

Chapter 2

Pakistan's Fight against Terrorism

At the end of March 2009 the US government announced a new strategy on Afghanistan and Pakistan. The United States made it clear that its aims include the dismantlement of the terrorist network, and to enhance civilian control in Pakistan. Under this new strategy, the status of Pakistan has slightly changed from a partner of the United States in the struggle against terrorism to a country that must be carefully managed so as not to allow it to become another hotbed of terrorism. Pakistan's federal government has little control over the tribal areas, which provide a safe haven for militant organizations. The US government is not entirely satisfied with Pakistan's performance in combating the militants. Recently, it is openly argued that the "Mullah-military alliance" is the cause of concern. Some analyses go as far as to present a scenario in which Pakistani state is seized by a jihadist element.

Internally, Pakistan has yet to obtain a consensus on the issue of the state and Islam, and the successive governments have tended to make use of Islam for their own interest to strengthen the regime's legitimacy. Moreover, in light of the government's strategic perceptions that overemphasize the threat posed by India, Islamic militant activities in Afghanistan and Kashmir have been thought to be of benefit. Support provided to the mujahideen fighters in Afghanistan in the 1980s is the origin of present situation in which the tribal areas of Pakistan have become a breeding ground of new extremist movements. There are two major issues at the root of the difficulties that Pakistan faces in its fight against terrorism: the role of Islam as Pakistan's political identity, and the civil-military relations.

1. Islam and Politics in Pakistan

The preamble to the Constitution of Pakistan states that Pakistan is a democratic state based on Islamic principles of social justice, while Article 2 states that Islam shall be the state religion. Despite this, Pakistan is not an Islamic state that has adopted Islam, specifically Sharia (Islamic law), as the foundation of its political institutions or laws. While Pakistan was founded to serve as a home for Muslims, there is no consensus regarding such basic questions as what constitutes an “Islamic identity,” or what the precise relations should be between Islam and the state. For this reason, there has been much confrontation and antagonism between factions within the country, revolving around differing interpretations of Islam.

Islam in Pakistan can be broadly divided into three categories: traditional Islamic legal scholars (ulema) associated with the madrassas (schools of Islamic learning); Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), an association that is clearly separate from the madrassas; and the followers of the Islamic tradition of mysticism known as Sufism, which has strong influence in the provincial areas of Pakistan. The first group, the traditional Islamic legal scholars, or ulema, are divided into various schools of thought. For instance, within the mainstream Sunni, the most influential are the Deobandis, Barelvis, and Ahle Hadith. The Deobandi and Bareilvi both originated in North India, where the central branch of their madrassas are located.

The Bareilvi school advocates a syncretic form of Sufism that puts emphasis on the legitimacy of the saints, in contrast to the Deobandi school, which promotes a severely puritanical interpretation of Islam and forbids special reverence for the saints. Among followers of Sunni Islam, who account for 75 percent of all Muslims, the Bareilvi was formerly the majority faction, but recently the Deobandi, which is mounting a proselytization campaign through its madrassas, has been on the way to becoming the majority faction. Some observers point to this as the reason for the degradation of the plurality and syncretism that formerly characterized the Pakistani religious scene. The Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam (JUI), the political organization of the Deobandi, has a strong base in the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP).

The political arm of the Bareilvi is the Jamiat-e Ulema-e Pakistan (JUP). The aforementioned JI is not affiliated with any ulema groups, and the majority of its members consist of people who have received a modern education. This group is renowned for its organizational discipline. Abul A’ala Maududi (1903-1979), the founder of the JI, aimed to promote his belief in the revival of Islam and the

importance of realizing a universal community of Islam (ummah).

The rest of this section will examine the role and significance of these Islamic movements in the political history of Pakistan. The founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, advocated the Two-Nations Theory, under which Muslims and Hindus were seen as two separate “nations” within India, and Muslims should therefore have an autonomous homeland. The core of Jinnah’s political thought was the identification of Islam with the struggle against majority rule by the Hindus of India. Rather than aiming at building an Islamic state, Jinnah aimed only at promoting a form of Muslim “nationalism” that would be able to unify the various Muslim-dominated areas of India. The school of thought of Maududi, however, was strongly contrasted with that of Jinnah. Maududi opposed the establishment of Pakistan as being motivated by a strictly regional nationalism and therefore constituting an obstacle to his ultimate goal of the creation of an ummah.

The JI, founded by Maududi, was opposed to the modern interpretation of Islam employed by the regime of Muhammad Ayub Khan (prime minister of Pakistan, October 7, 1958–October 28, 1958; president of Pakistan, October 1958–March 1969). During his period in government, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (president, December 1971–1973; prime minister, 1973–July 1977) took a confrontational stance against the JI in collaboration with the eclectic Folk Islam in his native province of Sindh, but under the subsequent regime of Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1978–1988) the JI enjoyed the status of ruling coalition, and its influence on the nation’s political scene became much stronger.

The JUI first made its name widely known with its opposition to the policies of the Ayub Khan’s military regime, and members of the JUI were elected to the National Assembly (the lower house of the Parliament of Pakistan) as a result of the “Basic Democracy” elections overseen by Ayub Khan, in which political parties were not allowed. In elections to the National Assembly in 1970, Maulana Mufti Mahmood of the JUI defeated Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his own constituency, and in elections to the provincial legislature of the Northwest Frontier Province, the JUI won the post of the chief minister through an alliance with the National Awami Party (NAP). In the 1977 elections, when the Pakistan National Alliance was formed to oppose the Bhutto administration, the JUI took part together with the JI and JUP. Rather than making common cause with the charismatic Bhutto, who had called for the establishment of socialist policies, the religious party in Pakistan thus chose to forge an alliance with the military.

Strict interpretations of Islamic principles were first introduced to the Pakistani political scene by Army Chief of Staff Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who became ruler of the country in a coup d'état in 1977. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan's intelligence body under its military, is believed to have manipulated the creation of the above-mentioned coalition against Bhutto. The cooperation of the country's Islamic sects was thought to be essential in sustaining the military regime. While enjoying the support of the JI, Zia-ul-Haq pushed ahead with an Islamic agenda that covered politics, the economy, education, and the legal system, Zia's legalistic and systematic approach shows the influence of JI particularly clearly. The administration is notable for its advocacy of "Islamic Democracy," which sought to do away with party politics, for the introduction of separate electoral systems on religious lines, the introduction of an Islamic system in which interest is not charged, an Islamic tax system, the strengthening of religious education in the madrassas, the introduction of an Islamic penal code, and the establishment of a system of Sharia courts, also known as Qazi courts.

