

IMPLICATIONS OF RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN

“Pakistan is a democratic society trapped inside an undemocratic state.”

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INTRODUCTION

Genesis

1. Pakistan came into existence in the modern world on the **basis of religion**. The creation of Pakistan represented the outcome of a campaign on the part of a section of the Muslim community of British India for a **Muslim home** which gained momentum by the British decision to consider transferring of power to the Indian hands. The territorial conception of Pakistan was a corollary of Muslim nationalism and it was Quaid-I-Azam, Mohd Ali Zinnah who made the Muslims of the sub-continent conscious of their right to existence as a separate nation. The passing of the “Pakistan Resolution” by the Muslim League was the fructification of Dr Mohd Iqbal’s thesis of “The **final destiny** of the **Muslims**” of North India².

2. In stable and strong nation-states, the power of such states is justified and self-explanatory. On the other hand, when no earthly justification for the powers or undemocratic activities of the state can be found, it is unavoidable that

¹. Hassan Abbas. ‘Pakistan can Defy the Odds.: How to Rescue a Failing State’. Islamabad. Institute of Social Policy and Understanding. May 2009..p 15. ([www.ispu.org/Pakistan can Defy the Odds](http://www.ispu.org/Pakistan%20can%20Defy%20the%20Odds)). Assessed on 20 July 2010.

². Akbar S Ahmed. Living Islam. Somerset UK: Butler and Tanner Ltd, 1990. p12.

Religion should be called upon to justify the authority of the state. Religious functionaries are usually willing to respond to such demands but at a price. The nation, in such cases, has to compromise on its national values, as manipulation of the religious authorities becomes a possibility. It should not be surprising that such a situation gives rise to movements, which **merge politics and religion into extremism**³.

3. With the instability in the Middle East and the existence of the world's largest segment of Islamic population in its vicinity, it was almost certain that the **extremist trends** would find their way to Pakistan. **Is Pakistan collapsing?** How far are the Taliban from Islamabad? Can al-Qaeda grab the country's Nuclear weapons? These are the types of questions raised every day by the media, academia and policy circles in the world. Is the **promotion of Islamic Extremism** for last 63 years **leading Pakistan to becoming a failed state**? These are critical issues, given the nature of the evolving crisis in Pakistan. It is, therefore, essential to correctly appreciate the crisis in Pakistan and its implications to India and global security.

AIM

4. To analyze the **role of religious extremism** and terrorism in **Pakistan becoming a failing state** and its **impact on India** and **global security**.

HYPOTHESIS

5. The rise of terrorism aided by **religious extremism** in **Pakistan** is driving Pakistan towards **becoming a failed state** and poses **serious threat to global peace and security**.

³. Johannes JG Jansen. The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism, London : Hurst, 1977. p. 07.

JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

6. Pakistan is located astride the new volcanic center of Islamic extremism and in the throes of becoming the capital of Islamic terrorism. Pakistan was created in the name of Islam and it satisfies all conditions required for extremism to take firm roots. Pakistan's **poor economic condition, political instability, poor governance** over last six decades and frequent **exploitation of religion** by the ruling class to further their narrow political interests has pushed Pakistan towards becoming a failed state. **Talibanisation** of Pakistan has added the last ingredient to this already volatile situation.

7. The fallout of the foregoing has been that religious extremists and terrorists (in their shadows) in Pakistan have acquired extra constitutional powers. **Failing Pakistan**, due to its **geo-strategic location**, has **serious implications for India** and **global security** today. Hence, the justification for this study.

SCOPE

8. This thesis is to study and analyze a complex subject linked to politico-religious problem. Therefore, it is necessary to specify issues and concerns under consideration. These are identified as under: -

- (a) Historical analysis of religious fundamentalism and correct understanding of the term Islamic extremism.
- (b) Misuse of religious extremism for indoctrination of terrorism.

- (c) Growth of religious extremism, since the formation of Pakistan and the Talibanisation of this nation state.
- (d) Growth of Islamic extremism over the years is leading Pakistan towards becoming a failed state.
- (e) Implications of dominance of extremists in Pakistan, for India and serious consequences of having a failing state in the neighbourhood.
- (f) The impact of terrorism from Pakistan on global security is being analyzed with it's specific relationship to India.
- (g) Recommendations for Pakistan, India and the world to rescue this failing state and check the growing influence of Islamic Extremism from Pakistan.
- (h) The compilation and analysis is restricted to events up-to 10 Aug 2010.

9. **Definitions.** Definitions of various specific terms used in the thesis are given at **Appendix A.**

LAYOUT OF THE THESIS

10. The subject has been studied in detail by analyzing the religious extremism in Pakistan and it's implications. For ease of understanding better

layout, the thesis is presented in the following parts: -

- (a) **Part I** - **Religious Extremism : Historical Perspective.**
- (b) **Part II** - **Growth of Islamic Extremism in Pakistan.**
- (c) **Part III** - **Islamic Extremism: Cause of Failing Pakistan.**
- (d) **Part IV** - **Implications for India .**
- (e) **Part V** - **Impact on Global Security.**
- (f) **Part VI** - **Recommendations.**

METHODOLOGY

11. This study is based upon the **review of available literature** in the **libraries** of National Defence College (NDC) and Integrated Headquarters of Ministry of Defence, Government of India. Valuable inputs were obtained from current and old newspapers, journals and periodicals of Indian and foreign origin. Extensive use has been made of the research material available through open sources on the **internet**. The bibliography is attached as **Appendix B**.

12. A significant aspect of the study was **informal interactions** with reputed **guest speakers** at the NDC. **Own experiences** of operating in J&K, as well as that of other officers, were of immense use in understanding the subject.

PART -I
RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM : HISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE.

“In the history of mankind, more people have died in the name of religion than for any other single cause.”

LT GEN ARJUN RAY⁴

GENESIS

13. ‘Fundamentalism’ literally refers to an early twentieth century American Protestant movement that called for religion based on a literal interpretation of the Bible. Indeed, there is no word for “fundamentalism” in Arabic: the closest word in Arabic is ‘*usuli*’⁵ (*usul* when translated means fundamentals or roots). Fundamentalism is the adherence to the basics/fundamental virtues propagated or practices by any religion like religious ceremonies. There is **nothing wrong in fundamentalism** but when it leads to hindrance for others and **enforced on others, it becomes extremism**, which is unacceptable to civilized society. Eventually, when this extremism is **enforced by violence** and does not accept co-existence of others, it takes the form of **terrorism**. Religion is often misinterpreted to justify the unjust.

14. Many of the words we use to describe terrorists and their acts are derived from the names of religious groups, active several centuries ago. In earlier era

⁴. Lt Gen ArjunRay. Kashmir Diary: Psychology of Militancy. New Delhi : Manas Publications, 1997. p.13.

⁵. Youssef M Choueiri. Islamic Fundamentalism. London and Washington: Pinter, 1997, p xvii.

also, terrorism was associated closely with religion, though the objective was political or strategic. As the ethnic conflicts swelled, the period from the mid-1970s also began to see the rise of a new militant ideology and a questioning of the basics that governed society. Egypt, Syria and to an extent Iraq, were the first to witness a **religious awakening**, where the ulema revived the earlier writings of Islamic scholars, and supported by large sections of the unemployed youth, called for governments to follow the path of true Islam⁶.

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

15. **Christian Extremism.** In the **11th and 12th Centuries**, Europe witnessed a revival of Christianity culminating into the well known **Holy Crusades against the Muslims**. The Muslim threat was live and palpable in the heartland of Europe – Spain. **‘Reconquista’** was the Christian cry; a movement to reconquer Spain from the Muslims. Pope Urban II -1905 also considered military assistance to the Byzantines as a means of forging ecclesiastical unity between the Western and Eastern Churches. During the Council of Government on 18 November 1905, Pope Urban II declared that those, who were **not Christians**, were **infidels** and war against them was justified; in fact it was pleasing to god⁷.

16. **Hindu Extremism.** In the militant Hindu version of nationalism, all religions such as Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism originating in India are

⁶. Martha Crenshaw. ‘Theories of Terrorism’, New Delhi: *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 10, No.4. December 1987. p7.

⁷ Anat Kurz. Contemporary Trends in World Terrorism. Mancell Publishing Limited : The jaffee Center for Strategic Studies,1987. p34.

considered part of Hindu cultural traditions. **Hindu religion** being the oldest is **tolerant** and more **secular**, in nature. However, as counter to extremism of other religions, **Hindu fundamentalism** is also **raising it's head**. Spearheading the charge of religious revivalism, Hindu nationalists are enforcing extremism in the name of Hindu culture and heritage. The **demolition of the Babri Masjid** by the Bajrang Dal and Shiv Sena, takes Hindu fundamentalism to infamous heights of extremism, but these are exceptional incidents. What lies at the bottom of political violence in the country today is **communalism** and **polarisation** of Indian society along religious and caste basis⁸.

17. **Islamic Extremism**. The concept of **jihad** refers to the vocation of Muslims to strive or **struggle to realise God's will**, to lead a virtuous life. But this includes the universal mission and obligation to **spread God's will** and rule. This obligation came to be formulated during the third phase of the Caliphate, the Abbasid era (752-1258AD). Importantly, however, the hundred-year period following the death of Muhammad was marked by the conquest to the Byzantine and Persian empires by Arab armies driven by a combination of religious zeal and opportunities for plunder. Their success, it has been argued, brought religious, political and economic rewards.⁹

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

General

18. Islamic extremism may also be interpreted as a religious approach to

⁸. R K Mission Deoghar, Jharkhand. 'Religion – and the Confusion Around It'. Kolkata: *Statesman*, Kolkata, 11 June 2009. p 9.

