



# The Last Word...

... to defenders of and political leaders / media owners in Pakistan

Pakistan's head of the state, prime minister, leaders of the opposition parties, parliamentarians, chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff, chiefs of staff, the heads of ISI and MI and the media owners must keep the following paragraph from the Founding Statement of the Principles of Project for the New American Century in mind as a reminder from a God fearing ordinary citizen of Pakistan: "America has a vital role in maintaining peace and security in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. If we shrink our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The history of the 20th century should have taught us that it is important TO SHAPE circumstances BEFORE crises emerge, and to meet threats BEFORE they become DIRE. The history of the past century should have taught us to embrace the cause of the American leadership."50 What the Americans are doing accordingly in War Theater across the globe is in their national interest and they can not be, therefore, blamed for the "intended" and/or "un-intended fallout" of their doings. So whatever is happening NOW in settled and tribal areas of Pakistan, Karachi and Baluchistan are a loud and clear indication of the fact that "a transition phase of the process from destabilization to disintegration of Pakistan" is ABOUT TO begin after the completion of military operation other than war with the help of on-going psy-war in print and on electronic media. Our political leaders, commanders of the armed forces, media owners, retired civil and military analysts senior journalists-cum-anchors-cum-producers unintentionally adding fuel to the fire. Are they doing it consciously or innocently? Only God knows that. Benefit of doubt is their genuine right. I REST MY CASE TILL THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT WHEN ALL MEN AND WOMEN WILL STAND EQUAL BEFORE GOD.

Zahid Hussain Khalid
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#### It's Time to Look Behind and Look Ahead through the Last Word...

Soren Kierkegaard has said: "Life can be understood only looking behind, but can be lived only looking ahead."

What do we Pakistanis believe in? We do not believe in looking behind or looking ahead. We believe only in TODAY. The result is that we do not understand anything and we are not capable of looking ahead.

We appreciate and accept the influence of the appearance, affluence, lifestyle and power of others. We never explore ourselves. We do not look at ourselves. We are oblivious of the strengths that God has very graciously bestowed on us. We follow others in a situation in which we are supposed to lead. We submit to the domination of those who in reality do not have the ground under their feet and the sky over their heads. We hide our strengths to give the maximum benefit of our self-imposed artificial weakness to our enemies. Why do we think and behave like that?

The human and natural resources are the only determinants of a nation's true strength or weakness. We feel ashamed of ourselves as Pakistanis, when we imagine about the quality and value of our country's natural and human resources.

This shame reminds us of Surah Rahman in the Holy Quran which our hearts say is addressed to the Muslim Ummah in general and the Pakistanis in particular! What on earth does Pakistan not have? Anything that is mentioned in that Surah is either available to us or we are capable of acquiring it and yet we are weak, vulnerable and beggars. We beg and borrow in the name of poor and the country. Instead of using the borrowed and begged money for the uplift of the country and the welfare of the poor, we use it on luxuries to live like kings and queens. Our electronic media shows the glimpses of these acts of extravagances everyday but does not remind the rulers of the country to think about those more than seventy percent Pakistanis who are living either below the poverty line or are trying very hard to cross that line.

Our most popular anchors can not do a 50-minute program on Pakistan and Pakistanis without a repulsive politician, an all-knowing intellectual, a shameless retired bureaucrat / general and a master-of-his-beat journalist. They can not be blamed for what they do because they do not have the requisite know-how and the technical skills to produce a 50-minute program without the help of those who are responsible for the mess Pakistan is in and who are experts in pointing fingers, abusing and shouting at each other instead of accepting their mistakes, apologizing for the same and correcting them. Our electronic media owners have eliminated the producer known and regarded as captain of the ship. And the content ships of more than three dozen channels are sailing through an ocean of crises without any captain.

...And the same is true for the ship called Pakistan too.

It's, Therefore, High Time to Look Behind and Look Ahead through the Last Word to the Rulers and the Defenders of Pakistan. I do not expect the Jang Group to use this research analysis as it is, but I do hope that some "harmless but important questions" being raised in this report will be "appropriately reworded" and used as and where appropriate.

Best Regards

Zahid Hussain Khalid

Continued below...

**NOTE:** This research paper was written in November 2007 and emailed to all those who matter in corridors of power as well as major media owners. Did they do anything about it? The answer to this question is left to the judgment of this paper's readers.

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# The Last Word to Defenders of, Rulers and Media Owners in Pakistan

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#### **RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS**

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#### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

The Muslims of the pre-partitioned India and their leaders had underestimated themselves in their struggle for independence seeking disgraceful "right of separate electorate" as a politically vulnerable minority from even a much smaller ruling minority (The British) expressing, rather demonstrating, their fear of domination by an unworthy majority (Hindus) which was humiliated, subjugated and ruled by the Muslim invaders from Saudi Arabia, Persia and Central Asia for centuries. That was then. Now that yesterday's unworthy Hindu majority is on its way to become one of the internationally acknowledged genuinely worthy economic, democratic and military powers today and the credit for this remarkable achievement goes to their **educational institutions**, **political leaders**, **corporate entities** and **media**.