Pakistan's madrassas multiplied rapidly thanks to the preferential treatment accorded them by the Zia administration. The madrassas received financial support from the government, and course-completion certificates became equivalent to a master's degree in the Arabic language or Islamic studies. According to statistics published by the Ministry of Education, only 151 new madrassas were established during the first part of the Zia administration (up to 1982), but this figure rose to more than 1,000 during 1983–1988. The preferential treatment received by the madrassas led to their politicization, modernization, and institutionalization. To give one example, while the JI was not, originally, an organization whose political base was in the madrassas, it eventually came to construct madrassas to help accomplish its goal of pursuing jihad in Afghanistan. However, this flurry of madrassa construction led to conflict over ownership rights to mosques and land, and was one cause of sectarian antagonism.

Zia-ul-Haq made extensive use of Islam as an ideology that served to justify

military rule. After the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union in 1979, Zia was able in his diplomatic and security strategies to present himself as a supporter of Pan-Islamism. Zia saw his support for the activities of the Afghan resistance (the mujahideen) as a way of compensating for Pakistan's strategic vulnerability.

2. Pakistan's Perception of the Strategic Environment, and Its Support for Militants

(1) The Importance of Afghanistan for Pakistan

Successive governments of Pakistan have been extremely sensitive to the nature of the regime in Afghanistan, and over the past sixty years they have repeatedly exercised their influence to prevent the establishment of a hostile regime. For instance, in 1974 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto provided support to opposition groups against Mohammed Daud Khan, president of Afghanistan. From 1979 to 1989 Pakistan gave support to the mujahideen in their fight against the Soviet occupation, and from 1994 to September 2001 the country supported the Taliban.

The principal interest of Pakistan regarding Afghanistan is its strategic value in Pakistan's defense vis-à-vis India, which is often conceptualized as a "strategic depth." Since independence, the thinking of the Pakistani authorities regarding national security has revolved around its relationship with India. For example, in the 2008 edition of the yearbook published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is defined that its number one priority in diplomatic efforts is "safeguarding our vital security and geo-strategic interests, including Kashmir." The Pakistani authorities are constantly concerned with maintaining the balance of power between their country and India. This goes back to the period of the transfer of power from the British, when leaders of Pakistan argued for a "parity" with India. The idea of parity was originally conceived in terms of sovereignty, but was later translated into "military parity," i.e., a balance of power. The concept of strategic depth is closely tied to this balance of power. Not only does Pakistan feel in need of additional territory to which it could retire some of its military forces in the event of an attack by India (as the area of Pakistan is narrow and vulnerable to aggression from India), it also needs to be able to make use of Afghanistan as a supply base for men and materiel in the event that it is forced to wage guerilla warfare against Indian forces.

A second reason for the importance accorded to Afghanistan is related to the

ethnic integration of Pashtuns, who account for roughly 15 percent of the population of Pakistan. They live on both sides of the Durand Line, the demarcation between British India and Afghanistan established in 1893, and account for 42 percent of the total population of Afghanistan. Since the creation of an independent Pakistan with the partition of British India in 1947, the successive governments of Afghanistan have refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Durand Line as the border between the two countries, and have continued to support greater autonomy for Pashtuns on the Pakistani side. Because of this, the two sides have been in almost constant conflict, which included the severing of diplomatic relations in 1961–62. This followed the intervention in 1960 by Afghanistan in an internal struggle in the princely state of Dir, on the Pakistani side of the Durand Line. This led to the two sides coming into armed conflict in Bajaur, a Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) that lies next to Dir. Partly as a legacy of this conflict, a movement seeking greater autonomy for Pashtuns in Pakistan, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, rose to prominence with support from both Afghanistan and India. The Pakistani government has viewed this movement with alarm because of its potential to metamorphose into a full-scale separatist movement.

The invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR in 1979 offered Pakistan an opportunity to address its two major problems—strategic depth with respect to India and the issue of Pashtun. First, with regard to Pakistan's relationship with India, it was able to secure considerable military and economic assistance from Western countries. In addition, the tacit approval by the West of Pakistan's nuclear weapons development program enabled it to maneuver India-Pakistan military balance in its favor. Second, with the emergence of a new enemy in the form of the Soviet Union and its client communist regime in Kabul, the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan changed from one of confrontation over the Pashtun question to that between the patron and the client as fellow Muslims. Because Pakistan did not want Afghanistan to espouse the expansionist Pashtun nationalist cause, in its support for the Afghan mujahideen, it gave priority to the Islamic fundamentalist faction led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in preference to those factions that were motivated mainly by Pashtun nationalism.

In April 1988, the signing of the Geneva Accords on peace in Afghanistan narrowed the options available to Pakistan. One of the instruments in the accords, relating to a bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan regarding the principle of mutual non-interference, lays out the duty not to intervene in matters

within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. The international guarantors of the agreement were to be the United States and the USSR. For Pakistan, despite the United States' clarification that the signing of such an agreement with the pro-Soviet Afghan government would not represent an immediate recognition of the legitimacy of the Kabul government, such an agreement was seen as insufficient reward for the more than eight years of support it had given to the mujahideen. Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Khan Junejo had pushed forward with the talks on the Geneva Accords in spite of opposition from the military, but four months after the signing of the accords, President Zia-ul-Haq, who was also the chief of the Army, and Gen. Akhtar Abdur Rahman, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, were killed in the same plane crash. As a result, Pakistan did not officially withdraw from the Geneva Accords.

Military rule in Pakistan came to an end almost simultaneously with the end of the war in Afghanistan. Benazir Bhutto took office as Prime Minister after the general election of November 1988, but the military attempted to maintain its influence on Pakistan's Afghan policy even after the transition to civilian rule. Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, who succeeded Zia-ul-Haq as chief of Army Staff, recommended to the president that five policies be assigned priority. These were: respect for the principles of Islam, the continuation of the policies of the Zia administration, the rule of law and justice, the restoration of democracy, and the maintenance of the country's current policy toward Afghanistan. Immediately prior to the assumption of office by newly-elected Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Beg secured the stable continuation of Pakistan's Afghanistan policy by obtaining a pledge from Bhutto that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan (an ethnic Pashtun) would remain in office for a further five years, and that Lt. Gen. Yaqub Ali Khan would retain the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile, it is not necessarily fair to argue that the Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan is the military's prerogative. From 1992 to the following year Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (leader of the Nawaz Group of the Pakistan Muslim League [PML-N]; first administration, October 1990–April 1993; second administration, February 1997–October 1999) attempted to influence negotiations among factions in order to set an interim Afghan government. It was the administration of Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) who abandoned support for the mujahideen, who were engaged in constant factional infighting that in 1994 facilitated the Taliban's emergence as an alternative for future government

Afghanistan. Pakistan's vision of exerting influence over the Central Asian region and opposing India's plans through its role as the main supporter of the Taliban administration in Kabul came into being because it simultaneously served the interests of the military, the civilian government, and the Islamic groups. The civilian government of Pakistan believed that by being the first to give international recognition to the Taliban (who had gained effective control over the Afghan capital of Kabul in September 1996) and by persuading the United States to invest in the Central Asian Economic Bloc, they would be able to both strengthen the country's security guarantees and ensure the improved economic wellbeing of the Pakistani people.