⁹. Martha Crenshaw . Op cit. pp28-36.

political power. God's word is law and is to be the basis of society, polity, culture, law and the entire domestic sphere including personal life of all believers. Extremists expound that the state cannot be outside the religious realm; it has to be a theocracy with complete control over education and culture. Islamic fundamentalism has however been the most vocal, violent and volatile in achieving their ends. Terrorist acts against members of selected communities has lend credence to the worldwide belief that Islamic extremism is one of the major threats to international security in the modern world.

Islam And Islamic Extremism

19. Islamic extremism was probably first seen in Egypt in late 1920 when Hassan al Banna of the Muslim Brotherhood made a demand for an Islamic form of nation state in Egypt. The 1979 Iranian Revolution and the founding of Islamic Republic of Iran was a lasting fundamental innovation. Islamic extremism demands application of precepts of Islamic law, the *Shariah*. Islam preaches that the *Ulema* have the right to censure Muslim rulers who do not apply Shariah properly.¹⁰ They attach great importance to waging a war against the enemies of God by a *Jihad*. **Spiritual meaning of *Jihad* is unimportant** to them, as they only believe in its martial meaning. A better world, in their belief, can only come by an armed struggle. They feel that once it is applied, Muslims will return to their old glory and get the better of unbelievers and the enemy. The West, they feel, has forced the Muslim community to betray *Shariah*.

¹⁰. M J Akbar. 'Fundamentalism Flourish in Secular Vacuum', New Delhi: *Times of India*, New Delhi, 07 September 2008. p 6.

Growth of Islamic Extremism

20. Gamal Afghani (1838-97) started the history of extremism in modern Islam in Cairo in 1871. He identified two causes for the decline of the world of Islam, first was *Ta' assub* (fanaticism) by which he meant misuse and misinterpretation of religion with the intention of legitimizing existing social and religious order. Second was *Istibad* (tyranny), which could be removed by removing the present governments. All Islamic political and fundamentalist movements/thoughts are offshoots of these two themes. Afghani felt that the decline of the Islamic world was a divine punishment for not having lived in accordance with Islam¹¹.

21. Mohammad Abduh (1850-1905) was an associate of Gamal Afghani. He believed that the ancient glory of Islam would return only with Muslim education and administration of Muslim justice. He was critical of the superficiality of traditional religious functionaries. He felt only a dictator *Mustabid Adil* could modernize Muslim communities¹². Abduh, hence, reformulated the movement started by Al Afghani. Both believed that there was no nationality apart from the religion of Islam. Afghani movement was later identified with *Sunni* Muslim Fundamental thought.

22. Rashid Rida emphasized that Quranic punishments or *Hudood* cannot be abolished by governments. *Hudood* fixes punishments for five acts; unlawful sexual intercourse, false accusation of unlawful sexual intercourse, drinking wine, theft and highway robbery. The punishments for these are death, flogging or amputation. 'Al Manar' was taken over by Hassan Al Banna in 1941 from Rashid Rida and with him, professional violence became part and parcel of

¹¹ Johannes JG. Jansen. Op cit. pp 27-28.

¹² Ibid . p. 31.

Islamic fundamentalist movement.¹³

THE MUGHAL ERA

23. Since the Pakistanis trace their lineage to the Mughals. The latter ruled ‘Hindustan’ from the early 16th century till the advent of the colonial rule on the sub continent. On 11 February 1527, Babur marched out of Agra to confront Rana Sanga. The Mughal Army was alarmed due to the overwhelming Rajput Army strength of 2,00,000 and the few contingents sent out on forays by Babur had been massacred by the valiant Rajputs. Babur, a heavy drinker decided ‘to return to obeisance’ and use religion to ignite the blood of his warriors. Babur took a public denunciatory vow to give up drinking wine and never to trim his beard to win divine favour and to win moral authority to declare the war against the *Hindu infidel* Rana Sanga as a *Jihad*¹⁴.

24. Akbar was by far the **most secular Mughal emperor**. In 1579, Akbar made the principal *Ulema* issue the ‘Infallibility Decree’¹⁵ certifying that Akbar, *Sultan-I-Adil* (just ruler) could act as the final arbiter in matters of religion. Akbar was thus decreed by the *Ulema* to be an *Amir* who had the right to overrule the *Mujtahids*. Thus, Islam and governance were mixed and Akbar, an absolute monarch, had used religion to sideline the Muslim religious elite and make way for enunciating the divine faith of *Din-e-Ilahi*, thus stepping out of Islam.

25. Aurangzeb’s guiding principle was to abide by the *Shariah*. The law was applicable to Hindus as well. In 1669, he issued orders to all governors of

¹³ Ibid. p. 39.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 56.

¹⁵ Abraham Eraly. Emperors of the Peacock Throne. New Delhi :Penguin Books, 2000. pp 15-18.

provinces ‘to **destroy** the schools and **temples** of the **infidels** and put an absolute stop to all idolatrous forms of worship’. He reintroduced *Jizya* 115 years after Akbar had abolished it reasoning that the Prophet had used it to propagate Islam and his own ideal was to follow that noble tradition. Around 1670, he introduced a whole series of modifications in court regulations to comply with Islamic prescriptions. The *Muhtasib*, censor of morals, oversaw enforcement of Islamic edicts. Aurangzeb set up a council of theologians to compile the *Fat-waal- Alamgiriyya*, a book of Islamic judicial decisions, one of the most authoritative works on Islamic jurisprudence. He also encouraged traditional learning by granting allowances to pupils (*Madarassas!*).¹⁶

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

26. In Northern India, as the Mughal Empire began to crumble under the British penetration, in addition to the rise of local dynasties, Sayyid Ahmed Shahid (1786-1831AD) and Isma’il Shahid (1703-62AD) called for the **purification of Islam and proclaimed Jihad against Hindu and Sikh influences**. They felt that there was a need to **revive authentic Islam** and eliminate Hindu customs among Muslim Indians. Another extremist movement, which arose as a response to European commercial penetration, was that of the *Fara’idis* in Bengal. Founded by Haji Shariat Allah (1781-1840), it called for the strict observance of *Shariah*, Islamic law and Quranic injunctions to avoid paying taxes to Hindu zamindars and tax-farmers that were large landlords.

27. **Shah Wali Shah** (1703-1762AD) was an **orthodox conservative** whose thinking and writing are generally held to have been a major influence on all

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 76.

subsequent Muslim intellectual thought in the sub-continent. Sir Sayyed Ahmed Khan (1817-98AD) was the first significant Indian Muslim modernist¹⁷. According to his belief, **Islam and Muslims were superior to others** and they should take great pride in it. By reviving Muslim pride and encouraging separatism, he paved the way for the creation of the State of Pakistan.¹⁸

RELIGION AS A MOTIVATING FORCE

28. Today, religion is back as a major factor, with at least **64** out of a total of **96** active terrorist groups in Kashmir, clearly identifiable as being **religiously motivated**, even if the doctrine and theology that they swear by, is violently extremist and far from actual precepts. While the ideology has changed, the basic reason for the existence of terrorism have hardly changed at all.¹⁹ The categories in which terrorists think are **rigid and undifferentiated**. Psychoanalysis of terrorists arrested in Jammu and Kashmir clearly proves that they are **no fanatics or psychopaths**. The psycho-analysis data is placed at **Appendix C**.

29. Those who want **moral sanction of their use of violence** and who do not have the approval of an officially recognized government, find it helpful to have access to a higher source; the **meta-morality** that religion provides. By elevating a temporal struggle to the level of cosmic, they can bypass the **usual moral restrictions** on killing.

¹⁷ SS Bindra. Politics of Islamisation with Special Reference to Pakistan. New Delhi : Deep and Deep, 2000. pp 110-113.

¹⁸ Ibid. pp 115-117.

¹⁹ . Lt Gen Arjun Ray. Op.cit. p.33.

MISUSE OF RELIGION

30. A number of secular states, with a Muslim minority, have been confronted with an explosive problem of violent movements for establishing an independent Islamic state. This militant wing has consisted of indoctrinated, dedicated and well motivated mujahedeen who are always ready to go anywhere, for the cause of Islam, the world over. In reality, their terrorist movement has little to do with the Islamic religion. More often than not, the **religion** is **misused** to **motivate** the **followers** for **political gains** of their leaders.²⁰

31. The propagation of the holy war met all the objectives of Gen Zia, President of Pakistan. It protected his nuclear programme against US interference, it allowed the much awaited objective of 'strategic depth' with a (hopefully) friendly regime in Afghanistan and in time (it was hoped) the "K" in the word "Pakistan" which stood for Kashmir would justify the basis of Pakistan. And internally, Islamist backing gave him a respite against those who called for democracy. He, therefore, **misused religion for his political gains**.

²⁰. Col TS Anand, Deeni Madrasas, Mhow : Faculty of Studies, College of Combat, pp 23-25.

PART - II

GROWTH OF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN

‘Our religion is our politics and politics our religion’

-Mian Tufayl Muhammed, JEI, Pakistan²¹

PAKISTAN AS ISLAMIC STATE

32. When Pakistan was created, Islam was the only viable foundation on which to build its unity. In December 1947, the JEI demanded greater Islamisation and the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic state. **Mawdudi** felt that Pakistan was built for the sole purpose of demonstrating the efficacy of the Islamic way of life. In 1948, he set out a detailed and coherent plan for the Islamisation of Pakistan and set guidelines for an Islamic Constitution. In 1952, **Mawdudi demanded that Pakistan be named an Islamic Republic** and *Shariah* be made the supreme law of the land. He wanted the *Ulema* Board to be set up to oversee the passage and implementation of Islamic law in the country.²²

33. In 1956, the Constituent assembly ratified the draft constitution naming Pakistan as an **Islamic Republic** and subjecting all Legislative undertaking to the teachings of Quran and *Hadith*. In 1969, General Yahya Khan, a *Shia* and a heavy drinker, assumed power. The Jamaat quickly renewed its **demand for Islamisation** of the state. In East Pakistan, Jamaat launched a propaganda campaign to convince the Bengalis that their loyalty first laid with Islam and Paki-

²¹ . Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr. The Vanguard of Islamic Revolution The Jama'at-I Islami of Pakistan. London: IB Tauris, 1994. p viii.

