

**CENTRE FOR LAND WARFARE STUDIES (CLAWS)**  
**PAKISTAN: THE TURMOIL WITHIN**  
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**SEMINAR REPORT**

The Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) organised a seminar on "Pakistan: The Turmoil Within" on 08 November 2011 at the Manekshaw Centre. Held in two sessions, the seminar addressed the current situation in Pakistan in Session I and assessed likely future scenarios in Session II. Ambassador Kanwal Sibal, former Foreign Secretary delivered the keynote address at the seminar which was attended by selected officers from the armed forces, diplomats, members of the academic community and scholars.

**Welcome Remarks: Brigadier Gurmeet Kanwal (Retd), Director, CLAWS**

Pakistan is passing through turbulent times and is at a dangerous strategic crossroads or a tipping point. If Pakistan continues this way, it is bound to end up as a failed state. With creeping Talibanisation and TTP kind of terror, the area will eventually become lawless. Recent developments include the turmoil in Karachi and also the turmoil within the Army post Osama's killing. The Pakistan Army is evidently unwilling to fight terrorism or unable to. This seminar will delve deeper into these issues.

**Keynote Address: Amb Kanwal Sibal**

The dismal situation in Pakistan today should not shock anyone, primarily because it has been in the making for the past 64 years. It is a result of misguided and misconceived policies. Pakistan was born in blood and was an artificial state with no experience in handling political affairs. The country has come up with many versions of the constitution and suffered from military rule for years. Political leaders who sought to challenge the might of the military were either hanged or assassinated. Following the problems Pakistan faced at its infancy, the creation of Bangladesh was a big blow to the morale of the Pakistan Army and the nation as a whole. The idea of Pakistan came into question after its Eastern wing broke away.

Kashmir has been made a symbol for Pakistani aspirations; the seeds of turmoil in Pakistan lie in its Kashmir policy. While Pakistan performed well economically soon after its creation, the success was short lived. The economic situation in Pakistan is now worrying as the state has inadequate infusion of foreign aid, capital is drying up and the population growth remains very high. Due to its anti-India stance, Pakistan has over armed itself. Defence expenditure monopolises their national budget and has made the nation anti-democratic.

Pakistan today is known as the epicentre of terrorism. This phrase, originally used by India has now been adopted by the West. Post 9/11, Pakistan came under tremendous pressure and was forced to fight against terrorism. However, Pakistan continues to use terror outfits as instruments of the state to continue their proxy war in India.

In view of the current scenario in Pakistan, it is important to realise that Pakistan's problems are a result of its self-destructive policies. If Pakistan reaches out to India, then India should reciprocate but with a high degree of caution. Pakistan is a master at deception and this should never be forgotten while dealing with the country.

## **Discussion**

- It is difficult to predict what would happen in the coming two decades. The structural deficiencies in Pakistan are not likely to change and massive restructuring is needed for a better future.
- Imran Khan is a light weight in Pakistani politics and his bluff will soon be called. One cannot take him seriously or hope for much change because of his involvement in Pakistani politics.
- It is important for India to reach out to Pakistan in order to make it feel secure.

## **Mr Sushant Sareen, Senior Fellow, Vivekananda International Foundation**

Talibanisation is a subset of Radicalisation. It is pertinent to mention that today both the phenomenon are occurring simultaneously in Pakistan. Interestingly, Talibanisation and radicalisation of the society in Pakistan are not due to Pakistan being a 'failed state' as mostly perceived. On the contrary, this signifies the success of state policies propagated for the indoctrination of the society. This is now pushing Pakistan towards becoming a failed state.

Talibanisation is a phenomenon created by Pakistan and not by Afghanistan. The hardware of Talibanisation may be attributed to others but the software is definitely Pakistani. The manifestation of Talibanisation and radicalisation is seen at every stage and level in Pakistani society. This has rendered the 'civil society' numbering around five to ten thousand into an endangered species. Even though the people in Pakistan support talibanisation, Islamic parties do not get a majority in elections since most of the radical Muslims do not vote or contest election terming them as 'un-Islamic.' The liberals in Pakistan have never been able to confront Islamists frontally. Such a society is bound to be unstable.

