



**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES  
POLICY DEPARTMENT**



**WORKSHOP**

**WHAT PERSPECTIVES  
FOR STABILITY  
AND DEMOCRACY IN  
PAKISTAN**

**AFET**



**DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE UNION**

**DIRECTORATE B**  
**POLICY DEPARTMENT**

**WORKSHOP**

**WHAT PERSPECTIVES FOR STABILITY  
AND DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN**

**Wednesday 30 March 2011, Brussels**  
**16.30 to 18.30, Room ASP 5G-2**

**Abstract**

The Policy Department of the European Parliament has organised On behalf of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Delegation for Relations with South Asia a workshop on "Perspectives of stability and democracy in Pakistan". Three speakers were invited to address issues covering domestic socio-political aspects, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, regional relations and the potential contribution and support to stability, democracy and socio-economic development.

Pakistan continues to be a fledgling democracy in transition. The complexities of the Pakistani situation make it difficult for outsiders to understand the different powers at play in the country and to deal with fears about instability. A partnership of the military with the judiciary and the media has emerged, and the military retains its capacity to influence the public discourse and the trust in the effectiveness of a democratic polity in general. The definitive substantial challenge is to cope with continuing tensions between civil and military rule. Positive developments include the 18th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution (which re-establish parliamentary democracy, including aspects of electoral reform), the provinces agreeing on the National Finance Commission Award, the ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the recent resumption of talks between India and Pakistan. The development of trust between Pakistan and India will be essential for the longer-term entrenchment of civilian government in Pakistan; this in turn will require some agreement to be forged over Kashmir. Whether this is feasible will depend on political will. The EU should consolidate long-term support for strengthening democracy in Pakistan by the formulation of a strong electoral framework, strengthening of the Pakistani Parliament as an institution and supporting local self governance and devolution of power.

This workshop was organised by the Policy Department, Directorate General for the External Policies, at the request of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Delegation for Relations with South Asia

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## PROGRAMME

### Workshop

## "WHAT PERSPECTIVES FOR STABILITY AND DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN?"

Brussels - ASP 5G2

Wednesday, 30 March 2011 (16.30-18.30)

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### PROGRAMME

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- 16.30 **Welcome by the AFET Chairman Gabriele Albertini**
- 16.40 **Introduction by the Chair of the Delegation for relations with South Asia Jean Lambert**
- 16.50 **Presentations** (15 minutes each)
- Speakers: **Dr. Ayesha Siddiq**a, writer and political commentator, Islamabad , will speak on "**Re-thinking Pakistan**"
- Mr Amir Khan Goraya**, Democracy Reporting International, Islamabad, will speak on "**Democratic strengthening : key to political and economic stability in Pakistan**"
- Dr. Gareth Price**, Chatham House, London , will speak on "**Pakistan-India relations**"
- 17h40 **Exchanges of views session**
- 18.20 **Concluding remarks by the Chair of the Delegation for relations with South Asia Jean Lambert**
- 18.30 **Close of the workshop**

## 1. GLOSSARY

<b>CBMs</b>	Confidence Building Measures
<b>EU EOM</b>	EU Election Observation Mission
<b>GHQ</b>	General Headquarters
<b>GSP+</b>	Generalized System of Preference Plus
<b>HUJI</b>	Harkat-ul-Jihad-ul-Islami
<b>HuM</b>	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen
<b>ICCPR</b>	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
<b>IMF</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>ISI</b>	Inter-Services Intelligence
<b>JeM</b>	Jaishe Mohammad
<b>JUI-F</b>	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazl-ur-Rehman Group)
<b>LeJ</b>	Lashkar-e-Jhangavi
<b>LeT</b>	Lashkare Taiba / Lashkar-e-Taiba
<b>LoC</b>	Line of Control
<b>MEP</b>	Member of the European Parliament
<b>MQM</b>	Muttahida Qaumi Movement
<b>NFC</b>	National Finance Commission
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organisation
<b>PML-N</b>	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif Group)
<b>PPP</b>	Pakistan People's Party
<b>SSP</b>	Sipha-e-Sahaba
<b>WoT</b>	War on Terror

## 2. INTRODUCTION

This paper summarises the results of the Workshop “What perspectives for stability and democracy in Pakistan?” requested by the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Delegation for Relations with South Asia and organised by the Policy Department, DG Expo of the European Parliament.

The aim of the workshop was to provide a clearer picture of the situation in Pakistan through an overview of the recent democratic developments and the socio-economic situation, an analysis of the interaction between the different players, and proposals for ways in which the EU can contribute to its democracy.

This paper is organised into three sections. The first section summarises the workshop discussion, including key issues of the input papers and presentations. The section is organised according to the topics addressed in the discussion. Where necessary, additional background information was included to make the information accessible for readers that did not participate at the workshop. The section concludes with a summary list of the policy recommendations that were expressed during the discussion and the briefing papers.

Section ‘**II. briefing papers**’ presents the briefing papers and respective abstracts that were produced by the three speakers as input for the workshop. The papers address the following issues:

- Relations between the army and the civilian government; Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism and regional relations (Ayesha Siddiqa);
- Socio-political aspects, the role of civil society and EU support for democracy (Amir Khan Goraya);
- India-Pakistan relations (Gareth Price).

Section ‘**III. Annexes**’ contains the PowerPoint Presentations presented at the workshop, the biographical summaries of the speakers and the agenda of the workshop.

## 3. SUMMARY OF THE WORKSHOP SESSION

### 3.1 Democracy in Pakistan

The experts stressed that Pakistan continues to be a democracy in transition that requires support. Civil and democratic institutions need time to anchor in the society, especially as actors from the security community and extremist groups try to destabilise the democracy. Time is needed to establish and practice democratic procedures and to develop democratic mind-sets both within the political parties and among other governmental and societal actors.

Since the return to civilian democracy in 2008, the government has had to face considerable challenges that absorbed most of its political energy. Notwithstanding the inherent weaknesses of the political system, the present government suffered a negative propaganda campaign which mainly targeted the elected President, thus, draining the regime’s capacity to perform. The government finds itself crippled by the post flood reconstruction, the need to meet IMF conditions to end subsidies on fuel and energy, pressure to fight terrorism, and a worsening economic situation with rising inflation.

The democratically elected federal and provincial assemblies have passed the half-way-point of their terms. Despite some positive developments such as the 18th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution and provinces' agreement on the National Finance Commission (NFC) award, initial enthusiasm about the restoration of democracy seems to have subsided.

Limited progress has been made in the reform of local government. Local government elections were supposed to be held in 2009, but following the elections in 2008, the new provincial governments decided to postpone the elections and to amend the local government system. The provinces were then supposed to draft individual local government laws, but only one out of four provinces has passed such legislation. As of yet, no new date has been set for elections at the local level. This results in an absence of accountability and citizen participation at the local level that weakens the effectiveness of the Pakistani democracy. The longstanding problem of socio-economic development, which is further enhanced due to lack of political representation at the local level, contributes to the problem of militancy. One expert pointed to the fact that a functioning local government would have been necessary to appropriately handle the floods in 2010. A participant noted that the floods have highlighted the existence of undernourishment in Pakistan and that the scale of this problem was unknown to the majority of the political elite. This can be read as sign of the extent to which the ruling class is disconnected from large parts of the population in Pakistan.

Consistent support from the international community is needed, and this support should be given in a way that allows for growth from within. Democracy has to be practiced over a prolonged period of time. If allowed to develop, it will finally prove to be more stable and longer lasting, even if it is marked by set-backs.

### **3.2 Political actors: Military, judiciary and the media**

In practice, Pakistan does not have a clear division of powers among the executive, legislature and judiciary that is common among democratic governments. A 'troika' of the president, the judiciary and army chief exists, in which the military still has a dominant role due to the tacit support of the judiciary and the media.

The different institutions of the state are struggling to find, clarify or extend their roles. The judiciary is involved with executive affairs that, according to the traditional division of powers, ought to be dealt by the government. While the inefficiency of the political system is well-known, what is less understood is the military's capacity to manipulate the public image and the national narrative in its favour against the civilian government. Consequently, the civil society, which includes the media as well as the seemingly powerful judiciary, is inclined to support the military and has become an enthusiastic ally. The security forces have maintained their ability to hide the military's continued association with militants and the fact that the armed forces have become increasingly anti-US and anti-West. Such evolution in the perceptions and attitudes towards national security will have serious consequences for regional security.

The experts noted that the level of independence of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) is frequently overestimated by international commentators. In practice, the ISI is controlled by the military. The actual power remains in the hands of the head of the Pakistani army Ashfaq Kayani, the most influential man in the security forces. The ambivalent role of the ISI, partnering with the US on the one side and collaborating with Taliban forces on the other should be interpreted against this political background.

The media enjoys a great deal of independence in today's democratic Pakistan compared to the previous regimes. Since 2008, the media landscape has become more and more diverse, with high-

level, critical journalism on the one side (mostly in English) and with poor quality journalism on the other (mostly in vernacular languages, mostly in rural areas). The experts stressed that the media landscape is still heavily influenced by political powers, especially by the security forces and frequently reproduces stereotypes that do not allow for an in-depth understanding of conflicts or political developments. As a result, the military and its intelligence agencies succeed in continuing to powerfully manipulate public perception, despite the formal independence of the media. One participant pointed to the effect that large parts of the media do not propagate tolerance and harmony but aggravate hate and prejudices among different parts of the population.