# WHERE DID THE INDIAN MUSLIMS GO WRONG?

The Lahore (Pakistan) Resolution was passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1940.

What the highly educated leaders and the experienced politicians of the Indian Muslim League were supposed to do either before or immediately after the presentation and approval of the Lahore Resolution?

The Muslim leaders were supposed to present a "POST INDEPENDENCE STARTEGIC SURVIVAL VISION" outlining the natural and human resource potential and status of the territories which were inhabited by the Muslims of undivided India. They were supposed to do their homework to prepare themselves for efficiently running those territories without looking anywhere else both internally at the center which was rightly expected to be dominated by Hindu majority or externally for any kind of help. Was it difficult? No! Why?

The Muslim leaders of the pre-partitioned India were very well familiar with the areas, though undefined at that time, where the Muslims were in majority. They were very well aware of the geography and demography of the majority Muslim areas of colonial India. They as genuine visionary leaders were expected to form the task forces for the evaluation of the natural and human resource base of the pre and post-partition majority Muslim areas in either divided or undivided India.

The wars of independence are not fought and won by leaders alone. It is true that Muhammed Ali Jinnah was engaged in dialogue with British rulers and Hindu leaders. It is also equally true that he himself was not supposed to do everything himself.

Jinnah was required to assign the job of forecasting and planning to other equally educated, adequately experienced and highly qualified members of his team to prepare a draft code of conduct for the post-colonial independent states and human and natural resource utilization, mobilization and development plans remaining within or opting out of India. It is logically an unacceptable excuse that the Muslim leaders of prepartitioned India did not have enough time. They undeniably and evidently had more than seven years at their disposal because the Lahore Resolution was passed in March 1940 and Pakistan came into existence in August 1947. Seven years were more than enough for the formation of task forces, development of research base, preparation of a planning and development model, discussion and debate on it and to build a consensus on the final outcome. This, unfortunately, was not done and Pakistan is to-date paying the price of this unforgivable negligence on the part of those leaders who were later declared by Mohammed Ali Jinnah himself as KHOTAY SIKKAY. He was cognizant of the blunder that had been committed without the slightest remorse by his TEAM.

The same was pointed out earlier by Lord Pethic Lawrence in a letter addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah on 27<sup>th</sup> April 1946 with reference to Cabinet Mission's negotiations with Indian leaders, April-May 1946:

"...During the interim period it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field. Such negotiations, which will be necessary whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian constitutional structure or not, will occupy a considerable period of time, and since some of these negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure come into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the successor Government or Governments that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed." Was that a TRAP?

#### THE PROPHETIC PREDICTIONS:

It is a known, admitted, often discussed and hotly debated historical reality that "Pakistan's survival was doubted before its creation." Fall of Dacca's precise year and Pakistan's elimination from the map of the world was forcefully predicted. Those who had predicted the fall of Dacca and questioned the basis for Pakistan's survival were not only the Hindu fanatics, representatives of the Crown but a few outstanding Muslim scholars of international repute like Allama Inayat Ullah Mashraqi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. They are on record. They were not mad. They were sensible men of incomparable God gifted vision. They were not against the creation of Pakistan. They were against the logic for its creation.

What was the logic? The logic was that under a democratic system, after partition, the Muslims of independent India were expected to be "dominated by a Hindu majority." Nobody dared to ask them when the Hindus were not in majority.

- Were they in minority when Muhammed Bin Qassim defeated them and laid the foundation of a Muslim state in the Hindu dominated subcontinent?
- Were they in minority when Zaheer-ud-Din Baber (From the land of Taliban) established one
  of the most ostentatious empires of the world in India to last for centuries with more than 20%
  share in global GDP?
- Were they in minority when British came to India and treacherously toppled the Mogul empire due to the conspiracies and the tussle for crown among the ruling class of the Muslims?

The Hindus were never in minority. AND it was nothing more than a sheer nonsense that they were expected to dominate the Muslims after the departure of the British rulers.

The message of the logic was that the political leaders of the Muslims of the pre-partitioned India were not mentally, rather politically, willing to accept the rule of majority in an independent India at the centre. What actually happened was that the British snatched a large cake called Muslim Indian Empire from morally weak, politically weaker and militarily the weakest Muslims and returned a small piece of that big cake back to them at the time of their departure from India. Even that was tolerable due to the self deceiving satisfaction that Muslims of India had carved a homeland called Pakistan for themselves to live as they wished!