Pakistan is a soft talibanised state which accepts Talibanisation as a social political order within which they have to survive. The top political leadership may have changed their mindset against India but Pakistan Army has never done so.

Pakistan Army is comfortable with talibanisation while we in India are concerned with a talibanised Pakistan. In Pakistan the fight is not between moderates and Islamists; the fight is between hard and soft talibanisation. One may conclude that transformation of Pakistan towards radicalisation is complete. We must look at the larger realities of the country before we make up our mind to speak to the civil society in Pakistan.

### **Capt (IN) Alok Bansal**

Pakistan has been going through tumultuous times. The problems that Pakistan faces can broadly be grouped under four heads, namely, sectarianism, assertion of ethnic identity by various ethnic groups, economic crisis and Talibanisation. All four are linked, and all four have their genesis in the Two Nation Theory. Although, Taliban is perceived to be the greatest threat to Pakistan, it is basically fighting the Pakistani government and not the Pakistani State. Accordingly, Pakistani security establishment perceives rising ethnic nationalism to be the biggest threat to the national integrity and of all the ethno-national movements, the Baloch nationalism poses the biggest challenge to the Pakistani state. The insurgency in Balochistan is widespread, is a manifestation of Baloch ethno-national identity and is fairly secular. The current insurgency started in the later half of 2003 and came into its own by 2005.

Balochistan comprises 43 percent of Pakistan's area but has only five percent of Pakistan's population. The Balochs have risen in revolt three times in 1958, 1963- 69 and 1973-1977. Though the insurgencies in the past have been crushed with a heavy hand, they have left scars which are yet to heal. Each insurgency has been more intense than the previous one and the organisational capabilities and the popular support for the insurgents increased with each insurgency. At the height of insurgency in 1973, 55000 insurgents faced 80000 Pakistani troops supported by PAF as well as team from Iranian Air force. More than 5000 insurgents and over 3300 soldiers were killed in the insurgency lasting till 1977. Pakistani Armed Forces used brute force to crush the insurgency as they had to redeem their honour after their defeat in Bangladesh. The insurgents were hoping for a Soviet intervention, which did not materialise.

As the insurgency in Balochistan was turning into a long drawn out stalemate between the security forces and the Baloch nationalists, the Pakistani security forces killed Nawab Bugti in an encounter in Kohlu district in the early hours of 26 August 2006, and upped the stake. During the ongoing insurgency, Nawab Bugti especially since clashes in January 2005 in Sui, had epitomised the Baloch Resistance to the military regime and his killing seems to have re-galvanised the Baloch nationalists.

Coming to the State response to the violence in Balochistan, it has been governed by the militant tactics. As a result brute force has been used to subjugate the Baloch nationalists. In the past attempts were made to encourage Islamist forces so as to subsume Baloch ethnic identity into a large all

encompassing Islamic identity. Similarly attempts were made to divide Baloch and Brahuīs and accentuate inter tribal and intra tribal differences.

Most important aspect that needs to be considered is the aspect of foreign assistance. Pakistan media has been agog with rumours of Indian, Iranian, Afghan and even Russian hand in the insurgency but most of these countries do not have the wherewithal to support the insurgency. According to the Pakistan media, India and Iran are behind the violence as they do not want Gwadar to emerge as a rival to Chah Bahar which Indians are developing as a gateway to Central Asia. However Iranians with a substantial Baloch population would not like to stroke Baloch nationalism and India does not have the rationale to support an insurgency in Balochistan at this stage when the relations with Pakistan are on the upswing and the region is looking forward to a period of sustained growth and closer economic integration. That only leaves out USA and though in a perfunctory manner it would seem bizarre that US should try to destabilise Pakistan at a time when it is its key ally in US' war against terror but a careful examination would indicate that it serves US interests to support Baloch insurgents.

From India's point of view neither the Central Asian pipeline (TAPI) nor Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline can materialise as long as Balochistan remains disturbed and may adversely affect the long term energy security of India.

To conclude the political developments in Balochistan indicate that Islamabad has not learned any lessons from the past. The Baloch like other smaller ethnic groups perceive Punjabi hegemony as a single important factor in perpetuating internal colonialism. Islamabad believes in the usage of brute force to brow beat the Baloch into submission. This tactics has not worked as the continuing violence in the province suggests. If violence intensifies, Pakistan Army will be sucked into a war that will fester and bleed Pakistan.