²² Bindra. Loc Cit.

stan and not with their ethnic and cultural preferences. In the 1971 Indo-Pak war, the JEI fought the Bangladeshi separatists along with and under the guidance of the Army in the *Al Shams* and *Al Badr* groups thus forming a permanent **Jihadi relationship with the Army**.²³

GEN ZIA ERA

34. **Islamisation of Pak by General Zia-ul-Haq.** General Zia staged a coup and came to power in 1977. In 1979, Zia promulgated Islamic edicts regarding taxation and *Hudood* punishments. Zia started cultivating the ***Jamat - I-Ulema-I-Islam, Jamat-I- Ulema-I-Pakistan***, the *Ulema* and a host of other religious organizations. Jamaat leaders were given cabinet portfolios and invited to serve on state sponsored bodies as Council of Islamic Ideology as also as advisors to General Zia to lay the foundations of an Islamic state. The JEI began **infiltrating the armed forces**, bureaucracy and important national research and educational institutions. The Jamaat was also privy to Pakistan's Afghan Policy since 1977 when after the coup in Afghanistan, Zia asked Mawdudi to explore a role for Jamaat in the Afghan Policy. Thereafter, the Jamaat played a major role in marshalling public opinion in favour of **Jihad** and against the Soviet Union. Zia labelled the National Assembly as ***Majlis-I-Shura*** and gave it much religious legitimacy. He passed the ***Shariat*** bill in 1988. Majority of the lower and middle class favoured move towards Islamic

²³ . Amir Taheri *Holy Terror*. London : Hutchinson Press, 1987. p 83.

polity. Zia died in an air crash supposedly orchestrated by *Shia* Officers of the Army.²⁴

35. **Deeni Madrasas.** Deeni Madrasas, once established to impart education and righteous path, were converted by Gen Zia as production centers of Islamic fundamentalism. The purpose of Deeni Madrasas soon changed to revive the concept of ‘**tableegh**’ or preaching Islam. He felt that it is necessary to create an environment of religious harmony and promote Islamic teachings in true spirit, while simultaneously motivating the youth to participate in the Jihad and use of force to liberate occupied Muslim territories²⁵.

FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE PAKISTAN ARMY

36. The concern for Islamisation in the Army was a result of the officer corps having been opened to the middle class after 1965 war. This had made the Army more subject to the influences of **traditional Islamic values**. The Army could no longer be called a bastion of secularism and were gradually turning to Islam for succour. This trend was reinforced when General Zia became the Chief of Army Staff during Bhutto’s regime. He had been sympathetic to the *Jamaat* all along and was **impressed with Mawdudi’s ideology**. He freely distributed the *Jamaat* literature among soldiers and officers. In July 1976, he gave copies of Mawdudi’s book *Tafhimu’l Quran* (Understanding Quran) as prizes at a debate competition and subsequently proposed to include the book

²⁴ . Anwar H. Sayed. The Shia-Sunni Conflict in Pakistan. (Pakistan: Founders Aspirations and Today's Realities). London: Oxford Press, 2001. p219.

²⁵ . Robert Moss. Urban Guerrillas. London : Temple and Smith, 1972. p106.

as part of the syllabus for the ‘Captain to Major’ promotion examination. Gen Zia thus Islamised the lower rungs of the Army to a large extent.²⁶

37. Pakistan Army is motivated by Islamic values and imbued with true Islamic tradition. The rank and file of Army, Lieutenant Colonel and below, have been leading and fighting alongside the Taliban in Afghanistan, with the Mujahideen in Kargil and Kashmir.²⁷ External stimuli in terms of the media hype of the Afghan war and the proxy war in Kashmir have had its effect on the Army. There is a constant struggle between forces within and outside the Army wanting it to secularize and opposite forces wanting to endorse an Islamic order.

TALIBANISATION OF PAKISTAN

38. Soon after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, General Zia allowed the establishment of a chain of *Deeni Madarassas* (religious schools) along the Pak-Afghan Border to create a bulk of religio-oriented students to reinforce the Afghan *Mujahedeen* to evict the Soviets from Afghanistan.²⁸ The same organization has established one thousand such *madarassas* of different sizes mainly in Pakistan and in some other countries. These *madarassas* have an international reputation and students not only from Pakistan but also from Afghanistan, Central Asian Republics, Iran, India, Bangladesh and many Muslim countries come here for studies. The Taliban is also a product of these

²⁶ . Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr. *Op cit.* pp 105-112.

²⁷ Babar Shah. The Myth of Talibanisation of Pakistan. www.Talibanisation of Pakistan.com 15 November 2001 (Accessed on 01 Apr 2010). Pp21-25.

²⁸ Ibid.

madarassas. Some of them, however, led to the creation of religious groups with very rigid attitudes. Every *madarassa* attracted volunteer students because besides education, food, accommodation and clothing are all offered free of cost. „All *madarassas also* impart free military training²⁹.

39. Local Pakistani Taliban have begun reinforcing the Afghan Taliban model by asking the males to sport long beards, banning VCR, TV, movies and music in the North - Western Region. In Khyber Agency, a fundamentalist organization called the *Tehreeke-Ittehad-e-Ulama-e-Qabil* is running a parallel administration to the administrative set up of the Pakistani Government. The emergence of such fanatic fundamental religious movements in other parts of Pakistan is a distinct possibility particularly in areas where poverty, unemployment and illiteracy are common and where the feudal hold remains strong. **Islamic fundamentalist organisations** reach out to these **poverty stricken masses** with **relief** and **acquire immediate followers**. So the Islamic fundamentalism of Pakistan, started by myopic interests of Pakistan leaders and Army, has resulted in Talibanisation of it's own society and the poison is fast spreading.³⁰

²⁹ . Nadeem F Paracha. 'Bhutto's Folk Islam'. New Delhi: *Asian Age*, New Delhi, 06 April 2010. P 04.

³⁰ . Chandran Nandy. Madrassas in Border Areas a Menace, Says IB Report. The Times of India: New Delhi, 27 August 2001. p3.

PART-III

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM: CAUSE OF FAILING

PAKISTAN

Pakistan is ranked 'Tenth' in the Failed States of the World in 2010.³¹

INTRODUCTION

40. Pakistan is moving up the chart of failing states index in the world with every passing year. In 2010, it has moved up to tenth place. Is Pakistan failing under the weight of Islamic extremism? Is the obsession of promoting extremism and now terrorism for political gains pulling it down under its own weight? Is **Islamabad the next target** of Taliban and Al-Qaeda after reclaiming Afghanistan from USA. Can al-Qaeda grab the country's nuclear weapons? These are the type of questions, which are creating anxiety in India and the world today. The **failing infrastructure** and **absence of good governance**, as exposed through **law and order break-downs**, **declining economic and social indicators** and inability to handle disasters like earth quakes and floods, further portray an overall dismal scenario.

TURBULENT HISTORY

41. Despite attaining independence through a constitutional struggle, Pakistan

³¹ . www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4350&page=0. (Accessed on 23 Jul 2010). Reported in Times of India, New Delhi. 22 July 2010. p17.

has yet to establish a stable political system based on a broadly accepted constitutional consensus. Selected patronage, **financial dishonesty**, and **feudalism** continue to devastate its political culture. Consequently, the country has passed through **four distinct phases of martial law**: 1958-69, 1969-71, 1977-88, and 1999-2008. Even though each military dictator was eventually forced out through public pressure (except for General Zia, who was assassinated in a plane crash at a time when his “popularity” was at its lowest), the influence and power of the military remains. As a result, even after 63 years, **Pakistani democracy is yet to stabilise.**

42. The country has a unique constitutional experience, as it has witnessed **frequent and drastic constitutional changes** in the form of three permanent constitutions, several provisional constitutions (under military rulers), and a series of major amendments to the present (1973) constitution. All of this has forced the system to oscillate between presidential and parliamentary forms of government. These recurrent and regular changes have also **created political instability and unreliability** in the relationship between democratic institutions and the powerful civil-military bureaucracy. Moreover, the various regimes in power used the constitutions as instruments to pursue vested interests.³²

RISE OF EXTREMISM : ROADMAP TO FAILURE

Islamic Identity

43. **Islamisation of Society.** At the state’s inception in 1947, most of

³² . Hassan Abbas. ‘Pakistan can Defy the Odds.: How to Rescue a Failing State’ . Islamabad. Institute of Social Policy and Understanding. May 2009..p 11. ([www.ispu.org/Pakistan can Defy the Odds](http://www.ispu.org/Pakistan%20can%20Defy%20the%20Odds)). Assessed on 20 July 2010.

the religious parties were against the very idea of Pakistan. However, as the country was created for pursuing and safeguarding the interests of the subcontinent's Muslims, the political leadership, despite being secular, used the **slogan of Islam to mobilize the masses**. Mohammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), Pakistan's founding father, and many other stalwarts were highly educated and liberal people who were fully committed to making Pakistan a democratic Muslim state. Jinnah's death 13 months after the creation of Pakistan shifted the balance of power, and the new leadership (comprising many feudal landowners) resorted to Islam to create national unity and order. However, **General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq**, as head of the state (1977-88), redefined Pakistan by **pursuing his political ambitions via appeasing religious political forces** and introducing a set of archaic and very orthodox religious laws that, over time, empowered conservative and extremist elements. Over A period of time, a **new brand of religious fanatics was created**, who were primarily interested in two things – killing the 'infidel' or getting killed to earn a ticket to heaven. They influenced the mind-set of so many Pakistanis. Slowly and surely, the state of Pakistan was getting into a extreme form of Islam³³.

