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MASTER OF DEFENCE STUDIES

**PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR**

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## **ABSTRACT**

After the September 11 terrorist attacks, Pakistan's decision to join the US led global war on terror (GWOT) provided it with a much needed opportunity to address militancy and religious extremism in the country. However, the historical perspective and regional / tribal dynamics coupled with other factors exploited by certain anti-Pakistan elements have led to an increasing mistrust between Pakistan and its allies across the border. In this backdrop, this essay is aimed at highlighting the role played by Pakistan in the GWOT since September 11, 2001 within the complex regional dynamics and the challenges it faces. Although most of the events that malign Pakistan's image in this regard have been more or less beyond its control, the blame can not entirely be attributed to exogenous factors alone. Nevertheless, it is a combined war and can only be won if all stake holders contribute their due share in the most coherent manner with mutual trust.

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## **PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR**

### **Introduction**

'Terrorism,' a word of Latin origin, found its initial roots during French Revolution (Reign of Terror).<sup>1</sup> Wilhem Weitling (1808-1871), a German socialist, was perhaps the first to propound terrorism as a method for revolutionary ends. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, radical nationalist groups in Ireland, Macedonia and Armenia continued with terrorist agenda. World War I was also triggered by a Bosnian terrorist, who assassinated the Archduke of Austria in 1914. The 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed collapse of the Twin Towers as the biggest attack ever triggered by single act of terrorism. Despite the havoc caused by these destructive acts, the world is still anguished to find universally accepted single definition of these acts. Non availability of an internationally accepted definition has made it even more complex to be tackled. The only unanimous platform on the subject is a renunciation of use of violence for political, social, ethnic, economic and religious purposes by an individual or a community. The famous dictum, 'one man's freedom fighter is another's terrorist,' would serve as the best example to amplify this puzzle.

The aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks exposed Pakistan to multi dimensional threats. The national policy pursued during the testing times rescued the nation from a dilemma. However, it posed new challenges to the country on internal and external fronts. Where Pakistan's decision to join the US led global war on terror (GWOT) was partly influenced by the tough American tone, it was the only viable option to pursue in the national interest. It was believed that besides fighting militancy home and in tribal areas, a stable and Pakistan-friendly Afghanistan was in the best economic interest of Pakistan. Therefore, it provided extensive support to the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), as well as confronted

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<sup>1</sup> The concise Oxford Dictionary, "A period of remorseless repression or bloodshed, especially a period of the French Revolution."



the invisible enemy in its own tribal areas and the cities. It also provided a much needed opportunity for Pakistan to address militancy and religious extremism in the country that was primarily a legacy of the Soviet Afghan War. As a frontline state, Pakistan's role in this war has remained critical and significant to-date with numerous achievements. It has captured and killed more terrorists than any other country. It has employed more troops and resources in the region than any other country. It has perhaps done more than what the coalition has done in Afghanistan. However, the war has been very complex Pakistan has faced many challenges, including an atmosphere of mistrust at the international level, in the last six years. Seen through the lens of historical perspective, regional dynamics, and Pakistan's long term interests, Pakistan has played a significant role in the GWOT militarily, politically, and economically; it faces some serious internal as well as external challenges to achieve complete success in this complex war in full harmony with coalition forces and Afghanistan.

This essay is aimed at highlighting the role played by Pakistan in the GWOT since September 11, 2001 within the complex regional dynamics and the challenges it faces. Whereas related activities will be briefly touched upon as they fall, the essay will focus essentially on the GWOT in relation to the steps taken by Pakistan to curb extremism and terrorism domestically as well as war against the Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in tribal areas, and Pakistan's cooperation with the coalition across the border. It will begin with addressing the theoretical aspects related to terrorism and its evolution in Pakistan focussing on the principal internal and external reasons. The second part will deal with the complex historical perspective. It will cover the history, society, and nature of terrain in Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas. It will also discuss the effects of the Soviet Afghan War and the Taliban phenomenon and the reasons into their resurgence. In the third part the role played by Pakistan in the GWOT in the complex scenario will be highlighted in the light of interests of various countries in Afghanistan. However, it focuses on Pakistan's long term interests in a stable,

Pakistan-friendly Afghanistan. Finally in the fourth part, an analysis of Pakistan's contributions will be discussed alongside the challenges it faces ahead.

**PART 1**  
**EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM**

**Defining the Terrorism**

Terrorism is a difficult term to define, as the more one tries to define it more complex it becomes. Besides, there is no clear definition of either terrorism or the term terrorist.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, there are numerous complexities in defining terrorism. The first complexity arises when one tries to define terrorism by labelling the opponents as terrorists.<sup>3</sup> Every international bloc, every state or indeed every community has enemies and opponents that seek to eliminate it. As the conflict becomes violent, each party tries to undermine the reputation of the other by attributing to it repulsive epithets, such as "anarchist", "criminal", "inhuman", "terrorist", and the like. Each of the two parties indulges in such allegations in order to carry out their objectives, which involve the deprivation of the other party of its rights on the pretext of collaborating with the enemy or plotting against lawful interests. To materialize this process, each party uses its international influence in order to win other parties over to its side either in action or in terms of support in international foray. Accordingly, sentiments are exploited for the implementation of such plans motivated by self-interest, under the banner of "anti-terrorism" for instance.

Another complexity is about terrorizing people. For those who accept that terrorism is about terrorizing people, other questions arise. Does it include threats, as well as actual violence? A few years ago, for example, the Islamic army in Yemen warned foreigners to leave the country if they valued their lives, but did not actually carry out its threat. Another question

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<sup>2</sup> Naji Abi-Hashem, "Peace and War in the Middle East: A Psycho political and Sociocultural Perspective," in *Understanding Terrorism: Psychological Roots, Consequences, and Interventions*, ed. Fathali M. Moghaddam and Anthony J. Marsella (Washington: American Psychological Association, 2003), 71.

<sup>3</sup> Ayatullah Shaykh Muhammad Ali Taskhiri, "Towards a Definition of Terrorism," *Al- Tawhid: a Journal of Islamic Thought and Culture*, Volume No. 1(1987) [journal on-line]; available from <http://www.al-islam.org/search/index.html>; accessed 9 January 2007.

is the distinction between terrorism and warfare. The state department regards attacks against "non-combatant targets" as terrorism, but the "non-combatants" includes both civilians and military personnel who are unarmed or off duty at the time. In an article, Brian Whitaker made following observations:

The most lethal bombing in the Middle East was the suicide attack on USS Cole in Aden harbour, which killed 17 American sailors and injured 39 more. As the ship was armed and its crew on duty at the time, why is this classified as terrorism? <sup>4</sup>

A similar question arises with Palestinian attacks on Israeli settlements. Many settlers are armed (with weapons supplied by the army) and the settlements themselves, though they contain civilians, might be considered military targets because they are there to consolidate a military occupation.

### **Definitions and Analysis**

Owing to the complexities highlighted above, there is no single universally recognized definition of terrorism. Terrorism is defined in the League of Nations Convention (1937) as, "All criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public."<sup>5</sup> A terrorist action involves violence, or force, or threat of force as a method of combat directed towards some political end. That end may be achieved through coercion, extortion, intimidation, or induction of compliance in some area of policy, addressed to a government, organizations or third parties. It is essentially criminal in character, where civilians, non-combatants, non-resistant, neutrals, or outsiders are the principal victims.<sup>6</sup> Terrorism is a violent act aimed at influencing

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<sup>4</sup> Brian Whitaker, "The Definition of Terrorism," *The Guardian* [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/elsewhere/journalists/story/0,7792,487098,00.html>; Internet; accessed 9 January 2007.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, "Definitions of Terrorism," <http://www.odcp.org/terrorism-definitions.html>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Maxwell Taylor, *The Terrorist* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1988), 70.

the political process.<sup>7</sup> It is a political struggle which operates by means of crimes. Terrorism is such a crime which is characterized by having no organic connection with legitimate warfare and possessing inhumane element. It is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by semi-clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly or selectively from a target population, and serve as message generators.<sup>8</sup>

The Terrorism Research Centre of the US has quoted different definitions by various scholars and experts and FBI.<sup>9</sup> According to Brian Jenkins terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change.<sup>10</sup> According to Walter Laqueur, terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted.<sup>11</sup> The FBI defines terrorism as, “Unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”<sup>12</sup> The definitions proposed by various departments and the US law, do not include acts of violence against civilians that are committed by the military forces of recognized states, but only those by individuals or non-state organizations. According to the US, violent acts by states might be violations of international law, but are not terrorism. According to the definition by the European Union:

Terrorist offences include intentional acts by their nature and context, which may be seriously damaging to a country or to an international organization, as defined under national law, where committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or to abstain

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>9</sup>The Terrorism Research Centre, “Definitions,” <http://www.terrorism.com/terrorism/def.shtml>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2007.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

from performing any act, or destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or international organization.<sup>13</sup>

This definition does not impose any restriction on freedom struggles/national liberation movements. However it is too broad and does not lead to any specific actions against terrorists. The Organization of Islamic Conference defines terrorism as an act carried out to achieve an inhuman and corrupt objective, involving threat to security of any kind and violation of rights acknowledged by religion and mankind.

The prevailing definitions do not distinguish between the terrorism and legitimate and internationally recognized freedom struggles, even when these are aimed at obtaining independence from foreign occupation. Atrocities, being committed by the occupation forces and government machinery, are ignored and any retaliatory action of the victim is labelled as terrorist act. It is also feared that the prevalent concept and understanding of terrorism will affect all the guerrilla movements being waged in the different parts of the world.<sup>14</sup> It is essential to differentiate between two entirely different concepts. Terrorism is not necessarily confined to clandestine groups, and if seen as referring to the attributes of certain kinds of acts of agencies, including states agencies, can show evidence of terrorist behaviour.<sup>15</sup> Common characteristics to all forms of terror are unpredictability, indiscriminateness and ruthless destructiveness. Indiscriminate terror can never, in principle, be morally justified. The definition does not require that the terrorist organizations accept it as such. Nevertheless, reaching international agreement will be easier the more the definition takes into account the demands and viewpoints of terrorist organizations and their supporters.<sup>16</sup> The idea that one

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<sup>13</sup>European Union, "Article 1 of the political agreement on the framework of decisions on combating terrorism," <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2001/dec/07terrdef.htm>; Internet; accessed 7 January 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Boaz Ganor, "Defining terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist is Another Man's Freedom Fighter," *International Counter Terrorism Centre*, <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/define.html.22>; Internet; accessed 7 January 2007.

<sup>15</sup>Maxwell Taylor, *The Terrorist* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1988), 40.

person's 'terrorist' is another's 'freedom fighter' cannot be sanctioned. Freedom fighters or revolutionaries do not blow up buses containing non-combatants; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters do not set out to capture and slaughter school children; terrorist murderers do. The general consensus which emerges is that indiscriminate terror, use of force for political, social, ethnic, economic and religious purposes, can never, in principle, be morally justified, whether committed by an individual, group, community, or a state.

Terrorism can take any form or type as it is essentially inhumane. There are numerous recognized types of terrorism, which relate to the perpetrators and the mode used for the acts of terrorism. First is state terrorism, which can be defined as use of violence by states in the furtherance of political ends. State agencies, just as much as secret societies or dissident groups, commit terrorist acts in an attempt to produce or maintain political objectives.<sup>17</sup> Terrorism is used by states for repression of their own citizens, political opponents, and minorities, as well as against conquered peoples and enemies in war.<sup>18</sup> Most recent examples of state terrorism can be seen in Indian occupied Kashmir and in Palestine. With the brutal use of force, both Israel and India are trying to suppress the movements of independence and self-determination respectively. Another type of terrorism i.e. state sponsored terrorism is an offshoot of state terrorism. State-sponsored terrorist groups are deliberately used by radical states as foreign policy tools as Bruce Hoffman puts it, "a cost-effective way of waging war covertly, through the use of surrogate warriors or 'guns for hire.'"<sup>19</sup> Acts of terrorism are sponsored and launched by one country against another using violence and lethal force with a view to

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<sup>16</sup> Boaz Ganor, "Defining terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist is Another Man's Freedom Fighter," *International Counter Terrorism Centre*, <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/define.html>, 22 ; Internet; accessed 7 January 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Maxwell Taylor, *The Terrorist* (London: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1988), 41.

<sup>18</sup> Paul Wilkinson, *Political Terrorism* (New York: Halsted Press, 1974), 22.

<sup>19</sup> Council of Foreign Relations, "Terrorism," <http://www.terrorismanswers.com/terrorism/types.html>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2007.

achieving long term political or strategic objectives. The aim of the country which sponsors and abets terrorism and insurgency can range from destabilization and weakening of a government or a central authority to breaking up the existing social and political order of the targeted country. According to the US Department of State, Iran is the primary state sponsoring terrorism. It also accuses Cuba, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan and Syria of sponsoring terrorism. Pakistan accuses Indian intelligence agency Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of sponsoring terrorist acts in Pakistan and India blames Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) for sponsoring terrorism in Indian held Kashmir and in India.

One of the most dangerous and prevalent types of terrorism is religious terrorism. Religious terrorists seek to use violence to further what they see as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of foes in an attempt to bring about sweeping changes. Religious terrorism is characterized by compliance with belief. Sectarian killings, as practiced both by nationalists and loyalists in Northern Ireland fall into this category. According to Hoffman, religious terrorists can use limitless violence against an open-ended category of targets, that is, anyone who is not a member of the terrorist's religion or religious sect.<sup>20</sup> According to the US state department, religious terrorist groups include Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaeda network, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah, and the radical Jewish groups affiliated with the late Rabbi Meir Kahane. Another type 'Suicide terrorism' is the most aggressive form of terrorism.<sup>21</sup> It is known by variety of other names as new, next generation, and post modern terrorism. Suicide terrorism is defined as any terrorist attack or operation that is conducted in such a manner that the terrorist does not expect to survive it, even if he or she is killed by police or other

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<sup>20</sup> Paul Wilkinson, *Political Terrorism* (New York: Halsted Press, 1974), 45.

<sup>21</sup> Robert A. Pape, *Dying to win: the Strategic Logic to Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), 10.



defenders.<sup>22</sup> Robert A. Pape distinguishes a suicide terrorist from others as:

What distinguishes a suicide terrorist is that the attacker does not expect to survive the mission and often employs a method of attack (such as a car bomb, suicide vest, or ramming an airplane into a building) that requires his or her death in order to succeed.<sup>23</sup>

Although the history of suicide terrorism goes back to the first century, the modern suicide terrorism started in Lebanon in early 1980s.<sup>24</sup> In July 1990, the Liberation of Tamil Tigers Eelam (LTTE) began a series of suicide attacks against the Sri Lankan government and civilian targets.<sup>25</sup> Since then, suicide terrorism rapidly spread to several other countries. According to Pape, suicide terrorism is most likely when the religion of an occupying power differs from the religion of the occupied.<sup>26</sup> When linked with the religion, suicide terrorism becomes more dangerous as it spreads fast. As a result, this type of terrorism has assumed a significant role in the contemporary asymmetric warfare.

Ideological terrorism sometimes known as revolutionary terrorism is identified with leftist movements. This form of terrorism is for achieving political and social change. It is directed not only against defeating the enemy by military means but has the mass movement of people as a crucial part of it. Nationalist terrorism is another type of terrorism. The nationalist terrorists seek to form a separate state for their own national group, often by drawing attention to a fight for "national liberation" that they think the world has ignored. This type of terrorism can be difficult to define, since many groups accused of the practice insist that they are not terrorists but freedom fighters.<sup>27</sup> Nationalist terrorist groups include the Irish Republican army

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-14.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Hyunwook Han, "Terrorism, Political Violence and World Order," [on-line] available from <http://www.terrorismanswers.com/terrorism/types.html>; Internet; accessed 13 January 2007.

and as per Israel the Palestine Liberation Organization. Others are the Basque Fatherland and Liberty, which seeks to create a Basque homeland separate from Spain, and the Kurdistan Workers' Party, which seeks to create an independent Kurdish state apart from Turkey.