### **Mr Rana Banerji**

The comparison of the situation in Karachi to Beirut is a misnomer since Karachi is facing ethno-political strife, unlike Beirut. Approximately 200 innocent people have been killed in ethnic violence in Karachi in last two months. Karachi is facing a three way struggle for turf and political power contemporarily. The causes of ethnic violence in Karachi are multifaceted. There are ethnic 'no go' areas in Karachi separately for Muhajir, Baluch and Sindhi communities. Educational quota riots also have been reported between Muhajirs and Sindhis in Karachi. However, Muhajirs feel more threatened by Pashtuns. Karachi has a population of 15.7 million, most of which is Muhajir. The clashes continue between Muhajirs and Pashtuns as well as between Muhajirs and Sindhis. Pashtuns control majority of the transport resources in Karachi which is the bone of contention with Muhajirs. Muhajir Quami Movement later replaced by MuttahidaQaumi Movement under leadership of Altaf Hussain (MQM) is the

second largest party in Sindh and traditionally the third largest in the country. Furthermore, it currently holds the fourth highest number of seats in the National Assembly while maintaining a second position in the Sindh Assembly.

The floods in 2002 led to urban influx resulting in mushrooming of unregulated colonies in outskirts of Karachi. A huge number of Pashtun and Sindhi colonies have come up in this area. However, it is the 'organised land mafia' which is giving ethnic colours to the events, in order to serve their own interests. The police which is supposed to control the ethnic violence is poorly disposed and ill organised. They are low on resources to effectively carry out their duties. The police organisation is also heavily politicised. In case of large scale ethnic violence, Pakistan Rangers are called in to control the situation as the local police is ineffective in controlling ethnic violence.

Even though the local body governance under Mustafa Kamal had been very effective and internationally appreciated but Pakistan did away with it. The local body governance needs to be reinforced in Karachi which is the economic hub of the country. A major portion of the Pakistani revenue is generated in Karachi. However, Muhajirs feel threatened in the city and are investing in friendly foreign countries such as Maldives and the UAE. Investment outside the country is likely to cause reduction in employment opportunities for Muhajirs against Pashtuns in the region.

The problems in Karachi today have been a result of three way power struggle but it has always shown resilience due to economic growth and interests. MQM and Pakistan Army have had a troubled past but now the army is neutral. Like Mumbai and other economic hubs across the world, Karachi will also recover and continue to function as hitherto fore but under the shadow of instability and violence.

### **Dr Mohan Guruswamy**

The Pakistani economy today is at the brink of collapse. The tax to investment ratio of Pakistan is one of the lowest in the world today. No investment is taking place in the country, which points towards social disorder. In comparison, the GDP growth rate of India is pretty good in spite of reported slowdown this year. The high fertility rate is going to create further problems of employment for youth, which is further likely to prompt them to indulge in criminal activities.

Pakistan is getting deeper into debt and foreign powers are less inclined to offer loans. However, Pakistan appears to be not overly worried as they believe that they can bank upon the USA and UAE for help. It is assessed that even USA is showing less interest in Pakistan due to its pre-occupation with presidential election in the country and has started winding up from number of places around the world. The economic crisis in Pakistan furthers the cause of talibanisation

and radicalisation of society. The country has great economic inequality and the gap between the poor and rich is only increasing.

The number of jobless youth is increasing for whom the destination is Af-Pak, the common market for heroin. Heroin is smuggled into the US and Europe and Afghanistan currently holds the dubious distinction of being the world's 'largest exporter of heroin'. The smuggling of heroin causes collateral damage to the society as heroin consumption causes criminal behaviour.

Out of more than 170 million Pakistanis, fewer than 2 percent pay income tax, making Pakistan's revenue from taxes among the lowest in the world. It is one of the most lightly taxed countries in the world. Less than a quarter of the country's firms declare any taxable revenues. The taxes are a mandatory requirement for growth as revenues collected through taxes are used further for growth of the country.