44. **Dogmatic Theology**. It is important for the Muslim community to understand that Islam, which developed 1400 years ago on the Arabian Peninsula was a legal code specific to the nomad society, which then existed. Now this legal code aspires to become fulcrum of social administration in the modern day world. In this **secular age, rational philosophy** as opposed to **dogmatic theology** is the need of the hour and Muslims must be loyal to the religious demands of Islamic traditions and yet simultaneously responsive to the rational and critical pressures of the present. Muslims, especially in Pakistan, face an **in-**

³³ . Mohammad Taqi, 'Taller Than His Mountains: Afzal Khan of Swat', *Watandost*, 24 April 2009. (<http://watandost.blogspot.com/2009/04/taller-thanhis-mountains-afzal-khan-of.html>). Accessed on 28 June 2010.

tellectual and moral challenge. The Quran’s warning should awaken them from their stupor:

“Verily, never will God change the condition

*Of the people until they change it themselves”.*³⁴

Growing Extremism

45. **Recognition of Religious Extremism.** The Swat deal, in which the government of Pakistan (practically under duress) agreed to introduce religious (*qazi*) courts for implementing a controversial version of the Sharia law, backfired when Sufi Mohammad, the leader of Tanzim-e-Nifaz-Shariati-Mohammadi (TNSM) started making outrageous statements that provoked a public backlash: **“Democracy is un-Islamic,”** **“Islam doesn’t permit women to go out of homes except for performing Hajj in Mecca,”** **“Women are not permitted to get education,”** and **“the judiciary in Pakistan and the country’s constitution are unislamic,”** and others. With the collapse of the Swat deal, however, TNSM armed vigilantes and TTP **militants have resurfaced** in Swat and adjoining areas and are **openly challenging Islamabad’s writ.** In order to gain political mileage, rulers in Pakistan have often resorted to Religious fervor. This unfortunate trend has resulted in slow but sure recognition of extremism and defeat of moderate Muslim psyche.

46. **Indoctrination by Madrasas.** According to the findings of field interviews conducted in Pakistan during 2008, **“Pakistani youth want to study”** and **“the demand for education extends throughout Pakistani society.”** It also quotes a national survey of adolescents conducted shortly after 9/11 in Pakistan that found that **85 percent of boys wanted to study** through high school or uni-

³⁴ . Elahi, F. ‘Muslim Population’. www.Felahi.com, 05 September 2001 (Accessed on 15 Apr 2010).

versity, while **69 percent of girls** aspired to at least a high-school diploma. The **lack of public schools enables space** for *madrasas* to attract students. The extremist brand of *madrasas* that **encourages sectarianism** and violence are benefitted due to this lack of good educational Institutions.³⁵

47. **Proliferation of Militancy.** Open **patronage of militants** operating in Kashmir and Afghanistan with support of Army and Government machinery for a long time has resulted in **mushrooming of large no of militant groups**, who are now getting out of the hands of their mentors. Large no of militant groups with names changing so often and dynamic alliances has dangerously proliferated the religious militancy in Pakistan society. Mushrooming of new militant groups, linkages with *madrasa* networks associated with militancy, and making inroads into the state's security structure, **militancy has spread like virus** in the entire Pak society, threatening it's very existence.

48. **Expanding Talibanization.** Years of **criminal neglect**, the **sheer incompetence** of Pakistan's law enforcement and intelligence services, failure of governance, and the delay in devising an effective counter-terrorism and counter insurgency policy has helped the Taliban and other extremist groups expand their activities and influence from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and even beyond – most recently in Punjab. The progressive **loosening of Pakistan's writ in FATA** have exacerbated this crisis. The taliban today effectively enforce their primitive **dictates of distorted Islam**. Power has gradually **shifted to the young radicals**. As a result, **Islamabad's representatives** (viz., “political agents”) there **lack effective control**. In NWFP, the Taliban is **enforcing their extrem-**

³⁵ . Mc Cord Andy. 'A Different Kind of Partner: A Paradigm for Democracy and Counter-Terrorism in Pakistan'. New York: *Network 20/20*, October 2008. p 5. www.network2020.org. ((Accessed on 25 Apr 2010).

ist version of religious ideals and expanding their influence.³⁶ The devastating impact of suicide bombings around Pakistan has created **widespread fear and insecurity**. On average, in 2008, Pakistan experienced one suicide bombing every five days.³⁷

Neglect of Development

49. **Anti - India Stance.** Right from day one as an independent state, Pakistan perceived itself as a **state under severe threat from India**. It cannot be ignored that **partition** created an unparalleled devastation, for **17 million people** were shunted across the sub-continent to reach their designated homelands and around a million simply vanished. Deep suspicion has defined the India-Pakistan relationship ever since. Hence, **Pakistan's fear from India** drives its **domestic** as well as **foreign policies** and was responsible for provoking Pakistan's pursuance of nuclear weapons. Pakistan also supported insurgent and militant groups in Kashmir ever since the 1990s to "bleed India." Given the overall context, **India's growing stature** and **better ties with USA and other foreign countries**, in recent years are viewed with **great suspicion** by Pakistan's security apparatus. This suspicion about India doesn't let Pakistan think rationally. The **focus** is on **Anti-India stance** rather than **development**.³⁸

50. **Lack of Development.** The result of anti India psyche is Pakistan's **massive military spending** to the detriment of national development. Rather than buildings schools, hospitals, and dams for electricity generation, Pakistan invested in buying fighter aircraft, submarines, and military hardware. The **military establishment** has expanded its role far beyond the national secu-

³⁶ . Sabrina Tavernise, Richard A. Opiel Jr., and Eric Schmitt. 'United Militants Threaten Pakistan's Populous Heart'. *New York Times*, 13 April 2009. p14.

³⁷ . Hassan Abbas. 'From FATA to NWFP: Taliban Expand Their Grip in Pakistan'. Islamabad: *CTC Sentinel* 1, no. 10, September 2008. pp213-216.

³⁸ . Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal. 'Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy'. London and New York: *Routledge*, 1998. p 190.

riety requirements. The state of **education** is **primitive** and lack of good education facilities are driving the youth towards madrasas, which convert them to religious fanatics. There is total **neglect of infrastructure development** with limited industrial development. This has created **large scale unemployment**, again driving the madrasa educated unemployed youth, towards **jihad industry**.³⁹

51. **Ill Prepared Police and Armed Forces.** Over the years, defence forces got more involved in civil affairs and in ruling the country. The **ISI** started full scale covert operations by **sponsoring terrorists** in Kashmir and Afghanistan. Therefore, it neglected it's own defence preparedness and **never prepared itself for counter-insurgency** operations. The price for the same is now being paid by Pakistan Army. The police force also got demoralized and was never equipped or trained for present day requirements. Therefore, it is **not competent to enforce law and order today**.⁴⁰

MILESTONES OF FAILING STATE

Social Upheaval

52. **Social Instability.** Pakistan's socio-political environment is presently in the throes of a **severe multi-dimensional crisis**. Ideologically, after 63 years, Pakistan is still unable to collectively agree whether they are a moderate Muslim state or an orthodox Islamic state? In terms of **identity**, are they Pakistanis

³⁹ . **'A Different Kind of Partner: A Paradigm for Democracy and Counter-Terrorism in Pakistan'**. *Network 20/20*, October 2008. p 18. www.network2020.org. ((Accessed on 25 Apr 2010).

⁴⁰ . Hassan Abbas. 'Police & Law Enforcement Reform in Pakistan: Crucial for Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism Success'. Michigan: *Report for Institute for Social Policy and Understanding*. April 2009. pp 12-16.

first and Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans and Mohajirs later or vice versa? As far as the law, constitution and the political system is concerned, the country is being torn apart by **conflicting traditions**. The Anglo-Saxon tradition, they have inherited from the colonial past, the Islamic tradition they have fostered in recent times or the authoritarian tradition which is their legacy. The three traditions co-exist in an environment of **fear, corruption and hypocrisy**. The crisis is also reflected in the nature and extent to which the constitution has been man-gled by democrats, dictators, lawyers and judges alike.

53. **Fractured Society.** Pakistan is a divided nation today and, as Professor Adil Najam insightfully says, it is “a **democratic society trapped** inside an **undemocratic state.**” The **elite** are **power hungry, feudal and corrupt** with scant regard for the poor **masses**, who are **uneducated, unemployed and indoctrinated** by **madrasas**. They have no other choice but to **join the Jihad industry**, intelligently propagated by mullah, military and the political masters to safeguard their interests. TIME magazine profiled Pakistan’s Army Chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani as being among the most influential 100 people in the world today in the category of “Leaders and Revolutionaries.” The one who really deserves to be profiled internationally is **Afzal Lala**, a now **legendary Pashtun politician** associated with the Awami National Party (ANP) who, **despite all the threats**, is staying in SWAT in his home **defying the writ** of the blood-thirsty Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan(TTP)⁴¹.