### **3.3 The Lawyer movement**

In 2008, lawyers boycotted the courts and held massive rallies across the country when President Musharraf demanded the resignation of Chief of Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry. Since then, Western Media frequently heralded the so-called lawyers movement as a progressive independent force that contributed substantially to Pakistan's transition to democracy. For many observers, the pictures of lawyers showering the suspected assassin of Punjab Governor Salman Taseer with rose petals when he arrived at court therefore came as a shock. However, the sense of shock felt by observers is based on a lack of understanding of the socio-economic and socio-political basis of the lawyer's movement.

Although the movement originally was initiated by a small group of people, some of whom were liberal, it also was promoted and sponsored by different political parties including the Jamaat-e-Islami and the more conservative Pakistan. It therefore might be misleading to speak of 'one lawyer movement' as this notion does not reflect different party affiliations, religious backgrounds and political agendas among its members.

### **3.4 Human rights & Blasphemy laws**

Pakistan media recognises that violence against Christian minorities continues to exist, and that the Ahmadi minority have consistently suffered marginalization. Although the civil society in Pakistan is very vocal concerning the issues of violence and discrimination the situation has not improved considerably.

Blasphemy laws in Pakistan are not only misused specifically to persecute religious minorities, but they are also frequently applied against members of the Muslim majority (particularly non-Sunnis). Although these laws have been subject to public debate, the murders of Salmaan Taseer, Governor of the province of Punjab, and Shahbaz Bhatti, Federal Minister for Minorities Affairs, demonstrate the risk of extremist forces succeeding in silencing the public debate. After the murder of Bhatti, there seemed to be some realization that a weak moral stance of moderate forces might further encourage extremist violence.

The violent political killings, escalation of conflicts and the crisis of religious extremism are byproducts of a deteriorating law and order situation. The lack of effective protection of Taseer and Bhatti is a structural symptom of the malfunctioning of the law enforcement and should not be interpreted as a deliberate strategy of the security forces against specific individuals. Against this background it will be essential to improve the state of law and order to secure and encourage freedom of opinion.

Pakistan's ratification of the ICCPR in June 2010 was a significant democratic achievement. However, the Pakistani government ratified the Covenant with several key reservations. These include the

freedom of opinion, right to life and elections and participation in public affairs. The wide scope of these reservations raises the question of whether Pakistan is in effect merely accepting a small number of obligations and not the Covenant as such, which would be incompatible with the objective of the ICCPR.<sup>1</sup>

### **3.5 Feudalism and mind-sets**

The participants discussed to what extent feudal structures persist in Pakistan and whether the issue of land-reform remains pertinent. The experts noted, that today, feudalism is mainly a cultural rather than a structural phenomenon, as the share of large land holdings has decreased in most regions. The issue of land reform should also not be generalised but must reflect regional conditions.

Although the nature of feudalism has changed, certain behavioural patterns persist. The behaviour of parts of the upper middle-class resembles the attitudes of the former feudal elite. This behaviour was adopted by economic leaders, the military and the bureaucracy and can also be observed among NGOs or even the donor community. Many structural problems, like endemic corruption, are interrelated with these mind-sets and should not be attributed to the democratic governance system.

Pakistani society could profit from alternative dialogues that open the space for alternative discourses that help to alter traditional mind-sets. It is crucial that these discourses are promoted from within the society and not imposed by outside actors. The European Union could enhance this development by supporting training programmes for high quality reporting and journalistic practices.

### **3.6 Potential trade privileges to help Pakistan to recover from the 2010 floods**

Participants raised the question of how the European Union should react to the opposition of some members of the WTO to grant special trade privileges to Pakistan. The European Union requested a waiver from its obligations under the WTO to grant trade preferences to help Pakistan to recover from the effects of the 2010 floods. On the one hand, the European Union would like to assist Pakistan; on the other hand, it also has an interest in maintaining good relations with Pakistan's neighbouring countries. India in particular raised the point that products that would be given duty-free access to European markets are not manufactured in the areas affected by the recent floods. As no agreement has been reached as of March 2011, the European Union is still consulting with the countries that have expressed concerns regarding the waiver.

### **3.7 Regional relations / Pakistan-India relation**

The recent resumption of talks between India and Pakistan is a positive development, but historically speaking, there seems to be little reason for great optimism. India's approach to Pakistan is predicated on Pakistan having adopted a range of hostile policies against it. These include support for the up-rising/insurgency in Kashmir, failure to take action against those responsible for sporadic terrorist attacks within India and aggressive military action across the Line of Control. In addition, India fears Pakistan's deepening relationship with China, and the two countries differ in their vision for the future of Afghanistan.

On the Pakistani side, relations with India are dominated by the military viewpoint that India is attempting to divide the country (with the memory of the secession of Bangladesh still strong) and

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<sup>1</sup> See: Democracy Reporting International, 2010, Briefing Paper 04: Pakistan's reservations to the international covenant on civil and political rights.

the more generic issue that Pakistan continues to define itself in opposition to India. While the US has a long-standing relationship with Pakistan, it has a growing relationship with India; balancing these two relationships is complex and in turn affects the bilateral India-Pakistan relationship.

### **3.8 Economic integration as motor for societal change**

MEP pointed out that economic integration can be a successful tool to enhance political rapprochement, as can be seen from the example of the integration of the European Union. It therefore can be expected that, under certain conditions, economic integration and regional free trade could contribute to improved foreign policy relations in, for instance, the Kashmir region. An important step to foster free trade could be the shift from a 'positive list' of tradable goods across borders to a 'negative list' of goods that are banned from trading.

However, there was also some scepticism raised by the experts as to whether economic integration can be the entry point for political rapprochement in the case of Pakistan and India. Even if free trade might be beneficial, once it is established, free trade alone might not be sufficient to establish the necessary political environment. So far, any efforts for track two diplomacy have failed, due to the lack of agreement on basic issues like the conflict over Kashmir between the governments and officials on both sides. Many Pakistani are swayed by security concerns and the perception that India is an existential threat. This perception also hinders development in fields like economic integration.

### **3.9 Potential models for secular democracies**

Both Turkey and Bangladesh might offer examples of how secular political institutions can cope with religious movements. So far, Bangladesh has managed to integrate Islamist movements and minority groups like the Ahmadi quite well, even if some minority issues persist. At the same time, regional factors have to be taken into account with any comparison between countries. Bangladesh does not border Afghanistan and is therefore not in the midst of intelligence warfare among different international players. In addition, ethnic and geographical borders are much more complex in Pakistan than in Bangladesh. Pakistan's borders cannot be easily controlled as the geography does not offer self-evident demarcations and borderlines frequently cut across cultural communities.

Turkey on the other hand is subject to close international observation. Being a candidate for full membership of the European Union, there is constant international pressure to actively address religious and minority issues. In the case of Pakistan, Western governments have been less concerned with societal integration of minorities than with establishing a stable regime that is engaged in the "War on terror".

### **3.10 Policy recommendations to stability, democracy and socio-economic development**

The discussion and the briefing papers contain suggestions for a variety of pathways that the European Union could take to support stability, democracy and socio-economic development:

- Assistance in formulation of strong electoral framework that reduces potential of conflict in the next democratic elections..
- Strengthening of the Pakistani Parliament as an institution.
- Supporting democratic developments from within, e. g. through effective support, local self-governance and more power at the provincial and local level

- Continuation of the electoral observation missions.
- Training for journalists to raise professional and ethical standards, including the support of investigative journalism and the promotion of balanced reporting on regional topics.
- Support to establish a nuanced perception of regional politics allowing for alternative narratives of the conflicts and the parties involved.
- Prompting the democratic government to comprehensively implement international treaties including ICCPR and to try and qualify for the Generalized System of Preference Plus (GSP+) scheme.
- Regional economic integration and the free-flow of goods and services across all borders should be supported.
- With regard to the Kashmir conflict the EU, if invited to do so, should continue to encourage dialogue and offer assistance in specific areas. This could include, for example, assistance to improve the economic situation, assistance to take steps towards demilitarisation or to liberalise the Line of Control.

## **4. BRIEFING PAPERS**

### **4.1 Re-thinking Pakistan by Ayesha Siddiq**

#### **Abstract**

After three years of civilian rule Pakistan continues to be a fledgling democracy in transition. While the inefficiency of the political system is well-known, what is less understood is the military's capacity to manipulate the public image and the national narrative in its favour, against the political government. Consequently the civil society, which includes the allegedly free media as well as the seemingly powerful judiciary, is inclined to support the military and has become an enthusiastic ally. The military and its intelligence agencies continue to powerfully manipulate the public perception. They have the ability to hide the military's continued association with the militants and the fact that the armed forces have become increasingly anti-US and anti-West. Such evolution in the perceptions and attitudes towards the handling of national security will have grave consequences for regional security

#### **4.1.1 Introduction**

It may be an understatement to say that Pakistan is a mystery that everyone wants to decipher. A lot of questions are driven by the fact that the US and NATO are not concerned about the country's future despite the fact that there does not seem to be an end in sight to the war on terror (WoT) even after a decade of fighting. Pakistan's role in this war is critical which makes it vital for its allies to understand what direction Islamabad will take. This, in turn, will be determined by a host of issues including the state of Pakistan's politics, civil-military relations balance, perspectives on the region and the nature of the militancy. This paper aims to shed some light on all of the above issues, especially in regards to the civil-military relations balance, the power equation within the military, the military's mindset, and the relationship between the military and the militants.