In August 1998, the Taliban's international reputation took a sharp turn for the worse following the bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by groups affiliated to Osama bin Laden, who was being sheltered by the Taliban. From this point onward, Pakistan found itself on the horns of a dilemma, as it was impossible to buy the goodwill of the United States while being engaged with the Taliban. In October 1999 Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif requested the Taliban to shut down its training camps located within Pakistan. In this manner, Sharif signaled a change of policy regarding Pakistan's engagement with the Taliban. This decision led directly to the staging of a coup d'état by Chief of Army Staff Pervez Musharraf. The fact is that the Pakistani armed forces had strong interests in engaging the Taliban, and they were not prepared to accept the way in which the Sharif government had capitulated to pressure from the United States.

(2) Afghanistan and Kashmir—Jihad on Two Fronts

Today, the linkage between Pakistan's support for the mujahideen in Afghanistan and the freedom fighters of Kashmir (also sometimes known as mujahideen) is widely recognized. After the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, activity by militant groups in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir rose sharply. According to statistics by India's Ministry of Home Affairs, whereas the number of terrorist incidents in Jammu and Kashmir was only 390 in 1988, resulting in 31 deaths, the figures rose to 2,154 incidents and 92 deaths in 1989. During the first half of the 1990s, the number of terrorist attacks per annum hovered between 4,000 and 5,000.

While mismanagement by the Indian authorities in governing Jammu and Kashmir can be cited as a cause of the radicalization of Muslim separatist

movements in the state, it cannot be denied that Pakistan has given support to armed groups prosecuting the secessionist movement. The government of Pakistan has continually claimed that it provides only moral support for a freedom movement toward self-determination in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan accuses the Indian security forces of violating the human rights of residents of Kashmir during the 1990s, while India accuses Pakistan's ISI of supporting cross-border terrorism. These accusations have been traded back and forth many times at the United Nations and other international forums. The United States had remained neutral and non-committal, but became more critical of Pakistan following the Kargil Crisis, fought between Pakistan and India in 1999.

The linkage between the activities of militants in Afghanistan and in Kashmir can also be understood by observing the organizational and network aspects. Up to the end of the 1980s the only significant organization supporting the cause of secession for Kashmir was the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), founded in 1977. The JKLF is composed mainly of Kashmiris based in Britain as well as those living within Pakistan, and is principally a nationalist, rather than Islamist, organization that seeks independence for Kashmir. In 1989, however, the JI set up the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen as the first jihadist organization in Kashmir. This organization seeks the accession of Kashmir into Pakistan, and has set itself up in opposition to the aims of the JKLF. Pakistan's ISI is believed to have assisted in the establishment of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen as a means of weakening the JKLF.

From the early 1990s, too, while the government of Pakistan was providing support to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's mujahideen faction in Afghanistan, in Kashmir the JI-affiliated Hizb-ul-Mujahideen was the sole organization carrying out jihadist activities against India. Simultaneously with the rise of the Taliban, the center of gravity in Afghanistan and Kashmir shifted from the JI to the Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam (JUI), the political organization of the Deobandi movement. The rise of the Deobandi organizations was facilitated by the financial support received from many Arab countries through Deobandi-affiliated madrassas in the Northwest Frontier Province.

The Deobandi madrassas function as the point of linkage between al-Qaeda and the Taliban. For example, Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai, an imam at the Binori Town madrassa located in Karachi, is known to be a mentor to the Taliban leader Mohammad Omar, and Shamzai accompanied a delegation to Omar from the Pakistani government in October 2001, which was ostensibly aimed at persuading

Omar to hand over Osama bin Laden to the authorities. Shamzai is known to have attended the wedding ceremony of Osama bin Laden's son before 9/11. Harkat-ul-Ansar, a Deobandi organization, was established in Kashmir in 1994 as a jihadist group, and after being designated as a terrorist organization by the United States in 1997, changed its name to Harkat-ul-Mujahideen. In addition, Maulana Masood Azhar, a former pupil of Shamzai and a member of the same organization, was freed by the Indian government in December 1999 in exchange for passengers on the hijacked Indian Airlines Flight 814, and soon thereafter established the militant group Jaish-e-Mohammed. This group appears to have been set up with the endorsement of the ISI.

Another influential Islamist organization operating in Kashmir, other than groups affiliated to the JI and other Deobandi organizations, is Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, which is affiliated with Ahl al-Hadith. Lashkar was founded by Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, who had previously taught at the University of Engineering and Technology in Lahore. Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, too, is thought to have received generous support from the ISI.

The reason that the ISI continued to protect and support armed groups in this way even after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was that the logic behind jihad for Muslims in Kashmir was consonant with the Pakistani military's tactics of low-intensity conflict against India—an enemy against whom they could not hope to win in conventional war. For these reasons, the Islamist groups calling for jihad at the grassroots level have remained valuable partners of the Pakistani military.

(3) Reorienting Relationships with the Militants following 9/11

According to a report submitted to the United Nations Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee in December 2010, Pakistan implemented a number of measures to prevent and suppress terrorism. These include crackdowns on extremist elements, the enforcement of restrictions on the ownership, possession or use of weapons, the more widespread employment of special anti-terrorism tribunals, the strengthening of border security, the assets and accounts of entities fund involved in terrorist activities, the curbing of money laundering, and a plan to bring madrassas into the mainstream education system. Despite this, the efforts made by the Musharraf regime to revise Pakistan's relationships with the militant groups have been viewed by the United States and by the ISAF (the International

Security Assistance Force) in Afghanistan as insufficient. The causes of this involve both the intentions and the capability of Pakistan's military.

First, the government of Pakistan did not view the Taliban as a threat to itself, and did not wish the Taliban to be totally eliminated. Secondly, while the government did clamp down on the activities of those groups affiliated to al-Qaeda, as well as on sectarian violence, even after 9/11 Pakistan is believed to have given support to or tacit approval of the activities of armed groups whose aims did not conflict with the interests of the military regime, particularly organizations engaged in waging jihad in Kashmir. The military also displays a certain lack of counter-terrorism capabilities. That is to say, Islamabad's overwhelming concern with "the next conventional warfare against India" has dominated the way the country's armed forces are equipped and organized. In addition, it is doubtful that President Musharraf was gripping command and control over ISI operations in the field.