54. **Political Turmoil.** Pakistan’s foreign policy dictates their domestic policies rather than being the other way round. Therefore, there is **no long term consistency** or strength in it. The authoritarian ways of the military and **helpless position of democratic Government** has now come to stay as a regular and almost continuous feature in Pakistan. Pakistan **Army’s unwilling war against Taliban** and terrorists in Afghan border against it’s wishes and under pressure

⁴¹ . Mohammad Taqi, Op cit. pp 12-18.

from USA is creating **tremendous stress amongst the soldiers** and the society. Indeed, the argument that Pakistan is a “**failing state**” is based on perception of this **multi-dimensional crisis**.

Economic Crisis

55. **The Distressed Economy.** The basic economic statistics of Pakistan indicates that **two-thirds of the Pakistani population lives on less than \$2 a day**, with at least **one-third** of the population living **below the poverty line**. The economic growth rate is slowing, and the benefits of the previous years of economic growth never reached the vast majority of Pakistanis. Additionally, Pakistan has the **highest interest rates** in Asia, coupled with the riskiest financial obligations. As if all of this were not enough, Pakistan’s already weak currency has **lost 20 percent of its value since early 2008**. The country’s **national debt is about 60 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP)**, and the trade deficit is around 7.5 percent of GDP – not very encouraging signs.⁴²

56. **Energy Crisis.** Prolonged electricity shortages are further adding to the economic woes. Pakistan’s **per capita consumption** is approximately **one-fifth** of the **global average**, but the supply is dismally poor. It reflects the decades of negligence towards the energy sector. Currently, the system faces a **deficit of more than 2,000 megawatts**, which is expected to grow further at the rate of approximately 7 percent annually. This **emergency-like situation**, especially in the scorching summer, needs to be tackled but the solution is nowhere in sight. There is threat of a **social upheaval** due to **energy crisis**, which can be exploited by anti-democratic forces⁴³.

⁴² . Sher Baz Khan. ‘Pakistan’s economy still not out of the woods’. Islamabad: *Dawn*, 5 May 2009. p7.

⁴³ . Vivian Salama. ‘Pakistan Grapples with Energy Crisis’. Islamabad: *The National*, 22 April 2009. p9.

57. **Higher Military Spending.** The Pakistan's **massive military spending**, due to **Anti India obsession**, is **disproportionate to its requirement** and therefore, impinges on the development. After the terrorist attack on 9/11 in 2001, Pakistan has received atleast **\$18 billion under various US assistance** and development schemes. India security establishments believe that as much as **\$ 14 billion** has been diverted for **modernization of armed forces** for use against India. Similarly, large amount of funds from USA and other countries provided for fight against terror and development, has been diverted by Pakistan government for purchase of military hardware and strategic weapon systems. **The nation remains neglected** at the cost of Military build up⁴⁴.

Poor Governance

58. **Education Sector.** The deplorable situation in the healthcare and education sectors is the most glaring example of **poor governance**. The following figures portray a dismal picture:-

- Pakistan spends only 2.6 % of its GDP on education.
- About 45% of children **drop out of school** without completing their elementary education.
- About one-fourth of elementary school teachers are **untrained**.
- More than **7 million** primary school-aged children (age group 5-9 years) **do not attend school**.

⁴⁴ . TOI News. 'It's Open, Pakistan Misuse Funds'. New Delhi: Times of India. New Delhi, 21 July 2010. p 01.

- Nine percent of primary schools do not have a blackboard, 24% do not have textbooks, and **46% do not even have desks.**

- Only 36% of the public primary schools have electricity,
- According to 2006 data, out of a total of 150,644 government schools (from grade 1 to 12), **3,572 have no building structure**; 29,020 are without electricity; 18,515 have no furniture; 17,631 have insufficient furniture; and 21,636 have **no toilets.** ⁴⁵

59. **Health Sector.** The health care sector is also neglected while the government is engaged in propagating religious extremism. The glaring data given below highlights the neglect:-

- One in 23 Pakistani women **dies in childbirth**, compared to one in 5,000 women in developed countries. Each year an estimated 17,000 mothers die from pregnancy-related causes in Pakistan.

- About **400,000 infants die annually** because of diarrhea, which occurs when a majority of women do not breastfeed due to malnutrition or death during childbirth.

- Pakistan is one of only four countries where **polio has not been eradicated** (the others are Afghanistan, India, and Nigeria).

- In FATA, 135 out of every 1000 children under the age of five die from **curable illnesses.**

⁴⁵ . UNESCO. 'The Education System in Pakistan: Assessment of the National Education Census'. UNESCO Report 2007. .pp 05-17. (www.un.org.pk). (Accessed on 05 Apr 2010).

- Water- and sanitation-related diseases are responsible for 60 percent of child deaths.
- There is only **one doctor for every 1,300 people**, 1 specialist for every 15,000 people, and one nurse for every 30,000 people.
- According to experts, due to unemployment, inflation, and declining purchasing power, **fewer people have access to basic healthcare.**⁴⁶

Forces Readiness

60. **Police and Law Enforcement Capacity.** The police infrastructure is one of Pakistan's most poorly managed organizations. It is aptly described as **ill-equipped, poorly trained, deeply politicized, and chronically corrupt.** The primary reason for this state of affairs is the government's **persistent failure to invest in police reform and modernization.** It is ironic that both political and military policymakers have never given this sector top priority.

61. **Ill Prepared for Counter Insurgency Role.** Historically, US support for Pakistan has always been skewed in favour of its USA's defence needs- heavy guns, tanks, officers' training and fighter aircrafts, etc. The **internal threat** to Pakistan today from **extremists is more severe** than anything Pakistan has witnessed in 63 years of its existence. To build schools and hospitals, create jobs and spur economic development, the security environment in Pakistan has to improve significantly. The Army itself sponsoring insurgency and terrorism, never felt the need for counter terrorism operations and hence **never**

⁴⁶ . A. Islam. 'Health Sector Reform in Pakistan: Future Directions'. Karachi: *Journal of the Pakistan Medical Association* 52, NO. 4 (2002): pp 74-82.

equipped and trained for it. Today, it is finding difficult to perform that role in FATA and SWAT.⁴⁷

SIGNS OF HOPE

External Factors

62. A unstable Pakistan in the neighbourhood is not in India's Interest. The people of Pakistan have displayed great resilience in the face of numerous political upheavals. Some of the factors which indicate signs of hope are as discussed subsequently.

63. **Islamic Support.** Pakistan considered itself politically a self styled messiah of the Islamic cause and has derived considerable mileage from it in the past. It cannot be believed that some kind of a psychological and financial ballast, from the Arab world will not be forthcoming, should Pakistan be at the verge of collapse.

64. **The Geo-Strategic Advantage.** The geo-strategic location of Pakistan on the fringe of the oil rich Gulf countries, a possible sea route for the Central Asian Republics and its proximity to India as a countervailing force in South Asia, makes it a country of natural choice for future geo-strategic re-alignments. Also, its new found importance as buffer state to terrorist centers is well established. Now, with USA looking for honourable exit from Afghanistan, Pakistan is occupying centre stage as peace broker between Western allies and the so called moderate talibans. This has again given Pakistan the advantage to extract a good bargain from USA and other western allies.

⁴⁷ . Hassan Abbas. 'Police & Law Enforcement Reform in Pakistan: Crucial for Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism Success'. Michigan: *Report for Institute for Social Policy and Understanding*. April 2009. pp 8-33.

65. **China's Patronage.** Pakistan's military alliance with China, a future world power, is considered as a feather in its cap. It has the ability to adopt a military strategic partnership with a future super-power. This also gives her an opening to finances, technology and even nuclear capabilities through backdoor. China will do, all it can, to rescue Pakistan from becoming a failed state.

66. **Control of Nuclear Assets.** Concern about the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons is intensifying as instability and violence continue to rise. There is some **apprehension** and **unease** about the prospect of a possible **infiltration of Pakistan's nuclear facilities by extremist elements**. The media have reported that the **United States provided approximately \$100 million from 2001-07 to improve the physical security of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal** through the transfer of "permissive action links" (PALS) technology, which is used to keep weapons from being detonated without authorization. It is, therefore, argued that **Western Countries will not like Pakistan to fail** and let the Nuclear arsenal fall into the hands of terrorists. This further provides solace to the Pakistan authorities that for their own interest, **others will not let it fail** and provide the required oxygen when required⁴⁸.

67. **World Bank.** The world bank and International Monetary funds are also **likely to step in to save Pakistan from bankruptcy**, because a failed Pakistan is not in the interest of world community. Large amount of debts already with the country from these institutions also has to be serviced and hence a **financial bailout** for failing Pakistan, as a **life saver** is very much a possibility.

Internal Factors

⁴⁸ . Peter Wonacott. 'Inside Pakistan's Drive To Guard Its A-Bombs'. New York: *The Wall Street Journal*, 29 November 2007. pp1256-1260.

68. **Freedom of Judiciary.** The success of this two-year-long defiant and sustained movement in the face of an **obstructive state machinery** and various other roadblocks has changed the country's political dynamics. In March 2007, former President Musharraf surprised many by suspending Mr. Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhry, the chief justice (CJ) of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The **CJ was progressively becoming independent** and some of his judgments went against the government's wishes. Within days, lawyers, journalists, and civil society activists came out in the streets in solidarity. In an **unprecedented move**, in July 2007, the full bench of the Supreme Court restored CJ Chaudhry. It is clear that their **trust in the country's judiciary has been largely restored**, This has potential to rescue Pakistan from sliding into lawlessness⁴⁹.

69. **Vibrant and Aggressive Media.** Democracy cannot grow in a stilted atmosphere, and there can be **no democracy without a free press** to nurture, support, and strengthen it. **Pakistan's media** has become an **influential factor** and a **powerful player** in shaping perceptions and policies. Various new progressive voices discussing political, social, as well as religious issues have emerged in recent years. This **promises a hope** of an emerging Pakistan built by **young turks**.