# WHAT HAPPENED IMMEDIATELY AFTER PARTITION AND WHAT IS HAPPENING NOW?

• It is important to note here that Jinnah was a lawyer. He had a case and he won. The Second World War fatigued British were in panic and they left in a hurry. Jinnah was fighting Pakistan's case in the name of Islam to justify the creation of Pakistan. Pakistan's intellectuals (again an inconspicuous minority) declare him a secular leader who was not in favor of an Islamic State. Islamic political parties also lacked and still lack democratic and religious credibility.

- The reason for this confusion was and is the non-existence of a formal national code of conduct or an outline of <u>a genuinely people-friendly pro-state constitution</u> for the running of the day-to-day affairs of the state. <u>The present constitution is NEITHER democratic</u> <u>NOR Islamic</u>.
- The deteriorating health of the first Governor General of Pakistan did not allow him to focus on the most crucial areas of state management which were supposed to provide a guideline for the handling of the state affairs. Mere <u>statements of a leader</u>, no matter how tall his political personality was or is, were and are not enough for a nation that <u>had / has a book like Quran</u> and a code of life called <u>Sunnah / Shariat</u> to seek guidance from and was and is foolishly dependent on a class of political and religious leaders who themselves were and still are oblivious of the practical demands of the nationhood and religion. <u>Pakistan has failed to emerge as either a democratic or an Islamic Republic</u>. ISLAM IS RIDICULED BY MEDIA BOTH IN AND OUTSIDE PAKISTAN AS A DIRECT CONSEQUENCE OF <u>AN ONGOING ANTI-ISLAM PSY-WAR</u> IN AND AROUND PAKISTAN!!!
- The state did not and still does not have a preliminary natural and human resource evaluation report and a viable financial base to the extent that money for even the salary of the government staff was and is still not available. THERE IS LITERALLY NOTHING FOR PAKISTANIS IN PAKISTAN'S BUDGETS EXCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COUNTRY'S BALLOONING DEBT LIABILITY.

Naturally, the newly independent state had to look and, after 60 long years, is still looking around for IMMEDIATE EXTERNAL HELP and a TEMPORARY BAIL OUT!

The first Governor General of Pakistan, like the present rulers of the country, needed help. What were and are the other members of the Governor General's and present rulers' team doing, if there was and still is really a team that did and does exist in its true sense? Were and are the members of that and the present ruling team not supposed to assist, help, and guide their respective team leaders?

The help came and comes from far away <u>BUT</u> at the cost of the country's sovereign decision making power to form its own internal and external policies in a politically and ideologically then bipolar and now uni-polar and visibly emerging multi-polar world. Simply for the obvious reason that <u>THE BEGGERS ARE NOT THE CHOOSERS!</u>

What were and are the leaders and their ministers doing? British had introduced another tool for domination and that was corruption at the highest level and that corruption was first witnessed in "Refugee Camps" in independent Pakistan and "allotments of the evacuee property" to those who did not have even a residential cottage or an inch of agricultural land in India. Today this pre and post-partition land-turned-corporate-mafia represents the highest percentage of the members of the national and provincial assemblies and the senate using the same corrupt practices for the perpetuation of their political exploitation in Pakistan.

The politicians were and are still busy in their criminal activities. They did not and do not have time for legislation. Consequently, there was a gap of nine long years in preparing a code of national conduct called constitution which survived only for two years because a military regime was forced on Pakistan in 1958! Here ends the political role of Muslim majority in independent Pakistan and a military General takes over as Head of the State!

What was and is the result? The result, at the initial stage, was a very well planned organized development of social and economic sectors based on very sound social, economic and diplomatic policies prepared and executed by a team of highly qualified federal ministers with the help of thoroughly professional, responsible and responsive bureaucracy. The corporate sector also contributed a lot by expanding and diversifying growth in agricultural, industrial and service sectors. They had to adhere to the government policy of providing housing, health and education facilities to their employees and their families and children. The allegation of unequal distribution

and concentration of wealth in few business families can not be judiciously substantiated. However, the political fall of Gen. Ayub Khan can be attributed to the emergence of Pakistan's armed forces as one of the most professional and powerful armies of the world during the 1965 controversial war, consequent popularity of the President in military uniform in Pakistan, the obvious frustration of the political leaders in opposition due to their failure to have a voice in the corridors of power, the political ambition of a number of ministers in Ayub Khan's cabinet, particularly, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who used Tashqand Accord as a reason to resign from the foreign minister's post and last but not the least the military ruler's book "Friends NOT Masters". That was the beginning of the end of Ayub Khan's government. The agitation against Ayub Khan was surprisingly triggered by a nominal increase in the price of sugar and the situation turned so ugly that Ayub Khan had to resign by handing over the power to Gen. Yahya Khan who had promised to hold fair and transparent elections. He kept his promise. Mujeeb-ur-Rehman and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto emerged as the majority party leaders in the East and West wings of Pakistan respectively.

