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THE POLITICAL CRISIS OF PAKISTAN IN
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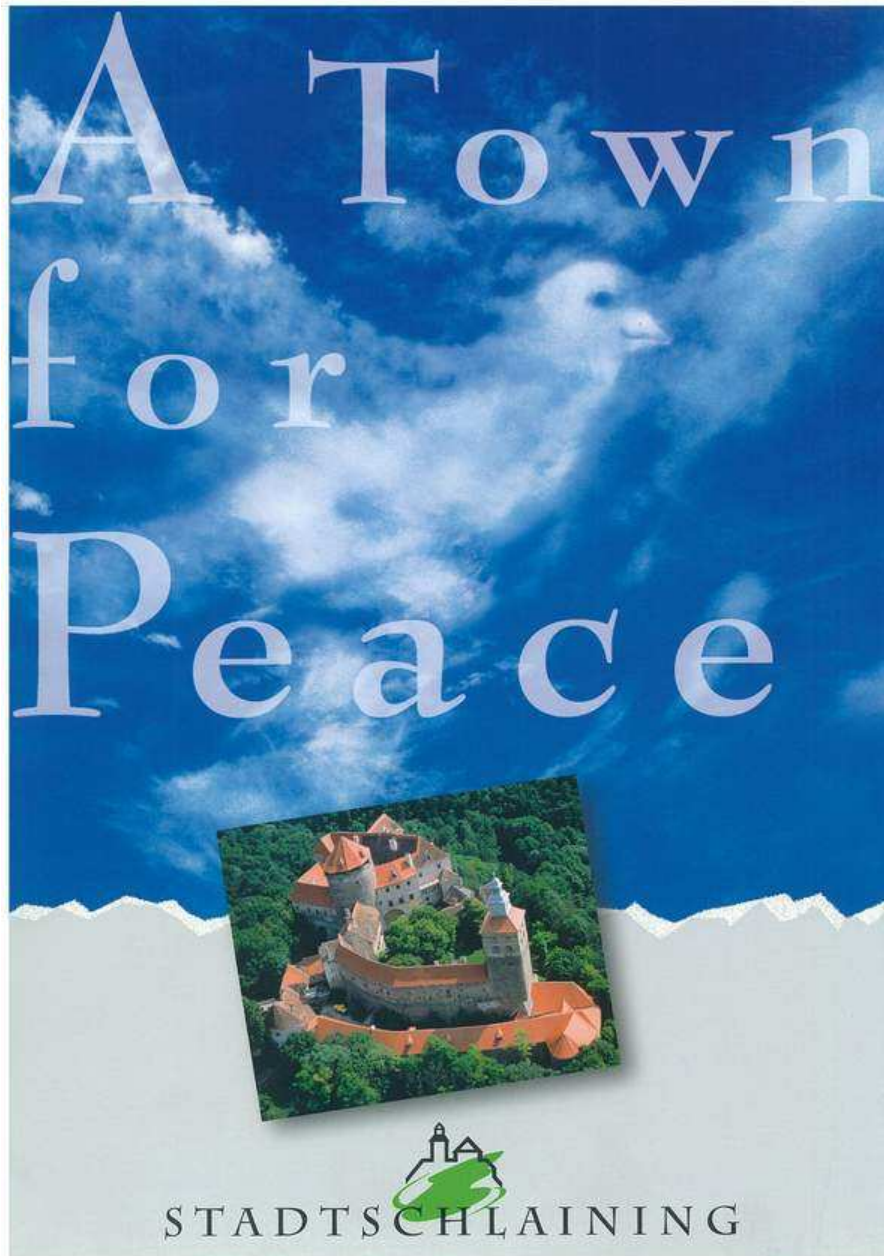


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The Political Crisis of Pakistan in 2007

Sow, Adama/Davoodi, Schoresch

The political crisis in Pakistan is dangerous for the Middle East. Pakistan has a political conflict between the different factions of the country. The situation hasn't changed, even after the coup d'état of President Musharraf. Since 9/11, Pakistan has been a close ally of the United States. But this close relationship with the U.S. is a huge problem for the Pakistan government. The Islamic political parties, which have a large influence in the country, are against an alliance between Pakistan and the United States of America. In addition, Pakistan has, in geopolitical terms, three major enemies in the region. It has the rival India, with whom Pakistan had, until 2007, a significant issue about Kashmir. In 2007 India and Pakistan tried to have closer ties, and tried to minimize the conflict because both countries are afraid to start a nuclear war against each other. Even soon after 9/11 Islamic fighters attacked the parliament of India and killed many people.¹ The former Indian External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh said on January 13th, 2002 that India suspected Pakistan was behind these terrorist attacks.²

The US government was at the same time in a war against the Taliban in Afghanistan. The Taliban were a creation of Pakistan's own intelligence service and a problem because they had close links to Pakistan. For Pakistan, 9/11 was the failure of their Afghanistan policy. Iran and Russia, two traditional rivals of Pakistan, supported the United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan--also known as the Northern Alliance--who fought against the Taliban and tried also to rollback the Pakistan influence in the country. India also supported the Northern Alliance along with Russia and Iran. So since 1996 the Northern Alliance was supported via Tajikistan with new weapons and equipment. But in September 2001 the Taliban controlled about 90% of the country.³ Pakistan had

¹ Embassy of India: Terrorist Attack on the Parliament of India
http://Schwarzfußindianer/new/parliament_dec_13_01.htm 03.10.07

² http://www.indianembassy.org/press/interview/eam_jan_13_02.htm 03.10.07

³ Malek, Martin: Geopolitische Veränderungen auf dem „eurasischem Schachbrett“. Russland, Zentralasien und die USA nach dem 11. September 2001, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte,

no choice but to break with the policy they made after the invasion of USSR in Afghanistan. The military power of the United States and the attacks on 9/11 was, for Pakistan, a political dilemma. The president of Pakistan was also afraid to be an enemy of the United States, even when Pakistan's rivals, Russia, India and even Iran, supported the U.S. in their war against terror. Pakistan's ally, China, also would not support Pakistan in a conflict against the U.S.

But many radical clerics and also the tribes in the north of Pakistan supported the Taliban. For them after the war against the Red Army, the U.S. was the second part of evil. So they made their propaganda against the U.S. and as a result of this atmosphere al-Qaida was founded in the 1990s. Michael Pohly and Khalid Duran wrote that the strongest protectors of bin-Laden are the extreme Pakistani Islamic people. And also many high ranking military people fought in Afghanistan, so Pakistan would be able to have enough strategic power in a future conflict with India. The Taliban were an important factor in Pakistan's geopolitical strategy.⁴ What happened? - Pakistan had no choice and supported the U.S. in their war against terror.

These problems have still not been solved six years later, and in 2007 the main conflict lines are still evident in the country, with no improvement for the Pakistani government. The Taliban and, many people suspected Osama bin Laden too, fled after the invasion of the U.S. and their allies to Pakistan. They had their bases in the tribal areas in the north of the country, in the border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan. These areas are not controlled by the government in Islamabad and here the Taliban forces get support from the different Pashtu tribes in their fight against the crusaders of the 21st century. The Pakistani government tried to gain control by sending more soldiers to the region. Pakistan is afraid that the chaos in Afghanistan could sweep over into their own country. Also Pakistan is afraid that the U.S. policy will, at the same time, destabilize Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan tried to be more independent from Washington. As a reaction to the killing of many Pakistani people from a U.S. attack in 2007, the president of Pakistan called the U.S. policy

Bonn Bd.8, 2002, p.19

⁴ Duran, Khalid; Pihly, Michael: Osama bin Laden und der internationale Terrorismus, Munich 32001, p.63f

'counterproductive'.⁵

Since the end of the cold war the U.S. has been the main enemy of the Islamic world. In the real policy of the local Islamic organisation, Israel, which is also a big factor in the propaganda, is no target. The main targets of the Islamic groups are India, which is Hindi dominated, and Afghanistan, where for many groups there is a replay of their fight against the USSR. For many groups in Pakistan the actual government is a puppet of the U.S.. They try to contain the influence of the U.S. and so the fight against the U.S. is now also in Afghanistan as in Pakistan. Unfortunately Pakistan has to fight this war alone. The U.S. tried to „fight against Terror“ in Iraq and in Afghanistan. But even in Iraq, which is for many Islamic groups the main battlefield, the U.S. hasn't enough resources to control the country and to bring peace. The government of Pakistan needs the Islamic parties for power. The government manipulated the elections in 2002, so that the religious parties were the winner. Those parties were the winners who are ideologically close to the Taliban in Afghanistan. The president needs them for his reforms to strengthen his position and the position of the military in the policy of Pakistan.⁶

Pakistan is also a place for many Islamic NGOs which operate in the country. Many Islamic NGOs also have links to radical Islamic organisations. Some sources said that about one third of all Islamic NGOs are linked with radical groups.⁷ A. Z. Hilali wrote in 2005: *„Musharraf also called religious extremism, including military sects and a growing movement in support of international jihad a „state within a state“ that must be curbed.“*⁸

The conflict between the different groups in the society of Pakistan and the government were escalating in 2007. In July 2007 a mosque in the capital was occupied by Islamic forces. They tried to escalate the conflict. During the conflict the government tried to negotiate but the negotiation failed and in the

⁵ USA Today: Pakistani leader: Talk of U.S. airstrikes 'counterproductive'

http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2007-08-07-pakistan_N.htm?csp=34 03.10.07

⁶ Wagner. Christian: Außenpolitik Pakistans zwischen Kaschmir und Afghanistan in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Bonn 2007, p. 32-39

⁷ Sow; Adama: Chancen und Risiken von NGOs – Die Gewerkschaften in Guinea während der Unruhen 2007, - EPU Research Papers Issue 03/07, Stadtschlaining 2007, p.12

⁸ Hilali, A.Z.: U.S.-Pakistan Relationship: Soviet Invasion Of Afghanistan, Burlington 2005, p.256

end the government conquered the mosque through force and many people died. Soon there were protests against the Pakistani government. The BBC reported pro-Taliban militants in Pakistan's North Waziristan region saying they have ended their truce with the government. It came as Pakistan deployed more troops in the area, fearing "holy war" after the storming of the militant Red Mosque left 102 dead.⁹ Pakistan's government was in a dilemma; the religious parts in the society refused a pro-American foreign policy. President Musharraf explained in the same month after the end of the siege, that the U.S. government had forced Pakistan in 2001 to cooperate in the war of terror. He said in a statement the U.S. forced Pakistan to cooperate, if not the U.S. would bomb Pakistan back into the "stone age".¹⁰ On the other hand U.S. candidate Obama said he wanted to attack Pakistan. He said in a speech he wants to attack al-Qaida also in western Pakistan.¹¹

Pakistan faces many challenges in 2007. The main challenges are concerned with ensuring that the country won't slide into a political chaos. However, also of importance is how Pakistan will act toward the new developing superpowers of China and India. Both countries need Pakistan as a transit country for Iranian oil and gas. Also important is how Pakistan will deal with the Iranian nuclear program? What will happen when Iran one day has a nuclear bomb like Pakistan? The next question is how will Pakistan interact with the U.S.? And is Russia still a threat for the foreign goals of Pakistan? Pakistan is in the centre of many conflict lines between all of these actors. This work should show these main conflict lines for Pakistan and whether they have any influence in the actual political situation.

The Internal Conflicts in Pakistan

Pakistan has many internal conflicts. Many different peoples live in the country. The majority of the population are Sunni, so Pakistan has a religious difference to their neighbouring countries of Iran and India. India has a Hindi majority and

⁹ BBC: Pakistan militants end truce deal 15 July 2007

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6899621.stm 04.10.07

¹⁰ Focus: USA drohten Pakistan mit Bombardierung 21.09.2007

http://www.focus.de/politik/ausland/musharraf_aid_116021.html 04.10.07

¹¹ Die WELT: Als Präsident will Obama Pakistan angreifen 2. August 2007

http://www.welt.de/politik/article1075294/Als_Praesident_will_Obama_Pakistan_angreifen.html?page=9 04.10.07

Iran has a Shiite majority. Afghanistan, like Pakistan, has a Sunni majority but it has many problems between the different people. Pakistan also has many problems. In the 70s in the western province of Baluchistan there was a movement for Independence. The fight of the United States against the Taliban is seen in some eyes as a war against the Pashtu people in Afghanistan. The Pashtu supported the Taliban and the other tribes supported mainly the Northern Alliance. Over ten million Pashtu live in Afghanistan.¹² But more than double that number live in Pakistan.¹³ In the border region between Pakistan and Afghanistan there is no control. The Pashtu are in conflict with the government because of the government's cooperation with the U.S. and the Northern Alliance, who are enemies of the Taliban. On October 9th 2007, the Pakistan army said in a statement that 150 militants and 45 Pakistani soldiers had died in the fighting.¹⁴ The Taliban have their roots in northern Pakistan and get much support from the population. The north of Pakistan is a failed state, because the population does not identify themselves with the country. This problem is similar to African states. When the central government is weak and has lack of control in some areas of its country, then the different ethnic people can create their own „*Parallelgesellschaft*“. Poverty and less integration of the different people are a main factor for destabilization in countries.¹⁵

The rise of the Taliban was not only their Pashtu ethnocentrism. The roots of the Taliban were in Pakistan. Many extremist Muslim groups who fought against the Hindi in India or the Russians in Afghanistan got support from Pakistan. The Deobandis for example, named after a Muslim seminary in the town of Deoband in Uttar Pradesh, India, preach an extremist Muslim creed marked by pathological hatred of infidels and Shia Muslims, misogyny, and jihadist fervour. A small minority of the Muslim population in Pakistan, but amply endowed with Saudi funds and government support going back to Zia ul-Haq, the Deobandis have played a pivotal role in the Islamisation of Pakistan,

¹² Delius, Ulrich: Afghanistan: Vielvölkerstaat vor der Zerreißprobe, auf: Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker: <http://www.gfbv.de/inhaltsDok.php?id=147> 04.10.07

¹³ Südasien.info: Pakistan http://www.suedasien.info/laenderinfos/272#toc_2 04.10.07

¹⁴ Radio Free Europe: Scores Of Militants Killed In Pakistan's Tribal Region 09.10.2007 <http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/10/BE13CBA4-760E-463F-B2E5-7A24D3804A81.html> 09.10.07

¹⁵ Sow, Adama: Ethnozentrismus als Katalysator bestehender Konflikte in Afrika südlich der Sahara, am Beispiel der Unruhen in Côte d'Ivoire, Stadtschlaining, 2005, p.16 <http://www.aspr.ac.at/epu/research/Sow.pdf> 04.10.07

installing the Taliban in power and running an estimated 1800 jihads madras's.¹⁶

President Musharraf is, as head of the army and state, in a powerful position. But the major problem of Musharraf is that the government does not control all parts of his territory. Also in the society of Pakistan there are many factors like the jihadi madras's who are a danger for the government. Musharraf tried to prevent becoming a U.S. target by having better relationship with the United States. Many people in the northern tribal areas are against a close relationship with the USA. For the Pashtu tribes the USA are allies of the northern tribes who had installed their own government in Kabul. The internal problems of Afghanistan have a large influence with the northern Pashtu tribes in Pakistan. These tribes are a danger for the government of Pakistan because the tribes do not want a big government influence in their areas. But Musharraf must get control of the region, because the United States and Afghanistan are interested in stability, and the border region is a place where the different groups who fight against the U.S. get much support.