### **Current Trends**

The 2001 disaster took place when experts were defining a new form of terrorism focused on visions of apocalypse and mass casualties. The catastrophic September 11 attacks confirmed their fears. The US state department's "Patterns of Global Terrorism," published in early 2002 revealed that terrorist attacks had scaled back in recent years, even though more casualties had occurred.<sup>28</sup> The numbers of attacks had increased slightly since 1998, reaching up to 274 but the level did not reach the number realized in any of the years of the 1980s. Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network of international terrorists are the prime examples of the new terrorism, but Islamic radicalism is not the only form of apocalyptic, catastrophic terrorism. Aum Shinrikyo, the Japanese religious cult, executed the first major terrorist attack using chemical weapons on a Tokyo subway in 1995. The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma in 1996 revealed similar extremism by American right-wing militants. The US National Commission on Terrorism found that fanaticism rather than political interests is more often the motivation. Warnings about the dangers of non-traditional terrorism were raised frequently in pre-2001 literature.<sup>29</sup> For instance, Ashton Carter, John Deutch, and Philip Zelikow declared in the pages of the Foreign Affairs in 1998 that a new threat of catastrophic terrorism had emerged.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> United States, Department of State, *Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 2002), 171.

<sup>29</sup> Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, *America's Achilles' heel: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998) and Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Ashton Carter, John Deutch, and Philip Zelikow, "Catastrophic Terrorism," *Foreign Affairs* 77, (November/ December 1998): 80-94.

Some analysts are of the view that terrorism represents continuity rather than change and radical extremism has always dominated terrorist motivations.<sup>31</sup> Walter Laqueur's most recent book warns against trying to categorize or define terrorism at all because there are "many types of terrorism" and he emphasizes the peculiarities of various terrorist movements and approaches.<sup>32</sup> Bruce Hoffman discussed the definition of terrorism at length in his 1998 book Inside Terrorism and his final definition includes "political change" as the desired end-state of terrorist activity.<sup>33</sup> Richard Falkenrath pointed out in a pre-9/11 article that mass-casualty terrorism is still an aberrant occurrence.<sup>34</sup> The current terrorists acts world wide are religiously motivated, in most cases the causes are political. The religious extremism and intolerance is also the main motivation for the terrorist activities in South Asia. However, the disputes giving rise and reasons to the terrorism are essentially political.

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<sup>31</sup> Chris Quillen, "A Historical Analysis of Mass Casualty Bombers," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 25 (September/October 2002): 279-292.

<sup>32</sup> Walter Laqueur, *No End to War: Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Continuum, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University, 1998).

<sup>34</sup> Richard A. Falkenrath, "Confronting Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Terrorism," *Survival* 40, (Autumn 1998): 52.

## **Evolution of Religious Extremism / Terrorism in Pakistan - The Genesis**

There appear three main events that brought terrorism and intolerance to Pakistan on religious account. Prior to 1980s, religion was not a controversial issue in Pakistan. However, the sectarian anti-Shiite militant groups like the Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) were preaching hatred against the Shiite Muslims and employing some terrorist activities. The extremist sectarian intolerance came to Pakistan only after the 1979 revolution in Iran, which changed the character and magnitude of sectarian politics in Pakistan.<sup>35</sup> The Iranian revolution emboldened the Shiite Muslims of Pakistan against their sufferings at the hands of anti-Shiite groups. This was further aggravated when a Sunni-dominated Iraq with the backing of the US and Saudi Arabia waged a war upon Shiite-dominated Iran. In an effort to get support among Pakistani populace, both the parties funded and supported the religious leaders of the two sects with extreme ideas.<sup>36</sup> These sectarian organizations were instrumental in the transformation of Pakistan into a secondary battlefield between the two Muslim countries representing these two sects. Therefore, the simple sporadic sectarian riots of sixties or seventies have turned into a specific form of terrorism termed “sectarian terrorism,” which in turn is a major cause of rise in religious extremism and intolerance in Pakistani society.

The Soviet Afghanistan War was the most critical event responsible for spreading militancy and intolerance in Pakistan. A fundamental change that altered the very character of Pakistani society occurred after establishment of the Soviet backed communist regime in Afghanistan. In order to fight proxy war against the Soviets, the US and the Arab countries provided the funds for arming the Mujahideen who were motivated for battle through religious

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<sup>35</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift towards extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (New York: M.E Sharpe Inc, 2002), 204.

<sup>36</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 196-206.

propaganda urging them to expel the infidels from Muslim Afghanistan.<sup>37</sup> The aftermath of the Soviet withdrawal exposed the damage, transformation of violence, and weaponisation into Pakistani society. Most of these militants, after the withdrawal of the Russians, opted to settle in the quasi-administered frontier regions of the country. The armed freedom struggle surfaced in Kashmir during the eighties gave the resisters a continued reason to be present in the region, which was exploited by Pakistan.<sup>38</sup> Military hardware and battle hardened fighters infused in Afghanistan during the war ultimately plagued Pakistan with a new trend commonly referred as “Kalashnikov Culture.” Therefore, after 9/11, when a gag was put on these fighters, they turned their guns towards their adopted country.

September 11, 2001 was the third major event that intensified religious extremism and intolerance in Pakistan. Al-Qaeda conceived and controlled the attack on the Twin Towers from Afghanistan. As a retaliatory measure, coalition forces led by the US mounted an offensive on Afghanistan to destroy Al-Qaeda network and remove the Taliban regime. Pakistan, being a direct neighbour to the troubled region, faced multifarious domestic irritants on social and cultural grounds, and international pressure as well. However, it stood up to the pressure, took a difficult decision, and joined the coalition on the principled stand of combating terrorism. As a result, at present Pakistan is confronted with a challenge of maintaining internal security. Although situation is under control it can be regarded as delicate and needs to be addressed with concern. Finally, Pakistan lies in a region that has witnessed instability from wars and internal strife for over fifty years. Afghanistan has had a history of instability throughout its past and at present is a major contributor to regional instability due to its loose decentralized governmental pattern that allows non state players latitude to act independently.

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<sup>37</sup> Steve Coll, “Anatomy of a Victory: CIA's Covert Afghan War,” in Washington Post, 19 July 1992, [newspaper on-line] available from <http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/MiddleEast/TerrorInUSA/Anatomy.asp>; Internet: accessed 22 January 2007.

<sup>38</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 186.

Therefore, this excessive weaponisation and pursuance of multiple ideologies has affected the civic life especially in India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

### **Why Pakistan?-The Internal Factors**

Pakistan is fighting against the menace of terrorism on both the fronts; external as well as internal. It is the internal sphere that is more worrisome for the country, as the strength of any country usually depends more on internal stability than its foreign affairs. The derailing of democracy through undemocratic process for a span of thirty six years in the country's history of over five decades has had a profound impact on Pakistani society. In between different regimes four different types of political systems have been experienced i.e. parliamentary, presidential, military and a blend of parliamentary and presidential forms. President Pervez Musharraf, in his address to International Seminar on Global Terrorism on 31 August 2005 remarked, "I feel the number one cause is political deprivation, political alienation, leading to hopelessness, and sense of

powerlessness, which then leads on to these terrorist acts.”<sup>39</sup> Clearly, the frequent disturbance of democratic mechanisms has given birth to fissiparous tendencies, and provided an opening for terrorist acts.

The economy of the country has improved and stands much better than reflected in Table I below. Despite being an agro based society, the country still has to spend over two billion dollars annually on the import of wheat edible oil, etceteras. The Islamic-based economy generates balanced economic order, which does not allow exploitation. In reality, the economy of Pakistan, replete with corruption, has disturbed the distribution of wealth. Dishonesty, bribery, the drug trade and other malpractices are common to make easy money. Black money has created new moneyed class in the society disturbing the balance of social structure. This factor alone is ideal for the infiltration of terrorists in various segments of society. However, as per the latest statistics, the industrial growth rate has improved up to 6.6 percent and foreign reserves are little over 12 billion dollars.<sup>40</sup> This macro economic take-off needs to be converted into micro economics and even distribution of opportunity and wealth. Lack of micro projects, non availability of opportunities and joblessness leads to frustration and violence for the majority population.

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<sup>39</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *Address to International Seminar on Global Terrorism at Islamabad on 31 August 2005*, [online] available from <http://www.info.president.gov.pk>; Internet; accessed 16 January 2007.

<sup>40</sup> Government of Pakistan, Statistics Division, <http://www.statpak.gov.pk>; Internet; accessed 23 January 2007.

GDP - Real Growth	6.6% (2005 est.)
GDP - Per Capita:	\$2,400 (2005 est.)
GDP –By Sector:	Agriculture: 21.6% Industry: 25.1% Services: 53.3% (2005 est.)
Population Below Poverty Line	32% (2001 est.)
Inflation Rate	9.1% (2005 est.)
Un-employment Rate	6.6% plus (2005 est.)
Budget	Revenues: \$15.45 billion Expenditures: \$ 20.07 billion (2005 est.)
Public Debt	53.8% of GDP (2005 est.)
Industrial production Growth Rate	10.7% (2005 est.)
Exports	\$ 14.85 billion (2005 est.)
Imports	\$ 21.26 billion (2005 est.)
Foreign Reserves	\$10.95 billion (2005 est.)
Debt – External	\$38.38 billion (2005 est.)
Economic Aid	\$2.4 billion (FY01/02)
Source : CIA World Fact Book 2006	

**Table I: Economic Fact Sheet for 2005 - 2006<sup>41</sup>**

The social configuration of the society also is responsible for the increase in extremist tendencies. The sense of deprivation among the small provinces, their feeling of social injustice and discrimination in a various tiers of society are serious indicators of imbalance. At the same time, polarization based on various castes, classes, religious affinities and political affiliation is liable to be manipulated by the anti-state forces. Education also has a direct linkage with social development. The prevalent system of education is a colonial legacy and has not been completely customised to meet the ideological, modern, scientific and progressive needs of the country. The adult literacy rate is just around 46 percent.<sup>42</sup> The current system does not teach

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<sup>41</sup> United States, CIA, "World Fact Book 2006," <http://www.ciafactbook.com>; Internet; accessed 22 January 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Pakistan General Data, <http://www.library.uu.ul.wesp.Populstat.Asia.Pakistan.htm>; Internet; accessed 21 January 2007.



the younger generations the complete values of national unity and integrity. It also does not address the ideals of Islam to rise above the narrow divisions and petty interests for overall national unity. Secondly, the media's role can also not be ignored. Electronic and print media enjoy complete freedom of action and liberty to pursue their agendas. However, at times the media communicates manipulated news and ideas, which causes sensationalism, providing ideal ground for exploitation by the unwanted elements.

Although intolerance has no place in Islam, conversion of hundreds of 'Madrassas' having centuries old tradition of imparting education and religious knowledge, into centres of hate-preaching to young minds is the critical part of the problem. Madrassas have always been a beacon of enlightenment for Muslims and produced great Muslim scholars in the history. However, these great institutions transformed in to militant schools in 1980s as Hassan Abbas writes:

In the context of Islamic history, Madrassas were the primary source of religious and scientific learning, especially between the seventh and eleventh centuries, producing luminaries such as Al-Biruni, ibn-Sina(Avicenna), Al-Khawarizmi, and Jabir ibn-Hayyan(Geber), but today's Jihadis have converted these in to a grave yard of knowledge and scholarship. Contrary to the (Holy) Quran's emphasis on reflection and contemplation, most Madrassa students are taught only to memorize the verses of the Book. They are not exposed to its meanings because that is perceived as counterproductive.<sup>43</sup>

Likewise, the existing education being provided in Pakistani Madrassas has been explained in International Crisis Group's report on Pakistani Madrassas as: "Education that creates barriers to modern knowledge, stifling creativity and breeding bigotry, has become the Madrassas' defining feature."<sup>44</sup> The trouble starts when the religious leaders and their followers become rigid and intolerant towards others, not accepting even those interpretations and practices

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<sup>43</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift towards extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (New York: M.E Sharpe Inc, 2002), 203.

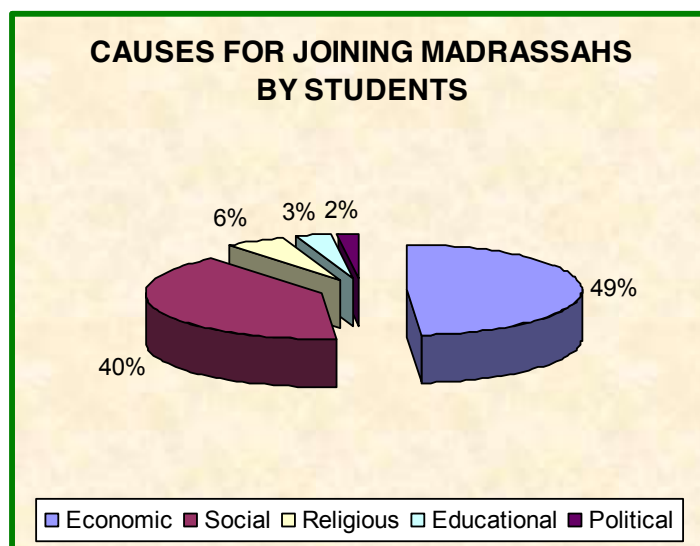
<sup>44</sup> International Crisis Group, *Pakistan, Madrassas, Extremism, and Military*, 29 July 2002, [http://www.crisisweb.org/library/documents/report\\_archive/A400717\\_29072002.pdf](http://www.crisisweb.org/library/documents/report_archive/A400717_29072002.pdf) ; Internet; accessed 27 January 2007.

which are permissible by all standards of the religion. Such an attitude of the leaders of various sects has created confusion and divide, providing an opportunity of exploitation by the anti Islam forces. The economic factor has been a major cause of religious exploitation of a sizeable segment of middle / lower middle class of the society as table II below amplifies pre dominant reason of joining Madrassas is lack of finances.<sup>45</sup>

Ser	Type of Cause	Percentage
1.	Economic	48.95%
2.	Social	40.63 %
3.	Religious	5.71 %
4.	Educational	3.12 %
5.	Political	2.09 %

Source-Tariq Rahman, "Madrassas: Religion, poverty and the violence in Pakistan," in IPRI Journal ISSN 1684-9787 Winter 2005.

**Table II: Causes of Joining Madrassahs**



**Figure 1: Causes of Joining Madrassahs**

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<sup>45</sup> Tariq Rahman, "Madrassas: Religion, poverty, and the violence in Pakistan," in Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Journal ISSN 1684 – 9787 (Winter 2005) [journal on-line] available from <http://www.ipripak.org/journal/winter2005.shtml>; Internet; accessed 19 January 2007.

Feudalism is considered another major cause for the denial of basic rights to the poor people in Pakistan. The 'Zamindars' and 'Jagirdars' own 32 per cent of the privately cultivated land, and in that way suffocate the process of development. Due to the increase in general awareness, a suppressed community often rises violently against this injustice leading to extremism in the society. A weak judicial system and judiciary are also responsible for these unwanted tendencies. After analysing the performance of the courts especially at micro level, it can be safely concluded that on ground availability of justice to general public is found wanting. The judiciary is often criticised for inefficient performance on account of fear, favour and corruption. This tendency breeds lack of accountability, leading to intolerant society. Another factor relates to the availability of data base. Digital registration of the national data base is a major security prerequisite of 21<sup>st</sup> century. Although, a National Data Base Registration Authority (NADRA) has been established, it is still found wanting. Therefore, incomplete facility is a contributory factor in harbouring terrorists/ miscreants. In summary, there is no single reason responsible for the rise of militancy in Pakistan. All factors explained above together make the society vulnerable to be exploited by the internal as well as external forces involved in terrorism.

### **Religious Extremist /Terrorist Groups in Pakistan**

Extremism leads to terrorism, and religious extremism is one of the major internal threats to the integrity of Pakistan. The rise of religious militancy is a legacy of the Soviet Afghan War that has been exploited by external forces, successive governments, and religious political parties for various reasons. In 2001-2002, there were fifty eight religious political parties and twenty four armed religious militias or Jehadi outfits.<sup>46</sup> The birth of extremist religious militant organizations in Pakistan dates back to early 1980s, when Harkat-ul-Jihad-i-

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<sup>46</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift towards extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (New York: M.E Sharpe Inc, 2002), 201.