#### WHAT WAS THE END RESULT?

When the time to transfer the power to the genuine winner of the election in the United East and West Pakistan comes a political leader in West Pakistan refuses to accept the democratic victory of a majority party in East Pakistan and the later opts for independent Bangladesh.

The FIRST PREDICTION ABOUT THE FALL OF DACCA COMES TRUE.

#### WHY?

Because the politicians of independent Pakistan have learnt from the logic of Pakistan's creation not to accept the political domination (victory) of the majority even if the people in majority are native Muslims and even if the military force is needed to deprive them of their genuine right to rule..!

THE FALL OF DACCA WAS THE BIGGEST TRAGEDY IN THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENT PAKISTAN.

# WHAT WERE THE REASONS FOR THE FALL OF DACCA?

The widespread feeling of frustration and exploitation was visible in the violent reaction and agitation of the Bengalis in East Pakistan.

Instead of addressing their grievances, army was deployed to crush their agitation by force. Use of force did not leave the East Pakistanis with any other choice but to either defy the armed forces or to flee to India by crossing Indian border. They did both. The violation of Indian border by the East Pakistanis and the appeal from their leaders prepared the ground for Indian attack on East Pakistan which resulted in the humiliating surrender of Pakistan army in Bangladesh and imprisonment of almost 90,000 Pakistani civilians and personnel of the armed forces.

#### WHAT IS THE SITUATION NOW?

The situation is more explosive now than it was at the time of military action to "suppress armed civil insurgency in East Pakistan" because Pakistan does not have a single political party in Pakistan which can genuinely claim a nationwide majority in terms of valid votes in the four provinces of today's Pakistan. Consequently, central government can not be formed without the formation of a strong or fragile coalition of like minded political parties. So majority remains a "symbolic prequalification to claim the right to govern in today's Pakistan" like anywhere else leaving the majority political party at the mercy of the demands, moods and maneuvers of the minority parties in Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, NWFP and independents. With this background in view, does one understand now the reason for the objection of the visionary Muslims of undivided India to the logic of India's partition based on the fear that the Hindu majority will dominate Muslim minority in an independent united India after the departure

of the British? Can People's party dominate MQM in Sindh, PML (N) in Punjab, ANP in NWFP, PML (Q) in Baluchistan and independents in FATA? AND CAN A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BE FORMED WITHOUT THE HELP AND SUPPORT OF EITHER MQM, PML (N) / PML (Q) OR ANP? If these parties refuse to join or support the People's Party will it be able to form a credible government at the center? If a numerically weak party at the centre but strong in one of the provinces does not support the coalition, the center will make a coalition with a numerically weak party in that province to overthrow the defiant party like People's Party's government had attempted in Punjab. What did PPP need for that? PPP did need military back up in the same manner as Bhutto <u>pushed</u> General Yahya to provide in East Pakistan and made his political contribution in the Fall of Dacca. The history did not repeat itself in Punjab only due to a timely phone call from the Army Chief to Barrister Aitezaz Ahsan and a few calls from abroad.

#### IS THE HISTORY ABOUT TO REPEAT ITSELF?

The same mistake is being repeated in a heavily armed province, Federally Administered Tribal and Settled Areas in Pakistan also knowing well that Afghan, Indian and other enemies are ready to take advantage of the situation.

The most unfortunate and painful reality is that the political institutions are infiltrated by representatives of local criminal and corporate mafias and foreign and local intelligence agencies. These anti-social, economic and other categories of leaders-cum-criminals representing their respective mafias have turned Pakistan into an international joke enacted repeatedly by a bunch of visionless political jokers elected by "majority" of illiterate masses who damn care about the personal character and background of a political leader. Unfortunately, Pakistan's armed forces and their intelligence agencies, which shared political power for more than three decades, played a very discomforting role in repeatedly handing over the responsibility for governance to those political leaders at the center and in the remaining four provinces of Pakistan knowing well their level of governing competence.

The country's print and electronic media is to be equally blamed for projecting and promoting unqualified political leaders and workers for political positions after having a complete record of their criminal and at times anti state activities. It was the media's responsibility to make sure that they were not allowed to at least participate in the political process, even if they were not behind bars for obviously known reasons. For that instead of justifying the death warrant of Pakistan called National Reconciliation Ordinance, the media had to educate the voters about the motives and intentions of its anti-Pakistan authors. Did they clearly and convincingly do that? Every nation ultimately pays the price of the blunders like these and the time to pay that price has come.

#### PRESENT SCENARIO:

- Is the present political, judicial and media scenario different from the one discussed above?
- Does the situation on ground allow us to take this kind of political liberty with the country's very survival?
- Do we realize what is going on in and around our country right now and what will be the consequences?
- Are we aware of the "visible designs" of Pakistan's internal and friends like external enemies?