#### 4.1.2 Rule of the Troika

The history outlined in Table 1 shows that Pakistan is back to what is termed as “rule of the troika”, which means that power is not concentrated in the hands of one actor but is shared amongst three. Although from 1988-1999 the troika was comprised of the president, prime minister and army chief, after 2008 the combination changed to include the president, army chief and chief justice of the Supreme Court. Historically, troika rule is used by the country’s establishment, which is dominated by the military, to keep the political forces in check. Previously the president and army chief had combined forces to keep the elected prime minister in check. Throughout the 1990s, the president’s special powers to dismiss the government proved useful in disciplining successive political regimes. This time around, however, the power to keep the political forces in check was held by the army chief and the chief justice. The latter obtained his power due to his role in overthrowing the military government of General President Pervez Musharraf. In any case, the judiciary has historically had close ties with the military. Today the structure remains the same, except that the connection between the General Headquarters (GHQ) and the judiciary is far too complex to be detected by the naked eye. The judiciary has a stronger stance against the ruling government of the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) than its rival Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) or any other political party. Notwithstanding the inherent inefficiency of the PPP government, the court tends to keep a closer watch on the PPP government.

**Table 1: Patterns of Rule in Pakistan**

	Type	Duration	Period
1	Direct Military Rule	17 yrs	1958-1962 1969-1971 1977-1985 1999-2002
2	Elected government under a military President	15 yrs	1962-1969 1985-1988 2002-2007
3	Elected government under a civilian President 'Rule of Troika'	14+ yrs	1988-1999 2008-to date
4	Supremacy of the non-parliamentary forces under the formal parliamentary rule	11 yrs	1947-1959
5	Civilian supremacy	6 yrs	1971-1977

Source: Mohammad Waseem, *Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan* in Jetly, Rajshree. 2009 (ed.). *Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics*. New Delhi: Routledge. P. 185

The military may be less efficient in undertaking its primary tasks, of war fighting and winning wars for the country, but it is certainly a keen political player. Its efficiency lies in forming partnerships within the society which maintains the military’s hold on power. The two main characteristics of Pakistani politics continue to be diarchy and a revolving door policy. This means that that the military not only forms partnerships, but also periodically shares power with other political actors. In the past 63 years, military-led governments have replaced civilian governments which are then replaced by military regimes. This system provides far more stability than the political situations in other Middle Eastern states such as Egypt. Continual governance by a single governing body or individual in power can be very destabilizing.

Throughout the past decade, the military in Pakistan has partnered with the judiciary and the media. The latter is used systematically to launch campaigns against the elected government. The media has been effective in presenting the picture of national stability from a peculiar perspective which means that the federal government and president Zardari have been under greater criticism than any other player. The propaganda is meant to keep the PPP government relatively unstable because there is little trust between the PPP and the military. The army GHQ has continued to use its intelligence apparatus, especially Pakistan's intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), against the civilian government. Observers believe that one of the reasons for the tense relationship is the fact that the army fears that the PPP and its current co-Chairman Asif Zardari aim to build a greater direct relationship with Washington.

Politically, the military and the present civilian government are engaged in a fourth round of contesting each other's power and authority. While the civilian government has tried to create a political narrative of Pakistan based on provincial autonomy and recognition of ethnic identity as part of Pakistan's national narrative, the military has attempted to promote its national security agenda by criticizing the political administration and using the media to project itself as the only credible institution. There is no doubt about the fact that the political dispensation is under increasing pressure. Rumours that the military is strategizing to replace the present government intensifies the cycle of political instability.

Through its partners in the media, the establishment has managed to convince the civil society, which is comprised mainly of people with urban middle class and upper middle class backgrounds, of the inefficiency of the political processes. This segment of the population is critical of the political system due to their level of education and ability to communicate with the outside world. This demographic is vulnerable to the establishment's manipulation due to the fact that these people are largely disconnected from electoral politics and the political process in general. Urban, liberal, educated people in Pakistan generally do not vote during elections. However, they have an opinion about the political process and the ability to communicate their opinion to the outside world. Their opinion about the political system is crucial in creating an image of the state and the government for the outside world. Sadly, the civilian government seems to be losing its credibility amongst this particular segment of the population.

#### 4.1.3 A look into the State within the State

The government and the political processes are further weakened by the consolidation of interests in the establishment which is dominated by the military. Although there is still a lack of consensus within the ranks of the military regarding the immediate replacement of the present government, the senior generals continue to be confident in their ability to bring change at will. There is growing enthusiasm to bring a 'nationalist' and technocratic government. Such perception is shared between the army and the ISI. In fact, contrary to the view that there is a division between the army and the ISI, the actual division within the defence establishment is of a different nature. The ISI and other intelligence agencies are well under the army's organizational control.

There are both vertical and horizontal divisions within the army. Horizontally, there are three major ethnic groups including the Punjabi, Pushtoon and the Mohajir that contest for greater political influence. However, the Punjabi group remains the most powerful of the three. There are five main ideologies present within the vertical divide: (a) US-leaning liberal e.g. General Pervez Musharraf, (b)

US-leaning conservative e.g. General Zia-ul-Haq<sup>2</sup>, (c) Non-US-leaning liberal, e.g.. General Ashfaq Pervez Kiyani, (d) liberal Islamist, e.g. Generals Mirza Aslam Beg (army chief from 1988-91) and Ahmed Shuja Pasha, (this group does not necessarily care about implementation of sharia law and an Islamic way of life, but merely supports the Taliban or different jihadi groups), and (e) fundamentalist Islamist, e.g. General Hameed Gul. Most officers fall in one of the five categories. Although it is difficult to determine which group is more dominant than the other, the fact of the matter is that internal tensions within the military reflect competition amongst these various groups. But what is even more important to understand is the fact that these various ideological groups draw their basic strength from the core ideology of the military which is based on: (a) anti-Indian sentiments and (b) the Islamic character of the governing system.

Over the years, anti-American and anti-Western sentiments have grown within the armed forces. In fact, anti-Americanism started during the 1980s and grew unabated to its present form where it has evolved into an anti-western sentiment. The military, which drew a distinction between the US and the West during the early 1990s now feel that there is little ideological difference between the US and Europe. Such a change has occurred mainly due to NATO's involvement in Afghanistan. The ideological changes began with the military's involvement in the war in Afghanistan during the 1980s. This was a period in which the ISI built a jihad network, a process that also influenced the thinking of its own officers and officials. The fact that military officers from the three services of the armed forces that went into ISI then went back to their normal posts meant that they carried the ideology of the ISI back into the mainstream military.

The relationship between the non-state actors and the mainstream military grew unabated. The wariness towards the US had become quite apparent by the beginning of the 1990s. The military began to talk about 'strategic defiance' of the US. The concept involved distancing Pakistan from the US and building links with other states including some European countries. However, this began to change even more after 9/11. Due to the close links between some European states and the US through NATO in Afghanistan, there is a growing feeling that the west is much more aligned with the US than Pakistan's defence community had originally perceived. Although the military continues to work with the American military, the ideological link has weakened. In fact, the suspicion of the US followed by that of the West has grown due to America's growing relationship with India. The US-India nuclear deal has not only perturbed Pakistan's defence establishment, but has also made it become increasingly paranoid. This adds to the existing suspicion towards the west for allowing India to enter Afghanistan and contribute to the country's future development plans. Pakistan's military is highly suspect of India's presence in its north-western neighbouring state.