Islami and Harkat-ul-Mujahideen were formed to wage Afghan Jihad. After the Soviet Afghan War, these two groups merged to form Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA) redirecting their focus towards supporting the militancy or freedom struggle in Indian held Kashmir.<sup>47</sup> Seeing the success of these groups, many others also joined the militant activities in Indian held Kashmir, including the groups that had previously remained involved purely in sectarian activities. Pakistan not realizing the future consequences was content, as these groups were fighting the freedom struggle. “By the late 1990s these groups had matured into large armies of dedicated men, quite unafraid to give their lives in pursuits of their aims, and in honour of their cause.”<sup>48</sup> Most of the recruits of these parties and groups came from Madrassas, which will be discussed later at length. A combination of all these factors related to the Soviet Afghan War, the Iranian revolution, the Kashmiri freedom struggle, Pakistan’s socio-political conditions, and Madrassas sponsored by Arab countries made Pakistani militant groups a force to be reckoned with.

The Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) is an anti-Shiite radical sectarian group responsible for carrying out terrorist activities against Shiite Muslims in Pakistan, which formally came in to existence in 1985.<sup>49</sup> Ideologically, it is an offshoot of religious political party Jamiat-Ulma-i-Islam. The SSP is the country’s most powerful sectarian militant organization, and was responsible for attacks on Shiite worshippers in May 2004, in which at least 50 people were killed. It has also operated as a political party, and its leader had won elections to Pakistan’s National Assembly. The organization was one of five proscribed by President Musharraf on January 12, 2002. Since then, the SSP had changed its name to Millat-e-Islamia Pakistan, but was banned again in September 2003. One of the militant offshoots of the SSP is Lashkar-i-Jhangvi (LJ), which focuses primarily on anti-Shiite attacks and was banned by the government

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>49</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan’s drift towards extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror* (New York: M.E Sharpe Inc, 2002), 204.

in August 2001 as part of an effort to rein in sectarian violence. Many of its members then sought refuge in Afghanistan with the Taliban, with whom they had existing ties.<sup>50</sup> In January 2003, the US added LJ to the list of designated foreign terrorist organizations (FTO). Pakistani authorities have publicly linked LJ members to the 2002 abduction of the US journalist Daniel Pearl. LJ members were also involved in suicide car bombings in Karachi against a French shuttle bus in May and the US consulate in June in 2002.

Another terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) has openly declared war against the US. Pakistan outlawed JEM in 2002 and JEM splintered into Khuddam-ul-Islam (KUI) and Jamaat-ul-Furqan (JUF), which were banned in November 2003. It is also involved in attacks against Indian targets, the Pakistani government, and sectarian minorities. Pakistan has implicated elements of JEM in the two assassination attempts against President Musharraf in December 2003. In July 2004, the authorities arrested a JEM member wanted in connection with the 2002 abduction and murder of journalist Daniel Pearl. Most of the JEM's cadre and material resources have been drawn from the Harakat ul-Jihad-i-Islami (HUJI) and the Harakat ul-Mujahedeen (HUM). The JEM had close ties to Afghan Arabs, the Taliban, and other extremist groups. All its assets have been frozen in Pakistan.

The Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LT) began as the militant wing of the Islamic extremist organization Markaz Dawat-ul-Irshad (MDI), which was formed in 1987 among others by Abdullah Azzam; a Palestinian religious scholar.<sup>51</sup> This group also enjoyed flow of funds from Saudi Arabia to wage war in Afghanistan. The group collects donations from the Pakistani community in the Persian Gulf, the United Kingdom, Islamic NGOs, and business community of Pakistan and Kashmir. The LT has conducted a number of operations against Indian troops in Jammu and Kashmir since 1993 and claimed responsibility for numerous attacks. The

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>51</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift towards extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (New York: M.E Sharpe Inc, 2002), 210.

Indian government publicly implicated the LT along with JEM for the attack in December 2001 on its parliament, although concrete evidence is lacking. The US state department designated LT an FTO in 2001 and Pakistani government banned the group and froze its assets in January 2002.<sup>52</sup> The UN designated LT as an FTO in 2005. Senior Al-Qaeda lieutenant Abu Zubaydah was captured at an LT safe house in Faisalabad in March 2002, suggesting that some members were facilitating the movement of Al-Qaeda members in Pakistan.

Pakistan's socioeconomic conditions helped these organizations and groups recruit the militants and turn into forces. The proliferation of militancy by these militant groups over the years was generally ignored by Pakistan thereby giving them legitimacy. Today, all these and other religious extremist and terrorist groups complicate the problems for Pakistan's war on terror. Their connections with the Taliban helped them get sanctuaries in Afghanistan when under pressure in Pakistan. Today these groups are often exploited by the Taliban and Al-Qaeda to commit the terrorist acts against the sensitive targets inside Pakistan in retaliation to the army's operations against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Although the government has been able to bust the effectiveness of the groups through various military, administrative, and economic actions, these groups still pose a challenge for the durable security of the country.

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 215-216.

**PART 2**  
**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Historically, the tribal areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan have much in common. The terrain is similar and so are the customs and traditions. The international border between Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas has split families and tribes that hold property on both sides. Most of the tribes bisected between Pakistan and Afghanistan have historically moved freely across borders in their tribal areas. Since the borders are porous, cross border trade, commerce, and inter marriages are common practices, and tribals move across the border freely under a clause in Durand Line agreement called 'Easement Rights.'<sup>53</sup> This regional dynamics seen in the backdrop of historical perspective, defines the complexities in the fight against terror in Afghanistan and the tribal areas.

**Afghanistan**

Afghanistan is a landlocked country with a total area of 652,225 square kilometres.<sup>54</sup> It borders Central and South Asia, and is administratively divided into 32 provinces.<sup>55</sup> The country is a mix of ethnic groups: Pashtuns make up 44%, Tajiks 25%, Hazaras 10%, Uzbeks 8%, Aimak, Turkmeek and Balouch 13% making up the 26 million population.<sup>56</sup> More than 30 ethnic groups have strong cultural and ethnic ties with tribes across borders, Pashtuns with Pashtuns of Pakistan's NWFP and Balochistan provinces, and Tajiks enjoy cultural bonds with Tajikistan. Uzbeks have strong cultural links with Uzbekistan, Turkmen are ethnically linked

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<sup>53</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 265.

<sup>54</sup> BBC South Asia, "Country profile Afghanistan," [News on-line] available from <http://bbc.co.uk/country-profile/afghanistan>; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.

<sup>55</sup> United States, CIA, *World Fact Book 2006*, <http://www.ciafactbook.com>; Internet; accessed 22 January 2007.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

with Turkmenistan, and Hazaras have links with Iran.<sup>57</sup> The tribal-based society of Pashtuns depicts the social and political order of Afghani politics. Highly traditional, they have clearly defined codes of conduct for their relationship within the tribe and with the outside tribes, and the decision making process is based on Jirga system.<sup>58</sup> However, tribalism based on ethnicity has weakened national cohesion and has enabled neighbouring countries to interfere in its internal affairs. The ethnic diversity emerged forcefully in post resistance period led to severe infighting and anarchy, and restrained the emergence of a national leadership. Afghans by nature and by tradition dislike the interference of even legitimate authority. Lack of education and the influence of tribal elders have prevented ordinary Afghans from approaching the central authority for solution of their problems. No individual tolerates the domination of another individual, family, or nation. Peter Marsden truly sums up the nature of Afghan society in the following quotation:

In a country like Afghanistan, where the concept of the nation has developed but recently, where the state is seen as external to society and where people's allegiance is directed primarily towards the local community, the only thing which all Afghans have in common is Islam.<sup>59</sup>

The history of Afghanistan goes back to 530 BC. In modern history, three Anglo-Afghan wars fought in 1838, 1878, and 1918 when the British invaded in order to create a buffer state between British Empire and Czarist Russia.<sup>60</sup> The Durand Line agreement signed by Amir Abdul Rahman Khan in 1893 is one of the historical events of this period.<sup>61</sup> In 1919, British Empire was forced out of Afghanistan as a result of third Anglo-Afghan War during the

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<sup>57</sup> M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 1.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited,, 1998), 10.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>60</sup> M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>61</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 12.



rule of Amir Amanullah Khan and the country got its full political and economic independence.<sup>62</sup> Zahir Shah's (1933-1973) rule was comparatively stable, but no progress was made during his reign. In the mid 60s, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) organized to establish democracy. In 1973, Mohammed Daoud ousted Zahir Shah to form a republic. He played the US and the USSR against each other drawing benefits from both.<sup>63</sup> However, Daoud developed differences with the Soviets over his improving relations with Pakistan and other Islamic countries as well as with the West.<sup>64</sup> In 1978, a group of the Soviet-backed conspirators within Afghan army ousted and killed Daoud in what is called Saur revolution and installed Noor Muhammad Tarakai. Tarakai was later succeeded by Hafeezullah Amin in

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<sup>62</sup> M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>63</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 39.

<sup>64</sup> M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 14.

September 1979 who ordered Tarakai's death.<sup>65</sup>

In December 1979, large number of Soviet troops landed in Kabul and seized all important installations. They killed Hafizullah Amin and installed Babrak Karmal, who was a puppet and the Soviets actually ruled the country.<sup>66</sup> A friend of Karmal later remarked after meeting him, "The hands, feet, and the tongue of the poor Sultan had been tied, and he had no right to speak (without permission) with his personal friends."<sup>67</sup> The Islamic resistance by the Afghan Mujahideen then started with the help of the US, which enabled the resisters to restrict the Soviet and Afghan forces to major garrisons. Pakistan played a pivotal role in the formation of resistance and the subsequent war against the Soviets by providing bases, logistic, moral and diplomatic support. In May 1986, Muhammad Najibullah replaced Karmal but failed to gain the support of people. He admitted that 80% of the country side and 40% of towns were out of his control by end 1987.<sup>68</sup> In 1988, the Soviet leadership realizing no win situation, agreed to withdraw the forces from Afghanistan in a phased program.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the subsequent Soviet withdrawal played a major role in crafting today's environment in Afghanistan. The country fell in to civil war and there was total anarchy with provinces commandeered by local warlords. This was fuelled by neighboring countries in keeping with their interests i.e. access to the mineral wealth of CARs, patronage of ethnic groups, and a friendly government in Kabul. During ensuing years, civil war and the clash of interests of various neighbouring countries gave rise to fundamentalism. The Afghans suffered between 1.24 million to 1.5 million casualties during the Soviet

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<sup>65</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 39-41.

<sup>66</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 18.

<sup>67</sup> Zia Majid, quoted in M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 69.

<sup>68</sup> M. Hassan Kakar, *Afghanistan: the Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 260.

occupation and the civil war.<sup>69</sup> Mass migration of over five million refugees became a serious problem for the neighbouring countries and the UN.<sup>70</sup> The major burden of these refugees was borne by Pakistan which took 3.2 million refugees. This created serious problems for Pakistan including economic burden, law and order problems, and aggravated drug and Klashinkov culture. In addition, it disturbed the demography of North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan provinces of Pakistan, burdened civic amenities, and increased unemployment in these two provinces. However, the most serious problem of all has been the terrorism / religious militancy. In reaction to the anarchy and civil war, a movement of Taliban educated in Madrassas surfaced (which will be discussed at length later).<sup>71</sup> They removed warlords, provided order, and imposed their version of Islam in the country. By the end of 1998, they occupied about 90% of the country.

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<sup>69</sup> United Nations, <http://www.reliefweb.int>; Internet; accessed 2 February 2007.

<sup>70</sup> United Nations, UNHCR, "Statistics on Refugees," <http://www.UNHCR>; Internet; accessed 23 February 2007.

<sup>71</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 12.

## Pakistan's Tribal Areas

The British created a buffer at the border between British India and Afghanistan by concluding Durand Line agreement in 1893 and declared the area as administrative region.<sup>72</sup> Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) is commonly known as 'Tribal Areas' or an area which is not administered as per federal law. The low financial status of locals further complicates the problem. Pakistan's tribal areas are no different from Afghanistan's Pashtun-dominated areas in their dynamics. There are seven agencies (equivalent of a district in settled areas): Khyber, Bajour, Mohmand, Kurram, Orakzai, North Waziristan, and South Waziristan in Pakistan's tribal areas.<sup>73</sup> The total area is 27,220 square kilometres with a population of about 3.2 millions.<sup>74</sup> The complexity of terrain is best explained by President Pervez Musharraf, "The area is inhospitable and inaccessible-rugged and mountainous, with heights ranging from 8,000 to 15,000 feet, subject to harsh winters and burning hot summers and largely devoid of roads."<sup>75</sup> (See figure 2). Its far flung remote border towns provide ideal hide outs and due to peculiar nature of difficult terrain, these areas are ideal for guerrilla warfare. Constitutionally tribal areas enjoy semi autonomous status and are directly administered by the President of Pakistan. The Governor of NWFP represents the federal government in administering these areas. He is assisted by the political administration in managing the affairs of the agencies.<sup>76</sup>

The socio-political dynamics are based on the tribal system. The area comprises some 60 main tribes, which collectively exhibit conservative Islamic orientation. The tribal system

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>73</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 264.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 264.

hinges on the Maliks (the elders), who are the linchpin in the governing hierarchy wielding political and military influence and authority over their tribes.<sup>77</sup> The tribal people are fiercely independent, but very friendly and accommodative. They are united by language, religion and a code of conduct across border. The presence of weapons is very common; culturally every adult male is required to carry a weapon. Fiercely independent, the people follow their own tribal laws and customs; they do not allow any role of police, regular courts, and / or local government. The Pakistan army was allowed to enter the tribal areas by the locals only in 2000 for economic development reasons.<sup>78</sup> Their judicial system is based on tribal and Pashtun traditions. Interestingly, the crime rate in tribal areas has been amongst the lowest in Pakistan. Its main traditions require granting amnesty to anyone entering a tribe and requesting for amnesty. The tribes are known to wage wars irrespective of colossal human loss to protect their guests. Blood feuds are common and continuing. The bottom line of the customs and traditions is that loyalty of every member first lies with tribe. Taking advantage of the proximity of border, the rugged nature of terrain and the semi-autonomous nature of tribal areas, old Afghan War ties, and common religious beliefs, some of the foreign elements and the Taliban have found sanctuaries in these areas. The foreigners lived, married and became members of these tribes, giving a new dimension to their presence in the border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-265.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.



**Figure 2: Pakistan's tribal areas bordering Afghanistan**

### **The Soviet Afghan War and its Aftermath**

The people of Pakistan's tribal areas and Pashtun-dominated areas of Afghanistan have always remained involved in some kind of fighting, whether it be war or tribal feuds. However, they have never been terrorists. This kind of militancy came to the tribal areas as a direct result of the efforts of the forces that fought communism in Afghanistan through proxies. The guerrilla war against the Soviet troops was fought by the US and Pakistani intelligence agencies, the Afghan Mujahideen, and the radical Muslim fighters gathered from all over the world to wage Jihad.<sup>79</sup> Whereas the logistic support, bases, training and guiding the conduct of operations was Pakistan's responsibility, the US and other western countries were to funnel funds and arms. The US began supporting the Mujahideen as early as March 1979.<sup>80</sup> The CIA, concerned about the factionalism of Afghanistan, found that Arab zealots who flocked to aid the Afghans were easier to "read" than the rivalry-ridden locals. While the Arab volunteers might well prove troublesome later, the agency reasoned, they at least were one-dimensionally anti-Soviet for now. So Osama bin Laden, along with a group of Islamic militants from Egypt,

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<sup>79</sup> Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift towards extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* (New York: M.E Sharpe Inc, 2002), 116.

<sup>80</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 46.