That the Musharraf regime was reluctant to distance itself from the Taliban can be clearly seen from the moves outlined below, which took place immediately following 9/11. President Musharraf made plans to visit China and Saudi Arabia with the aim of scouting out his options for the possible continuation of support for the Taliban. In a speech to the nation made on September 19, Musharraf explained his decision to cooperate with the United States, while at the same time he was secretly dispatching high-ranking ISI officials to Kandahar in an attempt to persuade the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden. After the United States had begun bombing targets in Afghanistan, protests were held all over Pakistan by the JI and the JUI and their affiliated militant organizations. Musharraf's response was to issue an edict prohibiting the recruitment of Jihadi by extremist Islamic groups, and to impose restrictions on the movements of Islamic leaders. Despite these steps, the regime's overall stance was rather spineless. For instance, they did not prevent Sufi Muhammad (a religious leader operating in the ethnic Pashtun tribal areas) from crossing the border into Afghanistan with a band of followers. (Sufi Muhammad is the founder of the militant organization Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi [TNSM].)

In contrast, the regime cooperated with the FBI right from the start in its investigations of al-Qaeda, and was successful in arresting a number of top-ranking al-Qaeda officers. The regime's collaboration with the FBI first bore fruit in April 2002 with the arrest of Abu Zubayda in Faisalabad. Then, in July the

Pakistani security forces raided the Karachi offices of the militant organization Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, arresting eight suspected members of al-Qaeda. September of that year saw the arrest of ten suspected al-Qaeda members, including Ramzi Bin Al-Shaiba, for whom an arrest warrant had been issued by the German government on suspicion of involvement in 9/11. While the Pakistan Ministry of Interior announced that this operation was carried out by the Karachi Police Force, it is believed to have been led by the FBI. It is also believed that the FBI was granted free use of Pakistan's airports and access to the details of domestic bank accounts, which facilitated its investigations. In March 2003, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed and two other suspects were arrested at the home of a JI-affiliated imam in Rawalpindi. Khalid was suspected of involvement in an attempt to blow up a US aircraft in the Philippines in 1996, as well as in the attack on the USS *Cole* in 2000. He was also believed to be one of the ringleaders behind 9/11. The US authorities appreciated Pakistan's cooperation for Khalid's arrest.

The multiple bombings in London on July 7, 2005, focused world attention on Pakistani society as a major hub in the international Islamic terrorist network. The fact that two of the suspects had stayed at madrassas in Pakistan sparked strong calls from around the world for stricter control of the madrassas. In response, President Musharraf made a speech to the nation on July 21 in which he proscribed sermons given in mosques that incited hatred and anger, and called for the registration of madrassas to be made mandatory. In August of 2006, the British police exposed plans for terrorist attacks on a number of flights to the United States and Canada. Pakistan arrested seven persons on suspicion of involvement in these plots, thus preventing the attacks. According to a statement by the Pakistani Foreign Ministry, Rashid Rauf, a British citizen who was among those arrested, was an al-Qaeda operative. Pakistan's Foreign Ministry boasted that many lives had been saved as a result of Pakistani cooperation, to which British Prime Minister Tony Blair expressed gratitude.

In contrast to the vigorous investigation of persons suspected of involvement with al-Qaeda on the international scene, Pakistan cannot be said to have imposed a strict crackdown on the activities of indigenous militant groups, and the authorities were particularly tolerant of the activities of jihadist organizations in Kashmir. Following 9/11, the Musharraf regime banned six militant groups in addition to the two Deobandi organizations that were already prohibited, but no effective measures were taken to prevent these groups from operating. For

example, when the State Bank of Pakistan took action to freeze the accounts of these groups, it was discovered that there were almost no funds left in them. Moreover, some of the militant groups whose activities had been proscribed simply renamed themselves and continued their activities, ostensibly as charitable organizations. For instance, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba (LeT), which operated in Kashmir, changed its name to Jamaat-ud-Dawa and was involved in humanitarian relief following the major earthquake in Northern Pakistan in October 2005 and the Balochistan earthquake of October 2008, where it manipulated aid money to serve its interest. The LeT is suspected of being involved in the November 2008 Mumbai attacks.

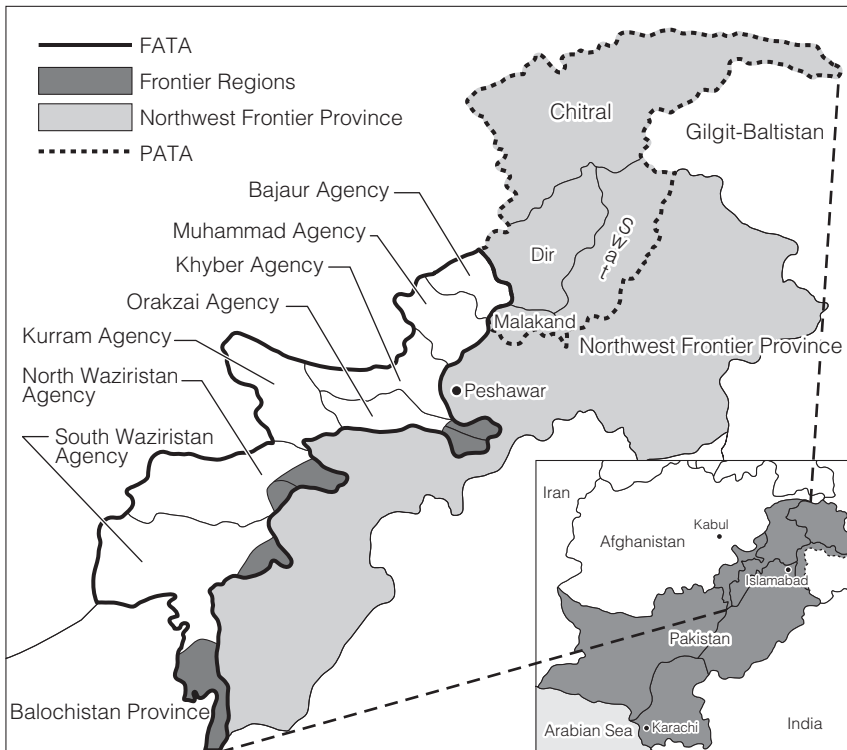
3. The Rise of Islamism and Terrorism in the Tribal Areas

(1) Administration in the Tribal Areas

The tribal areas of Pakistan lie on the border with Afghanistan, and consist of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA: see explanation below). These areas now serve as a safe haven for both the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Militant groups began operating in this region from around 2004, and these operations had spilled over into the tribal areas of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) by 2007. Initially, the Pakistani government commenced military operations in the FATA and Swat (a district in the NWFP) in response to requests from the United States and the ISAF. Later, the government continued these operations to clamp down on terrorist activities being carried out all over the country by extremists based in the tribal areas. The key questions are: Why did groups in opposition to the central government of Pakistan become active armed organizations with extensive networks throughout the tribal areas, and why did they align themselves with the Taliban and al-Qaeda? Below, we first examine the political and military significance of the tribal areas for Pakistan, and then look at the growth of the Taliban movement in the tribal areas since 2001.