#### 4.1.4 The Military and Militants

The existence of the above mentioned five ideological groups, however, means that the policy of negotiating Afghan interests with the US and NATO forces goes hand in hand with silently supporting the Taliban and other jihadi groups. It is not the ISI alone which supports certain groups of Taliban and jihadis. The army has a policy of supporting groups such as the Siraj Haqqani network and mullah Omar. In addition, there are the Pakistani jihadi groups such as Lashkare Taiba (LeT), Jaishe Mohammad (JeM), Sipha-e-Sahaba (SSP), Lashkare Jhangavi (LeJ), Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), and Harkat-ul-Jihad-ul-Islami (HUJI). Not only are the links with these jihadi organizations intact, but the army and its intelligence agencies continue to support their top leadership. It is argued that the

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<sup>2</sup> Hypothetically speaking had 9/11 taken place in 1981 instead of 2001, Zia would have gone after religious forces the same way as Musharraf did.

linkage denotes the army's fear that eliminating the top leaders will sever their ability to constantly negotiate with the splinter groups of these militant forces. However, communication with the militant leadership has never given the military any visible advantage in curtailing internal attacks by the jihadis. More important, there is a lack of will amongst the military's echelons to destroy the cycle of jihad. This attitude is explained by the fact that over the past three decades the armed forces have developed a strategic dependence on these non-state actors who are considered to be the main bulwark against India, as they are effective in challenging India's 'hegemonic' designs. Sources argue that there is a lack of will in the echelons of the army to get rid of the various Pakistan based groups because they completely share the military's anti-India mindset. Resultantly, the jihadi organizations and its leadership such as Let's Hafiz Saeed, Jem's Masood Azhar, HUI's Qari Saifullah Akhtar (accused by Benazir Bhutto of planning attack on her October 2007 procession in Karachi), and many others walk around scot-free. Interestingly, the ISI chief, Lt. General Shuja Pasha in an interview to a German publication 'Der Spiegel' defended the right of these militants' leaders to express themselves. In this interview, he even called Baitullah Mehsud and Maulana Fazlullah as patriots. The military's dependence on the militant outfits has grown in the past decade or so particularly since the new generation of mid-career army officers believe that the army will never be in a position to initiate a conventional attack on India or a military solution to the Kashmir issue as was done in 1965 or later in Kargil (1999).

The Pakistan military's peculiar strategic perception has resulted in a growth of jihadism and religious radical forces in the country. Besides the groups mentioned above, there are other entities that have begun to expand in Pakistan such as Hizb-ut-Tehrir, the organization that is linked to Anwar al-Sadat's assassination and desires establishment of an Islamic Caliphate. These obscurantist forces have expanded their network, especially in urban Pakistan. Such a development is worrying considering that a large part of Pakistan's population is under 21 years of age.

#### 4.1.5 Pakistan and the Region

Clearly, the relationship between the military and militants has been maintained primarily due to Pakistan's perception of threats from India. The perception of India has not changed and it seems there is little possibility of that happening. The current military leadership, especially the army chief Ashfaq Pervez Kiyani, is highly suspicious of India and does not entertain any thoughts of negotiating with the traditional enemy state. There is no interest in Pakistan army's GHQ to enhance direct trade with India.

There are some important variations worth noting such as the aforementioned belief that the Kashmir issue may not be resolved through direct military operations. Thus, another Kargil is less likely to happen. However, the other reality is that the military is even more suspicious of India and its own ability to convince New Delhi to appreciate Pakistan's dire needs. There is a greater emphasis on future sources of conflict such as water. Given the growing need in the Indian Subcontinent for water, there is a concern in Pakistan regarding India's efforts to build more reservoirs. The GHQ believes that these dams will be used to punish Pakistan by turning off the water supply. The inability to develop some trust between the two neighbours has naturally translated into Pakistan's increased dependence on the army militants.

Pakistan's India policy is based on a triangular approach consisting of: (a) use of militancy, (b) strengthening nuclear deterrence and (c) strengthening links with China. Pakistan continues to build its nuclear capacity and strengthen economic and defence ties with Beijing. The Sino-Pakistan relations are less holistic than they might appear. They are based on giving China access to Pakistan's

market in return for a 'military-strategic' relationship. This means continued Chinese interest in Pakistan that may automatically deter India.

Most important, there is little sign of Pakistan deviating from its traditional approach to security.

## **4.2 Democratic Strengthening: Key to Political and Economic Stability in Pakistan, by Amir Khan Goraya,(Deputy Country Director Pakistan, Democracy Reporting International)**

**The views described in the text are personal opinions of Mr Amir Khan and not necessarily those of Democracy Reporting International**

### **Abstract**

The democratically elected federal and provincial assemblies have passed the middle of their terms. Despite some positive developments such as the 18th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution and provinces agreeing on the National Finance Commission (NFC) award, initial enthusiasm about the restoration of democracy seems to have subsided. The government finds itself crippled by the post flood reconstruction, IMF conditionality to end subsidies on fuel and energy, pressure to fight terrorism, and a worsening economic situation and rising inflation.

The newly independent private media's highlighting of the failures of the state to address the woes of the people and the absence of the elected government at the grass-roots has provided more space to extremist elements to flourish and challenge the state authority. The issues like murder of Bhatti and Taseer, where the law enforcers failed to provide protection to high profile citizens are manifestations of malfunctioning of state machinery. However, the definitive existential crisis in Pakistan is because of the fluctuation between civil and military rule.

EU is a longstanding development partner in Pakistan; it has a distinct role and a diverse relationship base ranging from textile trade to democracy support and protection of human rights. The EU instruments like election observation and Generalized System of Preference Plus (GSP+) are universal. EU should consolidate long-term support for strengthening democracy by formulation of strong electoral framework, strengthening of Parliament as an institution and supporting local self governance and devolution of power. Improved credibility and enhanced legitimacy of the civilian institutions will restore citizens' confidence in the state and provide less operational space to the extremist elements.

### **4.2.1 Executive summary**

In the 63 years of independence, Pakistan has experienced more than 30 years of military rule almost on a consistent pattern i.e. a decade of democracy followed by a decade of military autocracy. Despite subsequent military dictatorships, the majority of Pakistanis believe in a democratic polity demonstrated by the fact that most military rulers became un-popular in the end and were forced out of office under public pressure. General Musharraf's coup d' etat remains unique compared to the previous takeovers, it happened at a time when the international and domestic environment was hardly conducive for an autocratic regime.

After the restoration of civilian democracy in February 2008, the government inherited significant confrontations and an ongoing war against extremists from the Musharraf regime. The relatively fragile coalition government is often perceived as, not fully asserting itself in handling the extremist elements; failing to comprehensively address flood disaster management and corruption issues; poorly managing the relations among state institutions; unsuccessfully struggling with price hike and inflation, thus providing the space to non-democratic forces and a nascent media to malign the image democracy. However, despite the ongoing challenges and absorption of political energies by massive flood, there have been significant democratic achievements: Parliament passed the 18th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution in 2010 and 2011; the provinces and federal government agreed upon the allocations in the National Finance Award for the first time in the history; the government ratified the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); and the Election Commission started pursuing a structured reform agenda.

The issues like murder of Bhatti and Taseer, where the law enforcers either failed to provide protection are manifestations of malfunctioning of state machinery. However, the definitive existential crisis in Pakistan is between civil and military rule. The violent political killings, escalation of conflicts and the crises of religious extremism is a byproduct of poor law and order, ineffective policing and delayed provision of justice coupled with moral leadership crises.

The EU is a longstanding partner; it has a distinct role and a diverse relationship base ranging from textile trade to democracy support and protection of human rights. EU is perceived to be pro-democracy, neutral and less politically motivated in offering support to Pakistan. The EU instruments like election observation and Generalized System of Preference Plus (GSP+) are universal. In order to provide a development pattern that would benefit all citizens alike and effectively contribute to curb extremist tendencies, EU should consolidate long-term support to formulation of strong electoral framework and strengthening of Parliament as an institution and supporting local self governance and devolution of power. A long term, reliable and strategic involvement of the international community for improving the framework conditions of the civilian institutional functions and processes can provide these institutions with requisite credibility and legitimacy to counter the extremist tendencies.

#### 4.2.2 Background and context

The pattern of military takeovers in Pakistan has been quite consistent; almost a decade of democracy is followed by a decade of military rule. In the 63 years of independence, Pakistan has experienced more than 30 years of military rule. Despite subsequent military dictatorships, the majority of Pakistanis believe in a democratic polity demonstrated by the fact that most military rulers became un-popular in the end and were forced out of office under public pressure. General Musharraf's coup d' etat remains unique compared to the previous takeovers, it happened at a time when the international and domestic environment was hardly conducive for an autocratic regime.

The mainstream political parties resented the military takeover, however, could not pose a serious challenge to the dictator due to the forced exile of their key leaders, Sharif and Bhutto, until Musharraf made the crucial mistake of sacking the Chief Justice. The targeting of superior judiciary sparked a popular movement, led by the lawyers and the civil society and strongly backed by the two major political parties, Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N), against the military regime across the country. The newly emerging independent private media provided the requisite voice and the rallying point to the popular movement, which started for the restoration of judiciary and culminated in the ouster of Musharraf and return of civilian democracy after February 2008 elections.

The escalating of intolerance and conservative trends among the youth in Pakistan has been a manifestation of poor state society relations in the last decade. The slogan of enlightened moderation was primarily aimed to project a moderate face of Pakistani state in the west, in reality the extremist elements were allowed to influence the school curricula and strategically penetrate the nascent private media. Despite his liberal outlook Musharraf harnessed the support of the religious parties to counter the influence of mainstream political forces. The un-checked growth of fundamentalist movements in northern Pakistan and tribal areas adjoining Afghanistan, before the start of military operations, indicates the presence of strong right wing ideology within the institution of military, which thrives on the concept of a security state.

