. This was a failure of the liberal Pashtun Nationalist in comprehending Pakistani Strategic Culture, which thrives on threat perceptions from India. King Zahir Shah or Pashtun Nationalists from either side of the Durand Line, due to their past or in some cases present connections with India, simply could not have gained anything out of a move supported by the Pakistani military establishment.

¹⁰⁵ Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was divided into two factions, Parchamies and Khalqis, named after the newspapers Parcham (Flag) and Khalq (people) both factions published, much before the communist revolution of 1978. Khalq mainly consisted of Pashtuns, while Parcham membership was

Taliban entered Kabul and the treatment¹⁰⁶ they meted out to former President Najibullah, who had taken refuge in the UN compound since 1992. In all fairness it must be pointed out that not all Pashtun nationalists supported Taliban. ANP and PashtunKhwa Milli Awami Party (PMAP) [Pro Pashtun National Peoples Party] led by Mahmud Khan Achakzai, mainly based in the Pashtun areas of Balochistan had opposed the rise of Taliban from their beginning in 1994.¹⁰⁷

Continued Pakistani Support to Taliban till 9/11

Pakistan continued its support for Taliban till September 2001, even though most of the original supporters of Taliban had gradually backed out. The extent and comprehensiveness of this Pakistani support has been well illustrated by the Human Rights Watch:

Lined up with the Taliban is Pakistan, which has supported various factions within Afghanistan since at least the 1970s. Official denials notwithstanding, Pakistan has provided the Taliban with military advisers and logistical support during key battles, has bankrolled the Taliban, has facilitated transshipment of arms, ammunition, and fuel through its territory, and has openly encouraged the recruitment of Pakistanis to fight for the Taliban. In flagrant violation of the U.N. sanctions imposed in December 2000, Pakistan has continued to permit arms to cross its borders into Taliban-controlled territory. According to sources in Afghanistan and Pakistan, in April and May 2001 up to thirty trucks were crossing the border at Torkham daily en route to Jalalabad; at least some of these were carrying tank rounds, artillery shells, and rocket-propelled grenades. Pakistani antipersonnel and anti-vehicle mines have been found in Afghanistan. Observers interviewed by Human Rights Watch in Afghanistan and Pakistan have also reported that Pakistani aircraft assisted with troop rotations of Taliban forces during combat operations in late 2000 and that senior members of Pakistan's intelligence agency and army were involved in planning military operations. A range of private and semi-private agencies in Pakistan has provided enormous support to the Taliban with the full knowledge of government officials, even when their actions violated Pakistani law. In addition, Saudi Arabia has provided funds and heavily subsidized fuel to the Taliban, through Pakistan, while private actors and some officials benefit from the smuggling that links these countries. The extent of outside support, particularly during the Taliban's northern offensive in late 2000, was noted by U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan in a November 2000 report to the General Assembly.¹⁰⁸

This policy of supporting Taliban was taking Pakistan towards an international as well as regional isolation. The international community as well as regional states had increasing become wary of Taliban policies, both domestic and foreign. Pakistani policy makers could

mainly non Pashtun. However, the ethnic basis of the divide was not absolute as President Najibullah was a Parcham member, even though he was a Pashtun.

¹⁰⁶ President Najibullah, was dragged out of UN compound and hanged to a pole in central Kabul, where his dead body remained for three days. Daily, *The News* Islamabad, 27 September 1996.

¹⁰⁷ Ahmad Rashid, 1998, pp. 81

¹⁰⁸ Human Rights Watch Report 'Afghanistan: Crisis of Impunity, The Role of Pakistan, Russia and Iran in Fuelling the War' Vol. 13, No. 3 (C). Also available on the internet at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/afghan2>, July 2001. accessed 20 January 2004.

not convince themselves, to give up the opportunity that had almost been realised, to control Afghanistan, to the exclusion of anyone else, especially India, and Iran. United States backed out of supporting Taliban, when it was reported that the Osama Bin Laden had returned to Afghanistan in 1996. In fact, he was one of the major financiers of Taliban. By 1988 this distancing of US from Taliban turned into outright opposition, when evidence pointed towards Osama Bin Laden in the case of destruction of its embassy in Tanzania and Kenya. US missiles hit some alleged terrorist bases in Afghanistan and Sudan.¹⁰⁹ UNOCAL, the American oil giant, announced the abandoning of its plans to lay down oil and gas pipelines from Turkmenistan to Pakistan and beyond, through Afghanistan.¹¹⁰ However, Pakistan persisted with its policy of supporting Taliban, totally ignoring the international and regional developments.

This policy was not affected by the changes of government in Islamabad. PPP's government had been dismissed in 1996, which means that Gen. Babar or for that matter, JUI-F were no more in the government. JI remained in opposition to the new government of Nawaz Sharif as well. In 1999, through a military coup, Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf took control of the government of Pakistan. However, Pakistan's Afghan policy of supporting Taliban remained unaffected by these changes. Pakistani decision makers continued to view Taliban rule in Afghanistan as the best possible means of its goals in Afghanistan. Despite differences in approaches to domestic issues, even some international issues, this policy continued to receive support from a large variety of opinion, not just fundamentalist political parties. This included the JI, JUI, PML (from all its factions when it divided into pro and anti Nawaz Sharif factions after the Oct 1999 coup) from the right of the Pakistani politics. Gen. Naseerullah Babar of PPP continued to express strong support for Taliban,¹¹¹ even as his party, PPP, changed its stance from 1996 onwards.¹¹² With a few exceptions most of the intelligentsia, and for that matter not necessarily religious, was vocal in support of Taliban.¹¹³ Pashtun Nationalists changed their lukewarm attitude towards them, when Taliban hanged Najibullah in 1996 and it also became clear that they would not relinquish power in favour King Zahir Shah. To be fair one must acknowledge that political parties from rest of the country that had either nationalistic, democratic or left of the Centre leanings also opposed

¹⁰⁹ Daily 'The News', Islamabad, Aug. 21, 1998.

¹¹⁰ UNOCAL Statement: Suspension of activities related to proposed natural gas pipeline across Afghanistan <http://www.unocal.com/uclnews/98news/082198.htm>, 21 August 1998. Accessed 20 June 2004

¹¹¹ Maj Gen (retd) Naseerullah Babar continued to have sympathetic views towards Taliban even after 9/11. He expressed deep resentment over the US attacks on Afghanistan and condemned Pakistan government's support to them. He said it was very unfortunate that all efforts of Pakistan for the past 28 years were washed away by a decision of a "coward leader. He further commented that Pakistan's efforts and policy for the past more than 20 years has been totally abandoned and lost. "Daily Dawn Karachi, 9 October 2001.

¹¹² Statement by Pakistan People's Party spokesman, "Pakistan Should Distance Itself from Taliban: PPP", Daily Dawn, Karachi September 14, 2001

¹¹³ Support to Taliban from non religious circles was wide, especially in Punjab and Karachi, and has been extensively published. While Pashtun members of Parliament which included Asfandiyar Wali Khan and Afzal Khan [then a federal minister] of ANP, Mahmud Khan Achakzai of PMAP as well Syed Abbas Shah of Muslim League (an ethnic Pashtun) condemned Taliban treatment of Najibullah as well as their policies, MP from Punjab Raja Afzal, Ijaz-ul-Haq (son of Gen. Zia Ul Haq) Sheikh Rashid and others supported them. Read for details Daily, 'Business Recorder' Islamabad, 29 September 1996.

the policy of supporting Taliban. To this list some Non Government Organisations also must be added. They argued that support for Taliban in Afghanistan would not remain confined to that state only. It would also promote Talibanization of Pakistani state and Society. They were also wary of the influence on Pakistani state's Kashmir policy, which was increasingly being conducted in the style of Mujahideen resistance to Soviet Union during the 1980s. The influence of such a policy on Pakistan-India relations was negative and alarming, they argued.¹¹⁴ However, these arguments did not come from those having much influence in the decision-making circles and so had no real impact on the final policy decisional outcomes.

The foreign office had also expressed reservations about continued support for Taliban, including some individual voices of stronger opposition to the pro Taliban policy. However, these were successfully countered by the very powerful ISI. Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) has not only successfully advocated that Pakistan recognise the Taliban as Afghanistan's government, but also indicates that the ISI has warded off Pak Foreign Ministry "attempts to close certain Madrassas (religious schools) in the tribal agencies and near the Afghan border, which have been the spawning grounds for Taliban hard-liners."¹¹⁵

CONCLUSIONS

Pakistan's Afghan Policy remained the same as it had matured in 1989, with minor adjustments according to demands of changing times, experiences and opportunities. That policy was simply to have a government in Afghanistan, which would be very close, (if one wants to avoid calling it controlled by; officially it is referred to as 'friendly government') to it. India must be kept away from Afghanistan at all costs. Durand Line issue must be buried and as such Pashtun nationalists, especially the heirs to the political legacy of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, should be kept away from any connection with those who have power in Kabul, which has translated into support for non-secular and religious Pashtuns as tools for furthering Pakistan's Afghan policy. The continuation of this policy was due to the fact that no real change had taken place in the decision-making process of Pakistani state. The essential ingredients of the postcolonial state and military dominance of Pakistani state that sustained the India centric foreign policy remained unchanged. A religious militarist mind set, still dominant feudal societal relations, sustained the decision-making in which there was very little, if any, room for independent inputs. Political governments along with the Foreign Office bureaucracy have generally played a conformist role, with little if any role in substantive policy making.¹¹⁶ Institutionally Army remained (and remains so to date)

¹¹⁴ Discussions with representatives of various Political Parties and Non Governmental Organisations working for peace which included Political Parties Pakistan Awami Tehreek (Pakistan Peoples Movement) mainly based in rural Sindh headed by Rassol Baksh Paleejo, Balochistan National Movement and Pakistan National Party based in Balochistan, and Pakistan Labour Party and Pakistan Sarailki Party based in Punjab. The NGOs include Pakistan Peace Coalition, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Citizens Peace Committee Islamabad/Rawalpindi

¹¹⁵ U.S. Embassy (Islamabad) Cable, 'Pakistan [Excised] On Afghanistan, HUA, Bin Laden,' February 27, 1997.

¹¹⁶ Waseem Mohammad, 2002, p. 266

dominant; rather its role was been further strengthened.¹¹⁷ In the post Zia elected governments, the ISI appeared to have exercised a veto power in some crucial foreign policy matters in the region.

It was in this background, that Pakistani decision makers were suddenly faced with a radically different international and regional situation. On September 11 2001, terrorists attacked the Twin Towers in New York and Pentagon, killing thousands in the process. White house was also a target, however, the terrorists failed in hitting it. US quickly determined the source to be from the sanctuary of Taliban ruled Afghanistan. This brought two streams of information in Pakistan's foreign policy decision-making, history and domestic system into conflict with streams of information or inputs from its external environment. It was in this background that Pakistan had very limited choices in the aftermath of that fateful day, which are the subject of our next chapter.

¹¹⁷ For a thorough and in depth study of Military domination of Pakistani state and society read, Rizvi Hasan Rizvi, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, Sang-e-Meel Publishers, Lahore, 2003.

Chapter 3

PAKISTAN'S AFGHAN POLICY SHIFT: RESPONSE TO THE WAR ON TERRORISM

This chapter focuses on the making of the Pakistan's Afghan policy shift as a result of 9/11, thus building on the preceding chapter that described and explained Pakistan's Afghan policy till September 2001. On that fateful day Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy stood in direct conflict with the International Community led by United States of America. The focus of this chapter is to identify how Pakistan chose the particular response that it did. Pakistan decided to become part of the global alliance against terrorism woven by United States. Consequently it changed its Afghan policy, at least as far as it was based on an all out support for Taliban. This chapter argues that the policy shift was more a result of the top leadership realising the impossibility of choosing any other option than going along with the international coalition. The domestic opinion was at best divided about it. The opposition to this change significantly came from part of the dominant sections of the state and society. Important segments of the policy-making elite and significantly, the erstwhile allies, who had gradually become partners, of the Pakistani state establishment, the religious groups opposed this change. In this decision external factors and the top leadership, and the person of President Musharraf were crucial to the final outcome. While the decision to support Taliban after 1994, till 2001, was more a result of domestic processes and perceptions, which by and large suited external inputs as well, the decision to change it after 9/11 was more a result of external considerations and influences in contradiction with domestic sources. Accordingly this chapter first explains the international system when 9/11 happened followed by the regional environment. The chapter concludes with identification of the options that were available to Pakistan in that international and regional environment and how Pakistan made its choice? Thus identifying a contradiction in a response suggested by its strategic culture and the decision it had to take. This contradiction, which still persists, has resulted in deep polarization in Pakistani state and society; the persistence in the pro Taliban thrust of Pakistan's Strategic culture, sometimes results in actions and statements, that continue to fuel allegations of Pakistan not fully cooperating in the 'War against Terrorism' or even of Pakistan giving support to the Taliban.

INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Taking a pluralist view of the international system this study views it as system of interaction at multiple levels and through multiple channels with much less control by the state with every passing day. The process of state erosion had started much earlier however, received a boost from the end of cold war. The significance of the end of Cold War is more in the weakening of statism rather than in the defeat of Communism or Soviet Union.

The erosion of state sovereignty in the wake of economic globalisation, and technological revolution has meant not just the rise of an assertive global civil society with focus on respect for human rights and rule of law and other issues of common interest to the humanity, like peace, environmental degradation and development, but it has also facilitated communications between a different type of non state actors as well, more significantly, violent challengers to the international order, commonly referred to as terrorists, international criminal mafias involved in illicit drug as well as weapons trade. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon or a new challenge, however, its intensity, magnitude and level has reached a higher stage, and so has the reaction to it. It needs to be emphasized that in the post 9/11 era the fight between international terrorism and international society has become a core issue of international relations, without fundamentally altering them.

The horrendous events of September 11, 2001, dramatic and devastating as they were, do not point towards emergence of a totally new phenomenon. They brought home to many, changes that were taking place already. Even terrorism as such was not a new phenomenon; however, "the new age of terrorism began in 1993 with the first attempt to destroy the World Trade Centre, followed by a conspiracy to kill 4,000 air travellers more or less simultaneously by destroying 11 jumbo jets over pacific in 1995, the killing of 224 people in east Africa {US} embassy bombings, which were meant to be a part of a still larger attack in 1998, the attempt to kill hundreds in simultaneous attacks in the US and Jordan around the time of the Millennium, and the successful killing of thousands in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania this year. It is not clear whether all these attacks were the work of Al-Qaeda, but it is nearly certain that one or more of the conspirators in each of these cases sojourned in Afghanistan and had contact with senior Al-Qaeda figures."¹¹⁸ The point is, while not questioning the magnitude of the September 11 events, the phenomenon behind the events was not a new creation and similarly the reactions to it were also not totally new, without any foundations in prior developments. The real significance of 9/11, as the day is now commonly referred to, is that on that fateful day some long continuing processes reached a certain culminating point. The conflict fault lines became clearer. Terrorism had by then been long recognised the emerging challenge to world order and system of independent states. The remaining super power of the post cold war world order, United States of America, had long recognised the threat posed by it.¹¹⁹ The significance of 9/11 lies in the fact that it intensified what was already in the process. It brought home the fact that

¹¹⁸ Simon Steven, & Benjamin Daniel, 'The Terror, *'Survival'*, Vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2001-02 p.5

¹¹⁹ Laura K. Donohue: In the Name of National Security: U.S. Counterterrorist Measures, 1960-2000. BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001-6, ESDP Discussion Paper ESDP-2001-04, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, August 2001.

international relations and society has changed, but the methods of its management have seen no corresponding change.

A very defining characteristic of the post cold war world order is an ongoing controversy over US unilateralism and the emphasis on rule of law and more assertiveness of international organisations, like United Nations. There was a debate within the United States as well, however, for our purposes more significant is the fact of a difference of perception between United States and Western Europe on the issue. United States taking the view, becoming more pronounced during the Republican Presidency, of unilateral US leadership of the world and Western Europe, especially France, Germany and Russia taking the more multilateral approach. The difference that has become very well known after the recent US war against Saddam ruled Iraq and major European powers, with the exception of UK, is not something new, rather the Iraq war only highlighted the simmering difference between the two sides of the Atlantic. 9/11 had temporarily subdued these differences as there was no need for US unilateral action, due to the almost unanimous support it received for its 'War against Terrorism'.

United States of America as the main architect of the International System

United States of America remained the sole super power after the end of Cold War, with both military and economic global strength, interests and reach, and a political will to demonstrate that. "Yet it was (prior to September 11 2001) uncertain as to how to exert this, wavering between a multilateral approach, favoured by Clinton... and the unilateral, which is not the same as isolationist, policy favoured by Bush. The signs of that unilateralism were evident enough in the first few months: rejection of Kyoto, stalling on OECD regulation of tax heavens, sliding out of chemical warfare conventions, national missile defense system, and sneering at the UN, to name but a few."¹²⁰

A new sense of vulnerability in the West, [this sense is present in the rest of the world as well however, the intensity may not be as much] especially in the United States, has emerged in the wake of 9/11. If this is the kind of damage that could be done by a handful of people willing to commit suicide, employing creative imagination but zero level primary technology, what would be the impact of a really full-scale attack going chemical, biological or even nuclear? The concept of "asymmetric"¹²¹ security threats moved in an instant from abstraction to alarming reality. In America the shock of losing both the physical and psychological protection of the geographic separation as well as super power status, has been particularly acute, but the shock of 9/11 has been felt everywhere around the world. This is certainly affecting the way governments behave toward each other.

The United States both due to being the direct target of 9/11 as well as being the sole super power with global reach, capabilities, interests and willingness [a willingness that has

¹²⁰ Halliday Fred., "A New Global Configuration" in *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order*, (Ed.) Booth., Ken and Dunne., Tim, Palgrave, New York, 2002 p.236.

¹²¹ Asymmetric threats refers to the threats posed to great powers by seemingly small and insignificant powers or groups, unlike that posed by equal or apparently equal powers like the threat posed by Soviet Union was during the cold war. The conflict between Terrorists and the US led alliance is the best and current example.

increased since 9/11] to act has emerged as the leading power in the 'War against Terrorism'. It was United States that declared 'War on Terrorism'¹²² and is providing leadership for it, both materially and politically. United States has thus come out with a strategy to deal with global terrorism. Even before being presented as a coherent document, the outlines of the strategy were visible. President Bush, while declaring 'War on Terrorism' outlined the basics of US strategy. He underlined the significance of global alliance under US leadership mainly dependent on American military might for the War against Terrorism'. He also emphasised the non-military, political, social and economic aspects of the War. He clearly drew the lines, leaving no room for neutrality, "I will put every nation on notice that these duties involve more than sympathy or words. No nation can be neutral in this conflict, because no civilised nation can be secure in a world threatened by terror."¹²³ The events of 9/11 received universal condemnation, which quickly translated into support for the 'War against Terrorism' and drew supporters not just from allies, in Europe or elsewhere, but states such as Peoples Republic of China and Russia also gave support to the United States. The UN Security Council resolutions¹²⁴ on the subject reflected this global consensus. The immediate task or the first stage of the 'War against Terrorism' to remove Taliban regime in Afghanistan, accused of protecting Osama Bin Laden and a large number of terrorists from around the world was achieved soon. In that war almost the whole world politically or materially supported United States. The basics of a new US strategy later to be christened as the Bush Doctrine were in place much earlier. Bush spelled out his vision of the world after 9/11 in a speech¹²⁵ before being presented as a coherent Doctrine and conceptual basis for US blue print for the future. The National Strategy Report¹²⁶ published later develops the theme in a full-fledged strategic concept outlining the shape of things to come, or rather have already started happening. That speech pointed towards the direction, United States intends to construct the post 9/11 international system.

According to British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Terrorism "is an aftershock of the mistakes made after 1989. Not in the simple sense that it was sustained by the West as part of the Cold War effort – but in the deeper sense that the West combined triumphalism with a failure to deliver change."¹²⁷ What Blair meant was that the post cold war international

¹²² President Bush Announced 'War Against Terrorism' in the President Address to the Joint Session of Congress on 20 September, 2001. <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/01092051.htm> Accessed 15 February 2004.

¹²³ Remarks by the President Bush to the Warsaw Conference on Combating Terrorism, held 6 November 2001 in Turin Italy, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011106-2.html>, Accessed 20 Feb, 2004.

¹²⁴ Relevant UN Security Council Resolution are; S/RES/1377(2001) on the adoption of declaration on the global effort to combat terrorism S/RES/1373(2001) on international cooperation to combat threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts. For all the UN SC resolutions on Terrorism visit. <http://www.un.org/terrorism/sc.htm>. accessed 25 Feb 2004.

¹²⁵ Bush., George W., 'Remarks by the President at 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.' Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html> Accessed 2 April 2004

¹²⁶ 'The National Security Strategy of the United States of America', White House, Washington D.C. 2002.

¹²⁷ Leonard., Mark, "The Contours of a World Community" in *Re-Ordering the World* Edited by Mark Leonard, The Foreign Policy Centre, London, 2002, p. x. Also read, Cooly. John K., *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*, Penguin, New Delhi, 2001.

system required a deeper and more comprehensive engagement from the western powers, rather than withdrawal which can at least partially describe the developed states post cold war policies towards the non western world generally and Afghanistan (and Pakistan) specifically.

The mind set that ran the white house in 2001 did not come out suddenly with new ideas and strategies. The 'Defence planning guidance' 1992 argued for more US military engagement in world affairs; for unilateral use of force if necessary and more significantly an active policy for not letting any state develop the capability of challenging US supremacy.¹²⁸

Identification of terrorism as serious threat had been made much before 9/11.¹²⁹ US would use military force under the Bush–Cheney Presidency with Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense relatively easier than their democratic predecessors was evident much before 9/11. It was only a matter of time for the use of US military force in Afghanistan. In fact such indications had been there for quite some time. US officials had been repeatedly telling Pakistani decision makers of their seriousness of intent in this regard.¹³⁰ Niaz A. Naik, a former Pakistani Secretary of Foreign Affairs was told by some Americans much before 9/11 of US plans to attack Afghanistan.¹³¹ The 'War against Terrorism' in Afghanistan, could begin soon after the September 11th attacks only because the CIA already had covert action assets in the area; the prior efforts of the Clinton administration against Osama bin Laden were essential in creating the instruments that made CIA Director George Tenet's presentation of a covert campaign plan to President Bush so persuasive.¹³²

"Even before George W. Bush took over as President, his election campaign had abundantly indicated that a Republican administration would pay careful attention to managing the central challenge facing the United States: creating a durable preponderance capable of warding off any threats that may issue from rising powers in the future. The administration's early months in office focused on slowly putting myriad pieces of this strategy into place. These efforts, however, were violently eclipsed by the shocking events of September 11, which shifted overnight President Bush's focus on preserving U.S. primacy to directing a new global war on terrorism. The 'War against Terrorism' became so

¹²⁸ Dick Cheney the current Vice President was the Secretary of Defence in 1992 when his office, drafted the 1992 policy statement on America's mission in the post-Cold War era. Called the "Defense Planning Guidance," it is an internal set of military guidelines that typically is prepared every few years by the Defense Department. This policy guidance is distributed to military leaders and civilian Defense Department heads to provide them with a geopolitical framework for assessing their force level and budgetary needs. For details visit

http://articles.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1111/is_1829_305/ai_92589441. accessed 20 May 2004.

¹²⁹ Laura K. Donohue. 'In the Name of National Security: U.S. Counterterrorist Measures, 1960-2000'. BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001-6, ESDP Discussion Paper ESDP-2001-04, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, August 2001.

¹³⁰ Judah Tim, "The Taliban Papers" *Survival: The IISS Quarterly*, London, vol. 44, no. 1, Spring 2002, pp 69-80 at p.69-70 Tim Judah's article is based on a rare treasure of information that he got from Pakistani embassy in Kabul, after the fall of Taliban.

¹³¹ Mr Naik told the BBC that at the meeting the US representatives told him that unless Bin Laden was handed over swiftly America would take military action to kill or capture both Bin Laden and the Taliban leader, Mullah Umar. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1550366.stm. Accessed 15 May 2004.

¹³² Bob Woodward and Dan Balz, "At Camp David, Advise and Dissent," Daily '*Washington Post*' Washington, January 31, 2002.

encompassing that before long the administration's initial focus on positioning the United States to handle the challenges of global geo-politics had all but disappeared from public view, to be replaced by a new, almost pervasive, emphasis on the 'War against Terrorism'. In reality, the situation was more complex. Although the rhetoric might have suggested that winning the campaign against terrorism was the sole national objective, the administration prosecuted this effort while simultaneously pursuing those issues critical to preserving American primacy and maintenance of U.S. preponderance over the long term"¹³³.

The International system on the eve of 9/11 was underwritten by US as the sole super power with no serious or equal challengers, both in military terms and economic terms, with a policy of unilateral engagement worldwide backed by US military hegemony and presence around the globe. Most of the substance of 'Bush Doctrine' was already in place.

So, it was in such context that the world was asked to adjust accordingly. And in the atmosphere of the immediate aftermath of 9/11 choices for the rest of the world were not many. They were even less for Pakistan.

The Regional Context; United States, South Asia and Afghanistan

Understanding of the US relations with Pakistan and India and its policy towards Taliban is vital for understanding the regional context for our study. South Asia had been one of the lowest priority regions for United States. Afghanistan, after the end of cold war stood even lower. The end of the Cold War changed US South Asia policy in three ways. First, the Soviet Union was no longer the decisive factor in US formulation of its policy towards South Asia; instead, Washington began to view the subcontinent from a regional perspective and started to deal with India and Pakistan in a different manner. Second, US interests and threats to these interests came from within, rather than from outside the region. Economic liberalisation, nuclear non-proliferation, anti terrorism, narcotics trafficking control, and promotion of democracy became the main US policy goals in South Asia.¹³⁴ Third, in the late 1990s, the United States began to tilt toward India, as Washington and New Delhi turned from 'estranged democracies' of the Cold War to 'engaged democracies' in the post-Cold War era.¹³⁵

The tilt was visible in the following. Firstly, the US developed a comprehensive and institutionalised relationship with India, covering broad fields such as economic ties, political dialogue and military exchanges. Secondly, the US adopted a policy on the Kashmir issue, calling for respect of the Line of Control (LOC), advocating direct dialogue between India and Pakistan, and opposing the use of force to resolve the dispute that was more favourable to India. Thirdly, the US recognised India's leading position in South Asia and its important

¹³³ Tellis., Ashley J., and Wills., Michael (Editors), *Strategic Asia 2004–05: Confronting Terrorism in the Pursuit of Power*, Sept 2004, National Bureau of Asian Research, Washington, pp 5-6.

¹³⁴ Guihong Zhang, "US Security Policy towards South Asia after September 11 and its Implications for China: A Chinese Perspective", in '*Strategic Analysis*' A Monthly Journal of the IDSA, New Delhi, April-June 2003 Vol. XXVII No. 2. p. 89.

¹³⁵ See Dennis Kux, "India and the United States: Estranged Democracies 1941–1991" in Kanti Bajpai and Amitabh Mattoo, (Ed.), *Engaged Democracies: India–US Relations in the 21st Century*, Har Anand Publications Pvt. Ltd.; New Delhi. 2000.

role broadly, and began to collaborate more with New Delhi in international affairs. Fourthly, India became the largest recipient in South Asia of US development and food aid¹³⁶: US assistance to India in financial year 2000 reached a total of \$170 million, the second largest amount in all of Asia (second only to Indonesia) and more than 45 times that of Pakistan's (\$3.78 million).¹³⁷

US tilt towards India did mean 'India first', however, it must not be translated as 'India only'. Pakistan could not be and so was not ignored totally. US stressed restraint by both sides; respect for the Line of Control; renewal of dialogue; and rejection of violence. President Clinton in his South Asia tour of March 1999¹³⁸ made it a point to stop in Pakistan; however, briefly, to symbolise that US has not totally abandoned Pakistan. Clinton expressed strong US opposition to terrorism throughout the region and pressed Pakistan to use its influence with the Taliban in Afghanistan to curb terrorist training camps and to put an end to their continued hosting of Osama bin Laden. A senior US official pointed out what Pakistan needed: "It needs better governance. It needs to end its dangerous associations with extremist groups in the region. It needs to demonstrate restraint, practically on the ground in Kashmir. It needs to find ways to renew, broaden, and deepen dialogue with India. It needs to stay away from adventures like Kargil. It needs to use its influence with the Taliban in Afghanistan to end that war, to shut down terrorist training camps and to bring terrorists to justice. It needs to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and demonstrate restraint in developing weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them."¹³⁹

When George W. Bush became the newest resident of the White House in January 2001, his Republican Administration continued the Clinton policy of engagement in South Asia, with a special emphasis on US-India relations. The security field was the first beneficiary of transforming US-Indian relations. The Bush Administration de-emphasised non-proliferation as the sole determinant of US policy towards India and moved away from its demands for India's signing of the CTBT to a discussion of President Bush's proposed 'new strategic framework'.¹⁴⁰

In July 2001, General Henry Shelton, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) became the highest ranking US military official to visit India since 1998. Of particular significance was the announcement about reviving the meetings of the Defence Policy Group (DPG), the key institution providing overall direction to defence cooperation between the two countries. In the week before September 11, 2001, US officials were readying a briefing for congressional staff to inform them that the Bush Administration was preparing to suspend all

¹³⁶ Guihong Zhang, 2003, pp. 88-103.

¹³⁷ Lum, Thomas, 'US Foreign Aid to East and South Asia: Selected Recipients', Congress Research Service Report for Congress, April 10, 2002. pp.19 -23.
<http://www.fpc.state.gov/documents/organisation/9661.pdf>. Accessed 29 May 2004

¹³⁸ Details of President Clinton's visit are available online at
<http://usembassy.state.gov/islamabad/wwwhp009.html>

¹³⁹ Riedel, Bruce, 'New Opportunities in US-South Asia Relations: An Assessment of President Clinton's Visit to India', CASI Occasional Paper, No.12, May 9, 2000.

¹⁴⁰ Lee., Feinstein, 'When Policy Priorities Converge: US Relations with India and Pakistan' in 'A New Equation: U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan After September 11', Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Working Paper No. 27, May 2002, p. 5

nuclear-related sanctions on India, while leaving in place many sanctions that limited US assistance to Pakistan.¹⁴¹

While sharing many common interests with India, the United States encountered many frictions in its relations with Pakistan. On the non-proliferation front, Pakistan refused to suspend its missile programme or sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the CTBT unless India did so first. Moreover, Islamabad had close links with Islamic extremist groups and provided active support for the Kashmir insurgency, which were based and trained in Pakistan. Pakistan also backed the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and was one of only three countries that formally recognised the regime. And lastly, Musharraf's military rule posed further problems; the US asked Islamabad to restore civil government and return to democracy, but there was little progress made. As a result, before September 11, a marginalised Pakistan had a low priority on Bush's agenda.¹⁴²

US policy towards Taliban changed from sympathy and understanding and expectations of a role to promote its interests to a gradual distancing and then outright enmity over the period of 1994 to 2000. The most public show of distancing between US and Taliban was the US missiles hitting alleged terrorist camps in Afghanistan in August of that 1998. U.S had been pursuing a policy of convincing every one, especially Pakistan and Taliban of their serious and real intention to use military force, if Osama Bin Laden was not handed over and terrorist camps closed inside Afghanistan.¹⁴³ It was signal weakness of Pakistani decision-making process not to realize that their honeymoon with Taliban can not continue forever. They must act to change their game in Afghanistan before it was too late.

US and South Asia immediately after 9/11

The United States was quick in identifying and holding Osama Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda network as responsible for the terrorism of 9/11.¹⁴⁴ Taliban ruled Afghanistan had long been recognised as a sanctuary for international terrorism. The fact that Osama Bin Laden was in the protection of the Taliban government meant the War against Terrorism though global would start in Afghanistan. It needs no great mind to understand that the geographic location of Afghanistan meant serious implications for its surroundings. Afghanistan lying at the juncture of Central, South and West Asia meant that all these regions would be impacted by the imminent war.

"The attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon turned US' South Asia policy temporarily upside down, bringing Pakistan to Centre stage and putting parts of the US-India agenda on hold."¹⁴⁵ As South Asia scholar Stephen P. Cohen has said, no part of the world

¹⁴¹ *ibid.* p.7.

¹⁴² Guihong Zhang, 90

¹⁴³ Rasanayagam Angelo, 2003, pp. 214-245.

¹⁴⁴ Statement of Colin Powell, US Secretary of State. Daily, *The News Islamabad*, 13 September 2001. Also read Washington Post, Washington D.C of the same date.

¹⁴⁵ Schaffer, Teresita C., 'The U.S. and South Asia: New Priorities, Familiar Interests', *Global Beat* Issue Brief, No. 66 at <http://www.nyu.edu/globalbeat/pubs/ib66.html>. Accessed on 15 May, 2004.

was more affected by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 than South Asia.¹⁴⁶ The United States quickly identified Osama Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organisation as responsible for the tragedy. This meant Afghanistan under Taliban rule would be the target of any campaign if it continued to refuse handing over of Al-Qaeda and closing down of terrorist training camps. Pakistan at that time had remained the only State friendly and supportive of Taliban.¹⁴⁷ India found this as a golden opportunity. It had long been accusing Pakistan to be a state sponsor of terrorism. India had been demanding from United States much earlier to declare Pakistan as such. Now given the close relations Pakistan had with Taliban, whose refusal to hand over Osama Bin Laden, meant they were to be considered as equally responsible for being protectors and abettors of terrorists, meant Pakistan was also as much responsible. India offered all out support to United States in its War against Terrorism. It argued that war against terrorism would not be a real war against terrorism if it spares Pakistan.¹⁴⁸ Other States of the region, like those of rest of the world condemned Terrorism and support for War against Terrorism. Regional states including Peoples Republic of China, the five Central Asian States as well as Russia also supported United States in its new War. Iran, however, though condemned terrorism and sympathised with US people, did not agree to become part of any international effort led by United States.

The Regional Scenario on the eve of 9/11

Pakistan is part of both South Asia and West and Central Asia. Pakistan's foreign policy in both regions, however, has direct impact on each other. This is more so when one is looking at Pakistan's Afghan policy, due to the geographic location of Afghanistan. Afghanistan and Iran connects Pakistan with Central and West Asia. The significant geopolitics of the region that provided the regional context for Pakistan must take into account Iran, the Central Asian republics, Peoples Republic of China and India in their relations to Taliban ruled Afghanistan and the impact of Pakistani support for Taliban on their relations with Pakistan. Due to centrality of India to Pakistan's foreign policy, Pakistan India relations on the eve of 9/11 must be taken into account. The study of the regional context would not be complete without understanding the evolving US relations and policy towards Pakistan and India, discussed above. This sub section would deal with studying this regional context for and inputs into Pakistani decision of joining the US led War against Terrorism in Afghanistan.

¹⁴⁶ Cohen, Stephen P., *India: Emerging Power*, The Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC. 2001, p. xiii.

¹⁴⁷ Besides Pakistan Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates were the only states who had recognized Taliban government as the legitimate and legal government of Afghanistan. However, both of them downgraded relations with Taliban, due to the activities of Osama Bin Laden, who remained in Taliban protection.

¹⁴⁸ To have an idea of how India jumped up on that occasion and continued to be in that state for a long time look at the large numbers of articles published on the Web. Check these sites <http://www.terrorism.reallybites.com>, <http://www.armyinkashmir.org/articles/lindia.html>, <http://www.kashmiripandit.org/elibrary/pakrole/experts.html>, Date accessed 21 April 2003.