The tribal areas of Pakistan are inhabited by various Pashtun and Balochi tribes. Article 246 of the Constitution of Pakistan established the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), which are under the administrative control of the two provinces of the NWFP and Balochistan, and the FATA, which are administered directly by the federal government. The FATA as a whole consist of

Figure 2.1. FATA and PATA in Pakistan



seven Tribal Agencies inherited from the administration of British India, and six Frontier Regions, which lie along the border with the NWFP to the northwest and whose day-to-day administration is the responsibility of the NWFP. The FATA are also home to the Pashtuns. Meanwhile, the PATA include those areas inhabited by Pashtun tribes within Balochistan and the four former princely states that were officially incorporated into the Northwest Frontier Province in 1969, i.e., Amb, Chitral, Dir, and Swat. Article 247 of the Constitution specifies that legislation enacted by the National Assembly of Pakistan, and by the provincial assemblies, does not automatically apply to the FATA and PATA, respectively.

In the partition and independence of Pakistan, a great deal of time and energy was expended in thrashing out such questions as the precise division of authority between the federal and provincial governments, and how the provinces should be

organized, particularly whether or not to introduce the “two provinces system” or to constitute West Pakistan as one unit. This left insufficient time for the integration of the tribal areas and princely states that had been inherited from the British Raj. For these reasons, at independence the country chose to maintain the status quo—local power structures and administration through agency.

In the case of the FATA, political agents appointed by the provincial government had complete responsibility for governance, the administration of the law, and tax collection. This followed the pattern employed under British rule. To elicit the cooperation of tribal leaders in day-to-day administration, the political agents made use of the so-called “Malik” system. (In the tribal areas of Pakistan, “Malik” refers to tribal leaders or chieftains who serve as de facto arbiters in local conflicts, interlocutors in state policy-making, tax-collectors, heads of village and town councils and delegates to provincial and national assemblies as well as to Parliament.) By allowing tribal elders to assume the position and status of Malik, the government was able to extract pledges of cooperation in upholding the law and maintaining public order in return for financial subsidies. Additionally, this system served as an alternative judicial system to the tribal assemblies known as “jirga” that were traditional in Pashtun society.

Under Articles 51 and 59 of the Constitution, the FATA are allocated a total of twelve seats in the National Assembly (lower house) and eight in the Senate. However, prior to the introduction of universal suffrage, the Maliks were elected as the representatives to the Parliament of Pakistan. In other words, the “elections” constituted a system whereby the Maliks were selected under the guidance of the political agents. Universal suffrage was introduced in 1996, since when the prohibition against political party activity in the FATA has been maintained through the Political Party Act and other regulations.

One of the main reasons for the success of the militant groups in establishing themselves within the FATA is the ongoing disintegration of the region’s traditional tribal society. In addition to the tendency of the Pakistani government to favor centralization, the war in Afghanistan has caused an inflow of outsiders such as refugees and foreign jihadist fighters. According to one view of recent events, this has led to a breakdown in the Malik system, and the Islamic fundamentalists have stepped in to fill the gap.

Some observers maintain the alternative viewpoint that the Malik system is not a traditional element in Pashtun tribal society, but rather an institution invented

for centralization. In this view, the problem lies in the fact that a non-democratic institution has been clothed in traditional tribal garb, so to speak.

Proponents of these two opinions are divided on what should be done to improve the governance of the tribal areas. The former urges efforts to restore traditional architect of tribal society such as the Malik system and the jirgas, while the latter calls for a gradual constitutional integration of the tribal areas into Pakistani local government. This debate, however, has reached a common understanding. Both agree that the real problem lies in the fact that the Pashtun tribal areas have been deprived of their political rights for the past sixty years, and are in urgent need of assistance, as their socio-economic development has fallen behind.

While the FATA continue to be governed just as under the British rule, the system employed in the PATA was prescribed by Article 260 of the Constitution of 1972. In the case of the PATA administered by the NWFP, the special status guaranteed to the former princely states under the Constitution has been gradually eroded, and they have effectively been integrated into the province. Unlike the FATA, the PATA of the former states send representatives to the provincial assembly, and political party activity is allowed.

(2) Politics in the NWFP and Pashtun Nationalism

One reason why the FATA system has been preserved is the need for a buffer zone between the Pashtuns of Afghanistan and those living in the NWFP, as the Pakistani government wants to divide and weaken Pashtun nationalism.

The history of Pashtun nationalism can be traced back to Abdul Ghaffar Khan (known as the “Frontier Gandhi”) at the time of the Indian independence movement. Ghaffar Khan took part in Mahatma Gandhi’s anti-colonial agitation and cultivated close ties with the Indian National Congress. In elections to the NWFP assembly in 1937 and 1947 his party wiped out the All-India Muslim League and formed a government in NWFP. Upon the independence and partition of India in 1947, a referendum in NWFP was held to decide whether the province should accede to India or Pakistan. Ghaffar Khan called for a boycott of the referendum on the grounds that the province should form an independent Pashtunistan.

Against this background, after the Pakistani state was built, the government prohibited Ghaffar Khan’s political activities, and this was followed by an uneasy relationship between the two sides, including periods of arrest and exile. During this period, Ghaffar Khan’s son Abdul Wali Khan joined the NAP, a socialist party

whose political base was in East Pakistan (later Bangladesh). In 1967 he formed his own Wali Khan faction in the NAP to break away from the faction of Maulana Bashani, which had embraced a Maoist line. In these ways, from 1958 until the end of Pakistan's second military regime, the NAP established a secure footing as a political party.