Pakistan, Lebanon, Syria and Palestinian refugee camps all over the Middle East, became the “reliable” partners of the CIA in its war against Moscow.<sup>81</sup> The US and the West provided weapons, ammunition, equipment, and various expertises to the Mujahideen at an unprecedented scale, a steady rise to 65,000 tons annually by 1987.<sup>82</sup> The nature of provisions included secure communications gears, heavy weapons, antiaircraft systems, and 900 stinger missiles.<sup>83</sup> Schools for the Mujahideen were established in secure communications, where expertise on psychological warfare, guerrilla warfare, and urban sabotage were provided. Demolitions experts gave instructions on the explosives needed to destroy key targets such as bridges, tunnels and fuel depots. Chemical and electronic timing devices and remote control switches for delayed bombs and rockets were provided that could be shot without a Mujahideen rebel present at the firing site. In all, the US funnelled about \$ 5 billion in guns and money to the Mujahideen from 1980 to 1992, while an additional \$ 5 billion were contributed together by Saudi Arabia, European, and Islamic countries.<sup>84</sup> It was the largest covert action program since World War II.<sup>85</sup>

On February 15, 1989 the Soviet Union announced that all of its troops had departed the country. However, the success of the forces fighting in Afghanistan did not bring peace, even after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Contrary to Pakistan’s suggestions, the US and the western nations involved in Afghanistan left the region, unfortunately much earlier than they

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<sup>81</sup> Steve Coll, “Anatomy of a Victory: CIA's Covert Afghan War,” *Washington Post*, 19 July 1992, [newspaper on-line] available from <http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/MiddleEast/TerrorInUSA/Anatomy.asp>; Internet: accessed 22 January 2007.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 44.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>85</sup> Steve Coll, “Anatomy of a Victory: CIA's Covert Afghan War,” *Washington Post*, 19 July 1992, [Newspaper on-line] available from <http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/MiddleEast/TerrorInUSA/Anatomy.asp>; Internet: accessed 22 January 2007.

should have, leaving a vacuum in which the Afghan factions fought to fill. In his book The Taliban Phenomenon Kamal Matinuddin quotes from Anthony Lewis' article in the International Herald Tribune, "In the unthinking zeal of the Cold War, we Americans destroyed what was there in order to fight the Soviet Union. And then we walked away."<sup>86</sup> After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the US and CIA were active in Central Asia, but saw Afghanistan as merely a place with a lot of warlordism thereby ignoring Afghanistan and its civil war.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, a vacuum was created that had to be filled, but unfortunately it was filled by anarchy, political chaos and violence. The situation affected Pakistan as much as it did Afghanistan, since the Afghan refugees seriously affected the local economy, social system as well as law and order. The movement of freedom fighters mostly in the garb of refugees throughout Pakistan gradually saw proliferation of weapons in the country. Demographic, ethnic, sectarian and political disequilibrium was created in parts of the country bordering Afghanistan. The advent of intolerance, religious extremism and social disharmony also emerged as the legacy of the Soviet Afghan War. The influence of refugees permeated in to the tribal areas and resulted in a shift of power from tribal chiefs to emerging influential mullah. The situation in Afghanistan was worse due to civil war, as infighting among warlords on ethnic lines to gain power continued. This paved the way for the Taliban movement in Afghanistan. Finding it hard to operate from Pakistan, some of the religious and sectarian militant organizations developed linkages with the Taliban.

### **Rise and Fall of the Taliban**

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<sup>86</sup> Anthony Lewis quoted by Kamal Matinuddin, *the Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 159-160.

<sup>87</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 264-265.



After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan made hectic efforts to bring all Mujahideen factions together till Islamabad Accord in 1993.<sup>88</sup> However, peace could not be brought and civil war continued unabated, which particularly escalated in 1993. In reaction to the anarchy and warlordism, a movement of former Mujahideen mostly Pashtuns and educated in Madrassas surfaced.<sup>89</sup> They were called the Taliban; literal meanings of Taliban are students. Madrassas played an important role during the Afghan War against Soviets, but never came in the limelight. These were funded in dollars and encouraged by the US, Arab, and Pakistani intelligence agencies to provide religious fighters. Steve Coll quotes the steep rise in number of Madrassahs and their funding in Pakistan during the war period in his book Ghost Wars:

In 1971 there had been only nine hundred *madrassas* in all of Pakistan. By the summer of 1988 there were about eight thousand official religious schools and an estimated twenty five thousand unregistered ones, many of them clustered along the Pakistan-Afghanistan frontier and funded by wealthy patrons from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states.<sup>90</sup>

Clearly, the funding and nurturing of the Madrassas was being done with the American support for their war against the Soviets. After the war, most students in Madrassas in the Afghan border areas have been Afghan refugees in Pakistan and the tribal Pashtuns of Pakistani tribal areas.<sup>91</sup> The Taliban were initially considered as a prudent, viable, and reasonable alternative to the ongoing civil war in Afghanistan, even by the US and European countries.<sup>92</sup> A respected Afghan figure from Durrani tribe of Pashtuns Hamid Karzai (Now the President of

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<sup>88</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited,, 1998), 126-127.

<sup>89</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 210.

<sup>90</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 180.

<sup>91</sup> Peter Marsden, *The Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited,, 1998), 43.

<sup>92</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 283.

Afghanistan) joined them while donating \$ 50,000.00 US and a large cache of weapons in 1994 claiming that many of the Taliban leaders were his buddies in war and were good people.<sup>93</sup>

On the American side, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Robin Raphel outlined the US policy in the UNSC in November 1996:

The Taliban control more than two-thirds of the country; they are Afghans, they are indigenous, they have demonstrated their staying power. The real source of their success has been the willingness of many Afghans, particularly Pashtuns... It is not in the interests of Afghanistan or any of us here that the Taliban be isolated.<sup>94</sup>

Whereas Pakistan's politico-religious party Jamiat Ulma-i-Islam (JUI) covertly, but actively, supported and mentored the Taliban, Pakistan started supporting the Taliban after they emerged for its economic interests in Central Asia through Afghanistan and the security interests against India.<sup>95</sup> However, Pakistan afraid of the Soviet attacks, did not disclose its covert support to the Taliban until it officially recognized the Taliban government in Kabul. The Taliban faced no problems in acquiring weapons, ammunition and equipment due to their proliferation during the Soviet Afghan War and the tribal / Pashtun culture. Steve Coll writes:

His (Hart's, the CIA Station Chief in Islamabad) strategy was to supply hundreds of thousands of rifles and tens of millions of bullets en masse to the guerrillas and then sit back in Islamabad and watch. ... The first guns shipped in were... .303 Lee Enfield rifles, the standard British infantry weapon until the 1950s. ... CIA Logistics Officers... secretly purchased hundreds of thousands of the .303 rifles from Greece, India, and elsewhere, and shipped them to Karachi. They also bought thousands of rocket-propelled grenade launchers from Egypt and China.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>94</sup> Robin Raphel, quoted in Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 335.

<sup>95</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 26-27.

<sup>96</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 58.

In 1994, the Taliban emerged on the scene as they captured Kandahar and proceeded to occupy Kabul in September 1996.<sup>97</sup> By the end of 1998, they occupied about 90% of the country. They defeated their opponents, removed warlords, provided order, and imposed Islam in the country. The Taliban interpretation of Islam was based upon rural Pashtun traditions. Women were banned from working outside the home, pursuing education, were not to leave their homes without accompanying a male relative and forced to wear burka.<sup>98</sup>

The US did not recognize the Taliban government formally. Many Americans in the state department and the White House believed that besides their opposition to Iran, the Taliban could also be an important part of the Afghan solution for the US oil companies' access to the Central Asian mineral resources through Afghanistan.<sup>99</sup> UNOCOL's oil and gas pipeline project from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan to Pakistan, backed by the US, was viewed as the most audacious gambit of 1990s.<sup>100</sup> The US also supported the Taliban indirectly to remove opium production and through their staunch measures, they were able to reduce that considerably. However, diplomatically only three countries recognized the Taliban government i.e. Pakistan, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The Arab states were primarily supporting the Taliban to counter the influence of Shiite-dominated Iran in Afghanistan. Whereas Pakistan achieved much desired strategic depth through the Taliban, their rise damaged Pakistan's relations with Iran.

The events of 11 September 2001 profoundly changed the global situation. The financial capital of the sole super power had been physically attacked. The terrorist group Al-Qaeda was responsible, and its all hierarchy was in Afghanistan under the protection of the

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<sup>97</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited,, 1998), 45-47.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>99</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 46-47.

<sup>100</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 305-313.

Taliban. NATO invoked article 5 of the charter, and all NATO partners stood united with the US. After sharing evidence against Osama Bin Laden, a majority of Muslim countries sided with the US in this campaign. Pakistan joined the coalition and became a frontline state by providing logistical support, intelligence and air bases to coalition forces. The US charged the Taliban for their refusal to handover Osama Bin Laden and continuous support for terrorism. Coalition operations in Afghanistan began with a bombing campaign that intensified when the Taliban proved more resilient than expected. However, due to intense multi-directional military pressure, the Taliban rapidly collapsed as disparate anti-Taliban factions and tribal warlords captured major cities, including Kabul. The coalition forces arrived in Afghanistan and the Taliban disappeared for the short term, but to re-emerge later, after regrouping.<sup>101</sup>

### **Resurgence of the Taliban**

After the fall of the Taliban, the Al-Qaeda leadership was pursued vigorously and most of its top leaders were either killed or arrested by the US and Pakistani security agencies. However, many Taliban escaped the hunt at the time and went underground mixing up in the local Pashtuns with their weapons intact.<sup>102</sup> Also the Al-Qaeda elements mainly comprising Arabs could easily be identified; however the Taliban, being Pashtuns, mingled with the local population of Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas after crossing the border. They later re-emerged in the past two years and have inflicted heavy losses on coalition forces as well as Pakistani forces and government institutions. How did the Taliban re-emerge? This has become a controversial issue at the international level widening gaps and creating wedge in otherwise smooth anti terror cooperation between Pakistan and the ISAF / coalition. Therefore, it is necessary to review the circumstances that led to regrouping of the Taliban forces. The first reason for re-emergence of the Taliban is that the US at the time of Operation Enduring

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<sup>101</sup> Paul Rogers, *A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 47.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

Freedom (OEF) never considered Taliban as the core enemy versus the Al-Qaeda. Therefore, the focus of the US forces after the fall of the Taliban government remained on Al-Qaeda rather than both.<sup>103</sup> Whereas the US and NATO moved into Kabul and Northern Afghanistan, which was comparatively peaceful, no serious efforts were made to extend towards South, where the Taliban got an opportunity to regroup in their stronghold. It was only in 2004/2005 that the Canadian and British forces were moved to Kandahar and Helmand respectively. This lapse of two to three years allowed the Taliban to regroup as a force.

On the Pakistan side, the situation was even worse in 2001-2002. Pakistan launched Operation Al-Mizan in its tribal areas bordering Afghanistan in support of the OEF. At the same time, India, in retaliation to the December 13 terrorist attack on its parliament, amassed its forces on Pakistan's border to take advantage of the prevailing anti-Pakistan international environment. Pakistan was forced to move its armed forces to the eastern border to protect its integrity, leaving only essential military elements with mainly paramilitary on the western borders.<sup>104</sup> The Indian forces' concentration on Pakistan's border for over a year at the most critical phase of the US led GWOT proved counter productive for the war as well, as it exposed the lack of the US' influence on India. It took the US more than a year to convince India to scale back from the international border. Taking advantage of the situation on both sides of the border, the Taliban were able to regroup in south and east Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan's tribal areas. In addition, the initial public support that the US had gained in context of September 11 attacks, faded with the passage of time. The Taliban, essentially Pashtuns exploited the protracted presence of the foreign forces to influence the Pashtun population of Afghanistan and Pakistan's tribal areas. The porous border between the two countries coupled with the treacherous terrain and local tribal traditions / customs helped the Taliban regroup and

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<sup>103</sup> Carl Conetta, "Strange victory; A critical appraisal of Operation Enduring Freedom and the Afghanistan War," *Project on Defense Alternatives*, 30 January 2002, 5.1.

<sup>104</sup> Paul Rogers, *A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 53.

reorganize. It was only after the Taliban had regrouped and started attacking the NATO troops that the coalition realized the importance of Taliban's re-emergence as a force. However, by then it was too late.

There are other non military elements which led to the resurgence of the Taliban. These are mostly Afghanistan's internal affairs. The fabric of the society has little developed in the last 6 years. The general public is disappointed by the prevailing socioeconomic conditions. Most of the billions of dollars spent by the US and other western countries for the rebuilding of army and police are not reaching the right place.<sup>105</sup> So is the case with the development works being conducted through the local Afghans. The corruption is rampant, and a respected cleric Sibghat Ullah Mujaddadi, who is the speaker of upper house of the Afghan Parliament threatened to resign in protest.<sup>106</sup> The last UNSG report on Afghanistan highlights that the corruption, opium production, lawlessness, and human rights violations are all on the increase.<sup>107</sup> The parliament has recently passed the law for amnesty of all the war criminals in order to protect the warlords supporting the government.<sup>108</sup> The recent deal with the Taliban and subsequent release of five Taliban leaders to secure the release of a journalist also sends wrong signals.<sup>109</sup> All these combined, the situation in Afghanistan reflects hopelessness among the general public giving the Taliban reasons to continue fighting.

In summary, there are numerous internal and external factors, which make the war complex particularly for Pakistan. The regional dynamics, traditions, culture, customs,

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<sup>105</sup> The News International, [news on-line] available from <http://www.thenews.com.pk>; Internet; accessed 5 December 2006.

<sup>106</sup> BBC South Asia, 12 October 2006, [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 23 December 2006.

<sup>107</sup> United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, *The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for peace and security: Report of the Secretary-General* (New York: 11 September 2006).

<sup>108</sup> BBC South Asia, 20 February 2006, [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 20 February 2007.

<sup>109</sup> BBC South Asia, 23 March 2006, [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 23 March 2007.

treacherous and inaccessible terrain with porous border are main features of the area and the people. Historically, Afghanistan has never been at complete peace through its history. The Durand Line divides the Pashtuns who previously never felt separated from each others by this controversial border. No previous attempts to capture Afghanistan had been successful. The Soviet War brought a new dimension to the already weaponized culture when the US, Islamic countries and Pakistan all used the Madrassas as the schools for training militants mainly from the refugee camps on Pakistan-Afghanistan borders. This complex environment could not be controlled. However, after the fall of the Taliban, initial successes could have been exploited. Unfortunately the India-Pakistan stand off and initial US focus on the Al-Qaeda, coupled with inadequate forces prevented that. All these factors coupled with the present state of Afghanistan's social, economic, political, and military setup allows the Taliban space, conditions, opportunity, and reasons to regroup and strengthen.

### **PART 3**

## **PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND ROLE IN THE GLOBAL WAR**

### **ON TERROR**

#### **Interests of External Players in Afghanistan**

The global powers always had a special, but marginal, interest in the South Asian region due to its geo-strategic importance. After 9/11, Afghanistan was pushed to centre stage, and the interests of various international and regional players have come into sharp focus. Being an immediate neighbour, the external players' interests in Afghanistan directly impact upon Pakistan's interests and security. Besides, it is important to identify these interests to relate them with the role played by different external forces in the war on terror in the region. First, the US interests in Afghanistan are multifarious. The main US interest is to stop the spread of religious fundamentalism and terrorism coming from Afghanistan. It is also in the US interest to check the flow of narcotics emanating from poppy fields of Afghanistan.

Washington wants to promote peace in Afghanistan and foster a closer Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship in order to further its interests in the region and not to allow Afghanistan to fall into Iranian orbit.<sup>110</sup> In addition, the presence of US forces in Afghanistan is aimed at long desired policy to contain China.<sup>111</sup> The economic issue that drive Washington's interests is the potential oil resources of the Caspian Basin region.<sup>112</sup>

Russia has a direct interest in Afghanistan as an immediate neighbour. Russia wants to protect the vulnerability of bordering the CARs against the threat of Islamic extremism emanating from Afghanistan as it still retains heavy influence in all former states of the USSR.<sup>113</sup> This influence is strengthened by passage of all oil and gas pipelines from the CARs to Russia and the Black Sea and is directly threatened if the CARs re-orientate themselves southwards away from Russia.<sup>114</sup> Thus, a relatively unstable Afghanistan is in Russia's interest. While an unstable Afghanistan is in Russia's economic interest, India wishes to exploit the prevailing international anti-terrorism sentiments to her advantage, to further its regional and global ambitions of playing a key role in world affairs. It is in India's interest to create friction between Pakistan and Afghanistan by giving fillip to controversial issues by virtue of her influence on Afghan government.<sup>115</sup> However, India would like to benefit from proposed oil-gas pipeline project running through Afghanistan and Pakistan to meet her fast growing energy

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<sup>110</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, *the Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 159-161.