For awhile after 9/11, by most accounts, the crackdown by Musharraf's government along the Afghan border differentiated between the Taliban (who are mostly ethnic Pashtu's) and foreign militants (Arabs and Central Asians). The Taliban often got a pass because some members of the military still viewed them as potentially valuable assets for projecting Pakistani influence into Afghanistan and because their long history of a close working relationship made it hard to cut ties overnight. The costs of the relationship have gone up in other ways, too. Because of his public commitment to counter terrorism cooperation with the United States, Musharraf is now a marked man, having narrowly survived several jihads-sponsored attempts on his life. More broadly, the Pakistani army has suffered hundreds of casualties during operations in the FATA, creating new animosities between the security forces and extremists.¹⁷

¹⁶ Alexiev, Alexander: Violent Islamists in the UK and Europe. The British government's complacency is not warranted, in: *Internationale Politik*, 6,2005:4,, winter, pp. 24-27

¹⁷ Markey, Daniel: A False Choice in Pakistan in: *Foreign Affairs* 86(4) 2007 July/Aug.: p. 85-102 .

Another aspect is that in the 90s religious fundamentalism has changed. The French scientist Oliver Roy called this new kind neo fundamentalism. He counted the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Ahl-i-Hadith as groups of this new fundamentalism. Oliver Roy wrote that these people often use new technologies and the internet for their communication with the people. In his eyes the new fundamentalism is more of a trend than an ideology.¹⁸ These changes in religious support had also changed the situation in Pakistan. There is not only just one central institution which is the centre of all Muslims in Pakistan. Also in Pakistan there is a mixture of different NGOs and pluralism which has made the situation unclear.

The demographic structure of Pakistan is very important for the inner situation. A society which has many young people is more tolerant of revolutionary ideas, than a society which has more old people. The demographic change in the Islamic world shows that many young people now need jobs. They are educated, but they do not have a job because the economy cannot grow as fast as the society. So if the young men do not have a job they also are not able to marry, because they cannot pay enough to the family of the bride. This situation is frustrating for the young men and can be used by extremists and revolutionaries of any colour. Pakistan has not had a big change in its birth rate. Every woman in Pakistan had statically in 1981 6,3 children which decreased to only 5,3 in 2001, whereas neighbouring countries had a different development. In India the birth rate declined from 5,3 to 2,3 and in Iran it went from 5,3 to 2,6 during the same timeframe.¹⁹

The government's main opposition are the Islamic political parties. Islam has been a strong social force in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent since the seventh century, when Arab traders implanted it in South India along the Malabar Coast. It subsequently spread in wide regions through Islamic conquests during the twelfth century, with Muslim rule lasting for many centuries until the British

¹⁸ Roy, Oliver: Der islamische Weg nach Westen, Munich 2006, p. 231f

¹⁹ Todd, Emmanuel: Weltmacht USA – Ein Nachruf, Munich 2003, p. 47

occupation of India. Under British rule, the Muslims of this region struggled to attain an independent state until 1947, when Pakistan was born. Although modernization is taking place, religious faith remains vital, with the Islamic faith being part of peoples' daily lives. Nevertheless, significant numbers of the Pakistani people have never before supported rule by religious leaders, at any time during Pakistan's 54 years of independence. In all the elections conducted previous to 1997, the religious parties only had token representation in the parliament. Only two seats were held by religious parties in the national assembly of 1997. The Muslim League (ML) was the party under which the Muslims in the sub-continent struggled for and achieved Pakistan. In the struggle for Pakistan, ML represented the Muslims of the sub-continent while congress represented the Hindus and a minority of the nationalist Muslims such as Abu-al-Kalam Azad. This was also a broad political party with a solid reservoir of votes.

Because of its great role during the independence movement, ML was strongly affected by the thoughts and the ideologies of Jinnah. After independence, ML became a rolling stone. Every ruler and dictator used ML for the accomplishment of a personal political agenda. This led to the division of ML into various groups. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was the largest party in West Pakistan, so it formed its government in the remaining Pakistan under the chairmanship of Z.A. Bhutto. PPP was a purely secular political party based on an economic approach under the garb of the very vague term "Islamic Socialism." The main slogan of PPP was bread, clothing, and shelter. After Bhutto was hanged in 1979, the chairmanship of PPP was handed over to his daughter Benazir Bhutto who was educated at Oxford and Harvard. PPP has a very solid vote bank, especially in the province of Sind, and has always done well in the elections.

All efforts were made to crush PPP during the Zia regime (1977 to 1988). In doing so, a nationalist group named Mohajar Quami Movement (MQM) was raised in the urban Sind. It brought worse effects, especially for Karachi and Hyderabad. These two cities became a hot spot for many years and the

residents witnessed a long wave of lawlessness.²⁰ Benazir Bhutto had to leave the country after the military putsch. In October 2007 she returned to Pakistan and tried to return to power, with the help of the west.²¹

Jochen Hippler wrote that generally in Pakistan's history, nation-building and national integration have excluded the population, making it very difficult to transform it into a citizenry. The people have been mere onlookers to politics. Sometimes they identify with specific politics or politicians, but this often was hardly more than an audience applauding a cricket team: it was to identify with someone else, not being an actor oneself. "National Identity" therefore remained shallow and could hardly develop. The main reason behind this was that the character of the Pakistani state did not significantly change after independence. It still remained of "colonial" character, remaining a tool for controlling the population, instead of becoming an instrument for self-government. The state was captured and instrumentalized by a small political elite, which consistently tried to exclude any competing counter-elites.²² Benazir Bhutto is a good example for this thesis.

Pakistan also has the problem of a lack of political participation in the population. Dieter Nohlen wrote that between 1945 and 1997 about 41,8% of the population who are allowed to vote, are voting. This compares with about 60.6% in India, 56% in Bangladesh and 63,7 % in Nepal.²³ All these numbers are the average value between 1945 and 1997. The electoral system of Pakistan is comparable with the system of Great Britain, similar to many other former British colonies.²⁴

²⁰ Tanwir, Farooq : Religious parties and politics in Pakistan, in: International Journal of Comparative Sociology, http://goliath.ecnext.com/coms2/summary_0199-2741896_ITM&referid=2090 18/10/07

²¹ Haubold, Erhard : Benazir Bhutto - Die Patin, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, October 21st. 2007

http://www.faz.net/s/RubDDBDABB9457A437BAA85A49C26FB23A0/Doc~E163C1C287CD14FEF91ED13A88B0ECFBD~ATpl~Ecommon~Scontent.html?rss_googlefeed 22.10.07

²² Hippler, Jochen: "Problems of Culture, Democracy and Nation-Building in Pakistan" in: *Nord-Süd aktuell* XII, Nr. 4, 1998, p.. 697-701

²³ Nohlen, Dieter: *Wahlrecht und Parteiensystem*, Opladen 42004, p.45

²⁴ *ibid.* p. 253

Benazir Bhutto was in exile and during the time between 1999 and 2007 not active in the policy of Pakistan. But she has many followers in the country. For the president she was not a threat. But on the one hand he was trying to balance the western foreign policy and on the other he feared losing the Islamic followers and the support of the nationalistic forces in Pakistan.

Another problem at the root of the conflict in Pakistan is the identification problem of Islam in the country. In the 1990s about 15% of all Muslims in Pakistan were from foreign countries.²⁵ This minority was a link with the other countries. Pakistan was surrounded by enemy countries. In the west there was the Shiite Iran, in East there was Hindi India, in the north there was during the invasion of the USSR a communist Afghanistan. Also of relevance is that the influence of Hindi India has changed the Islam. For the Pakistan people, all the other Muslim people don't practise true Islam. The Pakistani people said that the Pakistani way of Islam is the only right one.²⁶ Khalid Duran wrote that the Pakistani Islam is much more independent from the Islam of the other countries.²⁷ The threat for the Pakistani government is also that there is no main Islamic institution in the country. The population is split into different tribes and also into different religious sects. For example, there are no exact numbers of Shiite people in Pakistan but it is estimated to be between 6,5% to 15%. Shiite people say however that up to 30% of the population in Pakistan are Shiite.²⁸

The country is split into many different factions. The army is the only big actor in the society. It is an institution which ignores the differences of the society. In 1999 the people were dancing and also the militant Islamic groups were also jubilant, but for different reasons. Abdullah Muntazir, spokesperson of the Lashkar-i-Taiba (Army of the Pure), a religious-cum-militant group primarily operating in Indian Kashmir, declared that now Pakistan should have an Islamic system on the pattern of Afghanistan's Taliban.²⁹ 9/11 had changed the close relationship. Pakistan had to change its foreign policy. Prior to 9/11, Pakistan's

²⁵ Khalid, Duran: Pakistan und Bangladesh, in: Ende, Werner & Steinbach, Udo (ed.): Der Islam in der Gegenwart, Munich 31991, p.274-307

²⁶ *ibid.* p. 278

²⁷ *ibid.* p. 279

²⁸ *ibid.* p. 281

²⁹ Abbas, Hassan: Military, State and Society in Pakistan, New York 2005, p.178

policy was dominated by a mixture of support for the Taliban and stopped the influence of India in Central Asia. This foreign policy was a result of the cooperation between the conservative Islamic groups and the government. After 9/11, however, the government was forced to take part in the war against terror. Many people did not accept this change of policy. By the fall of 2001, the influence of Islamist sympathizers in Pakistan's army, intelligence services, and government had reached a dangerously high level. Pakistan's support for jihadists in Kashmir and Afghanistan, the Pakistani scientist A. Q. Khan's nuclear black market, the steady growth of extremist mosques and madrasahs - all were distressing signs that the country risked slipping into state failure or Islamist rule.³⁰

Another problem of the government is that there was, as Alavi wrote, a one-to-one linkage between the „overdeveloped“ state and „underdeveloped“ society which fails to explicate the intricacies of a society where the interactions and contradictions of various classes are not well defined. Another important point is that a state that depends solely on coercion and violence betrays weakness rather than strength or development. Resorting to frequent violence indicates a lack of legitimacy of the state. For instance, if developed states do not resort to frequent and explicit violence, the reason lies in a network of surveillance. Adeel Khan wrote that in a state like Pakistan, violence is the norm.³¹

*Pakistan has a problem with small arms and light weapons (SALW). Pakistan is fully alive to the challenges posed by the proliferation of SALWs. As a result of its long war against foreign occupation, Afghanistan became a repository of millions of units of small arms and light weapons. After the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan became a victim of their unabated supply. Between 2001 and 2004 over 200.000 SALWs, have been confiscated or voluntarily surrendered by the possessors.*³²

Since the end of the siege of the red mosque in Islamabad on July 3rd, 2007, the issues became more complicated in Pakistan. Since autumn, 2006, different militant Islamists had occupied the mosque and protested against the

³⁰ Markey, Daniel: A False Choice in Pakistan in: Foreign Affairs 86(4) 2007 July/Aug.: p. 85-102 .