Regional Great Game

A regional 'great game' was being played on the chessboard of Central Asia after the dismemberment of Soviet Union. Central Asia's significance lay in the vast Oil and Gas reserves it held. Afghanistan was a central part of that game board. Taliban ruled Afghanistan backed by Pakistan had become a move that was eliciting different responses from other players. This game was seeing strange bedfellows. Islamic revolutionary Iran found common cause with secular India, and an overlapping of interests with Russia and Tajikistan. Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan standing a little aloof from the just mentioned emerging grouping, shared the suspicions of Taliban with it. Turkey, though not formally a part of the Central or South Asian region, was and remains an important player due to its ethnic/racial connection with almost all of the Central Asian Republics. Turkey, despite its historic suspicion of Russia and being not on very good relations with Iran, also found the anti Taliban perceptions of the above mentioned states closer to its interests. Peoples Republic of China, another very significant power that has within its fold parts of Central Asian land mass (Xingjiang), had its own concerns about Taliban. They were mainly due to the reported terrorist training of Chinese Muslim dissidents in training camps in Afghanistan. It had (and still have) interests in Central Asian oil as well. Besides Pakistan, Turkmenistan was the only neighbour from Central Asia that was ready to do business with Afghanistan under Taliban. However, due to its (then) very close security relations with United States, besides Russian interests, it could not go its separate way more than a certain limit. One must quickly correct any impression of the emergence of a united front against Taliban in the region. These states had their own differences and rivalries and so were far from making a bloc. However, one point was common, and that was opposition to Taliban and more significantly, Pakistan's attempts to control Afghanistan in a manner that did not respond to their concerns and interests.¹⁴⁹ At minimum, no state in the region supported or shared Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy. The various regional states, for different purposes were wary of the Taliban and by extension did not consider Pakistani support for them as friendly. In short, Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy was fast taking it on the road of regional as well as international diplomatic isolation.

South Asia

In South Asia itself, tensions ran high between Pakistan and India. Both India and Pakistan had gone nuclear in 1998. Kargil episode¹⁵⁰ had put the two South Asian rivals on

¹⁴⁹ Khan Ijaz, "The Taliban, Iran and Central Asia: A View from Peshawar", in Monthly '*Central Asia Monitor*' No. 2. 1999. pp15-16.

¹⁵⁰ In 1999 Pakistan and India fought a mini war on the heights of Indian held Kashmir. India accused Pakistan of sending and occupying Indian posts on Kargil heights, which were normally left unguarded during winters. The militants occupying Kargil heights withdrew after being ordered by Mian Nawaz Sharif under direct US pressure. However, that episode started a process of heightened tensions between the two neighbours. India suspended all contacts with Pakistan, till according to it all cross border infiltration from Pakistan and 'terrorism' is ended by Pakistan. For an Indian perspective visit <http://www.rediff.com/news/kargil.htm>. For an international perspective read Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, Jamison Jo Medby, 2000 'Limited Conflict Under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis'. Report prepared Rand for US government, 2002, Also available at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1450/>. For a Pakistani perspective closer to the military establishment, read Mazari., Mazari, *The Kargil Conflict 1999*, Mr. Books, Islamabad, 2003.

collision path. That conflict remained contained due to, besides other factors, an immense and direct US pressure and role.¹⁵¹ Kargil defined the relations between India and Pakistan till much beyond 9/11.¹⁵² India refused to resume any dialogue till a total end to what it termed cross border infiltration of terrorists, supported by Pakistani state and closure of all terrorist training camps. India also refused any third party intervention in its disputes with Pakistan. Pakistan on its part kept asking for third party mediation and the centrality of Kashmir to her relations with India and intervention by third parties in helping to find solution to its conflict with India. By September 2001, Pakistan was heading towards international as well as regional isolation due to its support for Taliban. Iran as well as Peoples Republic of China was not happy with Pakistan's Afgan policy. To be fair one must point out the fact that Pakistan's persistence with the support for Taliban was also a result of misinterpretation of signals coming from United States, which immediately after Republican takeover of its Presidency revived contacts with Taliban.¹⁵³

PAKISTANI DECISION TO BECOME ALLY IN WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

Pakistani foreign policy managers were not oblivious to this unfavourable fallout of its Afgan policy. Pakistan was trying to build bridges between Taliban and the international community in general, and the Central Asian states, Iran and US more specifically. However, Pakistani policy was of trying to gain concessions and recognition for Taliban rather than joining their international detractors in condemning them or giving up support for them. Pakistan had attempted to reconcile its policy with that of Iran by trying to remove differences between the two neighbours.¹⁵⁴ Pakistan also tried to convince Taliban of the need to be mindful of US concerns about terrorism generally and Osama Bin Laden specifically. Pakistan also tried to convince the Central Asia States not to be suspicious of

¹⁵¹ Riedel Bruce, 'American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House' Policy Paper Series 2002. Centre for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania. 2002.

¹⁵² The tense relations continued till long after 9/11, when finally the ice was broken in January 2004, on the occasion of South Asian Association for Cooperation summit meeting in Islamabad, which was attended by Indian Prime Minister Atal Bahari Vajpai. More on this below in Chapter four.

¹⁵³ The U.S. government contacted Taliban 30 times between 1996, when the Taliban took Kabul, and the summer of 2001. The talks mainly Centred on US demands about Osama Bin Laden, however, US also showed interests in development of Oil and Gas routes, Declassified US State Department Report, "U.S Engagement with the Taliban on Usama Bin Laden", Secret, Circa July 16, 2001. As almost all these contacts were made through Pakistan, might have given the impression to Pakistani decision makers that if some how a way out is found on the row about Osama, US policy towards Taliban may change and hence Pakistan may be able to protect Taliban.

¹⁵⁴ Beg., Mirza Aslam, 'Rising Afghan-Iran Tension: Paradigm of Conflict Resolution', http://www.friends.org.pk/Beg/rising_afghan.htm. Date accessed 15 June 2004. Gen. (Retd.) Mirza Aslam Beg is a former Chief of Army Staff (1988–1992). He currently heads a think tank of which he is also the founder. At the above Web cite are present his articles on different aspects of Pakistan's security and foreign policy.

Taliban.¹⁵⁵ However, Pakistan remained steadfast in its policy of support for Taliban throughout. Pakistan had gradually become a spokesman for Taliban in international for a. Pakistani advices to Taliban were of a friendly nature, the purpose being to protect them and not change them in any substantial manner. Whether, Pakistan had not enough leverage with Taliban to make them do or not do things that would be harmful for their survival without being of any real significance or it was not willing to apply the leverage it had, is a question that needs a separate detailed enquiry. The real point is Pakistan considered Taliban to be their best bet in Afghanistan and it must do everything possible to convince the world that Taliban excesses may be ignored, while at the same trying to convince Taliban not to unnecessary annoy World opinion. The purpose was clear and that was to protect Taliban rule in Afghanistan.

However, there were divisions within the policy makers at both policy making and implementation level can be established from the excerpt below. On 18 19 January 2001, a Pakistani Foreign Ministry Envoys Conference was held in Islamabad to discuss Afghanistan. On 6 January, Arif Ayub, the Pakistani Ambassador to Kabul, submitted the paper he was to give. He wrote that Pakistan had to recognise the adverse consequences of our policy of supporting the Taliban. Foremost of these is the fact that the Taliban are perceived to be supporting terrorists and their training camps in Afghanistan, thus posing a threat to the international community particularly the regional countries including our close friends Saudi Arabia and China.

According to Ambassador Ayub, the problem was that, neither the US uni-dimensional Osama based policy of armed hostility and UN sanctions nor our policy of constructive engagement has been able to have any effect upon the Taliban to adopt a moderate stand on this issue. The visit of the head of the ISI to Mullah Omar he said, had led to the temporary closure of two camps, but apart from that, the standard responses when this issue is raised are firstly, the denial of the presence of foreign militants; secondly; the genuineness of their cause in fighting against US and Russian imperialism and corrupt and unrepresentative governments; and, thirdly, the adverse consequences on the Jihad in Kashmir in case the militants are restrained a Pakistan specific argument for maintaining the status quo. He said vigilance on our borders, porous though they are, needs to be increased in order to hinder what seems to be a free crossing for the terrorists. Controls on the border crossing can in fact be used as a bargaining point when discussing the issue with [the] Taliban. The activities of Arab and other NGOs in Peshawar, Quetta and Karachi (e.g. the Al-Rasheed Trust) which provide funds, safe havens and transit points for these terrorists also need to be monitored and blocked. Given this nexus of terrorist networks it was surprising to note that the Ministry of Interior had recently relaxed the entry of foreigners into Pakistan. This policy would have to be reviewed so that our security concerns are adequately addressed. Ayub went on to examine some of the real problems at the heart of Pakistan's policy dilemmas concerning Afghanistan. The Taliban, he said, found their roots in madrassas, or religious schools, in Pakistan and faced with [the] Kashmir issue we used these same religious groups to wage a proxy guerrilla war in the Indian occupied territories. Encouraged by the rise of the Taliban

¹⁵⁵ For details of Pakistani efforts in this regard go to the Web site of Pakistan Foreign Office at <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/foreignaffairs-division/policies/pak-fpolicy/pak-fpolicy.jsp>.

in Afghanistan their Pakistani compatriots are now envisioning the political control of Pakistan. He went on to explain that the Jehadi factions operating in Kashmir, Afghanistan and inside Pakistan see eye-to-eye with this objective. This also makes it difficult to have selective criteria of distinguishing sectarian terrorists (about 100) from the mass of Pakistan Taliban or Mujahideen (about 5000) in Afghanistan. It is important therefore to formulate a balanced policy, which would accommodate our religious elites as well as cater for our national interest and domestic security concerns and sustain this policy until the Taliban hopefully undergo the natural moderating process and surpass their ideas of tribalised fundamentalist Islam.

Ayub suggested, we have to highlight this particular point, that initiation of constructive dialogue with the Taliban will help dilute their rigid beliefs whereas their total isolation will further strengthen their radical policies and they will be encapsulated in their shell of fundamentalism. Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, the Pakistani High Commissioner to India, who also wrote a paper for the conference, thought a far more pro-active policy was required. He noted that Salman Haider, the former Indian foreign secretary, had told him that it was very obliging of Pakistan to have so completely isolated itself on the issue of Afghanistan but added that, if somehow the OBL issue were resolved India's current advantage over Pakistan with respect to the situation in Afghanistan and, to an extent, Kashmir could turn out to be very short-lived. Qazi told his audience that the issue of bin Laden and the fact that from 1996-97 reports that training camps were being set up in Afghanistan by the ISI and Pakistani Jihadi Tanzimaat [Organisations] that were specifically meant to train Mujahideen for Kashmir, had both alarmed India but also given it an opportunity to exploit western anxieties concerning Islamic extremism. We seem merely to have substituted the Taliban, at first reluctantly and now enthusiastically, for Hekmatyar. Because there was believed to be so much domestic support for the Taliban in Pakistan, he said, we find practical reasons to continue with policies that we know are never going to deliver and the eventual costs of which we also know will be overwhelming. We often speak of the need to talk plainly to the Taliban, to tell them to get their act together with respect to administering their country, to find some mutually acceptable solution to the problem of OBL (Osama Bin Laden), to stop providing safe havens for violent groups operating against countries with which we have friendly relations [but] almost all our colleagues involved with Afghan affairs will immediately tell us that neither the option of pressing the Taliban to modify some of their more unacceptable policies or replacing them are open to us. They say that the Taliban respond very little to persuasion and not at all to pressure. And they will add we cannot abandon them either, because that would lead to a power vacuum in Afghanistan which would be filled with anti-Pakistan elements. They would also argue that any withdrawal of support from the Taliban would immediately lead to political unrest in Pakistan.

We have no choice but somehow to resolve the OBL problem before addressing any other issue. With the help of US and other intelligence agencies irrefutable proof of OBL's abuse of the Taliban's hospitality and his pledge to them that he would not plan any activities from Afghan territory should be placed before Mullah Omar and his colleagues. The point could then be made that he has also endangered the security interests of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan and its closest ally, Pakistan. If the Taliban proved impervious to any argument, Pakistan should explore the possibility of encouraging a more moderate faction

within it.”¹⁵⁶ The long excerpt shows a very important fact of foreign policy decision-making in Pakistan. That is there are people in the establishment and especially foreign office who are able to read correct into the probable future and give timely advice. The issue is that due to military’s exclusive control of foreign policy decision-making, especially when it comes to Afghanistan, the system fails the country and its interests.

It was in this general regional and international scenario that 9/11 happened. The region as well as Pakistan had to adapt to the new situation. Due to the existing gulf between Taliban ruled Afghanistan and most of the regional states, these states found no difficulty in supporting the US led alliance getting ready to attack Taliban militarily. Peoples Republic of China, the Central Asian Republics, Iran and India did not waste any time in supporting the ‘War against Terrorism’. Central Asian Republics and India offered logistical and political support immediately. Peoples Republic of China supported the international effort politically. Iran, however, while condemning the terrorist attacks against civilians kept its distance from US led alliance. Pakistan had to take its decision in this general regional and international environment.

The International and regional developments described above, especially since 9/11, put Pakistan’s Afghan policy in direct conflict and contradiction to the International systemic demands. “The 11 September terrorist attacks on the USA presented Pakistan with a stark choice: either make common cause with Washington in its war against Osama bin Laden’s Al-Qaeda network, based in Taliban controlled neighbouring Afghanistan, or persist with its pro-Taliban Afghan policy and, as a consequence, suffer international condemnation from guilt by association. Within 24 hours of being asked by Washington whether he would side with the USA, President Gen Pervaiz Musharraf announced on 13 September that Pakistan would lend its “unstinted co-operation” to the USA.”¹⁵⁷ This was a fundamental change of direction. Taliban, who had been considered the backbone of Pakistan’s Afghan policy, had to be abandoned. Pakistani territory would be used for military strikes against them. Additionally, Pakistan would do everything possible to stem out any extremist organisations having links with Al-Qaeda or Taliban from within Pakistan.

Policy is both a set of goals to be achieved and the methods and means for its implementation. Changes in means do have implications for change in policy. Taliban were a tool of Pakistan’s foreign policy¹⁵⁸ and as it had become untenable to keep them, they were abandoned. International, regional as well as domestic institutional and individual inputs worked in a particular manner to make this particular foreign policy choice.

On 12 September, in a meeting with Pakistani ambassador to US Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, who was accompanied by ISI chief Gen. Mehmood, U.S Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage conveyed U.S expected fullest cooperation from Pakistan in the unfolding U.S reaction to the terrorist attacks of a day earlier.¹⁵⁹ The same day Colin Powell, the US Secretary of State, tells a news conference that the prime suspect is Saudi born Osama Bin

¹⁵⁶ Tim., Judah, 2002, p.69 80.

¹⁵⁷ Hussain Rifaat, “Pakistan walks a tightrope” *Jane’s Weekly* 19 October 2001.

¹⁵⁸ Roy Olivier, “The Taliban: A Strategic Tool for Pakistan”, in Jaffrelot Christophe, (ED.) 2002, pp 149–160.

¹⁵⁹ Ibrahim., Samina, ‘Interview- Dr Maleeha Lodhi,; Former Ambassador to the United States’ *Monthly Newsline* Karachi, July 2002, pp 21-25.

Laden, who lives in Afghanistan under the protection of the Taliban. He further said, "We thought it would be useful to point out to the Pakistani leadership at every level that we are looking for and expecting their fullest cooperation." He reiterated President Bush's comment that the US would not only go after terrorists responsible for Tuesday's attacks, but also against those who harbour terrorists. On September 13, Colin Powell talked to Gen Musharraf on the telephone and Washington provided Pakistan with a list of "concrete actions" that it expects Islamabad to take in connection with the action being contemplated against those it believes are responsible for Tuesday's attacks on New York and the Pentagon. President George, the same day appreciated Pakistan's offer of unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism, reiterated by Gen Pervaiz Musharraf on Wednesday night, but also said: "I would refer you to the statement that the Pakistani leader made about his willingness to work with the US. We will see what that means, won't we?"¹⁶⁰ The phrasing of the president's remark was interpreted as indicative of a persisting gap in what Washington expects and the assurances it had received so far or at least reflecting a certain uncertainty about the Pakistani response. The same day President Musharraf chaired the meeting of corps commanders, which reviewed the situation and weighed options and the shape of cooperation with US and made policy recommendations. On 14 September, Colin Powell told the press, that US was awaiting Pakistan's response¹⁶¹. On 15 September a meeting of the cabinet and National Security Council was held. After that meeting, Foreign minister Abdul Sattar announced that Pakistan would extend full cooperation to the international community in its fight against terrorism without involving its forces in any action beyond its geographical boundaries. The same day Secretary of State Colin Powell confirmed that Pakistan had agreed to all US requests.¹⁶² Finally on, 19 September, Gen. Musharraf in a televised address announced the full backing of US 'War on Terrorism' in Afghanistan.

Pakistan relations with Taliban were not as smooth as Pakistan's all out support for them suggested, neither was Pakistani control of that regime as absolute as outsiders believed or Pakistan apparently hoped. Throughout the run down to 9/11 as well as after it, Pakistan had been playing the role of an emissary for both the Taliban and rest of the world, especially United States. Pakistan realised, much before 9/11 that Taliban must give up Osama Bin Laden and close down Terrorist training camps, or they would be in a serious trouble. The dominant opinion in the decision-making circles was that Taliban are the best bet for Pakistan, however, they must be made to realise that their persistence with some of their extremist policies would make their survival difficult. Pakistan, even after 9/11, in an attempt to salvage its shattered Afghan policy, continued to engage Taliban leadership in dialogue about the need to give up Osama Bin Laden and close down terrorist training camps. On September 17, ISI Director Lt. Gen. Mahmood Ahmed headed a six-man delegation that visited Mullah Omar in Kandahar, Afghanistan. His mission was to convince Mullah Omar to extradite bin Laden or face an immediate US attack.¹⁶³ On September 28, Gen. Mahmood returned to Afghanistan with a group of about 10 religious leaders. He talked with Mullah

¹⁶⁰ Daily *Dawn* Karachi, 14 September, 2001.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² ibid. 16 September 2001.

¹⁶³ Daily *The News*, Islamabad, 18 September 2001

Omar, who again refused to hand over Osama bin Laden.¹⁶⁴ Pakistan though had announced support for US in its war against terrorism in Afghanistan and had accepted to provide all support, in case of actual attack against Afghanistan, had been trying to somehow save the Taliban regime. The purpose of attempts to convince Taliban to give up Osama and close down terrorists was a clear understanding in Pakistani Afghan policy managers, that failure to do so would mean end of Taliban rule. And that would mean the collapse of its long standing Afghan policy. Pakistan's foreign minister Abdul Sattar said, "We must not make the blunder of trying to foist a government on the people of Afghanistan. We fear that any such decision on the part of foreign powers to give assistance to one side or the other in Afghanistan is a recipe for great disaster for the people of Afghanistan."¹⁶⁵ Pakistan's over all policy objectives did not change. Pakistan before finally dumping Taliban, tried its level best to convince them of the reality of dangers to their survival if they persist in their refusal to give up Osama Bin Laden.

Even after dumping Taliban, Pakistan has consistently tried to undermine the Northern alliance, India's increasing influence in Afghanistan. Pakistan opposed the domination by the Northern Alliance of the post Taliban government of Afghanistan. Pakistan has tried to salvage of what was left of its policy by supporting the representation of Pashtuns in the post Taliban government of Afghanistan.¹⁶⁶ The decision to support the United States War against terrorism in Afghanistan was a U-Turn in the sense of abandoning Taliban, it was culmination of a process that had started before 9/11 and there were different inputs into making of that choice. However, the final push towards the policy shift was given by 9/11 and the person of Gen. Musharraf. Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf, who had started, since his take over of power on 12 October 1999, a process of re-creating a Pakistan with the image of a moderate Muslim State.¹⁶⁷ Religious parties were, for the first time since Gen. Zia Ul Haq's imposition of Martial Law in 1977, distanced from decision-making circles. The feeling of growing diplomatic isolation due to Pakistan's close ties with Taliban, and the harmfulness of un-hindered activities of various Jehadi groups was gradually being realised in a section of the decision-making elite. International, especially American pressure for putting an end to Pakistan's extremist connections had also been pushing towards this change. In the end, President's Musharraf personal liberal mind set one can say that the existing opinion within the state institutions, The fear of Talibanization of Pakistani state and society as a consequence of Pakistan's pro Taliban policy with strong signals from the changing international system led by United States that had zero level tolerance for religious extremism

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*, 29 September 2001

¹⁶⁵ *ibid* 26 September 2001.

¹⁶⁶ Read statements of Foreign Minister of Pakistan Abdul Sattar in Daily *The News* 26 September 2001. Pakistan also tried to look for alternate Pashtun leadership, Anatol Lieven "Voices from the Region: Interview with Qazi Mohammed Amin Waqad" <http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/anatolwaqad.asp?from=pubtype>. Accessed on 25 June 2004.

¹⁶⁷ Various measures in this direction had already been taken. For our interest one must particularly note the banning of two sectarian organisations Sipah-i-Muhammad and Lashkar-i-Jhangvi and putting on watch the activities of two other organisations Sipah-i-Sahaba and Tehrik-i-Jafria daily *The News* Islamabad, 13 March 2001; Also read the declaration by President Musharraf's of "stringent measures would be taken to control religious extremists". Daily *Dawn* Karachi, August 14, 2001. Earlier in March Pakistan had closed down Taliban offices in Peshawar, Daily *The News* 22 March, Islamabad.

specially when it bred terrorism, made the change in Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy.

Finally, the decision not to be on the wrong side of US in the expected US reaction was taken by Gen. Musharraf immediately after the events of 9/11. He took this decision due to the reduced position of manoeuvrability, he understood, Pakistan was in due to its pro Taliban policy, and his personal liberal outlook. The President had already given his consent to be on American side in the 'War against Terrorism' and had agreed to all the demands of the US before it. Bob Woodward reports the surprise of US secretary of State to the immediate agreement of President Musharraf to his demand for support including the total acceptance of the list of specific demands.¹⁶⁸ His meetings with opinion leaders and officials within the framework of formal state bodies or outside it were more of an exercise in enlisting support for his decision than making of the decision. President Musharraf met various opinion leaders after making the decision, which including delegations of political parties, religious leaders, representative of the Non governmental organisations, women and Trade Union leaders.¹⁶⁹ Even the meeting of the formation commanders, the highest military decision-making body was convened after the decision had already been taken. President Musharraf had already given his consent to becoming part of US led alliance. According to one commentator, Powell was converting the converted with his now well know straight speak 'with us or against us' with Gen. Musharraf on 12 September.¹⁷⁰ This decision came from the top downwards with some support present at the lower policy input level; however, within the Pakistani decision-making elite, the person of Gen. Musharraf was decisive. There was some disagreement within his close circle is supported from the general's decision to make very significant changes in the Army on the day US launched its strikes against Taliban. To solidify his position in the army, Musharraf carried out a major reshuffle, amounting to what observers described as an "internal coup" against old friends. On Sunday, 7 October 2001 of Lt Gen Muhammad Yousaf Khan and Lt Gen Muhammad Aziz Khan were appointed as vice chief of the army staff and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff committee respectively. Gen. Muhammad Aziz, of Kashmiri origin, is known for his religious leanings. The post he was elevated to is largely ceremonious and in fact removes the occupant from the day-to-day affairs of the Army. By ordering the promotion of these generals, Musharraf passed up two of his closest and extremely influential associates: head of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Gen Ahmed Mahmoud, and former Deputy Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Muzzafar Usmani. According to military tradition, the promotions were a hint to Mahmoud and Usmani to resign, which they did. Mahmoud personally led a group of army officers when they arrested former Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif after the coup led by President Musharraf two years ago. Lt. Gen. Usmani controlled a military base, which ensured the safe landing for an airplane carrying Musharraf back home where he would later become president. Both generals were known for their pro-Taliban views and sympathised with influential political Islamic groups. After 11 September, Mehmood visited Kandahar, in Afghanistan, twice to try to persuade Taliban leader Mullah Mohamed Omar to force Bin Laden out of Afghanistan. Gen. Mehmood, had modernist personal lifestyle, however, he

¹⁶⁸ Woodward., Bob, *Bush at War* Simon and Schuster, Washington D.C., 2002, p.60

¹⁶⁹ Daily *The News*, Islamabad, November 15, 16 and 19, 2001.

strongly believed in Pakistan's interests being tied with Taliban and control of Afghanistan. One can put him closer to the hawkish Pakistani nationalist category¹⁷¹. Except for General Yousaf, the other three generals disagreed with President Musharraf's position on Pakistani role in the 'War against Terrorism'.¹⁷²

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy decision is very important from both theoretical and practical perspectives. Theoretically, it was a decision that at first sight appears to be giving primacy to external inputs to almost deterministic levels, thus one may say it negates the basic premises of the decision-making approach, which basis its study of foreign policy as essentially a domestic decision with some impact of the international. One must understand the difference between international systemic influences and influences coming from one or more external states and other interests and entities impacting the behaviour of individual or institutional actors within a domestic decision-making process towards some ends. The point to keep in mind is that these external influences whatever there source and strength may be, has to influence domestic actors of the domestic decision-making process at various levels.

The decision reflects the nature of Pakistani state and society, and reflects a decision-making process that has developed in a particular manner. The international system did provide choices. They were limited, was more due to Pakistan's internal systemic problems and paradoxes, rather than the preponderance of the international. As the discussion above shows, there were signs of the impending demands of the international on the domestic to give up its pro Taliban policy. Pakistan was forced to take an apparently abrupt decision due to its systemic failure to take cognisance of the coming changes in international system, misreading of intentions of US, and had become oblivious to many clear warnings, emanating from different quarters including from within the Pakistani establishment. The monopoly of military over other parts of the decision-making process had resulted in a lack of a debated and educated assessment of Pakistan's pro Taliban policy. Pakistan came under unbearable pressure due to its very open support and closeness to Taliban. Pakistan's position was weakened further by its alleged ties with extremist groups and philosophies. It was due to that connection that the International Community led by United States could tell Pakistan, 'with us or against us', leaving Pakistan with not much of manoeuvrability. Most probably, if Pakistan had not been the supporter of Taliban, Pakistan could have charted a third course, that is staying out of the dividing lines drawn by United States. Further, Pakistan would have been in a better bargaining position and may have got better terms for its partnership in the

¹⁷⁰ Amir., Ayaz, *Daily Dawn* Karachi, 25 September 2001

¹⁷¹ For explanation Pakistani nationalist position go to Chapter Five of this study.

¹⁷² Lt. Gen. Aziz known for his fundamentalist religious views was promoted and made Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC), a largely ceremonious office; ISI chief Lt. Gen. Mehmud was retired premature along with Lt. Gen. Usmani who was Deputy Chief of Army Staff. These changes were clearly intended to remove any bottlenecks in implementing the Afghan policy shift. Read for details reports filed by Kamran Khan in the *Daily The News* Islamabad of 8 and 9 October 2001.

'War against Terrorism' both economically and politically. The decision-making dominated by only one institution meant the consideration of only one aspect of the policy i.e. the military aspect. The strict discipline of the military means the chief of Army Staff is the final arbiter. One can see the personal impression of General Musharraf on the decision of abandoning the pro Taliban policy as much as one can see the personal impression of General Zia-ul-Haq on the Pakistan's Afghan policy during the 1980s. The 1980s decision did not create many fissures in the Pakistani state as that was in line with growth of Pakistani State in a particular manner and its strategic culture. The decision of September 2001 on the other hand has created a division in the decision-making elite and generated a debate as it has the potential for making far-reaching changes in the elite composition of the state itself, as well as its ideological and theoretical basis.

The lack of a system of decision-making in which the final outcome is the result of compromises and agreements between different interests and institutions is evident from both the policy of support for Taliban and the manner it was abandoned. There were historical inputs in the decision as Pakistan had throughout its history been a very close ally of United States with Armies of both the countries enjoying close relationship. The history of Pakistan's foreign policy has mainly been a balancing act; a story of continuous attempts to balance the Indian threat. Even in the decision to give up its pro Taliban Afghan policy, India played a role. Pakistani decision makers were cognizant of the Indian readiness to fill the gap that may present itself if Pakistan had refused to change, and that would have meant an action not just against Taliban. With India a full active partner the International anti Terrorism coalition would have targeted Pakistan as well; thus India would have been in a position to achieve its security goals vis a vis Pakistan in Kashmir as well as elsewhere. Full of many ups and downs Pakistan has developed a perception that it must try to be on the right side of United States. So Pakistan's decision, despite appearing to be abrupt was not so much cut off from its history. The decision highlights the lack of any system of decision-making. The apparent abruptness and 'U-Turn' was, and some of the persisting hiccups are, more due to Pakistan's inability to shed the ideological baggage collected during course of its history, especially during the Afghan Civil War of the 1980s.

Chapter 4

IMPACT OF PAKISTAN'S CHANGED AFGHAN POLICY ON THE REGION

Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan Policy had a profound impact on its domestic as well as regional environment. The impact on the domestic front has been made the subject of a separate chapter that follows. This chapter identifies and analyses the impact of Pakistani decision on Pakistan's regional environment. Keeping in mind the focus of this Study that is Pakistan's Foreign Policy, this chapter studies those aspects of the impact having direct consequences and significance for Pakistan.

Geographically speaking, Pakistan is a part of South Asia; however, political geography places it in West and Central Asia as well. Analysing the impact of Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy means India, Afghanistan and Pakistan, takes the position of a centrality around which other relations and impacts on other states of the region needs to be viewed. The centrality of Pakistan in the South Asian conflagration is obvious. Geo-strategically situated between Afghanistan and India and sharing lengthy borders with each (over 1,500 miles), Pakistan had related policies to formulate and roles to play. The question is the acceptability of these policies to and their impact on its neighbours, particularly India.

This chapter analyses the impact of Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy taking Pakistan as the nucleus of the region, due to the needs of the study, which focuses on Pakistani foreign policy decision about its Afghan policy. India being the single most important consideration in Pakistan's security policy generally, as well as its Afghan policy, that makes it along with Afghanistan, a central concern around which the rest of the region has to be considered. First we look at the impact of the decision on Pakistan-India equation, then on to Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. This is followed by a look at its impact on Iran, People's Republic of China and Central Asian Republics, in the overall context of the three countries forming the main focus of the chapter.

The impact on the region can not be fully comprehended without noting the US policy towards the region and its role in regional affairs, due to the fact that it is responsible for and a direct player in most of the happenings in the region, especially in the post 9/11 era due to its policies and status. In fact 9/11 catapulted South Asia to a much more significant strategic status for US specially and broader international society generally. United States engaged into the region much deeply having an impact on the regional issues and policies. As noted in chapter three, US influence was the most significant input in the making of Pakistan's post

9/11 Afghan policy. This US enhanced interest and physical presence in the region, apparently long term, prioritised the interests of the global over the regional. So US role is noted and discussed while analysing the regional impact of the Pakistani decision.

PAKISTAN–INDIA RELATIONS

India saw an opportunity for its Pakistan policy in the events of 9/11 and the ‘War against Terrorism’. Seeing in it opportunity to take a leap in the gradual growth of closer relations between itself and US, India immediately after 9/11 offered complete support and the use of its territory to the US before even the US had decided it may need foreign military bases as it had yet to decide what form retaliation against terrorist will eventually take. Expecting Pakistan not to abandon Taliban, hence to be in the path of US retaliatory action against Taliban, India attempted to combine its problems with Pakistan over the insurgency/freedom movement in Kashmir with the unfolding US ‘War against Terrorism’. That war had found an immediate target in the shape of Afghanistan, which under Taliban rule had become a sanctuary for global terrorism, more significantly for Osama Bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organisation, as well as Kashmiri militants, Chinese dissidents, Chechen fighters and others from other parts of the world. Pakistan, widely known for its patronage of Taliban, was presented as the natural target for any campaign against Taliban. India repeated with increased emphasis on the linkage between cross border infiltration inside the Indian held Kashmir emanating from Pakistan and the training camps for these infiltrators inside Taliban ruled Afghanistan.¹⁷³ “The situation, with Pakistan edging closer to the US and becoming a frontline state in the ‘battle against terrorism,’ yielded a jingoistic media frenzy in neighbouring India, and there was little doubt about who the ‘enemy’ in this attack was. Official government spokesperson Nirupama Rao, stated, ‘Pakistan is trivialising the global approach we are trying to build against terrorism.’ Even while US administration officials and the American media tacitly acknowledged that bin Laden was largely a creation of US policy in Afghanistan during the Soviet invasion of the country, Indian political expert on South Asia, Dilip Hero emphatically maintained on CNN, ‘The Taliban is a creation of Pakistan’s ISI, not the Americans’.”¹⁷⁴

India had been, along with Russia, Iran and Central Asian Republics (CARs) supporters of the anti Taliban Northern Alliance inside Afghanistan. To put facts into context, United States of America was also gradually getting closer to that anti Taliban, regional as well as Domestic (Afghan) grouping.¹⁷⁵ Pakistan was on the opposite side of this emerging regional

¹⁷³ Read leading Indian Newspapers from 12 September to 25 September to get an idea of the Indian attempts to exploit the post 9/11 situation to link up Kashmir with Afghanistan. Specially Indian Prime Minister Atal Bahari Vajpai Statement in which he categorically linked Pakistan with Al-Qaeda which was according to him running training camps in Afghanistan for Kashmiri insurgents. Daily ‘*The Hindu*’ 13 September 2001

¹⁷⁴ Khan., Sairah Irshad, ‘The War of Words’ Monthly *Newsline*, Karachi, October 2001, p. 18

¹⁷⁵ On 26 May Thomas Pickering, the US Under secretary of State, through a meeting with Pakistani officials conveyed to the Taliban and by implication to their backers in Pakistan, if Osama Bin Laden is not handed over immediately and terrorist camps closed, May through UN or otherwise impose stricter sanctions against Taliban. Afghanistan may be declared a terrorist state. Which will justify targeting of

scenario. Pakistani decision to be part of the US led 'War against Terrorism' changed that course to a large extent, if not totally. It was due to Pakistan's changed policy after 9/11 that this grouping became limited to be anti Taliban only.

Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy created new opportunities in India–Pakistan relations. For the first time in their history of existence as independent states both found themselves on the same side of a global security dividing fence. During cold war they were on opposite sides; Pakistan being an ally of the United States and India closer to the Soviet Union and an important player of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM). The most important determinant of Pakistan being in the US camp was the Indian decision to be closer to Soviet Union. Pakistan's decision to join the 'War Against Terrorism' to a large extent was prompted by the Indian considerations too. In fact, Indian threats were cited as one of the reasons by the President Gen. Musharraf as justification and reason for Pakistan's decision to become an ally of US in a war that targeted its allies in Afghanistan, the Taliban.¹⁷⁶

As noted earlier, the 9/11 terrorist attacks put a hold on the increasingly visible US tilt towards India. The view that considered no more strategic significance for Pakistan suddenly took a back seat, if not totally abandoned. In the week of September 10, 2001, U.S. officials were preparing a brief for President Bush and later to be presented to the US Congress to suspend all nuclear-related sanctions against India, while leaving in place many sanctions that limited U.S. assistance to Pakistan. As it happened, that briefing was postponed and 12 days later the United States announced the lifting of sanctions on both India and Pakistan.¹⁷⁷ The equal treatment came as something of a shock for India, and reportedly lobbyists for India in Washington actually sought to block sanctions relief for Islamabad at a time when Washington wanted to consolidate its alliance with Pakistan, now a front-line state in the war against terrorism.¹⁷⁸ A sample of this view appeared in a number of articles in United States.¹⁷⁹ "9/11 interrupted India's dream to isolate Pakistan internationally. Indian frustration intensified when Pakistan became a frontline state in the War against Terror."¹⁸⁰

Though India clamoured for immediate advantages, which apparently were denied to her, it stood to benefit from already shifting balances in the region, which were driven further by

Taliban military assets, and even the person of Osama or Mulla Omar for Missile attack. Thomas Pickering reportedly also gave indication that US may coordinate with Russia to carry out air strikes against Taliban, making them incapable of resisting the forces of Ahmad Shah Masood. Judah., Tim, 2002, p.70. Also read, Khan., Ijaz, 'The Taliban, Iran and Central Asia: A View from Peshawar', in 'Central Asia Monitor' No. 2. 1999. pp.15-16.

¹⁷⁶ See for details of President Musharraf's Address to the Nation, Daily *The News* 20 September 2001.

¹⁷⁷ Feinstein, Lee, 'When Policy Priorities Converge: US Relations with India and Pakistan' in 'A New Equation: U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan After September 11'. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Working Paper No. 27, May 2002, p. 7

¹⁷⁸ "Why this Media Circus" Editorial, Daily *Dawn* Karachi, 26 September 2001.