#### WHERE DO WE STAND?

Pakistan is now a target of U. S. threat perceptions, geo-strategic interests and the use and abuse of Islam through psy-war tactics in framing conflicts and policies.

Please recall the most important aspect of the **Founding Statement of the Principles of Project for the New American Century:** "The history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century should have taught us that **it is important TO SHAPE** circumstances <u>BEFORE</u> crises emerge, and to meet threats <u>BEFORE</u> they become <u>DIRE</u>."

The situation in FATA is perceived by United States to be and projected by local and international media as an outcome of the activities of the Taliban militants and presence of al Qaeda leaders. Contrary to the stated perception and media projection, the reality on ground indicates the possibility of the implementation of the next geo-strategic objective by the United States with the following anticipated outcomes:

- To extend the war zone from Afghanistan to inside Pakistan and entrench itself at the borders
  of Iran and China for responding to the possible fallout of ultimate withdrawal from Iraq, its
  anticipated and possible disintegration into three independent shi'a, Sunni and Kurd zones,
  consequent reaction of, response from and fallout on Iran, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia,
  Bahrain and Jordan.
- To neutralize the presently invisible but ultimately anticipated outcome of Pakistan's utmost frustration on U. S. India Agreement for peaceful nuclear cooperation (the "123" agreement). The agreement is expected to ultimately disturb the nuclear balance between India and Pakistan.
- According to post-agreement scenarios by research analysts India is expected to become an "engine of regional economic growth" and the neighboring countries are expected to "implement policies for taking advantage of India" as such.

#### IS PAKISTAN IN A POSITION TO RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGES?

• The Prime Minister, President of Pakistan, Chief of Army Staff and ISI Chief have categorically declared on record the war against terrorism as their own war and expressed their determination to chase the terrorists and militants out of Pakistan.

Do these heads of the government, the state and the army and its intelligence arm know?

- Who the real terrorists and militants are?
- What is their numerical strength?
- How many terrorists and militant groups are carrying out operations in Pakistan, on whose behalf and under whose instructions?
- Who supplies to them the arms, ammunition and explosives?
- Who covers their expenses?
- Where are these Taliban hiding in Pakistan and why the agencies have so far failed to locate them? Where are they?
- The ministry of foreign affairs has yet to come up with a comprehensive workable strategy beyond and above diplomatic rhetoric to neutralize the fallout of "123" agreement between India and United States.

The outcome of the deployment of troops in NWFP and the Tribal and the Settled Areas and their operation against the alleged militants are both confusing and disappointing due to the fact that the collateral damage is not "specified" by releasing the information about the background and identity of the killed militants to the media and the refusal by the relevant authorities to give permission for on the spot print and electronic media coverage of the military operation by at least one national language, one English language and one Pushto channel in addition to PTV.

- In view of the situation on ground it is advisable to prepare and adequately train a team of security cleared private sector print and electronic media journalists for on the spot coverage of military operation.
- On top of that print and electronic media owners themselves are not serious. They can not agree beyond the uniform timing of "commercial breaks" between program chunks to

make sure that their commercial time is not squeezed. Issues of national survival are not that serious for them to really take them seriously and come up with a Unanimous Plan for the sake of Pakistan's Very Survival. <u>GEO severely made an attempt but had to submit after losing more than a billion rupees!</u>

#### WHAT DO THE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND?

People are aware of the situation in the northern areas of Pakistan only to the extent that:

- Northern areas of Pakistan have <u>allegedly</u> but <u>not convincingly</u> become the safe havens for the Taliban and al Qaeda terrorists. <u>The exact locations of these safe havens have not</u> been identified.
- NATO forces are allegedly attacked by Taliban hiding in Pakistan. Pakistan is repeatedly <u>asked</u> and even <u>forced</u> by U. S. President, State Department officials, U.S. and NATO commanders and international and local English media to take military action against the terrorists <u>without</u> providing credible intelligence information about their movement or hiding places. <u>Our print and electronic media do not have a single credible exclusive investigative report on the subject to their credit so far.</u>
- Pakistan's armed forces are deployed to target the hideouts of the militants on "foreign directive" without ascertaining the presence of the militants at the time of the attack.
- NATO forces and U. S. drones also violate Pakistan air space and frontiers to chase and kill
  militants. They do so, as admitted by the President of Pakistan, on his permission and now
  allegedly from Pakistan's own soil...!!!.
  - Is he, "in person", the competent legislative authority to do so?
- People, across the country, are worried and sad on the death of thousands of innocent civilians and the displacement of more than two million people for no fault of theirs.
  - Our armed forces have been trained to fight with the foreign invaders and they have no enthusiasm to fight against their Muslim brothers in the tribal areas of Pakistan. If that is true then <u>who is killing the innocent Pakhtoons and making their families</u> homeless?
  - Are Pakistani armed forces allegedly providing cover to NATO forces in the name of insurgency?