³¹ Khan, Adeel: Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan, New Delhi 2005, p. 78

³² Hashmi, Khalil-Ur-Rahman: Trans-Border co-operation and information sharing, Bali 2003, p.

government. They had attacked Chinese massage salons and tried to force the people to accept their way of life. The army tried to find a compromise with the extremists, so they entered into negotiations with them. But the negotiations failed and the situation escalated. Between 120 and 1000 people were killed in the attack by the army. Since the end of this crisis there were many attacks on the police. A report written by Richard Asbeck that was published on August 10th, 2007, said that on July 15th two suicide attacks in the capital killed 15 people, mainly policemen. On the same day in the province North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) where mainly the people who had occupied the mosque came from, an attack killed 25 policeman only one day before 24 paramilitary people were killed in Miramshah.³³

On October 19th 2007, with great luck the former Prime Minister Bhutto survived a bomb explosion in Karachi. The consequences of this attack are described later in this paper. After this event, the political situation became more complicated and unstable. On October 20th the news agency AFP reported that in the province of Baluchistan a bomb killed a minimum of seven people.³⁴

Pakistan and the United States of America

The major areas of U.S. concern in Pakistan include: nuclear non-proliferation, counterterrorism, regional stability, democratization and human rights, and economic reform and development. An ongoing Pakistan-India nuclear arms race, fuelled by rivalry over Kashmir, continues to be the focus of U.S. non-proliferation efforts in South Asia and the major issue in U.S. relations with both countries.³⁵ There is a substantial cooperation between Pakistan and the United States. The U.S. needs Pakistan as a main ally in their war against terror. Pakistan has a large influence on the Taliban who are a product of the intelligence service of Pakistan. When the U.S. wants to have better relations with the Pashtu people they need the influence of Pakistan. Because of the difficult position the Pakistan government faces, and their fear of protests

³³ Asbeck, Richard: Monatsbericht Pakistan Juli 2007, Islamabad 2007, p.1f
http://www.hss.de/downloads/Pakistan_07-07.pdf 19.10.07

³⁴ AFP: Mindesten sieben Tote durch neuerlichen Anschlag in Pakistan, October 20th 2007
http://afp.google.com/article/ALeqM5j_NJlpJ4pbgbgf8OAEu3mjiHCNbcg 21.10.07

³⁵ Blood, Peter R.: Pakistan-U.S. Relations, Washington 2002, p.3
<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/9057.pdf> 04.10.07

against them, they react very carefully to the United States. As a result Americans are increasingly frustrated with Pakistan's counterterrorism efforts, but the United States needs to resist the urge to threaten President Pervez Musharraf or demand a quick democratic transition. Getting Islamabad to play a more effective role in the war on terrorism will require that Washington strike a careful balance: pushing for political reform but without jeopardizing the military's core interests.³⁶

Historically the United States has played a significant role in Pakistan. During the cold war, the U.S. supported Pakistan against India because India had close ties to the USSR. Pakistan was part of the CENTO, and Iran under the Shah, who was a close ally of the U.S., supported Pakistan during the campaign in West-Pakistan. At the start of the cold war Pakistan had close ties to the United States. But then the relationship between Pakistan and the United States changed. Pakistan, once America's "most allied allies," felt increasingly vulnerable and moved toward accommodation with China. India balanced its covert ties with the United States and its status as the largest recipient of U.S. economic aid by strengthening its economic and diplomatic links with the Soviet Union. To limit Sino-Soviet influence in the region, the United States worked to reconcile India and Pakistan but failed to appreciate their fundamental differences. Above all, the intractable issue of Kashmir was a *"zero-sum game in which the slightest compromise would be no less than defeat, something neither could accept"*³⁷

Since the break between the USSR and China, the USA accepted that the relationship between Pakistan and China grew and became more intensive.³⁸ At the same time the Reagan Administration started to act against Iran. The U.S. strategic objective in the Persian Gulf was to counteract a threatened Soviet thrust through Iran toward Saudi Arabia. The best American defence could be mounted, not from the borders of Iraq, but from the eastern and northern frontiers of Iran, at the request of the Iranian government and with the assistance of the Iranian army. Within this context a creditable American Rapid

³⁶ Markey, Daniel: A False Choice in Pakistan, p. 85-102

³⁷ Mahmud, Ali S.: Cold War in the High Himalayas: The USA, China and South Asia in the 1950s., New York 1999, p.187

³⁸ Möller, Kay: Die Außenpolitik der Volksrepublik China 1949-2004, Wiesbaden 2005, p.60

Deployment Force (RDF) could play an effective role consistently with the requirements of international law. Such action would be in furtherance of the right of collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. In regard to U.S. measures designed to promote individual self-defence by the states of this region, the purveyance of sophisticated American weapons systems and technology to Israel, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Pakistan, is a most disturbing factor. As events in Iran have demonstrated, arms sales can easily become counterproductive. Any U.S. arms transfer policy must be required by the legitimate defensive needs of these countries as defined by international law and interpreted in good faith by the American government. Unilateral policy determinations by these foreign governments do not provide adequate criteria.³⁹

Since the end of the cold war, the situation has changed. The relationship between the United States and Pakistan has not carried such a high priority for Washington. Under Bill Clinton Washington forgot about Pakistan in order to focus on the Afghanistan civil war. Also under Bill Clinton the United States had their focus in Europe and enlarged NATO. Their 2nd main focus was China. For the United States the region was not as important as it was in the 80s or as it has been since 2001. In the 90s Pakistan was important as a transit country for new pipelines. But to realize these plans, the U.S. also needed stability in Afghanistan, in order to get the oil and gas from Central Asia without Russia as transit. But Pakistan and Central Asia were not such a high priority as East Asia, or Europe.

The first stage of independence of the Central Asian countries prior to 2001 took place in the region without any great interest on the part of foreign states. Russia was fully preoccupied with its own affairs, the USA with the new world order, and Europe with its sudden undivided status. There was hardly a country which paid any attention to the activity of the five governments which, with the exception of Kyrgyzstan, were led initially by former Communist princes. Nevertheless, the roots of the different development of the five Central Asian states can be found in this period.⁴⁰ For Pakistan, the United States were also

³⁹ Boyle, Francis A.: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward the Iran/Iraq War, December 14, 2002 in: CounterPunch <http://www.counterpunch.org/boyle1214.html> 10.10.07

⁴⁰ Krumm, Reinhard: Central Asia - The Struggle for Power, Energy and Human Rights, Berlin 2007 p.5

not so important. Pakistan's focuses were on India and China, which started a large economic transformation. A study written by S. Frederick Starr from Johns Hopkins University wrote in October 2004, that

"... the new pace and direction of American policy, announced in October, 2003, has been applied on the ground in Afghanistan only since spring of this year. More time must pass before a definitive evaluation is possible. However, on the basis of evidence presented here it appears that this mid-course correction is achieving what it was designed to do. Many early signs herald a shift from military to political conflict, the strengthening of national institutions at the expense of warlords, and a quickening pace and breadth of economic and social development. The success of the recent elections provides early evidence that participatory institutions are possible in this war-torn land. They also suggest that the age of winner-take-all politics may be passing in Afghanistan, bringing an end to the gross and destabilizing regional and ethnic imbalances that characterized the Kabul government between 2002 and 2004."⁴¹

But the situation changed between 2004 and 2007 and became worse for the United States. In 2006 the Taliban attacked the United States and ISAF more than in any year since 2001. The reason for the increased attacks, as reported in a study of NATO's Role in Afghanistan, published in 2007, was that the Taliban had never been properly defeated following the U.S.-led invasion in 2001. Taliban fighters and senior leadership have been able to consistently exploit safe-havens in Pakistan and conduct operations across the porous border, frustrating Western and Afghan officials and prompting accusations of official Pakistani support for the insurgency. These border areas formed the traditional source of support for the Taliban movement and should have received significant attention in the form of reconstruction projects and a substantial security force presence, but instead were largely ignored, allowing the Taliban to maintain a support network and to rebuild a political infrastructure.⁴²

Harald Müller, Professor for international Relations at the University of Frankfurt wrote in 2003, that for the operations of the United States in that region, Pakistan is much more important than the Central Asian states, mainly because

⁴¹ Starr, S. Frederick: U.S. Afghanistan Policy: It's Working, Washington 2004, p. 24

⁴² Scott, Cameron: Assessing ISAF: A Baseline Study of NATO's Role in Afghanistan March 2007, London 2007, p.6

the terrorists are operating in the border region between Pakistan and Afghanistan.⁴³ Pakistan is important and not just because of the war against terror. Pakistan supported the United States and accepted that immediately after the 9/11, the United States could build up military bases in the country and allowed the U.S.-Air Force to fly over Pakistan.⁴⁴ Pakistan is also an important factor for the United States in their war against drugs. The Administrator of the United States Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA), Karen P. Tandy described Pakistan on September 28th 2007 as *“a success story in the global war on drugs”* and observed that Pakistan is *“America’s vital ally on anti-drug efforts.”* The DEA Administrator said that, according to UN estimates, the world drug trade generates 320 billion U.S. dollars and is the *“single most profitable sector of transnational criminality.”* She added: *“To address this global drug threat, DEA works with enforcement agencies worldwide. In fact, we have a larger international presence than any other U.S. federal law enforcement agency.”* Explaining the *“sinister connection between drugs and terrorism,”* Ms. Tandy said that the *“monster of the Afghan opium trade“*, threatens not only Pakistan but the entire world.⁴⁵

For the United States, Pakistan is the key to get stability in Afghanistan and to win the war against terror in Central Asia. Pakistan is the only Allied Nation where the United States does not need any help from Russia, like in the Central Asian States, and does not have to see it as an equal partner like India or China. Pakistan is, for the United States, much more important than Central Asia, because Central Asia is still under the influence of Russia and the United States doesn't share a deep history with them. Victor Maurer, Senior Researcher for Security Policy at ETH Zurich, wrote in 2004 that the United States as result of 9/11, were able to get full control of Central Asia.⁴⁶ Emanuel Todd contradicted this and wrote in 2002 that in reality the United States are dependent upon Russia.⁴⁷ Pakistan is also important for the United States in

⁴³ Müller, Harald: Supermacht in der Sackgasse? - Die Weltordnung nach dem 11. September, Frankfurt a. Main 2003, p.142

⁴⁴ Joffe, Josef: Die Hypermacht – Warum die USA die Welt beherrschen, Wien 2006, p.38

⁴⁵ U.S. Embassy in Islamabad: U.S. DEA Administrator Declares Pakistan ‘Vital Anti-Drug Ally’ 09/28/2007 <http://islamabad.usembassy.gov/pakistan/h07092801.html> 08.10.07

⁴⁶ Maurer, Victor: Die geostrategischen Konsequenzen nach dem 11. September 2001 in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte B3-4/2004, p.18-25

⁴⁷ Todd, Emmanuel: Weltmacht USA – Ein Nachruf, p. 207

their policy against Iran. For George W. Bush Iran is the main threat since the fall of Saddam Hussein. But relationships like these are never of long duration. The history of Pakistan-United States relations is an ample indicator. Pakistan's current relationship with the United States is on even shakier foundations than the past.

General Musharraf may have discarded the Taliban but he has not been able to discard the Islamic fundamentalist parties of Pakistan. Along with the Pakistan Army, they were his "natural allies". In the army controlled elections that took place in October, the Islamic fundamentalist parties emerged victorious with unprecedented strength. Without American intervention the Prime Minister would have been ousted from these parties. One swallow does not make a summer and therefore one Pakistan General cannot deliver a moderate, democratic and stable Pakistan to serve the national interests of the United States. Pakistan's foreign policy planners cannot ignore the United States in a uni-polar world. Pakistan's 'China card' is not operative in this context.⁴⁸

For Pakistan the United States is both a threat and an opportunity. The government could use the United States as an allied nation for its foreign policy. But the United States does not support Pakistan in their conflict with India. Another threat for Pakistan would be if The Peoples Republic of China and the United States were to get in a conflict, Pakistan could lose its allied nation against its main rival—India. Many politicians in the United States are unhappy with Pakistan. In their eyes Pakistan does not fight hard enough against the Taliban and Al-Qaida, who still operate in the North. On the other hand they want Pakistan to change its policy. Daniel Markey wrote in Foreign Affairs, Washington, accordingly, that Pakistan should resist the appeal of the cathartic but counterproductive approach of confronting Islamabad with more sticks and fewer carrots. Any attempt to crack down on Pakistan will exacerbate distrust, resulting in increased Pakistani support for jihadists; coercive threats will

⁴⁸ Kapila , Subhash: PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY PREDICAMENTS POST 9/11: An Analysis in: South Asia Analysis Group - Paper no. 564, 12.12.2002
<http://www.saag.org/papers6/paper564.html> 08.10.07

undermine confidence without producing better results.⁴⁹ On the one hand the United States does not forget Pakistan's long support for the jihadists, while on the other hand, they have forgotten that the United States once supported the radical Islamic forces in Pakistan who are now such a threat for the United States. John Stanton wrote in 2006 in Global Research, *"in Pakistan, the U.S. is having its cake and eating it too. U.S. weapons and technology are being used by the Pakistani dictatorship of President Musharraf to suppress a revolt for independence by the people of Baluchistan."*⁵⁰ He added: *"Pakistan is suppressing news on the seriousness of its fight against the Baloch. The number of killed-in action (KIA) its Army has incurred combating the Baloch revolt is well over 100 with thousands wounded. These troopers are portrayed by Musharraf as casualties in the fight against foreign terror when, in fact, it's akin to a civil war: the Baloch are fighting for independence."*

India Monitor reported in January 2006 that

*"Senator Sanaullah Baloch, a vocal and influential member of the Balochistan National Party...said that if conditions continued to be as oppressive for the people of his home province, we will have no option but to exercise our national right for self-determination for a separate state...Today every Baloch knows that Pakistan is a viable state only because of Balochistan...Pointing to the natural resources and the strategic importance of the province in the region, he said that the information revolution had made the world very small and today the Baloch people could not be fooled, and wanted their rights."*⁵¹

(The dynamics of Kashmir, which threaten Pakistan's stability, are beyond the scope of this piece).

The United States does not deal with Pakistan in a realistic way. Many politicians hoped that a democratic Pakistani government would be a better ally against the Taliban and bin-Laden. The main problem is that the United States doesn't really know if a democratic leader would change the policy. This is

⁴⁹ Markey, Daniel: A False Choice in Pakistan, p.85

⁵⁰ Stanton, John: Strike Iran, Watch Pakistan and Turkey Fall - What are the consequences of such an action? at: Global Research April 22, 2006
<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=viewArticle&code=STA20060422&articleId=2319> 10.10.07

⁵¹ *ibid.*

similar with the idea of a new Middle East. At the beginning of the war against Iraq, the United States hoped that a liberated Iraq would be a democratic and pro-American state. The United States hoped that a democratic Iraq would be an allied nation and they can isolate Iran, who is the new big threat for the United States. In reality Iran hoped also for a democratic state and now Iran is the winner, because the Iranian influence is now very strong in Iraq, so the United States made Iran a gift, when they had liberated Iraq. Vali Nasr wrote in 2006, that by toppling Saddam Hussein, the Bush administration has liberated and empowered Iraq's Shiite majority and has helped launch a broad Shiite revival that will upset the sectarian balance in Iraq and the Middle East for years to come. This development is rattling some Sunni Arab governments, but for Washington, it could be a chance to build bridges with the region's Shiites, especially in Iran.⁵² This could also happen if the United States now supported forces against Musharraf, they cannot count on the position that a new government will be better for the United States.