¹⁷⁹ On September 27, '*The Wall Street Journal*', Washington D.C. wrote of the problems in turning to Pakistan for help. Following the October 1 bombing of the Jammu & Kashmir State Assembly in Srinagar, both '*The New York Times*' New York and the '*Washington Post*', Washington, the two are among the top newspapers of the United States, restated the linkage between Taliban, Osama Bin Laden and Pakistan. Writing in The Washington Post on October 3, Jim Hoagland says, "Washington knows fully well that Pakistan actively supports Jaish-e-Mohammed and other guerrilla organisations that see terror as the only effective tool they have against India."

¹⁸⁰ Ibrahim., Smaina, "Interview with Dr. Maleeha Lodhi; Pakistan's former Ambassador to United States" Monthly '*Newsline*' September 2002. p.31

the rout of the Taliban. For India, the longer term benefits included replacement of a hostile regime in Afghanistan with a transitional government dominated by Northern Alliance forces it had long supported; more realpolitik by Beijing in its relationship with India, and a global focus on terrorism, which held out the possibility of curbing Pakistan's support to anti-Indian militancy. In that sense, closer U.S. relations with Pakistan were to benefit India in the long run, as such relations puts US in a position to pressurise Pakistan for solving its problems with India peacefully and puts a distance and breaking of relations, if they existed, between militants and Pakistan.¹⁸¹

Pakistan India Peace Process

Pakistan, in order to get the full benefit of its post 9/11 changed Afghan policy needed thaw in its relations with India. The inflammation of tensions on its Eastern border did not suit Pakistan's role as an ally of the US in the new geo-political situation of the region. The need and support for that came from two mutually opposed corners; US as well as the religious right. Pakistan argued with the US that it would not be able to fulfil its obligations in the 'War against Terrorism' if it has to worry about its eastern borders. Pakistan was expected to curtail the traditionally porous Durand Line (Pak Afghan Border) because Taliban and Al-Qaeda fugitives and fighters are using the adjoining Pakistani tribal belt¹⁸² as a safe heaven and a launching pad for attacks against the coalition and Afghan government forces. Pakistan has deployed a large number of troops on Pak-Afghan border for this purpose. Pakistan could not spare troops for this purpose if it was threatened by Indian troops on its eastern border with India. Pakistani decision makers considered they could only take full advantage of the strategic value of its location, if its relations with India do not remain as dangerously hostile as they were. Peaceful relations, if not outright friendly, can go a long way towards improving Pakistan's bargaining power. Religious right and those from the establishment who considered Pakistan's alliance with US, especially in the 'War Against Terrorism' as detrimental its national interest, considered Pakistan may not have to toe the American line to the extent it is, if freed from worries about security threats from India.¹⁸³ US also considered Pak-India tensions as against the interests of the 'War against Terrorism'. Thus we see, despite many ups and downs a resumption of dialogue between the two neighbours. A summit meeting held between Gen. Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpai held in Agra (14-16 July 2001) in great fanfare much before 9/11 had ended without achieving any breakthrough in their bilateral relations. However, after much prodding from the US after the 9/11, both sides returned to the negotiating table in January 2004 on the occasion of repeatedly postponed (due to Indian Prime Minister's refusal to come to Islamabad or to have

¹⁸¹ Buzan, Barry, 'South Asia Moving Towards Transformation: Emergence of India as a Great Power' *International Studies* 39, no. 1 2002, pp. 1-24.

¹⁸² Tribal Belt refers to the strip of territory, on the Pakistani side of the Durand line that inhabits Pashtun tribes, with internal administrative independence.

¹⁸³ Does it sound familiar? Remember Zia ul Haq's cricket diplomacy, when he visited India to watch cricket match between the two rivals in 1985, to defuse the rising tensions between them.

any contact with the Pakistani military ruler) SAARC summit in Islamabad.¹⁸⁴ Prime Minister Vajpai after initial refusal for a separate summit with President Musharraf finally agreed to it.¹⁸⁵ Thus a process of normalisation has started amid both sides declaring the need to address the Kashmir issue more seriously. US hand in this process of normalisation has been acknowledged.¹⁸⁶

Kashmir

Kashmir remains the stumbling block in establishing peace and stability as well as erecting the coalition against terrorism in South Asia on sound footing, is a fact realised more by the international community than ever. Washington has been well aware of the connection of Pakistani-supported militants in Kashmir to Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda. Since the bombings of U.S. embassies in East Africa in 1998, U.S. effort to enlist the Musharraf government in the hunt for Osama Bin Laden overtook nuclear proliferation concerns as the major issue in the bilateral relationship. US had also ignored Indian protestations at ignoring its 'war against terrorism', which Indian leadership had tried to argue unsuccessfully was against the same people that US had waged its war against. In the immediate aftermath of the 9/11, US temporarily set aside these concerns however, soon after the attack on Indian parliament in December 2001. Pakistan had to clearly adjust its position on Kashmir militancy.¹⁸⁷ The change being more tactical than strategic, that is, Pakistan has moved away from supporting militancy however, not from supporting Kashmiri struggle for independence politically, in Kashmir has a positive impact for both India and Pakistan, even though it may appear to be benefiting India more in the immediate. The peace process that has started between the two nuclear powered South Asian neighbours is in the long term of interest of both. Washington is playing a more active, if still discrete, role in moving India and Pakistan towards that process. The outlines of what an ultimate Kashmir settlement might look like are less important at this time than establishing a way to get there.

U.S. also sent a clear message to Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee; if there is a discernible reduction in infiltration across the Line of Control by Pakistani-backed insurgents, India must be prepared to reciprocate in tangible terms, including reducing deployed Indian troops in the region as well as making a political level commitment to a process for addressing the Kashmir dispute. US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Ms. Christina Rocca asked India to patch up relations with Pakistan. She also urged Indians not to resent US Pakistan relations. Saying that the US would stand by India in its battle against terrorism, Ms Rocca said: "I can also reassure you that the issue of cross-border infiltration remains a very important issue on our agenda with Pakistan."¹⁸⁸ This is a more balanced approach by the

¹⁸⁴ Daily, *Dawn* 28 December 2003. Read for details Daily *The News* Islamabad as well as Daily *Dawn* Karachi from 28 December till 10 January 2004.

¹⁸⁵ Daily, *The Dawn* 5 January 2004.

¹⁸⁶ Read statement of M.P Bhandara a PML – Q MP. Daily, *The News* Islamabad, 14 May 2004.

¹⁸⁷ On January 12 2002, President Musharraf announced a strong commitment to stop cross border infiltration. He also announced the banning of militant organisations. See for transcript of the Presidential address Daily *The News* Jan 13 2002.

¹⁸⁸ Naqvi., Jawed, "Patch up with Pakistan, US tells India" Daily *'Dawn'* Karachi, September 11 2003

United States to Pak–India bilateral issues than may have been if Pakistan had been on the other side of the ‘War against Terrorism’

Pakistan is gradually coming to understand that the new breed of insurgents in Kashmir is very similar to the new breed that came to dominate Afghanistan and, now that Islamabad has joined the U.S.–led fight against terrorism, these groups are no more Islamabad’s friends than they are Washington’s. There are clear and visible signs of break up of relations, if there were any, between Pakistani state institutions and militants.

Militants in both Afghanistan and Kashmir were unhappy with the changed Pakistani policy. They understood that the changed Pakistani policy in Afghanistan have direct bearing on and implications for, its Kashmir policy. While no amount of international pressure has been able to deter Pakistani leadership from giving up its policy of support for the right of self determination of Kashmiris on political level, the means to follow that policy has not remain unaffected. The militants played on the initial Indian reaction by providing India with almost convincing arguments in favour of alleged continuation of cross border infiltration. First in October 2001, they struck at parliament house in Srinagar and then in December they really hit at the heart of Indian political system by a terrorist attack against the Indian Parliament in New Delhi. The result of this was an immediate escalation of tensions between the two neighbours and now supposed allies in the ‘War against Terrorism’. A heavy deployment of troops on Pakistan India borders followed among accusations of cross border infiltration and violations of human rights in Indian held Kashmir. The pressure on Pakistan to make a clean break from pro militant past increased tremendously. President Musharraf in Jan 2002 announced Pakistan’s decision to curb the alleged cross border infiltration.¹⁸⁹ “Most of the Islamic militant leaders viewed Pakistan’s move as a serious setback to the Kashmiri freedom struggle against India. General Musharraf has now betrayed the Kashmiris after ditching the Taliban in Afghanistan,” said a veteran militant. His feelings are shared by most Kashmiri militants, who have depended for over a decade on the Pakistan army’s active support for their cross–border guerrilla actions.”¹⁹⁰

INDIA AND POST TALIBAN AFGHANISTAN

India made unilateral offer of support to US in its impending ‘War against Terrorism’ even before its announcement or US request for support, on the basis of its confidence that it had shared interests with Washington over Taliban regime’s overthrow. When the Afghan war was ‘won’ with unexpected ease in October 2001, Indian government leaders were jubilant. The reasons for their jubilation were obvious; Northern Alliance, which had been backed by Indians had emerged as the dominant Afghan group. Following up, in December, at the Bonn conference, India played an active role for the Americans in cajoling Northern Alliance groups to accept a certain calculus of power in Kabul for the post–Taliban era, which, left to themselves, these groups were wary of.¹⁹¹ India followed up by undertaking an

¹⁸⁹ Fro details of President’s Musharraf televised address read daily ‘*The News*’ Islamabad, 13 January 2002.

¹⁹⁰ Hussain., Zahid, “Mission Impossible” in Monthly ‘*Newsline*’, Karachi. pp. 22-25 at 22

¹⁹¹ Daily ‘*Indian Express*’ 2 November 2001.

unprecedented commitment of hundreds of millions of dollars for Afghanistan's reconstruction. India expanded its diplomatic presence to a historic level by opening consulates in southern, south-eastern, western and northern regions of Afghanistan.¹⁹² All this signalled India's resolve to be a serious protagonist.

The Indian government played host to the families of important Northern Alliance leaders when they were on the run due to the Taliban onslaught on their strongholds in northern Afghanistan. Those leaders, back in power after the collapse of the Taliban regime as a result of the US invasion of Afghanistan, are now returning the favour by helping India to establish its foothold in their country. Among others, India had generously put up the families of Mohammad Qasim Fahim, now the defence minister, foreign minister Dr Abdullah and education minister Mohammad Yunis Qanuni, in New Delhi and looked after their needs. Masood Khalili, the Afghan ambassador in India and an aide to late commander Masood, is also grateful to New Delhi for going out of the way to help him in his hour of need and espouse his group's cause. He had shifted to India from Pakistan when relations between the Northern Alliance and Islamabad turned hostile. Khalili is now the strongest advocate of close ties between Kabul and New Delhi. Earlier, India had provided refuge to slain Afghan president Dr Najibullah's family; his wife and three daughters are still living in New Delhi as guests of the Indian government. Most important Hamid Karzai himself has strong relations with India and went to college there.¹⁹³

The Indian diplomats have also cultivated friendship with certain important military commanders including Hazrat Ali and his brother Kalan Mir, both based in Jalalabad near the Pakistan border. Haji Zahir, son of the slain Afghan vice president Haji Abdul Qadeer also based in Jalalabad has also developed friendly contacts with India. Most Afghan ministers and senior government officials have by now paid visits to India.¹⁹⁴ Above all, Karzai was feted at the highest level during his visits to India and his trip arranged to his old alma mater in Simla. The India-educated Karzai, who spent almost two decades as a refugee in the Pakistani city of Quetta, is cautiously following a policy to keep his country out of Indo-Pak disputes and is careful not to annoy the Indians while discussing the Kashmir issue.¹⁹⁵

Acting smart, India has offered assistance to projects and sectors that are visible and would have an immediate impact. It promised to provide three used airbuses to augment Ariana Afghan Airlines' depleted fleet and 192 passenger buses to ply in Afghan cities. Two airbuses have already been pressed into service with an all-Afghan crew that received training in India. The buses gifted by India made their way to Afghanistan via Pakistan and are now plying on the roads of Kabul and Kandahar. The spacious, all-weather buses, made in India, serve as a mobile advertisement of Indian generosity towards the Afghan people.¹⁹⁶

The Indian government is also funding a school food programme under which lunch is provided to the students. India is providing one million tonnes of wheat and a 100 million

¹⁹² "India Seeks Larger Role" Asia Times Online, <http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/CK28Df03.html>. Accessed 24 June 2004.

¹⁹³ Yousafzai., Rahimullah, "Pakistan's loss in Afghanistan is India's gain" Daily '*The News*' Islamabad 13 July 2003

¹⁹⁴ *ibid*

¹⁹⁵ Rajghatta., Chidanand, "India reads Afghan wicket correctly" Daily '*The Times Of India*', New Delhi, 7 December, 2001.

dollar grant for Afghanistan's reconstruction. An additional 70 million dollars grant announced during Karzai's second visit to India in March would be used to build a strategic highway connecting Dilaram in south-western Afghanistan to Zahidan and Chahbahar on the Arabian Sea to give the landlocked nation access to maritime trade through Iran. A trade agreement signed during the same visit offers up to 100 per cent tariff concessions on 38 Afghan exports to India. The two countries were hoping that the agreement would boost trade, which shrank from 54.26 million dollars in 1999–2000 to 41.89 million dollars last year. India attributed the reduction in trade to Pakistan inspired transit glitches.¹⁹⁷

It has also offered help to develop civil aviation, transport, industry, health facilities, educational institutions and agriculture. A satellite link between New Delhi and Kabul has been established and Indian movies are back in demand in urban centres. Some 500 Afghans are presently receiving training in India in policing, journalism, medicine and computer science. Afghan Defence Minister Fahim's earlier announcement seeking India's help to raise, train and arm a new Afghan national army clearly alarmed Pakistan. Younas Qanuni, the current education minister who previously served as interior minister, also wanted India's involvement in reviving and training Afghanistan's police. Better planning is also evident in past Indian assistance to Afghanistan. Every Kabuli and many Afghans know about the Indira Gandhi Children Hospital that was set up years ago in Kabul with Indian money. There cannot be a better publicity for India than a hospital in a city with meagre health care services.¹⁹⁸

However, Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy is the only hindrance that has slowed if not denied India, the advantageous position it felt itself in as a result of the ascendancy of the Northern Alliance in the post Taliban Afghanistan. Thus an Indian commentator wrote, "It (Pakistan) is very unhappy at the growing influence of India in Kabul. It wants to make the Indian presence irrelevant. It is unfortunate that America seems to support Pakistan. It had the gumption to ask India to lower its posture in Kabul".¹⁹⁹

Pakistan–India Rivalry in Afghanistan

Pakistan and India had competed for influence in Afghanistan since 1947. Pashtun Nationalists within Pakistan had always found Afghan rulers friendly and supportive. That friendly relationship continued till the overthrow of Dr. Najib's government in 1992. It must also be remembered that Pakistani Pashtun nationalists were part of the Indian National Congress during the struggle against British Imperial rule in the subcontinent. Afghanistan was the only state that had opposed Pakistan's membership of United Nations in 1947.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Rashid., Ahmad, "Jockeying For Influence, Neighbours Undermine Afghan Pact", <http://www.eurasia.net.org/departments/insight/articles/ eav011503.shtml>. Date accessed 15 June 2004.

¹⁹⁸ For details of Indian aid and support given and offered at various times, read Daily 'Times of India' New Delhi, of 8 May 2003, 13 December 2001. Also read Bahl., Taru, "Reconstructing Afghanistan" 'Business Online' Financial Daily from The Hindu group of Publications, New Delhi, 29 July, 2002 <http://www.blonnet.com/life/2002/07/29/stories/2002072900160100.htm>

¹⁹⁹ Menon M.S.N., Daily 'The Tribune' New Delhi Friday, 17 January, 2003. Also read Naqvi., Jawad "US tells India to lay off Afghanistan", Daily 'The Dawn' Karachi, 9 October 2002.

Afghanistan had traditional claims over the Pashtun and Baloch inhabited territory of Pakistan. This claim suited well into the Indian strategic interests. A hostile Afghanistan in the north meant Pakistan's inability to concentrate on the security threat perceptions from India, which lay on its south. Although Pashtun Nationalists had been denying their demand for Pashtunistan meant independence from Pakistan or merger with Afghanistan.²⁰⁰ Their relations with Afghan rulers and their Indian National Congress past made them suspect for the centrist and authoritarian state of Pakistan. It must also be noted that Pakistani threat perceptions also persisted despite the fact that Afghanistan had maintained strict neutrality in all the Pak-India armed conflicts. Pakistan's Afghan policy, at least since 1989 had been at the minimum driven by the strategic denial of this Afghan connection to India and ideally to have a control of that country to the extent that it can provide her with 'strategic depth'. Pakistan was able to achieve the minimum fully and the maximum also to a large extent. However, 9/11 changed all that.

India returned to Afghanistan with strength and an apparent sense of triumphalism. Pakistan has been suspicious of growing Indian presence in Afghanistan. Pakistan has tried and in all probability will be trying, to minimize, if not totally obliterate Indian presence in Afghanistan. Pakistani officials have openly opposed Indian Consulates in Kandhar and Jalalabad. Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesman accused India of using these consulates for the purpose of spying and fomenting trouble in Pakistan.²⁰¹

Rahimaullah Yousafzai, a well respected Peshawar based journalist with an unmatched access to Afghanistan especially Taliban, wrote of Pakistani policy as a total disaster, especially when contrasted with that of India. He writes, "Pakistan wasted its money on unpopular, armed Afghan groups and their leaders. These warlords were in the pay of more than one country and it wasn't unusual for them to offer their services to the highest bidder. Cash-strapped Pakistan cannot match the US, Russia, India and Iran when the warlords have to be paid. As a result, Pakistan can now count only a few prominent Afghans as its friends. Islamabad may have hosted a record number of three million Afghan refugees for more than two decades and suffered the extended fallout of the Afghanistan conflict. But it failed to build a hospital, college or road that could serve as a visible example of Pakistan's generosity towards Afghanistan. Instead, many Afghans associate Pakistan with the death and destruction that became their fate over a period of more than two decades."²⁰² Rahimaullah Yousafzai is, according to the findings of this study and interpretation of those findings, exaggerating the Indian gains and Pakistani losses, though he is not totally out of sync with the realities. One must note Pakistani decision makers are not totally oblivious to the Indian advances, though there are limitations emanating from past policies and difficulties in changing to deal effectively with changed situation in Afghanistan and the region.

²⁰⁰ Tendulkar., D.G., 1967, p.451.

²⁰¹ Statement of Pakistan's Foreign Office Spokesman, Daily 'The Daily Times' Lahore 2 August, 2003.

²⁰² Yousafzai Rahimullah, "Pakistan's loss in Afghanistan is India's gain" Daily 'The News' Islamabad 13 July 2003.

PAKISTAN–AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS

Pakistan's relations with the post Taliban Afghanistan should not be viewed in comparison with the way they were during the Taliban era. It must be kept in mind that they could have been worse. If they are not, that can only be attributed to Pakistan's post 9/11 policy change. The Northern Alliance that dominates Afghanistan after 9/11 considered Pakistan as its enemy during the Taliban rule. Those memories continue to play a role in Pakistan–Afghanistan relations; however, the dictates of geography are mellowing and gradually may build a friendly relationship. Pakistan is still the best out let and inlet for Afghanistan. Even India, for commercially viable transactions with Afghanistan and Central Asia can benefit from Pakistani route. This fact of geography is bound to have its effect, if given a chance by Pakistani decision makers who need to wait it out. Pakistan's decision to be on the side of US and thus by extension on the side same Hamid Karzai government stands, has stopped the relations from being worse. With deft handling, especially of curtailment of any terrorist support that anti Karzai and anti coalition forces may be getting from the Pakistani side of the Durand Line Pakistan can improve its position much easily. The actions of Pakistan government in Waziristan and the arrest and handing over to United States of more than eight hundred wanted Al–Qaeda members are expected to play a positive role in this regard. However, Pakistani inability to control in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), which is being used by Taliban and Al-Qaeda as a safe haven, is having a negative impact on Pakistan's relations with the Karzai administration.

In response to President Hamid Karzai's visit to Pakistan on 8 February 2002, President Musharraf paid a return visit to Afghanistan on 2 April. This visit was the first by any foreign head of state to the post–Taliban Afghanistan. During the visit an agreement was signed and a Joint Ministerial Commission to promote trade, economic activity and coordinate reconstruction in Afghanistan was set up. The visit also marked renewed vows to fight terrorism and start air traffic between the two countries. Also, a \$10 million cheque as part of the 100 million package was delivered to the Afghan government for reconstruction.²⁰³

Pakistan's government is also taking steps to stop the re–entry into its own territory from Afghanistan of goods that are exported after tax rebate through land route to the latter. These steps result in curtailment of a list of items that can be taken to Afghanistan through Pakistan. Such limitations have resulted Afghanistan accusing Pakistan of trying to control its economy and trade and violate rights of Afghanistan as a landlocked state. However, the government has allowed transit trade to Afghanistan from six additional places along the Pak–Afghan border. Further the attempts to revive the Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan pipeline are also indicative of Pakistani efforts not to lose the initiative to India totally.

The demonstrations in Kabul against Pakistan and the many skirmishes on Pakistan Afghanistan borders after the coming to power of Hamid Karzai government in Afghanistan²⁰⁴ symbolise the failure of Pakistan's post–1989 Afghan policy. The statements

²⁰³ Nuri., Maqsoodul Hasan, "The Afghan Corridor: Prospects for Pak–CAR Relations, Post Taliban?" *'Regional Studies'* Institute of Regional Affairs, Islamabad Vol. xx, No. 4 Autumn 2002, p. 35

²⁰⁴ Cheema., Pervaiz Iqbal, "Firings on the Durand Line" Daily *'The News'* Islamabad, 3 August, 2003. Prof. Dr. Cheema is a former Chairman of Department of International Relations, Quaid–e–Azam University, Islamabad and currently heads the government owned think tank Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad.

of US ambassador to Afghanistan as well as some from other US military officials in Afghanistan has compounded the distance between Pakistan and the post 9/11 Afghanistan.²⁰⁵ However, the strategic requirements of the 'War against Terrorism' have pushed United States to put its diplomatic weight for keeping the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan from blowing out of hand. For that purpose a trilateral commission, which includes representatives of United States, Afghanistan and Pakistan has been formed, which looks into border issues between the two neighbours. Formation of a commission and US becoming a part of it is a direct consequence of Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy. Mindful of the US policy of keeping Pakistan on board, Karzai expressed hopes that trade ties with Pakistan can soon be restored. "We have no preferences, no favourites, as long as Afghanistan can benefit."²⁰⁶

At this juncture one must note another interesting feature of the Pakistan-India-Afghanistan relations. A Pashtun nationalist delegation led by ANP central President and son of Abdul Wali Khan led a goodwill visit to Kabul in November 2003.²⁰⁷ The delegation was accorded a very warm welcome. Pashtun nationalists thus have also re-entered the politics of Pak-Afghan relations after a long break. The policy of Pakistani establishment to keep them out has taken a full circle. Pakistan can take advantage of this change if its decision makers play their cards properly and remove the mistrust of the past.

THE IRAN FACTOR

Iran is an important neighbour of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Iran and Pakistan had been close allies during the cold war till the 1978 Islamic revolution in Iran. Both were part of the US system of alliances to encircle Soviet Union in the 1950s²⁰⁸. The two along with Turkey were also partners in a regional economic cooperation organisation; Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). Their relations had turned sour and the neighbours had become suspicious of each other during the Afghan resistance to Soviet Intervention in the 1980s. Iran had gone from being the closest ally of the United States, to become a challenger to United States policies and interests not just in the Gulf, but in the whole Muslim world. Though both Pakistan and Iran opposed Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan, they disagreed in a fundamental manner. Iran opposed any US role in Afghanistan. On the other hand, Pakistan

²⁰⁵ Former US ambassador to Afghanistan Zalme Khalilzad, has on more than one occasion accused Pakistan of not cooperating fully with United States in its War against Terrorism in Afghanistan. He even said that US may consider using force against terrorists on Pakistani soil if Pakistan does not cooperate. Daily '*Washington Post*', Washington, April 6 2003. Also read the transcript of a report by British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) about the diplomatic row this statement generated at news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/3603885.stm

²⁰⁶ *ibid.*

²⁰⁷ Daily, '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 21 November 2003.

²⁰⁸ Both were members of the Central Treaty Organisation, a US sponsored anti Soviet military alliance formed in 1956. Along with Turkey, these two formed Regional cooperation Organisation (RCD) in early 1960s. RCD became dormant after the revolution in Iran in 1979, however, these original three members established a new Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) in 1985, which was later expanded to include the new Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan.

had happily accepted the status of a frontline state for the United States against Soviet Union during the 1980s. Their mutual discord remained within a certain bound during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the rise of Taliban put the two neighbours in confrontational positions in Afghanistan. Iran drew closer to India. Along with Central Asian Republics bordering Afghanistan, India as well as Russia considered the rise of Taliban as a threat to its interests including security. So along with these other regional states Iran supported the Northern alliance against the Pakistan supported Taliban. The United States also had started drifting closer to this anti Taliban regional configuration much before 9/11.

In the post 9/11 regional geopolitics, India and Iran have become further closer. The height of their closeness is the signing of defence cooperation agreement between them in January 2003. The agreement provides for wide ranging defence related cooperation between the two. From Pakistan's perspective, the most significant provision is the one providing for granting India the use of bases in Iran in case of war between India and Pakistan. India agreed to provide in return military equipment, training and maintenance; a. Warship repair facilities will be constructed at Chahbahar (Iran), b. Maintenance and upgrades will be provided for Iran's Mig – 29s, t – 72s (Tanks), Infantry fighting vehicles and artillery pieces, c. Anti-tank guided weapons will be sold to Iran, d. and In the longer term India hopes to sell Iran, missile boats and submarine simulators²⁰⁹

This pact took both US and Pakistan by surprise. Pakistan did not publicly comment on it, however, Pakistani information minister announced that Pakistan's prime minister would be visiting Iran on 15 of February.²¹⁰ The visit never materialised. The United States had declared Iran part of the axis of evil along with Saddam ruled Iraq and North Korea. How military cooperation between India and Iran is going to influence long term strategy of United States that views India as a strategic partner remains to be seen. United States, for the time being, has chosen not to publicly comment on this development. The pact for India was most probably more political and diplomatic rather than military. India was on the one side telling the world generally and US particularly that it can still act independently and two, showing its displeasure over US getting too close to Pakistan.

Iran in its own right has been active in increasing its influence and relations with Afghanistan. Taking advantage of strained relations between Pakistan and post Taliban Afghanistan, Iran has signed agreements, which have the potential of making Iran a transit route for Afghanistan.

President Hamid Karzai is taking steps to establish landlocked Afghanistan as a trade hub connecting the Middle East, Central Asia and Europe. Afghan authorities have reached trade deals with Iran, India and the Central Asian states; all of which grant major concessions to Afghan goods. The new direction Afghan trade is taking is ending Afghan dependence on Pakistan, formerly Afghanistan's principle trading partner and entry port for imports and exports. However, economic decisions based on political considerations can not have a very

²⁰⁹ Report titled "Strategic Shift in South Asia" in *Jane's Defence Weekly* 29 January 2003.

²¹⁰ Statement of Sheikh Rashid Ahmad, Pakistan's Federal Information Minister, Daily, *'The News'* 2 February 2003

strong viability, especially in the post cold war era, where economics is the engine of political moves. Pakistan's geographical location still makes it the most economic outlet.²¹¹

In early January 2003, Afghan Commerce Minister Sayed Mustafa Kazemi signed a deal with Iran that will give Afghan exporters the right to use the port of Chabahar (in Iran) with a 90 percent discount on port fees and a 50 percent discount on warehousing charges. In addition, Afghan vehicles are to be allowed full transit rights on the Iranian road system. On January 6, at another meeting in Tehran, India, Iran and Afghanistan signed an agreement to give Indian goods heading for Central Asia and Afghanistan similar preferential treatment and tariff reductions at Chabahar. India additionally agreed to finance the upgrading of the road between the port and the Afghan border. "Chabahar is a new option for Afghanistan–destined goods and, more importantly, goods for Central Asia can now travel via Afghanistan," says Kazemi.²¹²

India and Iran have also signed a memorandum of understanding to build a railroad from Chabahar to the Afghan border. Iranian officials say their aim is to develop Chabahar into a major port for Afghanistan and Central Asia, while reserving the port of Bandar Abbas for trade with Russia and Europe. "Chabahar opens up Central Asia to the Gulf and Afghanistan becomes the hub," says Saad Mohseni, director of Moby Capital Partners, a joint Australian–Afghan investment house based in Melbourne and Kabul. "Both India and Iran are ready to invest in the infrastructure to develop this trade route which will benefit Kabul."²¹³

Iran will provide electricity to western Afghanistan and shoulder the \$16.5 million cost of the project. Meanwhile, Iran and Turkmenistan will also provide natural gas to Herat city. In January alone the Afghan ministers of foreign affairs, education, commerce and women's affairs visited Tehran. Western diplomats in Kabul say the rapid expansion of Afghan–Iranian relations was partly responsible for prompting US President George W. Bush's January 13 order designating Afghanistan as a preferential trading partner. The agreement will enable Afghanistan to export 5,700 types of goods to the United States without being subject to tariffs. The irony is that Afghan exports, including carpets and dried fruit, will probably travel through Iran.²¹⁴

Kabul's improving ties with Tehran are causing some concern in Washington. Through clever and robust diplomatic moves on the part of Iran, by tying its Afghan policy with India, it has somehow diluted Washington's objections to Afghan Iran growing relations.

²¹¹ Rashid., Ahmad, "Afghan-Pakistani Tension Prompts Kabul To Develop New Trade Routes" Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 26 January, 2003.

²¹² Daily '*Dawn*' Karachi. 26 January, 2003

²¹³ Ahmad., Rashid, "Afghan-Pakistani Tension Prompts Kabul To Develop New Trade Routes" <http://www.eurasianet.org/>. Accessed 20 April 2004. Also reproduced by Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 26 January, 2003. For details of various Treaties and agreements signed by Afghanistan, visit http://www.eurasianet.org/loya.jirga/trade_agreements.shtml. Accessed on 20 May 2004.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

Central Asian republics wary of the Taliban as well as Russian dominating presence welcomed American forces arrival in the region. The United States have established military bases in Central Asia, declaring in the clearest possible terms of its intentions to stay in the region for a long term. It has acquired bases in Kyrgyzia and Uzbekistan struck agreements to use airfields in Tajikistan, set up bases in Afghanistan, and have secured Pakistani permission for use of airfields in its fight against terrorism in Afghanistan. Russia and China have expressed their concern about long term US presence in the region.²¹⁵ The US military build-up in the former Soviet republics of Central Asia is raising fears in Moscow that Washington is exploiting the Afghan war to establish a permanent, armed foothold in the region. The swift construction of US military bases has also alarmed Beijing, although the central Asian states appear to be embracing the Americans to dilute Russian influence in what Moscow views as its strategic backyard.²¹⁶

Kabul is also moving swiftly to open trading routes in Central Asia. In late December General Mohammed Daud, military commander of Kunduz in northeastern Afghanistan, headed a trade delegation to neighbouring Tajikistan. Despite its lack of resources, Tajikistan has agreed to provide electricity to Kunduz and reduce tariffs for Afghan goods transiting Tajikistan. Dushanbe also offered 200 scholarships for Afghan students and pledged to build more bridges across the Amu Darya River that divides the two countries. The Agha Khan Foundation completed the first of five new bridges last November. Meanwhile General Rashid Dostum, an influential northern warlord based in Mazar Sharif, negotiated a similar deal with Uzbekistan. The deals call for greater trade, reduced tariffs and the provision of electricity to Mazar Sharif.²¹⁷

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

People's Republic of China, the sleeping giant of the region, sharing US concerns about religious inspired terrorism emanating from Afghanistan, supported 'US war on Terrorism', however, it is also conscious of the strategic implications of US long term military presence in the region. Together with bases in Japan and South Korea, the new Central Asian bases have the practical effect of encircling of China by the United States.

The Chinese had their own axe to grind against the Taliban ruled Afghanistan. Jane's Defense Weekly quoting sources in the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, in a 30 May report by the Russian news agency Interfax, reported, "a sabotage centre operating in Kandahar [in southern Afghanistan] ... trains representatives of radical Uighur groups...in

²¹⁵ Lapidus., Gail W. "Central Asia in Russian and American Foreign Policy after September 11, 2001" Presentation from 'Central Asia and Russia: Responses to the 'War on Terrorism'', a panel discussion held at the University of California, Berkeley on October 29, 2001. <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/10/29/2001> accessed 25 May 2004.

²¹⁶ Traynor., Ian, "War in Afghanistan: Russia Edgy at America's Military Build-Up In Region" Daily '*The Guardian*' London, 10 January, 2002

²¹⁷ Ahmad., Rashid, 20 January, 2003.

addition to Chechens and people from Central Asia.” According to this report, the Muslim extremists in Kandahar have developed a plan to establish an Islamic state in the Fergana Valley, which runs through Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, “as a small enclave that will expand with time.”²¹⁸ Chinese embassy in Afghanistan re opened on February 6 2002 and is trying to get its share of the economic activities as result of Taliban ouster.

Pakistan's President Musharraf visited China for consultation before announcing publicly his government's policy change towards Taliban. The policy change has resulted in removal of a creeping irritant between the much celebrated friendship between the two neighbours. The irritant was due to the reported existence of terrorist training camps in Afghanistan for Chinese Muslim dissidents. Pakistan has the chance as a result of its changed policy to play a role that can promote its interests in Central Asia as well as Afghanistan to balance Indian moves against it, provided it uses its China connections deftly.

GEO-POLITICS OF OIL AND GAS PIPELINES

Afghanistan's has best chance for attracting foreign capital rests with its strategic location as a potential major transit route for Siberian and Central Asian oil and natural gas exports to South and East Asia. Energy demand there will grow rapidly over coming years and alternative supply sources to Middle East production will be welcomed from India and Pakistan to Taiwan, South Korea and Japan.

Major oil and gas supply routes²¹⁹ from western Siberia, the southern and northern Caspian regions, and Uzbekistan conjunct in Turkmenistan and from there, supplies can pass through Afghanistan to Pakistan, India and beyond. In 1997, six international energy companies, with American UNOCAL in the lead, and the government of Turkmenistan formed Central Asia Gas Pipeline, Ltd. (CentGas) to build a 790 mile (1,271 kilometer) pipeline to link Turkmenistan (which has its own abundant proven natural gas reserves) with Pakistan. The group also considered an extension of the line to the New Delhi area in India.²²⁰

UNOCAL said at the time that the project could be the foundation for a new commerce corridor for the region – the Silk Road for the 21st Century. For the obvious political reasons, nothing became of the project and it was abandoned in 1998. Its revival is one of the positive developments since 9/11, which became possible due to Pakistan's changed policy.

The Centgas /UNOCAL project was to carry natural gas from the Dauletabad Field in southeastern Turkmenistan (which has independently certified reserves of more than 25 trillion cubic feet (708 billion cubic meters and is one of the world's largest) at a rate of up to 2 billion cubic feet per day (20 billion cubic meters per year). A 48-inch diameter pipeline was to extend from the Afghanistan–Turkmenistan border, generally follow the Herat-to–Kandahar Road through Afghanistan, cross the Pakistan border in the vicinity of Quetta, and

²¹⁸ Jane's Defense Weekly 13 /06 /2000

²¹⁹ The statistics used in this section are based on information available at US Department of Energy Website. http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/centasia.html#oil_pipelines

²²⁰ *ibid.*

terminate in Multan, Pakistan, where it was to tie into an existing pipeline system. Turkmenistan was to construct a pipeline to link with the CentGas line at the border and stretch approximately 105 miles to Dauletabad. A potential 400 mile extension from Multan to New Delhi was also under consideration. Estimated cost of the project was \$1.9 billion for the segment to Pakistan, and an additional \$600 million for the extension to India. That project had been dropped due to the continued security situation in Afghanistan and Taliban policies. India and Iran were drawing plans for by passing Pakistan. However, in the post Taliban era, that project has been revived. On December 27 2003, Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan signed the much awaited oil and gas pipeline framework agreement giving final nod to go ahead with the project, which would provide first outlet to the hydrocarbon rich Central Asian Republics. Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov, Prime Minister Zafarullah Jamali and Afghan President Hamid Karzai signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments. The Asian Development Bank has already committed 1.5 billion US Dollars in technical assistance grant to support the feasibility studies and have programmed one million US dollars more during the next year.²²¹

The original pipeline project was limited just to the conveyance of natural gas. With proper connecting lines from the Caspian regions and Western Siberia, oil would now be conveyed in parallel pipelines and exported through port facilities on the Pakistan coast. The market for both large amounts of oil and gas certainly exists in South and East Asia. And, of course, the oil and gas reserves that it would draw on are huge: Proven natural gas reserves within Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan equal more than 236 trillion cubic feet. The region's total oil reserves by most estimates are as high as 200 billion barrels – comparable to those of the Persian Gulf region.²²²

The potential benefits to Afghanistan of centring economic reconstruction on a large combined oil and gas pipeline project are very substantial. There is money to be made and labour to be employed during construction (estimated to take two to three years). There money to be made is estimated to \$100 million per year, for the long-term foreseeable future. Beyond that, commerce will spring up all along the construction route and telecommunications lines can be laid along with the pipelines.