70. **Anti-India Cement.** Fundamentalist preaching of the Islamic clergy, especially its anti-India bias, has become fairly deep rooted in Pakistani society. **Kashmir is a good motivating factor** and acts as a good cement to bind the country together. This **anti India tirade** has been gainfully used by the rulers to consolidate their position, whenever their authority has been threatened. In future also, extremists and those in power might use this time tested card to unite Pakistan.

⁴⁹ . Hassan Abbas. 'Pakistan can Defy the Odds.: How to Rescue a Failing State' . *Islamabad. Institute of Social Policy and Understanding*. May 2009..p 14-16. ([www.ispu.org/Pakistan can Defy the Odds](http://www.ispu.org/Pakistan%20can%20Defy%20the%20Odds)). Assessed on 20 July 2010.

71. **Increasing Secular Acceptance.** The key question, therefore, is whether Pakistani Muslims will remain hostage to their sense of religious inferiority to the mullah. The **educated new generation**, though still a minority are increasingly becoming **aware of secular requirements**. The love affair of the Pakistani people with their country is a firewall that is expected to hold against religious extremism.

PART-IV

THREAT TO INDIAN SECURITY

“Persons who carry out acts of Violence are fasadis, not jihadis.

Any Muslim who distorts jihad is not a Muslim.”

M J Akbar⁵⁰

SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Background

72. Ever since Partition in 1947, the **vexing problem of Kashmir** has been **haunting the two countries**. Pakistan attempted to annex the territory by force, on three occasions, but her attempts were foiled. The **seeds of enmity** were thus sown. After Pakistan’s defeat in 1971, and the birth of the new state of Bangladesh, the enmity congealed. The principles of ‘Shariat’ and the teachings of the holy Quran were misinterpreted and the Pakistani psyche was guided towards **revenge**.

Social and Security Environment

73. **Multi Religious Character of Indian Society**. The Indian society is made up of a **multitude of religions** prominent being Hindus- 81% of the one billion population – and Muslims accounting for approximately 12% of the population. The **potential for religious tension does exist** and could well be exploited for Islamic extremism to take root in the country. This demographic

⁵⁰ . M J Akbar. Op cit. p27.

explosion with a large unemployed youth population is a major source of instability and potential threat to the countries security⁵¹.

.74. **Traditional Indo-Pak Hostility**. Pakistan's desire to avenge the defeat of 1971 and its pre-partition hatred of Hindus is the basis of this hostility. Pakistan desires to see an **India, Balkanized**. The Kashmir Problem remains at the heart of the hostility, Pakistan has for India. It firmly believes that India has a very weak hold over Kashmir and by lending it a fundamentalist Islamic colour, it can **misuse religion** and **wage a proxy war** to win over Kashmir. 56.

75. **Mismatch in Growth Potential**. The difference in the growth potential between Pakistan and India, non-consolidation of Pakistan as a strong nation state, an economy on a life support system and ambition to lead the Islamic fraternity in the 21st Century are creating a major mismatch. A convergence of aims of the State and the extremist parties creates possibilities of employing all means to overcome this gross mismatch. **India's growing influence** in the world order is also making **Pakistan worry**. It might employ all means to counter that. Pakistan therefore, is likely to resort to **time tested method of proxy war** against India using terrorists to **tie down India**⁵².

THREAT ANALYSIS

76. **Internal Dynamics and Vulnerability**. As per the latest estimates, India with **120 million Muslims** has the second largest Muslim population in the world. Most of them are having **strong linkages** in terms of **family ties** in Pakistan and the Gulf countries. The **Indian Muslims** are known to be **secular**

⁵¹. Ruchi Tyagi. 'Secularism in Multi-Religious Indian Society'. New Delhi: Deep and Deep, 2000. pp 110 - 118.

⁵². Sher Baz Khan, Op cit . pp 03-05.

in nature in consonance with the secular democratic nature of the country. However, the doctrine of **minorities appeasement** has contributed considerably to the **weakening** of the foundation of our **secular state**. A recent study has indicated that Pakistan aims at **encircling India with Islamic fundamentalist** organizations with the aim implanting in them the philosophy **Islamic Ummah**. The teaching imparted in Indian *madarassas*, funded from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, has acquired a militant tone⁵³.

77. **SIMI**. The SIMI was born in born in Aligarh on 25 April 1977 with the fundamentalist mission of ‘**infusing the spirit of Jihad in it’s adherents in the war between Islam and Kufr (un-Islamic)**’. It brazenly **advocates militancy** and has formed an armed wing called the ‘**Al Umma**’. It has strong links with terrorist Islamic groups and ideologues abroad. Pakistan based and ISI guided terrorist groups such as *Harkat-ul-Mujahedeen*, *Hizbul Mujahedeen*, *Lashka - e-Tayyeba* and *Jaish-e-Mohammed* have been actively trying to **extend their reach** into Uttar Pradesh and other parts of India.⁵⁴

78. **Pan-Islamism and Illegal Immigration**. The **unabated influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh** has been continuing since the pre-Independence. The influx of Muslims into Assam is estimated at approximately three crores. A similar phenomenon is being witnessed in the Siliguri Corridor and the states of Bihar, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Tripura and to some extent in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. There has been a marked **increase** in the number of **Muslim militant organizations** in the **North East**⁵⁵. The growing Islamic terrorism in the area further compounds the seriousness of the threat.

⁵³ Ruchi Tyagi. *Op cit*. P 29.

⁵⁴ . Amir Naqvi,. ‘Motivated Cadres Offer Pakistani Militants a Base in UP’. *The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 26 October 2008, p 7.

⁵⁵ . Chandran Nandy. *Loc cit*.

79. **The Kashmir Issue.** The Valley has a 97% Muslim population, comprising mainly of Sunnis with a *Shia* minority and approximately 3 percent Sikhs. The JEI has slowly consolidated its influence in Kashmir Valley. Islamic extremist groups have always tried to **impose strict Islamic codes** on the local population. The **rise of Islamic ideology** facilitated the emergence of a tight link between the Kashmiri insurgents, their supporters and Islamabad. Pakistan's ISI is **instigating the proxy war in Kashmir**. After these Islamic terrorist groups have come on the scene, there has been a perceptible extremist / **communal colouration** in the character of militancy in Kashmir. There are 34 terrorist organizations and all these have strong sunni character⁵⁶.

80. **Talibanisation in the Neighbourhood.** Religious extremists, non-state actors and terrorist groups in Pakistan have been misinterpreting Quranic injunctions essentially to incite unjustified violence, disobedience of official state decrees, **misleading and religiously forcing common masses** / target populace to follow the incorrect path. The Pakistani army is also being motivated by the call of *Jihad* against the Infidels (Indians). If extremist political parties are able to set up an **Islamic extremist regime** in Pakistan, the impact on Indian and global security would be grave.

FORCES OF HOPE

81. A land of a billion people, speaking in **15 major languages** and a thousand dialects, **worshipping in eight major and countless minor religious traditions**, India offers a beacon to the world, especially to the Middle East, showing how to restrain the sword of religious-political fundamentalism and how to **co-exist in relative harmony**. After centuries of foreign rule, India has emerged

⁵⁶ . Anwar H Syed. *Op.cit.* pp 53-56.

as a unique model of **secular democracy** and pluralism in the post-colonial world.

82. The greatest challenge to India's faiths and culture came from immigrant religions. However, choosing **secular democracy** and **embracing all religions and ethnicities**, India has gladly accepted and integrated second largest Muslim community in the world. Eventually, India has become a truly **multi-cultural** and **multireligious society**. Barring occasional religious and communal conflicts, a **billion people continue to live quite peacefully**. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and all others share a common **bond of Indianness**. India has managed to **focus on the people's development**, harnessing their energies for industrial, scientific, technological, and educational development.

PART-V

IMPACT ON GLOBAL SECURITY

“Step by Step, almost imperceptibly, mankind has descended into the age of terror”.

Paul Johnson⁵⁷

GLOBAL SECURITY CONCERNS

83. **Pan- Islamic Extremism.** Islamic extremism has its origin in the Middle East and the Indian Sub-Continent. Six factors account for this: Islam’s militarism, its proximity, its indigestibility, its victimization and its growth. Islam also has **difficulty living with other religions** as other religions have trouble accommodating Islam. The **Islamic extremism originating from Pakistan** also **adversely affects** the regional and **global security**.

84. **Non State Terrorism.** Osama Bin Laden embarked upon his avatar of a holy warrior in 1979. He heads the Al Qaida multi terrorist group and through it orchestrates the activities of Islamic militants worldwide using an extensive international network to maintain a **loose contact between Muslim extremists** in diverse countries. Al Qaida’s primary goal is to overthrow what it sees as corrupt and heretical governments of Muslim states and their replacement with the **rule of Shariah**. Al Qaida is intensely anti-Western and views **USA as its prime enemy**. Through the ISI and Pakistan Army, Al Qaida network is sup-

⁵⁷ . Paul Johnson. ‘The Age of Terrorism’. London: *New Statesman*,1974. p.02.

porting and regularly feeding trained and rabidly Islamic militants in Kashmir and the ongoing *Jihads* in other parts of the world. The **common denominator** of the current threat emanates from Islamic **extremists and terrorism represented by the ‘Pakistani and Afghan Alumni’**. The **Al Qaida-Taliban-ISI nexus** as exporter of terrorism is a major security concern.