The USA and Pakistan have more problems. The United States wants to isolate Iran. So the USA tried to cut off all economic ties Iran has in the world. But Pakistan has a geopolitical chance to be a transit country between India and Iran. India needs much oil for its growing economy and Iran needs new markets, since the revolution has stopped the trade with the west. So in 2005 Pakistan accepted that Iran and India would build a pipeline between both countries that will cross Pakistan.⁵³ This project was much criticised by the U.S. Administration. The Bush-Administration views Iran as a major threat and Iran is, for the United States, dangerous because the Iranian government could build up weapons of mass destruction. For all former goals, that the Bush Administration wants to reach with the end of Saddam, Iran is a much bigger threat than Iraq ever was.⁵⁴

The United States, on the other hand, has a negative reputation in the region. There is not really an agenda for dealing with the geopolitical situation in

⁵² Nasr, Vali: When the Shiites Rise in: Foreign Affairs – July/August 2006 85:4 pp. 58-74

⁵³ Chautard, Sophie: L'Iran face au monde, Paris 2006, p.84

⁵⁴ Czempiel, Ernst-Otto: Die Außenpolitik der Regierung George W. Bush in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte B45/2004 p.24-32

Central-Asia and Pakistan. For the United States, the core of their geopolitical strategy is to have a strong position in the region. The USA tried at first in cooperation with Pakistan to install the Taliban in Afghanistan, so they could protect the pipelines.⁵⁵ The biggest problem in that region compared with Europe is that the United States lacks the presence of any multinational organisation in this region, for example NATO in Europe. Since the end of SEATO and the Baghdad-Pact, the U.S. has not been able to build up a stable network which they and the west can use in this region. Many people think that NATO should be enlarged to also include Asia. Ivo Daalder and James Goldgeier wrote that NATO's expanded ambit is a result of the new global politics that emerged after the Cold War. Today, terrorists born in Riyadh and trained in Kandahar hatch deadly plots in Hamburg to fly airplanes into buildings in New York. Such interconnection means that developments in one place affect the security, prosperity, and well-being of citizens everywhere. NATO has recognized that the best defence against such remote dangers is to tackle them at their source. Such forward defence often requires a global military reach. As the world's premier multinational military organization, comprising many prosperous nations with a vested interest in maintaining global stability, NATO is uniquely suited to meeting such demands. At the same time, with U.S. forces stretched thin in Iraq and European states failing to invest enough to participate significantly in operations far away from home, NATO is struggling to fulfil even its current commitments.⁵⁶

The new foreign policy under G.W. Bush which fought against the Taliban shows that the United States doesn't really know how to act in the region. Even countries that are not democratic have today, in the 21st century, a major problem with their society. The public opinion is still a major factor in modern societies and it is a very complicated issue for the United States, to cooperate with Pakistan or governments like the Taliban, if the public opinion and senators are against such a policy. For example, the United States had to stop plans to cooperate with the Taliban as the public opinion in the United States was

⁵⁵ Abdolvand, Behrooz: Die geoökonomischen Interessen der USA und deren Auswirkung auf die Neuverteilung der kaspischen Energieressourcen, Berlin 2005 (Diss.), p.364

⁵⁶ Daalder, Ivo and James, Goldgeier. Global NATO in: Foreign Affairs, September/October 2006. pp. 105 - 113

against it. NGOs and human rights organisations protested, together with the American Greens', against the negotiations with the Taliban, so the cooperation had to end.⁵⁷ Here it shows what Adama Sow wrote in 2007 in a study for the European University Center for Peace Studies (EPU), about NGOs and their role in the crisis in Guinea in 2007. NGOs have the power in a network with other organizations to change a political process.⁵⁸

The question of women's rights was later a good reason for the public opinion to start a war against the Taliban. Emmanuel Todd wrote that there was also a debate for the United States to liberate the women in Afghanistan and that the Afghan way of life had to be reformed by the West. He added that this thesis was very popular in the Anglo-Saxon parts of the world.⁵⁹ For Pakistan such a debate is dangerous because the U.S. behavior was in total contrast to the Pashtus position; therefore the Pashtu tribes in Pakistan were also in conflict with the United States and so in conflict with the central government in Islamabad. Selig S. Harrison, Director of the Boston Globe, wrote about the evidence of Pakistani support for the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan. The Bush administration has so far rejected pleas from Afghan President Hamid Karzai for a showdown with Islamabad's military ruler, General Pervez Musharraf. It is now up to Congress to force administrative action by conditioning further U.S. economic and military aid to the Musharraf regime on definitive measures by Pakistan to shut down Taliban bases in its territory. The House took a step in this direction in its recent omnibus Homeland Security legislation. Buried in the bill is a ban on further economic and military aid unless President Bush certifies that *"the Pakistani government is making all possible efforts to prevent the Taliban from operating in areas under its sovereign control."* Harrison wrote on February 19th 2007, that the bill left a glaring loophole: The president can waive the ban if he certifies that *"it is important to the national security interest of the United States to do so."* He has the opinion that it is more important than other methods because it does not cover disguised Pentagon subsidies to the Pakistan armed forces. The Senate should

⁵⁷ Abdolvand, Behrooz: Die geoökonomischen Interessen der USA und deren Auswirkung auf die Neuverteilung der kaspischen Energieressourcen, p. 364

⁵⁸ Sow, Adama: Chancen und Risiken von NGOs, - Die Gewerkschaften in Guinea während der Unruhen 2007, p. 23

⁵⁹ Todd, Emmanuel: Weltmacht USA – Ein Nachruf, p.174

remove or qualify the presidential waiver and include the Pentagon subsidies in the ban.⁶⁰

Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran

Prior to the revolution in 1979, the ties between Pakistan and Iran were very close. Pakistan enjoyed strong military relations with Iran during the Shah era. Both Pakistan and Iran were in the American camp opposing the Soviet Union and its allies which included India. During the 1965 war of Pakistan with India the Shah provided free fuel to the Pakistani planes who used to land on Iranian soil, refuel and then take off.

During the first decade of independence, successive Pakistani governments attached high priority to establishing bilateral relations with Iran. In the early 1970s, Pakistan's success in ending a powerful separatist insurgency in the province of Balochistan, bordering Iran, would not have been possible without the support of the Iranian military. This, in fact, set the precedence for Pakistan's involvement in the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan during the 1980s. During the 1990s, relations between the two countries declined as a result of two concurrent developments: the rise of anti-Shi'ite terrorist activities in Pakistan and the assassination of Iran's counsel general, Sadeq Ganji, in Lahore in 1990, and subsequently the coming to power of the Taliban in Afghanistan. When the Taliban captured the Afghan city of Maza-e-Sharif, they not only massacred thousands of Hazara Shi'ites, they also murdered scores of Iranian diplomats, straining Iran's bilateral ties with Pakistan, which at the time backed the Taliban. When General Pervez Musharraf came to power in 1999, he visited Tehran and promised to address the terrorist activities in Pakistan; subsequently relations between the two countries improved. After the execution of Ganji's assassin by the Pakistani government in February 2001, Iran gained a new level of confidence in Pakistan's determination to curb anti-Shi'ite extremism in that country. Still, as long as the Taliban remained in power in Kabul, supported by Pakistan, and Iran was committed to backing the anti-Taliban forces, relations between Iran and Pakistan were held hostage to some extent by the developments inside Afghanistan. On 9/11, terrorist attacks in the

⁶⁰ Harrison. Selig S.: Pressuring Pakistan to curb the Taliban in: The Boston Globe, February 19th, 2007 <http://ciponline.org/asia/articles/021907harrison.htm> 22.10.07

United States and the subsequent fall of the Taliban paved the way for the mending of bilateral relations. Immediately after the Taliban's demise, Iran's foreign minister, Kamal Kharrazi, paid a two-day visit to Islamabad and reached an understanding with his Pakistani hosts on the situation in Afghanistan. Both sides agreed to assist in the establishment of a broad-based multi-ethnic government in Afghanistan under the United Nations' auspices.⁶¹

The situation has changed since the Islamic Revolution in 1979. For Pakistan the new government was a threat. Pakistan, which was for the United States an important ally in the cold war, was afraid to get in conflict with the Islamic Republic of Iran. The strong Sunni Pakistan Islam was in direct conflict with the Shiite Islam of Iran. Pakistan also established close ties to Saudi-Arabia during the war in Afghanistan against the USSR, which was a rival of Iran during that time. During the war between Iran and Iraq, Pakistan was among the small number of countries (together with Turkey) whose roads and ports Iran could use for the delivery of strategic goods and arms.⁶² In the 90s Iran and Pakistan had opposing positions in their Afghanistan policy. Iran and India tried to contain the Pakistani influence in Afghanistan.⁶³ Iran and Pakistan were rivals during the last decade of the 20th century. But since the rise of India for both countries the situation had changed. India needs gas and resources and Iran has enough resources, which the country needs to export. A pipeline to link Iran and India must cross Afghanistan or Pakistan. The instability in Afghanistan and still the failure of different projects, for example linking the Central Asian states with Pakistan, left no choice for Pakistan and the two other countries. Since 9/11 Pakistan had to come closer with India and also with Iran. Iran was a winner in this situation. The Northern Alliance had won the war and Iran was able to strengthen its influence in the western provinces of Afghanistan, especially around Herat.

⁶¹ Afrasiabi, Kaveh L.: The Iran-Pakistan nexus in: Asia Times January 13th 2006
http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/HA13Df03.html 09.10.07

⁶² Gundogan, Unal: Islamist Iran and Turkey, 1979-1989: State Pragmatism and Ideological Influences in: Middle East Review of International Affairs, Vol. 7, No. 1 (March, 2003), pp. 1-12

⁶³ Malek, Martin: Geopolitische Veränderungen auf dem „eurasischem Schachbrett“. Russland, Zentralasien und die USA nach dem 11. September, 2001, p.19

Iran and Pakistan were rivals but there was also a period of cooperation. The United States suspected that Pakistan helped Iran, when Iran wanted to build up its own nuclear programme. So in 1987 Pakistan supported the Iranian nuclear programme. However, later Teheran suspected that Islamabad was the first to inform the United States, and after Washington, the IAEA in Vienna.⁶⁴ Pakistan is now interested in good relations between India and Iran. For Pakistan this cooperation could help the country to minimize its new dependence upon the United States. Pakistan now has a chance to change its relationship with Iran and India, to increase its profit from the growing economic ties between India and Iran. In 2005 Pakistan and Iran set a \$1 billion trade target. The two sides also agreed to establish a monitoring system under the Joint Economic Council (JEC) to keep a check on trade and investment between the two countries. Under one agreement, Iran will give Pakistan \$200 million in credit to develop infrastructure. An Iranian private company will execute various development projects under this agreement. The two sides decided the JEC would meet every six months to monitor joint economic projects and trade. Currently, trade between the two countries is around \$400 million.⁶⁵

Pakistan and Afghanistan

All factions in Afghanistan are dependent upon foreign powers. The Taliban are a product of Pakistan's intelligence agency. And many warlords are dependent either upon Russia, the United States, or Iran. Boris Wilke wrote in a study for the *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik* in 2004, that the dependence of all Afghan factions provide an opportunity not only for the neighbouring countries, and regional-powers such as Iran, Russia, Pakistan and India, but also the countries in central-Asia and also Saudi-Arabia and the United States, to use Afghanistan as a battlefield for their own goals.⁶⁶ The divergent interests of these powers are the major reason for the failure of stability in Afghanistan. Pakistan has much influence in Afghanistan. The Pashtu are the biggest ethnic group in the country and live also in northern Pakistan. The jihadists were supported by Pakistan and the Taliban were a product of Pakistan's intelligence agency. The civil war

⁶⁴ Delpech, Thérèse: *L'Iran, la bombe et la démission des nations*, Paris 2006, p. 64

⁶⁵ Raza, Shahzad: Pakistan and Iran set \$1 billion trade target in: *Daily Times*, February 24th, 2005 http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_24-2-2005_pg1_10 12.10.07

⁶⁶ Wilke, Boris: *Staatsbildung in Afghanistan?*, Berlin 2004, p. 20

in Afghanistan has not ended since the ISAF and the United States were operating in the country.

For Pakistan, Afghanistan is still both a threat but also a chance. Since the end of the Taliban, Pakistan had lost its main ally in the region. And its main rivals, India, Russia and Iran have been able to gain more influence in the country. Pakistan can not act the same as it has in the past. The government in Islamabad needs to keep its distance from the Taliban, in order not to be in harsh opposition with the United States.

Pakistan had supported the Taliban and different factions during the civil war. Khalid Duran wrote in 1994, that Pakistan was able to manipulate the United States and the CIA. With the help of the CIA and the United States Pakistan was able to use the conflict for its own geopolitical interests. Pakistan's government knew that after the withdrawal of the USSR, the different factions in Afghanistan would start a civil war. Pakistan's goal was to have a situation whereby they would win most of the new geopolitical benefits from the situation.⁶⁷ Later Pakistan planned to build up a government in Kabul, which would be pro-Pakistan. So Pakistan supported the Pashtu in Afghanistan. For Pakistan it was a good deal, because many radical Pashtu could move to Afghanistan and were not a threat for the government in Islamabad.

In 2001 shortly before the 9/11 an analyser of Pakistan's policy in Afghanistan wrote about the dangerous consequences of this policy. It was written that the Pakistani madrasas, which had been the breeding ground of this religious irrationality, had infected the clerics too, whom Pakistan's military-intelligence establishment had constituted into the Taliban. The establishment turned a blind eye to it in its eagerness to use the Mullahs to assume control over Afghanistan, but today its folly is threatening to come home to roost.⁶⁸ An analysis of Jane's

⁶⁷ Duran, Khalid: Kaschmir und der indisch-pakistanische Konflikt. Einer der gefährlichsten Unruheherde in: Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung, Stadtschlaining [u.a.], [Hrsg.]: Krieg und gewaltfreie Konfliktlösung – Friedensbericht 1994, Chur u.a. 1994, p. 61-76

⁶⁸ Raman, B.: AFGHANISTAN: PAKISTAN'S BLACK HOLE 17. 04. 2001 in: South Asia Analysis Group - Paper no. 228 <http://www.saag.org/papers3/paper228.html> 14.10.07

Information Group which was published in November 2006 wrote that,

“Afghans are becoming increasingly disillusioned with the performance of Hamed Karzai's government and as the country slides into ever more instability, Pakistan's ultimate game plan in Afghanistan has begun to unfold. Shifting its policy of half-heartedly cracking down on the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, implemented in the wake of the 9/11 attacks on the U.S., Islamabad appears to have made a sombre decision to create the necessary conditions for regaining its strategic depth in Afghanistan by resuming its political and military support for the Taliban.”⁶⁹

Ever since the Taliban regime was overthrown in 2001, Afghan officials and coalition commanders have criticised Islamabad for not doing enough to crack down on the Taliban operating from Pakistani territory, and have often accused the Pakistani intelligence agency, Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), for actively supporting them.⁷⁰ Pakistan didn't make a clear break from this former policy. For the government it is important not to lose all its influence in its neighbouring country. There is also the fear that the rivals Iran and India and possibly Russia could control Pakistan. Financial Times Germany wrote in May 2007, that Pakistan still supported the Taliban, so NATO has to stay in the country. NATO should calm the influence of Pakistan's rivals.⁷¹ Pakistan has caught itself up in trying to use a double strategy. On the one hand Islamabad is afraid to lose its influence in Afghanistan and over the Pashtu tribes in northern Pakistan, which could be a new threat for the government. At the same time Islamabad tried to have influence on the United States and NATO, to avoid any harsh conflict with the Pashtu, which would also be a threat for Islamabad. On the other hand, Pakistan uses its old allies to destabilize Afghanistan so that it would be hard for their rivals to control the country.