And as important as the pipeline project may be for economic reasons, its political–strategic benefits may even be larger: It would closely tie together the long term economic interests of Afghanistan with those of Russia, the Central Asian republics, Pakistan and India, and all of Asia would have a major economic stake in a future stable Afghanistan. Asia.²²³ Understanding its geopolitical aspects that Pakistan Energy Minister Usman Aminaddin said his country was prepared to discuss setting aside differences with neighbouring India to extend what he called the ‘first mega-project of the 21st century’. President Pervez

²²¹ Daily, *The News* Islamabad 27 December 2002.

²²² http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/centasia.html#oil_pipelines.

²²³ Parpart., Uwe, “Reconstructing Afghanistan - on oil and gas”, *Asia Times Online*, November 24, 2001 <http://www.atimes.com/c-asia/CK24Ag01.html>. Accessed 20 May 2004.

Musharraf has given his assurance... of the flow of hydrocarbons into the world market, including India.²²⁴

CONCLUSIONS: IMPACT OF PAKISTAN'S DECISION

When analysing the post 9/11 regional geo-politics two decisions stand out for their impact; one was the US decision for a long term presence in the region with military campaign in Afghanistan as one part of it and public justification for it; the second was Pakistan's decision to be part of the international coalition against Terrorism. The coming of US to the region was a consequence of 9/11 and different US interests in the region and beyond. Discussing those would require much more space and would take us away from the main object of the study generally as well as this specific Chapter. Pakistan's decision, which initially took the shape of provision of ground and logistic facilities on Pakistani territory for US military and fighting against various terrorist formations and organisations inside Pakistan had impacted the region in very fundamental ways. The US decision to come to the region was not dependent on Pakistani cooperation. Though one must add quickly, it facilitated US policy to an extent that US have looked away from a number of its policy objectives on the region and changed some of its strategic thinking and plans for it. Pakistani decision shaped the geo politics of the region in a manner like no other state's decision did. To put the point more clearly, decisions of the other states were not changes in their policies. At the most they can be termed minor adjustments, which States have to make when ever something new happens. But they were in line with their existing policies and did not depart in any noticeable way from them.

Pakistani decision gave a specific colour and direction to post 9/11 geo political moves of various regional and extra regional actors influencing the region. The United States growing relations with India were put on hold. US is now more even handed in its relationship with the Pakistan and India and used its relations with its two mutually distrustful allies to overcome their differences. That US role for peace was a direct consequence of Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy. US, despite complaints every now and then, have been largely appreciative of Pakistani support in the 'War against Terrorism'. If this had not been the case, US almost certainly would have been pressing India for more pressure on Pakistan. One must remember India offered the use of its bases and facilities to the US for use in 'War against Terrorism' without even being asked for it. Indians had made that offer clearly with the intentions that road to Kabul from Delhi passed through Islamabad. So, if the US is to use force against Taliban, it has first to target Pakistan. To say the least Pakistan's decision to join the coalition against terrorism foiled such eventuality. Similarly, India also came around to the negotiating table due the fact that Pakistani role in the US led 'War Against Terrorism' had become crucial.

²²⁴ Alexander's Oil and Gas Connections a US based Energy consultancy group <http://www.gasandoil.com/goc/news/ntc24013.htm>. A good source for information about international energy issues.

Pakistan could not have saved Taliban is a statement that can not be contested with valid reason. US had the alternative to use its existing military bases and the new ones it built after 9/11 in Central Asia, even if it had avoided, for whatever reason, using the ones made available by India. Let's suppose US mindful of International Law had respected Pakistani airspace and avoided violating of its airspace, which it had violated with impunity earlier in 1988²²⁵, to strike at terrorist targets in Afghanistan. Even if it had not bought the Indian argument that considered Pakistan equally responsible for terrorism and avoided hitting Pakistan, Pakistan still would have been totally out of the picture in a Northern Alliance dominated Afghanistan. Pakistan post 9/11 Afghan policy has meant US has to take into consideration Pakistan's security interests while pursuing its policy towards Afghanistan and the region. Consultations with Pakistan on the post Taliban political and administrative reconstruction were due to Pakistan's changed policy. Pakistan Afghanistan dispute over the Durand line issue has also been contained due to US interest in it.

Pakistan also received a respectable amount of economic support, relaxation of both nuclear and democracy related sanctions. Very important, US bought the Pakistani argument in the nuclear proliferation scandal. In 2003, it came to be known that top Pakistani scientists are involved in illegal sale of Nuclear Material and technology. Pakistani government blamed it on personal greed of a few scientists and denied the involvement of government of Pakistan or its armed forces at any level or at any time in the past. United States had no choice but to accept Pakistani explanation, as it needed to keep Pakistan on its side in the War against Terrorism.²²⁶ Pakistan has also got the status of Non NATO Ally status of the United States, which means preferential treatment in procurement of weapons and defence related consultations.²²⁷ Pakistan re-entry into the Commonwealth is positive fallout of Pakistan's decision to be on the right side of the International Coalition against Terrorism.²²⁸

The revived India Afghanistan link, rising of the Durand issue and the re-entry of the Pashtun Nationalists on the Pakistan-Afghanistan and by extension India relations, may be interpreted by some as meaning the return to the pre-1992 era? However, a deeper look suggests a careful interpretation of the realities on ground. In the pre 1992 era United States supported Pakistan's stand generally in its relations with Afghanistan. However, India and Soviet Union supported Afghanistan's claims over Pakistani territory. There were limits to US support, as it had no influence over Kabul. In the post 9/11 era United States has influence on both sides of the Durand Line. This influence means the issue may be solved or at least kept confined. The real strategic nightmare for Pakistan is not the Northern Alliance domination of Afghanistan or Indian influence there. The real nightmare could have been if US-India-Russia-Iran and the Central Asian Republics had been on the opposite side of Pakistan's stand on the Durand Line. United States policy of keeping Pakistan on board in the 'War against Terrorism' has given Pakistani voices much more weight than the ouster of

²²⁵ In 1988 US had struck with Missiles at alleged terrorist training camps in Sudan and Afghanistan. Those hitting Afghanistan had crossed Pakistan with some even landing on Pakistani territory. US had not sought permission from Pakistan for use of its airspace.

²²⁶ Hamid Zahid, "Sorry Saga of Nuclear Proliferation", Daily *'The Daily Times'* Lahore, 8 February 2004.

²²⁷ 'Status of non-NATO ally formalized' Daily *Dawn* 17 June 2004.

Taliban from Kabul would have meant, given Pakistan's pre-9/11 Afghan policy of putting all its eggs in the Taliban basket.

The revival of Turkmenistan–Afghanistan–Pakistan and beyond, Gas and Oil pipeline project is a direct consequence of the changed Pakistan decision, having an impact on the regional oil energy game with impact on the geo politics of the region. One, Pakistan would have found it difficult to be get the advantages of its location only on the basis of economic considerations if had been on the wrong side of the international coalition. This project will have a positive impact on the economies of the region is obvious, it will have a political impact is also very significant. By tying the economic interest of these regional countries, this project has the potential of creating a vested interest in regional peace. Pakistan must redouble its efforts to implement the proposal for Iran – India Gas pipeline through Pakistan. That pipeline termed appropriately by Iranian President as the 'pipeline of peace' has the potential of making Pakistan the centre of Oil and Gas routes in the region, thus increasing its geo-political value.

It is Pakistani diplomacy that is failing to take full advantage of its location in a positive sense. That inability is also a result of the dominant mind set and strategic culture that simply cannot overcome India and find it difficult to give up the Islamic extremists as allies in the policy preferences resulting from it. To conclude, Pakistan's decision to be a part of the International coalition against terrorism has made room for Pakistan's diplomacy to seek the protection of legitimate state interests in Afghanistan, of its rightful place in regional geo politics and its security concerns emanating from India. How Pakistani diplomacy uses that room would depend on a number of factors, on the specific policy initiatives it takes and responses it chooses which are dependent how it makes those choices.

²²⁸ Daily 'Dawn' Karachi, 23 May 2004. Pakistan's membership of Commonwealth was suspended in 1999, when Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf staged a coup d' tat against the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Chapter 5

PAKISTAN'S DOMESTIC FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE IN THE POST SEPTEMBER 11 ERA

The decision made by Pakistani decision makers to align Pakistan with the United States in its war against terrorism had implications, which go far beyond the giving up of support for Taliban. The decision required certain fundamental changes that go down to the very basis of the development of the state and society of Pakistan. Support for Taliban was a result of specific historical cultural and systemic forces, acting from both within and without the state. Withdrawal of that support, rather taking a U-Turn, and going against them was negation of that particular decision-making process, and the worldview generated by that process. That specific worldview in turn sustained and helped in the development of Pakistani decision-making processes and determined the relative strengths of various sources of inputs in it. That decision generated a heated and serious debate about the very basis of the state, its identity, direction and state society relations. This chapter records, interprets and explains that debate. First, an introduction to the contending positions in the foreign policy debate is made. They are divided into three broad groups. Before recording these contending opinions and positions the chapter notes the announcement of Pakistan's changed policy, formally made by President Musharraf through a televised speech on 20 September 2001, immediately followed by a look at President Musharraf's televised address of 12 January 2002. The purpose of looking at the 12 January address along with the September 20 one is due to the fact that the second address is a continuation, rather completion of the policy shift announced in the earlier speech. It is by looking at them both together that the full domestic implication of Pakistan's policy change becomes clear. Then we look at the views of the three main streams of opinion on the Pakistani decision, identified below. The chapter concludes with identifying implications for decision-making of the debate and the changes brought or sought to be brought by the decision under review. That includes analysis of Government of Pakistan's policy to follow the domestic aspects of its changed Afghan Policy and its role in the 'War against Terrorism' inside Pakistan, the rise of MMA, and the conduct of elections 2002.

THE CONTENDING POSITIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY

Broadly speaking, the opinion within Pakistan revolved around three themes, each in turn representing a specific world view: some supported it with the belief that it is just a change of tools and as such would not affect the larger framework of Pakistan's foreign policy fundamentals and can be termed Pakistani Nationalists or in the terminology of political science as centrists; those who opposed it as they considered this a fundamental policy change, that would redirect Pakistan's over all foreign as well as domestic policy and can be grouped under the term of Fundamentalists or Religious Groups or in terms of political science as rightists the extremists among them would be termed as reactionaries; and finally those who supported it due to the very fact that it would change the fundamental directions of Pakistani state, both in the internal as well as external policy contexts and can be grouped under liberals with leanings towards the leftist position on the spectrum of political science theoretical classification. These are broad divisions and should not be construed as implying a very strict division. There are many sub divisions within these groups, as would become clearer when we look at their positions separately, below.

THE PAKISTANI DECISION

United States under secretary of State Armitage put forth a list of demands to the then Pakistani head of ISI Gen. Mahmood Ahmad the same day that terrorists struck at United States of America, i.e. on 11, September 2001. US Secretary of State Collin Powell repeated the set of demands to President Pervaiz Musharraf on 12 September.²²⁹ Pakistan announced its decision to go along with United States the next day.²³⁰ Pakistan agreed to all the demands made of it including a. to stop Al-qaeda operatives at Pakistan's border, intercept arms shipments through Pakistan and end all logistical support for Osama bin Laden, b. Blanket over flight and landing rights, c. Access to Pakistan, naval bases, air bases and borders, d. Immediate intelligence and immigration information, e. Condemn the Sept 11 attacks; f. curb all domestic expression of support for terrorism against the United States, its friends and allies, g. Cut off all shipments of fuel to the Taliban and stop Pakistani volunteers from going into Afghanistan to join the Taliban, and h. Break diplomatic relations with the Taliban and assist us to destroy (Osama) bin Laden and his Al-qaeda network to the surprise of US Secretary of State, Colin Powell.²³¹ After a process of consultations and discussions at different levels Gen. Pervaiz Musharraf addressed the Nation taking them into confidence about his decision to become ally in the 'War Against Terrorism' about to begin in Afghanistan. The main points of his address were:

Giving the slogan, Pakistan first, meaning interests of the state of Pakistan must be given priority over any other moral, ethical or ideological considerations.

²²⁹ Daily *The News* Islamabad, 13 September 2001.

²³⁰ Daily *The News* Islamabad, 14 September 2001.

²³¹ Woodward Bob, [2002], *Bush At War* Simon and Schuster Washington, pp 59-60.

- Not to permit India to use that war against Pakistan
- Pakistan would be able to get international, especially US, better understanding of its position on Kashmir and hence help in its solution.
- Protection of its strategic assets (Nuclear capability)
- Economic benefits

General Musharraf gave a very important basic and significant slogan, which can be termed as forming the basis of Pakistan's post 9/11 foreign policy that was 'Pakistan First'. The slogan of 'Pakistan first' have been interpreted as dissociating Pakistan from other Muslim causes in other parts of the world; thus hitting at one of the basic elements of Pakistani conscious, strategic culture and policies that considered it Pakistan's manifest destiny to espouse the Muslim causes; Islamic forces as tools of policy being a direct result of that. Put in this manner it had very obvious domestic implications as well. Pakistan's expectations of economic benefits were realised to a reasonable extent; however, the other three were not as simple as apparently Pakistani leadership considered they would be. It achieved the purpose of denying India the opportunity to use War against Terrorism to settle its own scores with Pakistan, at least in the short run. There is a debate on this point that is discussed below. Pakistan's expectations on Kashmir, if they were just for more international and especially US interest, were broadly speaking correct, but if they were of support for its position, both on the substance of the dispute and /or support for the means Pakistan had adopted, then Pakistan was up for a surprise. If protection of strategic assets meant their protection from some immediate military threat, then Pakistan achieved that; however, if it meant the International Community would ignore Pakistan's nuclear programme, policy, or its management, then that perception has its detractors.

The US demands had two parts; one, immediate that were military and the other were related to long term policy. The immediate military demands were met relatively easily. Pakistan coordinated its Afghanistan policy with the US strategy of counter terrorism of the use of military power and coercion. Three airports were made available to the US troops for logistical, communication and emergency support for their military operations against the Taliban in Afghanistan; the security agencies of Pakistan and the US exchanged information on Afghanistan²³²; and Pakistan strengthened its security arrangements on Pakistan–Afghanistan border. The long term policy related points of his speech, included, severing of all contacts with extremist groups and fundamentalism and not permitting the use of Pakistani territory as refuge by extremists. Both had long term implications for the very foundations and world view of the state as well as required some administrative and constitutional changes.

To understand the implications of 9/11 for Pakistan and Pakistani state's response one needs to look at President Musharraf's address to the nation of 12 January 2002. That speech came after ouster of Taliban from power, formation of a government headed by Hamid

²³² Concerning exchange of information some doubts have been expressed. It has been reported that Pakistan did not share fully its intelligence of Afghanistan with US. That may have been due to non cooperation of some rogue individuals or non cooperation of ISI as an organisation, being the single most important factor in Pakistan's continued support for Taliban, when gradually other parts of the decision-making elite started changing their views. Read Maley., William, 2003, p. 255-266

Karzai, an ethnic Pashtun, but clearly dominated by the Northern Alliance, in Afghanistan and the terrorist attacks on Indian parliament in December 2001. That speech must be understood as a logical step of the Pakistan's Afghan Policy change, addressing the broader implications and requirements of that change in external policy at internal level. President Musharraf outlined his commitments to eliminate extremism and jihadism from Pakistani state and society. The highlights of his speech²³³ are:

Ever since I assumed office, I launched a campaign to rid the society of extremism, violence and terrorism and strived to project Islam in its true perspective. First, in the year 2000, I started interacting with the Taliban and counselled them to inculcate tolerance and bring moderation in their ways. I also told them that those terrorists who were involved in terrorist acts in Pakistan and seeking refuge in Afghanistan should be returned to us. Unfortunately, we did not succeed. In year 2001, we sealed the Pak-Afghan borders and I gave directions that no students of any Madrassa (religious seminaries) should be allowed to cross into Afghanistan without relevant documents. Yet little improvement occurred. The day of reckoning has come. Do we want Pakistan to become a theocratic state? Do we believe that religious education alone is enough for governance or do we want Pakistan to emerge as a progressive and dynamic Islamic welfare state? The verdict of the masses is in favour of a progressive Islamic state. If any Madrassa (religious school) is found indulging in extremism, subversion, militant activity or possessing any types of weapons, it will be closed. All Madrassas will have to adopt the new syllabi by the end of this year. We must check abuse of mosques and Madrassas and they must not be used for spreading political and sectarian prejudices. The Kashmir problem needs to be resolved by dialogue and peaceful means in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people and the UN resolutions. We have to find the solution of this dispute. No organisation will be allowed to indulge in terrorism in the name of Kashmir. We condemn the terrorist acts of September 11, October 1 [In Srinagar, on state parliament] and December 13 [in Delhi, on Indian Parliament]. It is for the government to take a position on international issues. Individuals, organisations and political parties should restrict their activities to expression of their views. I request them to express their views on international issues in an intellectual spirit and in a civilised manner through force of argument.

President Musharraf address of 12 January really brought out the domestic component of Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy change. He made it clear that the change can not be confined to Afghanistan only, rather to Taliban only. The change has wider implications for both domestic as well as foreign policy, underlining the connection between Pakistan's Kashmir policy and the now abandoned pro Taliban Afghan policy. This change also had far reaching consequences for the identity and future of Pakistan. Pakistan has to make a choice between being part of the International Society and attempt to solve problems facing it in that system (the International Society) or challenge it from outside. Similarly, Pakistan must choose between being a modern educated and responsible state providing for the well being of its citizens or a fundamentalist extremist state threatening and being threatened by the International Society. President Musharraf put his weight behind change and progress, thus participating in the debate already underway after his initial decision to make Pakistan part of

²³³ For a full transcript of President Musharraf's speech read Daily *The News* Islamabad, 13 January 2002

the International Coalition against Terrorism. The choices were also a result of a decision that contradicted the dictates of its strategic culture that found religious extremists as useful tools/allies; pro Taliban Afghan policy being an expression of that.

PAKISTANI NATIONALISTS' POSITION

Pakistani Nationalists would include all those who draw their conceptual basis from the combination of secular image of Quaid-e-Azam Mohd Ali Jinnah, and the anti Hindu nature of Pakistan movement, strong state centric theoretical approach, with centrist political positions. The proponents of this view are present in the dominant section of Pakistani ruling elites. In fact one can call it the establishment point of view. Pakistan People's Party²³⁴ (PPP), both groups of Pakistan Muslim League (that is Nawaz group also called PML-N and Quaid-e-Azam group which is the current governmental party also called PML-Q), General Musharraf's views also makes him closer to this group. Most of the civil and uniformed bureaucracy can also be bracketed with this particular viewpoint. Islam based, mostly government owned think tanks, as well as most of the academia in Punjab and the Capital Islamabad along with some from the rest of the three provinces provide the intellectual basis to this view.

The above broad list clearly indicates the existence of variations within this alignment. There are some who can be termed as hawks, while others who are moderates, with some leaning a little towards left as well as others tilted to the right. All of them normally have, strong anti India views; a very strong commitment to the merger of whole of Kashmir with Pakistan and consider nuclear capability and programme to be basic to Pakistan's security and survival, which must be pursued whatsoever. There are differences on the military's right to govern; however, they are mostly in favour of a strong military. In foreign policy this view point holds, besides threat perception from India, friendship with People's Republic of China and good relations with USA [there are debates about this point] are considered very important. A close relationship with the Muslim Middle East, especially the conservative Arab States within that region, is also considered vital for Pakistan's security requirements.

On Afghanistan, this view takes the Pakistani establishment view that sees Afghanistan through the prism of its relations with India and concerns about Durand line. Their attitude is shaped by Pakistani state's relations with the Pashtun nationalists, who are viewed as anti Pakistan, mostly having the background of alignment with All India Congress Party in the pre-1947 era. For this view support for Taliban was not the policy rather they were a means to achieving of certain foreign policy goals. Some from amongst them had started arguing for

²³⁴ Pakistan Peoples Party formed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1968, is a party of centrist political positions with clear tilt towards the left of Centre politics. It is currently headed by Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Benazir Bhutto remained prime minister of Pakistan twice 1988 – 1991 and 1993 – 1997. Her government was dismissed on both occasions by the President prematurely. She is currently running the affairs of her party from exile.

withdrawing support for Taliban even before 9/11.²³⁵ Pakistan Peoples Party had voiced its opposition to pro Taliban policy of Pakistan much earlier.²³⁶

In the wake of 9/11, as can be evidenced from Pervaiz Musharraf's speech of 20 September as well as other statements and newspaper articles, this view considered giving up of Taliban does not mean any real fundamental change in Pakistan's Afghan policy or broader foreign policy, specially towards India, on Kashmir and Nuclear programme. Despite announcing support for the US led War against Terrorism, this view was behind the Pakistani attempts to somehow de-link Taliban from Osama Bin Laden. The attempts by Pakistan to convince the Taliban to accept US demands concerning Osama Bin Laden and other terrorists were a manifestation of this viewpoint. Which believed Taliban were still the best bet for Pakistan's Afghan policy, which remained unchanged as far as goals went. Pakistan tried to impress upon Americans not to support the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, which was considered to have links with India and Iran. Pakistan persisted with opposing Northern Alliance to the day they entered Kabul. For example one very eminent Islamabad based scholar wrote, "There are two visible contenders for power to fill the vacuum that withering away of Taliban regime would cause. They are Northern Front and the former king Zahir Shah. The Northern Front is a rag tag of commanders from the defeated communist army and warlords from the minority ethnic community. There are serious doubts about their ability to control the country or gain any allegiance from the majority Pashtun ethnic group. We should not forget that they ruled Kabul and territories beyond that point for four years and made a mess of everything. The surge in the international sentiment against the Taliban and the likelihood of punitive military action against them has rekindled their hope of capturing Kabul. They might, but that would not bring peace and stability to Afghanistan, as the civil war that has already ethnic overtones will take definite ethnic character and endanger the territorial unity of the country. If the Taliban have to be shown the door, a better and realistic alternative lies in forming a broad based government in which all Afghan groups should have representation."²³⁷ Pakistan's foreign minister Abdul Sattar while addressing a press conference made public his concerns over reports that the Northern Front in Afghanistan was seeking military assistance to fight the Taliban. He said, "Any decision on the part of any foreign power to give assistance to one side or another would be a recipe for greater suffering for the people of Afghanistan."²³⁸ He said that Pakistan favours a national reconciliation in Afghanistan as favouring one group would not serve the interest of Afghanistan."²³⁹ A retired Pakistan army general told a foreign journalist, "there has never been much real love lost for the Taliban in most of the High Command, especially after they rejected our advice and embarrassed us so badly over the past year, as in the case of the destruction of the statues. I myself have always hated them and their allies here. They represent the absolute antithesis of the Quaid-e-Azam's [honorary title given to Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan]

²³⁵ *ibid.* Judah Tim, 2002

²³⁶ "Pakistan Should Distance itself from Taliban: PPP", Daily 'Dawn', Karachi September 14, 2001

²³⁷ Rais., Rasul Baksh, "Fixing the politics of Afghanistan" Daily 'The News' Islamabad, 29 September, 2001. Prof. Dr. Rasul Baksh Rais is a former Director of the Area Study Centre (For North America) Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.

²³⁸ Press Conference of Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar, Daily, *The News* Islamabad, 26 September, 2001.

²³⁹ *ibid.*

vision of a modern secular state in which religion would provide only personal ethical values.”²⁴⁰

The hard line faction or what can be termed as the hawkish Pakistani nationalists were sceptic about President Musharraf's decision to join War against terrorism. They were not ready to accept the argument that this would improve Pakistan's standing in the west or would get much support vis-à-vis India, more specifically on Kashmir. This view considered Taliban to be the best and only bet Pakistan had in Afghanistan and were not ready to accept the arguments that support for them was no more tenable. A very articulate presentation of this view was presented by Dr. Shirin Mazari,²⁴¹ who wrote, “... problem that continues for Pakistan is the efforts by India to somehow throw Pakistan out of the loop of the anti terrorist coalition. Since Agra (refers to the Musharraf–Vajpai summit of July 2001) India has been suffering from a diplomatic trauma, which has only become more aggravated in the wake of its failure to get Pakistan denounced as a terrorist state, following the events of September 11. Instead, with Pakistan a critical player in the present international coalition against terrorism, India has to watch from sidelines. (Realising that Kashmir liberation movement may also be labelled as terrorism) it needs to be remembered that the Kashmiri Mujahideen struggle has always targeted military targets or targets of the Indian state – never civilians. That has been the pattern of the Indian security forces and the renegades in the pay of the Indian government; India has managed to cover up its own links to the Northern Alliance [in Afghanistan] and their acts of terror within Pakistan. So far, Pakistan is one of the few states that has declared specifically the sort of support it is giving/going to give to the fight against terrorism in the context of Afghanistan – barring Britain; even NATO states have not been so specific. Yet questions are being constantly raised about the security of this commitment. Doubts are being raised on all aspects of the Pakistani ruling elite. Now the US is trying to use the occasion to try and infiltrate our nuclear planning on the pretext of ‘securing’ our weapons. Against whom is the point? Our own people who may come to power at a future date? Surely protection of our nuclear asset was a major factor in pushing the government so forcefully into the anti-terrorist coalition in terms of Afghanistan. So how can we allow this coalition to be the reason for giving access to all our nuclear plans and weapons?”²⁴²

It does not reflect well on the US and its allies to continuously raise doubts in relation to Pakistan and to create a fear psychosis relating to Pakistan. If our intent is always suspect, there can be little basis for cooperation and a working partnership. [A warning!] The silent majority, which has supported the stance of the government, is getting restless at the insinuations and doubts being voiced by our supposed ‘allies’. Finally, Pakistan needs to be more proactive in not only stressing that struggles for self-determination are a legitimate part of international relations since self determination is a peremptory norm, but also that

²⁴⁰ Lieven Anatol, “Voices from the Region: Interview with Lt General (Retd.) Talat Masood, Pakistan Army” <http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications /anatolmasood. asp?from=pubtype>. The interview was conducted on 14 October 2001. Accessed 19 April 2004.

²⁴¹ Dr. Shirin Mazari currently heads the government owned, Islamabad based think tank, Institute of Strategic Studies and is a former Professor of International Relations Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.

²⁴² Mazari Shirin M. “Testing Times for Pakistan”, Daily *The News* Islamabad, 4 October, 2001

terrorism should not be linked to any religion.”²⁴³ Sensing the implications of War on Terrorism for Pakistani support for the ongoing Kashmiri struggle, especially its violent content, Dr. Shirin Mazari argued elsewhere for the need to distinguish between terrorism and the right of self determination (of Kashmiris).²⁴⁴

THE RELIGIOUS/FUNDAMENTALIST POSITION

This view is represented mainly by religious political parties. Most of them are currently part of Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA). MMA include JI led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Maulana Fazal Ur Rahman's JUI-F, Maulana Samiul Haq's JUI-S, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani's Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP), Professor Sajid Mir's Jamiat Ahle Hadith, and Allama Syed Sajid Naqvi's Tehrik-e-Islami. MMA components take active part in mainstream political and electoral process. There are other parties and groups representing a more extremist stand and a militant style. They include including Sipah-Sahaba (Army of the companions of the Prophet), Jaish-e-Muhammad, Lashkar-e-Tayyabba, Tehrik-Nifaz-e-Shari'at-e-Mummadi (TNSM) (Movement for the implementation of Prophet's Mohammad's [SM] system of governance), based in northern districts of NWFP, Hiz-ul-Tehrir, a party that exists internationally, especially in the Central Asian Republics and many other smaller religious groups and organisations. Tablighi Jama'at (Preachers Party) though not a political party, loosely organised and active in spreading religious beliefs, practices and values through word of mouth do provide, probably unintended support base to religious political views and parties. Among them JI stands out for its more internationalist Islamic approach, having connections with Gulbadin Hekmatyar in Afghanistan as well as Pan Islamic movements and parties in rest of the Muslim Countries, and being closer to Pakistan's Afghan policy, at least, till the rise of Taliban, than any other party. JUI mainly based having its main support base in rural NWFP and Pashtun areas of Balochistan, is a party that became significant player in Pakistan's Afghan policy with the rise of Taliban in 1994. The militant and extremist groups mentioned above had and may still maintain reasonably good relations with Taliban of Afghanistan. TNSM openly recruited and sent volunteers to fight along with the Taliban against US forces. Most of these parties had formed Afghan Defence Council under the leadership of Maulana Sami-ul-Haq head of his own faction of JUI much before the 9/11, for support of and lobbying for Taliban government in Afghanistan.

The religious groups, who had become very important partners of Pakistani foreign policy making and implementation, remained in that position till President Musharraf announced change of Pakistan's pro Taliban policy after 9/11. Religious slogans and groups were intended to be tools of Pakistan's foreign policy, especially in Afghanistan and India.²⁴⁵ The personality of Gen. Zia – Ul – Haq,²⁴⁶ who was a deeply religious person, the

²⁴³ *ibid*

²⁴⁴ “Distinguishing terrorism from Self Determination”, Daily *The New* 27 September 2001.

²⁴⁵ Discussed in Chapter two above.

²⁴⁶ Cooley., John K. 2001, pp. 47-64

requirements of maintaining Afghan resistance a holy Jihad, the religious basis of Pakistan's establishment [even if the original leaders of Pakistan movement were secular in their politics] all played a role in ascendancy of extremist religious groups in Pakistani decision-making.²⁴⁷ ISI was central to this relation between Pakistani establishment and these religious groups. The personal role of Gen. Hamid Gul, director ISI (1988 – 1989) in this connection is also important. The relationship between the two (Religious fundamentalists generally, especially JI and Pakistani military establishment) is well recorded.²⁴⁸

They considered change of pro Taliban policy means a much more fundamental change, both in Pakistan's domestic as well as foreign policy. According to Qazi Hussain Ahmad, "General Pervez Musharraf's 'Pakistan First' policy had basically pushed the country into a steadily growing crisis. First, Musharraf reversed his Afghan policy because of urging from US President George Bush. Now, he was undertaking an operation against his own people in the tribal areas to serve American interests, he added. He said a pro-Pakistan government had existed in Afghanistan. But, he said, General Musharraf promised (sic provided) President Bush air bases and intelligence support to dislodge the Taliban regime. Mr Ahmad said General Musharraf was instrumental in converting the Line of Control into an international border between India and Pakistan by starting a bus service between the two parts of Kashmir. 'What kind of travel documents would the Kashmiris living on both side of the Line of Control possess?' he asked. He added that General Musharraf changed the Kashmir policy under American pressure and had started negotiations with India without solving the Kashmir issue. 'America wants to establish not only economic supremacy in the world, but also cultural supremacy,' he said. As America's strategic partner, India wants the role of a mini-super power in the region, he said. Mr Ahmad added that the United States wants drastic changes in Pakistan's educational curriculum to deprive students of an awareness of Islamic culture."²⁴⁹ Qazi Hussain Ahmad takes articulated the religious parties view point on the implications of Pakistan changed Afghan policy very clearly. He understood and condemned the change in Pakistan's policy about Pan Islamism, Kashmir and very significantly the government's plans to change school syllabi. Such wide spread changes were expected to drastically undo the progress made by the religious right during the Zia era (1977–1988).

Qazi Hussain Ahmad thus points out, what he considers the unwanted consequences of Pakistan post 9/11 Afghan policy. That policy was not confined to just withdrawal of support to Taliban, which may have been palatable, but was covering the whole spectrum of the political and ideological makeup of Pakistan. Such a drastic fundamental change was unacceptable to the religious right. They considered this change would have implications for Pakistan's Kashmir policy as well as nuclear capability. Further, the slogan of 'Pakistan first' meant severing of any links any one in Pakistan had with any Muslim causes anywhere.

²⁴⁷ Giles., Dorronsoro, "Pakistan and the Taliban: State Policy, Religious Networks and Political Connections" in *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation*, Jaffrelot Christophe, (Ed). Manohar, New Delhi, 2002, pp 161-178.

²⁴⁸ Cooly. John K., 2001, pp.48-65.

²⁴⁹ Qazi Hussain ahmad Chief of JI's Press Conference, Daily *Daily Times* 26 February 2004

THE LIBERAL VIEW

In the domain of Pakistan's foreign policy, there exist other voices that for the purposes of this research have been termed as liberal view. It has been termed as alternative because with the probable exception of a few individuals, this view had not been part of the dominant sections of Pakistani state or society. One can include a broad array of academics, some Non governmental organisations (especially those involved with peace or human rights advocacy), and most of the smaller nationalist as well as progressive parties (including former Communists) with leanings to the left of the Centre of the Pakistani political spectrum. Like the other two groups a variety of views on specifics do exist at individual level and between associations within the broader view. This view is critical of the militarist postcolonial state structure, committed to democratic values and human rights. On foreign policy issues they advocate for peace with India believing dialogue to be the better way of solving disputes. They opposed Gen. Zia's Afghan policy, considering that would result in Talibanization of Pakistani state and society.

This view broadly agreed with the post 9/11 Afghan policy of the government of Gen. Musharraf as it was understood, it would not and cannot stop with withdrawal of support from Taliban or even providing support to US against Taliban in Afghanistan. They understood and supported the overall anti fundamentalist nature and requirements of Pakistan's policy shift. However, they tried and argued for ensuring respect for human rights in the conduct of the 'War against Terrorism', with some voices opposed to the use of military force. There was also a feeling that the West has conferred a new religious or Islamic identity on all Muslims considering them a homogeneous group. Many groups feel frustrated by the imposition of this new identity, as they do not support extremism (in the form of terrorism or fundamentalism). They have been in conflict with the religious Right, as they do not accept their version of Islam.

"The Muslim world, in general, and Pakistan, in particular, is gripped by an ideological paradox that undermines the alignment of Muslim countries with the West in its war against terrorism. Although the Muslim states, barring few exceptions, have had taken the path of 'modernisation'— however contradictory that may have been — they face an ideologically revivalist backlash that has become more pronounced after the cataclysm of September 11.

What is quite problematic is that even many of the 'modernists', in their populist anti-American rhetoric, are inclined to join forces with the extreme religious right over what they perceive as 'principal enemy'. Ironically, they borrow their ideological arsenal from the erstwhile East-West, Cold War divide while forging a 'joint front against imperialism' with the clergy in its sacred war against the infidels, i.e. modern civilisation, in general, and US-led West in particular. In what may turn out to be a very dangerous political gamble, or opportunism, they take comfort in the untenable nature of the fundamentalist project while becoming the tail of a most reactionary revivalism. The ideological paradox is so acute that even many of the so-called organisations of civil society, the NGOs in particular, who are in fact both the practitioners and beneficiaries of neo-liberalism, have also been swayed by 'anti-imperialist' populism. Not to mention the old time leftists who seek catharsis by venting their frustrated anti-Americanism.