In the general election of 1970 the PPP, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, won 81 of the 138 seats in West Pakistan's National Assembly, thus securing an easy majority. However, the PPP had managed to win only one of the twenty-five seats allocated to the NWFP. In the provincial assembly elections held almost simultaneously, the PPP won only three seats out of forty. Bhutto was the driving force behind the establishment of a coalition government between the NAP and the JUI as a means of holding in check national party the Pakistan Muslim League and its offspring. Thus, Bhutto tried to co-opt Pashtun political and religious leaders, NAP leader Wali Khan and Mufti Mahmood of the JUI. However, the Bhutto administration began to clamp down more severely on opposition factions in the NWFP and the neighboring province of Balochistan, starting with the dismissal of the NAP-led government of Balochistan in 1973. This led to a prohibition in 1975 on political activities by the NAP. From this point onward, leaders of the NAP, together with the Islamic parties JI and JUI, joined an alliance in opposition to the Bhutto government, in which they performed an important role.

The former leaders of the NAP took differing stances with respect to the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq. Following Zia's death, however, they moved closer to the Movement for Restoration of Democracy, which was led by the PPP, and in 1986 the party was restructured under the name Awami National Party (ANP). During the period of civilian rule from 1988 to the Musharraf coup d'état in 1999, the ANP switched its alliance partner in order to maintain its position as a ruling coalition in the NWFP. Despite having allied itself with Benazir Bhutto's PPP in the general election of 1988, in the three subsequent general elections the party allied itself with Nawaz Sharif's PML-N, which was leading ahead of PPP in NWFP constituencies.

Islamist forces made major gains in the general election held by the Musharraf regime in 2002, which was intended to pave the way for transition to civilian rule. This was particularly so in the NWFP. Up until then, while Islamic parties had never won more than ten percent of the seats contested in Pakistan, the MMA (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal), an alliance of six Islamic parties including the JI and

JUI, won 59 of the 342 seats in the National Assembly in the 2002 election. The MMA thus became the second-largest party, after the Qaid-i-Azam faction (PML-Q) of the Pakistan Muslim League, led by President Musharraf. Twenty-nine of the seats won by the MMA, or almost half, were those of representatives from NWFP constituencies, and the MMA won 65 seats out of 124 in the NWFP provincial assembly elections that were held simultaneously. Major reasons for the rise of the MMA include cooperation among religious parties in adjusting candidates and the translation of rising anti-US sentiment (enflamed by the bombings in Afghanistan) into votes in protest against the ruling regime, as well as steps taken by the Musharraf regime to manipulate the vote in favor of the MMA in certain constituencies to prevent a resurgence by the PPP and the PML-N, which had been calling for the restoration of democracy.

The attainment of political power by the MMA in the NWFP and the FATA is a reflection of the support among the local populace that was now being enjoyed by fundamentalist Islamic leaders such as the ulema at the madrassas, who had begun to oust the tribal chiefs and other traditional regional leaders. In addition, young men in these areas were throwing off the control of the tribal chiefs and traditional tribal customs, and were feeling a growing affinity for the Taliban movement. At the general election of 2008, however, the MMA won only four of the NWFP seats in the National Assembly, and also suffered a severe setback in the NWFP provincial assembly, where it garnered a mere ten seats. The ANP, by contrast, obtained ten seats in the National Assembly and thirty-eight seats in the provincial assembly, where it became the ruling party. Rivalry and conflict would continue between the ANP and the religious leaders: the former idealizing the social order based on Pashtun tribal customs and the latter demanding wider adoption of Islamic law.

(3) Inconclusive Military Operations in Waziristan

For geographical reasons, Waziristan (which is part of the FATA) is the ideal safe haven for militant groups fleeing from Afghanistan. In March 2004, under pressure from the United States, the Pakistani armed forces launched their first-ever operation in Waziristan, and this resulted in extensive casualties among the civilian population. On April 24, an agreement was reached at a madrassa in the Shakai Valley between the Mujahidin Shura of South Waziristan (a pro-Taliban group) and the Commander of the Peshawar Corps. The agreement was mediated

by the JUI. However, due to a lack of progress in surrender or the registration of al-Qaeda and other foreign elements, which had been part of the agreement, the Pakistani government has imposed economic sanctions on the region, and has escalated its military action to aerial bombings.

Subsequently, operations by militant groups that had commenced in Waziristan spilled over into other tribal areas, and in response a second ceasefire agreement was reached in February 2005 through the mediation of a JUI member of the National Assembly. However, Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud and his brother succeeded in reviving an underground militant network. Finally, the militants' activities spread to North Waziristan, and by 2006 the Mujahidin Shura had taken over local administration in some sub-districts. The Mujahidin Shura have been carrying out killings of Maliks and ulema who have cooperated with the government.

In response to international pressure on Pakistan to put an end to attacks on targets in Afghanistan from across the border, in May 2006 President Musharraf appointed Lt. Gen. (ret.) Ali Muhammad Jan Orakzai (an ethnic Pashtun) as governor of the NWFP, with the mission of reaching an agreement with the militants. Through the mediation of Fazal-ur-Rehman, leader of the JUI (Fazal ur Rahman group), an agreement was reached in June 2006 with the Mujahidin Shura of North Waziristan for a one-month ceasefire. After three months of negotiations, a peace accord was finally signed on September 5, 2006. The government of Pakistan agreed to release captured members of the militant group, pay compensation for property damage and deaths of innocent civilians in the area, and dismantle checkpoints. In return, the militants agreed to require foreigners to leave North Waziristan, to refrain from attacks on law-enforcement officials, damage to government property, and targeted killings, to refrain from creating organs of governmental administration, and not to carry out attacks across the border.

The Waziristan Accord is often viewed by experts in the United States and Europe, as well as by the media, as an "appeasement" by the government vis-à-vis militants. This interpretation is based on the fact that the government's agreement to release captured militants and to pay compensation is seen as helping these groups to recover their military strength, while on the other hand, the militants have merely agreed to certain future actions for which the government has no guarantee or means of enforcing. As a result, the Taliban is now able to use this

period of truce with the Pakistan military to conduct cross-border attacks on targets in Afghanistan.

(4) Successful Military Operations in Swat

Another peace accord was signed in 2009 between the government and military groups in Swat, one of the PATA administered from the NWFP. Because this accord entailed the application of a broad range of Sharia law, a major debate arose within Pakistan regarding its possible impact. The influence of extremist Islamic groups in Swat dates back to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. In 1989 the TNSM (Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws) was established in the district of Dir by Sufi Muhammad and immediately attempted to expand its activities to Swat. The TNSM proposed the institution of Sharia law courts to replace the existing legal system, which had been the object of considerable dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the area. Initially a peaceful movement, after the security forces fired on demonstrators in 1994 the TNSM began adopting violent methods, including the assassination of government officials.