Pakistan's economy is likely to grow at the slowest pace in South Asia in the next three years, according to the Global Economic Prospects 2010 released by the World Bank. The report also stated that the region was least impacted by the global recession. India, according to Global Economic Prospects 2010 would be the fastest growing economy in the region with a real GDP growth of 6 per cent in 2009-10, 7.5 per cent in 2010-11 and 8 per cent in 2010. This means that the Indian GDP growth rate is forecasted to be 2.5 times higher than Pakistan in 2010-11 and two times higher in 2011-12. Defence budget in Pakistan is reducing along with military expenditure.

Economic issues are more likely to be felt in the longer term rather than in a one to three years horizon. The economy, together with the place of the army in society and the country's geopolitical relationship with its neighbours, chiefly India, are intrinsic to political stability. Lasting prosperity is one of the keys to resisting the siren calls of extremism. Given Pakistan's often precarious macro-economic position, the economic situation in the next few years could have a direct bearing on political stability.

## **Discussion**

- The Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status granted to India by Pakistan recently, is not a disadvantage to India. We must trade with everyone for better opportunities. The status would have been granted with a pinch of salt and resistance by Pak Army but it appears to be a calculated move.
- Trade between India and Pakistan has been taking place through Dubai but now direct trade will reduce the cost for Pakistan. The economic slide in Pakistan is likely to create the problem of population migration but our security agencies can effectively handle the issue of illegal migration.

- The Pakistani Army is professional like the Indian army but it has been radicalised to a large extent. The indoctrination of Army has been almost completed giving impetus to disciplinary problems in the organisation.

### **Lt Gen Dushyant Chauhan, AVSM, DG, DIA**

After the Abbotabad incident and the death of Osama bin Laden, there has been a new low in US-Pak relations. Hillary Clinton's viewpoint on Pakistan harbouring "dangerous animal" has an insight into the US thought process on Pakistan. Presently, the US is engaged on multiple projects within Pakistan:

- Strengthening Democracy and Rule of Law
- Social Services
- Energy Infrastructure
- Assisting the victims of the 2010 floods
- Internal security
- Promoting the peace process

The trends currently prevalent in Pakistan are:

- Nationalism and National identity – Who are we? Muslims or Pakistanis. The significance of Islam, Urdu, and the national Flag.
- Reliance of Islam as a National Identity, and how it is played across religions and ISI-Army relationship.
- DNA of Pakistan Army, military family regarded as superior to civil society and military leadership as a form of rule
  - Corrupt and predatory army
  - Radicalised view of the Pakistan Army.
- Systemic Indoctrination through education.
- India Centricity Approach: having lost three conventional wars – 1965, 1971, and the Kargil War.
- Outcome in Afghanistan as a factor of strategic depth. Pakistan is looking at ways to mitigate and counter the Indian assistance both economically and militarily.

Pakistan Army dominance in state politics and policy making has always been evident. During Gen Zia-ul-Haq's tenure, the rise of Islamisation of the Pakistan Army eventually gave way to extremism.

There are three imperatives of economic growth in Pakistan:

- Periodic payment as economic aid via United States
- Lack of structural reforms
- Tax to revenue ratio is very low

US – Pakistan relationship is at an all time low now, although US plays a very important role in aid to its economy, military and people. China has always been a strategic partner to Pakistan due to its geographical sharing of borders, and hostility towards their neighbour.

Three scenarios emerge as an alternative future:

**Scenario 1.** Plodding along or muddling along. This would imply:

- Freeze of the Political System.
- Zero or low reform.
- Continued domination of the military over foreign policy and domestic issues.

In this case, judiciary might be able to exert influence but it would not be able to change the flow of events; also systematic slowdown of the economy will worsen the situation and make it more dependent on foreign aid. TTP insurgency is likely to continue and there is a limited likelihood for an increase in governmental coherence. Pakistan will see a deterioration of law and order situation in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA and western provinces of Balochistan.

**Scenario 2.** A Fragmented Pakistan. Here, the army grip loosens over Pakistan's policy making, but does not fail completely giving rise to sectarian problems. Three critical issues will come to light:

- Governance Problems.
- Army will be directing the structural format for the state.
- A parallel economy will come into existence.