As the ideological compromise breaks up between the clergy and the state wherever it was tenuously sustained in the Muslim world, such as in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Sudan, the ideological paradox has become much more pronounced than the modernist authoritarian countries, such as Turkey and Egypt, who had effectively separated the state from religion. In the post-Cold War times, the clergy in the Muslim world has gone through a political metamorphosis posing a serious threat to its benefactors of yesteryears, most importantly the US, the Saudi monarchy and the Pakistani establishment. It has also added a very parochial and divisive dimension to the causes of national liberation movements in the Muslim world, such as of Palestinians and the Kashmiris, helping in fact the forces of occupation and annexation.”²⁵⁰ A radical shift of policy is suggested. Pakistan first, the slogan given by President Musharraf in his address to the Nation on 20 September is translated into a policy of an enlightened self interest, which means Pakistan has to distance itself from commitments it has no material means to pursue. More importantly, Pakistan must make a clear break from its extremist friends, even if it insists on pursuing its Kashmir policy or support for national liberation movements. These movements must pursue a political course of action if they want to be supported by Pakistan.

M. B. Naqvi²⁵¹ puts the liberal argument clearly and forcefully in this regard, terming it as a ‘paradigm shift’. He writes, “Pakistan’s Afghan policy [pre 9/11] that yielded little other than narcotics and Kalashnikovs; it too is in tatters. Taliban regime, the crowning glory of Islamabad, seems doomed and Pakistan has been reduced to beseeching the US and rest of the world for a few minister-ships for ‘moderate’ Taliban in the next supposedly broad based government. The nine-year-old imperial sway over Afghanistan cost it dear. Iran was alienated and China became wary, though not alienated, while rest of the world felt more or less displeased.”²⁵² He then goes on to argue for a change in Kashmir policy in accordance with the ‘paradigm shift’, “Kashmiris have the right to live in whatever dispensation they freely choose. We would support it. But it is no business of Pakistan to win Kashmiris their rights for them. This undertaking got Pakistan governments into all manner of crises, wars and forced them into unstoppable and ruinously expensive arms races with India. Let Islamabad realise what is self-determination right: it is Kashmiris freedom and outsiders have no role; it is Kashmiris freedom from India that they have to achieve for themselves. For Pakistani state to engage in the struggle on their behalf would be seen by Kashmiris and others as self-aggrandisement. A change is unavoidable because it has ended up in a blind alley. The categorical imperative is: avoid war at all costs. This means strongly discouraging insurgents in Kashmir from using violent means. [Pakistan may continue political and diplomatic support] Only gun running has to be avoided; it should have no direct role in Kashmir. This should be followed up with a progressive military disengagement.”²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Alam., Imtiaz, “The Ideological Paradox”, Daily *The News*, Islamabad, 22 October, 2001. Mr. Imtiaz Alam, currently working as columnist with Daily ‘The News’, one of the largest English dailies in Pakistan, has background of leftist and democratic activism, which landed him in jail during Gen. Zia’s Martial Law in the 1980s.

²⁵¹ M.B Naqvi writes regularly in Daily Dawn published from Karachi, being one of the oldest and well reputed dailies of Pakistan, is active participant of peace and democracy related activities of the Civil Society

²⁵² Naqvi., M. B., “Direction for the paradigm shift”, Daily *The News* Islamabad, 31 October 2001.

²⁵³ Ibid.

The Pashtun secular nationalist parties faced a dilemma. They had opposed the Taliban for long, even if some initially expected them to serve the cause of Pashtun nationalism. They saw a chance of getting rid of religious extremists who had challenged their representative character as well as their vision for a modern and secular Pashtun society. On the other side they could not be seen supportive of a campaign that would have many Pashtun civilian casualties. Their anti imperialist history and liberal political outlook made them oppose the US military campaign. Mahmud Khan Achakzai²⁵⁴, a Pashtun nationalist leader from Balochistan, had opposed the rise of Taliban from the time of their origin. In an interview in the aftermath of 9/11 he said, “Sincerely condemning the horrible devastation of September 11, we should make very serious and honest efforts to stop an infinite war in this part of the world. You can’t befool the world any more, he warned the powers that be to realise. Supreme national interest demands that we should every thing to keep the US troops out of this region. They wouldn’t leave just like that after setting in. letting the Afghan mechanism work can avert the unimaginable. The mass of the people of Afghanistan have been made hostage by external forces for the past two decades. They were never allowed to decide for themselves. The forces too strong for them destroyed Afghanistan with the obsession of implanting the government of their liking there. He went on to identify the responsibility of US and Pakistan for the mess in Afghanistan. Achakzai suggested, the USA and others should prod and help Afghans to rush for holding of Loya Jirga, the traditional and known congregation of tribal elders of Afghanistan for making the crucial decisions in times of national crisis.”²⁵⁵ Asfandiyar Wali Khan, leader of Awami National Party, the nationalist organisation mainly based in NWFP, supported the Pakistani government’s decision to support US in the War against Terrorism.²⁵⁶ ANP, however, demanded a stop to the bombing of Afghanistan when the war started and supported the convening of a Loya Jirga to solve the resolve the issue.²⁵⁷ The nationalist opinion though opposed to the destruction caused to Afghanistan, were clearly not supporting the Taliban. They also expected the post 9/11 Pakistan would not be dominated by religious extremism and would refrain from interfering in Afghanistan in favour of religious groups that had Talibanised Pashtun society, both in Afghanistan as well as Pakistan.²⁵⁸

The liberal opinion in Pakistan has been deeply divided since the takeover of Gen. Musharraf in 1999. One view held that as Army was responsible for the non-liberal development of Pakistani state and society, it is better poised to correct the situation and so, must support the liberal agenda of the general. The other view held that Army is not the institution that can liberalise or democratise the state and society. It was these debates and expectations in mind when a commentator wrote, “what will happen to the deep polarisation [reference is to the fundamentalist non fundamentalist divide] that has thrived in the Pakistani society – a polarisation which has also reflected the tendency of the rulers to play both sides

²⁵⁴ Mahmud Khan Achakzai is head of Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party [Pro-Pashtun National Peoples Party (PMAP)] mainly based in Pashtun areas of Balochistan. He also enjoys the distinction of being the only Pashtun Nationalist elected to Pakistan national parliament in 2002.

²⁵⁵ Daily *The News* Islamabad, 21 September 2001.

²⁵⁶ Daily *The Frontier Post* Peshawar, 23 September 2001.

²⁵⁷ Daily ‘*Dawn*’ Karachi, 10 October 2001.

and put off important decisions? A significant point to be made at this is that the road that the present regime has chosen with its resolve to join the international alliance against terrorism was always there and we did not take it. When General Musharraf took over about two years ago and talked about Pakistan being at the crossroads, hopes were raised that he would make the choice that was dictated by the Quaid's vision of this country. But in spite of some initiatives (or) gestures) that were considered liberal or socially liberating, the 'jehadi' passions were allowed to prevail. And we should have known that the consequences of this default would be disastrous.

Is Pakistan now finally making a decision that it has deferred for so long, for whatever reasons? It does seem that the policy of cooperating with the US in its forthcoming war against terrorism will have a far reaching impact on our national policies. This is what the liberal critics of the ruling establishment had always been demanding. [Pointing out the dilemma of Pakistani liberal] However, this may not be the vindication be the vindication of their faith in democracy and freedom because of the manner in which the policy change has come. Ideally, Pakistan should have distanced itself from Taliban for the right reasons, after a national debate on the conflict that has emerged between the religious militants and the moderates."²⁵⁹ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan [HRCP]²⁶⁰ supported the solution of the Afghan issue through a Loya Jirga and opposed bombing of Afghanistan. It also opposed continued Pakistani and other outside interference in Afghan affairs. Asma Jehangir, its former chairperson and Afrasiab Khattak its chairman at the time, considered Pakistan to be responsible for the distortion of Afghan culture by outside specially Pakistan through its official support to fundamentalists and extremists.²⁶¹ A large number of other Non governmental Organisations also condemned the US bombings, favoured consultations and dialogue to be a better method solving the mess created by the Taliban.²⁶² Another commentator from the liberal segment of the Pakistani political divide commented, "It goes to General Musharraf's credit, however, that he can accept new facts and ideas, and fashion his behaviour in their light. A less mentally supple leader could have fallen a martyr to his own rigidity. All the same, to begin with, when he became army chief, his ideology had GHQ stamped all over it: with all the accompanying notions of jihad, Afghan depth and the strategic space provided by our nuclear capability. That these notions have taken a battering during the two years that he has been at the helm is obvious. Under the pressure of events, the old certainty about these central governing concepts has all but disappeared. But General Musharraf has taken these developments in his stride"²⁶³

²⁵⁸ Interviews with Afrasiab Khattak and Ajmal Khattak [no relation to each other] two nationalist leaders from NWFP, belonging to ANP.

²⁵⁹ Salahuddin Ghazi, "Crisis of Pakistan", Daily *The News* Islamabad, 18 September 2001.

²⁶⁰ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan is a prominent non governmental human rights advocacy organisation.

²⁶¹ Daily *Dawn* Karachi, 28 October, 2001.

²⁶² Joint statement of 13 different NGOs which included the prestigious Islamabad based Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) and Aurat (Woman) Foundation, Daily *The News* 13 October, 2001

²⁶³ Amir., Ayaz, "Joining the international mainstream", Daily *Dawn* Karachi, 5 October 2001.

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN'S ACTIONS TO FURTHER THE POLICY CHANGE AT DOMESTIC LEVEL

Pakistan's changed policy and responsibility as an ally in the 'War against Terrorism' required some actions and adjustments inside Pakistan. The 'War against Terrorism' in Afghanistan has a Pakistani component. Support for Taliban was not confined to state level only. Various religious groups with or without state consent had links with and Supported Taliban as well as Al-Qaeda. Pakistan also had become a route for all international connections of the various Islamist groups with Taliban ruled Afghanistan. Most of these international groups had local Pakistani connections and bases. Moreover, contiguity with Afghanistan, and the existence of the special administrative region, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with local autonomy on the Afghan-Pakistan border created another set of problems, having a direct bearing on the operations in Afghanistan, both when Taliban were holding to Power and now when they have been ousted, but are resisting. The domestic leg of the post 9/11 Pakistani Afghan policy meant fighting its part of the 'War against Terrorism' on its soil, throughout Pakistan as well as in FATA. Government of Pakistan have acted on its part to play its part, creating or rather furthering the existing fissures in the society as well as attracting both international appreciation and criticism.

GOP actions and policies in all of Pakistan

Pakistani policy in the aftermath of 9/11 has taken two categories; one are introduction of reforms in different fields to address the issue of extremism and two, are those actions taken against extremist and terrorist organizations and individuals. Pakistan banned some organizations in January 2002 and have arrested and handed over to US more than 800 wanted terrorists, both Pakistanis and foreigners, or killed them. While lauded by some within and quite a few internationally, these actions have also attracted criticism from different quarters. The religious or non-religious right has accused the GOP for being too submissive to the US and fighting the war of infidels against Islamic Mujahideen and considers them a betrayal. These actions of the Government of Pakistan have also been criticized by a section of liberal thought, on the basis of violations of basic human rights and due process, thus undermining rule of law and injustice, thus furthering extremism rather than eliminating it.

On domestic front, 9/11, both, US action in Afghanistan and Pakistani support for it along with some of the resultant domestic policy initiative had resulted in formation of the grand religious alliance, MMA. The elections held in 2002 saw the emergence of MMA as a strong party in all of Pakistan, especially in NWFP and Balochistan, the two provinces neighbouring Afghanistan. In NWFP it has formed a government and in Balochistan it is part of the coalition government.

Success of MMA has been at the expense of secular mainstream parties generally however, it has almost eliminated the Pashtun Nationalists from electoral politics. ANP could not secure a singly seat of National Assembly, while PMAP was able to just clinch one from Balochistan. ANP bagged 11 seats to MMA's 38. In national Assembly, MMA got 60 seats

to PPP's 71, however, as some PPP members deserted it, MMA have been able to name its leader Maulana Fazal Rehman as leader of opposition. It must be pointed out that in all earlier elections the combined strength of the parties forming MMA had never been near this number. Though elections to the 8 parliamentary seats from FATA are held on non party basis, all the 8 elected are religious leaders and are closer to MMA. They replaced the traditional Malik there. (More focused discussion on FATA follows)

On the face of it, these electoral results can be interpreted as meaning the rise of support for extremism at popular level and the unpopularity of the post 9/11 Pakistan's Afghan policy in particular and role in 'War against Terrorism' in general. It can also be interpreted as the rejection of secular nationalists by the Pashtuns of NWFP and Balochistan. It can also mean that Pashtuns support for Taliban is on both sides of the Durand Line.

So, the Government of Gen. Musharraf has to deal with a growing popular extremist challenge. International Community must understand the dilemma of the Government of Pakistan while fulfilling its commitments in the 'War against Terrorism', and not push too much on democracy, Kashmir or Nuclear issue. International Community must understand and believe that Gen. Musharraf is there best bet, rather the only bet in Pakistan. The liberal and secular alternate in the shape of PPP and PML (N) is corrupt and incompetent as well as not popular enough to meet the challenge of the extreme religious right and deal with the Talibanization of Pakistani society. As far as secular Pashtun nationalists are concerned, they are no more relevant and do not represent the Pashtuns. Pashtuns are very religious people. The world must believe 'being Pashtuns means Taliban'. Moderate Taliban means moderate Pashtuns and vice versa.

However, on closer examination such obvious understanding and interpretation does not hold water and reveals many complexities. The various components of the strategic culture that had resulted in Pakistani state's pro Taliban Afghan policy had not been altered, even if they had become under an intense stress after 9/11. While a certain level of popular sympathy may be a reason for MMA's electoral success, there are other factors that also account for it and must not be ignored. The military and Mullah had a long standing overlapping of interests and perceptions that viewed the secular democratic and centrist parties as well as ethnic nationalists as a challenge to the ideological basis of the state of Pakistan. While relations between them were strained and fractured as a result of the state's role in 'War against Terrorism', a certain strategic shared vision still persisted. Like argued earlier in this chapter, the centrists had a strong element that considered the relationship with the religious right must not be totally severed. They had tried to avert the total ouster of Taliban earlier by trying to convince the US to wait and the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden and meet the other demands of US as well. Failing that Pakistan have continuously argued for representation of 'moderate Taliban'/ Pashtuns in the post Taliban Afghan government. Pakistan has become a champion of Pashtun rights in Afghanistan. This not a changed attitude or policy towards Pashtuns. This pro Pashtun policy must be read together with the policy of promoting Pashtun identity as religious identity. Thus through Talibanization of Pashtun politics on both sides of the Durand Line, Pakistan is continuing its policy of use Religious forces as a tool of policy, both against the secular Pashtun, and Indian influences in Afghanistan.

Similarly, on Pakistan level, by keeping the leadership of the mainstream parties, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, MMA has been facilitated to become the alternate. The government of Gen. Musharraf has found MMA as representing opposition to be quite helpful in more than one way. Except for the recent issue of the Bill on Women Protection, the Government had backtracked on almost all reform initiatives, when confronted by the MMA. The issues include, backing out on the issue of religious column in Passports and Syllabi reform for general schools as well as Madrassas. In return MMA facilitated the passing of a constitutional amendment legitimizing the General's rule with more powers and also supporting his continuation of remaining President and Chief of Army Staff at the same time. By portraying MMA as the real challenge and the alternative to his rule, General Musharraf has also been able to get international support for his rule and his style of democratization process.

‘War against Terrorism’ in FATA

Pakistan's conduct of ‘War against Terrorism’ in on its territory is more intense and real FATA, thus requiring a separate treatment then rest of Pakistan. However, it has to be understood in the context of overall Pakistani strategic culture and the mind set. The mind set that has a special place for religious extremists explains, at least partially Pakistan's treatment of another uprising that it is facing, that of Balochs. While the State does not mince any words or shirk from using extreme force against the Balochs, one notes reluctance when it comes to use of force against pro Taliban elements.²⁶⁴

Introduction to FATA

Tribal Areas have a special constitutional status with its own legal and administrative system. Constitutionally called Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), they are directly administered by the federal government through governor of North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Administratively, FATA is divided into seven political agencies viz Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram, North and South Waziristan, and six Frontier Regions: Peshawar FR, Kohat FR, Bannu FR, D I Khan FR, Tank FR and Lakki Marwat FR.

The agencies of Khyber, Kurram, North and South Waziristan that were created by the British more than a century and a quarter ago and the other three agencies that were created after the establishment of Pakistan, also follow the administrative system of the earlier agencies. There are many tribes and sub tribes in the FATA, some of them partly spreading into the adjoining settled districts as well as across the Durand line into Afghanistan. The major tribes include Yusufzais in Malakand and Bajaur Agency; Mohmands in Mohmand Agency; Afridis and Shinwaris in Khyber Agency, Peshawar and Kohat; Orakzais in Orakzai

²⁶⁴ This section on FATA draws heavily on a presentation made by the author on ‘Pakistan's Strategy towards FATA’ at a Conference organized by the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey California, in September, 2006. Also read for a detailed treatment of FATA situation, International Crisis group's PAKISTAN'S TRIBAL AREAS: APPEASING THE MILITANTS, Asia Report No. 125, 11 December 2006.

Agency; Turis and Bangash in Kurram Agency; Wazirs in North Waziristan Agency; and Mahsuds in South Waziristan Agency.²⁶⁵

The state has a minimum presence, which is through the office of the Political Agent (PA), who is both administrative and judicial authority, supported by a locally recruited militia force called Khasadar force. Tribes are held collectively responsible for any violation of the applicable law that is Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), enacted by the British Punjab Government in 1872 and revised in 1887 and 1901. Before 1956, FCR covered the whole of NWFP and Balochistan, but through an amendment, the settled districts of the province were exempted from FCR. Similarly, while, FCR was abolished in 1973 in Balochistan. However, the people of FATA are still governed by FCR.

Despite the introduction of adult franchise in 1997, the people of the Tribal Areas do not yet enjoy political and legal rights as equal citizens of Pakistan. Article 25 of the 1973 Constitution declares that all citizens of Pakistan are equal before law; but this article is not applicable to FATA, although under Article 1 of the Constitution FATA is part of the territories of Pakistan. The two elections (1997 and 2002) following the introduction of adult franchise in FATA were held on non-party basis. Despite the persistent demands by the political parties and civil society organizations, political parties have not been allowed to extend their activities in the Tribal Areas. Under Article 247 of the Constitution, federal government enjoys absolute authority over the Tribal Areas. Under sub-section (7) of the same Article, High Courts and Supreme Court of Pakistan are barred from exercising jurisdiction over FATA. There is no system of appeal against the decisions of the PA.

Jirga (Council of Tribal Elders) is a traditional institution, adapted by the British Colonial government, and has been used for all issues of governance including administration of justice, resolution of disputes and other collective issues. Retained by Pakistan, this Jirga, convened by Political agent consisting of not less than three Government recognised Maliks, (tribal elders, not to be confused tribal chiefs, which are not present in the Pashtun tribal system) is used for a multiplicity of governance related issues, including dealing with law and order situation, as means of communication, as dispute resolution body, as a body to determine responsibility for particular acts of omission or commission and as a body with which when there is a need, to negotiate a deal, a treaty. Jirga is the means of communication used by the two sides, the government and the people of FATA, to talk to each other.

In short, Pakistani State has limited its interference in the tribal area to the security of its border posts, routes and government offices, and to check any influence Afghan government may gain there, keeping in mind Afghan position on Durand Line and relationship with India. It is the last factor that has been the over riding concern of Pakistan's tribal policy. This can be understood with reference to Pashtun nationalist politics, with its historic Afghan and Indian connection, within the context of Pakistan's strategic culture, which has India, Islam and the military as constants and defining elements.

Pakistan accepted the autonomous character of FATA through the Instrument of Accession signed by the Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the first Governor General of Pakistan and leader of Pakistan movement, at the Bannu Tribal Jirga in January 1948. There was no

²⁶⁵ Government of Pakistan, *1998 Census Report of FATA, Census Publication No. 152*, (Islamabad: Population Census Organization, Statistics Division, March 2001), p. 1

fundamental change in the policy of the government so far as administrative and political structure of the Tribal Areas was concerned. The Government of Pakistan continued to deal with local Maliks through the Political Agents instead of establishing contacts with the people at grass-root levels. Although, Mr. Jinnah had expressed a desire for change, nothing fundamental has been done in this regard.²⁶⁶

The Developments on Ground 2001–2006

After the fall of Taliban in Afghanistan, a number of Taliban and Al-Qaeda (both Arabs and some Central Asians) took refuge in tribal areas of Pakistan, joining some already present there. It soon transpired that these elements are not using the tribal belt just for refuge and asylum they are also using it for launching their resistance against US/NATO and Afghan forces in Afghanistan. Additionally it was reported that many of the high leadership which probably includes Osama Bin Laden himself, are hiding in these areas, it became imperative for Pakistan to do something about it. GOP started a military intervention in the tribal areas. At present there are about 70,000 Pakistan army troops deployed in FATA, in addition to the tribal militia called Khasadar force.

Foreigners and Afghan Taliban were and are present in Mohmand Agency, Bajaur Agency, in Dir and Chitral (the last two are not part of FATA). Rather, quite a few if not all foreigners from Waziristan have (been) shifted to Dir, more specifically Bahrawar Banda on Pak Afghan border in Dir. Similarly local Taliban are present in all agencies and recruits for fighting alongside Afghan Taliban inside Afghanistan are drawn from all over Pakistan, including Punjab and Sindh, not just FATA or NWFP. FATA is more important as a route and safe haven for these various infiltrations from different sources. FATA has an approximately 1400 kilometers long border with Afghanistan. It has mainly seven known crossings while quite a number of unrecorded crossings, which are also known as smugglers' routes. Traditionally, the tribal people have had relations with both Afghanistan and Pakistan. They would have properties and businesses in both countries and move between the two countries freely. This open border has facilitated illegal practices including smuggling of a variety of goods including drugs and weapons. In the 1980s this porous border became the route for international support for Afghan resistance to the Soviet Union and in the post 9/11 era it has become the route and safe haven for anti Karzai elements.

North and South Waziristan Agencies

The two separate agencies of North and South Waziristan are dealt with together as they are strongly linked due tribal, political and social life. Three tribes, Wazirs mainly in North Waziristan with some in Wana valley of South Waziristan, Mehsuds in South Waziristan and Daurs in North Wazistan are the main inhabitants of the two agencies. Wazirs are sub divided into two main braches; Uthmanzai and Ahmadzai. There are a number of smaller sub clans of the two. Ahmadzais live in NWA, Wana valley of SWA and FR Bannu. While Uthmanzi Wazirs live in NWA only.

When in 2003, under pressure from its allies in the 'War against Terrorism' GOP demanded that all foreigners living in FATA (rather NWA) must either leave the country or

²⁶⁶ Ahmad, Waheed, ed. *Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice, Vol.VII:*, (Karachi: Quaid-e-Azam Academy, 2003), pp346-349.

register themselves with the GOP, the beginning of a series of events was witnessed also heralding the real Talibanization of FATA, which today has reached its zenith and is having a spill over into the adjoining settled districts of NWFP, with a potential of spreading to larger areas. For reasons best known to GOP, only foreigners living in NWA were targeted ignoring their presence in other agencies, mostly Mohmand Agency, Bajaur and the former princely state of Dir and Chitral. We saw the emergence of Nek Mohammad from a sub clan of Ahmadzai Wazirs, Gulikhel. After a lot of loss of life on both sides, the first truce agreement with the insurgents in April 2004, known as Shakai agreement. That agreement was the first truce between local tribes, insurgents or Taliban and GOP. All the subsequent agreements and deals, written or unwritten, announced or unannounced followed the pattern set by it. The deal provided a. Army troops will not interfere in the internal tribal affairs and will stay in the cantonment areas, b. Local insurgents will not attack GOP personnel or equipment or buildings. C. (According to GOP version) All foreigners will register themselves with the government. The locals deny the existence of such a clause. They even denied the presence of any foreigners. That deal was broken very soon, as the government insisted on registration of foreigners and the Nek Mohammad and his friends mainly consisting of his sub tribe Gulikhel of Ahmadzai Wazirs refused the presence of any foreigners and said even if there were, we had never agreed to their registration. Nek Mohammad was target killed through a remote device. The use of sophisticated methods in tracking and killing led many to believe that US, rather than Pakistan Army had killed him. After some more skirmishes and deaths and destruction, his successor Maulvi Abbas have reached an unannounced understanding with the government under which Maulvi Abbas can run the affairs of his tribe without any interference from the GOP, while he will not attack GOP positions. Both sides have not mentioned foreigners and there is no talk of them any more at least as far as Gulikhels are concerned.

However, after the death of Nek Mohammad the issue spread out of the Gulikhels, Ahmadzais and Wazir tribe. Gradually over the past two years quite a few local Taliban groups emerged in both the agencies, however, more significantly in South Waziristan Agency, who clashed with Military forces at different times. They include groups led by Hafiz Gul Bahadur, Maulana Sadiq Noor Maulana Abdul Khaliq, Baitullah Masud, Abullah Wazir (a former Gauntanamao Bay internee) Maulvi Abbas. Though formally no political party can function in FATA, Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI-F) led by Maulana Fazal Rehman, part of the Pakistani alliance of Religious parties, has gained a lot of ground and is quietly openly involved in Waziristan politics. It was this party that played a major role in the recent Sept. 5 agreement. Cynics call it another example of a continued relationship between religious forces and Pakistan Army.

Since April 2004 till the recent September 5 2006 agreement many repetitions with a certain pattern can be noticed; military operations, peace deals (again some announced some unannounced) and their violations all resulting in a continuous process of Talibanization of both agencies. Abdullah being an educated person (having a master's degree from DI Khan University, with one brother a major in Pakistan Army and another, a College Lecturer of economics) seems to be a bridge between Alqaeda and local Taliban. He uses modern methods of propaganda, making videos of himself making fierce speeches and telling stories of his mistreatment at Guantnamao Bay as well as other promotional Jehadi videos. He also

is actively involved in recruitment of Jihadis for Tribal Areas itself as well as Afghanistan. Others have varying degrees of relationship with Al Qaeda and Afghan Taliban. They may at times compete with each other, but overall they support each other when there is a need and all support Afghan Taliban, foreigners/A Qaeda presence in FATA as well as the process of Talibanization. One can not confirm a connection without any doubt; however, whenever there are increased reported deaths of Taliban in Afghanistan, there are increased burials of bodies with marks of violent death, in different parts of Waziristan.

Local Taliban have gradually become a parallel government, rather the only government. Their rise has changed the internal governance of Waziristan radically. The traditional Jirga or Maraka as it is called in Waziristan has been formally banned by the Taliban. Now in case of any dispute the parties must seek intervention of Taliban representative in their village or area. They perform the functions of police, administration of civic responsibilities, as well as judiciary. Their governance style is the same as that of Taliban was when they ruled Afghanistan. However, one local style remains, there is no one single central authority. They are a number of scattered groups led by different local Maulvis or religious leaders. The Taliban have made inroads into adjacent settled districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan as well. They have successfully banned Music stores, videos and in some areas Televisions as well. Reference is to the adjacent settled areas, as far the agencies are concerned these items and Computers are totally banned since the last two years.²⁶⁷

In the early months of 2006 the gradual increase in the area of influence of Taliban reached a serious level. The Uthmanzai Wazirs took control of government departments (Non Military) in Miran Shah, the main town of North Waziristan. This prompted a new military operation. The GOP in the meanwhile appointed a new governor of NWFP, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Ali Mohammad Jan Orakzai, (himself a tribal, had remained Corps Commander of Peshawar, responsible for the military deployment in Tribal Areas 2002). He initiated a dialogue through formation of a tribal grand Jirga of 45 members drawn from all over the FATA. It was this Jirga that has negotiated the current agreement of 5 September 2006. It has been appreciated as a great achievement of the GOP in its drive against terrorism in FATA as its part of the Global War on Terror. Some even went so far as calling it a model that may be followed in Afghanistan. On the other side it has been criticized as total capitulation. A closer look shows it to be no different than earlier agreements and understandings. It permits Taliban to retain their administrative and political position; it permits them to retain their weapons and returns to them what has been taken from them; it permits foreigners to remain without any registration on promise of good conduct; it accepts the tribal demand for army withdrawal from most areas including border posts; on the part of Taliban it provides that the areas would not be used for activities against Karzai government in Afghanistan; the Taliban will not attack government positions; The Taliban will stop target killing of pro government Tribal Maliks; Taliban will not impose their lifestyle on others by force in the tribal areas; and will also refrain from spreading their influence or what can be called Talibanization in adjacent areas. The government has changed its position on the agreement more than once in the two weeks that follows it. First it was called an agreement with local Taliban, then it was

²⁶⁷ Interviews with Zubair Masood, Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Peshawar, Tariq Khan, Provincial coordinator, NWFP, Human rights Commission of Pakistan.

called an agreement with Uthmanzai Wazirs (The GOP spokesperson wrongly called them Uthmankhel) then the President called it an agreement with moderate Pashtuns, and finally Governor of NWFP called it an agreement with the Jirga. The Governor also asserted that there would be surgical use of force when and if needed, which means it is not a comprehensive peace agreement with all local Taliban as was asserted in the beginning.²⁶⁸ In the background of the status of Jirga what an agreement with it would mean has yet to be seen. There have been at least two instances of murder of pro government Tribal Malikis since September 05 and there have been bombing of video stores in the outskirts of Bannu.²⁶⁹

At the moment not very pronounced, but a simmering conflict between the locals and foreigners is also seen.²⁷⁰ Maulana Sadiq Noor of JUI-F has publicly asked foreigners to behave and not to interfere in local politics including militant activities against the GOP. Does it mean the weakening of Al Qaeda or the strengthening of Talibanization throughout Pakistan through JUI-F? It is a question that will be answered by time only? Is this the result President Musharraf had in mind when he talked of differentiating between Taliban and Al Qaeda while addressing the European parliament in September 2006? In the recent ongoing tussle on the proposed Women protection bill, the JUI threatened that if MMA's views on the bill are not accommodated, besides other measures, the recent peace deal in Waziristan may also be endangered.²⁷¹ Such open contentions by political parties like JUI also shows the persistent ties of the so called religious political parties part of the mainstream Pakistani politics and extremists / Terrorists or Taliban. Khalid Aziz, a former Chief Secretary of NWFP, said in an interview recently that the developing situation in FATA would soon reach a point when either the GOP has to ask US troops to intervene or give up the administration

²⁶⁸ According to Rahimullah Yousafzai writing in *The News on Sunday*, Islamabad, 17 Sept. 2006, titled, "So Far So Good", "North Waziristan's political agent Dr Fakhre Alam Irfan signed the peace agreement on behalf of the federal government and the Governor of NWFP Lt Gen (Retd) Ali Mohammad Jan Aurakzai, who played a key role in constituting and facilitating the Loya Jirga to peacefully end the conflict in North Waziristan. On behalf of the militants, Mohammad Azad, Saifullah, Ahmad Shahjehan, Mir Sharaf, Eid Niaz, Hafiz Amir Hamza and Azmat Ali signed the agreement. Saifullah was representative of Hafiz Gul Bahadur, the head of the militants' shura. As an afterthought, the government has been insisting that it signed the peace accord with the tribes of Utmanzai inhabiting North Waziristan and not with the militants. In fact, the militants belong to the Utmanzai tribes. The original text of the agreement read by Loya Jirga member Maulana Nek Zaman, the pro-JUI-F/MMA MNA from North Waziristan and the most influential jirga member, made it clear that parties to the peace accord were the political agent as representative of the Governor of NWFP and "the tribal elders of North Waziristan and local mujahideen, Tulaba (students or Taliban) and Ulema of the Utmanzai tribes."

²⁶⁹ For various aspects of the September 05 agreement read, NWFP Bureau Report "Govt, N. Waziristan Taliban enter Peace Agreement", *Pakistan Times* <http://www.pakistantimes.net/2006/09/06/top10.htm>. Barbara Plett, "Analysis: Pakistan's deal with 'Taleban' BBC News, Islamabad, http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/south_asia/5320692.stm. Khalid Aziz, "NWA accord: Return of the Taliban", <http://www.statesman.com.pk/opinion/opin1.htm>. Also read Rahimullah Yousafzai's piece from note no.7 above.

²⁷⁰ Recently two Uzbeks were killed by tribal youth when the Uzbeks asked them not to smoke Hashish. Their bodies were then tied to pickup truck and dragged to the Madrassa of Maulana Sadiq Noor, who objected to the treatment of the dead bodies not to the murder.

²⁷¹ Behroz Khan, "Welcome No More", *The News on Sunday*, 17 Sept. 2006.

to Taliban.²⁷² Apparently the policy of deals with Taliban (or as later claimed to be with local elders) is giving it up to Taliban.

Other Agencies

As the situation in the remaining five agencies and FR regions is similar to each other and at the moment has not resulted in serious violent breakdown, though it should not be taken as if normalcy prevails there, and due to space limitations they would be dealt together.

The process of Talibanization had started much earlier throughout the tribal belt. There were sporadic instances of religious groups rising in the 1990s in various agencies or parts of them, however, a serious religious movement called Tehrik e Nifaz Shariat e Muhammadi (TNSM, Movement for Implementation of Sharia of Muhammad) started in 1997. In Malakand Division, made up of the former princely states of Swat, Dir and Chitral, comprises of both settled districts and provincially administered Tribal Area (PATA). Strictly speaking Malakand Division is not part of FATA, however, due to a variety of reasons most of it, if not all has quite similar features to FATA in terms of actual administration as well culture and lifestyle. That movement spread throughout Malakand division and the adjacent Bajaur and Mohmand Agency. They had become a force to reckon with and started implementing policies, which later came to be known as Talibanization much before the Talibanization of Afghanistan and Waziristan agencies. Its leader Maulana Sufi Muhammad led thousands of supporters drawn from all over FATA as well as settled districts of Pakistan to fight alongside Taliban against US led International forces in 2001. After the ouster of Taliban, Maulana Sufi Muhammad was arrested by Pakistani authorities while he was returning and is still in jail. His movement, TNSM still lives on as a potent force. However, it is peaceful at the moment. Though relatively peaceful should not be confused with inactive. It has seen its share of violent uprisings at various intervals. It is active in a gradual process of Talibanization in areas of its influence, which includes the whole of Malakand division and the two agencies of Bajaur and Mohmand. Its connection with Afghan Taliban and as well as Al Qaeda is clear from the fact that when US missiles hit at a Bajaur Agency target, barely missing Ayman Al Zawahiri on 13 January 2006 most of the 17 people killed belonged to TNSM. Pakistani aircraft or missiles (some allege they were US) hit a religious seminary in village Damadolla in Mohmand Agency on 30 October 2006, killing all 85 present there. GOP alleged they had reliable information that they were trainee suicide bombers.²⁷³ Interestingly, the GOP had planned signing of an agreement with the militants on the pattern of North Waziristan the same day. On 8 November 2006, 42 Army soldiers died as a result of a suicide attack while they assembled for some training drill inside a military compound in an Army Cantonment in Dargai, in Malakand Agency (it is provincially administered tribal area PATA), neighboring Mohmand Agency.²⁷⁴

The village Darmoda in Mohmand Agency, where Zawahiri was reportedly hiding is the centre of TNSM activities and its stronghold. It must also be interesting to note that Ayman Al Zawahiri is married to a Mohmand woman who, with her children, lives with her father in the border area between Bajaur Agency and Mohmand tribal regions. Pakistan had been

²⁷² Intikhab Alam, "Flashpoint Frontier", Monthly Herald, Karachi, June 2006.

²⁷³ <http://www.dawn.com/2006/10/31/index.htm>

²⁷⁴ <http://paktribune.com/speakout/index.php?id=101>

asked by the Americans to help arrest four residents of the Bajaur Agency for allegedly harboring some top Al Qaeda leaders including Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri. That includes Maulana Shoaib Mansoor, Maulvi Faqir Mohammad, Maulvi Mohammad Liaqat and Himmayatullah Khan, who reportedly supervised the traveling of Zawahiri and his contingent to the Damadola village of the Bajaur Agency on January 10 and led them out of the village to a safe spot the same night. The last two named belong to TNSM, while the house that was hit belonged to another TNSM member. Both Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies do have Al Qaeda hideouts; they may or may not include top leadership.²⁷⁵

Further north, in Dir where the TNSM originated, is located the village of Bhalawal, where an existing population of Al Qaeda is being augmented with new arrivals from Waziristan in the wake of heat generated there. Gumlat in Dir, a very scenic valley with a breath taking landscape, pine trees and a beautiful lake, that has the potential of becoming an attractive tourist destination, in a different Pakistan, is also home to some Al Qaeda leadership.