The Afghan president Hamed Karzai said in Pakistan that Afghanistan does not accept the policy of Pakistan. In mid-February 2006, he led a high-ranking delegation to Pakistan, telling officials there that Afghanistan would no longer tolerate support for terrorists from across the border. While he stopped short of outright accusations, Karzai made it clear that he expected Pakistan to make

⁶⁹ Jane's Information Group

http://www.janes.com/security/international_security/news/jid/jid061101_1_n.shtml 14.10.07

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹ Germund, Willi: Der Frust der Paschtunen, in: Financial Times Deutschland, May 25th 2007
<http://www.ftd.de/politik/international/:Der%20Frust%20Paschtunen/204132.html> 14.10.07

serious efforts to halt the flow of personnel and weapons across the border. *“If [the attacks] don’t stop, the consequences... will be that this region will suffer with us, exactly as we suffer. In the past we suffered alone. This time everybody will suffer with us,”* Karzai told reporters.⁷²

Karzai has not the power to control the country, nor even to protect himself. His bodyguards are from a U.S.-Security agency.⁷³ A study written by Citha D. Maaß for „Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit“, in February 2007 wrote that Karzai has not much reputation or acceptance in the population and his weak position is also a threat for the international society.⁷⁴ Citha D. Maaß wrote also in a paper in 2006, that president Karzai needs the old war lords to stay in power and consequently he is unable to bring any predictability of legal decisions nor able to force the warlords and their organization to accept and respect the laws.⁷⁵ For Karzai it is important to show the world that he is a strong leader and that it was right to install him as leader of Afghanistan. So he tried to portray foreign countries, and mainly Pakistan, as the reason why Afghanistan is still weak. He is not able to be in conflict with the warlords, who are still the real leaders of the country. It is more and more dangerous for Karzai because the Taliban last year launched a record number of attacks, and some 4,000 people died in insurgency-related violence, Afghanistan's bloodiest year since the Taliban was ousted by a U.S.-led coalition in late 2001.⁷⁶

Karzai is in a similar situation to Pakistan. He also needs NATO to stay in power. If Afghanistan were free of foreign powers, he could lose power by elections, or because he would have to leave the country by a coup, or a number of other possibilities. The weakness of Karzai and the government in Kabul are the main reasons why Pakistan does not want to cooperate too much

⁷² Shahin, Abdullah: Where the Taliban Train, March 5th 2006 in: Pakistanfacts.com <http://www.pakistan-facts.com/article.php?story=20060305201357327> 14.10.07

⁷³ Uesseler, Rolf: Krieg als Dienstleistung, Berlin 2006, p. 13

⁷⁴ Maaß, Citha D.: Afghanistan: Staatsaufbau ohne Staat, Berlin 2007, p.5

⁷⁵ Maaß, Citha D. : „Kultur des Friedens“ oder „Kultur des Krieges“ ? - Kriegsverbrechen und neue Gewalt in Afghanistan, SWP- Aktuell 30, Berlin 2006, p.3f

⁷⁶ Straziuso, Jason: Clinton Meets With Karzai in: Washington Post: January 14th 2007 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/01/14/AR2007011400148.html> 16.10.07

with them. For Pakistan the government of Karzai is a symbol that the goal of Pakistan to install a pro-Pakistan regime in Kabul has failed.

But Pakistan must cooperate with Kabul because the United States has suspected Islamabad has a secret war against Karzai. If Pakistan were to work officially against Karzai, the United States would be a bigger threat for Islamabad than before. President Musharraf has also tried to remain independent from the United States and Karzai, because if he would be too close to Karzai and the West the people in his own country would no longer accept him. Karzai also uses the conflict to gain a better reputation in the west, because they are the only power in Afghanistan who really support him. Georg Elwert wrote that conflicts have a strong integrating power.⁷⁷ Karzai needs the conflict with Pakistan to present himself as a strong leader and to get closer with the West. If the Pakistan and the West cooperate then Karzai will no longer get the support he needs.

Karzai is a weak president and he tries to undermine the influence of Pakistan in his country, but he does not have the power. Pakistan has highly educated scientists and is a nuclear power. Its army is modern and Pakistan is stable. Of course the army has much influence in the country and Pakistan has many internal problems, so the siege of the Mosque in 2007 was a threat, but the majority of the Pakistani population supported their president during that crisis. If Karzai is not supported by the United States, who also tried to get Pakistan to stop the Taliban in Pakistan, Karzai would not even be able to control Kabul.

Afghanistan needs more trade and even stability. Pakistan's main conflict area is the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). This region is poor and the people need economic growth to change their life. It is the same situation in the South of Afghanistan, where the different NGOs are not able to work because there is no security. The work for NGOs is important for nation-building, but it's also dangerous, because foreign experts are competitors for Afghanistan's own

⁷⁷ Elwert, Georg: Anthropologische Perspektiven auf Konflikt, in: Eickert, Julia M. (ed.): Anthropologie der Konflikte – Georg Elwerts konflikttheoretische Thesen in der Diskussion, Bielefeld 2004, p. 26-38

NGOs.⁷⁸ A process should work toward reforms in FATA of Pakistan, leading to their integration into Pakistani national politics and administration; the recognition by Afghanistan of the international border; assured access by Afghanistan to Pakistani ports and transit facilities; the maintenance by both countries of open borders for trade, investment, and cultural relations; agreement by both countries and by India to keep the India-Pakistan dispute out of Afghanistan's bilateral relations with both; and agreements on both sides to cease supporting or harboring violent opposition movements against the other.⁷⁹ Since 1947 Afghanistan has not accepted the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. President Karzai is at the moment not interested in solving the question of the border because he is afraid of having trouble with the Pashtu tribes in Afghanistan.⁸⁰

Pakistan and India

India has started to become one of the new global powers. Nehru wrote in 1947 that just four powers will dominate the international system: the United States, the USSR, China and India.⁸¹ These four countries all have a big influence in Pakistan. The USSR was part of the great game and is still today a big player, and they had supported the Northern Alliance. The United States supported Pakistan during the Cold War and tried to have influence in Central Asia. China has a big economic boom and tries to modernize its army; it is suspected that it will be the new big rival for the United States. China has always had a close relationship with Pakistan, who shared the same two rivals, India and Russia.

In the beginning of 2002 the first six or seven months were dominated by rhetorical threats and attacks of artillery between India and Pakistan.⁸² India and Pakistan are two major rivals and their conflict about Kashmir has been the cause of many wars and conflicts between these countries. For example in 1971 East-Pakistan became independent with the help of India, so Pakistan lost

⁷⁸ Sow, Adama: Chancen und Risiken von NGOs, p. 14

⁷⁹ Rubin, Barnett R. & Siddique, Abubakar: [Resolving the Pakistan-Afghanistan Stalemate](http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr176.pdf), Washington 2006, p. 2f <http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr176.pdf> 16.10.07

⁸⁰ Maaß, Citha D.: Afghanistan: Staatsaufbau ohne Staat, p.10

⁸¹ Wagner, Christian: Großmacht im Wartestand? Indische Außenpolitik am Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts, in: Südasiens-Informationen Nr. 5 April 2006, p. 6

⁸² Basting, Bernd: Atomares Armageddon in Südasiens? - Zur Genese und aktuellen Entwicklung des indo-pakistanischen Konfliktes, In: Österreichische militärische Zeitschrift (Wien), 40 (November- Dezember 2002) 6, p.. 719- 723, Ill., Kt.

its territory in the East. The troubles between India and Pakistan are also dangerous for the Muslims in India. On the other hand the trouble between Muslims and Hindi in India are also a source of trouble between Pakistan and India.⁸³ After 9/11 India became more important to the United States than Pakistan. Also, China and Pakistan have started to cooperate in economic questions. Economically Pakistan was falling behind India. But India needs more resources, which it got from the Middle East and Myanmar, for example. India is still interested in becoming a major world power. So India has tried to modernize its army which is a threat for Pakistan because India's army has become bigger and stronger than its own. Pakistan would only be able to stop India in a future war by utilizing nuclear weapons.

India is a politically stable state. The new government tried to reduce the conflicts between Muslims and Hindi people and to stabilize the country. In opposition to the radical BJP the Congress Party won the election in May 2004. Vajpayee and the radical BJP were scaring many people, by saying that there will be a new and nuclear conflict with Pakistan.

K. Shankar Bajpai wrote in 2003, that India and Pakistan remain caught in a dangerous deadlock over Kashmir. Pakistan-backed terrorists continue daily provocations against India, and an increasingly frustrated Indian government feels that it has no recourse short of full-scale war. The only way out was for both sides to accept that their current strategies are not working and to start talking. And only the United States can help them do that.⁸⁴ Paul Kapun from Stanford University wrote in 2005 that scholars attribute conventional violence in a nuclear South Asia to a phenomenon known as the "*stability/instability paradox*." According to this paradox, the risk of nuclear war makes it unlikely that conventional conflict will escalate to the nuclear level, thereby making conventional conflict more likely. Although this phenomenon encouraged U.S.-Soviet violence during the Cold War, it does not explain the dynamics of the ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan. Recent violence has seen

⁸³ Duran, Khalid: Kaschmir und der indisch-pakistanische Konflikt. Einer der gefährlichsten Unruheherde in: Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung, p.63f

⁸⁴ Bajpai, K. Shankar: Untangling India and Pakistan, in: Foreign Affairs, 82. Jg., 2003, No 3, p. 112-126

Pakistan or its proxies launching limited attacks on Indian territory, and India refusing to retaliate in kind. The stability/instability paradox would not predict such behaviour. A low probability of conventional war escalating to the nuclear level would reduce the ability of Pakistan's nuclear weapons to deter an Indian conventional attack. Because Pakistan is conventionally weaker than India, this would discourage Pakistani aggression and encourage robust Indian conventional retaliation against Pakistani provocations. Pakistani boldness and Indian restraint have actually resulted from instability in the strategic environment. A full-scale Indo-Pakistani conventional conflict would create a significant risk of nuclear escalation. This danger enables Pakistan to launch limited attacks on India while deterring an all-out Indian conventional retaliation and attracting international attention to the two countries' dispute over Kashmir. Unlike in Cold War Europe, in contemporary South Asia nuclear danger facilitates, rather than impedes, conventional conflict.⁸⁵

For India, it is not a catastrophe that Musharraf came to power. The democratic governments were not strong enough to stop the intelligence agency and it could be dangerous for India if Islamic forces come to power in Pakistan. Since Musharraf is interested in better relationships, the relationship between India and Pakistan has become better. India needs Pakistan as a transit country for gas and oil from Iran. India needs the resources for its economy. Therefore, India and Pakistan tried to minimize their conflicts. The fear of starting a war against each other is very strong. So Hans Haberl wrote ten years ago that the race of arms between Pakistan and India could lead to war. To stop this development and to minimize the problems, he and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), for South Asia wrote that the western world should take the conflict between the two countries as an honest threat, and work for peace.⁸⁶ Ten years later, this has changed.

China is also worried; if two neighbouring countries start a war, it could easily escalate out of control. The link between religion and policy in this case, is a

⁸⁵ Kapur, S. Paul: India and Pakistan's Unstable Peace: Why Nuclear South Asia Is Not Like Cold War Europe." in: *International Security*, Vol. 30, no. 2 (Fall 2005): p. 127-152

⁸⁶ Haberl, Hans: *Wettrüsten zwischen Indien und Pakistan. Sicherheitspolitische Auswirkungen des Konflikts*, in: *Internationale Politik* (Bonn), 52, March 1997 (No. 3). pp. 35 – 40.

factor which could easily cause the conflict to run out of control. Pakistan and India are trying also in 2007 to use dialogue to minimize their conflict. On February 21st both sides signed the: "Agreement On Reducing The Risk From Accidents Relating To Nuclear Weapons". In this agreement both sides, "[...] shall maintain and improve, as it deems necessary, existing national measures including organizational and technical arrangements, to guard against accidents related to nuclear weapons under its control."⁸⁷ So it is hoped that India and Pakistan will not start a nuclear war but instead will start a relationship based on trust.