<sup>111</sup> Paul Rogers, *A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 39.

<sup>112</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 161-169.

<sup>113</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited, 1998), 136.

<sup>114</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 146.

<sup>115</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, *the Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 178.



needs.<sup>116</sup> In case, the oil-gas pipeline project does not materialize, India would like to retain the capability to threaten Pakistan through low intensity conflict (LIC) from western borders. Opening of consulates in Jalalabad, Kandahar and Herat point in this direction.

Iran has a major concern in protecting the interests of Shiite minority in Afghanistan; therefore, a predominantly non-Pashtun government in Kabul is in Iran's strategic interest.<sup>117</sup> In order to benefit from transportation of hydro-carbon resources of the CARs, it is in Iran's interest that Afghanistan should remain relatively unstable, so as to strengthen the case for running the pipelines through Iran.<sup>118</sup> The CARs, particularly Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan would like to see a stable Afghanistan to enable them to pass their oil and gas pipelines to warm water ports of the Arabian Sea. They also want to re-orientate their trade routes to the outside world by building links with the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean in order to diversify their imports and exports.<sup>119</sup> Tajikistan, being mindful of its civil war during 1992-97, during which Tajik rebels operated from Afghanistan, is sensitive to cross border movement from Afghanistan. Uzbekistan is also sensitive to Islamic militancy which was partly fuelled by Afghanistan.<sup>120</sup>

### **Pakistan's Long Term Interests**

Due to the peculiar nature of Pakistan's historic relationship with Afghanistan, its immediate neighbour has numerous political, economic, and security interests. Its foremost political interest is to see a strong, stable and united Afghanistan, with a Pakistan-friendly

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>117</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited,, 1998), 134.

<sup>118</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 155.

<sup>119</sup> Kamal Matinuddin, *the Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 172-175.

<sup>120</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 155.

government. This will enable the laying of oil and gas pipeline from the CARs through Afghanistan to Gwadar. Moreover, the CARs represent a huge market for Pakistani goods, and in turn Pakistan would benefit from the CARs exports / imports transiting through Gwadar. In security terms, a strong and Pakistan-friendly Afghan government will result in a secure western border.

The first and immediate interest of Pakistan is related to the Afghan refugees. The continuous stay of the world's largest number of refugees in Pakistan for more than two decades has resulted in serious socio-economic and political problems. In the areas where the Afghan refugees were concentrated, they have taken over the transport system, vegetable and fruit business, and unskilled labour. Wheat, rice, sugar, tea and livestock are smuggled into Afghanistan and no data is available to assess the damage done to the economy due to the refugees' presence. Repatriation of these refugees will certainly reduce burden from Pakistan's fragile economy and will provide much needed respite and space for the business community of Pakistan. After their removal, unemployment would also be reduced considerably and the local industry is likely to flourish at a faster pace.

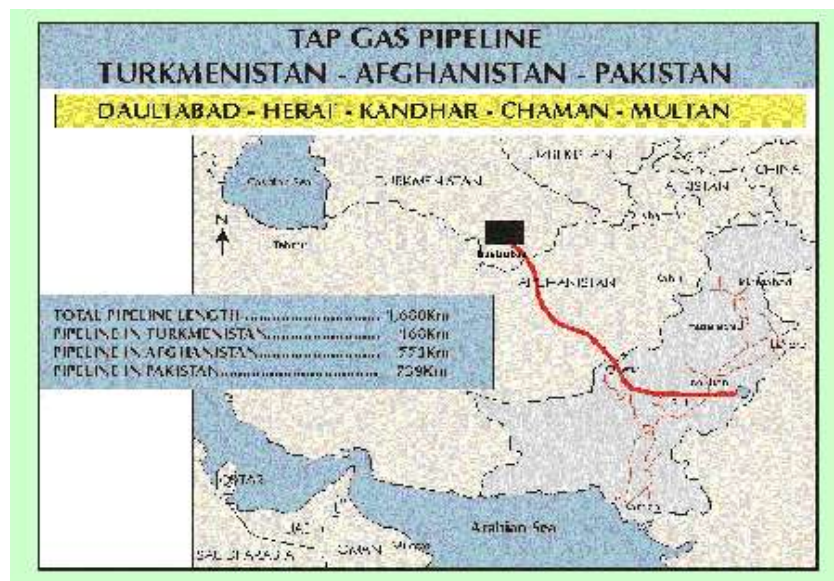
A stable and peaceful Afghanistan is also in wider economic interest of Pakistan. Pakistan is expected to face a growing shortfall of around 500 million cubic feet a day (mcf) in near future. By 2010, the country would be short by about a trillion cubic feet of gas every year due to growing energy demands.<sup>121</sup> Although Pakistan's proven gas reserves are estimated at 22 trillion cubic feet (tcf), the capital cost to develop them is not feasible under the existing circumstances.<sup>122</sup> To meet the shortage and growing energy needs, Pakistan needs to import the oil and gas by most economical means. To that end, Pakistan and Afghanistan have agreed to

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<sup>121</sup> Steve Coll, *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, 2004), 302.

<sup>122</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 168.

revive a plan for a trans-Afghan gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan. Originating from Daulatabad-Donnez oilfield in northern Turkmenistan, the ‘huge political project’ envisages construction of a pipeline that will reach Multan in southern Punjab via Kandahar in Afghanistan.<sup>123</sup> The pipeline will provide access to a gas field with proven reserves of 100 trillion cubic feet, about half of the country’s total gas yield. The pipeline capacity may total 15 billion cubic meters a year and could increase up to 20 billion cubic meters a year.



**Figure 3: Gas Pipeline from Central Asia to Pakistan through Afghanistan<sup>124</sup>**

The CARs are rich in mineral and natural resources, and Pakistan can acquire raw material for its industries from these states like iron, copper, etceteras at relatively low prices to ease the burden of imports of these materials. Pakistan can also benefit simultaneous from the agricultural and industrial products of the CARs at cheaper rates. The traditional ancient trade route from Pakistan to Central Asia goes through Afghanistan, which can be activated provided peace prevails in Afghanistan. This will boost Pakistan’s economic ties with the CARs.<sup>125</sup> In

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>124</sup> Usman Aminuddin, “Opportunities in the Development of the Oil & Gas Sector in South Asian Region,” *Islamabad Papers* (2004, [journal on-line] available from <http://www.issi.org.pk/islamabad.html>); Internet; accessed 1 March 2007.

addition, Pakistan can also earn considerable foreign exchange by providing an export route to the CARs through Gwadar. A 515-km long highway connecting Gwadar via Panjgur, Khaan, Chaghi, and Rabat up to Herat in western Afghanistan is on the drawing boards. This would link up Pakistan by road directly with Central Asia. It is expected that nearly all countries of the Central and South Asia will benefit from the Gwadar port complex.<sup>126</sup> The complex will provide facilities of warehousing, transshipment, transit, coastal trade, provision of commercial and industrial facilities for international export-import trade, especially that of Afghanistan, the CARs, UAE, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Iraq, and Iran.<sup>127</sup> For Afghanistan, the complex may help boost economic rehabilitation, since it is a landlocked country and desperately needs an export outlet.

Peace in Afghanistan also provides certain military benefits, which have direct bearing on the economy of Pakistan. Pakistan has frequently been under the embargo and sanctions due to which modernization of its armed forces has suffered in the past. Peace in Afghanistan can help Pakistan to overcome this situation through the assistance of the CARs. Pakistan can get the military technology and equipment from these states at much cheaper rates and terms to modernize its armed forces. A consolidated Afghanistan will also provide strategic depth and a secure border for Pakistan and will help Pakistan improve the balance of the forces on the eastern front.<sup>128</sup>

The national interests of various countries dictate their policies towards the ongoing US' GWOT in the regional context. It is evident that Pakistan, Afghanistan, the US, and other

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<sup>125</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 305.

<sup>126</sup> Ikram Sehgal, "Exploiting our Gold Coast," *The News*, 18 May 2006.

<sup>127</sup> Maqsood Hasan Nuri, "The Afghan Corridor: Prospects for Pak-CAR relations Post Taliban," *Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad (September 2002)*, [journal on-line] available from <http://www.irs.org.pk/Downloadable/Spotlights/sept2002.pdf>; Internet; accessed 21 January 2007.

<sup>128</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 186-187.

western countries share many common interests in Afghanistan. However, there may be some divergences also which is not unusual. Fighting the terrorism and the Taliban is critically a common interest. There are other states, which would like to see a relatively unstable Afghanistan in their better interests, thus the role. Whereas most external powers including the US may have temporary vital interests in Afghanistan, Pakistan has long term permanent interests. From the above analysis, clearly a peaceful and stable Afghanistan is in the best political, economic and security interests of Pakistan, thus its critical and productive role in the GWOT.

### **Pakistan's Decision to Join the Coalition against Terror**

As explained earlier, for strategic reasons three successive Pakistani governments (headed by Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif and Musharraf) had sought to placate the Taliban regime. However, after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the US' decision to invade Afghanistan put Pakistan in an unenviable position. It was faced with arguably the toughest challenge in its entire history of decision making. The US pressure was immense as President Musharraf quotes the US secretary of state Collin Powell's candid and brief ultimatum in a telephonic conversation with him, "You are either with us or against us."<sup>129</sup> The US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage went further by threatening the Pakistani intelligence chief that Pakistan would be bombed to the stone age if it chose to side with the terrorists.<sup>130</sup> This was followed by seven demands by the US in support of its military operations against Afghanistan. Pakistan had to make a decision quickly which it did. However, there were numerous other factors that influenced Pakistan's decision to provide un-stinted support to the US against terrorism. Pakistan's cooperative offer was foresightedly timely, before India could

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<sup>129</sup>Collin Powell, quoted in Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: a Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 201.

<sup>130</sup>Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 201.

avail this opportunity. India, in a departure from its past policies, offered to cooperate in military and intelligence fields with the US seeing an opportunity to further isolate Pakistan.<sup>131</sup> What prompted Pakistan to join the coalition was not India, but rather the Pakistani leadership had identified other national interests.<sup>132</sup> These included securing of Pakistan's strategic assets, safeguarding the cause of Kashmir, and protection of Pakistan's economic infrastructure.<sup>133</sup>

The decision was also dictated by the need to preclude the chances of Pakistan being declared a state sponsoring terrorism. It would also allow Pakistan to come out of a political isolation and re-emerge politically as a capable and a dignified nation since the US terminated aid after its 1998 nuclear tests. In addition, Pakistan has itself been the victim of terrorism in the past, and the opportunity offered by the circumstances should have been invested. Joining the US led coalition would allow Pakistan to seek international help and assistance to effectively cope with the rising menace of terrorism.<sup>134</sup> This was in Pakistan's interest to avoid the disintegration of Afghanistan, which would aggravate the serious refugee problems for Pakistan and potentially engulf the western section of the country.<sup>135</sup> Improving ties with the US to prevent the emergence of an Indo-US nexus against Pakistan was also an important factor.

### **Pakistan's Role in War on Terror**

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>132</sup> Syed Raffat Hussain, "War against Terrorism: Pakistani Perspective," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Journal* (Winter 2004), [journal on-line] available from <http://www.ipripak.org/journal/winter2005.shtml>; Internet; accessed 19 January 2007.

<sup>133</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 202.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>135</sup> Syed Raffat Hussain, "War against Terrorism: Pakistani Perspective," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Journal* (Winter 2004), [journal on-line] available from <http://www.ipripak.org/journal/winter2005.shtml>; Internet; accessed 19 January 2007.

Pakistan had started its own war on terror inside the country much earlier than the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the US. It had been realized by the Pakistani leadership that militancy was shaking the very fabric of Pakistani society. Therefore, a large number of steps had already been taken by the government much before 9/11.<sup>136</sup> However, all these steps went unnoticed by the international community as it was considered an internal matter of the country. For instance, a ban was imposed on the display of weapons, and Anti Terrorism Act 1997 was promulgated to try the terrorists swiftly in anti terrorist courts for speedy trial and justice. A number of sectarian organizations was banned and their assets frozen to curb sectarian terrorism. Madrassa reforms were undertaken in order to ensure that all Madrassas fall in to the main stream educational system of the country and revise their syllabi to include modern subjects like mathematics, computers, and social sciences, etceteras. A major effort was launched to revamp the law enforcement agencies by better equipping and training them, raising their salaries, and reorganizing them to fight the menace of terrorism. Crisis management cells were established at the centre as well as at the provincial levels to ensure an organized and smooth response to militancy related crisis. For the first time in the history of Pakistan a programme was launched to prepare the database of all the nationals of the country under a newly established organization National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA). This would help keep a track and record of all the citizens and essentially would be critical to track the terrorists. Consequently all nationals were issued with the digital computerized national identity cards (CNIC) and machine readable passports. In an attempt to further speed up the trials of terrorists, anti terrorism ordinance was promulgated on 14 August 2001 with a view to dealing with terrorism and militancy effectively.

After September 11, 2001 Pakistan initiated certain additional specific steps against the terrorism on the domestic front. The government directed the expulsion and extradition of all foreign students based on the fact that there were numerous foreign students in Pakistani

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<sup>136</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 203.

Madrassas who continued to stay on as a legacy of two decades of war and civil unrest in Afghanistan. Most of these students in the Madrassas of tribal areas were directly or indirectly linked with Al-Qaeda, the Taliban or other terrorist organizations. Another important step taken by the government was the proscription of sectarian, militant and Jehadi organizations that continued to spread terrorism in and out



of country.<sup>137</sup> Intelligence agencies and law enforcing agencies were restructured in accordance with the changed dimension of threat.<sup>138</sup> At the international level, the government cooperated with the UN to curb the menace. It scrupulously implemented all anti terrorism measures taken by the UN and froze the assets and accounts of a number of organizations and individuals on the lists of those involved in terrorism. Pakistan is signatory to 11 out of 12 United Nations' anti terrorism conventions and has acceded to the UN's convention on suppression of terrorist bombings.<sup>139</sup> It also signed Organization of Islamic Countries' convention on combating international terrorism. Pakistan signed extradition treaties with twenty-seven countries to ensure extradition of all terrorists to their home countries for trials.

### **Pakistan's Support for Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF)**

As a result of Pakistan's decision to join the US led coalition in war against terror, the basic assumption of Pakistan's Afghan policy that a Taliban controlled Afghanistan was in Pakistan's interest was abandoned. Consequent to this decision, successful initiation and sustenance of Operation Enduring Freedom depended on critical operational and administrative support from Pakistan's armed forces. In response to the decision taken by the government to allow the use of Pakistan's airspace and bases for OEF, Pakistan air force provided necessary infrastructure and logistic support. It activated forward operating bases and brought the main operating bases to a state of operational readiness. While mobilizing operational assets, services were provided directly to the coalition forces at some of the Pakistan air force bases. Extensive air transport support through C-130 aircrafts was also provided to the coalition

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<sup>137</sup> The News International, [news On-line] available from <http://www.thenews.com.pk>; Internet; accessed 17 January 2007.

<sup>138</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

forces. Own squadrons operating from certain bases were relocated for the duration of the entire operation.