Khyber Agency near Peshawar where the best known and used Pak Afghan crossing of Torkhum is located is scene to two mutually competitive religious movements. Due to constraints of space we shall avoid going into the details of their mutual infighting which has taken many lives, their activities have increased the pace of Talibanization and the resultant weakening of Maliks and ban on music and videos can also be noticed here. Being hub of commercial activities and an international route, the ban on music is not as successful as in other agencies though.²⁷⁶ Orakzai agency is more quite though not totally immune to the overall Talibanization process. Kurram Agency is a little different than other agencies with presence of a sizeable population of Shias. Thus giving rise to a sectarian conflict not known in other agencies. An understanding between Afghan Taliban and local Sunni forces exists and both do support each other. Taliban supported local Sunnis against Shia in many of their conflicts. Local Sunnis have also provided vital support to Taliban and Al Qaeda, especially their escape from Afghanistan in 2001.²⁷⁷

The issue of religious extremism and militancy in FATA is a complex issue involving politics, religion, traditions, administrative and economic issues at various levels and within the context of 'Global War on Terrorism'. It may be physically isolated and may have been kept politically and administratively isolated but politically it is not an isolated region. The GOP policy towards the area is more reactive and status quo oriented lacking a strategic thought or plan. It is firefighting with tools overtaken by events and history and thus we note a spreading rather than elimination or even containment of the fire.

GOP is following a three pronged approach; military, administrative/political and economic/social welfare. The avowed goals are 1. To stop use of FATA by insurgents from Afghanistan or elsewhere as launching pad for their insurgency there. 2. To stop recruitment of local Taliban sympathizers for infiltration into Afghanistan. 3. To evict or at least register the foreigners living in FATA.

The Government of Pakistan policy of dealing with the post 9/11 situation in FATA is based on maintaining status quo, which has changed radically. So, a more current way of

²⁷⁵ Amir Mir, "Bajaur airstrike : The story behind the scenes", The Post, Islamabad, 22 February 2006,

²⁷⁶ For a detailed descriptive account of the Talibanization and terrorism in FATA and NWFP read, Intikhab Alam, "Flashpoint Frontier", Monthly Herald, Karachi, June 2006.

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*

describing Pakistani policy would be that it aims at restoring a broken system. The military component is supposed to provide a breathing space to the political/administrative process which would be given sustenance and strength by the economic component. Theoretically speaking this appears to be a sound approach. However, the way it is practiced raises doubts. Militarily, while the present study would not go so far as agreeing with the allegations of a conscious collaboration between Pakistan's Army and the Taliban, certain reluctance can be noticed by any objective observer. This reluctance comes from the mindset referred to above. That mindset has always found religious forces and slogans as handy tools of policy, whether dealing with nationalists within or India in the neighborhood. The re entry of India in a position of influence in Afghanistan and the welcoming of Pashtun Nationalists in Afghanistan has made Pakistani establishment understanding of the utility of religious forces more important, so one sees a desire not to completely break up with these forces. Thus we see a failure to provide the needed breathing space. This is at least partly true if not wholly.

The deeply entrenched civil bureaucracy of the postcolonial state structure of Pakistan is also reluctant to permit any meaningful reform in the administrative system. After toying with the ideas of extending the devolution plan to Tribal Areas, the GOP announced in March 2006 a plan to re vitalize the existing political agent system. The earlier initiated process of reforming the FCR has been put on hold. The initiation of tribal agency councils with non elected membership in 2005 was expected to start a gradual process of extending the local government system to FATA. However, its gradual growth into fully developed democratic system has become doubtful, with the announcement of the policy of strengthening the existing system in March 2006. The system of Political Agents relied heavily on Jirga of nominated Maliks. As presented earlier, that system has lost all credibility in most of FATA and has been declared as impermissible in the two Waziristan agencies. Any talk of permitting political parties in tribal areas is still anathema to people in power. The economic and social welfare leg of the strategy has yet to result in any concrete and visible activity.

The bureaucracy argues that a system that has worked well for around 100 years can still work; maybe with few adjustments. The political agency system was based on non interference with the local affairs, which could be addressed by the tribal people in accordance with their traditions and customs. However, the problem is that the local has become international through the willing or unwilling participation of the locals, the geo strategic significance of their location has made FATA part of interests beyond their immediate concerns. This has drastically changed the nature of their activities, customs, and more significantly the reach of their activities. So, a policy that is based on non interference of local life, invariably results in influencing and being influenced by the outside world, in the present and immediate context, the GWOT in Afghanistan

It must be understood that the situation in FATA is tied with Afghanistan and through Afghanistan with the overall 'War against Terrorism' and extremism. Whatever policies GOP adopts can not result in immediate change and peace or end to Talibanization only in FATA. The change in FATA will come along the change in rest of its surroundings. However, the GOP must pursue policies that will help in the long "War". Those policies must be forward looking. The vacuum created by breakdown of the old traditional system, both social and administrative can not be filled by policies aimed at restoring what is no more. There is a need for policies aimed at taking FATA and its people forward. One step in the right

direction can be permission of Political Parties in FATA. The silent majority or the hidden opponents of Talibanization will be stronger when they have support of nationwide political parties. Even the religious people would have the option of joining mainstream religious political parties thus having an option to pursue their religious political ideas more peacefully and legitimately. Prohibition on political parties in actual means prohibition on non religious parties as religious parties has made strong inroads through Madrassa.²⁷⁸ The strong presence of JUI-F in Waziristan is an example in hand

The problem is that as it was stated above, there is no centralized Taliban authority or leadership in the whole of one agency let alone FATA, so the question with whom have you made a deal is vital. Tribal Jirga do not have much authority left. Deal with one group is not binding on another. Expecting too much from the 5 September 2006 deal would be shutting one's eye from the reality on ground and the recent history of such deals. In the opinion of the present study, the deal will have the same result as its predecessors; its breakdown has already started and it will result in further consolidation of local Taliban. Making too much of difference between local Taliban, Afghan Taliban or Alqaeda can not be a good policy based on correct assessment of the ground situation. While for tactical and operational purposes one may differentiate however, all three are connected and re enforce each other and so requires a comprehensive approach. Also Taliban must not be confused with Pashtuns, while most Taliban may be Pashtuns, most Pashtuns are not Taliban.

Conspiracy theories aside, Pakistan has done quite a lot in the overall 'War against Terrorism' including in FATA. And one may appreciate some of the actions if one goes by numbers of people arrested and killed, however, when one talks of strategy and long term trends then one becomes doubtful. Like in most of the country, Pakistan cedes ground to Talibanization of society with every success reported and every achievement hailed. The policy or action and reactions that passes for Pakistan's policy towards FATA is increasing the pace of destruction of traditional lifestyles, however, as they (the actions and reactions) are aimed at restoring what it is helping destroy, a strange dilemma results.²⁷⁹

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN'S DOMESTIC DECISION-MAKING

This debate has far reaching implications for Pakistan's domestic decision-making should have become obvious to the reader by now. Their correct identification and assessment is vital for Pakistan's future. This section briefly identifies those implications. It has;

- 1) Fractured, if not ended the Military Mullah Nexus
- 2) Pushed Pakistan towards a moderate and relatively liberal social and political order

²⁷⁸ Religious Seminaries. It is these schools whose students known as Taliban have given the name of Taliban to the movement of Taliban. The Taliban movement originally started from these Madrassas which remain its strongest source of recruitment

²⁷⁹ For a good study of Pakistan's policy response to Terrorism, read Aarish Ullah Khan, "The Terrorist Threat and the Policy Response in Pakistan", SIPRI Policy Paper No. 11, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, September 2005.

- 3) Given international acceptability and thus strength in domestic affairs to the military establishment hence, it has implications for the return to democracy.
- 4) Increased polarization in Pakistani society and politics

One very obvious impact of Pakistani decision to abandon Taliban has been on the so-called Military Mullah nexus that had developed over the years, especially in Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan. The religious groups and parties that had grown closer to the ruling elite, especially the military, and had gained a stronger say in decision-making process of Pakistan has been fractured. The religious fundamentalist forces, especially JI and to some extent JUI, that started as tools for Pakistani foreign policy in the 1970s, matured in 1980s to the level of becoming, if not equal, at least junior partners in decision-making. Pakistan's post 9/11 Afghan policy as well as policy towards India including its support for Kashmir policy (separation of Indian held Kashmir from India and merger with Pakistan through force/ support for militancy there through religious groups) has undergone a fundamental change. Pakistan has, or to be more careful started a process of, distancing itself from militants and militancy.

The distancing of the religious right from the echelons of power has started a process of liberalising and opening up of the society, which has implications for its education system (including syllabi), social values as well as economic and political system. President Musharraf's announcement of pursuing a policy of 'enlightened moderation'²⁸⁰ is indicative of the direction in which Pakistani decision makers intend to take Pakistan. The apparent liberal thrust of post 9/11 Pakistani rulers may sound welcome; however, it has its own pitfalls, due mostly to how Pakistan is going about it.

President Musharraf's decision to make Pakistan an ally of US in the global 'War against Terrorism' has the most important implication for Pakistani decision-making as it has served to make his personal rule acceptable to the international community. If one compares President Clinton's visit to Pakistan in 2000 with President Musharraf's many visits to Western Capitals and coming a large number of Western dignitaries to Islamabad, the point that is being made would become clear. The lifting of democracy related sanctions and Pakistan's return to Commonwealth are some of the glaring examples of the acceptance of Gen. Musharraf's personal rule in Pakistan. By extension this means the strengthening of Military's position, especially in foreign policy decision-making. Thus negating the liberal thrust noted above.

In all fairness one must acknowledge, the international community is still urging Pakistan to democratise its governance; however, how he goes about it is largely ignored. The manner in which Prime Minister Mir Zafar Ullah Khan Jamali was removed, a temporary new prime minister, Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain was installed and a totally non political technocrat was

²⁸⁰ "Musharraf Urges Muslim World to Speed up Process of Restructuring OIC" President Musharraf's address to the International Seminar on "OIC Challenge and Response –Enlightened Moderation," organized by Government of Pakistan in Islamabad, Daily Dawn 3 June 2004. Read for a good commentary on President Musharraf's espousal of his concept of 'Enlightened Moderation', Syed., Anwar "Preaching moderation" Daily Dawn, Karachi, 27 June 2004.

chosen tells a lot about the continued, rather strengthened control and the managed character of Pakistani democracy.²⁸¹

CONCLUSIONS

The debate in the wake of 9/11 about Pakistan foreign policy generally and towards Afghanistan specifically reflects the tensions created by a decision that was not in line with Pakistan's 'Strategic Culture'. It highlighted and sharpened the existing contradictions and conflicts within the state and society, it did not create them. It gave some consolation to the liberal critique of Pakistani state. It represents the various pulls and pushes that drive, have been driving and will be driving Pakistan's foreign policy. It really became the moment of truth for Pakistan. The 'ideological paradox', as one commentator quoted above was out of the genie. The three broad approaches that this study has identified represent only very broad outlines of the policy divide. There were and are variations within them. At times an association or individual identified with one approach would appear to be closer to views from another approach. The differences were based on theoretical outlooks as well as political expediency of the moment. The hard liners or Hawkish Pakistani nationalists resisted the break up of establishment relations with the fundamentalists. They insisted on limiting the spreading of the policy shift from Taliban to other elements of Pakistan's foreign policy, specially Kashmir and Nuclear programme. PML-Q, closer to the government of General Musharraf, though supporting government's position was one such associational expression of this view in addition to some of the academics as well as newspaper columnists quoted above. PML-N another associational expression of the same theoretical mind set, opposed the governmental policy change, however, it did join the public protest of the religious parties in any significant manner. PPP on the other hand unequivocally supported the government policy and considered the drive against extremism to be in the national interest of Pakistan. The liberal/ secular approach also had its divisions. There were supporters of the governmental policy in completely and urged the government to continue further on the road it has chosen. However, there were others who distanced themselves from both the governmental position, due to US using force, as they considered that was resulting in destruction of innocent life. They also were apprehensive about the negative implications of the government's half measures. They pressed for a complete 'paradigm shift' which was natural and logical element of the policy of giving up support for Taliban. Any reluctance or inhibition in that quarter would make the change meaningless and self defeating.

The decision was essentially that of the General Musharraf personally,²⁸² with consultation and support from his small inner circle. So can we call it 'revolution from above'? However, one must be careful, the last time the term was used for changes in a country it ceased to exist soon after [Tariq Ali an eminent British Leftist of Pakistani origin coined the term 'Revolution from Above' to describe Gorbachev's reforms in the second half

²⁸¹ Qaisar., Rashid A. "Mockery of Democracy", Weekly *The Independent*, Lahore, Issue #, 03, Vol. No. 4, 08-14 July, 2004. p. 5.

²⁸² Amir Ayaz, Daily *Dawn* Karachi. 22 November, 2001.

of 1980s]. The need to take down the revolution fast should not be lost on anyone. The liberal side of the policy debate understood the implications of the Afghan policy change “the holy trinity of Pakistani national security – Kashmir, Afghanistan, nuclear weapons – all that still remains intact is the notion of jihad in Kashmir. But does anyone seriously think this will remain unaffected by current developments? As it is, the attack on the state assembly in Srinagar has caused more dismay in Pakistan than even perhaps in India because at a time when we are engaged in recasting our steps in Afghanistan, it gives India renewed opportunity to beat Pakistan with the stick of ‘cross-border’ terrorism. Let us hope that in Kashmir we make the right choices while the initiative is still with us, instead of waiting for the time when choices are forced down our throat, as has happened in the case of our Taliban policy.”²⁸³

For many years independent observers continued to point to the fallout of these flawed policies. But the state had its own calculus to determine costs and benefits. Laws were islamised on the basis of a literalist exegesis, syllabi were tempered with and distorted, the official media were used to project a certain kind of worldview, and the ‘independent’ newspapers were either coerced or co-opted to do the same. In short, an environment was created in which free thinking, inquiry and rationalism was put to the sword. The point is that the state not only supported certain groups to push its policies outside but created an environment inside which could get willing recruits for these groups to keep operating.

The events of September 11, 2001, have forced the state to change its orientation. But the extremist forces it had encouraged both within itself and the society to do its Jehads are not ready to give up. They consider it a great betrayal to change as required after 9/11. So the state is not only up against its own erstwhile allies, it also has within itself cliques of people who do not accept General Pervez Musharraf’s policy turnarounds. But even as General Musharraf has affected his volt-face externally, he remains reluctant to go the whole length as required to pursue that policy internally. This has created major contradictions; worse it has stirred a hornet’s nest. The army still thinks it can run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Well, it can’t.

General Musharraf has an opportunity to get this country out of the morass into which his predecessor General Zia-ul Haq had pushed it. He could use his unfettered power to that end. Instead, he has chosen to pursue the unholy alliance with the religious elements and jihadi-sectarian groups for purely very short term and limited ends. The sad part is even after General Musharraf himself has been attacked and faced the threat of elimination, there does not appear to be any understanding among his advisors of the contradictions built into the system he has put in place. The biggest indication of internal threat to a country comes when

²⁸³ ibid 25 October, 2001

its army is attacked.²⁸⁴ The war like situation of Waziristan is another indication of the fallout of Pakistani foreign policy predicament.²⁸⁵

It is no coincidence that the two states that today face the gravest danger from extremist terrorism are Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Both have been allies in the cloak-and-dagger stuff that started with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The House of Saud thought it could bribe its way out of its troubles; the Pakistan army always thought it could not be threatened by its own creation. Both were clearly wrong. Both, therefore, need to change their own orientation.

The mullah–military nexus came into existence only in the eighties. Before that there was a nexus between the military and the US. What good did that do Pakistan? What if after the breaking of the mullah–military nexus, one of the good things to flow from the present developments, Pakistan continues to mismanage its internal affairs secure in the knowledge that American support and understanding would always be there to fall back upon.²⁸⁶

If Pakistani decision makers want things to improve, they will have to get out of the current one–step forward, two-step backwards approach. The issue is more internal than external. Joining the international mainstream does not simply mean cutting links with the Taliban and keeping in step with the Americans. The issue is more fundamental. It concerns with the basic identity of the self and the world view generated by it. It is a question of a basic change in the ‘Strategic Culture’ of Pakistan.

²⁸⁴ Corps Commander Karachi was attacked resulting in the death of 11 soldiers on very busy street of Karachi in broad day light. The corps commander narrowly escaped the attack. While the attacks on the President, bad as they are, may be taken as some of the un-wanted collaterals of being a President., the attack on Corps Commander can only be interpreted as an attack on Pakistan Army. See for details , *Daily ‘Dawn’* Karachi 11 June 2004.

²⁸⁵ There is an ongoing military campaign against foreign terrorists in South Waziristan, a federally administered tribal Agency on Afghan border. These foreign terrorists are protected by some local tribesmen. The military campaign started on 21 May 2004 and still continues with heavy casualties on both sides. *Daily The News* Islamabad, 22 May 2004.

²⁸⁶ Amir Ayaz, “Joining the International Mainstream”, *Daily Dawn*, Karachi, 5 October 2001.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS A CHANGED STRATEGIC CULTURE

The question is; can a country's strategic culture be changed? And if it can change, then how does a country go about it? This concluding chapter tries to answer this basic question of the study; it is argued, had there been a different decision-making process determined by and resulting in a different strategic culture, the choices Pakistan made after 9/11 might not have been different, rather, Pakistan might not have found itself cornered as it found itself in the wake of 9/11, with not many viable foreign policy choices. There is a qualitative difference in the manner you make a choice. It do matter whether the choice you made is a result of a conscious assessment of various options available or you had to make it as there was no other choice. Even if there were other choices the most imminent one included 'being sent back to the stone age'. A choice made denying your free assessment of your interests' has resulted in polarization within and suspicions abroad.

This chapter identifies in the three sources of inputs, the areas where change and reform is desirable and possible? It ends with some basic suggestions how to reform and create a new culture that will result in policy choices to ensure the protection and well being of the people of this state, at peace with itself and surroundings and a respectful place in the comity of states; the primary objective of any foreign policy. Such a state will serve the immediate as well as the strategic goals of a peaceful and stable, regional as well as world order.

DECISION-MAKING SYSTEM AND THE DECISION

If one accepts, and there seems to be a general consensus, that Pakistan had no other choice but the choice it made. Further, this decision was dictated by Pakistan's national interest, then why Pakistan had to take it under US pressure? The question is not whether the decision was in national interest or not. The real question is why Pakistan was not ready for the situation arising out of 9/11. The argument that no one, not even US was ready for the events of 9/11 misses the point. The weakness is not Pakistan's inability to predict the events of 9/11, but its inability to see the growing un-sustainability of continuing with the pro Taliban Afghan policy in the face of growing global isolation of that regime. It is a basic

principle of diplomacy that one should not permit oneself to be cornered. Pakistan's pro Taliban Afghan policy precisely did that; it cornered Pakistan. The argument in the dominant section of Pakistani policy making circles that Pakistan's decision to abandon Taliban was dictated by its national interests, defines national interest in a very narrow sense; survival of the state.

The decision to change Pakistan's Afghan policy had broader implications. It required changes in other policy areas as well. As the decision was not a result of a free domestic decision-making process, its application according to its full implications has been gradual and piece meal. Had the gradual pace been result of a conscious policy, one could have understood it; however, it is either a result of reluctance or inability to change or both. That reluctance is due to a lack of corresponding change in the perceptions of self and surroundings. While the need for change may be felt and understood at the extreme top, there is no evidence that it is shared by various layers and segments of the state and society, especially in the dominant sections of the decision-making process. Change can not be brought about through a few executive orders. It requires a political will, commitment and very crucial an understanding of how to change. Pakistan faces hurdles in all these areas.

Pakistan persisted with its pro Taliban Afghan policy despite clear signs that it is increasingly isolating her. This was so despite the fact that individuals from within the establishment had pointed out the dangers it posed. To put it simply, such voices coming from the foreign office were over-ruled by the military and its intelligence agency, ISI.²⁸⁷ The political government of the time lacked the will, power and understanding to direct Pakistan's foreign policy in any substantial manner. To put the record in its correct perspective one must refer to the fact that one individual and for that matter a politician, though he was a retired general, had more to do with the adoption of Taliban in the first instance, ISI had adopted them later.²⁸⁸ However, that individual politician's influence must not be exaggerated. He was able to influence policy due to its approval by the military chief, Gen. Abdul Waheed Kakar. Acknowledging the role of an individual politician in Afghan policy and that also over the objections of ISI shows a more complex aspect of Pakistani foreign policy decision-making. Without countering the argument and fact of military dominance this study wants to highlight the personalised nature of decision-making in Pakistan.

The government of Nawaz Sharif, that succeeded that of Benazir Bhutto in 1996 in which Naseerullah Babar was the home minister and looking after the foreign policy of Pakistan concerning Afghanistan, had no individual with a strong personality that had enough strong views about Afghanistan, making its inability to influence decision-making in that area becomes evident. Foreign office had lost foreign policy initiative to the military long ago, and had become a much weaker player, if not a totally absent player, from policy making, at least, as far as security policy went and more specifically Afghan and India policy. Due to lack of a proper decision-making process, "Pakistan's foreign Policy assumed the form of a series of sporadic, intuitive, ad hoc actions, almost always reactive and driven by events. The tendency to deal with individual issues in isolation rather than as parts of a

²⁸⁷ Judah., Tim, 2002.

²⁸⁸ Discussed in Chapter two above.

composite whole added to this policy incoherence.”²⁸⁹ If there had been a proper system of decision-making with the foreign office professionals making foreign policy decisions as a result of inputs from military, intelligence, and academic sources with an overall and real political control expressing and representing the interests of civil society, one can safely assert that there would have been no need for Pakistan to make the U-Turn after 9/11, as it may never have adopted Taliban. Even if it had, it would have given them up much earlier. Findings of this study do note the inputs coming from a variety of sources; however, the real problem with decision-making is the lack of any balance between various sources of inputs.

That imbalance results in a lack of vision and ability to foresee and act and react accordingly. Mostly Pakistan’s foreign policy has been reactive to various events and issues. Within the overall frame work of control by the military, various individuals at times may influence policy to an extent that has long term implications. In a casual remark the former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Niaz A. Naik said of the making of foreign policy decisions ‘wherever they are made, they are not made in the foreign office of Pakistan.’²⁹⁰ Foreign office has most of the time been the last place where policy making process is initiated, developed or policies made.

President Musharraf correctly identified that Pakistan was at cross roads. He underlined the need for a fundamental change of direction.²⁹¹ That change of direction needs a basic re – formulation of national self identity and interests and policies based on it. “The room to manoeuvre that General Musharraf has so intelligently created is being constrained and compromised either by fixation with erstwhile allies or apprehensions about an uncertain future that carries big challenges and many a destabilising dangers. Of course it is not an easy thing to order about turn when you have pushed your security apparatuses too far deep into the Afghan quagmire on the side of Taliban and had, in a questionable sense, coalesced in the paradigm of jihad the anarcho-syndicalist extremists imposed by superseding the imperatives and interests of nation-state that, perhaps in turn found a palpable relief in capitulation against the backdrop of international isolation and asymmetry in the balance of forces. Time has come for many reversals in both ideological and strategic terms, but also in alignment of forces without which we may end up the worse of both worlds.”²⁹²

REFORMING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

So the million dollar question is what to change, where to change and how to change? The answer to what may be simple; change the way decisions are made. The second and third question must however, be answered with care. There are two parts of any drive to change; the larger societal and ideological or conceptual context and the specific organisational and procedural. There are issues of identity and historical legacies that has to be overcome, which

²⁸⁹ Lodhi., Maleeha, “A foreign policy road map” Daily *The News*, 12 April, 1997. Dr. Maleeha Lodhi is the current High Commissioner of Pakistan in United Kingdom and a former Ambassador to United States of America.

²⁹⁰ Naik., Niaz A., in a private discussion with this author on April 20 2003, Peshawar.

²⁹¹ President Gen. Musharraf’s address to the Nation, Daily *The News*, Islamabad. 13 January 2002.

²⁹² Alam., Imtiaz, “After the Realignment”, Daily *The News*, 1 October, 2001.

would provide the context for change. A conscious effort has to be made to change attitudes and cultural values and belief system. A balanced decision is a result of a balance of power between the various interests and pluralities that make up a state. It is important to have political reforms that would lead to the strengthening of popular participation in decision-making. Structural changes are required in the system. Structures are constructed with specific goals and purposes in mind. Some states, for example Great Britain, have evolved traditions and customs whose reliance on rules and laws is minimal. However, in the postcolonial states, whose historical growth had been stunted by and distorted, needs to frame specific rules, procedures and rules in accordance with how they want to progress and what they want to change.

President Gen. Ayub Khan wrote in 1959 of the urgent need to find a concept which would 'weld the people into unity' an answer which is comprehensive, tangible, arouses spontaneous and consistent enthusiasm, and is workable in the light of the requirements of modern life' he further wrote that he had 'not been able to find an effective answer so far'.²⁹³ Ironically, President General Zia Ul Haq found a particular interpretation of Islam, which cut across national boundaries, making national interests subservient to a globalist agenda. That policy landed Pakistan with having, right or wrong, an international perception of a state from where a large number of terrorist activities were being exported. Pakistan's becoming a declared nuclear capable State with its nuclear detonations created a new scare in the international community about chances of Pakistan's nuclear capability falling into extremist Pan-Islamist forces.

Conversely, General Musharraf has come up with the slogan of 'Pakistan First' to bring home and reign in the unruly growth of perceived Pakistani interests and loyalties. Pakistan has to make clear break from its past. Pakistani society must gear itself towards a national state living in a world of States gradually moving towards a globalised economy which is bound to pull along with it social values as well as politics. However, "Our foreign policy is still trapped in old assumptions and in some ways we are still trying to preserve the fiction of the old world even in the present phase of re-engagement with the United States. We still remain addicted to old alliances. We should learn from the past and submit our foreign policy to democratisation. What we need is openness, public debate and consensus-building leading to a clear-eyed perception of our national priorities, limitations, and capabilities."²⁹⁴ A democratic dispensation is the most basic requirement for any change in the direction, i.e. a liberal moderate direction, to be real and long term. The issue is of getting out the society from the extremism it has plunged into as a result of past decisions, both in the arena of foreign and domestic policies. "The fight against extremism will remain incomplete as long as the army doesn't accept responsibility for its part in pursuing policies which have given Pakistan a bad name and the image of a country chaotic and dangerous. And it won't be complete as long as the army leadership does not realise that the real antidote to religious

²⁹³ Russell., Ralph, [2002], "Pakistan Islam and Progress" in *The Post-Colonial State and Social Transformation in India and Pakistan*, Naseem S.M., & Nadvi., Khalid, (ED.) Oxford University Press. Karachi, p. 314.

²⁹⁴ Hussain., Touqir, "The making of our foreign policy", *Daily Dawn*. 24 / 09/ 2003.

extremism lies not in more presidential security but in the building of enduring political institutions.”²⁹⁵

There is a need to institutionalise decision-making. Systems are not created in a day through the simple procedure of making certain rules and regulations or issuing executive orders. There is no need for erecting a complete structure of rules and regulations providing for each and every situation. Just a few basic changes will suffice to change the direction towards democratisation and institutionalisation of decision-making. For a very elaborate system of rules and regulations may stifle individual initiative, a very basic ingredient of any democratic system. Personalised decision-making and individual initiative are two different phenomena. Personalised decision-making refers to the feudal style where individuals think in terms of self and does not feel any social or civic responsibility. Individual initiative means the ability and right of individual not to conform to established social or political norms, while being responsible to the society and not his/her person or his/her clan. This is more a cultural trait and thus can not be instilled by mere change of or adoption of rules. They evolve through a gradual process and are a result of historical experiences. However, states having visionary leadership do not wait for history to decide but through imaginative moves make it move in specific directions. Some basic decisions are taken consciously and one then waits for some traditions to evolve to fill in the gaps and give life and meaning to institutions and rules. A process of trial, error and correction always goes on. The process of change in foreign policy decision-making process must address all three sources of inputs; 1) Memory, 2) International System and 3) Domestic system.

Memory

Memory includes actual events and decisions taken about them as well as culture, history and ideology which together form the basis for self identity and worldview. Any change must begin with a new look at memory. Pakistan's history needs both a re-interpretation and correct and true presentation. People of this country are ignorant about truth, mostly, because there has been a systematic campaign of disinformation over more than four decades. It reached its peak under General Zia. In a recent work, a distinguished Pakistani historian, K.K. Aziz²⁹⁶ has shown how thoroughly distorted is the presentation of our own past through the re-writing of history in Pakistan. The people of Pakistan are entitled to know the truth. The motives of those state authorities or others, in instigating and promoting this project of systematic disinformation need to be examined and understood.

Identity

There is a continuous debate among Pakistani intellectuals as well as political circles about the ideological basis of Pakistan. The Muslim identity, which provided the justification and thrust to Pakistan movement forms the basis for the debate about identity of the people and the state. On the one side are those who claim that Pakistan being the result of Muslim movement for a homeland of their own where they can live their lives according to their

²⁹⁵ Amir., Ayaz, “The end of Jihad Incorporated” daily *Dawn* Karachi 19 December 2003.

²⁹⁶ Aziz., K.K. *The Murder of History in Pakistan*, Vanguard, Lahore, 1993.

religious prescriptions, Islam must determine its system of governance. This is logically developed to put forward the demand to make Pakistan a theocratic State. Countering this interpretation are those who consider that Pakistan movement was not a religious movement. They say that it was a Muslim movement not Islamic movement. They talk of Muslim nationalism and thus make an attempt to marry the secular concept of nationalism with a religious basis for identity. Going into the details of the debate is out of context here as one, it needs a lot of space and more important this study considers the purpose of the debate as unwarranted, rather unhealthy for growth of a democratic and confident modern state. Both sides take pains to present their viewpoints with the idea of firstly justifying the creation and thus continued existence of Pakistan and secondly to propose how it should be governed.²⁹⁷

While accepting the need for continuously looking and interpreting and re-interpreting history, it should be for the purpose of understanding how one is where one is in the present and how best to go forward. The debate needs to be more academic than political. More important, it must be understood that after more than half a century of existence as an independent state, Pakistan need not justify its existence by justifying its creation. Existing for more than half a century is enough of a justification for continued existence. Pakistanis need not be apologetic about their country's existence. Then it is not required by any law or principle or custom that a state must always follow what its leadership or people wanted at some point in their continuously evolving history. People change their decisions; find new goals and objectives with changing times and circumstances and new knowledge and understanding. It is the gravest mistake (even one can call it a crime) to distort history to justify some goal or purpose that may seem attractive at some later point in history.

Pakistan First

It is important to correct the distortion of identity and extra territorial commitments and loyalties infused in the society as well as the state institutions especially during the Zia era. The slogan 'Pakistan First' given by President Musharraf requires serious and fundamental changes in perceptions at various levels. Army needs to be addressed with priority.

Prof. Hasan A. Rizvi²⁹⁸ identifies four major developments during Zia years that had far reaching implications for the role of Islam in the Army. First, Zia-ul-Haq used Islam and conservative Islamic groups to legitimize his rule and encouraged Islamic conservatism and orthodoxy in the Army. This fitted with the changes in the orientations of the new breed of officers who came from middle to lower strata of the society, hailing from small towns and urban areas with conservative religious values. Second, some of the Islamic groups were allowed to make inroads into the Army, something of an anathema in the past. They included the largely non political religious Tablighi Jamaat and the highly political Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). The latter was favourable towards the person of Zia, as well as associated with the regime through ISI in its Afghan policy. The JI with its overt Islamic political agenda penetrated these institutions. Third the Islamic revolution in Iran (1979) had a profound

²⁹⁷ Read for a more detailed study of Pakistan's identity predicament an article by the present author, Khan., Ijaz, "Contending Identities of Pakistan and The Issue of Democratic Governance", *Peace and Democracy in South Asia*, Volume 2, Numbers 1 & 43, 2006, <http://www.pdsajournal.com>

²⁹⁸ Rizvi., Hasan Askari, *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003 pp. 246-257.

impact on civilians as well as military circles in Pakistan, towards Islamic revivalism and conservatism. Fourth Afghanistan experience reinforced Islamic zeal among Army personnel, especially those working with the Afghan resistance groups. The coming of Islamic volunteers from all over the Muslim world infused an Islamic internationalism among these Army officers. The exit of Soviet Union in 1989 created a sense of euphoria among them and the thinking of many Army personnel, including some senior officers, was frozen in the Afghan experience. He further argues, as long as Islam is coupled with professionalism and service discipline, it is a source of strength. However, whenever, the imperatives of military professionalism are subordinated to extraneous considerations, no matter what is their source, the military faces internal problems. The realisation of negative implications for the Army and the state is not lost on the subsequent military leadership. Given the decisive role Military plays in foreign policy making, such a mindset is bound to create difficulties and hurdles in the path of change.

Beginning with Asif Nawaz Janjua (Army Chief August 1991–Jan 1993) and his successors till the present (Musharraf 1997–till to date) began a process to push back the politicised Islamic elements and re-assert professionalism. The process needs more serious attention, is made obvious by the fact that the Army leadership could not be convinced by the voices from within the establishment as well as outside it, to change its all out pro-Taliban Afghan policy before 9/11. That persistence seemingly was a result of what Prof. Rizvi has termed frozen attitudes. The public acknowledgment by President Gen. Musharraf²⁹⁹ of the involvement of some low ranking military personnel in life attempts on his person also reveals the persistence of Zia legacy within the Armed forces. The Army needs to look into ways and means to correct the culture created by Zia in the within the Army. How it goes about it must reflect a clear vision of what has to be un-learned and learned. Professionalism has to return to the rank and file for any change to be meaningful and long lasting.

Education

For reforming memory of state and people, reforming the education system, especially school syllabi, can be a starting point. A good study was carried out recently by an Islamabad based NGO Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), whose findings and recommendations can form a good beginning. The report provides, “Pakistan’s public education system has an important role in determining how successful we shall be in achieving the goal of a progressive, moderate and democratic Pakistan. A key requirement is that children must learn to understand and value this goal and cherish the values of truthfulness, honesty, responsibility, equality, justice, and peace that go with it. The identity and value system of children is strongly shaped by the national curricula and textbooks in Social Studies, English, Urdu and Civics from Class I to Class XII. The responsibility for designing them lies with the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education and the provincial Text Book Boards. However, a close analysis by a group of independent scholars shows that for over two decades the curricula and the officially mandated textbooks in these subjects have contained material that is directly contrary to the goals and values of a

²⁹⁹ Daily *The News* Islamabad 28 May, 2004.

progressive, moderate and democratic Pakistan.”³⁰⁰ Syllabi has been specifically designed to create a specific extremist religious sense of identity and instil in the minds of the growing generations a particular world view, a world view that had justified the pursuance of the un-sustainable foreign policy, as the people of Pakistan found out immediately after 9/11 and Indian leadership mocked Pakistan’s reliability as a friend and ally.

Their study pointed out some of the more important problems in the text books to be;

- Inaccuracies of fact and omissions that serve to substantially distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history.
- Insensitivity to the actually existing religious diversity of the nation
- Incitement to militancy and violence, including encouragement of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*
- Perspectives that encourage prejudice, bigotry and discrimination towards fellow citizens, especially women and religious minorities, and other nations.
- A glorification of war and the use of force
- Omission of concepts, events and material that could encourage critical self-awareness among students
- Outdated and incoherent pedagogical practices that hinder the development of interest and insight among students”³⁰¹

The study explains, “The books on Social Studies systematically misrepresent events that have happened over the past several decades of Pakistan’s history, including those which are within living memory of many people. This history is narrated with distortions and omissions. The causes, effects, and responsibility for key events are presented so as to leave a false understanding of our national experience. A large part of the history of this region is also simply omitted, making it difficult to properly interpret events, and narrowing the perspective that should be open to students. Worse, the material is presented in a way that encourages the student to marginalise and be hostile towards other social groups and people in the region”³⁰². This study can become an excellent basis for change in the syllabi, which will have a positive impact on the future generations, and the political and social make up of the society. The process of un-learning and learning for change can only start at the basic level. School is that crucial level where the child learns its sense of right and wrong, of truth and lies and more important, gets a sense of history which forms the basis of identity of self and world view. That remains with the child throughout life and determines his/her attitudes, actions and reactions.