#### 4.2.3 Situational analysis

##### RETURN TO DEMOCRACY IN 2008

In 2006, the Charter of Democracy signed between the two exiled, but most popular, political leaders Nawaz Sharif and late Benazir Bhutto signalled an alliance between the largest political forces, PPP and PML-N. The 2008 elections saw PPP winning the most seats in the National Assembly followed by PML-N. The 126 seats secured by PPP, however, fell short of having an absolute majority in the National Assembly i.e. 172. Despite some disagreements on the Charter itself and clear differences on domestic policy issues, the PPP and PML-N formed the government at the centre. Soon after, the PML-N pulled out of the government and opted for the opposition bench, but took a clear position to stand by the government on implementation of the Charter of Democracy and with a pledge to support democratic rule in Pakistan. The considerably weakened PPP government thus became more dependent on smaller parties like the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F) to maintain a majority in the House.

The return of civilian democracy did not see a major shift in the nature of military engagement in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces, the security forces fighting the militants kept following the lead of the military high command. In case of Balochistan, the government did attempt to appease the nationalists and started a political dialogue without addressing the grievances related to the missing persons and use of force against the tribal people. The military establishment appears to be well coordinated with political actors but seems to take independent decisions regarding the handling of security in the troubled regions.

The massive floods of 2010 raised a number of issues about the disaster preparedness and responsiveness of the government agencies. Civil society organizations and the media reported the poor flood management by federal and provincial governments and misappropriation of relief goods. The international agencies pointed towards increased poverty due to rising food prices and weak purchasing power of the flood affected people. The suffering of the flood affected will likely be an important factor in determining the support for major political parties, PPP and PML-N, in the future elections.

##### MEDIA

The media, especially electronic, has been one of the major players in the political arena. Ever since the media played a key role in restoration of Supreme Court judges in 2009, it has maintained strong pressure on the government by highlighting corruption issues. At the same time, the young and newly independent media is often responsible for sensational propaganda against the political class due to the lack of orientation related to multi-party democracy and struggle for gaining space by

state institutions in a budding democracy. The large media houses and state institutions have done little or nothing to orientate the media personnel with the dynamics of the new democratic set-up.

## ECONOMIC ISSUES AND FUEL SUBSIDIES

The state of 'common people' and small industrial enterprises has been adversely affected by steadily increasing inflation, shortage of electricity and surge in fuel prices. The government remains under tremendous pressure by the IMF conditionality to end energy sector subsidies in order to compete in the global market. The opposition parties have prevented the government from levying new taxes for fear of losing support among the masses. Analysts believe that the government's continued subsidy on fuel prices will result in a major fiscal deficit and hyper inflation in the longer run.

## BLASPHEMY LAWS

The blasphemy laws have been a key source of debate for two years; first after the burning of the houses of Christians in Gojra by the neighboring communities for allegedly committing blasphemy; and recently after a Christian woman, Asia Bibi, was accused of blasphemy by her co-workers in Nankana. In January 2011 the Governor of Punjab Salman Taseer was murdered by a religious extremist, who was his official guard, allegedly for supporting the pardon of Asia Bibi and criticizing the discriminatory laws. Taseer's murder signaled the presence of religious extremists within the ranks of law enforcement and has silenced many public figures on the issues of blasphemy and extremism. The PPP government seems to have distanced itself from a liberal view point and assured the religious parties that no changes will be made in the blasphemy laws. The Senate, including the PPP members refused to offer the traditional prayers (Fateha) for Taseer and prevented a resolution to condemn the killing.

In March 2011, Shahbaz Bhatti, Federal Minister for Minorities Affairs, a vocal promoter of minorities' rights and opponent of blasphemy laws was attacked and killed in Islamabad. Following Taseer's assassination, Bhatti had adopted a bold stance about amending the blasphemy laws. The Punjabi Taliban indirectly claimed the responsibility of Bhatti's murder and warned the others of the same fate if they raise a voice against the blasphemy laws. Unlike Taseer, the reaction of the government to Bhatti's murder was strong and there seemed to be some realization that the weak stance of the moderate forces will further embolden the extremists.

### 4.2.4 Has democracy delivered?

Yes, historically and recently, democracy has delivered in Pakistan. The 1973 Constitution still provides a firm basis for a tolerant and democratic state and a successful federation.

The democratic government might not have succeeded in building a robust economy due to financial constraints at home and global recession but, democracy has delivered a setting that is pluralistic and vibrant and has key ingredients for developing into a progressive and a liberal state. The relatively free media and democratic elections in Pakistan are basic rights, which the middle-east is now demanding actively.

There have been significant democratic achievements:

- Parliament passed the 18th and 19th Amendments to the Constitution in 2010 and 2011, which re-established parliamentary democracy and included aspects of electoral reform;

- The provinces and federal government agreed upon the allocations in the National Finance Award for an equitable distribution of funds between the provinces for the first time in the history of Pakistan;
- Pakistan ratified the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); and the Election Commission of Pakistan initiated its five year strategic plan and legislative reform package for elections.

Despite vehement criticism of government's corruption and mismanagement, the opposition parties have supported the continuity of the democratic process, recently, by passing the 19th Constitutional Amendment by a thumping majority, even after the cracks had started appearing in the ruling coalition. All major political parties have stakes in the provincial governments. The progress has been slow but consistent. Since 2010, political energies have been absorbed by the massive flood crisis, increased political violence in Karachi and Balochistan, heightened tension between the government and the Supreme Court on corruption issues and fake degrees of Parliamentarians.

The definitive existential crisis in Pakistan is not because of Islam or the US or India, it is between civil and military rule. The violent political killings, escalation of conflicts and the crises of religious extremism is a byproduct of two trends coming together:

1. Poor law and order situation, ineffective policing and delayed provision of justice in the lower courts
2. Moral leadership crises, the credibility of people leading the war against the extremists is questionable

#### 4.2.5 Possible EU support to Pakistan

The European Union, and a large number of EU countries are perceived to be comparatively neutral and less politically motivated in offering support to Pakistan. The EU is viewed as pro-democracy, strong supporter of human rights, including protection of minorities. Apart from material gains in the form of trade and grant assistance for development, a strong partnership with the EU and member states provides a degree of legitimacy to the political governments due to EU's involvement in promoting universal values (e.g. democracy, human rights, gender equality) globally.

The EU cooperation with Pakistan dates back to 1976 and EU remains the largest trading partner for Pakistan. According to the Pakistan-EC Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013, "One key lesson from the Social Action Programme (a national multi-donor programme on education, health and water supply which ran from 1992 to 2002 with EC participation) is that reform programmes require a high level of political commitment to the core policy and institutional reform from the government." Although the conclusion is made specific to the Social Action Programme, weak and selective political commitment to broader democratic reform still poses the biggest challenge. Systemic, endemic and institutionalized corruption is another great challenge, the bulk of problems owes to poor governance of aid and implementation weaknesses related to political will and stability.

In order to address specific issue of providing a development pattern that would benefit all citizens alike and effectively contribute to curb extremist tendencies; I suggest that EU can contribute towards stability in Pakistan by supporting two key areas:

- Formulation of strong electoral framework and strengthening of Parliament as an institution. The deficiencies related to electoral laws can bring serious aspersions on the legitimacy and credibility of the elected institutions. The EU Election Observation Missions of 2002 and 2008 demonstrated EU's commitment to democracy in Pakistan and provided an entry point for

working with the political parties. The 83 recommendations of EU EOM 2008 were accepted by all major political parties. Until now, 6 recommendations are fully implemented, 11 are partially implemented and 66 are awaiting implementation. The follow-up visit of Chief Observer of EU EOM 2008 in February 2011 was well received by the political circles and consolidated the options for EU-Pakistan collaboration on democratic strengthening.

- Supporting local self governance and devolution of power to the provincial and local level. The strengthening of the democratic fibre of the state of Pakistan will make it less vulnerable to extremist elements and give a greater authority to the federating units to formulate localized solutions for their problems.

The EU has a distinct role, the EU instruments like election observation, which is conducted on the invitation of the host country and Generalized System of Preference Plus (GSP+) which needs certain conditionality are universal instruments and therefore above suspicion. The continuation of election observation will enable EU to have a say in the qualitative aspects of the democracy. EU's strong role as the largest and trusted trading partner of Pakistan can be further consolidated by prompting the democratic leadership to try and qualify for GSP+.

### **4.3 PAKISTAN-INDIA RELATIONS, by Gareth Price ,Chatham House**

#### **Abstract**

The recent resumption of talks between India and Pakistan is a positive development, but placed in a historical context there seems little reason for great optimism. While Manmohan Singh seems determined to leave a legacy of a better relationship with Pakistan, he is considered a dove within India's policy-making establishment. Most policy-makers remain distrustful of Pakistan's intentions. Pakistan's support for the uprising/insurgency in Indian Kashmir; occasional perceived aggression across the Line of Control; its failure to take action against those responsible for sporadic terrorist attacks within India; its deepening relationship with China and its hostility to India's presence in Afghanistan combine to make a rapprochement unlikely. The early agreement to jointly investigate terrorist attacks is positive, but is far from guaranteed to lead to further progress.