In November 2001 Sufi Muhammad led an estimated ten thousand followers across the border to Afghanistan to fight the US-led operation and support the Taliban. After his group had suffered many casualties, Sufi Muhammad returned to Pakistan, where he was arrested and imprisoned. During his imprisonment his son-in-law Maulana Fazlullah took over the reins of the TNSM, and after forming a breakaway faction he integrated the group with the Pakistani Taliban movement (the Taliban Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, or TTP). The extent of the Pakistani military's ties with the Pakistani Taliban movement is unclear.

Certain commentators have claimed that the Musharraf administration provided support to Fazlullah in order to restrain the MMA, which had taken power in the NWFP. It is thought by some that the Pakistani military have been deliberately destabilizing the rule of law in the NWFP to prevent the MMA from becoming accepted by the people as the guardian of true Islam and thereby expanding its influence. Some also claim that the military was behind the split between the Pakistan Taliban movement and the MMA. It is also unclear what role was played in brokering the agreement with the Taliban by the ANP, which took the reins of power in the NWFP in the general election of 2008. While some observers believe that the ANP reluctantly agreed to the military's plans, others maintain that the ANP made vigorous efforts to realize the peace accord through its call for dialogue

between the two sides.

The ceasefire that came into being in February 2009 contained agreement on the following elements: (1) establishment of Sharia law in Swat, including the whole Malakand division; (2) phased withdrawal by the military from the region; (3) exchange of prisoners by the government and the Taliban; (4) recognition by the Taliban of the writ of the government and cooperation with the police; (5) agreement by the Taliban to halt attacks on barber and music shops; (6) the Taliban shall not display weapons in public; (7) the Taliban shall return heavy weapons to the government; (8) the Taliban shall not operate training camps; (9) the Taliban shall denounce suicide attacks; (10) a ban would be placed on private militias; (11) the Taliban shall cooperate with the government to vaccinate against diseases like polio; (12) the madrassa run by Maulana Fazlulla shall be reorganized into an Islamic University; (13) FM radio broadcasting shall require a license; and (14) the Taliban shall allow women to work without fear.

A bill on the implementation of Sharia courts unanimously passed the National Assembly of Pakistan on April 17, 2009, with the absence of MQM. Behind the demand for the implementation of Sharia courts lies the desire of the inhabitants of the tribal areas for a system of fair and speedy trials, in light of the lack of a public system enabling residents to effectively settle day-to-day disputes between private citizens in the region. However, the proposal for Sharia courts has met with a number of objections. Such courts would co-exist with the legal system established by the country's Constitution, and the setting up of a separate legal system in only a certain part of Pakistan would deprive residents of that region of their right to appeal decisions to a higher court. The plan has also been criticized as a step backward for the cause of democracy. These objections do not apply solely to the case of the tribal areas or the NWFP, they also throw light on the wider unresolved issue of the relationship between Islam and democracy.

The abrogation of the Swat peace accord on May 4, 2009 by the Taliban side relieved the government of Pakistan from this contested issue of Islam and democracy. The government launched a military operation after warning local inhabitants to evacuate the area. Viewed in retrospect, the Swat accord can be seen as a success for the authorities, as the breaking of the ceasefire by the Taliban side placed the blame for the military action squarely on their shoulders.

As the foregoing illustrates, the government and military of Pakistan have made use of Islamic forces in pursuit of their own particular goals. The military have

given support to extremist groups in their jihadist activities both in Afghanistan and Kashmir, with the aim of molding the military situation to their advantage. Meanwhile, the successive civilian governments in Pakistan have given their approval to the military's pursuit of these goals except when they have come under strong external pressure, particularly from the United States. These civilian governments, including that of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, have taken a hard-line stance against Pashtun nationalism. In the Pashtun-dominated NWFP, particularly the tribal areas, the populace have been deprived of democratic means of seeking their political goals, and this has given greater freedom of action to the Islamic parties, notably the JUI. Against the backdrop of jihad in Afghanistan, the madrassas have come to constitute a power base for the Islamist forces, and this has occurred with the tacit approval of the Pakistani military regimes.

The Islamic forces are not a monolithic whole. The various militant groups affiliated with the JI and JUI, for instance, often find themselves in opposition to one another in both Afghanistan and Kashmir. The Pakistani military deliberately exploits differences between these Islamic groups to further its own strategic goals, and while supporting particular groups, attempt always to maintain a balance of power among them. However, the Pakistani Taliban, who have recently emerged as a significant power player in the tribal areas, are outside the control of existing Islamic political parties such as the JI and JUI. Groups exist within the Pakistani Taliban that have been harboring members of al-Qaeda and that have been profiting financially from the supply of goods. These groups have gradually been building up influential networks.

4. The Current PPP Government and the Fight against Terrorism

The PPP won an overwhelming victory in the general election held in February 2008, thanks in part to receiving the "sympathy vote" following the assassination of Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007. Bhutto's husband Asif Ali Zardari became president and head of a PPP-led coalition government. Compared to the efforts to fight terrorism made by the previous Musharraf regime, the PPP administration has demonstrated a more hard-line stance against the Islamic militants. Continuing on from the military operation in Swat, discussed in Section 3 above, the administration in October 2009 commenced a full-scale military operation in South Waziristan. This was made possible by the PPP taking both

secular ANP and religious JUI into the coalition government and keeping them informed to placate opposition from the NEFP and tribal areas. The government also took effort to get support from the military.

Toward the end of the Musharraf regime, doubts were beginning to be voiced within the US policy community regarding the commitment of the Pakistani military to the fight against terrorism, and ways to transform the military-centered policy towards strengthening civil society. In line with this trend, the PPP administration has been trying to make headway in the fight against terrorism while controlling the power and influence of the military. In its manifesto for the 2008 general election, the PPP stated: "Terrorism was born in the bowels of dictatorship, which recruited, trained, armed and financed extreme factions while marginalizing the moderate, democratic and pluralistic forces." This clearly accuses past military regimes of responsibility for fomenting terrorism. In an article in the *Washington Post*, President Zardari admitted that his own country was responsible for employing myopic strategies that attempted to make use of militant groups for its own short-term ends.

The government's attempts to control the military, however, have not always been successful. In particular, the armed forces have strongly resisted the government's attempts to tighten oversight of the ISI's operations. In July 2008 the government announced that the ISI would be placed under the Ministry of Interior, but was forced to withdraw the decision the following day. The ISI remains under the direct control of the prime minister, but on the basis of past experience, this simply means that it will continue to function as a de facto organ of the military. With regard to the government's announcement, the director general of inter services public relations stated that the army chief and other defense authorities had not been taken into confidence on the issue. He added that the ISI was a huge organization and the interior ministry could not have handled its financial, administrative and operational affairs. The spokesman also pointed out that in the cases of both India and the United Kingdom, intelligence agencies

report directly to the heads of government (prime ministers). In conclusion, he stated that the armed forces welcomed the government's decision to face the ground reality and rescind the order. Gen. (ret.) Hameed Gul, former Director General of ISI, dismissed the abortive change of jurisdiction as nothing more than "an attempt to satisfy the superpower" (a reference to the United States), and another former head of the ISI called for a strengthening of the ISI's autonomy.