85. **Religious Extremism Against Minorities.** The attacks on the World Trade Center in New York (9/11) and the American retaliation in Afghanistan was also the beginning of a **cultural-religious war**, a war between fundamentalist Islam and the rest of the world both liberal democratic countries and moderate Muslim countries. May be the Huntington’s theory of clash of civilisations is gaining credibility.⁵⁸ In Muslim majority Pakistan, the retaliation came in the form of a massacre of the minority Christian community by armed members of the Sunni fundamentalist group *Sipah-e-Sahiba*⁵⁹. Religiously motivated violence against minorities is expected to spread, across the globe, if extremism is not controlled.

86. **Weapons of Mass Destruction.** The second, and the more dangerous, regional and global, threat posed by Bin Laden are his extreme attitude towards the use of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). **Probable source** for this capability becoming available to the Al Qaida is through an **irrational fundamentalist regime in Pakistan**, which is a declared Islamic nuclear capable nation. Bin Laden has repeatedly declared that his **religious belief is that Islamic forces must possess nuclear power** in order to meet the challenge of

⁵⁸ . Samuel P Huntington. The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the World Order. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996. p 36.

⁵⁹ . Jay Mallin . Terrorism as a Military Weapon. *Air University Review*, Vol.xxviii, No.2. Jan/Feb 2007. p 156.

their adversaries. He sees *Jihad* as necessary to raise the Muslim world above the world of *Kafirs*⁶⁰.

THE SOUTH ASIAN ENVIRONMENT

87. **Complex Ethnic Culture.** The South Asian Region, geographically vast, with over one and a half billion people, and a **multiplicity of religions, nations, linguistic and ethnic groups** - has no parallel in any other part of the world. India's **sheer expanse** and **proximity to ethnic groups** amongst its neighbours necessitate not only a high degree of sensitivity to conflicts outside its borders. Every country in the region has experienced **massive collective violence**, in the form of terrorism, propagated in the name of Islam. This is striking at the **very secular fabric** of this **multi-ethnic region**.

88. **Growing Religious Extremism.** **Religion** had been, and will continue to remain a recurring **cause for conflict** in the region; and as a consequence, the **growth of International Terrorism**. The successes of the Taliban in Afghanistan again, with the tacit support of Pakistan, has **ominous portends** for the region. An Islamic fundamentalist revolution of a kind that was witnessed in Iran in 1979, **may percolate to neighbouring areas**. Pakistan is a key player in the **use of religious fanaticism for exporting terror**. The various strategies adopted by Pakistan, is in keeping with its quest to become the leader of the Islamic World.⁶¹

⁶⁰ . Stefan Leader. Osama Bin Laden's Quest for Weapons of Mass Destruction. *Jane's Intelligence Review*, June 1999. pp 66-68.

⁶¹ . S K Sinha. 'Trans-Regional Movements of Populations: Implications for India's Security'. *USI Journal*, October –December 2000. p 54.

89. **Impact on Neighbouring Regions.** Xinjiang (China) has a population of 15 million with **more than half of them being Muslims**. China is worried about the Pan-Turkish and Pan-Islamic movements in this area. **Radical Islamic thinking, with its origin in Pakistan/Turkey** or in the Central Asian Republics. Pakistan is known to be **backing and training Uzbek, Tajik and Kyrgyz militants** for carrying out terrorist activities in Central Asian Republics (CARs) with the motive of **establishing Islamic governments throughout Central Asia**. The CARs harbour deep fears of spread of extremist Islamic insurgency from Pakistan and Afghanistan especially so because most of them share borders with the latter.

90. **Trans-Border Migration of Populations.** Illegal trans-border migration of millions of people over the years, especially into India has **altered demographic patterns in specific regions**. In the Indian context, the influx from Bangla Desh and Nepal to the North Eastern States of Assam and Tripura and in the South, the exodus of Sri Lankan Tamils to Tamil Nadu, has created conditions of instability in these regions. Similar situations would be prevalent on the Afghanistan - Pakistan border and also along the **borders of Afghanistan with Turkmenistan, Iran, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan**. This trend has the potential to generate **violent ethnic turbulences** due to xenophobic brands of terrorism of the types witnessed in Serbia and Croatia.

91. **Narcotics, Trade and Black Marketing.** Abject poverty among the teeming millions from various countries, in the region, has created an environment conducive for **large scale illegitimate activities**. This region has many non-military threats such as **poverty, illegal drug trafficking and black marketing** which are endemic to almost all countries.⁶² Due to inefficient formal trading arrangements among the neighbours, a **burgeoning black market**

⁶² . Gen Aslam Beg. 'Defence Planning in The Era of Strategic Uncertainty'. Paper Presented at *Conference on Asian Security*, New Delhi, 27-28 January 1999.

has emerged in the region with a capital turnover far in excess of the official trade. India has slowly emerged as a **major transit route of this illegal trade**.

IMPACT ON GLOBAL SECURITY

92. **Geo-Political Perceptions.** **China**, in their march towards becoming a major power in the region, will continue to keep India engaged in internal and low level external conflicts, to prevent it from emerging as a competitor. Her transfer of arms, missile technology and nuclear know-how to Pakistan, and her attempts to **wean away our regional neighbours**, are all endeavours in this direction. In spite of conciliatory gestures and various agreements, India continues to be viewed by its smaller neighbours as a potential hegemon. This has created an **environment inimical to Indian interests** and security concerns. **Islamic terrorism is a potent weapon** in the hands of adversaries to **tie down India** and slow down its economic development. This has serious implications, if not addressed by India in the near term⁶³.

93. **Afghanistan Settlement.** Situation in Afghanistan will continue to remain **unstable** not merely because of the internal turmoil, but due to the **multiplicity of outside interests** and players in the region. USA and Western powers are looking for an honourable exit from Afghanistan, realizing the futility of prolonged engagement there. Once that comes about in 2011, the Islamic fundamentalists turned terrorists will have a free hand to operate in Kashmir and other parts of the world with **Pakistan and Afghanistan being used as a firm**

⁶³ . BG Verghese. 'It's Crystal Clear'. *Deccan Herald*, New Delhi, 02 Nov 2009. p 7.

base for all such operations, as was being done before 9/11. There is potential here, for a commonality of purpose and the conditions for the forming of an alliance led by India, ringing around Afghanistan and Pakistan.

94. **Pak Sponsored Terrorism.** Afghanistan and Kashmir have brought **infamy** on the country (**Pakistan**). In the past, terrorists involved in major strikes in the west, have moved freely in and out of Pakistan. **Pakistanis also constitute the greatest number of “foreign fighters” in Afghanistan.** Pakistan sponsored terrorism having its roots in Islamic extremism, is largely becoming a serious threat to the global security.

95. **The Islamic Card.** The Middle East, with its vast resources of oil is important to both India and Pakistan. Pakistan enjoys a more favourable equation with the countries in this region due to the **Islamic Card** that they have so cleverly played. Pakistan will never give up her proclaimed aim of liberating Kashmir (read annexation) and the leadership of Islamic Countries. Projecting itself as the **saviour of Islam.**

PART VI

RECOMMENDATIONS

General

96. The Failed States Index 2010, developed by the Foreign Policy/Fund for Peace, ranks Pakistan as one of the world's weakest countries – **Tenth** of 177 – most at risk of failure. Clearly, the challenges of **militancy, weak governance, and economic insecurity** are feeding each other in a **dangerous cycle**, which must be broken if Pakistan is to be saved. A failed state is not in the interest of Pakistan society or the world. Certainly, India would also like to have a stable and peaceful Pakistan as it's western neighbour. Therefore, the recommendations for the policy makers of Pakistan, India and the world are elucidated in the subsequent paragraphs.

Recommendations for Pakistan

97. **New Social Order.** The government should offer a **new social contract** to the people, one designed to cure ethnic ruptures and class divisions. Nothing short of **major policy and administrative changes**, in terms of provincial autonomy, will work. Similarly, scrapping **colonial era laws** require major legal remedies. Parliament should begin a consultative and legislative process to restore a new social order, for long term **ethnic integrity**.

98. **Defeat Talibanisation.** In the present circumstances, when the fundamentalism has been nurtured for the last 63 years, it's very difficult to curb the spread of fextremism but then there are no shortcuts. The **talibanisation** of Pakistan will have to be **ruthlessly curbed** for the survival of Pakistan.

They have to devise ways to encourage **progressive religious secular forces** and by funding their publications and ensuring their security. Radio and Television in Pakistan must be modernized with the clear objective to **win this war of ideas**.

99. **ISI Sponsorship of Terrorism.** ISI has been in notoriety for funding and helping terrorists operating in Afghanistan and Kashmir . These terrorists are now turning to their mentors and Pakistan is in the **process of fragmentation by imploding**. However, ISI has assumed an autonomous status and is continuing in the same direction unmindful of long term consequences. Difficult for Army but then somehow, the **ISI** will have to **mend it's ways** if Pakistan has to survive and progress.

100. **Madrasas.** Close down the *madrasas* associated with militant and banned groups. **Taking over of all *madrasas*** by the government directly may invite a backlash. Alongside strict action should be taken against *madrasas* found involved in imparting militancy training and the recognized private *madrasa* boards should be brought under a **new independent regulatory authority**. In this context, it must also be studied why Musharraf's efforts on similar lines failed. At the same time, public schools capable of imparting good **modern education** to the youth should be developed with public-private-partnership.

101. **Security Environment.** To build schools and hospitals, create jobs and spur economic development, the **security environment** in Pakistan has to **improve significantly**. Police and civilian law enforcement agencies are the most appropriate institutions to spearhead that effort countrywide. The rule of law requiring an effective criminal justice system and independent judiciary also needs a competent law enforcement infrastructure.