From the Pakistani perspective, relations with India are dominated by a military viewpoint that fears India's attempts to divide the country (with the memory of the secession of Bangladesh still strong). Furthermore, there is a more generic concern that Pakistan continues to define itself in opposition to India, viewing India as the homeland for Hindus in South Asia, and Pakistan for Muslims. India, in contrast, sees itself as a secular state for Hindus, Muslims and others.

The bilateral relationship is further affected by other relationships. The two countries are vying for influence in Afghanistan. Neither country wants a precipitous Western withdrawal and the shared desire for stability in Afghanistan would appear for now to be out-weighting Pakistan's desire for "strategic depth" and India's for a pro-Indian government in Kabul. The US is attempting to de-hyphenate its policy towards both countries; this policy works better when the bilateral relationship is improving than when it is worsening.

Kashmir lies at the heart of the India-Pakistan dispute. It is hard to envisage that a plebiscite will be held, not least because of the substantial population shifts that have taken place over the past decades. The most plausible outcome would be the liberalisation of the Line of Control. This has broad-based support within Kashmir. However, it is questionable whether the governments of India and Pakistan have the capacity to do this. For Pakistan this would be considered selling-out to India. For India, it would be seen as giving concessions to Pakistan.

### 4.3.1 India-Pakistan Relations

Relations between India and Pakistan have been poor since Independence in 1947. The partition of British India led to the first war between the two countries over the status of Kashmir; this dispute remains unresolved today. Subsequent wars took place in 1965 and in 1971. The latter resulted in the secession of East Pakistan and the formation of Bangladesh. A fourth, undeclared, war took place in 1999. An attack on India's parliament in December 2001 brought the two countries close to war with a major build-up of troops in 2002.

But a rapprochement then took place, driven by external encouragement and a realisation within India of the difficulties in preventing a small-scale conflict from rapidly escalating. A range of positive developments took place in the period from 2003 to 2007. Both countries agreed a cease-fire, thereby ending 14 years of artillery exchanges along the Line of Control (LoC) that divides Kashmir. They also agreed to resume air and rail links and to start a bus service between Delhi and Lahore. The Kashmir earthquake of 2005 also worked to build confidence, with India aiding the Pakistan relief effort.

This improvement was enabled by political strength on both sides. The Congress party in India was in a secure coalition, and was thus able to take bold steps. Similarly, in Pakistan the position of General Musharraf was not under threat. As his political position weakened, however, General Musharraf found himself less able to continue the process. The key suggestion – that the Line of Control (LoC, that separates Indian from Pakistani Kashmir) become just a line on a map – was thus not implemented.

The Kashmir dispute remains central to the relationship. As a Muslim-majority state contiguous to Pakistan, Pakistan believes that it should be part of Pakistan. Pakistan argues that the treaty of accession to India was signed by the Hindu ruler of Kashmir under duress and calls for the implementation of a plebiscite as called for by a 1948 UN resolution. India argues that the 1972 Simla Agreement made the issue a purely bilateral dispute to be solved without external involvement or mediation.

Pakistan's longstanding position had been that the Kashmir dispute needed to be resolved as a means of improving the overall bilateral relationship. India argued that introducing other confidence-building measures would improve trust between the two sides and lead to a more conducive environment within which Kashmir could subsequently be addressed. To counter this stalemate, in 2004 India and Pakistan launched the "composite dialogue" through which discussions over Kashmir took place alongside discussions on a range of other disputed issues, including the Siachen Glacier; Sir Creek; the Tulbul Navigation Project and the Wullar Barrage; terrorism and drug trafficking; economic and commercial cooperation and the promotion of people-to-people contacts. However, with little progress being made over the issue of Kashmir, Pakistan began to stall progress in the other areas.

The process came to a halt following the Mumbai terrorist attacks in November 2008. This represented the latest of a number of high-profile attacks within India which India blamed on Pakistan. (These include the 1993 attacks on the Mumbai stock exchange, which killed around 250 people and the 2002 attack on India's parliament.)

While talks restarted in the early months of 2011, Pakistan's failure to take action against the alleged ringleaders of the Mumbai attacks remains a major sticking point. Following the attacks Pakistan placed under house arrest Hafiz Saeed, leader of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), the group accused of perpetrating the attacks. According to the US, he continued to run the group while in prison. He was subsequently released on appeal and he now runs Jamaat-ud-Dawa, the charitable wing of LeT.

In July 2009 his name was added to the UN list of Taliban and Al Qaida leaders. Pakistan's record in prosecuting Islamist militants, including Hafiz Saeed, is poor. Few, if any, witnesses are prepared to testify against Islamists, and the standard of public prosecutors is poor. But Pakistan has refused to allow US or Indian prosecutors to interview him, let alone consider extradition. Furthermore, the local government of Punjab has funded educational initiatives by Jamaat-ud-Dawa.

Pakistan's response to this criticism has to been to reopen claims that India has soft-pedalled in uncovering the perpetrators of the 2007 attack on the Samjhauta Express, a train running from Delhi to Lahore. The attack, which came on the eve of a visit by Pakistan's foreign minister to India for talks, was initially blamed on Hindu extremists. In February 2011, on the eve of the resumption of talks between India and Pakistan, Pakistan claimed that India lacked the "courage to unearth culpability of Hindu extremists". Pakistan has also threatened that the legal action against the LwT leaders may come to an end unless Pakistan can send judicial officials to interview Ajmal Kasab.

This attempt to juxtapose the two incidents seems misplaced. The US has blamed the train attack on the Pakistani-based Lashkar-e-Taiba and, while there may be evidence of incompetence in investigations by Indian security forces, there are numerous instances of action being taken against Hindu-extremist groups.

Pakistan's decision to reopen this issue bodes badly for the up-coming talks. However, thus far India has responded positively. India has agreed to share details of its investigation into the Samjhauta bomb attacks with Pakistan. Furthermore, reports suggest India will allow Pakistan to interview Indian witnesses to the Mumbai attacks. One Pakistani explanation for the slow pace of legal proceedings against Saeed and other senior LeT commanders is that Pakistani investigators have not been able to interview witnesses, as well as Ajmal Kasab, the sole survivor of the militant team who was recently sentenced to death in India.

There is a growing sense within India that the government has lost its sense of direction in its dealings with Pakistan. While Indian policy makers had, until 2008, accepted US pressure for sustained dialogue with Pakistan, since the Mumbai attacks India's approach has been more hard-nosed demanding that Pakistan had to take steps to tackle terrorism before any re-engagement could occur. A wide range of voices within India question why it should keep resuming (in marginally different forms) a comprehensive dialogue with Pakistan. Along with the widespread belief that the Chief of Army Staff, General Kayani, is the most "India-centric" (that is, anti-Indian) head of Pakistan's army, many argue that Pakistan has proven itself unable to meet India's first criteria (i.e. preventing terrorist attacks against India) and note that each dialogue process has been ended because of a major terrorist attack against India. On the opposite side, Pakistan has criticised India for giving this primacy that to terrorism, arguing that this goes against the spirit of the composite dialogue.

#### 4.3.2 The role of the US

The state of US relations with India and Pakistan has a clear influence on the bilateral India-Pakistan relationship. Until 1990, the US leant heavily towards Pakistan: Pakistan's intelligence agency was used as the conduit for military support for anti-Soviet fighters in Afghanistan. Following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the US imposed sanctions on Pakistan for its nuclear programme (of which the US had been aware for several years). Following 9/11 Pakistan regained its strategic importance to the US, although memories of the US withdrawal of support in 1990 remain strong in Pakistan amplifying distrust.

The US has attempted to "de-hyphenate" its India policy from its Pakistan policy: this appeared to work in the 2003-2007 period when relations between India and Pakistan were improving. But it has

proved harder to delink the bilateral relationships when tensions between India and Pakistan have risen. India's role in Afghanistan and Pakistan's desire for a civil nuclear deal along the lines of that given to India have served to re-hyphenate India and Pakistan.

Furthermore, Pakistan remains vital as a means of supplying Western troops serving in Afghanistan. Some Pakistan military operations in the tribal areas (which have necessitated halting supplies) appear to have been intended to demonstrate Pakistan's on-going importance to the West as much as they have targeted Islamist groups. That said, public opposition to US drone attacks in the tribal areas is genuine and widespread.

This public anger has been accompanied by growing concerns in Pakistan's military (at present there seems little need to differentiate between the military, led by General Ashfaq Kayani, and the ISI led by a General Shuja Pasha, a Kayani loyalist) about US attempts to sideline Pakistan's intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Despite the designation of Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally of the US, the relationship is marked by a substantial trust deficit, particularly since General Musharraf was replaced by General Kayani as Chief of Army Staff. The ISI had been linked to an attack on CIA agents in Khost in January 2010 after which the US attempted to circumvent the ISI. The ISI had also been concerned about a court case brought in the US by relatives of US citizens affected by the Mumbai attacks. In November 2010 a US court had issued a summons to General Pasha, head of the ISI.

The recent arrest of Raymond Davis needs to be seen in this context. Davis appears to have been targeting LeT and other ISI-linked groups, and the case demonstrates the intricacy of policy-making in Pakistan. The president, Asif Ali Zardari, would almost certainly have hoped for Mr Davis to be quietly returned to the US. But because the incident took place in Lahore, the opposition PML (N) was keen to use the incident to embarrass Mr Zardari (in the hope that he would suffer from a public backlash were Davis to be transferred back to the US).