On the other hand Pakistan is developing and has tested, new missiles which can easily reach India. In February 2007 Pakistan tested a new missile which can reach targets for a distance of two-thousand kilometres.⁸⁸ In March 2007 Pakistan also tested another new missile.⁸⁹ Generally between 1999 and 2006 the military expenditure rose from 3311 to 4572 million U.S.-dollars.⁹⁰ Then again, India has also successfully tested a short-range version of its most powerful nuclear-capable missile, the defence ministry said in 2007. The Agni-I missile, which can travel up to 700 kilometres (435 miles), soared into the sky over the Bay of Bengal from Wheeler's Island off India's east coast. The test was "*successful and the desired objectives have been met,*" the defence ministry said in a statement.⁹¹ At the United Nations, India said, amidst warnings against the possibility of terrorists and non-state actors acquiring atomic weapons, that India has sought total elimination of nuclear arms backed by a security system in which states do not feel the need to develop, produce or stockpile them. "*India has remained steadfast to the goal of a nuclear weapon-free world, to be achieved through global, verifiable and non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament,*" its delegate Sushma Swaraj told a UN committee,

⁸⁷ Agreement On Reducing The Risk From Accidents Relating To Nuclear Weapons <http://www.stimson.org/southasia/?SN=SA200702231219> 17.10.2007

⁸⁸ Welt.de: Pakistan testet Langstreckenrakete, February 23th, 2007 http://www.welt.de/politik/article731685/Pakistan_testet_Langstreckenrakete.html 17.10.2007

⁸⁹ Space-War.com: Pakistan Test Fires Nuclear-Capable Cruise Missile, March 22, 2007 http://www.spacewar.com/reports/Pakistan_Test_Fires_Nuclear_Capable_Cruise_Missile_99.html 17.10.2007

⁹⁰ SIPRI Military expenditure Network

⁹¹ International Harold Tribune: India test fires short range version of nuclear-capable Agni-I missile, October 5, 2007 <http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2007/10/05/asia/AS-GEN-India-Missile-Test.php> 17.10.2007

adding that New Delhi's responsible nuclear doctrine is based on no first use and non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapons States.⁹² This statement is a continuation of India's foreign policy, that India wants to cooperate with the UN and other agencies to solve global problems. On the other hand, India is now a nuclear power and the other states have accepted this case. For India, there is the fear that Pakistan, which is less politically stable than India, has nuclear weapons and also an Islamic government. If the president of Pakistan has to be changed, India hopes that a new government in Islamabad will also cooperate with New Delhi.

Pakistan and India are each still trying to vie for a better position than its rival. Because of its weaker position in conventional arms, Pakistan believes it needs to be a nuclear threat against India's security. On the other hand, India and Pakistan are afraid of a nuclear war between their countries. This is the reason why India and Pakistan are still trying to minimize the problems between their countries and why India has tried to stop other countries from having nuclear weapons. For India there is now a greater fear, that the crisis in Pakistan combined with the mixture of new problems between both countries could escalate the situation. If Kashmir is a symbol for the power of the new Pakistan, then India needs to be careful. India is still hopeful that Pakistan will not slide into chaos. A new Pakistani leadership is not necessarily a chance for better relationships between India and Pakistan. In 1983 Indira Gandhi started a new programme to develop new missiles. In 1999 India tested a new missile which was able to reach targets in a radius of 2000 kilometres. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assigned in 1972 to develop a nuclear bomb for Pakistan⁹³ and in 1998 Pakistan successfully tested a nuclear weapon. Since that time Pakistan has been a nuclear power and has been able to have a chance against India in a future conflict. The United States boycotted India and Pakistan after they had tested nuclear weapons in 1998. But after 9/11 the United States changed their policy, so the sanctions against India were lifted on September 22nd, 2001. On

⁹² Press Trust of India: India seeks total elimination of nuclear weapons October 17th
[http://www.ptinews.com/pti%5Cptisite.nsf/\\$All/54909A5A3CFD65B4652573770021420C?OpenDocument](http://www.ptinews.com/pti%5Cptisite.nsf/$All/54909A5A3CFD65B4652573770021420C?OpenDocument) 17.10.2007

⁹³ Springer, Michael: Indien, Pakistan und die Bombe, in: Spektrum der Wissenschaft, February 2002, p. 92

October 27th, 2001 the United States also lifted the sanctions against Pakistan.⁹⁴

Pakistan and India tried to ask the United States for help to solve its conflict. India's growing economic and diplomatic prominence is unlikely to be derailed by its territorial dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir. But given the risk that the Kashmir issue could spark a nuclear war, it is in India's best interest that it be resolved. Washington should use its influence with Islamabad to broker an agreement and thereby cement its growing strategic partnership with New Delhi.⁹⁵ For India it was important that the United States see the war in Kashmir as a part of the "War against terror", so that it will be harder for Pakistan to support forces who fight against the Indian administration. Pakistan had no choice and therefore tried to have a better relationship with the rising India, which was supported by the United States. So long as India has the support of the United States, Pakistan is not in a good position, since they cannot use militant groups for a secret war against India in Kashmir. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and Atal Behari Vajpayee signed, in Lahore on February 21st 1999, the Lahore Declaration which is meant to intensify their efforts to resolve all issues, including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. According to the Declaration both sides must refrain from intervention and interference in each other's internal affairs. Pakistan and India must also intensify their composite and integrated dialogue process for an early and positive outcome of the agreed bilateral agenda.⁹⁶ For India, a change from Pervez Musharraf to Muhammad Nawaz Sharif won't be directly a problem, because also Sharif respected India and tried to have better relations with New Delhi, so the threat of a nuclear attack between the countries would be minimized. It doesn't mean that Pervez Musharraf is not a good choice for India, but Musharraf is head of the army and well linked to the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). While he is a product of these forces, which are the major rivals of India, he is also a guarantee that Pakistan

⁹⁴ Hubel, Helmut a.o.: Die militärische und politische Präsenz der USA im Vorderen Orient, in: Faath, Sigrid [ed.]: Neue geopolitische Konstellationen im nahen Osten nach dem 11. September 2001, p. 51-90

⁹⁵ Gunguly, Sumit: Will Kashmir stop India's rise? in: Foreign Affairs, July/August 2006, Vol. 85, No. 4, pp. 45-56

⁹⁶ Embassy of India: The Lahore Declaration between India and Pakistan signed on February 21st 1999 http://www.indianembassy.org/South_Asia/Pakistan/lahoredeclaration.html 17.10.2007

won't slide into chaos and that a fundamentalist government will govern in Islamabad.

On September 27th 2007, Benazir Bhutto said that in the 60th year of their Independence she wanted to see a treaty between India and Pakistan that "promises" peace for the coming generations.⁹⁷ This shows that she has also tried to change the relationship with India. With this change, she hopes to get acceptance from India and stop the fear about a change in Pakistan's foreign policy. The question about a good relationship with India is, for the different political forces, a factor in their struggle for power.

The Relations Between Pakistan and Russia

The end of the USSR was a chance for Pakistan and Russia to normalize their relations. India's concern was whether or not the special relations it enjoyed would undergo a change. Immediately after the breakup of the Soviet Union, there was a debate even in Russia about its future policy towards South Asia. There was a view that Russian policy should be equidistant, in which both India and Pakistan enjoyed the same emphasis.⁹⁸

But before 9/11, Pakistan and Russia were rivals in the region. So India, Russia and Iran supported the Northern Alliance against the Taliban, who were allied with Pakistan. A reaction of the growing influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan and the domination of the Taliban in the country, Russia, Iran and India cooperated more closely in different political questions.⁹⁹ But it is generally agreed that in the post-Soviet Russia, there are divergent opinions on foreign policy making among the Foreign Ministry, the academic community and the parliamentary circles. In the initial period around 1992-1995, the Westerners or the 'Atlanticists' led by Andrei Kozyrev, the first Foreign Minister of the Post Soviet Russia, and his foreign policy establishment were in clear ascendance.

⁹⁷ Hindustan Times: Bhutto wants 'peace treaty' between India, Pakistan, September 27th, 2007 <http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/StoryPage.aspx?id=1a5956a6-e385-4d35-b2e9-fb8cad0d477&&Headline=Bhutto+wants+'peace+treaty'+between+India%2c+Pakistan> 18.10.07

⁹⁸ Joshi, Nirmala: [India-Russia Relations and the Strategic Environment in Eurasia](http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_1_ses/10_joshi.pdf), http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_1_ses/10_joshi.pdf 22.10.2007

⁹⁹ Haberl, Hans: Wettrüsten zwischen Indien und Pakistan. Sicherheitspolitische Auswirkungen des Konflikts, in: Internationale Politik 52 (1997), 3: pp. 35-40

Thus in this period, Asia in general, and South Asia specifically, was accorded a low priority in Moscow's restructuring. In January 1993, the Russian Foreign Ministry published the 'Concept of Russian Federation's Foreign Policy', in which South Asia was accorded seventh place in its list of ten priorities.¹⁰⁰ Russia was not able to play an active role in Central Asia. Since the end of the USSR and the chaos in Afghanistan, the United States and Pakistan planned a politically stable Afghanistan, which would be able to be controlled and so it could be used as a base for economic ties to the Central Asian states. This idea, born in the 90s was a reason for the birth of the Taliban.¹⁰¹ Pakistan tried to fill the vacuum which was in Central Asia, since Russia had to withdraw since the end of the USSR in 1991.

Since 9/11 Pakistan-Russia relations have been undergoing a process of normalization, which presently is moving at a slow pace and will take some time to reach a stage where the relationship can be termed completely normal. Although the frequency of high-level meetings between the leaders and officials of the two countries has increased, substantive improvement in relations at the operational level is still awaited. The intent of both countries to improve relations is gradually becoming more evident. Pakistan seems to be more enthusiastic in improving relations with Russia in comparative terms. There are solid reasons for this relationship to grow in the future. Among them is the changing geo-strategic landscape of this region that provides the rationale for Russia to improve its relations with the region's large and medium-sized powers.

For Russia, the benefits of improving bilateral relations with Pakistan are well defined, especially in the context of a regional framework for anti-terrorism cooperation, as well as Pakistan's interest in buying Russian weapons systems and expanding economic interaction. Pakistan stands to gain by improving its relations with Russia in terms of having alternative options such as: for its security needs, technology transfer in the scientific and research fields, access to the Russian market for its exports, and strengthening relations with its

¹⁰⁰ Shah, Adnan Ali: Pakistan-Russia Relations Post Cold War Era, http://www.issi.org.pk/journal/2001_files/no_2/article/6a.htm#top 23.10.07

¹⁰¹ Baraki, Matin: Islamismus und Großmachtpolitik in Afghanistan, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B8/2002, p.32-38

Central Asian neighbours which are difficult to develop beyond a certain level without having improved relations with Russia first.¹⁰²

For Pakistan, Russia is a new chance to gain more independence from the United States. The government, therefore, is able to profit from the better relationships between the Peoples Republic of China and Russia. Both countries are interested in ensuring that Pakistan will not allow the United States to have too much influence in this region. Russia and Pakistan have now begun to establish close economic ties. The bilateral trade turnover between Pakistan and The Russian Federation during the last two years has grown five times, reaching U.S. \$ 500 million. However, it is far below the actual potential; the promising areas of cooperation include oil and gas, metallurgy, energy, raw materials, transportation and railways, said Pakistan's Ambassador to Russian Federation, Mustafa Kamal Kazi.¹⁰³ Even when the United States tried to criticise Islamabad and New Delhi got closer ties to Washington, for Moscow and Islamabad there is also a chance to cooperate and get closer ties. Islamabad got weapons from Russia; the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reported that between 2001 and 2006 Pakistan ordered 18 Mi-8s from Russia. The Russian main focus is still on its former Republics in Central Asia.

Russia and Pakistan are close in their fight against the war on terror, but Russia doesn't have very close ties to Pakistan. For Russia the connection between Russia and the Central Asian state are the primary goal of Russian foreign policy. For example, the relationship between Russia and Turkmenistan revolves around natural gas. The death of President Saparmurat Niyazov in January has led to a "thaw" inside the country forcing Russia to react to retain its influence, if not its monopoly on Turkmen gas exports. Now Turkmenistan is demanding a higher price for its gas, particularly given the profits Russia makes from sales to Ukraine and the West. President Gurbanguly Berdymukhamedov

¹⁰² Ahman, Fazal-ur-R: Pakistan's Evolving Relations with China, Russia, and Central Asia http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no16_1_ses/11_rahman.pdf 22.10.2007

¹⁰³ APP: Pakistan, Russia trade grows five times, touches U.S. \$ 500 mln mark: Ambassador Kamal, August 23rd 2007 http://www.app.com.pk/en/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=15287&Itemid=2 22.10.2007

is pursuing separate pipeline projects that could link his country directly to China and to Europe, without Russian participation. Whether Turkmenistan has the capacity to supply everyone who wants to buy its gas remains to be seen. How Turkmenistan develops its gas relations with potential new customers will determine its place in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the region's larger political economy.¹⁰⁴

Russia's policy toward Pakistan since 9/11 is mainly dominated by the desire to minimize the U.S. influence in the region. The main geopolitical interests of Russia are still to dominate the pipelines and to control the gas of the former Soviet Republics. Pakistan is not part of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and close ties to Russia will bring Pakistan more in conflict with the United States. A cooperation between Russia and Pakistan's former close ally China, would also for Pakistan be a chance to leave the influence of the United States, even if the main focus of the USA is on India. However, Pakistan has also to be careful not to lose the United States, because Pakistan needs the USA and NATO to control the influence of Russia and Iran in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

Another issue, however, is that since the end of the USSR, and later since 2001, Russia's foreign policy has not been clear. Russia was not sure whether to start a pro western policy or to become an Asian country and set its focus more toward Asia and Central Asia, than to Europe. Hannes Adomeit wrote in 2002, that before 9/11 Russia decided to be an independent power in a multipolar world.¹⁰⁵ After 9/11 Russia started to cooperate with the United States and it was looking as though they had decided to set their focus on the West.¹⁰⁶ For Pakistan there appeared to be no chance to cooperate closely with Russia. Russia saw the Taliban and their idea of a Sunni emirate, with a Saudi-Arabian influence as a threat for Russia. Since the end of the Taliban and the rise of Northern Alliance the relationship between Pakistan and Russia were also not the best. However, the relationship has changed since the end of the

¹⁰⁴ Malashenko, Aleksei: Russia and Turkmenistan in: Russian analytical digest, 29/07, Zürich 2007, p.2-5

¹⁰⁵ Adomeit, Hannes: Russland – Von der „euroatlantischen“ über die „nationalpatriotische“ Orientierung zum „europäisch-atlantischen“ Kurs, in Ferdowsi, Mir A. [ed.] Internationale Politik im 21. Jahrhundert, München 2002, pp. 181-202

¹⁰⁶ ibd. p.200

USSR. Both sides no longer fight against each other as they did during the time of the Soviet occupation of Kabul, but Pakistan and Pashtu nationalism are still seen as a threat for Russia`s interest in the region.