To support active operations, the US air force A-10 aircrafts were allowed to operate from selected Pakistan air force bases to ensure short notice ground support firepower for the US Special Forces fighting Al-Qaeda elements in the Tora Bora region. Operation of A-10 aircraft from Pakistan instead of Kuwait ensured close air support and loiter time over target, as well as eliminating navigation journey, air refuelling, and reducing pilot fatigue. Airspace management ensured rerouting of all de-conflicting civil airline routes. In summary, the western and south-western sector of Pakistan provided for OEF practically comprised major portion of Pakistan's commercial airspace. During active operations thousands of coalition sorties were flown through Pakistan's airspace in an area of high commercial air traffic without mishap, with direct help provided to around 50 aircrafts in emergency. Similarly, naval support in coalition operations involved multiple naval ships and amphibious operations as well as logistic support to aircrafts at Pasni. In short, to highlight the importance of Pakistan's support to the OEF, it will suffice to quote Lieutenant General Michael DeLong, USMC (Retired), and the then Deputy Commander of USCENTCOM:

Pakistan's support has been fundamental to our success in Operation Enduring Freedom. President Musharraf has committed substantial national resources against terrorism to include arresting a number of Al-Qaeda leaders, freezing the financial accounts of known terrorists and banning fund-raising to support Kashmir militancy. He has pursued these actions despite ongoing tensions with India and significant domestic pressure ...<sup>140</sup>

### **Pakistan's War - Operation Al-Mizan (December 2001 To-date)**

To uphold the commitment given by the government, rapidity of the US mobilization was matched by expeditious and efficient preparations by Pakistan's armed forces in Operation Al-Mizan launched in the tribal areas. The Pakistan army moved into the tribal areas for the

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<sup>140</sup> Lieutenant General Michael DeLong, USMC (Retired), *Inside Centcom: The Unvarnished truth about the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing Inc, 2004), 151.

first time since the country's independence. While the government implemented all Security Council resolutions and froze the assets and accounts of identified individuals and organizations, it continued to apprehend and extradite a large number of suspected Al-Qaeda terrorists. So far 689 terrorists have been apprehended by the security services and 369 of these have been handed over to the US.<sup>141</sup> Taking advantage of proximity of border, rugged nature of terrain and semi autonomous nature of FATA, old Soviet Afghan War ties and common religious beliefs some of the foreign elements and Taliban found sanctuaries in these areas. The army moved quickly against these elements and destroyed all known sanctuaries in Pakistan's tribal areas. In addition, their command and control centres have been busted and huge caches of arms and ammunition have been recovered.

The Pakistan army adopted a three prong strategy to conduct this important but sensitive operation. The overall strategy of Operation Al-Mizan in the FATA comprised military, political and development tiers. The desired end state set for the operation was defined as elimination of foreign terrorists and their facilitators in support of alliance obligations in GWOT, strengthening of political and administrative institutions in FATA, creation of development friendly environment for sustained development and bringing about socio economic change, and integration of FATA into national mainstream.<sup>142</sup> On the military side, the Pakistan army deployed its greater force ever in an operation inside Pakistan's territory. The forces presently deployed include 2 corps headquarters and 4 division headquarters with a brigade of the Special Forces. This amounts to 80,000 troops, thousands of vehicles, dozens of helicopters, and hundreds of artillery guns.<sup>143</sup> Pakistani security forces have

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<sup>141</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 237.

<sup>142</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

established more than 900 posts in FATA and Balochistan along Pakistan-Afghanistan border to check the cross border movement of terrorists and the Taliban.<sup>144</sup> The army has conducted 91 x major operations in the tribal areas to-date to strike the Taliban and terrorists' sanctuaries, training camps, concentrations, and to apprehend their commanders.<sup>145</sup> During different operations, the security forces have been able to kill and arrest a large number of terrorists. Those arrested include the Al-Qaeda leader Khalid Sheikh Muhammad who was the operation planner of the September 11 terrorist attacks and Al-Qaeda chief of operations. He has also confessed beheading

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<sup>144</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 272.

<sup>145</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

Daniel Pearl in addition to planning September 11 attacks.<sup>146</sup> Besides, a number of Taliban leaders including one of the most important leaders Mullah Obaidullah Akhund, have been arrested.<sup>147</sup> The figures of terrorists killed, wounded, and captured by the Pakistani security agencies along with the details of those arrested terrorists who were on the US most wanted / high value target lists are given at annex A.<sup>148</sup> However, Pakistan had to pay heavy price for these achievements and it suffered more than a thousand casualties including above 700 soldiers killed in action.<sup>149</sup>

Another important factor for Pakistan's support of the US led war on terror has been close coordination with the coalition forces operating on the other side of the border under the banner of tripartite commission. The commission was established in June 2003 to coordinate the operations against terrorism through better communication and coordination along the border. The cooperation areas include border security, intelligence sharing, and counter improvised explosive devices (IED). There is extensive cooperation between the international coalition and Pakistani intelligence agencies, which is critical to success. In addition, both sides remain in constant touch with each others by means of radio/satellite communication and the flag / border meetings at tactical and operational level. All operations by the coalition forces across the border have been closely coordinated and conducted by the two sides. For instance, to seal off critical areas and cleanse the area of foreign militants, the Pakistan army actively supported Operations Tora Bora, Unified Resolve, Heaven Denial, Mountain Viper and Mountain Resolve in fully integrated maneuvers with coalition forces.<sup>150</sup> The most important

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<sup>146</sup> BBC South Asia, 16 March 2007, [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 16 March 2007.

<sup>147</sup> Graeme Smith, "Pakistan seizes one of Taliban's top three," *Globe and Mail*, 2 March 2007.

<sup>148</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<sup>149</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 272.

has been the sharing of intelligence between the US and Pakistan's intelligence agencies to prevent terrorist attacks around the world. Pakistan played a major role in preventing the planned terrorists' attacks on flights between the UK and the US in August last year.<sup>151</sup>

The second tier of the operation's strategy is the political prong. The political strategy of the army's operation in tribal areas revolves around strengthening the three important pillars of political administration i.e. the Maliks (elders), political agents, and the frontier corps (paramilitary) / Khassadars (local police). Whereas a number of steps have been taken at various levels to successfully conduct the political prong of the strategy including a peace agreement which will be discussed later, it is directly linked with the third prong of development. This is a very important prong of the strategy that brings the tribal areas into the main stream of society and isolates the militants by addressing the basic needs of ever neglected people of the area. The development projects are being undertaken by the government with the assistance of the US. Table III shows the current outlay of the development package.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<sup>151</sup> Zafar Abbas, "Pakistan's key role in terror arrests," *BBC South Asia*, 11 August 2006 [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.

<sup>152</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<b>Package</b>	<b>Sponsor</b>	<b>Outlay</b>	<b>Table III: Tribal Areas Develop ment Packag e</b>
President' special development package	Pakistan	Rs 509 million	
Ministry of KANA and SAFRON package	Pakistan	Rs 657 million	
Annual development plan funds 2004/2005	Pakistan	Rs 6.2 billion	
Annual development plan funds 2005/2006	Pakistan	Rs 7.2 billion	
Narcotics affair section	US	USD 23.5 million	
Humanitarian aid development programme	US	USD 1.5 million	
Development of medical infrastructure in FATA	US	USD 3.32 million	
Source: Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006			

Funds allocated for the development package are being utilized in three main areas, education, health, and infrastructure development. In addition to construction of schools in the tribal areas, emphasis is also being laid on provision of quality education to the children of FATA in settled areas (to broaden their vision), through the Ministry of Education. Therefore, under this project 200 students are being provided education facility annually from FATA in settled areas. Besides, annually 70 x students and 40 x teachers are selected for education / training in settled areas. Free medical treatment is being provided to all population of the tribal areas since launching of the Operation Al-Mizan. In the field of infrastructure development, so far 1540 kilometers of roads, 32 schools and 906 water supply schemes have been completed.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

## **Impediments in Pakistan's War on Terror in Tribal Areas**

Pakistan has been doing its best to fight the terrorism in all its forms. It has adopted a prudent approach to eliminate the extremism from the country by pursuing a well thought out and executed strategy. Pakistan has lent maximum support to the coalition as a frontline state. This support has created a lot of problems for the country and its security forces on the home front as well as on external front. Considering the inhospitable and treacherous nature of terrain where the army is operating in the tribal areas, it is very difficult to guard every inch of ground to eliminate cross border movement of the militants. This problem is further compounded by the weapon-friendly culture of the area and no matching security arrangements on the other side of the border. In addition, easement rights that allow free cross border movement of the tribals without any documents add to the complexities. An attempt was made to issue the locals with computerized passes for crossing over to Afghanistan in the recent past by Pakistan; however it met strong opposition by the locals on the Afghanistan side.<sup>154</sup>

The presence of Afghan refugees in very large numbers is another impediment for Pakistan army in its conduct of operations and implementing strict security measures. At present according to open sources, there are approximately 3.2 million refugees in Pakistan, who are living in various refugee camps in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border areas. The details of refugees are given at table IV below.<sup>155</sup> Many of these refugees are involved in militant activities across the border as well as in Pakistan. Therefore, the refugee camps are one of the major sources of the Taliban recruitment and surge.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of Afghan Refugees</b>
Entered from 12 Sep 01 to 3 Dec 06	2,790,199

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<sup>154</sup> The News International, 12 January 2007 [news on-line] available from <http://www.thenews.com.pk>; Internet; accessed 12 January 2007.

<sup>155</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.



Repatriated under own arrangements	1,314,551
Repatriated under UNHCR arrangements	1,878,334
Total remaining Afghan refugees	2,580,743
Open source info (approx)	3,200,000
Source: Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006	

**Table IV: Details of Afghan Refugees in Pakistan**

Besides Afghan refugees, the local religious leaders are also a source of irritation for the operations by the army. These religious leaders in keeping with their conservative Islamic understanding, typical culture and traditions, influence the local population against the army operations. As has been explained in the historical perspective above, the first loyalty of these people is with their tribe and their tribal customs and traditions, which can be characterized by fierce independence and non-interference by any external forces. An attack on any of their tribesman is considered as an attack on the tribe. These complexities when exploited by the religious leaders being used by the Taliban and terrorists add to the security problems.

There are factors other than the internal dynamics of tribal areas that also adversely affect the operations by the army in tribal areas. The role of media is one of the leading impediments. Since the national media has been granted unprecedented freedom in Pakistan by the present government, it has remained very bold and outspoken in its reporting. However, the reporting is generally sympathetic to the locals, which is exploited by the militant groups to influence the locals. More importantly the role of international media is more harmful than the national and local media. The army is generally accused of not doing enough to stop the cross border movement of the Taliban, which proves counter productive. It sends wrong signals to the terrorists as well as affects the morale of soldiers fighting this complex battle in a complicated environment. Another external factor is the occasional border violations and attacks on Pakistani civilians by coalition troops, aircrafts, and Afghan forces. These violations

only add to the complexities faced by the troops fighting in the tribal areas, since they undermine the sovereignty of Pakistan and authority of the army. Such violations provide enough fuel to the terrorists to exploit the feelings of population on one hand, while on the other hand the media exploits them vociferously that work against the efforts of the army.

The other external factor is the growing Indian influence in Afghanistan's cities bordering Pakistan, which is playing a negative role in the war against terror. Exploiting its cordial relations with the Northern Alliance, India has opened consulates in the border towns of Jalalabad and Kandahar. Since then the anti-state and anti-army activities in Pakistan's border areas are on the increase. These activities are aimed at destabilizing the border provinces and creating insecurity through covert means, with a view to creating an embarrassing situation for the Pakistan army in the conduct of its war on terror. This will consequently increase mistrust between Pakistan and Afghanistan / coalition. Besides India, the inability of coalition and Afghan forces to match the security arrangements made by Pakistan on the border to check cross border movement of militants is another important factor. The effective sealing of such porous border is only possible if strong measures are adopted on the border by both sides. As with Pakistan, there are problems at the Afghan and the NATO's ends that add to complexities of the war.

NATO has some 32,000 troops from 37 different countries in Afghanistan under international security assistance force (ISAF).<sup>156</sup> This is only 4% of the 800,000 troops available with the NATO.<sup>157</sup> In addition there are about 22,900 US troops in Afghanistan operating under coalition headquarters.<sup>158</sup> Very briefly, these forces have developed to these levels over a period of 6 years. The operations against the Taliban in the south were only

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<sup>156</sup> NATO, *Nato Topics: ISAF*, <http://www.nato.isaf.com>; Internet; accessed 12 March 2007.

<sup>157</sup> Major General Lewis Mackenzie (Retired CF), "NATO's shame in Afghanistan," *The Globe and Mail*, 31 January 2007.

<sup>158</sup> United States, Congressional Research Service, "*US and coalition Military Operations in Afghanistan: Issues for Congress*," 9 June 2006.

launched after they had regrouped and re-emerged. Of all the forces, only some 2500 Canadian and the equal number of British forces with some Dutch elements are operating in the insurgency hit areas in south and south eastern provinces of Kandahar and Helmand.<sup>159</sup> Most of 32,000 NATO forces have been deployed in the relatively peaceful Northern provinces, and choose not to be employed in active operations.<sup>160</sup> NATO has been appealing for the increase in troops, however unfortunately no country has heeded its requests.<sup>161</sup> According to Major General Lewis Mackenzie (Retired, CF), the ex commander of ISAF in Afghanistan General Richards wanted 27,500 additional troops if NATO was to win in Afghanistan.<sup>162</sup> Worse, France announced to pull out 200 troops as late as December 2006.<sup>163</sup>

Analyzing the role of these NATO troops against the Taliban is not difficult, as a handful of 10,000 or fewer troops can only protect their own camps in such a vast area, which is far more than the Pakistani tribal areas where 80,000 troops are deployed. Hence there is a real question of NATO countries' resolve in commitment to their cause in Afghanistan, which essentially sends wrong signals to the Taliban and the insurgents. In addition, the Afghan forces have not yet come up to the standard and strength that they can undertake security operations independently. Indeed, it leaves all on Pakistan to seal the porous and difficult border, which is practically not possible unless similar measures are taken across the border.

In summary, the coalition operations in Afghanistan would have hit even more snags without the active support and full involvement of Pakistan's armed forces and intelligence

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<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> BBC South Asia, "Bush berates hesitant NATO allies," 28 November 2006 [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> Major General Lewis Mackenzie (Retired CF), "NATO's shame in Afghanistan," *The Globe and Mail*, 31 January 2007.

<sup>163</sup> BBC South Asia, "France cuts Afghan troop number," 17 December 2006 [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.

agencies. Pakistan took the decision to join the US in war on terror in its best national interest as a stable Afghanistan is in Pakistan's long term interests. Despite serious economic loss, provision of full logistic support and facilities to the US led coalition remained instrumental in OEF and thereafter. The positive role played by Pakistan in the GWOT continues to help the coalition to succeed in its operations in Afghanistan as well as it serves Pakistan's interest in fighting militancy in the country. However, the impediments in the way of the army's operations particularly in the tribal areas due to the local tribal dynamics and difficult terrain, at times restrict the conduct of operations. These are augmented by the inability of the Afghan forces and NATO led ISAF to match the measures taken by Pakistan. These are essentially extraordinary conditions beyond the control of security agencies, which need to be handled carefully. However, these conditions make Pakistan's role in war on terror further complicated and difficult.

## **PART 4**

### **ANALYSIS AND CHALLENGES AHEAD**

#### **Analysis and Impacts on Pakistan**

The events of September 11 and the subsequent attack on Afghanistan brought a new dimension to the security environment the world over.<sup>164</sup> Regionally, Pakistan remained the worst affected by the international and regional fallout of the events, paying a heavy price in politico-economic and military fields. In fact no other country has suffered more than Pakistan in the GWOT, with the government facing serious problems in effective governance due its shift in policy.<sup>165</sup> At the same time however, Pakistan has also been rewarded with numerous advantages due to its active and important role in the ongoing war. To consolidate the effects of Pakistan's role in the US led GWOT in various areas, three main domains of concern have been identified i.e. political, economic, and security. On the political side, Pakistan's international political isolation ceased immediately and it assumed the role of frontline state yet again. Indeed Pakistan benefited tremendously as, despite the A Q Khan nuclear proliferation crisis, the US gave Pakistan the status of 'Major Non-NATO Ally.'<sup>166</sup> In addition, Pakistan's politically and domestically motivated handling of Doctor Khan has almost been accepted by the US and the international community.