THE REALITIES ON GROUND AND SOME RELEVANT QUESTIONS:

THE REALITIES ON GROUND:

SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN:

# WHO IS IN SEARCH OF THE SAFE HAVENS? TALIBAN OR US/NATO FORCES?

A comparative scenario presented in International Council on Security and Development (ICOS), reports of 2007 and 2008 provides a clear glimpse of the strengths and weaknesses of the Taliban and the U. S., NATO and ISAF forces in Afghanistan respectively. Please click the following links.

http://www.icosgroup.net/modules/reports/struggle for kabul/press release http://www.icosgroup.net/modules/reports/struggle for kabul http://www.senliscouncil.net/modules/publications/Afghanistan on the brink

If it is true that "the Taliban now has a permanent presence in 72% of the country," if it is true that "of the four doors leading out of Kabul, three are now compromised by Taliban activity," and if it is also true that "the Taliban are now dictating terms in Afghanistan, both politically and militarily," then:

# Who is in a position of strength? Who needs the safe havens? And who needs to be rescued?

The answer is that the U. S., NATO and ISAF forces are now "TRAPPED" and "UNDER SEIGE" in AFGHANISTAN and they desperately need to be rescued!!! It requires average intelligence to conclude that NATO/ISAF and American troops can not even think about the disgraceful retreat or withdrawal. So, instead of pulling these troops out of Afghanistan disgracefully, the U. S. DoD and the military command wants to extend the war front to FATA and from FATA they want to combat with Taliban with the help of Pakistan's armed forces. FATA is now evidently not a SAFE HAVEN for the TALIBAN. Contrary to that the NATO / ISAF and American forces themselves are looking for a SAFE HAVEN. THEIR SUPPLY LINE IS ALMOST CUT OFF AND NONE OF THE ALTERNATE ROUTE OPTIONS IS PRESENTLY AVAILABLE TO THEM ON "GRACEFULLY ACCEPTABLE TERMS & CONDITIONS"! It is alleged by certain quarters that Pak Army has been assigned a task to clear the US-NATO supply line from Karachi to Kabul within a given deadline.

In view of arriving at this irrefutable conclusion after a detailed analysis of the realities on ground instead of admitting their defeat the United States and Britain, the co-conspirators in Afghan and Iraq Tragedies, have succeeded in taking a politically weak kneed government in Islamabad under pressure for undertaking a dangerous military assignment in Settled Areas and on two sides of the Pak-Afghan border on their behalf. Why? Pakistan was never threatened by Taliban. The Taliban Group was never against Pakistan. The Taliban and Taliban leaders never questioned the sanctity of the Durand Line. So why Pakistan has moved its forces to fight with a product of American Hallucination called War against Terror and on what terms and conditions.

The present situation and the frequent visits of the US and British political and military personalities to Pakistan also indicate that, both the United States and Britain are under tremendous pressure to find a credible scapegoat for shifting the blame of defeat from their military commands to the Pakistan's military command and destabilize / disintegrate Pakistan in the process. PAKISTAN'S MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ARE DUTY BOUND FOR TAKING APPROPRIATE STEPS TO ADDRESS THE SITUATION AFTER TAKING THE PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN AND TALIBAN BOTH INTO CONFIDENCE. DO THE PEOPLE MATTER ANYMORE? IN CAMERA SESSIONS WITH POLITICIANS WHO THEMSELVES ARE EVIDENTLY STATE SECURITY RISK WILL NOT DO THE TRICK.

The terrorist attacks in Mumbai were the climax of UK-USA cooked conspiracy for opening another war front to divert Pakistan's attention. The campaign against ISI and Pakistan's armed forces WAS also part of the game. So where to go from here?

The agreement on military cooperation between Pakistan and China is the first step in the right direction. China will not be able to escape from the adverse fallout of the intended stationing of U. S. and NATO forces in FATA and intended disintegration and denuclearization of Pakistan. Therefore, it is high time for China and Pakistan to take a joint stand against unjustified and fake U. S. pressure on Pakistan. Once Pakistan and China declare a Joint Military Intent to secure their respective borders from a planned strategic international incursion then the already exhausted U. S., and NATO forces will have no choice but to retreat as Soviet Union had retreated from Afghanistan. Are we justified in anticipating that our military command has the guts to do that? Realities on ground do not endorse this anticipation due to ongoing military operation and its visible and ultimate fallout!

HIGHLIGHTS OF ICOS REPORT – STRUGGLE FOR KABUL III

While the international community's prospects in Afghanistan have never been bleaker, the **Taliban has been experiencing a renaissance** that has gained momentum since 2005.