³⁰⁰ Nayyar., A. H. & Salim., Ahmed, ‘The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan ;Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics’, A Project Report of Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad (SDPI).

³⁰¹ *ibid*

³⁰² *ibid*.

International Systemic Inputs

International system is the sum of inputs from the various international actors that include both state and non state actors. That international system in turn becomes a source of inputs into the domestic decision-making processes of individual states. Separate international actors also influence the behaviour of states for specific purposes at different levels and with to varying degrees. The pluralist international order, with international borders increasingly being rendered porous to the onslaught of capital, technology as well as human beings international relations are no more confined to the behaviour of states. Pakistan's diplomacy to take advantage of this increasingly complex international system must be ready to function at all these various levels and multiple channels.

The post 9/11 Pakistani foreign policy of becoming ally of the United States in the 'War against Terrorism' has taken it to the position of centre stage from, that of an almost isolation. The immediate benefit to Pakistan of this changed status has been better state to state relations, primarily military to military relations with United States. The economic improvement is more a result of aid and loans or writing off of some loans etc. However, there has been a decrease in Pakistan's interaction with rest of the world on societal level. Hardly any business people or private citizens as tourists are coming this way. For the benefits to be really beneficial long term and sustainable, it is important to create better communications and relations with the non state international society which includes international private business as well as the emerging very powerful international society.

Pakistan obviously does not have the power to change the international system as is the case with most of the states acting on their own. Some elements of the international system are relatively constant. Geographical situation is something which can not be changed. It may change, however, if some geopolitical changes occur, like the demise of Soviet brought five new Muslim States to the north of Pakistan in place of a generally hostile USSR. However, such events are rare and states normally are expected to be ready when and if they happen, devise strategies and policies accordingly. Generally Geography is taken to be a constant in international relations. However, there are other areas where a state can play a role that suits its interests more positively and influence the international system accordingly.

The various international interstate and non state processes, institutions and organisations are significant tools for states to further their foreign policy goals as well as sources of inputs in the state's decision-making process. Regional organisations like South Asia Regional Cooperation Organisation (SAARC), Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), and Organisation of Islamic Countries, of which Pakistan is a member, are significant fora which need more active involvement from Pakistan. Their increased role in regional affairs can take Pakistan measurably forward in following a more independent foreign policy globally. Similarly United Nations is an organisation whose must not be belittled, as is the tendency in some circles, especially after the US invasion of Iraq and its failure to do anything substantial in the Kashmir dispute.

The significance of these international Inter-governmental Organisations lies in their role to dilute unilateralism and promote respect for International Law and express world public opinion. They provide a state with a means to reach out to the international community. A state's role in international organisation plays a crucial role in its international image. The

significance of image in this era of open and public diplomacy can not be over emphasised. In this regard, Pakistani policy makers need to take positions and be active in various popular international concerns, even when they do not directly has a lot of interest for Pakistan. Pakistan needs to create an image of a peaceful state on the side of upholding the rule of law in international society. One good step that needs serious consideration can be Pakistan's becoming a member of the recently established International Criminal Court (ICC).

Citizens are now informed directly from international sources, particularly via global television and, more recently, the Internet. It is no longer possible for governments to censor or control in-flows or out-flows of information. This may help to build democracy in traditionally closed countries – for example, by exposing dirty secrets such as human rights abuses – but it also facilitates the entry of what might be considered undesirable information such as pornography, racist propaganda, or even instructions on how to carry out terrorist activities. Information technology has effectively eliminated the capacity of countries to keep out foreign influences; 'good' or 'bad'.

This increased access to information has a 'democratising effect' – politicising citizens and often mobilising them into action – which in turn has significant implications for national policy development processes. For example, citizens can use information about what neighbouring governments are or are not doing, to challenge or pressure their own governments.

Globalisation allows people to organise themselves more quickly and effectively across national borders. Interest groups are increasingly organised internationally and capable of influencing the policy debate in several countries at the same time. A prominent example is Greenpeace, the environmental group formed in Canada in 1977, now an international organisation with 40 offices in 30 countries and annual revenues of \$US 130 million and a staff of over 1,000. The recent Royal Dutch/Shell Brent Spar case illustrates the capacity of such internationally organised interest groups to mobilise citizens and to create strategic pressure simultaneously in multiple countries. The 1993 Rio Summit and the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population Growth are examples of international forums where governments were lobbied both by their own and by foreign interest groups. The world conference on women in Beijing bore witness to the same phenomenon. Multi-level pressures on governments to react – from national and foreign interest groups and from foreign governments sometimes wielding to pressure from local interest groups – are becoming more common and harder to resist.

Domestic interest groups are increasingly collaborating with foreign counterparts across state boundaries. New communications technologies are allowing groups – linked by race, religion or conviction – to overcome the barriers of physical distance. And because citizens talk to each other, governments must as well. For example, the various civil society peace groups working for peace in between India and Pakistan are having a positive influence on the conduct of official state to state relations between the two neighbouring states.³⁰³

The global news media is another important international influence. It increasingly defines international issues and events, which consequently demand immediate responses

³⁰³ Groups active in this endeavour include, Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Development, South Asia Partnership, Pakistan Peace Coalition.

from governments. Images of starving children or massacres, wherever they occur, are projected into living-rooms around the world, shaping public opinion and demands. Governments themselves are using the global media to influence global public opinion.

International relations and events are therefore more visible and transparent, have more domestic policy ramifications, and involve the public more often. Consequently, the policy process is more complex. Greater access to information and greater participation in policy processes by an increasing range of policy actors make those processes and their outcomes more legitimate, responsive and hence democratic.

Pakistani decision-making process must take cognisance of this, by now a not very new facet of international relations. These Non state actors can become a good means of reaching out to the societies of target states. A state with a positive and human international image in the civil society has stronger position in international forums, whether they are about security, trade or any other political or non political issues. This is an era of non formal diplomacy. For Pakistan achieve the status of a moderate state and respected state, whose stands receive attention, needs to be proactive, innovative and dynamic in its foreign policy. To be able to do so, Pakistani decision-making process needs to be open for inputs from the non formal and non state sector.

Domestic System

Confining ourselves to foreign policy decision-making there are a few steps that Pakistan can take to put it on the right track.

- Correcting the balance between various state institutions that are relevant to Foreign Policy.
- A system of independent inputs
- Over all Political Control

Correcting the balance between various state institutions that are relevant to Foreign Policy

Pakistan has had a chequered political history. Its system of governance has oscillated between democracy and martial law rule for the last 53 years. For half the country's history Pakistan has been administered directly by military generals and for the remaining period the military exerted influence over civilian political set-ups from behind the scenes. While the continuing state of hostility with India afforded the armed forces a bigger role in Pakistan, administrative incompetence of the civilian elite and lop-sided development of state institutions provide the 'raison d'etre' for military's role in domestic political matters.³⁰⁴

Management of Foreign Policy is a professional job and there are supposed to be professionals specially trained to manage it. A foreign policy professional in this context is one who is empowered by the community to influence or take decisions on its behalf in the

³⁰⁴ Alavi., Hamza, "Authoritarianism and Legitimation of State Power in Pakistan" 'Sangat' Internat Magazine <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/sangat/Power.htm>. Accessed on 20 April 2004

international arena³⁰⁵. It is primarily the function of Foreign office to make and carry out foreign policy. Primacy, however, should not be interpreted as exclusivity. The interest of other state agencies and departments in foreign affairs that relate to their fields is natural and needed. The job of the foreign office is to coordinate and look into the various options that may be available to satisfy as much as possible all of them. Symbolically the first step in this direction can be to hold interdepartmental meetings on foreign policy related issues in the Foreign Office.

The Army has dominated rather controlled almost exclusively Pakistan's foreign policy for too long. Its high time Army gives up that status. The argument for civilian supremacy in the affairs of the State was put by Qauid-e-Azam in the clearest possible words, when he addressing the armed forces, "Don't forget that you in armed forces are the servants of the people. You do not make the national policy. It is we, the civilians, who decide the issues and it is our duty to carry out those tasks (with) which you are entrusted."³⁰⁶ For any real change to be possible this saying of the father of the nation must be put to practice. However, "In states undergoing democratisation, it is important to distinguish between civilian control of armed forces, and their democratic control. Civilian control is a necessary element of democratic control but on its own it is not sufficient. Indeed, democratic models of civil military relations entail much more than the simple maximisation of civilian power over the armed forces. They also involve the effective governance of the defence sector in a framework of clear constitutional responsibilities and transparency. This in turn relates to four key areas: first, legally defined institutional responsibilities and relationship, which place the armed forces under clear civilian control; second, the de-politicisation of armed forces and removal of their influence in domestic politics; third, mechanisms for the effective, transparent and accountable implementation of defence policy and the defence budget; and finally, the wider engagement of civil society in defence matter."³⁰⁷

A system of independent and expert inputs in foreign policy making process

It is important to make formal and informal provisions for independent expert inputs in the foreign policy decision-making system. The expert can perform three functions in the policymaking process; the provision of alternatives, management of information, and criticism.

As regards the provision of alternatives, it is in the nature of an academic discipline – particularly a social science discipline – that there are different ways of viewing its subject. International Relations look at the world from different approaches, with many variations. In this sense, what the academic community can do is to explore the international environment unencumbered by the imperatives of action or power and provide alternative explanations of facts and policy responses. It matters little that some of these might be considered

³⁰⁵ Webb Keith "Academics And Professionals In International Relations: A British Perception" Kent Papers, <http://www.kent.ac.uk/politics/research/kentpapers/webb5.html> Accessed 9 May 2004.

³⁰⁶ Khan., M. Asghar, "Quaid-i-Azam on Soldier and Politics", *Defence Journal*, Karachi, vol. 4, no. 11, 1978, p. 10. M. Asghar Khan is a former Chief of Pakistani Air force and leader of a political party Tehrik-e-Istiqlal (Persistent Movement) of Pakistan.

³⁰⁷ Edmunds Timothy 'Democratic and Civilian Control of Armed Forces' The Adelphi Papers, October 2003, vol. 360, issue. 1, p. 13. Adelphi papers are published International Institute of Strategic Studies, London a liberal International Relations think tank.

‘unrealistic’ (that in any case will depend upon a point of view) but (what matters is) that they can successfully counter pose a view against any particular normality or orthodoxy. Management of information is the second area where an expert can be helpful. Decision maker is frequently overwhelmed by information, more so in this age of communications revolution. The problem is not information in ‘bits and pieces’ about the world, but the structuring of information in a meaningful way. While the academic will rarely be able to compete with the professional in terms of information about what happened yesterday, but he is better placed to put what happened yesterday into an historical socio-political context. And thus interpret information better. Thirdly, the value of criticism, argument and debate to understanding has long been recognised. Within the arena of international relations academics are observers trained in criticism and a resource to be utilised.³⁰⁸

In short the academic can give a theoretical coherence to the technical details of policy and help the practitioner evolve a long term policy rather than reacting to issues and situations on ad hoc basis. A more lively interaction between the two can help the practitioner to be ready whatever turn a situation may take and be rarely surprised and taken unaware.

The universities in the developed world have acted as the breeding ground for fresh ideas and have been the home to various think tanks. In almost all democratic countries of Europe there has been a long history of the interaction of the practitioner with the academic world whereby both provided feedback and guidance to each other. Contrast this with the nose-in-the-air attitude of personnel Pakistani state institutions who in line with their imperial history, often ape the style of British and now increasingly United States. However, they have never thought it fit to develop a working relationship with their academic community, which is one of the important basis for the finesse, insight and vision of the practitioner in the West. There is a need to develop working relations between the researcher and the practitioner. A more frequent exchange of ideas, both formally and informally may be evolved.

A system for induction of experts from non state sector into the foreign policy establishment at different levels of its hierarchy may be evolved. These experts can come from Academia, Civil Society Organisations, Business, Media and other relevant fields. This will insert fresh blood and fresh ideas into the decision-making, thus breaking out of an institutional lethargy and freeze that is natural to develop in institutions over time.

Overall Political Control

The need for an overall political control of all policy making including foreign policy needs no emphasis. Prime minister as head of the executive controls the overall foreign policy establishment. He has the authority to make the final decisions concerning policy issues. But that is not, as pointed out earlier, the same as political control of the foreign policy making.

Empowering the Parliament

Parliament must be given real powers in matters of foreign policy. To start with through a constitutional amendment all international treaties must be made subject to the approval of parliament. Parliament may also be given some role, if not the authority, to appoint higher officers on various diplomatic and related posts. One probable method can be all foreign

³⁰⁸ Keith., Webb, 2004.

ambassadorial level appointees must go through a public scrutiny by the foreign affairs committees of Senate and the National Assembly. Most importantly, parliament must be able to discuss and control all aspects of the budget that is concerned with any part of foreign policy. Current practice of not discussing the defense spending in the parliament is a practice that has to be given up. It is through open discussion of the defense spending in the parliament that the civil society can have a real control of the state and the existing lop sided development of state and society relations in favour of the military can be corrected.³⁰⁹ It is the control of the purse that can give public control any creditability and substance.

The Role of Political Parties

Political parties³¹⁰ are the central characters of any democratic state and society. It is through them that the civil society exercises overall control of the state structure. Their role in any change is crucial. However, political parties stand discredited in Pakistan is a statement that would find very few, if any detractors. They have failed to successfully represent the civil society in the affairs of the state and to balance the control of decision-making enjoyed by the Military – Civil bureaucracy. Accusations of corruption, incompetence, and being mainly family controlled and owned are common. Whatever the strengths or shortcomings of political parties, they play a central role in democratic systems. In fact, there is no example of a modern, healthy democracy without political parties. Political parties play several critical roles: parties help aggregate interests in diverse societies, parties help develop compromise and consensus on national policies and legislation, and parties literally help forming governments and legislatures. For any system of democratic decision-making the role of political parties is crucial. For political parties to play their role, their modernisation and reform is basic. A modern political party must be democratic in its own structure and decision-making, its finances and accounts must be transparent and open to public audit, and very crucial its leadership and activists must be well aware of the various issues confronting the state and society as well as responsible to the general public.

Modern Political parties must have a system of information gathering and response development. The party in government or the one or more in the opposition must have their own, independent sources of information and analysis, within and/or without their party structures which are continuously concentrating on various foreign policy issues. So when the political leadership is presented an issue by the state functionaries, they having a perspective of their own, are ready with knowledge of available alternatives. When a civilian political head of a ministry i.e. a minister is presented an issue for a decision, the way it is presented plays an almost deterministic role in the decision supposedly taken by the minister. The bureaucrat presenting the case would naturally present it in a manner that reflects his/her personal biases and understanding as well as his institutional interests. The political minister is not normally an expert of the subject he is taking decision about, nor is he supposed to be.

³⁰⁹ Read Agha., Aysha Siddiq, 2003, for an excellent treatment of the negative repercussions of the lack of any public accountability on defense spending. Also read her latest work *Military Inc.* 2007 for the economic stakes of Pakistani military in Pakistani economy that has developed due to non \ccountability.

³¹⁰ Diamond., Larry and Gunther., Richard, *Political Parties and Democracy* John Hopkins University Press, Maryland, 2001.

Further more, he or she busy in political and ceremonial matters, never has time for in depth study of the issues confronting his ministry. Thus, most of the time the actual decision is made by the bureaucracy, though the political head carries the illusion of making the decision. This is true even of the most developed states of the world. For example, in a pre – election televised interview President Bush failed to identify President Musharraf. However, the deficiency is covered by individual civilian experts, academic and research institutions. In a developed state the political head does not only rely on bureaucratic file that is put up before him. He/She has a set of alternatives from his team of experts and reports from his party think tanks as well. Thus, equipped with this alternative set/s of options, he/she is in a better position to decide and pose questions to the bureaucrat that may be missing from the official file, intentionally or un-intentionally. Similarly, the parties not in the government also are able to counter governmental decisions, make suggestions or provide alternate solutions in a more educated and informed manner, when they have access to expert opinion and studies carried out by their own experts and think tanks. It is important for political parties to play a serious role in running the affairs of the state, and have real control of the most crucial part of state functions i.e. foreign policy, they must have think tanks and research institutions of their own. These institutions must be staffed and administered by whole time researchers rather than party activists. These research institutions which broadly are oriented towards the ideological and theoretical positions of the political parties must be more professional than political.

These institutions in turn can have academic and research relations and contacts with universities and other academic institutions as well. Pakistani decision makers need to think of finding some mode of getting the educated involved in political and administrative setup of this country. This will go a long way in changing political parties and the decision-making process for the better.

Civil Society Groups

The role of Civil Society groups or Non Governmental Organisations is very crucial in the development of a culture of popular control of decision-making and democratic institution building. They bring out the views and interests of specific disadvantaged segments of the society, like Women, Children, and rural poor as well as broader concerns of the society like environmental and human rights issues, thus, making the decision makers take cognisance of popular concerns. More important is their educating impact. Through their activism they bring to light and attention issues that concern people, though due to lack of a mature civic culture do not receive enough public attention and interest.

There is a need to develop mutually supportive relations between political parties and civil society groups, which those working in both sectors must realise. Civil society groups help to organise and articulate various interests in a society. In essence, civil society helps provide part of the ‘demand side’ in politics. At the same time, political parties provide the ‘supply side.’ That is, parties help turn citizen interests and demands into policies and laws. If civil society groups lobby for change, it is critical that political parties are able to respond. If parties cannot help meeting these demands then there is a danger that citizens may become frustrated and reject democracy as a political system. Signs of which can noticed in Pakistan, if one looks around.

Feudal attitudes

However, the real hurdle in changing the nature of Pakistan's politics and state society relations is the dominant feudal character of its society. The personalised style of decision-making and structure and politics of political parties is the persistence of feudal mind set. Be that a populist like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, with his feudal social background and Oxford education or Mian Nawaz Sharif, with his mediocre local education and urban industrial class basis, the style and attitudes had remained feudal and personalised. Despite almost a half-century of independence, Pakistan's political system remains inadequately institutionalised and highly personalised. The country has alternated between long periods of military rule and unstable civilian governments controlled by a small elite of landed and tribal families, while the rural peasantry continues to be dominated by powerful feudal families, the urban middle class and working class remain small, weak, poorly organised and subordinated to an autocratic, centralized state. Pakistani political system is confronted by endemic violence and powerful primordial loyalties that have to dominate all policy disputes. The profile presented is not palatable, but it can not be white-washed through platitudes or ignored through ostrich-like mentality. Acceptance is the basic pre-requisite for a detached perception of the dialectical forces that throttle our political culture to be able to initiate structural transformations that promise hope and opportunity.³¹¹ Attempts to change the role of civil society, political parties and create a balance between state and society must address the issue of attitudinal change. It is the nature of feudal mind set to be conservative and resistant to change.

Change of feudal attitudes is the basic requirement for any change to be meaningful. However, one change in attitudes or social values can not be legislated. It is a process which is tied with progress in socio economic fields. Changes in educational level, syllabi, economic basis and opening up of the political arena can help in accelerating the pace of change in attitudes and creation of more professionalism in decision-making.

Political Education; towards a mature and responsible civil society

There is a need for the political education of the general public. Though probably most of the populace might never be interested in most of the foreign policy issues, however, some or more of them being interested in some of them. It is important that those who are interested are not just permitted but actively encouraged to be involved in a process of continuous debate. To make this debate more educated and better informed, it is important to encourage research and debate not just in state owned universities and research institutions, but also welcome and encourage the establishment of independent research centres or think tanks, as they are called. It must be pointed out that it is the responsibility of the academia not to wait, but play its due role by carrying out socially responsible and needed research, without waiting for invitations to do so. For it is their job not to just disseminate, but also to create and generate knowledge. This would not only enhance the political control of the decision-making, but will also help the government become more free to take even at times hard decisions, that may be necessitated by international environment and national interest.

³¹¹ Rahman S. M., "Viceregal Style of Governance", *'Defense Journal'* Karachi, <http://www.defencejournal.com> April 1988. p. 59.

Right to Know

The legislation providing access to information must be made meaningful. After a delay of two years, the government of Pakistan announced rules and procedures for the practical implementation of the Freedom of Information Ordinance 2002.³¹² These rules and procedures further limit and almost kill the purpose and object of the legislation. The legislation itself is much less than ideal. The need is of procedures that just not make information available but really facilitate people, especially researchers and academics, requiring and searching for information. The state must fund and/or support collection/indexing of de-classified information and its publication, thus, making it available to the interested public. Making of strenuous and complicated procedures defeats the purpose. While one realises and accepts that there are always some pieces of information which may be termed as of a nature that may harm state interests, determination of such nature needs to be done judiciously and in a liberal fashion. The paramount purpose of any such exercise must be to safeguard national interest and not protect individuals. The idea is to welcome and encourage a more educated and informed public debate on foreign policy issues, getting wider public inputs in the decision-making. It is very important to hold the decision makers accountable. It needs to be underscored that a more informed citizenry is a source of strength not hurdle. The elitist and exclusive approach to foreign policy is the remnant of the feudal and authoritarian era. The modern democratic approach depends on open debates and public inputs.

A CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR CHANGE

An understanding of the human political society as a plurality makes the conceptual basis for these directional pointers. As pointed out in chapter one of this study, International Relations function in a multi channel process of connections between both formal and informal interests, organised or not organised. The revolution in communication technology is bringing sea changes to the international arena. Globalisation is having its own impact as well as being an outcome of these technological leaps forward and economic progress. The significance of changes that have come and are coming in the form and content of international relations must be reflected in the structure of state institution/s dealing with foreign policy.

One starts by making a few basic rules and then waits for the gradual evolution of sound, responsible and accountable individual as well as institutional behaviour based on respect for Rule of Law. It is tradition and political culture that give substance to the skeleton erected by rules. The role of visionary leadership can not be overlooked while suggesting changes. It is a visionary and responsible leadership that sets the tone for the future evolution of state and society. George Washington (Although he could have been re-elected as he was the leader of the freedom movement of USA, as well as physically was in perfect health) by refusing to be elected for the third term as President of United States made such a strong tradition that was respected by subsequent Presidents as if it was a law, till the middle of the 20th century.

³¹² S.R.O. 514 (1)/2004. http://www.infopak.gov.pk/public/govt/freedom_of_information_rules_2004.htm

Similar traditions have been set in the present world by Nelson Mandela of South Africa. He announced retirement from active politics at the height of popularity and while he was in good health. Those at the leadership level must make traditions through examples such as these that may be emulated by ordinary members of the society.

There is a need for specific structural reforms. However, that is specialised field and requires a deeper study. Going into that will be out of context here. There is a need to carry out that specific study focusing on the structural and organisational aspects of reforms and changes. The specific structural reforms need to address the requirement of making the decision makers more responsive to society and have systems of independent inputs as well as the capacity for dealing with the informal processes.

SUMMING UP

“There exists a symbiotic relationship between the foreign policy of every country and between two specific factors; the geo-strategic context (regional and global) within which a country is located and the domestic compulsions of a country which include governance issues and economic constraints that exists. Depending on the economic strength, the military power and the leadership of a country, a country's foreign policy to a varying degree impacts upon these two elements and vice versa the foreign policy is influenced by these two elements. A dynamic connectivity is in fact constantly at work between foreign policy, governance and the geo-strategic environment. Autonomy, admittedly of varying degrees, is therefore available to all states to make their choices on the foreign policy. Their choices therefore define regional and global geo-strategic environments. Today however the supra-state actors like the United Nations, the IMF, World Bank, UNCTAD as well as sub-state actors including multi-nationals, NGOs, various shades of liberation movements, transnational militant movements and the media also define the geo-strategic environment.”³¹³

The changed Afghan policy to be real and meaningful requires changes in the overall understanding of Pakistani state's world view. The strategic culture that resulted in the pre 9/11 Afghan policy and the manner it had to be changed demands a thorough assessment. This study found that a thorough and fundamental change in self identity as well as world view is required. Afghanistan is Pakistan's neighbour and will remain so. Pakistan and Afghanistan share state interests that if permitted to determine relations between the two, can become the basis for a sustainable and long term friendly relationship. For such a development Pakistan has to undergo a fundamental change in its strategic culture. Geography has put Pakistan at an advantage vis a vis India as far as Afghanistan is concerned. Pakistan by denying that fact to play its role and insistence on controlling Afghanistan is pushing Afghanistan towards India. Thus the autocratic militarist and non democratic domestic policy setup has created a mind set that simply is unabale to let history take its course and people and their real interests determine. In the current Pakistani strategic

³¹³ Zehra., Nasim, “Foreign Policy and Crisis of Governance”, *Defence Journal*, Karachi, March 2000, p.4.

culture peace is not a choice. That has to be fundamentally changed. A plural democratic Pakistan is the only way towards that change.

Democratic decision-making is not just about voting and majority deciding but is more about debate, competition and compromise between various pluralities that make up any given state. Pakistan is a multi-ethnic federal state, which must be reflected in its decision-making processes. Foreign Policy of a modern democratic state reflects the broad consensus of the society. If one looks at the opinions and debates about Foreign Policy issues in democratic setups, and for that matter not just in the developed West, one would see a broad consensus on foreign policy issues, with minor debates about details and difference of opinion taken as giving strength to the national policy outcomes by providing options and thus maneuverability. Pakistani academia, media or political circles that are not controlled by the state does not reflect any such consensus. The reason for lack of a broad consensus, rather a continuously growing polarization on very fundamental issues of security, is the fact that is visible to any student of Pakistan. One very important factor contributing to such a state of affairs is that decisions are not a result of open national debates and compromises, no sense of participation among peripheral groups or sections of the society as well as ethnic minorities, so mostly they do not reflect national aspirations. A successful foreign policy must be coherent and backed by all segments of societal opinion. The more people participate in a decision, they develop a sense of belonging, a sense of loyalty to the policy, and thus they develop a cogent interest in it. That gives vision, direction, coherence and durability to policy. A proper system of policy making is a basic requirement of any successful policy. That system must be democratic providing for participation in decision-making to all its various ethnic and other divisions is no more a question open for debate, though, how to go about it is a question that must be debated continuously.

A democratic, forward looking and stable Pakistan is in the interest of its people, its immediate neighborhood and the World at large. It must also be understood that such a Pakistan is possible only when it accepts its plural existence and identity.³¹⁴ The changes required for such a Pakistan is essentially a domestic Pakistani issue. However, in the globalized World, there is nothing purely domestic or purely international. So, Pakistan needs and must be given an international support, push and shown some understanding for its difficulties on its path to change (if and when it starts traveling on it).

³¹⁴ Far detailed treatment of the relationship between Pakistan's identity crisis and democratic governance read, Khan., Ijaz, "Contending Identities of Pakistan and the Issue of Democratic Governance", 'Peace and Democracy in South Asia', Vol. 2 Nos 1 & 2, <http://pdsajournal.org/journal%202006new/Ijaz%20Khan.pdf>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY

1. U.S. Department of State, Cable, [1996] "*Dealing with the Taliban in Kabul*," 28 September.
2. U.S. Consulate (Peshawar), [1998] Cable, "*Afghanistan: A Report of Pakistani Military Assistance to the Taliban*," March 24.
3. U.S Department of State; Report, [2001] "*U.S. Engagement with the Taliban on Usama Bin Laden*", July 16.
4. Defense Intelligence Agency, [2001] Cable, "*IIR [Excised]/Veteran Afghanistan Traveler's Analysis of Al-qaeda and Taliban Exploitable Weaknesses*," October 2.
5. Defense Intelligence Agency, Cable, [2001] "*IIR [Excised]/Veteran Afghanistan Traveler's Analysis of Al-qaeda and Taliban Military, Political and Cultural Landscape and its Weaknesses*," October 2, 2001
6. U.S. Embassy (Islamabad), [1995] Cable, "*Senator Brown and Congressman Wilson Discuss Afghanistan with Pakistani Officials*," 18 February.
7. U.S. Embassy (Islamabad), [1994] Cable, "*[Excised] Believe Pakistan is Backing Taliban*," 6 December.
8. CIA Special National Intelligence Report [1982] "*Pakistan: The Next Years*" snie 12 – 82, 4 November.
9. UN Security Council Resolution; S/RES/1377(2001)
10. UN Security Council Resolution; S/RES/1373(2001)
11. The Freedom of Information Rules, [2004], S.R.O. 514 (1)/2004, Government of Pakistan.
12. Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan as amended through the 17th amendment.
13. *Gazetteer of Government of Pakistan*. Official record of all government press releases, ordinances and acts of parliament, published by Ministry of Information, Pakistan.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

1. Agha., Ayesha Sadiqua, [2003], *Pakistan's Arms Procurement and Military Build-up, 1979 – 1999; In Search of a Policy*, Sang – e – Meel Publications, Lahore.
2. Allison, Graham T. & Zelikow. Philip [1999], *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, 2nd Edition, New York Longman.
3. Almond Gabriel A., & Powell G. Bingham., [1987], *Comparative Politics*, New York, Little Brown.
4. Arif., Khalid M. Gen(r). [2001], *Khaki Shadows: Pakistan 1947–1997*, Karachi, Oxford University Press.
5. Barnett., Rubin, [1995], *Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
6. Booth., Ken & Dunne., Tim, (Editors) [2002], *Worlds in Collision, Terror and the Future of Global Order*, New York: Palgrave.
7. Brzezinski, Zbigniew. [1986], *Game Plan: A geo Strategic Plan for the Conduct of the US–Soviet Contest*, Boston, Farrar and Straus.
8. Burke, S. M., and Ziring Lawrence, [1973], *Pakistan's Foreign Policy; An Historical Analysis*, Karachi, Oxford University Press.
9. Callard, Keith. [1957], *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Interpretation*, New York, Institute of Pacific Relations.
10. Carr. E.H., [1966], *The Twenty Years Crisis*, London, Macmillan.
11. Cheema, Pervaiz Iqbal. [1995], *Defense Policy of Pakistan*, London, Macmillan.
12. Chomsky., Noam, [2003], *Hegemony or Survival America's Quest for Global Dominance*, New York, Metropolitan Books.
13. Christophe Jaffrelot [Ed.], [2002], *Pakistan; Nationalism without a Nation*, London, Zed Books.
14. Coll., Steve, [2004], *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*, New York, The Penguin Press.
15. Cohen, Stephen P., [2003], *India: Emerging Power. 2002*, Washington, DC., The Brookings Institution Press
16. Cooly. John K., [2001], *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*, New Delhi, Penguin.
17. Cordovez, Diego and Harrison, Selig. S. [1995], *Out of Afghanistan*, New York, Oxford University Press,
18. Deutsch., Karl, [1988], *The Analysis of International Relations*, 3rd edition, Prentice Hall, London.
19. _____ [1963], *The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control*, Free Press, New York.
20. Diamond., Larry and Gunther., Richard, *Political Parties and Democracy*, John Hopkins University Press, Maryland, 2001.
21. Durand., Algernon, [1899], *The Making of a Frontier*, London Pall Mall.
22. Embree, Ainslie T., [1977] *Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of a Political Order*, Durham, Carolina, Academic Press.

23. Ewan W. Anderson and Nancy Hatch Dupree (eds), [1990] *The Cultural Basis of Afghan Nationalism*, New York: Pinter Publishers.
24. Farr., Grant M. & Merriam., John G., [1987] *Afghan Resistance : the Politics of Survival*, Westview Press, New York.
25. Fukuyama., Francis, [1992] *End of History and the last Man*, New York, Penguin.
26. George, Alexander L. [1993] *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace Press,
27. Ghaus Abdul Samad,[1988] *The Fall of Afghanistan: An Insider's Account*, Washington, D.C. Pergamon Brasseys.
28. Girardet. Edward, [1985] *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*, New York: St Martin's Press
29. Halliday. Fred, [1994] *Rethinking International Relations*, London, Macmillan.
30. _____ & Alvi., Hamza [1988], *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, London, Macmillan Education Ltd., London.
31. Huntington., Samuel P.[1997] *The Clash of Civilizations and the Making of World Order*, New York, Simon and Schuster.
32. Hyder, Sajjad. [1987] *Foreign Policy of Pakistan; Reflections of an Ambassador*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers.
33. Jalal. Aysha, [1991] *The State of Martial Rule; The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense*, Lahore, Vanguard.
34. Jeyaratnam, Dennis Dalton, [1982] *The States of South Asia; Problems of National Integration*, London, C Hurst and Co.
35. Johnson .,Chalmers [2004] *Blowback;: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*, Revised edition, Metropolitan Books, New York,
36. Jones., Owen Bennett, [2002] *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
37. K.K. Aziz, *The Murder of History in Pakistan*, Vanguard, Lahore 1993
38. Kakar, M. Hasan., *Afghanistan: the Soviet invasion and the Afghan response: 1979–1982*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995.
39. Kaplan., Mortan, [1957], *System and Process in International Politics*, New York, Wiley.
40. Karl W. Deutsch, [1998] *The Analysis of International Relations*, 3rd edition New Jersey, Prentice Hall.
41. Kelman., Herbert C., (ED.) *International Behaviour*, Little Brown, New York
42. Kenneth., Waltz,[1979] *Theory of International Relations*, New York, Random House.
43. Keohane., Robert O. and Nye., Joseph., [1977], *Power and Interdependence*, Boston, Little Brown.
44. Khan, Rais Ahmad. [1983] *Pakistan–United States Relations*, Islamabad, Printing Corporation of Pakistan.
45. Kissinger., Henry, [1957] *A World Restored*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin.
46. Klaus Knorr and Sidney Verba, (ED.) *The International System*, Princeton, 1961.
47. Maley. William (ed.) [1998] *Fundamentalism Reborn; Afghanistan and the Taliban*, Lahore, Vanguard Books.
48. _____ [2002] *The Afghanistan Wars*, London, Palgrave.

49. Marsden., Peter [2002] *The Taliban: War and Religion in Afghanistan*, (Revised Edition), New York, Pelgrave Macmillan.
50. Mazari., Shirin,[2003] *The Kargil Conflict 1999*, Mr. Books, Islamabad.
51. Meyer., Karl E., [2003] *The Dust of Empire: The Race for Mastery in the Asian Heartland*, New York, Public Affairs Press.
52. Morgenthau., Hans J, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Fifth Edition, Revised, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1978
53. Mujtaba Razvi, [1971] *The Frontiers of Pakistan*, Karachi, National Publishing House.
54. Nadeem., S. M., & Nadvi., Khalid [2002] (ED.) *The Post –Colonial State and Social Transformation in India and Pakistan*, Oxford University Press. Karachi,
55. Neustadt, Richard E. & May. Ernest R. [1986] *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers*, London, The Free Press.
56. Niazi. A.A.K. [1998] *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press.
57. Nojumi., Neamatollah, [2002] *The Rise Of The Taliban In Afghanistan*, Mass Mobilization, Civil War, and the Future of the Region, New York, Pelgrave Macmillan.
58. North., Robert C., [1990] *War Peace Survival: Global Politics and Conceptual Synthesis*, San Francisco, Westview.
59. R., Gilpin, [1987], *The Political Economy of International Relations*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
60. Rasanayagam Angelo, [2003] *Afghanistan A Modern History*, London I. B. Taurin
61. Raza Rafi [1997] *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan: 1967–1977*, Karachi, Oxford University Press,
62. Rizvi Hasan Rizvi, [2003] *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, Lahore, Sang-e-Meel Publishers.
63. _____ [1986] *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers.
64. Rosenau, James N. [1969] (Ed.) *International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*. The Free Press, New York.
65. _____ (ed) [1968], *Linkage Politics*, New York, Free Press.
66. Rubin., Barbett, R. [2003] *The Search for Peace in Afghanistan*, Karachi, Oxford University Press.
67. Sayeed., Khalid bin, [1977] *Western Dominance and Political Islam: Challenge and Response*, Oxford University Press, London.
68. Schelling., T. C, [1960] *The Strategy of Conflict*, Cambridge Massachusetts Harvard University Press.,
69. Selig., S Harrison, Kreisberg, Paul H and Kux, Dennis (Ed.) [1999], *Pakistan and India: The First Fifty Years*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
70. Shah. Mehtab Ali, [1997] *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy 1971–1994*, London, I.B. Tauris.
71. Shahi Agha. [1988], *Pakistan's Security and Foreign Policy*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers.
72. Snyder., H. Richard, Sapin., Bruck, Burton. & Hudson Valerie, [2003] *Foreign Policy Decision–Making; Revisited*, New York, Pelgrave Macmillan.