Amid a sensitive power balance between the Pakistani military and the civilian government, the PPP administration's approach—which entails adjusting step with Pakistan's donor countries, notably the United States, by reforming Pakistani society to strengthen its resilience against terrorism—looks to be fraught with its own risks. The delicate relationship between the PPP government and the armed forces is summed up by the political process in response to the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act of 2009 (Kerry-Lugar-Berman Bill), which was signed by President Obama on October 15, 2009. This legislation approves \$1.5 billion in social and economic aid for Pakistan, to be provided over five years starting in fiscal 2009. Security-related aid included in this figure comes with the proviso that Pakistan must demonstrate specific measures. That is to say, the US Secretary of State must present to Congress certification that Pakistan is taking substantial measures against terrorism and nuclear proliferation, and that its security forces are not interfering in internal politics. The legislation also stipulates that certain direct payment may be provided only to the civilian authorities.

The Pakistani military, however, has voiced certain concerns over these provisions. On October 7, 2009, after the bill had passed both houses of Congress, a statement issued at a meeting of the Pakistani corps commanders expressed serious concerns regarding some clauses of the bill, which they believed would affect national security. The military had serious reservations about the bill, fearing that it would restrict the country's nuclear weapons development program. They also objected to the wording of the bill, which appeared to suggest that the Pakistani military was supporting cross-border terrorism and that the military accepted that the civilian administration had authority over personnel issues within the armed forces. Although the armed forces have continued to refrain from confrontation with the civilian government, they are attempting to resist greater government control over them by co-opting public opinion as an ally.

The PML-N, which is the largest opposition party, has voiced agreement with the military's contentions. Meanwhile, the PML-Q, which was the ruling party

under the Musharraf regime, has demanded President Zardari to submit certification to the National Assembly that the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act will not impose restrictions on Pakistan's national security, its sovereignty, or the pursuit of its nuclear program. Meanwhile, demonstrations have been organized outside the parliament by the JI. The JI has said of the US legislation that it is "an American attempt to capture Pakistan's nuclear assets," and that "it is aimed at spreading terror through the massacre of innocent people by continued American drone attacks." The JI has also organized referendums on this issue throughout the country. At the moment, President Zardari and Prime Minister Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani are united in supporting the application of the US law. This has been made possible by the United States' efforts to achieve dialogue with a wide range of political forces in Pakistan, including a visit to the country by Senator John Kerry. However, the anti-US movement being stirred up by the JI, which overlaps somewhat with the military's expression of reservation to the legislature is implying the uneasy relations between the government and the military.

Nuclear security is another major issue on which the military is understandably sensitive. There has been considerable debate among experts and journalists in the United States regarding the danger that nuclear weapons may fall into the hands of terrorists. It appears that arguments contending that such a danger is very likely to occur are motivated not so much by concern for nuclear security, but rather by criticism on US policy that weigh heavily with the Pakistani military as a partner. The majority of experts, however, believe that Pakistan's control over nuclear weapons and its materials is sufficiently safe. As grounds for this belief, they cite the fact that Pakistan employs a safeguard system against unauthorised access patterned after the US Permissive Action Link (PAL), and that, for the selection of personnel working at sites where nuclear weapons are kept, it employs a system corresponding to the Personnel Reliability Program (PRP) adopted by the US Department of Defense. In October 2009 Secretary of State Hilary Clinton expressed strong confidence in Pakistan's nuclear security. The problem is that, despite the fact that Pakistan's capability to protect and control its nuclear weapons depends on US guarantees (specifically, US technological assistance for the improvement of the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weaponry), this point is closely bound up with sensitive questions about the country's sovereignty. It is therefore difficult for third parties to request accountability.

The sensitivity of the Pakistani military on this issue is illustrated by the

incident in which a US magazine reported that Adm. Michael Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had held a meeting with Pakistan's Gen. Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, chief of Army Staff, at which they had discussed issues relating to nuclear weapons security. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Tariq Majid immediately issued a denial, stating that "there is absolutely no question of sharing or allowing any foreign individual, entity or a state, any access to sensitive information about our nuclear assets." Nuclear weapons development is an area that is closely bound up with the prestige of the military, and the armed forces have always maintained an even greater monopoly over policy formation in this field than in relation to such issues as Kashmir and Afghanistan. It is simply unthinkable that the Pakistani military would admit to any reliance on the United States with regard to nuclear weapons.

In Pakistan, where the periodic breakdown of party politics has led to repeated military coups, the Islamic forces have acquired a sort of "casting vote" due to the impasse between civilian political groups and the military. No consensus has yet been reached among the people of Pakistan regarding the relationship between Islam and the state. Common ground has been found only on the most basic level—that Pakistan is a state that serves as a homeland for Muslims, in contrast to India, where Hindus are in the majority. Because of the lack of a national "identity" in Pakistan, the jihad being conducted in Afghanistan could turn the attention of the people outward. This has made possible an alliance between the Islamic groups, who have been fostering a feeling of brotherhood with the Muslims of Afghanistan, and the armed forces, who are grappling with the formation of a regional military strategy that encompasses both Afghanistan and India.

The support given to militant groups in the past by the Pakistani military has produced a backlash, and the country has reached a state where the armed forces and the police are the target of terrorist attacks in such major cities as Rawalpindi and Lahore. Recently, there are emerging voices of regret among commentators for the country's past actions and their own tendency to shift the blame to other nations (such as India and the United States). On the other hand, some still feel victimized that Pakistan is being used as a tactical pawn by the United States.

Whatever assistance is to be offered to Pakistan in its fight against terrorism, it is vital to recognize that such assistance will affect the balance of power among the civilian politicians, the military, and the Islamic forces. Patient indirect support

will be required while the government pursues talks with all the forces in the country on such issues as development programs in the Pashtun and Balochi tribal areas and reform of the madrassas. To facilitate this, it might be valuable for us to create links with Pashtun political leaders and Islamic groups. In addition, to enable the Pakistani armed forces to cut their political and military ties with Islamic extremist groups, it is important to mitigate their threat perception vis-à-vis India. Therefore, by developing and utilizing a wide range of communication channels with the Pakistani military, foreign military organizations, including the Japan Self-Defense Forces, can help to allay the concerns and to make Pakistan and the surrounding region more resilient to terrorism.