According to research undertaken by <u>UK based</u> International Council on Security and Development (ICOS), throughout 2008, the Taliban now has a permanent presence in 72% of the country. This figure is up from 54% in November 2007, as outlined in the ICOS report

Stumbling into Chaos: Afghanistan on the Brink. The increase in their geographic spread illustrates that the Taliban's political, military and economic strategies are now more successful than the West's in Afghanistan. Confident in their expansion beyond the rural south, the Taliban is at the gates of the capital and infiltrating the city at will.

# Of the four doors leading out of Kabul, three are now compromised by Taliban activity.

- The roads to the west, towards the <u>Afghan National Ring Road through Wardak to Kandahar</u> have become unsafe for Afghan or international travel
- The road south to <u>Logar</u> is no longer safe for Afghan or international travel
- The road east to Jalalabad is not safe for Afghan or international travel
- Of the two roads leaving the city to the north only one the road towards the <u>Panjshir</u> valley, <u>Salang tunnel</u> and <u>Mazar</u> – is considered safe for Afghan and international travel
- The second road towards the north which leads to the <u>Bagram Air Base</u> is frequently used by foreign and military convoys and subject to insurgent attacks

By blocking the doors to the city in this way, the Taliban insurgents are closing a noose around the city and establishing bases close to the city from which to launch attacks inside it.

# The Taliban are now dictating terms in Afghanistan, both politically and militarily.

- At the national level, talk of reconciliation and power sharing between undefined moderate elements of the Taliban movement and elected government officials is commonplace.
- At a local level, the Taliban is manoeuvring skillfully to fill the governance void, frequently offering a mellower version of localized leadership than characterised their last stint in power.

# Simultaneously, the asymmetric threat posed by agile Taliban forces to NATO's illequipped, lumbering military machine ensures that:

- Genuine security cannot be established in any of the 72% of Afghan territory where the Taliban has a permanent presence.
- <u>Without appropriate resources at their disposal, NATO is not prepared for the challenge.</u>

It is the <u>combination of recruitment bulk and propaganda know-how</u> that enables the Taliban to outlast NATO-ISAF and US forces. Simplistic though it may be <u>the Taliban's unity of purpose</u> gives it <u>a distinct edge</u> over the cumbersome command structure of Western security and development efforts.

Over the past three years, ICOS' research and analysis portfolio has catalogued a series of mistakes made by the international community in the quest to pacify the insurgency. There have been some signs of progress, such as opening the international debate on sending more troops, but also a stubborn adherence to failing policies such as military actions leading to civilian casualties, lack of effective aid and development, and support for aggressive poppy crop eradication programmes.

The inability of domestic and international actors to counter the entrenchment of the insurgency in Afghanistan is deeply troubling, and the failure of NATO's political masters to address the realities of the security situation in Afghanistan has taken the country and the Karzai government to a precipice. It will take more than a military defeat of the Taliban to build trust, especially in the southern provinces.

The insurgency continues to turn NATO's weaknesses into its own strengths.

Until external actors expand their focus beyond the military dimensions, by targeting needs at a grassroots level and thus restoring its previous levels of support, there is a danger that Afghanistan will be lost for at least another generation. For details go to:

http://www.icosgroup.net/modules/reports/struggle for kabul

#### **WHAT IS AF-PAK?**

I have prepared the <u>highlights</u> of the following two reports to explain the background of the widely discussed term <u>AF-PAK</u> used with reference to the situation on two sides of the **Durand Line** with my observations:

**AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN: Cultural Heritage and Current Reality,** Report of a two-day seminar organized jointly by the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies and the American Institute of Pakistan Studies in Istanbul, Turkey with support from the International Center for Middle Eastern-Western Dialogue May 7-8, 2005 iv

And

**THE DURAND LINE: HISTORY, CONSEQUENCES, AND FUTURE,** Report of a Conference Organized in July 2007 by the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies and the Hollings Center in Istanbul, Turkey.

The following key findings and recommendations were presented by the conference on THE DURAND LINE: HISTROY, CONSEQUENCES, AND FUTURE <sup>vi</sup>:

- "The consequences of the status quo for both Afghanistan and Pakistan are quite negative, but at present **neither** country is able to resolve the border issue on a bilateral basis."**7**
- "To ameliorate this situation, Afghanistan and Pakistan should devise and implement immediate border-related <u>confidence building measures</u> involving trade, transit rights, and security that would reduce the level of conflict and provide tangible benefits to both countries."8
- "But because such measures <u>alone</u> are not sufficient to resolve the border issue successfully, pressure by the international community—the <u>United States</u> in particular—is needed to get both sides <u>to compromise</u> in exchange for international long-term security guarantees and a substantial aid package. <u>The American government and its allies must take the initiative to bring the parties together in a dialogue</u> that is more comprehensive that what either is willing to accept now, and to provide the incentives needed to help maintain progress."9
- Key to this dialogue would be an acknowledgement, at least <u>tacit</u>, that the existence of the
  Durand Line has been the basis of an internationally recognized border for more than a
  century, despite disputes over its status and location. <u>DELIMITATION OF THE BORDER</u>
  WOULD BE THE LAST STEP IN THE PROCESS, NOT THE FIRST."10
- "Any eventual agreement must respect the long tradition of unhindered cross-border movement by residents of the area that neither Afghanistan nor Pakistan has the ability to halt."11