Pakistan appears to believe that at present the US needs Pakistan more than the reverse; the decision by an Islamic court to release Mr Davis after the payment of blood-money appears an attempt to exonerate Mr Zardari, and ameliorate criticism from Islamic parties. The ISI would appear to have regained control over US intelligence efforts within Pakistan. But while this issue is now resolved, the strength of feeling shown during the episode demonstrates the on-going tension between the US and Pakistan. Following Davis' release, Pakistan refused to attend a proposed trilateral meeting in Afghanistan in response to a US missile strike in the tribal areas of Pakistan which left 41 people dead.

While public opinion within Pakistan is virulently anti-US, Pakistan, and its military, remain reliant on continued US financial support, and associated support from institutions like the IMF. In the longer-term the increased US focus on its strategic partnership is likely to leave Pakistan side-lined. But while US troops continue to operate in Afghanistan, Pakistan remains important. And the threat of the "Islamisation" of nuclear-armed Pakistan will continue to be used (as it has for the past two decades) as a means of maintaining US support for Pakistan.

For the US there are only two obvious options. The first is business as usual; maintaining the façade of a strategic partnership, and continuing to provide support to Pakistan's military. The alternative is to threaten to cut assistance in the hope of forcing Pakistan to be a more collaborative partner. While this idea is often mooted (and in part contributed to the Kerry-Lugar Bill) in the absence of alternative supply-lines into Afghanistan, this is a highly risky option. The US is clearly aware that active intervention in relation to the Kashmir dispute is highly unwelcome in India, but has sought to encourage India and Pakistan to resume negotiations, and ideally to return to the position reached between Pervez Musharraf and Manmohan Singh over the liberalisation of the Line of Control.

### 4.3.3 The role of Afghanistan

A new bone of contention between India and Pakistan has been the status of post-Taliban Afghanistan. Pakistan is keen to maintain its influence in Afghanistan, and its alleged on-going links with the Taliban are well documented. India has been keen to rebuild its relationship with the new government in Afghanistan (and had supported the Northern Alliance when the Taliban ruled Afghanistan).

Whereas there was a shared agenda between the US and Pakistan during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, this has not been the case in the post-9/11 engagement leading to frequent arguments between the US and Pakistan, with the former accusing the latter of not pulling its weight, or indeed undermining the Afghan government.

Afghanistan has been keen to engage with India; India is currently one of the largest contributors of aid to Afghanistan. But as President Karzai has become increasingly critical of the US approach, so the relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan has improved. General Pasha is an increasingly frequent visitor to Kabul. Pakistan is keen to have some involvement in any negotiations or reconciliation between the Taliban and the Afghan government.

Historically, Pakistan has sought "strategic depth" in Afghanistan. This concept arose in the late 1980s, when Pakistan sought means of countering superior Indian forces by dispersing military assets to countries West of Pakistan. Over the past couple of years discussion of "strategic depth" has declined, and more Pakistanis talk of the need for stability within Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the extent of this shift in policy, particularly within Pakistan's military, is unclear.

Afghanistan is likely to remain a source of tension between India and Pakistan given the trust deficit that exists between the two countries. Nonetheless, both countries increasingly recognise the virtue of stability within Afghanistan.

### 4.3.4 Relations with China

Pakistan has a close and long-standing relationship with China. China has been a source of armaments and civil nuclear power for Pakistan. In recent years China has worked to upgrade infrastructure within Pakistan, constructing a port at Gwadar in Baluchistan, and working to upgrade infrastructure in Gilgit-Baltistan. China clearly views Pakistan as a communications hub and a possible means of exporting goods and importing energy supplies.

India is concerned about China's increasingly belligerent approach, particularly in relation to Kashmir which China has recently described as a disputed territory. India views China's strengthening relationship with Pakistan (as well as with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) as an attempt to encircle India. China, in turn, also sees US attempts to strengthen its relationship with India as a means of encircling China.

For Pakistan, its relationship with China emboldens its approach towards India. Some Pakistani commentators occasionally float the idea that Pakistan should shift its primary strategic relationship from the US to China. But China has shown little support for past Pakistani aggression, and its relationship with Pakistan is for China's interests, not necessarily those of Pakistan. China's ability to play a role as an interlocutor is limited, given Indian distrust and China's control over Aksai Chin.

### 4.3.5 Conclusions

The fundamental issue marring the bilateral relationship is Kashmir. Manmohan Singh came close to forging an agreement with Pervez Musharraf which recognised that “while borders cannot be redrawn, we can work towards making them irrelevant, towards making them just lines on a map”. While Pakistan continues to call for a plebiscite as advocated by UN resolutions, this is highly unlikely to take place. Major demographic shifts have taken place since Independence, with large numbers of Punjabis moving into Pakistani Kashmir; since 1989 large numbers of Hindus have left Indian Kashmir. Furthermore, the binary choice of joining India or Pakistan is unlikely to provide any satisfactory outcome. The involvement of China in the Kashmir dispute adds a further complication.

If there is to be a resolution to the Kashmir dispute, it is likely to involve the liberalisation of the Line of Control. An opinion poll conducted in late 2009 suggests that this would have broad-based support within Kashmir. While it would not meet the demands of all Kashmiri groups, it would work to ease tension within Kashmir.

The poll also suggested that economic issues such as unemployment were of greater concern to Kashmiris than the Kashmir dispute itself. India in recent months has embarked upon a major employment generating scheme within Kashmir. Furthermore, there is widespread support within Kashmir for demilitarisation of both the Indian government and of militant groups.

The European Union, along with its member states, is an important provider of assistance to Pakistan and India. It is also the largest trading partner of both countries. However, its ability to leverage these linkages is limited, largely because of India’s argument that the dispute is a bilateral one between India and Pakistan. EU concerns over human rights abuses in Indian Kashmir limit its ability to be seen as impartial.

Most of the member states of the EU are currently seeking to intensify their economic interaction with India. This enables India, in particular, to play off the EU against its member states. This further undermines the EU’s leverage. Nonetheless, accepting the reality of the present situation, encouraging dialogue, and offering to assist in specific areas (if invited to do so) would be productive.

The fundamental issue is that the Indian government is well aware of the necessary steps needed to improve the situation within Kashmir (notably improving the economic situation and taking steps towards demilitarisation). Outside leverage is best applied encouraging it to do so. However, at the same time the current ability of either government to return to the “out-of-the box” thinking of 2006-07 is limited by political weakness on both sides.

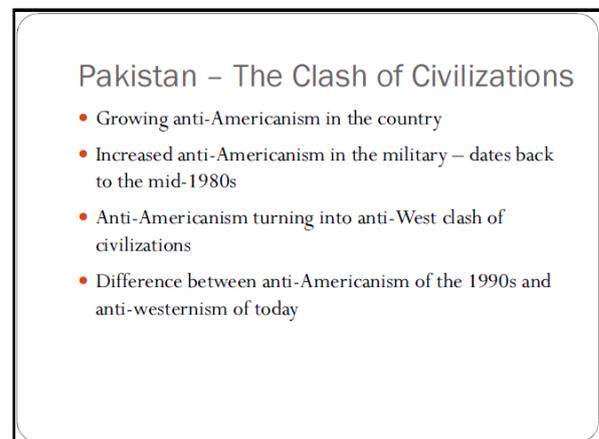
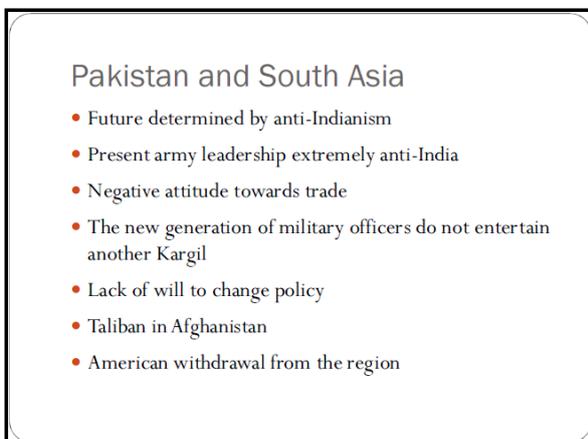
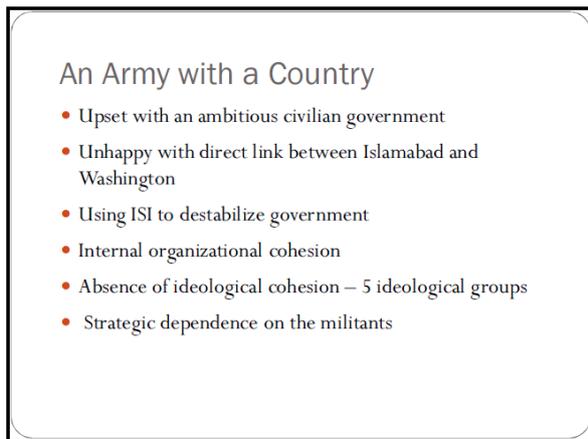
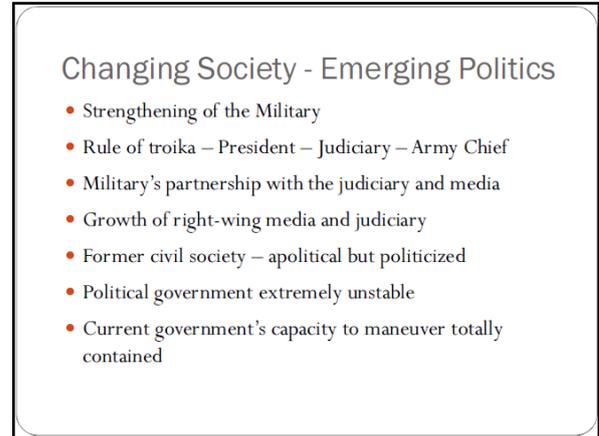
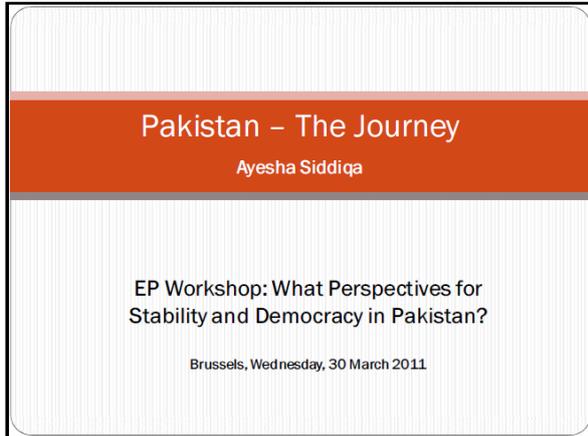
In the longer-term, a less-Islamic notion of Pakistani identity is required if the two countries are to improve their relationship. While Pakistan defines itself as being anti-Indian, it is difficult for progress to be made. Those groups wanting to push for an improved relationship on both sides of the border include business people and traders, who see economic benefits from an improved relationship, and a range of civil society groups (such as journalists and activists).