Pakistan will continue to experience demographic and social change and chaos will be dominated in the regional context of governance. The Pakistan Army might break-up and disintegrate leading to political turmoil, internal conflict and sectarian violence. There is a likely possibility of moderate military authoritarianism and an evolution of an economic gap leading to further dependence. Political institutions are most likely to suffer and there would be widening of the economic gap. Ethnic and sectarian violence is likely to continue.

**Scenario 3.** Rise of Democracy in Pakistan. This scenario is most unlikely. It remains to be seen if Pakistan collects itself and work in the direction of propagating and practising democracy with a strong fist against curbing terrorism from its land. In light of the current state of Pakistan the direction the armed forces take will dictate the manner in which the pendulum will swing.

While the world would not like to see a collapse of Pakistan, the country continues to suffer from 'India centricity'phobia which is inhibiting its focus on itself and its people.



## **AmbSatish Chandra**

There exist both positive and negative factors at the regional and international level which influence Pakistan as a nation. Pakistan in the international arena has leveraged cold war and Sino-India differences to its advantage. On the negative side, the 1971 civil war and the break-up of Pakistan was a big blow to Pakistan's regional integrity. Pakistan has seldom moved away from its India centric policies and that has internally brought about the following:

- Military dominance in politics and policy making.
- Virtual destruction of democracy.
- Economic annihilation.

The four nation states which directly or indirectly shape Pakistan's future are:-

- The United States
- India
- China
- Saudi Arabia

## **India**

Pakistan demonises India and perpetuates several myths within its own boundaries as follows:

- India has hegemonic desires in the south-Asia region.
- India is a Hindu State and wants to convert Pakistan to that status.
- India does not want to have good neighbourly ties with any of its neighbours.

Pakistan is using this anti-Indian glue for keeping the country together. It has perpetuated this enmity ever since it was formed. This single minded India oriented mindset is also governing Pakistan's foreign policy in terms of how to build alliances and partnership against India. This rationale drives Pakistan-US and Pakistan-China relationship. Pakistan is also using terror as an instrument of foreign policy, which has now boomeranged on itself. A study by Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies has shown how such a policy has come to haunt Pakistan. The US war on terror has also been counter-productive with factions like the TTP and the Haqanni Network now working against Pakistan.

With India, Pakistan has always had rocky ties. Pakistan aims to break India so that it can achieve parity.

There have been many instances of India extending a hand of friendship, just to be bitten again and again.

1. The Rs 72 crore package deal during 1947 as a revenue package
2. The 1960 – Indus Water Treaty in favour of Pakistan
3. The 1971 Shimla agreement

4. The 1979 support of Pakistan towards entry into NAM (Non-Aligned Movement)
5. The 1989 support for entry into the Commonwealth

The list of concessions is very long and has not yielded any results in favour of resolving disputes.

### **United States**

The United States has always been an ally of Pakistan. \$ 50 billion dollar has been provided to Pakistan in the last six decades. From 2002-2010 itself \$ 2 billion support has been extended to Pakistan by the United States. In addition the Pakistanis residing in the US send back \$ 2 billion dollars through remittances, in addition to the trade between US and Pakistan especially through supply of weapons. The US can leverage its economic clout to pressurise Pakistan to follow a peaceful trajectory but its dependence on Pakistan for logistic support to its operations in Afghanistan acts as a restricting factor.

### **China**

China does not provide substantial economic assistance to Pakistan. It provided an aid of \$ 150 million dollars, with \$ 30 million dollar trade and \$ 5.6 million dollar in investments. China provides Pakistan with massive military and nuclear assistance which largely goes unaccounted and China's policy of non-interference and no governance advisory hints at the Chinese foreign policy of maintaining Pakistan as a strategic ally against India. Some of the key Chinese infrastructure investments in Pakistan include the Gwadar port and building of the Karakoram highway. Most of the China – Pakistan relationship works through back-channel diplomacy, and is mostly unknown.

### **Saudi Arabia**

The Islamic factor has helped Pakistan to defer payments sometimes with regard to the import of oil and also be an instrument of Saudi Arabia's internal polity. The Pakistan-Saudi Arabia trade has roughly been around \$ 400 million dollars with \$ 133 million dollar worth of investments in the country. Saudi Arabia has also provided shelter to Pakistan's political and military elite.