However, it was a difficult to convince the average populace and to prevent a domestic backlash. Popular sentiment remained with the Afghan people, primarily because of previous

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<sup>164</sup> The Coalition Information Centres, *the Global War on Terrorism: the First 100 Days* (Washington, London & Islamabad: 2001), 5.

<sup>165</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 222.

<sup>166</sup> Arthur Rubinoff, "Incompatible objectives and short-sighted policies: US strategies towards India," in *US-Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: More than words*, ed. Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell, 38-60 (London: Routledge, 2006), 55.

experiences of uneasy US-Pakistan relationship.<sup>167</sup> General public considers the present relationship as a short term based on American immediate interests in the region as Arthur Rubinoff calls it for Pakistan; ‘a temporary opportunity for leverage’ with the US.<sup>168</sup> Besides, since the political parties had not been taken into confidence in the initial decision making, a cohesive national consensus on the decision could not be built. Nevertheless, the alliance of ruling political parties headed by the Pakistan Muslim League of Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz still fully supports the President in his policies towards the US led GWOT. In addition, the mainstream major political parties on the opposition benches, namely the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) of Benazir Bhutto and the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) of Nawaz Sharif, generally agree with the anti-extremist policies of the government and cautiously endorse its support of the war. In spite of the political support, this agreement with the government’s policies remains uneasy because of the domestic interests of these parties. Religious lobbyists have opposed the government’s support of the US and the deployment of its security forces in the tribal areas. The resultant civilian casualties caused by collateral damage also seriously hardened anti-US sentiment, which was fully exploited by the religious

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<sup>167</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 209, 222.

<sup>168</sup> Arthur Rubinoff, “Incompatible objectives and short-sighted policies: US strategies towards India,” in *US-Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: More than words*, ed. Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell, 38-60 (London: Routledge, 2006), 54.

elements.<sup>169</sup> As a result, in 2002, the Muttahida Majlis Amal (MMA) a coalition of religious-political parties took power in the provinces bordering Afghanistan.<sup>170</sup> This was shocking, seeing as historically; religious political parties had never gained more than an aggregate of 4-8 % votes collectively in any national election. In summary, although there is a general agreement among main political parties to counter extremism and terrorism, President Musharraf does not enjoy unconditional support for his policies towards the US led GWOT.

Notwithstanding the initial gains by the religious political parties, to achieve the desired objectives of bringing the vast tribal belt in the national mainstream would require military presence in the tribal areas for an extended time period. It therefore remains a contentious issue with the religious political parties who have a strong voter base in the area and who term the army's presence as an incursion into their area of influence. Also, the right wing religious-political parties regarded the government's decision to crack down on extremist elements as a betrayal of the Kashmiri struggle for independence under the US and Indian pressure.<sup>171</sup> The political setup hence remains divided in its perception of the US' support. However through the government's efforts, domestic support for Pakistan's policy on the subject has substantially increased, but there is inherent reluctance to move along with the international media's version of events. The awareness of the general public has increased with the rapid revolution and liberal government media policies that have resulted in springing up of multiple satellite news channels. The Pakistani media has matured considerably since 9/11 and have earned credibility in the country as well as abroad; as it is considered one of the most offensive in the region by the BBC.<sup>172</sup> Compared to consistent anti Pakistan views on the GWOT by the

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<sup>169</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 222.

<sup>170</sup> Paul Rogers, *A War on Terror: Afghanistan and After* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), 185.

<sup>171</sup> Ahmad Faruqi, "Asian affairs on Pakistan," *Asian Affair*, [journal on-line] available from <http://www.asianaffairs.com>; Internet accessed 4 February 2007.

international media, the objective analyses of the national media criticizing the government, are well received by the public.

Two months into the War on Terror India tried to exploit the global situation to its advantage when its parliament was attacked on 13 December 2001. The Indian leadership pressured Pakistan to give up its stance on Kashmir through a brazen display of military muscle while downplaying its own gross human rights violations and state violence in Kashmir. Exercising the non-military option, the Indians mounted a diplomatic and propaganda campaign aimed at pressuring Pakistan to agree to demands of stopping cross border intervention and handing over of 20 proclaimed offenders. The military option envisaged the actual, albeit limited, employment of the military instrument. The ensuing standoff with full military deployment from both sides resulted in the longest deployment between the two nuclear neighbours, which ended in October 2002. Pakistan, being a major coalition partner and the primary focus of the US on Afghanistan, the Indian government objectives could not be fully achieved. Indeed, Indian officials were disappointed that the US ignored Pakistan's support to the Kashmiri militants fighting for

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<sup>172</sup> BBC South Asia, "Country Profile Pakistan," [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 8 January 2007.



independence.<sup>173</sup> However, Pakistan banned eight extremist groups and arrested 2,000 activists besides sealing 624 offices of Jihadi parties. The Americans increased their indulgence in Kashmir affairs and are supportive of the composite dialogue between two countries for resolution of all outstanding issues including the Kashmir issue.<sup>174</sup> Hence politically for Pakistan, Kashmir issue once again came to the limelight, which was a positive political development from Pakistan's perspective.

Pakistan's support of the GWOT had significant positive as well as negative economic implications. The subsequent rise in terrorist activity, including the Daniel Pearl case, also resulted in cancellation of business orders and scaring away of foreign investors besides adversely affecting tourism. In the same time period, the initiation of the border standoff with India put extensive load on an already strained economy, which was sustaining the largest and the lengthiest deployment of armed forces in the country's history. The finance ministry claimed that on the whole the events of September 11 cost Pakistan more than 2 billion dollars in affected areas including exports, imports, tax revenues, industrial production, foreign investment and privatization and a gross domestic product loss up to Rupees 140 billion. However, further deterioration in the economic status was averted due to aid packages and debt rescheduling by the western countries. Pakistan's support of the GWOT coupled with the consistent better economic policies of the government helped increase direct foreign investment and had positive impact on the economy at the macro level. It helped the foreign exchange reserves rise to a record of \$ 13 billion US and a healthy growth rate of national economy ever since. In summary, the overall economic benefits of Pakistan's decision to support the GWOT outweigh adverse effects on economy.

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<sup>173</sup> Arthur Rubinoff, "Incompatible objectives and short-sighted policies: US strategies towards India," in *US-Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: More than words*, ed. Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell, 38-60 (London: Routledge, 2006), 54-55.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

Pakistan's role as an ally of the US had serious security repercussions for Islamabad. Pakistan's militancy and terrorism problems stem from a variety of different sources namely, the Afghanistan and the Al-Qaeda factors, Kashmiri freedom struggle, sectarianism, and politically motivated violence. After the Soviet withdrawal, the agenda for thousands of tribal and Islamic militants was to fight the Indian forces in the Indian held Kashmir. In the process however, Afghanistan had become a home, base, and a transit point for operations by active militant groups, a point which seriously irked the Russians, Iranians and Indians.<sup>175</sup> While it is true that more effective anti-terror measures were taken by Pakistan after 9/11, a mechanism to curb militancy was already in vogue as explained earlier. The event provided an additional thrust to the ongoing anti-terrorism programme to curb the rising trend of militancy in the country. The Taliban and religious groups termed the government's decision as a turnabout on the Afghan policy and a betrayal. Prior to military routing, a significant number of Al-Qaeda elements escaped from Afghanistan with some moving towards Pakistan. Moving into urban areas and mingling with the local populace, they maintained a low profile where it is difficult to segregate them from the local population. Due to the intensive intelligence operations most high level operatives hiding in Pakistan were captured while the others escaped inside or outside Pakistan. With the ability of a centralized command greatly curtailed, these elements continue small scale attacks to stay a viable organization. The suicide attacks on the President and Prime Minister, and the Daniel Pearl case reflect the serious threat posed by these elements to the national security.<sup>176</sup> Extensive Pakistan army operations in tribal areas are aimed at preventing the same phenomenon. Where the army's presence in the belts contributes towards fulfilment of international and domestic policy objectives of apprehending foreign militants in

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<sup>175</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited, 1998), 134.

<sup>176</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 232-233.

the area and preventing cross border infiltration, it also alienates the locals. On going clashes between the army and the pro-Taliban remnants in the area have resulted in troop casualties. The attack on the senior military figures and periodic terrorist acts against the government institutions and foreign interests in the country, are chilling reminders of the uncomfortable security situation.

On the military side, the lifting of sanctions has helped in the supply of spares and other military equipment held up with vendors worldwide and aided in fulfilling critical imbalances. Similarly there is increased military to military cooperation between Pakistan and the US in particular with many officers of the Pakistan armed forces attending professional courses in the US. Also, the decision to support the GWOT helped Pakistan in finalization of the purchase of F-16 fighter aircrafts considered critical for the defence of the country and security balance in South Asia. However, the worst effect of the decision to join this protracted war on the military side has been a serious military imbalance on the eastern borders as bulk of the forces are deployed on the western borders in the tribal areas.

## **Challenges Ahead**

Pakistan's critical role in the GWOT is in its own interest as well as in the wider interest of the regional and world security. Although the role played by Pakistan's security forces in particular and all the government machinery in general has been vital to its own security and to the aims of the US and the world in GWOT, there is no place for complacency. There are big challenges in all directions of the war Pakistan is fighting within the country as well as on the Afghan border. President Musharraf regards seven challenges that must be tackled effectively to sustain on a path of progress and prosperity. No wonder that the first two directly relate to fighting the GWOT and extremism. As he writes, "We have to stabilize the North-West Frontier Province by defeating al Qaeda and checking the regions Talibanization. We have to suppress extremism and intolerance and eradicate them from our society."<sup>177</sup> The fight against terrorism and extremism as the top priority, there are political, military, as well as social and economic challenges. At the international level there are more problems in political terms rather than in military terms. The first immediate challenge is the increasing mistrust about Pakistan's commitment to the GWOT. Despite pressuring and urging Pakistan to do more in the war against terror, the US and the Western governments have not directly doubted Pakistan's commitment to the GWOT. However, the international media believes that the Taliban are still being patronized and supported covertly by the Pakistani government and officials. The government has always dismissed such accusations as baseless. It will therefore be interesting to analyze whether it is possible for Pakistan to officially but covertly patronize the Taliban and what Pakistan can achieve by supporting the Taliban vis-à-vis what it can lose? On the first question, it is not widely known that Pakistan was not able to achieve what it wanted to from the Taliban ruling Afghanistan. In Pakistan's support, they provided bases and

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<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 337.

fighters for freedom struggle in Indian held Kashmir.<sup>178</sup> However, opposed to Pakistan's stance on other issues, the Taliban refused to recognize the Durand Line as international border and fostered Pashtun Islamic nationalism, which affected Pakistani Pashtuns.<sup>179</sup>

Where Pakistan was looking for strategic depth in Afghanistan against India, the Taliban's influence was leading towards the 'Talibanization' in Pakistan's border areas. They provided sanctuaries to the violent Pakistani sectarian militant groups and intensified sectarian violence in Pakistan. In addition to many diplomatic feuds, on one occasion they beat up the ambassador of Pakistan and burned its embassy in Kabul.<sup>180</sup> Above all, they demanded an Islamic revolution in Pakistan by overthrowing the government. Therefore, in Ahmed Rashid's words, "The Taliban were not providing strategic depth to Pakistan, but Pakistan was providing strategic depth to the Taliban."<sup>181</sup> It must also be remembered that where Pakistan helped them come to power in Afghanistan, it also helped the US to uproot them from Kabul after September 11. The Taliban considered this act as a betrayal by Pakistan and ever since they have regarded Pakistan as an enemy like the US, which followed bloodshed on both sides in the ensuing war in the tribal areas. Therefore, considering the background, previous experience of Pakistan-Taliban relationship, and the existing realities; cooperation between Pakistan and the Taliban can be termed speculation at best.

On the other side, if Pakistan supports the Taliban and they are able to recapture Afghanistan in the far off future (the possibilities are negligible though); Pakistan would not even be able to get what it achieved before as it has abandoned support to the militant groups in

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<sup>178</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 186.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>180</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 214.

<sup>181</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 187.

Indian held Kashmir. On the contrary, at the international level this will again lead to Pakistan's political isolation from the world, the imposition of military and economic sanctions, a steep fall of a booming economy, the danger of being declared state sponsoring terrorism, and a hostile Iran and India as neighbours. In addition, Pakistan will not be able to pursue or achieve any of its economic interests from the CARs due to the presence of the Taliban in Afghanistan.<sup>182</sup> On the internal front, support to the Taliban will add to the internal religious strife / violence and disharmony, poor security situation, rise in militancy and extremism, and lawlessness in the tribal areas. Therefore, reviewing pragmatically and realistically, supporting the Taliban is against the interests of Pakistan from all angles.

This analysis notwithstanding, the peace agreement concluded between the government and the tribal elders of Utmanzai tribe in September 2006 is considered by Afghanistan as well as the Americans as controversial for it allows the Taliban to regroup and launch cross border attacks. The peace agreement has six clauses to be fulfilled by Utmanzai tribe and eight clauses to be fulfilled by the government (attached at annex B). Using the traditional tribal customs and traditions while isolating the militants, it is aimed at expelling the foreign terrorists from the area and stopping cross border militant activities to serve the coalition's interests.<sup>183</sup> As a result of the peace agreement, no troops were withdrawn and it is only a part of a bigger design to bring normalcy in FATA, help Afghanistan and bring enduring peace and stability in the region.<sup>184</sup> Despite the agreement, the Pakistan army has continued to target the known sanctuaries of terrorists in the area. Whereas, the Afghan government and the coalition opined soon after the agreement that it was a major cause of surge in the Taliban activities across the

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<sup>182</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 155.

<sup>183</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

border, Pakistan considered the involvement of local tribes critical to isolating the terrorists. It may still be too early to arrive at a conclusion, but the recent deadly clashes between the local tribesmen and the foreign terrorists in South Waziristan indicate a much awaited rising of locals against the foreign terrorists from Pakistan's perspective.<sup>185</sup> The results have recently been appreciated by the CENTCOM chief.<sup>186</sup>

Another important challenge is the rising tension between Pakistan and Afghanistan over the last two years on the issue of cross border movement of the Taliban. Pakistan believes that while the Taliban problem is essentially Afghanistan's problem, the cross border movement taking place is despite Pakistan's efforts to stop it effectively. The UN Secretary General's latest report to the UNSC on Afghanistan sums up the security situation in Afghanistan as under:

The insurgency is being conducted mostly by Afghans operating inside Afghanistan's borders. However, its leadership appears to rely on support and sanctuary from outside the country. The insurgency's current centre of gravity falls in and around the provinces of Kandahar, Helmand, Uruzgan and increasingly, Farah. ... The insurgency now covers a broad arc of mostly Pashtun dominated territory, extending from Kunar province in the east to Farah province in the west; ...<sup>187</sup>

Indeed, it reflects that while the insurgency is essentially Afghanistan-based, it draws support from Pakistan's tribal areas for obvious reasons, which is a challenge for Pakistan. However, the first challenge is related to the perception of Afghan people about Pakistan's involvement in their affairs. Considering the historical perspective, Afghans have all the reasons to believe in interference by Pakistan in their internal affairs, because Pakistan has been actively remained involved in Afghanistan ever since the Soviet invasion. In the process, two

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<sup>185</sup> BBC South Asia, 21 March 2007, "Pakistan clash kills 100," [news On-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 21 March 2007.

<sup>186</sup> The News International, 19 April 2007, [news on-line] available from <http://www.thenews.com.pk>; Internet; accessed 19 April 2007.

<sup>187</sup> United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, *The situation in Afghanistan and its implications for peace and security: Report of the Secretary-General*, 11 September 2006.

generations of the Afghans have grown seeing Pakistan's interference. Therefore, even if Pakistan does not interfere in their internal affairs they are not likely to believe it. However, it is true that the Taliban are moving across the border both sides but this is despite Pakistan.<sup>188</sup> There are numerous factors contributing to the cross border movement including porous border, treacherous terrain, local customs and traditions, and easy mingling of the Taliban among locals.<sup>189</sup> Other reasons include incapacity of the Afghan security forces and the ISAF to match the Pakistani border control measures to ensure strict control on the cross border movement.<sup>190</sup> Pakistan has even decided to fence the border in order to stop the cross border movement, but this has been opposed by Afghanistan.