73. Talbot., Ian, [2004] *Pakistan: A Modern History*, New York, Pelgrave Macmillan.
74. Tanter., Raymond, & Ullman., Richard H., (Ed) [1974] '*Theory and Policy in International Relations*', Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
75. Tendulkar., D. G.,[1967] *Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Faith is a Battle*, Popular Prakashan Press, Bombay.
76. Viotti Paul R., and Kauppi Mark V., [1999] *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond*, London, Allyn and Bacon.
77. Waltz., Kenneth, [1979] *Theory of International Relations*, New York, Random House.
78. Waseem. Mohammad, [1989] *Politics and the State in Pakistan*, Lahore, Progressive Publishers
79. Wendzel, Robert L. [1977] *International Relations: A Policy Maker Focus*, New York, John Wiley and sons.
80. Wilkinson David O. [1969], *Comparative Foreign Relations: Framework and Methods*, California, Dickenson Publishing Company.
81. Wirsing Robert G. [1991] *Pakistan's Security Under Zia, 1977–88*, London, Macmillan.
82. Woodward. Bob, [2002] *Bush at War*, Simon and Schuster, Washington,
83. Yousaf Mohammad and Adkin Mark [1992] *The Bear Trap: Afghanistan's Untold Story*, Lahore, Jang Publishers.
84. Aziz., K.K. *The Murder of History in Pakistan*, Vanguard, Lahore, 1993
85. Cohen, Stephen P., *India: Emerging Power*, The Brookings Institution Press, Washington, DC.

Journals

1. Ahmed., Samina, [2001], "The United States and Terrorism in Southwest Asia: September 11 and Beyond" '*International Security*', Vol. 26, No. 3.
2. Cohen., Stephen,[2002] "The Nation and State of Pakistan" in '*The Washington Quarterly*' No. 25:3 Washington, Summer.
3. Gardezi., Hasan, [1997] "Making of the Neo-Colonial State in South Asia: The Pakistan Experience" in '*Comparative Studies Of South Asia, Africa And The Middle East*', Vol. xvii No. 2 .
4. Guihong., Zhang, [2003] "US Security Policy towards South Asia after September 11 and its Implications for China: A Chinese Perspective" in *Strategic Analysis: A Monthly Journal of the IDSA* Vol. XXVII No. 2. April–June
5. Judah., Tim, [2002] "The Taliban Papers", in '*Survival Quarterly: The IISS Journal*, London, vol. 44, no. 1, spring.
6. Khan., M. Asghar, [1978] "Quaid-i-Azam on Soldier and Politics", *Defence Journal*, Islamabad vol. 4, no. 11.
7. Olcot., Martha Brill, [1999] "Pipeline and Pipe Dreams: Energy Development and Caspian Society", *Journal of International Affairs*, 53, no. 1. Fall.
8. Alvi., Hamza, "Authoritarianism and Legitimation of State Power In Pakistan" '*Sangat*', *Internat Magazine*, [http:// ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/sangat/Power.htm](http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/sangat/Power.htm)

9. Rahman., S. M., [1988] "Viceregal Style of Governance", *Defense Journal* Islamabad, April
10. Rizvi, Hasan Askari, [1999] "Pakistan in 1998: The Policy under Pressure," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 39, No. 1.
11. Rubin Michael, [2002] "Who is Responsible for the Taliban?" in '*Middle East Review of International Affairs*', Vol. 6, No. 1 March.
12. Yasmeen., Samina , [1994] "Pakistan's Cautious Foreign Policy", *Survival; The IISS Quarterly of the International Institute of Strategic Studies* London, Summer

Reports and Working Papers

1. Barnett R. Rubin, [1997] "U.S Policy in Afghanistan", Muslim Politics Report, No.11 Jan. Feb. Council on Foreign Relations, no 11.
2. Forsythe Rosemarie, [1996] "The Politics of Oil in The Caucasus and Central Asia", Adelphi paper no. 300, IISS London 1996.
3. Human Rights Watch Report [2001] "Afghanistan: Crisis of Impunity, The Role of Pakistan, Russia and Iran in Fuelling the War" Vol. 13, No. 3 (C). Also available on the internet at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/afghan2>
4. Simon Steven, & Benjamin Daniel, [2001] "The Terror", *Survival*, Vol. 42, no. 4, Winter 2001–02
5. Donohue., Laura K. [2001] "In the Name of National Security: U.S. Counterterrorist Measures, 1960–2000." BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001–6, ESDP Discussion Paper ESDP–2001–04, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, August.
6. Buzan., Barry, & Ole Waever [1998] "Liberalism and Security: The contradictions of the liberal Leviathan" working paper Copenhagen Peace Research Institute. Copenhagen.
7. Buzan, Barry, [2002] "South Asia Moving Towards Transformation: Emergence of India as a Great Power" '*International Studies*' 39, no. 1.
8. George W. Bush, "Remarks by the President at 2002 Graduation Exercise of the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York." Available at: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html> date accessed 2 April 2004
9. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America [September 2002]. White House. Washington D.C.
10. Laura K. Donohue. "In the Name of National Security: U.S. Counterterrorist Measures, 1960–2000." BCSIA Discussion Paper 2001–6, ESDP Discussion Paper ESDP–2001–04, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, August 2001.
11. Lum, Thomas, US Foreign Aid to East and South Asia: Selected Recipients, Congress Research Service Report for Congress, April 10, 2002.
12. Riedel, Bruce, "New Opportunities in US–South Asia Relations: An Assessment of President Clinton's Visit to India" CASI Occasional Paper, No.12, May 9, 2000.
13. Feinstein, Lee, "When Policy Priorities Converge: US Relations with India and Pakistan" in A New Equation: U.S. Policy Toward India and Pakistan After September 11. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Working Paper No. 27, May 2002.

14. Ashley J. Tellis, C. Christine Fair, Jamison Jo Medby, [2000] "Limited Conflict under the Nuclear Umbrella: Indian and Pakistani Lessons from the Kargil Crisis". Report prepared Rand for US government. Also available at <http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR1450/>.
15. Riedel Bruce, "American Diplomacy and the 1999 Kargil Summit at Blair House" Policy Paper Series 2002. Centre for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania.
16. Webb Keith "Academics And Professionals In International Relations: A British Perception" Kent Papers, <http://www.kent.ac.uk/politics/research/kentpapers/webb5.html> Accessed 9 May 2004.
17. Edmunds Timothy 'Democratic and Civilian Control of Armed Forces.' The Adelphi Papers, October 2003, vol. 360, issue. 1, p. 13 (24) Oxford University Press
18. Report 'Pakistan: The Mullahs and the Military' International Crisis Group Asia Report N°49, 20 March 2003. p 2–3.
19. Human Rights Watch Report [July 2001] "Afghanistan: Crisis of Impunity, The Role of Pakistan, Russia and Iran in Fuelling the War" Vol. 13, No. 3 (C). Also available on the internet at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/afghan2/>
20. "Foreign Policy Analysis in 20/20: A Symposium", International Studies Review, 2003 journal of International Studies Association.
21. Lapidus., Gail W. "Central Asia in Russian and American Foreign Policy after September 11, 2001" Presentation from "Central Asia and Russia: Responses to the 'War on Terrorism,'" a panel discussion held at the University of California, Berkeley on October 29, 2001. <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/10/29/2001> accessed 25 May 2004

Newspapers

1. 'Prime Minister will visit Iran in the middle of February', [2003] Statement of Sheikh Rashid Ahmad, Pakistan's Federal Information Minister, Daily, '*The News*' 2 February.
2. 'Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Press Conference', [2004] Daily '*Daily Times*' 26 February.
3. "Corps Commander Karachi Attacked", [2004] Daily '*Dawn*' Karachi 11 June.
4. "Indian aid to Afghanistan", [2001] Daily '*Times of India*', New Delhi, of 8 May 2003, 13 December.
5. "Jammu & Kashmir State Assembly in Srinagar attacked by terrorists", [2001] '*The New York Times*' New York, 3 October
6. "Musharraf Urges Muslim World to Speed up Process of Restructuring OIC" [2001] President Musharraf's address to the International Seminar on "OIC Challenge and Response –Enlightened Moderation," Daily '*Dawn*' 3 June.
7. "Pakistan Should Distance Itself from Taliban: PPP", [2001] Daily '*Dawn*', Karachi 14 September.
8. "Pakistan's Commonwealth membership restored", [2004]Daily '*Dawn*' Karachi, 23 May.

9. "President Musharraf's Address to the Nation", [2001] Daily '*The News*' 20 September.
10. "Status of Non-NATO Ally formalized" [2004] Daily *Dawn* 17 June.
11. "US may consider using force against terrorists on Pakistani soil if Pakistan does not cooperate" [2003] Statement of US ambassador to Afghanistan Zalme Khalilzad, Daily '*Washington Post*', Washington, 6 April.
12. "Why this Media Circus" [2001] Editorial, Daily '*Dawn*' Karachi, 26 September.
13. Ahmad., Eqbal, "What After Strategic Depth?" Daily '*Dawn*', 23 August 1998
14. Alam Imtiaz, "After the realignment", Daily '*The News*' 1 October, 2001.
15. Alam., Imtiaz, [2001] "The ideological paradox", Daily '*The News*', Islamabad, 22 October, 2001.
16. Amir Ayaz, [2001] "Joining the international mainstream", Daily '*The Dawn*' Karachi, 5 October 2001.
17. Amir Ayaz, [2001] Daily '*The Dawn*' Karachi, 25 September
18. Amir., Ayaz, [2003] "The end of Jihad Incorporated" daily '*Dawn*' Karachi 19 December.
19. Bahari Vajpai links Pakistan with Al-Qaeda" [2001] Daily '*The Hindu*' 13 September.
20. Cheema., Pervaiz Iqbal, [2003] "Firings on the Durand Line" Daily '*The News*' Islamabad, 3 August.
21. Hamid Zahid, [2004] "Sorry Saga of Nuclear Proliferation", Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 8 February.
22. Hoagland., Jim "Pakistan still Supports Terrorists in Kashmir" [2001] *The Washington Post*, October 3, 2001
23. Hussain., Touqir, [2003] "The making of our foreign policy", Daily *Dawn*. 24 September.
24. Joint statement of 13 different NGOs, which included the prestigious Islamabad based Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) and Aurat (Woman) Foundation, on 'War Against Terrorism' [2001] Daily '*The News*' 13 October.
25. Lodhi., Maleeha, "A foreign policy road map" Daily "*The News*" 12 April, 1997.
26. Mazari Shirin M., [2001] "Testing Times for Pakistan", Daily '*The News*' Islamabad, 4 October.
27. _____ [2001] "Distinguishing terrorism from Self Determination", Daily '*The News*' 27 September.
28. Menon M.S.N [2003] "India's Afghan Policy" Daily '*The Tribune*' New Delhi Friday, 17 January.
29. Mir., Hamid, [2002] "Pipeline Police in Afghanistan ", Daily '*The News*' 13 September.
30. Naqvi., Jawad, [2002] "US tells India to lay off Afghanistan", Daily '*The Dawn*' Karachi, 9 October.
31. Naqvi., Jawad, [2003] "Patch up with Pakistan, US tells India" Daily '*Dawn*' Karachi, 11 September.
32. Naqvi., M. B., [2001] "Direction for the paradigm shift", Daily '*The News*' Islamabad, 31 October.

33. President Gen. Musharraf's address to the Nation, Daily '*The News*' Islamabad. 13 January 2002.
34. Press Conference of Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar, [2001] Daily, "*The News*" Islamabad, 26 September.
35. Qaisar., Rashid A., [2004] "Mockery of Democracy", Weekly '*The Independent*', Issue #, 03, Vol. No. 4, 08–14 July.
36. Rais., Rasul Baksh, [2001] "Fixing the politics of Afghanistan" Daily '*The News*' Islamabad, 29 September.
37. Rajghatta., Chidanand, [2001] "India reads Afghan wicket correctly" Daily '*The Times Of India*', New Delhi, 7 December.
38. Rashid., Ahmad, [2003] "Afghan–Pakistani Tension Prompts Kabul To Develop New Trade Routes" Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 26 January.
39. Rashid., Ahmad, [2003] "Afghan–Pakistani Tension Prompts Kabul To Develop New Trade Routes", Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 26 January.
40. Rashid., Ahmad, [2003] "Afghan–Pakistani Tension Prompts Kabul To Develop New Trade Routes", Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore, 26 January.
41. Salahuddin Ghazi, [2001] "Crisis of Pakistan", Daily '*The News*' Islamabad, 18 September 2001.
42. Statement of Pakistan's Foreign Office Spokesman, [2003] Daily '*The Daily Times*' Lahore 2 August.
43. Syed., Anwar, [2004] "Preaching moderation" Daily '*Dawn*', Karachi, 27 June.
44. Traynor., Ian, [2002] "War in Afghanistan: Russia Edgy At America's Military Build-Up In Region" Daily '*The Guardian*' London, 10 January.
45. Yousafzai Rahimullah, [2003] "Pakistan's loss in Afghanistan is India's gain" Daily '*The News*' Islamabad 13 July.
46. Yousafzai., Rahimullah, [2003] "Pakistan's loss in Afghanistan is India's gain" Daily '*The News*' Islamabad 13 July.
47. Ziauddin., M., [2000] 'Kalabagh dam – its economy, history and politics' Daily *Dawn* 24 July.
48. 'Strategic shift in south Asia' [2003] '*Jane's Defence Weekly*' 29 January 2003
49. Hussain., Zahid, [2003] "Mission Impossible" in Monthly '*Newsline*', Karachi.
50. Ibrahim., Smaina, [2002] "Interview with Dr. Maleeha Lodhi; Pakistan's former ambassador to United States" Monthly '*Newsline*' September.
51. Khan., Sairah Irshad, [2001] "The War of Words" Monthly '*Newsline*', Karachi, October.
52. "Problems in turning to Pakistan for Help" [2001] Daily '*The Wall Street Journal*', Washington D.C. 27 September.
53. "India Seeks Larger Role" [2004] Weekly '*Asia Times*' Online, <http://www.atimes.com/ind-pak/CK28Df03>.
54. Quraishi Ahmed M. [2002] "Strategic Depth Reviewed" Monthly, '*Newsline*' Karachi, March.
55. Ziauddin., M. "Kalabagh dam – its economy, history and politics" Daily *Dawn*., 24 July 2000.

INDEX

A

academics, 92, 109, 125, 129
access, 7, 31, 34, 70, 71, 89, 123, 127, 129
accommodation, 34
accountability, 126
achievement, 34, 102, 107
activism, 24, 93, 127
adaptation, viii, 2, 17
adjustment, 15, 17, 25
administrators, 22
advocacy, 92, 95
Africa, x, 17, 44, 67, 137
age, 44, 113, 125
agent, 99, 102, 106
aggregation, 5, 8
agrarian, 28
agriculture, 70
airports, 85
Al-Qaeda, vii, 29, 72, 84, 96, 133
alternative(s), ix, 16, 26, 77, 79, 88, 92, 98, 124, 126, 127
ambiguity, 19
antithesis, 88
appointees, 126
argument, x, 8, 21, 37, 54, 55, 79, 80, 86, 89, 93, 113, 114, 124, 125
armed conflict, 71
armed forces, 14, 80, 123, 124
arrest, 72, 104
articulation, 5, 11, 18
Asia, x, 1, 17, 20, 22, 31, 32, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 65, 69, 75, 76, 78, 98, 135, 137, 139, 141

aspiration, 2
assertiveness, 45
assessment, 2, 13, 16, 34, 60, 107, 113, 130
assets, 20, 47, 65, 85
assignment, 30
assumptions, 116
asylum, 100
asymmetry, 115
attacks, 15, 31, 32, 39, 44, 47, 50, 56, 65, 66, 84, 86, 110
attention, vii, 31, 47, 119, 123, 127
attitudes, 6, 18, 36, 116, 119, 120, 128
authority, vii, x, 10, 13, 22, 98, 99, 102, 107, 125
autonomy, 23, 96
awareness, 91, 120

B

backlash, 92
baggage, 61
Bangladesh, 20
banks, x, 4
bargaining, vii, viii, ix, 4, 54, 60, 66
barriers, 122
Beijing, 66, 76, 122
belief systems, 7
beliefs, 2, 3, 16, 55
bilateral relations, 67
binding, 107
birth, 20
blood, 18, 125
border crossing, 54
breakdown, 24, 31, 103, 106, 107

breathing, 105
 breeding, 125
 Britain, 34, 89
 buildings, 101
 bureaucracy, 7, 9, 17, 19, 21, 40, 87, 106, 126, 127
 business organisation, 3

C

calculus, 68, 110
 capitalist system, viii
 catharsis, 92
 cell, 35
 centralism, 17
 certainty, 95
 channels, 2, 4, 44, 121
 children, 104, 119, 122
 civil society, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 44, 92, 99, 115, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128
 civil war, x, 30, 36, 61, 88, 136
 classes, 11
 classification, 84
 closure, 53, 54
 coercion, 85
 coherence, 1, 125, 131
 cold war, 4, 8, 13, 16, 19, 26, 32, 44, 45, 46, 48, 65, 73, 75
 collaboration, 105
 colonial heritage, 36
 commerce, 75, 77, 78
 communication, 4, 22, 85, 99, 129
 communism, 20
 community, viii, 6, 18, 31, 38, 53, 54, 57, 67, 88, 108, 116, 121, 123, 124, 125
 competition, 5, 31, 131
 competitor, 37
 components, 90, 97
 composition, 8, 61
 concentration, 8, 29
 concrete, 56, 106
 confidence, 68, 84
 configuration, 28, 74
 conflict, x, 2, 17, 25, 28, 29, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 56, 71, 92, 95, 103, 105
 confrontation, 19
 confusion, 19, 36
 connectivity, 130
 consensus, x, 4, 5, 17, 46, 113, 116, 126, 131
 consent, viii, 58, 96
 consolidation, 107

conspiracy, 34, 44
 constraints, 105, 130
 construction, 5, 6, 32, 76, 78
 contiguity, 96
 continuity, 8, 16
 control, viii, ix, 7, 12, 17, 18, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 44, 48, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 71, 72, 88, 102, 108, 115, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128
 convergence, 20, 32
 conviction, 122
 cooling, 22
 corporations, viii, 4, 6
 corruption, 9, 126
 costs, 40, 55, 93, 110
 covering, viii, 48, 91
 credibility, 106
 credit, 95
 creep, 77
 crime, 118
 critical thinking, 12
 criticism, 96, 124, 125
 cultivation, 31
 cultural heritage, 13
 cultural values, 116
 culture, viii, 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22, 24, 31, 43, 61, 81, 85, 87, 91, 95, 97, 98, 99, 104, 113, 117, 119, 127, 128, 129, 130
 curriculum, 91

D

dailies, 93
 danger, 110, 127
 death(s), 33, 35, 71, 101, 110
 defense, 21, 45, 126
 deficiency, 127
 definition, 2
 demand, 23, 59, 70, 71, 77, 102, 118, 122, 127
 denial, 20, 54, 71
 desire, 99, 106
 destruction, 38, 71, 88, 94, 101, 107, 109
 developed countries, ix
 developing countries, vii, x
 development, 15, 17, 22, 35, 44, 49, 83, 94, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127
 devolution, 106
 disaster, 58, 71
 discipline, 60, 119, 124
 discrimination, 120
 discussions, 84

displacement, 17
 disposition, 16
 disseminate, 128
 distortions, x, 120
 distribution, viii
 diversity, 120
 division, 13, 17, 20, 25, 53, 61, 84, 104
 domestic policy, 84, 96, 123, 130
 dominance, ix, x, 12, 16, 21, 30, 40, 114
 doors, 32
 dream, 65
 drugs, 100
 due process, 96
 dumping, 58
 durability, 131
 duties, 23, 46

E

economic activity, 72
 economic cooperation, 73
 economic development, 17, 22
 economic globalisation, 44
 economics, 75, 101
 elders, 94, 99, 103
 election, 29, 47, 127
 electricity, 75, 76
 emergence, ix, 5, 15, 21, 25, 29, 30, 34, 35, 37, 44, 52, 96, 100
 encouragement, 120
 energy, ix, 30, 77, 78, 80
 engagement, 46, 47, 48, 49, 54, 116, 124
 enthusiasm, 116
 environment, x, 2, 4, 7, 9, 13, 16, 43, 56, 63, 110, 124, 128, 130
 environmental degradation, 44
 equality, 119
 equilibrium, 2
 equipment, 74, 101
 erosion, 44
 ethnic groups, 6
 ethnicity, 24, 25, 28
 euphoria, 119
 Europe, xiv, 37, 45, 46, 74, 75, 125
 evil, 74
 evolution, 15, 18, 19, 129
 exclusion, 37, 38
 excuse, 11
 exercise, 59, 129
 expenditures, 21

expertise, 37
 exports, 70, 74, 75, 77
 extremism, vii, 34, 55, 58, 86, 92, 94, 96, 97, 105, 106, 109, 116

F

facilitated communication, 44
 failure, 23, 30, 37, 46, 57, 60, 72, 89, 106, 121
 fairness, 37, 108
 faith, 95
 family, 27, 69, 126
 fear(s), x, 4, 11, 18, 21, 58, 76, 89
 federal government, 24, 34, 98, 99, 102
 feedback, 125
 feelings, 68
 feet, 77, 78
 finance, 17, 75
 financial resources, 22
 fixation, 115
 flight, 84
 focusing, 12, 15, 130
 food, 49, 70
 forgetting, 30
 France, 45
 franchise, 99
 freedom, 3, 7, 18, 36, 64, 68, 93, 95, 129
 friends, 53, 54, 59, 68, 71, 84, 93, 101
 friendship, 24, 69, 77, 87
 frustration, 21, 65
 fuel, 38, 43, 84
 funding, 29, 70
 funds, 17, 38, 54

G

general election, x, 19, 36
 geography, 8, 63, 72
 gestures, 95
 gifted, 69
 global terrorism, 46, 64
 goals, x, 7, 32, 34, 39, 48, 56, 61, 87, 88, 105, 113, 116, 118, 119, 121
 government policy, x, 109
 grass, 99
 greed, 80
 grief, 5
 grouping, 32, 52, 65

groups, vii, viii, ix, x, ix, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 26, 28, 29, 43, 45, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 68, 71, 76, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 101, 102, 103, 108, 110, 118, 122, 127, 131
 growth, ix, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 61, 64, 106, 116, 118
 guardian, 15
 guidance, 47, 125
 guidelines, 47
 guilt, 56

H

hands, 8, 28, 34
 harm, 129
 health, 70, 129
 health care, 70
 heat, 105
 hegemony, 8, 48
 height, 74, 130
 heredity, viii
 hip, 28, 67, 126
 honesty, 119
 host, 69
 hostility, 54, 123
 hub, 74, 75, 105
 human rights, x, 3, 7, 44, 68, 92, 95, 96, 122, 127
 humanity, 44
 hydrocarbons, 78

I

identification, 7, 43, 107
 identity, viii, ix, 8, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 35, 37, 83, 86, 92, 97, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 130, 131
 ideology, 27, 95, 117
 illusion, 127
 images, 3, 13
 imagination, 45
 immigrants, 6
 immigration, 84
 imperialism, 17, 54, 92
 implementation, 5, 12, 28, 30, 54, 56, 90, 124, 129
 imports, 74
 increased access, 122
 independence, 18, 20, 21, 30, 33, 66, 67, 71, 128
 indexing, 129
 indication, 20, 65, 110
 indigenous, 37

induction, 125
 industrialisation, 17
 industry, 70
 infinite, 94
 inflammation, 66
 infrastructure, 75
 inhibition, 109
 initiation, 55, 106
 innovation, 11
 input, 8, 10, 12, 59, 64
 insecurity, 13, 21
 insight, viii, 70, 120, 125
 institution building, 127
 institutionalisation, 5, 34, 117
 institutions, viii, ix, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 34, 58, 61, 68, 117, 118, 121, 123, 125, 127, 128
 instruments, 34, 47
 intelligence, xiv, 10, 12, 13, 26, 28, 35, 38, 55, 84, 85, 91, 114, 115
 intensity, 44, 45
 intentions, 60, 75, 79
 interaction(s), viii, vii, ix, 4, 6, 44, 121, 125
 interdependence, vii
 interest groups, ix, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 122
 interference, 95, 99, 101, 106
 internet, 29, 38, 138, 139
 interpretation, x, 2, 16, 71, 80, 97, 116, 117, 118
 intervention, 9, 15, 26, 27, 29, 53, 100, 102
 interview, 88, 94, 103, 127
 investment, 75
 isolation, 15, 32, 38, 52, 53, 55, 58, 114, 115, 121

J

Japan, ix, 1, 76, 77
 jihad, 19, 95, 109, 115
 Jordan, 44
 journalism, 70
 judiciary, 102
 jurisdiction, 99
 justice, 4, 18, 49, 99, 119
 justification, 16, 21, 65, 79, 117, 118

K

Kazakhstan, 52, 78
 Kenya, 38
 killing, 40, 44, 101, 102, 104
 Kyrgyzstan, 52, 76

L

labour, 78
 land, 24, 52, 72
 language, viii, 6, 19, 24
 laws, 3, 116, 127
 leadership, 4, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37, 43, 45, 46, 56, 57, 58, 67, 68, 85, 90, 97, 100, 104, 105, 107, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 126, 129, 130
 learning, 120
 legislation, 126, 129
 lethargy, 125
 liberalisation, 48
 liberalism, ix, 92
 liberation, 89, 93, 130
 lifestyle, 102, 104
 likelihood, 88
 linkage, 31, 64, 65
 links, x, 29, 38, 50, 56, 88, 89, 91, 96, 111, 140
 loans, 121
 lobbying, 90
 lobbyists, 65
 local government, 9, 106
 location, 1, 50, 51, 66, 75, 77, 80, 81, 106
 logical reasoning, ix
 long run, 37, 66
 love, 22, 88
 loyalty, 23, 27, 131
 lying, 50

M

machinery, 19
 management, 44, 85, 124
 manpower, 17
 market(s), 17, 78
 martial law, 20, 26, 27, 123
 measures, 58, 103, 109
 media, ix, 5, 12, 13, 64, 110, 122, 130, 131
 mediation, 53
 membership, 22, 37, 71, 80, 106, 140
 memory, ix, x, 2, 3, 8, 9, 13, 15, 19, 33, 117, 119, 120
 men, 35
 messages, 2
 metamorphosis, 93
 middle class, 11, 36, 128

Middle East, 9, 13, 17, 18, 21, 25, 74, 77, 87, 135, 137, 138
 militarism, viii
 minorities, 120, 131
 minority, 18, 88
 mixing, 2, 13
 MMA, 19, 83, 90, 96, 97, 103
 models, 7, 124
 moderates, 87, 95
 modernisation, 92, 126
 money, 70, 71, 78
 monopoly, 7, 60
 motives, 117
 movement, 3, 6, 8, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 34, 36, 37, 64, 87, 89, 90, 99, 104, 107, 117, 129
 multinational corporations, ix, x, 17
 multiplicity, 99
 murder, 103
 music, 105

N

narcotics, 48, 93
 nation, viii, ix, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 46, 70, 85, 115, 120, 124
 national action, viii
 national curricula, 119
 national identity, 18, 24
 national interests, viii, 114, 116
 National Party, xiii, 6, 37, 39, 94
 national security, 19, 21, 109
 National Security Council, xiv, 10, 57
 nationalism, viii, 18, 94, 118
 NATO, xiv, 80, 89, 100, 140
 natural gas, 38, 75, 77, 78
 negotiating, viii, 6, 23, 67, 79
 network, 50, 56, 84
 newspapers, 37, 65, 110
 NGOs, 40, 54, 92, 95, 130, 140
 North America, ix, 37, 88
 North Korea, 74
 nuclear program, 85
 nuclear weapons, 109
 nucleus, 63

O

occupied territories, 54
 OECD, 45

oil, 9, 31, 32, 35, 38, 52, 77, 78, 80
omission, 99
openness, 116
opportunism, 92
organization(s), ix, 35, 96, 99
orientation, 8, 21, 110, 111

P

Pacific, 1, 134
paradigm shift, 93, 109, 141
Parliament, 10, 39, 68, 86, 125
partition, 3, 6, 13, 18, 20, 21, 23
partnership, 60, 89
patriotism, 12
peace process, 67
Pentagon, 40, 50, 57
perception(s), vii, ix, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 28, 37, 43, 45, 52, 61, 71, 85, 87, 97, 114, 116, 118, 128
permit, 38, 85, 106, 114
Persian Gulf, 78
personal life, 59
personality, x, 12, 16, 17, 19, 90, 114
persuasion, 36, 55
Philippines, 19
planning, 38, 47, 70, 89
plurality, 129
polarization, 43, 107, 113, 131
police, 70, 102
poor, 127
population, x, 3, 11, 35, 105
populism, 92
posture, 70
poverty, vii
power, vii, viii, ix, x, ix, 4, 7, 8, 9, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 34, 39, 40, 44, 45, 48, 52, 55, 58, 66, 68, 69, 72, 85, 88, 89, 91, 106, 108, 110, 114, 116, 121, 124, 130
preference, 34
preferential treatment, 75, 80
prejudice, 120
president, 28, 30, 57, 59, 69
pressure, x, 27, 35, 52, 55, 58, 60, 68, 79, 91, 95, 100, 113, 122
prestige, 31
prices, 6
primacy, 5, 47, 60
private enterprises, viii
private sector, 5

probability, 71
production, viii, 77
professionalism, 119, 128
proliferation, 48, 49, 50, 67, 80
propaganda, 101, 122
psychosis, 89
public education, 119
public opinion, ix, 8, 11, 12, 13, 121, 123
public policy, 8
public sector, 5, 12

R

race, 6, 122
range, ix, 31, 38, 123
realism, viii, ix, x, 16
reality, 5, 16, 18, 27, 45, 48, 58, 107
receptors, 2
recognition, viii, x, 11, 18, 53
reconcile, 53
reconciliation, 88
reconstruction, 69, 70, 72, 78, 80
reduction, 67, 70
reforms, 7, 9, 96, 109, 116, 130
refugees, 17, 18, 25, 28, 71
regulation(s), 45, 117
rejection, 45, 49, 97
relationship, ix, 12, 19, 23, 36, 48, 61, 66, 70, 72, 79, 87, 91, 97, 99, 101, 124, 125, 130
relaxation, 80
reliability, 120
religion, viii, ix, 1, 6, 8, 16, 18, 24, 88, 89, 93, 105, 122
religious beliefs, 28, 90
repair, 74
repetitions, 101
replacement, 66
Republican, 45, 47, 49, 53
resentment, 25, 39
reserves, 51, 77, 78
resistance, ix, 3, 11, 24, 25, 26, 28, 39, 73, 90, 100, 119
resolution, 17, 23, 26, 99
resources, 2, 7, 31, 76
retaliation, 64
retirement, 130
returns, 102
rewards, 19
rhetoric, 3, 12, 48, 92
rigidity, 95

rotations, 38
rule of law, 44, 45, 96, 122

S

sabotage, 76
sample, 65
sanctions, 38, 49, 54, 65, 80, 108
satellite, 70
Saudi Arabia, viii, 9, 11, 38, 51, 54, 93, 110
scandal, 80
scepticism, 13
school, 40, 54, 70, 86, 91, 98, 107, 119
scores, 85
search, 12, 32
searching, 13, 129
Secretary of Defense, 47
secularism, 18, 20
security, ix, x, viii, ix, 2, 3, 4, 7, 13, 16, 20, 21, 27, 29, 31, 45, 46, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 63, 65, 66, 71, 74, 77, 80, 81, 85, 87, 89, 99, 114, 115, 117, 123, 131
sensitivity, 24
separation, 45, 108
series, 100, 114
shape, 4, 15, 16, 25, 46, 57, 64, 79, 97
shaping, 4, 8, 9, 123
sharing, viii, 50, 63, 76
shelter, 11
shock, 45, 65
short run, 85
shortage, 17
sign(s), 10, 45, 49, 50, 60, 68, 114
signals, 53, 58
sites, 51
skeleton, 129
skills, 17
smoke, 103
smuggling, 38, 100
society, vii, viii, x, viii, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 26, 33, 40, 43, 44, 58, 60, 63, 83, 86, 92, 94, 96, 97, 107, 108, 109, 110, 114, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131
soil, 73, 96, 140
sovereignty, viii, 44
spectrum, 84, 91, 92
speech, 46, 83, 85, 86, 88
stability, 67, 88
stages, 10
standards, ix

statistics, 77
steel, 9, 17
strategic planning, 16
strategies, ix, 47, 121
streams, viii, 2, 3, 40, 83
strength, vii, viii, 17, 20, 26, 29, 31, 34, 45, 60, 71, 96, 105, 107, 119, 129, 130, 131
stress, 97
stretching, 19
strikes, 56, 59, 65
structural reforms, 130
structural transformations, 128
structuring, 125
students, 36, 70, 76, 86, 91, 103, 107, 120
subgroups, 6, 7
Sudan, 38, 79, 93
suffering, 88, 89
suicide, 45, 104
summer, 53
supply, 22, 27, 77, 127
surprise, 59, 74, 84, 85
surveillance, 22
survival, viii, 21, 54, 57, 87, 114
sustainability, 113
sympathy, vii, 15, 29, 32, 36, 46, 50, 97
systems, viii, 7, 126, 130

T

takeover, 34, 53, 94
tanks, 12, 87, 125, 127, 128
targets, 22, 79, 89
tariff, 70, 75
technical assistance, 78
technological revolution, 44
technology, 45, 80, 121, 122, 129
telecommunications, 4, 78
telephone, 56
television, 122
tenure, 24
territory, viii, x, ix, 15, 19, 29, 31, 38, 55, 56, 64, 66, 71, 72, 79, 80, 85, 98
textbooks, 119
theory, vii, ix, x, 1
thinking, viii, 8, 12, 31, 79, 110, 119
threat(s), viii, ix, 3, 4, 8, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 25, 29, 37, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 54, 61, 65, 66, 71, 74, 85, 87, 93, 110
time, ix, vii, 4, 11, 12, 13, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 44, 47, 51, 56, 58, 65, 67, 74, 76, 77, 80, 92,

94, 95, 98, 103, 109, 114, 115, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127
total revenue, 21
tracking, 101
trade, 7, 17, 35, 44, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 123
trade agreement, 70
trade union, 7
trading, 11, 74, 75, 76
tradition, 13, 30, 59, 129
traffic, 72
training, vii, 32, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 64, 69, 70, 74, 77, 79, 104
traits, 13, 35
trajectory, 13
transactions, 72
transnationalism, x
transparency, 124
transport, 35, 70
trauma, 89
treaties, 3, 125
trees, 105
trend, viii
trial, 117
tribes, 29, 66, 98, 100, 101, 103
trust, 28
Turkey, 31, 52, 73, 93
Turkmenistan, 32, 38, 52, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80

U

uncertainty, 57
unilateralism, 45, 121
universities, 12, 125, 127, 128
urban areas, 118
urban centres, 70

V

vacuum, 55, 88, 106

values, viii, 2, 3, 5, 16, 88, 90, 92, 108, 116, 118, 119, 128
variables, vii
vehicles, 74, 75
venue, 23
victims, x
village, 23, 102, 104, 105
violence, x, 49, 86, 120, 128
vision, 37, 46, 88, 94, 95, 97, 115, 119, 125, 131
voice, x, 7
voicing, 5
voting, 131
vulnerability, 21, 29, 45

W

weakness, 12, 17, 50, 113
weapons, 27, 44, 49, 74, 80, 86, 89, 100, 102
weapons of mass destruction, 49
welfare, 18, 86
welfare state, 86
western countries, 4
wheat, 70
winning, 48
withdrawal, 22, 26, 31, 47, 55, 91, 92, 102
women, 7, 59, 75, 120, 122
workers, 34
worldview, 8, 18, 110, 117
worry, 24, 66
writing, 12, 102, 117, 121