Finally, as noted throughout this report, the trajectory of developments in other countries - particularly Afghanistan, China and the US - have a major impact on the bilateral India-Pakistan relationship.

## 5. ANNEXES

### 5.1 Power Point Presentations

Power Point Presentation by Ayesha Siddiq



Power Point Presentation by Amir Khan Goraya

**DEMOCRATIC STRENGTHENING:  
KEY TO POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY IN  
PAKISTAN**

by  
**Amir Khan Goraya**  
Deputy Country Director Pakistan  
Democracy Reporting International (DRI)

EP Workshop: What Perspectives for Stability and Democracy in Pakistan?  
Brussels, Wednesday, 30 March 2011

### Return of civilian democracy 2008

**Achievements**

- 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Amendments to the Constitution passed by the Parliament (2010-2011)
- National Finance Commission (NFC) Award agreed upon by the provinces
- Ratification of ICCPR and Election Commission re-structuring

**Challenges**

- Post-flood rehabilitation and reconstruction
- Deteriorating economic situation and rising inflation
- Terrorism , religious extremism and political violence
- Absence of local government

### Background and Context

- Consistent pattern of military takeovers in Pakistan and restoration of democracy
- General Musharraf's military regime, judicial crisis and popular peoples' movement
- Escalation of conservative trends among Pakistani youth and state society relations in the past decade
- Growth of fundamentalist movements in northern Pakistan and concept of a security state

### Situational Analysis

- Numeric strength of the political parties in the Parliament (PPP 126, PML-N 90 out of total 342), no single party in majority
- 2010 floods and increase in poverty incidence
- Proliferation of private electronic media (After PEMRA Ordinance was promulgated in 2002, now total 86 TV channels, of which 72 are on air and 14 are in the process of going on air)
- IMF conditionality and end of subsidies
- Executive – Judiciary turf issues

### Issues related to blasphemy

- Blasphemy laws and victimization of religious minorities
- High profile political murders related to blasphemy, reaction of the state and mainstream political parties
- Stance of moderate forces

The **definitive existential crises in Pakistan** is not because of Islam or the US or India, it is between civil and military rule. The violent political killings, escalation of conflicts and religious extremism is a byproduct of two trends coming together:

- Poor law and order situation, ineffective policing and delayed provision of justice in the lower courts
- Moral leadership crises, the credibility of moderate faces leading the war against extremists

### Has democracy delivered?

- Yes, historically and recently, democracy has delivered
- 1973 Constitution provides a firm basis for a tolerant democratic state and a successful federation
- Democracy enabled a pluralistic, vibrant state and provided space for media independence
- All political parties are supporting the legislative process and expansion of the role of Parliament

### Possible EU Support to Pakistan

- EU's image in Pakistan, perceived to be relatively neutral (pro-democracy, supporter of human rights, protection of minorities)
- Key condition for reform in Pakistan is **political will or commitment**, EU well placed to achieve that
- Possible EU support which can benefit all citizens alike:
  - i. Assistance in Formulation of strong electoral framework and strengthening of Parliament as an institution
  - ii. Local self-governance and devolution of power to the provincial and local level
- Election Observation and GSP plus

Power Point Presentation by Gareth Price

CHATHAM HOUSE [www.chathamhouse.org.uk](http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk)

**Pakistan-India Relations**

**Dr Gareth Price**  
Senior Research Fellow, Chatham House

**EP Workshop: What Perspectives for Stability and Democracy in Pakistan?**  
Brussels, Wednesday, 30 March 2011

**Overview**

- Background to India-Pakistan relations
- Rapprochement 2003-2007
- Mumbai attacks and aftermath
- Impact of US
- Impact of China & Afghanistan
- Implications for the EU

CHATHAM HOUSE 2

**Background to India-Pakistan relations**

- The origins of the Kashmir dispute
- Hindu ruler; Muslim-majority population
- UN resolution for plebiscite
- Three and a half wars
- Confidence-building measures or Kashmir resolution?

CHATHAM HOUSE 3

**Rapprochement 2003-2007**

- Composite-dialogue: Kashmir and CBMs
- Cease-fire; improved people-to-people links
- Ability to improve relations depended on political strength in Pakistan
- As Musharraf's power weakened; progress slowed; and no progress on Kashmir
- Process halted with Mumbai attacks

CHATHAM HOUSE 4

### **Mumbai attacks and aftermath**

- Mumbai attacks followed 2001 parliament attack; 1993 Mumbai attacks
- India demanded Pakistan stop terrorism before dialogue resumed
- Failure to act against Hafiz Saeed; Lashkar-e-Taiba
- Concerns about General Kayani's attitude towards India

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5

### **Impact of US**

- US "de-hyphenation" of India, Pakistan
- Attempting to deepen strategic partnership with India
- Pakistan remains vital for US military in Afghanistan
- And US is vital for funding Pakistan and its military
- Strong anti-US sentiment in Pakistan; concern over drones; CIA activity

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6

### **Impact of China & Afghanistan**

- China – long-standing friend of Pakistan; involvement in infrastructure construction; Gwardar Port; road & rail links
- 2009 Pew Survey 84% of Pakistanis had a favourable view of China; 16% of the US
- Pakistan sees Indian involvement in Afghanistan as a threat; desire for "strategic depth"; India fears Western departure from Afghanistan
- But growing acceptance that a stable Afghanistan benefits both countries

CHATHAM HOUSE

7

### **Implications for the EU**

- Member states keen to boost relations with India
- EU concern about human rights unpopular in Delhi
- Resolution to Kashmir likely to involve liberalising LoC; demilitarisation in Kashmir; increasing economic opportunities
- Do Pakistan and India have the political strength to do this?

CHATHAM HOUSE

8

## 5.2 Speakers Biographical Summaries

**Dr. Ayesha Siddiq** is a visiting research fellow at the Sustainable Development Policy institute in Islamabad since 2006. She has eighteen years of experience of studying politics, economic and sociology of war and peace in South Asia with particular emphasis on the sociology of terrorism and radicalism. She was the Director of the Pakistan Naval Research and has been teaching on Pakistan's security at the John Hopkins University and the University of Pennsylvania. She regularly writes columns for the Daily Times and the Friday Times on political and security related issues.

**Mr. Amir Khan Goraya** is Deputy Country Director of Democracy Reporting International (DRI), a non-profit organisation which promotes political participation of citizens, accountability of state-bodies and the development of democratic institutions. In Pakistan, DRI is implementing an EU-funded programme to support Parliament to improve legislation for general and local government elections and working with the media to enhance quality reporting on election-related issues. Mr. Goraya has over 15 years of work experience at the Parliament of Pakistan, Prime Minister's Secretariat, Election Commission of Pakistan, UNDP and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).

**Dr. Gareth Price** is Senior Research Fellow, Asia programme, at Chatham house. He has also been appointed in 2010 to the Asia Task Force of the UK Trade and Investment (UKTI) which comprises experts from industry, academia and government. He was previously Senior India Research Fellow as well as South Asia Analyst at the Economic Intelligence Unit.

## DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL POLICIES

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