Russia is not concerned about the United States building pipelines between Central Asia and Pakistan, so Russia will loose its power over its former Republics. But it is interested to ensure that Afghanistan will not come to peace under a U.S. dominated government. This is the same interest that Pakistan has: that Afghanistan will not come to peace, but Pakistan hoped that NATO and the USA will control the influence of Russia and Iran, which is of course against the interests of Moscow. A stronger Pakistani role and the planned Unocol Pipeline, would help the former USSR republics become more independent from Russia. Brzezinski wrote that Russia must find a way to stop this development.¹⁰⁷ Martin Malek wrote in 2002, that Russia hoped that with the support of the United States, they could directly support the enemies of the Taliban and fight more effectively against this group, which was supported by Islamabad.¹⁰⁸ Michael Lüders wrote that since 9/11, the United States has tried to control Central Asia and build up new pipelines. Pakistan could win if the Unocol pipeline would be finished, but on the other hand, it would be more dependent upon the United States because Russia would once again become a rival of Pakistan.

Another issue is that since the 90s radical Islamic groups have been operating in Central Asia. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan was, in the Summer of 1999, attacking the South of former GUS states. This group was suspected to be responsible for some planned attacks in Germany in 2007. They were operating from Afghanistan and were linked with the Taliban. So they fought after 9/11 against The Northern Alliance.¹⁰⁹ Russia`s fear is that the radicals formerly supported by Pakistan, and possibly actually supported behind the scenes, could be a threat for Russia. Since 2002 Russia has tried to get its active role back in the region of Central Asia which has been lost to the United

¹⁰⁷ Brzezinski, Zbigniew: Die einzige Weltmacht, Frankfurt a, Main, 82004, p.206

¹⁰⁸ Malek, Martin: Geopolitische Veränderungen auf dem eurasischem Schachbrett, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B8/2002, pp. 14-22

¹⁰⁹ Lüders, Michael: Macht und Glauben in Zentralasien, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B37/2003 p. 49-54

States.¹¹⁰ But Russia is in fear that Pakistan could return to its former policy and cooperate with the radicals.

Russia is interested in a stable Pakistan, because since Islamabad has to drop the Taliban and the radical Islamists, it is no longer a threat for Moscow. Russia has tried to rollback the western influence from Central Asia, and cooperate closer with China, which has close ties with Pakistan. But the main focus is still on Central Asia. The Russian policy-making elite is divided over how to respond to the geopolitical shift that has occurred in Central Asia. The sudden arrival of U.S. forces in Central Asia has prompted some analysts in Moscow to accuse the government of 'losing' Central Asia. Hawkish statements are coming from such leading figures as the State Duma speaker G.Seleznyov, who said during his recent tour of the region: "Russia will not endorse the emergence of permanent U.S. military bases in Central Asia."¹¹¹ In addition, Russian security officials claim there is a score of top secret Russian military facilities in Central Asia that the USA and NATO are keen to gather information on. In Kazakhstan, there is the Sary-Shagan anti-missile launching site and the radar station, which is part of Russia's early-warning system. In Kyrgyzstan, there is a Russian navy long-distance communications centre, and a testing site for the nuclear submarines' rockets on the Lake Issyk-Kul. There is also a space surveillance station, located at Nurek in Tajikistan.¹¹² Russia and Pakistan are still interested in cooperation so the relationship has been changing along with the increasing cooperation between China and Russia. There is potential for the relationship between Russia and Pakistan to be changed and recreated between them, but they have much to overcome, including their mutual distrust, and the fact that Pakistan is afraid to risk a cut with the United States.

The Actual Situation in Pakistan – The Bombings of October 19th 2007

The situation in Pakistan is becoming more and more complicated. At the beginning of this paper, the question was posed: how is the general situation in

¹¹⁰ Halbach, Uwe: Russlands muslimische Ethnien und Nachbarn in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, B16-17/2003, pp.39-46

¹¹¹ Peterson, Scott: Terror war and oil expand U.S. sphere of influence in: International Eurasian Institute for Economic and Political Research, March 19, 2002, http://www.iicas.org/english/enlibrary/libr_19_03_02.htm

¹¹² Rasizade, Alec: The New "Great Game" in Central Asia after Afghanistan in: Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol.1, No.2, Summer 2002, pp. 125-146

Pakistan? What is the situation now in Pakistan and what could be the geopolitical consequences?

The government in Pakistan has many concrete problems leading to a dangerous situation. In the last few weeks the previous leaders such as Sharif and Bhutto returned from exile to Pakistan. Bhutto came back to Pakistan on October 19th 2007. When she presented herself in Karachi to her followers she said she sought a confrontation with Pervez Musharraf. Soon after she arrived a bomb exploded next to her and more than 35 people were killed and over 100 people injured.¹¹³ When she arrived, more than 100.000 people wanted to see her, although her party, the PPP, said that about two million people wanted to see her.¹¹⁴ Even after the bombs she stated that she wanted to continue the election campaign.

“Benazir Bhutto, who narrowly survived a bloody suicide attack Thursday, said today she had specific information prior to the bombing about people in the Pakistani government and security forces who were plotting against her, and had written to the president, General Pervez Musharraf, listing names. But she did not expressly blame the government or give the names in a news conference on October 19th.¹¹⁵

Mrs. Bhutto's husband, on the other hand, on October 19th, directly blamed a Pakistani intelligence agency for two bombs that killed more than 130 of her supporters during her homecoming parade in the early hours of Friday morning. *"We blame the intelligence agency and we demand action against it,"* Asif Ali Zardari, Ms Bhutto's husband, told a private news channel. *"It is not done by militants, it is done by the intelligence agency."*¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Hamburger Abendblatt: Bhutto-Rückkehr: Erst Jubel, dann zwei Explosionen, October 19th 2007 <http://www.abendblatt.de/daten/2007/10/19/806440.html> 19.10.07

¹¹⁴ Baseler Zeitung: Hundertausende Pakistaner feiern Rückkehr von Bhutto, October 18th 2007 <http://www.baz.ch/news/index.cfm?keyID=d9d08a04-1208-4059-9e63e3737491f484&startpage=1&ObjectID=B3FAA1D3-1422-0CEF-70219405F467E863> 19.10.07

¹¹⁵ New York Times: Bhutto Says She Warned of Plots Against Her, October 19th 2007 http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/20/world/asia/20Pakistan.html?_r=1&hp&oref=slogin 19.10.07

¹¹⁶ Financial Times: Bhutto's husband blames Pakistan intelligence for blasts, October 19th 2007 http://us.ft.com/ftgateway/superpage.ft?news_id=fto101920070433149297&page=1 20.10.07

The "New York Times" wrote that a leading American newspaper has asked Washington to help the PPP leader and the Islamic nation to "truly move towards democracy".¹¹⁷ The United States were seen as having the ability to influence change in Pakistan. "The New York Times" has a large influence on the foreign policy of the United States. For example, the "New York Times" reported in 1992 about the crisis in Somalia. After the "Times" many other papers reported on this situation and a campaign began, that caused the U.S. to react in this case.¹¹⁸

After the attack on Bhutto when she returned from exile, and because the Taliban said they were not the assassins, many people suspected the government was behind the bombings in Karachi. The U.S. State Department said on October 18th 2007, that the goal of the United States,

"[...]for Pakistan is to see it develop its democracy, to continue its advance towards being a peaceful, modern, moderate Islamic state. And we certainly want to see as part of that process free, fair and transparent elections take place. And those elections should involve all parties that are legitimate forces in the Pakistani political system. Certainly, that would include former Prime Minister Bhutto's party. In respect to her personal situation, again, we've always stressed that we want to see these kinds of issues resolved by Pakistanis themselves and assure that what happens is done in accordance with Pakistan's laws and in accordance with Pakistan's constitution."¹¹⁹

The United States hoped that the stability of Pakistan would not be in any danger. So it added that,

"we certainly look forward to seeing the election process move forward and see -- and certainly encourage all those who share the vision that we have and that President Musharraf and others have for Pakistan's future to participate and participate actively."¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Hindustan Times: U.S. must help Bhutto, Pakistan move toward democracy: NYT, October 19th 2007 <http://www.hindustantimes.com/StoryPage/StoryPage.aspx?id=81ef643f-bb67-4c03-a395-b8e946582f3e&ParentID=50cf74ae-24a1-4640-ac61-f914337f1167&MatchID1=4580&TeamID1=7&TeamID2=3&MatchType1=2&SeriesID1=1149&PrimaryID=4580&Headline='U.S.+must+help+Bhutto%2c+Pak+move+toward+democracy'> 20.10.07

¹¹⁸ Zangel, Bernhard & Zürn, Michael: Frieden und Krieg, Frankfurt a. Main 2003, p.261f

¹¹⁹ U.S. Department of State: Daily Press Briefing October 18th, 2007 <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2007/oct/93662.htm> 20.10.07

¹²⁰ ibid.

Shri Satyabrata Pal, High Commissioner of India in Islamabad on behalf of Government of India wrote to Mrs. Benazir Bhutto on October 19th 2007:

“We are horrified by the loss of innocent life caused by the terrorist attack on your convoy and the injuries to some of your senior colleagues. We are relieved that you yourself are unhurt. Terrorism is a common challenge to all of us in South Asia. We look forward to working with you to defeat terrorism in all its forms.”¹²¹

India has also tried to stay close to Bhutto and hoped that both sides would continue to fight against terrorism. For India it is important that Pakistan and maybe a future President Bhutto will learn from this event and will support India and stop the terrorists in Kashmir.

On October 19th 2007 Iran`s Foreign Ministry Spokesman Mohammad Ali Hosseini condemned, recent terrorist acts and bomb explosions in the city of Karachi, which killed and injured hundreds of people of Pakistan. Hosseini underlined that Iran has always wanted stability and security in its neighboring countries, including Pakistan.¹²² But in the statement there was no direct political message such as in India`s statement, but rather it was more vague because in current day 2007, Iran cannot join the war on terror as it was able to do in 2001. The important countries that have more influence in Pakistan are still analysing the situation after the events on October 19th.

In Pakistan, on October 19th Bhutto said she would stay in the country.¹²³ This is unlike Nawaz Sharif who tried to come back but directly had to leave the country again. On September 10th 2007, the former Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was arrested and deported to Saudi Arabia within hours of arriving at Islamabad airport.¹²⁴ However, Bhutto was allowed to return to the country. Fox News reported on October 5th 2007, that she had made an

¹²¹ Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi: Message conveyed by High Commissioner of India in Islamabad on behalf of Government of India to Mrs. Benazir Bhutto, October 19th, 2007

¹²² Iran Ministry of Foreign Affairs: FM spokesman condemns terrorist acts in Pakistan, October 19th 2007 <http://web-srv.mfa.gov.ir/output/english/DOCUMENTS/FPDoc3.HTM> 20.10.07

¹²³ NZZ Online: Bhutto will trotz Anschlag in Pakistan bleiben, October 19th 2007 http://www.nzz.ch/nachrichten/kultur/zuercher_kultur/pakistan_anschlag_reaktionen_1.571618.html 20.10.07

¹²⁴ Guardian: Sharif deported on return to Pakistan, September 10th 2007 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/pakistan/Story/0,,2166001,00.html> 20.10.07

agreement with President Musharraf so she was allowed to come back and have a chance to return to power, perhaps as a junior partner of Musharraf. The news said that he and Benazir Bhutto finalized a power-sharing deal on October 4th 2007, paving the way for the exiled former leader to return to her homeland.¹²⁵ However, on October 21st Bhutto said that the government of Pakistan should accept international help regarding the investigations of the attacks of October 19th.¹²⁶ This reaction, taken by a major political leader, shows the population and the entire world, that Bhutto lacks trust not only in the national resources of investigation into this case, but also of Musharraf himself. If Musharraf accepts this statement, he will lose power because it is also a symbol that Pakistan is not safe and the government is not able to control the country. The attacks of October 19th, directly after Bhutto returned, and the fact that she survived this attack on her person shows, similarly to the siege of the mosque in July 2007, that the actual government of Pakistan lacks the power to control the country. This will be a lack of legitimacy because Musharraf is not an elected president and a primary goal of his political power is, in the way Thomas Hobbes described, to secure the state and its society. But if this failed and Musharraf is not able to protect the people, he loses more and more of his power and his authority. On the contrary, after these events of October 19th 2007 Benazir Bhutto is able to present herself as a victim, and a debate about her political past and her role in the past of Pakistan is undercut.

So the main focus in the debate of the future of Pakistan will be the political future of Musharraf. The attacks are destabilizing the political landscape of Pakistan. No one said that they are the attackers, and the fact that Bhutto said she wants to cooperate with Musharraf while her husband publicly suspected the secret service of Pakistan behind the attacks, creates an atmosphere of distrust. Both sides, Musharraf and Bhutto, must cooperate in order to form a strong future, but there is still no answer to how it will be in reality. Actually Musharraf is still handicapped because he is not allowed to declare himself as winner of the elections and he should resign as head of the army. The debate to

¹²⁵ Fox-News: Report: Bhutto, Musharraf Agree to Power Sharing Deal, October 5th 2007
<http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,299536,00.html> 20.10.07

¹²⁶ ORF: Pakistan: Bhutto ruft zu internationaler Hilfe auf, October 21st 2007
<http://www.orf.at/?href=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.orf.at%2Fticker%2F268864.html> 21.10.07

separate the power of the military and government is not a guarantee that the army will not have any influence on the politics of Pakistan. The attacks are just a catalytic factor in the normal changes of the political landscape of Pakistan.

The challenges continue, as just six days later, on October 25th, another bomb killed a minimum of 30 people in the valley of Swat. On the same day 2000 soldiers arrived in the valley to besiege a madrassa.¹²⁷

Musharraf and His Second Coup D'Etat

Until Saturday, November 3rd, 2007, it appeared clear that Bhutto and Musharraf would be able to share power and that the situation would be stabilized. However, on that Saturday things began to change. For many experts, the Economist reported, it looked as though General Musharraf wanted to shore up his own unpopular, and perhaps illegal, government.¹²⁸ Musharraf tried to keep the power and so the elections were stopped. On November 4th the Prime Minister, Shaukat Aziz, suggested that a general election due in January could be postponed for a year, although the next day he insisted that it would go ahead as planned in mid-January.¹²⁹ But the question is, why did the government do this?