Afghan President Hamid Karzai's dissatisfaction with the Pakistani measures in the GWOT is based on numerous additional factors. The inability of the Afghan government to effectively counter the insurgency, little progress in development of infrastructure and national institutions, rising discontent among the public due to civilian casualties from coalition's strikes, and host of other social ills breed frustration.<sup>191</sup> This frustration is partly vented by blaming Pakistan for not doing enough to fight the Taliban. The resulting tension between the two countries, exploited by many internal and external players, is fast increasing the mistrust and is dangerous for the coordinated fight against terror. Some of the most troublesome players are the warlords of the Northern Alliance, who have traditionally remained pro-Iran, pro-India,

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<sup>188</sup> The News International, 7 December 2006, [news on-line] available from <http://www.thenews.com.pk>; Internet; accessed 7 December 2006.

<sup>189</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 273.

<sup>190</sup> Pakistan Army, General Headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, *Record on Pakistan's War on Terror as on 28 December 2006*.

<sup>191</sup> Massoumeh Torfeh, "Afghanistan's tipping point?" *BBC South Asia*, 16 April 2007 [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 16 April 2007.



and anti-Pakistan.<sup>192</sup> Since these warlords provide the support base to the Afghan President, they influence his policies significantly. Among the external forces, Indians have historically enjoyed good relations with the pro-communist regimes of Afghanistan before and during the Soviet invasion, and with the Northern Alliance after the Soviet withdrawal. In exploiting these relations, the consulates opened by India in the border cities of Kandahar and Jalalabad have become a source of concern for Pakistan, as they have been involved in anti-Pakistan activities in the tribal areas and Balochistan.<sup>193</sup> Specifically, Pakistan blames India for setting up numerous terrorists training camps which are directly involved in a surge of terrorists activities in Balochistan and NWFP.<sup>194</sup> The other external factor is the Iranian influence on the Afghan government mainly through Shiite warlords. It is also a significant source of tension and mistrust between the two neighbours. The mistrust and tensions need to be addressed by the two governments maturely and pragmatically in the greater interest of peace and stability in the region. To that end, visible progress in re-establishing the trust at the government levels has been observed through the forum of national Jirgas established by both countries in the recent past. Nevertheless, re-establishing trust between the two sides remains the most crucial challenge for Pakistan as well as Afghanistan and coalition forces.

This trust will be truly established when the cross border movement of the Taliban will be stopped. However, it is difficult unless concerted commitment and efforts are exercised by both sides. Whereas foreign militants are easily recognized and stopped, the Taliban mix up in the local population so well that they can not be singled out. This is made further complicated by the fact that there are numerous crossing places available and the terrain is generally

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<sup>192</sup> Pervez Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire: A Memoir* (New York, London & Toronto: Simon & Schuster Inc, 2006), 203.

<sup>193</sup> Frederic Grare, "Pakistan-Afghanistan relations in the Post 9/11 Era," *Carnage Papers, Number 72* (October 2006).

<sup>194</sup> Scott Baldauff, "India-Pakistan rivalry reaches into Afghanistan," *Christian Science Monitor*, (12 September 2003) [journal on-line] available from <http://www.csmonitor.com/2003/0912/p07s01-wosc.html>; Internet; accessed 13 March 2007.

inaccessible. Further, the Pashtuns are allowed to move across with out checks as per easement rights. Despite all these factors, Pakistan has exercised all possible efforts to check the cross border movement of militants. These measures include establishment of more than 900 border posts, implementation of strict frontier control movements by issuing electronic passes, and proposed fencing of the border. Whereas, the first measure has not been strengthened by the ISAF or the Afghan army with border posts on Afghan side, Afghanistan is opposed to the other two.<sup>195</sup> Nevertheless, Pakistan has decided to fence the border selectively to rest the concerns of other side on the Taliban's cross border movement.

The US also has some concerns regarding Pakistan's approach to the GWOT. The first major American concern is the cross border movement of the Taliban and their attacks against the US and coalition forces in Afghanistan. As explained earlier, this is happening despite Pakistan's opposition for a number of cultural / historical reasons as well as thanks to inadequate security measures on the Afghan side of the border. Despite Pakistan's outright denial Washington is also suspicious about the relationship of ISI with the Taliban in the backdrop of its support to the Taliban before 9/11. The failures to capture Osama Bin Laden and Mullah Muhammad Omar, and the inability of the Afghan and coalition forces to effectively deal with the insurgency in Afghanistan also give rise to frustration. Casualty-sensitive Western democracies find it difficult to justify the losses to their public. Pakistan has become a convenient escape goat. The third basis of the Washington's dissatisfaction is the need to support President Karzai who is clearly opposed to Pakistan for the various reasons discussed earlier. Finally the role of generally anti-Pakistan American media in influencing Washington's thinking can also not be ignored.<sup>196</sup> In return for its support, the US government

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<sup>195</sup> BBC South Asia, 4 January 2007, "Will Pakistan Fence Plan Work," [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 21 February 2007.

<sup>196</sup> Shireen M. Mazari, "A New US Threat," The Nation, 23 September 2006, [news-online] available from <http://www.thenation.com.pk>; Internet; accessed 7 December 2006.

wants continued concrete results in GWOT from Pakistan to counter growing domestic criticism of its policies towards Islamabad. With presidential elections due next year, it is important for the US government to show some success in the GWOT to the American people for domestic political purposes. These reasons notwithstanding, wary of the past uneasy relationship and a legacy of mistrust between the two countries, the primary concern of the US is to ensure that Pakistan continues to effectively support its GWOT. Clearly opposed to any political settlement with the insurgents, the Bush administration wants Pakistan to continue its military drive against the extremism and terrorism irrespective of the domestic political sensitivities. As a result, the US continuously pressures Islamabad through different means and visits by its officials.

Despite all these complexities, the real issue linked with the Taliban is the repatriation of all Afghan refugees from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Since the Soviet invasion Pakistan has hosted millions of refugees, living mostly in the refugee camps established near the border. These camps form one of the major recruiting bases for the Taliban besides their involvement in drugs trafficking and militancy in Pakistan.<sup>197</sup> The movement of militants mostly in the garb of refugees throughout Pakistan gradually led to the proliferation of weapons in the country. With respect to drugs, Pakistan had no heroin addicts in 1979, had 650,000 addicts in 1986, 3 millions in 1992 and an estimated 5 millions by 1999.<sup>198</sup> The repatriation of these refugees will help reduce the cross border movement of militants and will isolate the militants by making them visible on both sides. The Pakistani government has decided to close four major camps involved in militant activities by 31 August 2007, ultimately all refugees should return home by December 2009.<sup>199</sup> This should considerably help develop trust between the two countries.

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<sup>197</sup> Peter Marsden, *the Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan* (London and New York: Zed Books Limited,, 1998), 43.

<sup>198</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, oil & fundamentalism in Central Asia* (London: I.B. Tauris and Co. Limited, 2001), 122.

However, despite all limitations, the elimination of the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda elements in Pakistan-Afghanistan border areas remains one of the biggest challenges for Pakistan in the GWOT. This is possible through a prudent policy of military, economic and political strategy, which Pakistan is following. However, the success is possible only through collective and coordinated efforts of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the ISAF.

On the internal front, Pakistan has no lesser challenges to uproot militancy and promote tolerance among various factions of the society. Education is the key to success, which will entail vigorous pursuance of reforms initiated by the government. Where it may be considered a long term measure; promotion of education remains critical to achieving the desired aims and objectives of eliminating extremism from the society and promoting tolerance. The immediate attention has to remain focused on the reforms related to the education in Madrassas. The Madrassas need to be integrated in the mainstream through the reforms undertaken by the Government. All Madrassas need to be equipped with latest teaching aids, books, and computers to enhance their scope of studies beyond religious studies. This is a mammoth undertaking beyond the resources of Pakistan; therefore it requires international involvement.

Transferring the benefits of the macro level economic achievements to the poor masses of Pakistan is another big challenge for the government. The government may boast on its achievements on economic front, the true results will only be seen if a visible change is observed in the life of common man. This will then serve as an important step towards the strategic agenda of promoting tolerance and eliminating extremism. On the immediate front, the integration of the tribal areas into the main stream assumes importance, which is possible through extensive economic development in these ever neglected areas. The government has taken steps in the right direction; however like in education, it needs a lot of involvement of

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<sup>199</sup> BBC South Asia, 7 February 2007, "Afghan Camps to Close by August," [news on-line] available from <http://www.bbc.co.uk>; Internet; accessed 5 March 2007.

international community and the private sector to see these challenges through successfully. The tribals once provided with the alternate and better means of earning and exposed to the outside world, will definitely integrate in the mainstream society. Besides, it will counter the reasons for militancy, which is vital to the ultimate success.

The regional stability and the stability of Afghanistan are in the best interests of Pakistan from political, economic, and security perspectives. Pakistan's commitment to the GWOT is unquestionable. However, the mistrust between the two sides has been created by the circumstances beyond the control of any single stake holder. Where Pakistan is strictly enforcing control measures on the borders and in the tribal areas against insurgents, the ISAF and Afghan forces have to play an equally robust role. Indeed, it is a joint war against a common enemy in the interests of all the parties, therefore a joint, combined, and coordinated approach at all levels will only be successful. The leadership on both sides needs to realize the stakes and formulate a combined strategy to win the war. There is a need for more effective role by the ISAF to remove misunderstandings between the two sides and better coordinate the operations. At the same time, the Afghan government and the ISAF should work vigorously in the economic and political fields to deny reasons to the Taliban to survive as a force. Pakistan on the internal side, is taking various military, political, and economic measures to curb militancy; however this can also be accomplished only with the support of international community. Hence, it is a completely joint venture and all parties must play their due role whole heartedly.

## CONCLUSION

Pakistan today stands at the cross roads in international history and has a critical role to play regionally as well as at international level to quell the menace of terrorism. It may have decided to join the US led GWOT under immense pressure by the US, in retrospect the decision proved to be in Pakistan's wider political, economic, and security interests. It also provided Pakistan with an opportunity to augment the measures it had already initiated against the terrorism at national level. The role being played by Pakistan in the war on terror is certainly critical and important for the domestic, regional, and world peace. The achievements of Pakistan have been significant in the war so far. However, the historical perspective and regional / tribal dynamics of the areas where the bulk of the war is being fought by Pakistan add to an already complex situation. These complexities, coupled with other factors and exploited by certain elements hostile to Pakistan, have led to an increasing mistrust between Pakistan and its allies across the border. This mistrust can partly be addressed by repatriating all Afghan refugees from Pakistan. However, the defeat of the Taliban will truly re-establish the mutual confidence between the two neighbours which is a collective responsibility. Although most of the events that malign Pakistan's image in this regard have been more or less beyond its control, the blame can not entirely be attributed to exogenous factors alone. This adds to the challenges Pakistan is faced with internally as well as externally to successfully fight terrorism.

Certainly a peaceful, stable, and Pakistan-friendly Afghanistan is in the best political, economic, and security interests of Pakistan. Conversely, Pakistan's own stability depends on a stable Afghanistan. Where Pakistan has reasons to be satisfied at the achievements in the war hence, there is no place for complacency and all efforts must be made to ensure a smooth and well coordinated conduct of the war politically, economically, and militarily. In addition, to

eliminate the reasons for militancy and to promote tolerance, Pakistan also faces serious challenges on the internal front. The country seems politically divided on the issue of government's support of the US' policies on GWOT. A political consensus is vital to winning such a complex war. To eliminate poverty, the benefits of booming economy are yet to be transferred to the masses. Implementation of education and Madrassas reforms is a massive undertaking. A wholesome approach at the national level to address all ills of the society is critical to establishment of a moderate and prosperous society. Clearly, there is a need to use all elements of the national power to address the issues Pakistan is confronted with to achieve success. Besides, positive and productive role of the international community to help Pakistan achieve these ends is vital. In summary, it is a combined war and can only be won if all parties contribute their due share in the most coherent and coordinated manner with mutual trust.

**DETAILS OF TERRORISTS KILLED, INJURED, AND ARRESTED BY**  
**PAKISTAN**

**Figures**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Killed</b>	<b>Injured</b>	<b>Apprehended</b>
Foreigners	194	61	324
Locals	441	133	742
<b>Total</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>1066</b>

**Source:** Pakistan army, General headquarters, Military Operations Directorate, Record on Pakistan's war on terror as on 28 December 2006

**Details of Arrested Terrorists on the US Most Wanted / High Value Targets List**

1. Said Abdul Rehman (Khadr Al-Kanadi) an Egyptian born Canadian national who was Al-Qaeda operational commander.
2. Habis Abdullahshaoub (Samarkand) a Jordanian national, born US national and an important Al-Qaeda leader.
3. Hassan Mahsum Chinese national and leader of ETIM, the organization fighting for independence of Xingjiang.
4. Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, who was the operation planner of 9/11 terrorist attacks and Al-Qaeda chief of operations.
5. Abu Faraj Al-Libi a senior Al-Qaeda operational commander who was providing assistance to Al-Qaeda elements worldwide.
6. Khallad Bin Attash USS Cole fame, who was intimately involved in planning and execution of September 11 attacks.



7. Ramzi Bin Al Shib reported 20th hijacker of 9/11.
8. Abu Zubaida a Palestinian national and an important Al-Qaeda leader.
9. Ammar Al-Baluchi nephew of Khalid Sheikh Muhammad and important Al-Qaeda's facilitator.
10. Yasir Al-Jaziri a Palestinian national and an important Al-Qaeda facilitator and a communication expert.
11. Mullah Obaidullah Akhund an important Taliban leader actively leading insurgency, who was also the Taliban's defence minister.

**PEACE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TRIBAL**

**ELDERS**

Cessation of hostilities by miscreants on 19 June 2006 was formalized and signed as a peace agreement on 5 September 2006 at a public gathering at Miranshah. The agreement is the outcome of efforts of governor NWFP and 45 members grand tribal Jirga constituted from all over FATA on 20 July 2006. It has 6 clauses to be fulfilled by Utmanzai tribe and 8 clauses to be fulfilled by the government.

**Clauses to be fulfilled by Utmanzai Tribe**

1. No attacks shall be launched against law enforcing agencies, armed forces and government installations. Also there would be no “target killing.”
  
1. No parallel administration shall be set up in North Waziristan and the writ of the government of Pakistan would be accepted. The political administration would be approached for solution of local problems and all issues shall be solved under the “Riwaj” and “Frontier Crimes Regulations” with the cooperation of the Utmanzai tribes and their elders.
2. No body shall be allowed to cross the border to take part in military operations in neighbouring Afghanistan. However, there will be no ban on traveling to Afghanistan in line with existing traditions and law for trade purposes or meeting relatives.
3. No interference shall be carried out in settled districts adjoining North Waziristan and no effort shall be made to establish parallel administration there.
4. All foreigners shall leave North Waziristan. Those unable to do so will have to live peacefully in the area and respect the existing laws as well as all the terms of the peace agreement.

5. All government assets including vehicles, weapons, wireless sets, etcetera captured by the militants during fighting shall be returned.

### **Clauses to be fulfilled by the Government**

1. All those persons arrested during the military operations shall be freed and will not be re-arrested under the same cases.

2. All privileges and benefits allowed to the tribes in the past shall be restored.

3. New check posts set up on roads by the army shall be dismantled. While only “Khassadars” and levies shall man the old check posts as was practiced earlier.

4. All confiscated vehicles and other assets shall be returned to the tribesmen.

5. Once the agreement is signed, the government shall halt all ground and aerial military operations and in future resolve all issues under the terms of tribal customs and traditions.

6. All innocent victims of military operations shall be compensated for human and material losses. Owners of private properties that were damaged shall also be paid compensation.

7. There shall be no ban on carrying arms in keeping with existing tribal traditions and practice. However, the ban on heavy weapons shall continue.

8. Implementation of the peace agreement shall begin with shifting of Pakistan army troops from road check posts to their camps and bases within South Waziristan.

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