102. **Economic Growth.** Pakistan needs urgent investments in infrastructure development and industrial development. It needs to attract **foreign investments under PPP model** as done by India. Pakistan should open up economy taking clues from **development success story of China and India**. This will also help in creating employment and divert the youth from Jihad and terrorism.

103. **Modernisation of Police Force.** There is urgent need to undertake the massive and long overdue **overhaul of the police**, law enforcement, and intelligence service – with a special focus on their institutional aspects. The aspects that need special attention are implementation of the **2002 Police Act**, more resources for **training, equipment and forensic support**, upgrading Federal Investigation Agency and National Police Bureau, and finally emphasis on **‘intelligence lead policing’**⁶⁴.

104. **Education and Healthcare.** Major investments in education and healthcare reform should be made without any further delay, while recognizing that **making governance effective** requires a set of measures to strengthen and reconfigure existing state structures and instruments of governance. Pakistan’s **budgetary allocation** in these two sectors should be **doubled** straight away – to focus initially on providing text books to all enrolled students (at the least) and better incentives for doctors (and other medical staff) to go to rural healthcare centers (which are ‘functioning’ without doctors in many cases).

⁶⁴ . Hassan Abbas. ‘Police & Law Enforcement Reform in Pakistan: Crucial for Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism Success’. Michigan: *Report for Institute for Social Policy and Understanding*. April 2009. p 106.

105. **Security of Strategic Assets.** Pakistan needs to streamline nuclear decision-making processes, institutionalize civilian oversight of the nuclear program, and make **security of the nuclear arsenal** the top security goal. This is required to put the fears of the world to rest that these assets can fall into terrorist's hands. Though security of the nuclear infrastructure should be left to the armed forces specialized units, the **civilian involvement in auditing** of funds meant for nuclear programme is important. It needs to be recognized that the **missile race with India** is something totally **unnecessary** and **wasteful** given Pakistan's economic plight.

106. **Indo Pak Dialogue.** Pakistan should take the clue from **India's development story**. She should stop the Anti India tirade and focus on development. There is urgent need to revive the peace process with India with a focus on people-to-people contact and expansion of trade relations. Unconditional revival of the bilateral talks is the first step. More cooperation in the Mumbai terror attack investigations can rebuild the relations to the level observed before 2007.

Recommendations for India

107. **Diplomatic Relations.** Many analysts believe that all that India can do is to **benignly neglect Pakistan**. This is a strategy, which still does not take account of where Pakistan would be in 10 or 15 years. Sadly, neighbours don't ever go away. A failed Pakistan will continue to export its anarchy, across the borders. Different end states of Pakistan will also attract different countries into Pakistan, thereby affecting geopolitics. China and the US would have deep interests in Pakistan for a long time,. It is therefore, imperative that India **remains engaged** with Pakistan even if responses are cold. The democratic government, though weak, carries a beacon of hope. If India ignores Pakistan now, it will find it more difficult to engage with a radical and fragmented political set

up, in future. It is necessary to have **balance, mature judgment, objectivity, patience and a cautious approach**. We should not nurture the ambition of solving every thing with Pakistan during our lifetime⁶⁵.

108. **Defence Ties and Cooperation**. **Army** remains the **most important** factor, but is the least predictable as its importance remains throughout. General Kayani has been given extension for next three years, since he emerges as most important political factor in the Pakistan decision making. He also controls the **ISI** which is pursuing it's own agenda of **mentoring and aiding terrorists**. If a policy shift in Pakistan's sponsoring of terrorists is to come, it can only be done by Army Chief. Like US, India should also acknowledge this and engage with Pak Army for **better defence ties**, border management, anti-infiltration activities and **military cooperation** for long term.

109. **Economic Cooperation**. India has strong financial health to help Pakistan in **development and infrastructure buildup**. **SAARC** provides a good platform for this **cooperation**. **Free trade agreement** between the two countries will be a **win-win situation** for both. It is advisable that we keep the Kashmir issue on back burner and actively **engage in economic ties**. These will result in better ties with the younger generation and fading away of mutual distrust between the two neighbours.

110. **Confidence Building**. There is a large amount of **trust deficit** between the two countries and it is **not so simple to bridge this gap**. Support for the India-Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline should also be viewed favourably as that would send a positive message to the whole region. Specific allocation of some development funds for both sides of the Kashmir encouraging increased **social, polit-**

⁶⁵ . Raja Menon and Rajiv Kumar. ' The long View from Delhi'. New Delhi: Academic Foundation. April 2010. pp 40-46.

ical and trade relations between the two will also increase reconciliation and **trust building** between Pakistan and India.

111. **Cultural Exchange.** The population of the two countries primarily come from the same stock and share **strong ethnic and cultural bonds**. The hatred generated by **trauma** of the **partition** and three wars is slowly waning. The younger generation is keen to move ahead and **build better relationship**. More **people to people contacts** and **cultural ties** will help in building trust, respect and friendship between the neighbours and eventually peaceful co-existence for development of the two countries.

Recommendations for the World|

112. **Us Foreign Policy.** Developing and implementing an effective policy toward Pakistan is one of the most complicated and yet important **foreign policy challenges** facing the Obama administration. The disciplined and effective implementation of a development aid policy cannot succeed without adequate oversight. USA should develop a **comprehensive, collaborative, and transparent policy** approach toward Pakistan by involving all of its major institutional and political players. The **accountability factor** in the aids and financial help should be incorporated. The US administration should pursue **institutional commitments** in this regard⁶⁶.

113. **Friendly Foreign Countries.** Better **coordination** with EU and ‘Friends of Pakistan’ consortium should be maintained so as to avoid duplication. The Islamic countries of the Middle can also be expected to help Pakistan get out of Mess and stand on two feet. **Better diplomacy** is also the need of the hour to save Pakistan.

⁶⁶ . Hassan Abbas. ‘President Obama’s Policy Options in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA)’. *Report for the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding*, 26 January 2009. pp306-310.

114. **Allay Security Fears of Pakistan.** The World community must **accept** Pakistan as a **nuclear weapons state**. Pakistani perceptions and concerns on the subject should be openly discussed in bilateral discussions as such theories are entrenched in the Pakistani mindset and consequently **cause distrust**.

115. **Financial Support.** According to the latest “Review of the Economic Situation (July-March 2008-09)” conducted by Pakistan’s Ministry of Finance, in lieu of the \$7.6 billion economic stabilization program by the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, the **economy is regaining some confidence**. Pledged support of \$5.3 billion for budget support and other aid from the “**Friends of Pakistan**” Consortium, which met in Japan in April 2009, as well as the introduction of the awaited Kerry- Lugar bill in the Congress that proposes \$1.5 billion in annual development aid, are expected to ease the financial pressure. Still, a quick economic turnaround is unlikely.⁶⁷ For creating an effective oversight mechanism, the helping countries should consider the following:-

- Ensure that money is spent on the projects it is intended for.
- Involve prominent and respected Pakistanis in the **monitoring** process.
- Involve Pakistani-Americans as “bridge-builders” when differences as to priorities arise.
- Avoid linking aid to any one party or government. Deal with Democratically elected Government.
- Disburse the aid in a phased manner – based on **periodic reviews**.

116. **Assist in Development.** Place top priority on education and health sector reform while ensuring that Pakistan utilizes American funds in addition to,

⁶⁷ . Brian Katulas. ‘A New Policy Toward Pakistan’. Washington DC: ‘*Testimony before the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Subcommittee on National Security and Foreign Affairs*’. 24 September 2008.

rather than in place of, its own budgetary provisions. The focus should be on supporting greater **access to healthcare** especially for women and children. As regards **education**, the focus must be on increasing the capacity of primary, secondary, and vocational institutions. **Infrastructure development** should also be taken on by **foreign direct investment**, since it requires large capital investments. This will help in **industrial development, employment generation** and **prosperity** to the masses.

117. **Humanitarian Aid to Pakistan.** Friendly countries should come up with a ‘Humanitarian Aid Package’ for internally displaced people of FATA and the Swat region. The **2005 earthquake relief efforts by the US**, which were highly appreciated by ordinary Pakistanis, should be the **model**. The drone attacks have increasingly proved to be counter-productive, especially in terms of its adverse affect on public opinion and its value to the Taliban as a propaganda tool. The ‘collateral damage’ and its impact outweighs the limited successes in accurately hitting some terrorists. There is a need for the international community to **heal the wounds** by providing humanitarian packages. The present floods in Pakistan (Aug 2010) provide an **excellent opportunity** to show the sincerity of cause.

CONCLUSION

118. **Extremism** finds its roots in the **backwardness of society, social deprivation, a low level of consciousness, poverty and ignorance**. The religious extremism now propounded by Islamic fundamentalists and converted to terrorism for political motives, is clearly evident in Pakistan. An already **unstable** state, further destabilising might **result in Pakistan becoming a failed state**. This could have numerous **consequences for India...** mostly pretty bad. A military solution has been presented as an immediate step to an ultimate, lasting solution to fight against extremism. However, a military solution is a short-term strategy, while the long-term strategy requires reforms and more development.

119. The **terrorism** has assumed **international character** in the 21st century. For the fight against religious fanatics to advance, it has to start with the political will to **separate religion from the state**. A programme to fight the religious extremists has to combine dealing with fascist forces from their strongholds along with an overall plan of action in **economic, political and social** fields. The international character of religious extremism and terrorism requires the nations of the world to **cooperate, to combat** it. What is needed is a combination of **determined national policy, bold legislation (both national and international)** and a **will to enforce**. The issue is one of **survival of Pakistan** as nation state and it's **outcome affects all**.