Three alternative futures emerge for Pakistan:

- Business as usual approach: The current course will lead Pakistan to disintegration and dysfunction. Pakistan's current involvement and connection with the terrorist outfits need to change to bring about any change in outlook.
- Metamorphosis of Pakistan into a Jihadi State.

- **More Normal State:** External players most likely India and the United States can play a contributing role. Also if Pakistan could lessen terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy, there is a likelihood of Pakistan trailing back onto the normalisation path. India needs a more disciplinary approach towards Pakistan, mostly punitive. The US needs to shut down its military – economic assistance and follow a more coercive approach as it did after 9/11. The tightening of the visa regime for Pakistani elites and leadership along with allies of the United States like the United Kingdom will also help in getting Pakistan onto the path of normality

### **Brig Gurmeet Kanwal (Retd)**

Pakistan is on a self destruction course with multiple challenges threatening to tear the country apart. Some of the problems that Pakistan faces are internal conflicts, a fragile political system, Kashmir centric philosophy and an autocratic regime with strong arm tactics to suppress resentment.

The most serious threat that Pakistan faces is that of internal security. The links of Pakistan Army and ISI with Taliban and insurgent groups within Kashmir are coming back to haunt them. Problems of self governance in areas of FATA, North Waziristan and areas of Balochistan are internally eroding Pakistan's governance and integrity. Major domestic militant and insurgent groups like Mehsuds and the Haqqani network are running a parallel government within Pakistan.

Pakistan's Armies ownership of the political leadership and the Tali-qaeda (Taliban and Al-Qaeda partnership) poses a clear and present danger and is an existential threat to Pakistan. The internal problems within the Pakistan Army are a major concern for dissention and criticism. Being a nuclear state there is great concern over Pakistan's nuclear profile and the safety and management of its nuclear assets.

The US-Pak relationship has also hit a new low since the death of Osama-bin-laden. Continuing drone attacks by US within Pakistan territory are also undermining Pakistan Army's credibility.

Political instability makes it difficult for the civilian government to establish control over the army which continues to influence the direction of Pakistan's politics and policies. The continued use of terror groups as strategic assets against India is making Pakistan lose its coherence as a state.

Pakistan's political and diplomatic strategy needs to change course, and the India-centric notion needs to see the light of new day. Pakistan needs to carefully calibrate its response towards the domestic jihadi outfits and insurgent groups like the Haqqani network, and reduce action and support to Kashmiri militant outfits. All counter-insurgency operations should have a prior sanction by the government, with a strict focus on training and equipment.

India should not expect a radical change in Pakistan's foreign policy and the Pakistan Army and ISI mindset, nor a strategic change of heart. Can a leopard can really change his spots, is the question that begs an answer.

India needs to change its stance and limits of its tolerance. Mumbai terror attacks have left a deep scar on the national psyche, and if it happens anytime again, people will demand military action. India needs to employ tough diplomatic and military options. These could take the form of punitive air-strikes destroying insurgent training camps, suspected hideouts, take on Muridke and other similar targets to crush the backbone of any potential threat from across the border.

India should also take on covert operations to eliminate targets like Hafiz Saeed, Azhar Masood and Dawood Ibrahim and not allow them to rest peacefully anywhere in the world. India should look at the following four response options:

- Reviewing the current Cease-Fire
- Trans-LoC/IB measures
- Pro-active strategic culture
- Intelligence Capabilities

Some questions we need answers for are:

- The creeping Talibanisation has reached the borders of West Punjab. What impact will this have on India's Muslim community?
- What will be the repercussions for India if Pakistan breaks-up or becomes a failed state?
- Is the United States playing a waiting game with its short term support to Pakistan till its withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014 or will it continue to support Pakistan in the long-term?
- China remains an 'all weather ally' of Pakistan with its massive support to Pakistan's military and nuclear facilities. What can India do to drive a wedge between these two neighbours?
- The Indian Government is neither pro-actively seeking peace, nor preparing its military for an armed military action. Is the policy of drift the right approach for India to follow? How should India draft its short-term and long-term policy towards Pakistan?