What is the current situation in the country? The New York Times wrote that on the night he declared the emergency, General Musharraf released 28 Taliban prisoners; according to news reports, one was serving a sentence of 24 years for transporting two suicide bombers' jackets, the only fashion accessory allowed in Pakistan's Taliban-controlled areas. These are the kind of people who, on their off days, like to burn down video stores and harass barbers for giving shaves and head massages. In what can be seen only as a reciprocal

¹²⁷ NZZ: Schwere Anschlag in Pakistan, October 25th, 2007
http://www.nzz.ch/nachrichten/international/schwerer_anschlag_in_pakistan_1.574557.html
25.10.2007

¹²⁸ The Economist: Coup number two, November 5th, 2007,
http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10088419&CFID=25624162&CFTOKEN=75990747 7.11.2007

¹²⁹ *ibid.*

gesture, the Taliban released a group of army soldiers it had held hostage — according to the BBC, each soldier was given 500 rupees for good behaviour.¹³⁰ In the country, many lawyers were protesting against the coup, indicating that the government had started to get into conflict with the elite of the country — especially the lawyers. Also Bhutto became more harshly opposed to Musharraf. Before November 3rd, Miss Bhutto ordered her party not to resign from the parliament when General Musharraf got himself re-elected President by its members—in uniform, although the constitution seems to forbid it—the following day. This trade-off was a product of year-long power-sharing negotiations between Miss Bhutto and General Musharraf.¹³¹ However, on November 7th Bhutto vowed to go ahead with a rally to protest the imposition of emergency rule, despite police threats to stop it.¹³² Also hundreds of lawyers took to the streets of Islamabad on the fourth consecutive day of the state of emergency to protest against Musharraf. Observed by the cameras of the international press, the police kept a low profile, but behind the scenes thousands of lawyers, journalists, activists and citizens from around the country were arrested or placed under house arrest.¹³³

For the western world and Pakistan`s main ally, the United States, this situation has become a threat. The resistance against the government would be stronger. The United States has stopped their support of Pakistan. But at the same time the Bush administration is voicing cautious optimism about indications from the government of Musharraf that it may still be able to hold parliamentary elections in January despite the state of emergency rule that Musharraf has declared, and is pressing Pakistan to make good on that electoral promise.¹³⁴ The United States is now in a dilemma. They still need

¹³⁰ New York Times: Pakistan's General Anarchy, November 7th, 2007
<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/07/opinion/07hanif.html?ref=asia> 7.11.2007

¹³¹ The Economist: After the blast, October 25th 2007
http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=10024779 7.11.2007

¹³² Guardian: Bhutto vows to protest despite police threats, November 7th 2007
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/pakistan/Story/0,,2206570,00.html> 7.11.2007

¹³³ Radio Netherlands: Pakistani lawyers keep up protest, November 7th 2007
<http://www.radionetherlands.nl/currentaffairs/071107-pakistan-lawyers> 7.11.2007

¹³⁴ Silva, Mark: U.S. ambassador presses for elections in Pakistan, Baltimore Sun—Web blog, November 6th, 2007.
http://weblogs.baltimoresun.com/news/politics/blog/2007/11/us_ambassador_presses_for_elec.html

Pakistan and they hoped that Pakistan would not transform into a country ruled by religious extremists. But U.S. officials and experts warned Monday November 5th, that Musharraf's actions could actually aid the growing insurgency by militants allied with al-Qaida and the Taliban. The U.S. paper Kansas City wrote: "*Musharraf's brutal suppression and arrests Monday of thousands of opposition protesters also could endanger U.S. congressional approval of a \$750 million plan to help curb the insurgency, they said.*"¹³⁵ The United States are worried that the coup will not stabilize the country as the government in Islamabad hoped. For Washington's interests an agreement between Bhutto and Musharraf would be better. So Secretary of State, Condolisa Rice said on November 3rd in Tel Aviv that she wanted to be clear that the United States "...does not support extra-constitutional measures because those measures would take Pakistan away from the path of democracy and civilian rule. And whatever happens, we will be urging a quick return to a constitutional order, we will be urging that the commitment to hold free and fair elections be kept, and we'll be urging calm on all the parties."¹³⁶ Joseph R. Biden, Jr. Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urged on November 5th that Musharraf should guarantee free and fair elections, and return to rule of law.¹³⁷ As reaction of the coup, the United States and Germany were cutting their benefits to Pakistan.¹³⁸ Contrary to the United States, however, the Canadian government has decided to continue for now its \$50 million aid program to Pakistan, despite Gen. Pervez Musharraf's imposition of emergency rule.¹³⁹

7.11.07

¹³⁵ Landay, Jonathan S. : U.S. officials worry that instability in Pakistan could hurt efforts to fight extremists, in Kansas City Star, November 5th 2007 <http://www.kansascity.com/105/story/348407.html> 7.11.2007

¹³⁶ U.S. Department of State: Remarks on Pakistan, November 3rd, 2007 <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2007/11/94583.htm> 7.11.2007

¹³⁷ U.S. Senate: BIDEN Urges Musharraf to Guarantee Free and Fair Elections, Return to Rule of Law, November 5th 2007 <http://biden.senate.gov/newsroom/details.cfm?id=286778&&> 7.11.2007

¹³⁸ Deutsche Welle: USA will Pakistan Hilfe überprüfen, November 4th, 2007 http://www.dw-world.de/dw/function/0,,12356_cid_2863545_00.html 7.11.2007

¹³⁹ Toronto Star: Harper silent on Pakistan crisis, November 7th, 2007 <http://www.thestar.com/News/Canada/article/274315> 7.11.2007

Two Cases of Possible Development

In the best case scenario, Musharraf will resign and the country may stabilize. He would try to cooperate again with the leaders of the different opposition parties. Bhutto and he will continue the cooperation between both sides. He would have to leave as President but would still be in a powerful position, so the army and the forces which supported him will not be in opposition with the new government. The new government would be able to stabilize the country, get more support from civil groups, and build up a new society where all political forces are able to respect each other. The other parties would have to guarantee Musharraf that he will not be harmed. Maybe it could be similar to Russia where the former president is still protected by the constitution.

In the worst case scenario, the different factions will try, with protests similar to the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, and with support from the extremist forces, to get the government to capitulate. In reaction, the government will try to crush the protests and so the different factions will try to fight against Islamabad with weapons. Pakistan has many SALWs which mean that the different factions are building up their own forces. If the government does not agree to share power, these factions could use their forces to try to conquer it. As a result there could be a civil war, with dangerous geopolitical consequences.

Solution to Find a Way Out of the Political Crisis – How to Get Pakistan Stabilized?

Pakistan is completely different from India. In Pakistan the military plays a major role in society and in politics. Pakistan needs to find a way to stabilize the country, and get the different political forces to cooperate would be an important first step. An alliance between Bhutto and Musharraf would help to stabilize the country. With Bhutto, Musharraf would be able to reintegrate her followers into Pakistan's political system. Were he and Bhutto to cooperate in finding the people who had started the attack in Karachi, it would show positive cooperation between the two major political powers. If the government were more stable they would more likely be able to resist the United States and maybe be more independent from NATO and USA. In this case, Pakistan would

be able to change its policy to the Pashtu people in the north of Pakistan. Pakistan's government should try to cooperate with the liberal Taliban, even if the West is against any such negotiations. If Islamabad and the Taliban stay in confrontation instead of cooperation, they would not be able to control the northern territories. Like its neighbour, Iran, Pakistan should resist the type of democratization which the United States is trying to enforce in Afghanistan and Iraq. In Afghanistan, the enforcement of democracy and the installation of a pro-American government has received a great deal of resistance by the people in Afghanistan. The same situation is occurring in Iraq, where the democratic government has tried to become more independent from Washington and establish its own foreign politics by trying to get closer ties to Iran. This has been harshly criticised by Washington, but the government in Baghdad has no choice if they do not want to lose the respect of its own people.

The same situation could happen between Islamabad and Kabul. The government of Pakistan, with or without Musharraf, must be careful in its relationships with Washington. If it is seen in the eyes of its people as a puppet-regime of Washington, there will be more resistance and Pakistan could slide into deeper chaos. Bhutto should resist the United States and at the same time, encourage cooperation with the Pashtu forces in the north. The government should open a dialogue with the different tribes, encouraging them to develop the northern provinces and try to earn the respect of the people in that region. To stabilize the northern provinces of Pakistan, Islamabad should also try to cooperate with Afghanistan. President Karzai is not able to control the country, or even Kabul without foreign soldiers. So a new government in Islamabad should try to use its influence with NATO and the USA to de-escalate the situation. Also Pakistan should try to help economically develop the northern provinces of Pakistan. This would also have immediate beneficial impacts on the southern provinces of Afghanistan both economically and politically, and Pakistan would be seen as a stabilizing influence in the region, resulting in a rollback of NATO and U.S. presence in the area.

If the West wants to export democracy, then it should do it more proactively than it has done in Iraq. The West should wait until the Pakistani people themselves want to elect the government. In the meantime they should respect

the will of the Pakistani people and help to build up NGOs and the free press and media, so that the Pakistan society is able to share their ideas and different political positions.

Another way the west could try to stabilize Pakistan would be to help not only Bhutto and Musharraf, but also Sharif, to find compromises. The priority for the western world should be that Pakistan should first get an all-party-government, so that all different factions in Pakistan feel represented in the new government. With a fully representative government it is more likely that the government would be able to stabilize the country and fight the terrorists in their own country. Pakistan should continue in its own war against terror, learning from the mistakes the United States have made. Pakistan should, of course, try to establish a dialogue with the Pashtu tribes and try to support them so that they will accept the policies of Islamabad.

Pakistan should also distance itself more from the United States. The Bush government appears to be increasingly losing power and control over its foreign policy. For instance, in the United States itself there is a public debate on how to leave Iraq and refocus its efforts on Afghanistan and Bin Laden. Hillary Clinton wrote in the November/December issue of Foreign Affairs in 2007 that ending the war in Iraq is the first step toward restoring the United States' global leadership. The war is sapping the military strength, absorbing the strategic assets of the United States. Also the war in Iraq is diverting attention and resources from Afghanistan, alienating the allies, and dividing the people in the United States.¹⁴⁰ Pakistan should try to establish greater communication with the new leaders in the United States. The potential candidates in Washington are increasingly distancing themselves from the actual policy of G.W. Bush. Pakistan should use the time until the elections in the United States to stabilize its own government and try to win back its own reputation. The Pakistan government must earn the respect of its own people. Hillary Clinton wrote that the current U.S. policies have actually weakened President Hamid Karzai's government and allowed the Taliban to retake many

¹⁴⁰ Clinton, Hillary Rodham: Security and Opportunity for the Twenty-first Century, in: Foreign Affairs November/December 2007
<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20071101faessay86601/hillary-rodham-clinton/security-and-opportunity-for-the-twenty-first-century.html> 25.10.2007

areas, especially in the south.¹⁴¹ The rise of the Taliban in the border regions between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the weakened position of Karzai are an opportunity for Pakistan to win back its influence in the country. A strong Pakistan, able to remain distanced from the wrong current U.S. policies, would be able to be a stronger partner of the new U.S. government. Pakistan should start a dialogue with the Pashtu tribes and liberal Taliban in its northern provinces, while at the same time detach itself from any form of cooperation with the radical Taliban, who still want to fight.

Simultaneously with the new distance from the Bush administration Pakistan should strengthen its ties to Russia who has increasingly been trying to win back its former power in central Asia. Moscow and Islamabad could stay rivals, and of course Russia is more interested in having pipelines built and used through Russian territory, than to support Islamabad in building a pipeline between Central Asia and Pakistan. But Russia could support Iran and Pakistan, by agreeing to have a pipeline between their two countries transit through Russia. If Russia and Pakistan cooperated, it would be much better for the stability of Afghanistan and Central Asia, with Pakistan able to play a larger role in the economic rise of Central Asia and Afghanistan. Dimitri K. Simes wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, that U.S.-Russian relations are deteriorating rapidly. Misguided and arrogant U.S. policies since the end of the Cold War have fuelled resentment in Russia, and Vladimir Putin's increasing defiance is inflaming the West. But Washington and Moscow need not be adversaries. Both sides must act soon to avert renewed confrontation.¹⁴² The United States are still not guaranteed to have more influence in Central Asia; for example the planned Unocol pipeline was stopped in 1998.¹⁴³ Russia was able to defend its own political influence in the region.

Pakistan must try to cooperate with all the different political factions in the country. The strong support created when Bhutto and Musharraf told the radical Islamists that they would fight against them, was a positive indication of unity for

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4

¹⁴² Simes, Dimitri K: *Losing Russia - The Costs of Renewed Confrontation in: Foreign Affairs* November/December 2007

¹⁴³ Malek, Martin: *Geopolitische Veränderungen auf dem euraischen Schachbrett: Russland, Zentralasien und die USA nach dem 11. September 2001*, p.20

the country. If the government is strong because all the different factions are united, and they are able to show the radicals in the country that Islamabad is not a puppet-regime who gets its orders from Washington, Islamabad will be able to find a diplomatic way to solve the crisis in its county. A first sign that the Taliban respects the new coalition occurred when they directly said that they did not attack Bhutto.

Since November 3rd 2007 the situation has become more complicated. The future of Pakistan is still very unclear. The government stopped the elections. Bhutto, Sharif and Imran Khan said that Musharraf should be punished for the coup. Indeed, Imran Khan said Musharraf should be killed for the coup. Sharif said Musharraf should resign from both the presidency and being General of the Army. Bhutto, in opposition, said that leading politicians should meet each other to regain normality. ¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ TF1: Le coup de force de Musharraf, November 4th 2007
<http://recherche.tf1.fr/infos/monde/asia/0,,3610653,00-coup-force-musharraf-.html> 7.11.2007

Editorial

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