#### STATUS OF THE DURAND LINE:

- The Durand Line was demarcated by the British and signed into a treaty by British with the Afghan ruler in 1893.12
- After the expiry of the treaty for hundred-year the disputed land was to be returned to Afghanistan in 1993 similar to how Hong Kong was returned to China.13

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FINDINGS OF CONFERENCES ON DURAND LINE AND ITS STATUS:

The last two findings of the Durand Conference and status of the Durand Line inspire me to conclude that the inability of both Afghanistan and Pakistan to halt the "unhindered cross-border movement" will ultimately result in the "Delimitation of the border" between the two countries and that ultimate delimited border arrangement is covertly called AF-PAK and it will be controlled by first the joint forces of United States / NATO, Pakistan and Afghanistan and ultimately by any one of the three! For that have a look at point 3 of the findings.

Pak army's last attempt to prove its ability to make the "Taliban" submit to Pakistan's writ of the state on its side of Durand Line can reverse the process of the "delimitation of Durand Line" on the one hand and on the other, if Pak army fails, THE ONGOING PROCESS OF DIALOGUE WILL ULTIMATELY CONCLUDE IN THE DELIMITATION OF BORDER BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN AND THE DURAND LINE WILL BE RENAMED AF-PAK. AF-PAK will be the VISA for U. S. and NATO forces to cross the Durand Line and move into Pakistan.

#### WHY PAKISTAN IS UNDER PRESSURE TO DO MORE?

- "In most boundary disputes," according to *The Durand Line: History, Consequences, and Future,* "there is no room for <u>autonomous non-state actors:</u> the recognition of a state's legal title to a territory assumes it has both <u>the will</u> and <u>the ability</u> to exert <u>its authority</u> over it. Here, we have a situation in which a putative international boundary abuts a territory over which a state claims de jure title but does not exert de facto authority over the people who live there. As one participant observed of this conundrum, "Why should Afghanistan recognize a border for which Pakistan refuses to take responsibility?" 14 This question is raised for and on behalf of America and its allies ignoring the fact that Afghan government has also failed to exert its de facto authority over the people on its side of the Durand Line!
- "Far from acting confidently as <u>a powerful nuclear-armed state</u>, Pakistan continues to display a 'psycho-political insecurity,' as one participant termed it that makes even a weak Afghanistan appear a threat. This manifests itself over issues that appear relatively minor to outsiders (such as the number of Indian consulates in Afghanistan) and in more fundamental ones (such as the degree of influence Pakistan has a right to expect in the internal politics of Afghanistan and its willingness to turn a blind eye to Taliban activities along the border)."15

#### IS THE PRESSURE JUSTIFIED?

"Afghanistan's intentions and desires for the line are", according to *The Durand Line: History, Consequences, and Future* "unclear and lack uniformity, although the contradictory actions of the Afghan state have constituted <u>a de facto recognition</u> of the border. Such actions began with Afghanistan's <u>acceptance of annual subsidy payments in exchange for signing the Durand Agreement</u>. Despite its objection to the border, Afghanistan has treated it as an international boundary when dealing with international travelers and transit trade."16

# WHERE DOES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY STAND?

• "The international community, through its actions in the Global War on Terror," according to The Durand Line: History, Consequences, and Future, "has implemented a de facto recognition of the border. The United States instructs its troops not to cross into Pakistan, even in hot pursuit of armed insurgents, and gives deference to Pakistani assertions of sovereignty even in regions beyond Islamabad's control. It sees the ongoing dispute between Pakistan and Afghanistan as an undesirable distraction to bringing stability to the region."17

#### WHAT IS THE BACKGROUND?

In order to justify the logic behind the **delimitation of the border** between Afghanistan and Pakistan the following two questions have been raised?

# Which Afghanistan? And Which Pakistan?

#### **AFGHAN CLAIM:**

- "From the Afghan point of view, in 1947 most of Pakistan was carved out of Afghan territory TEMPORARILY by virtue of force majeure under British occupation." 18 This claim is substantiated with the following historical background:
  - "What Afghans and the rest of the world know today as Afghanistan dates from 1893, when the delineation of its modern borders was finally completed by a local agent of the British Government in Calcutta. But Afghanistan was first constituted as an independent political entity by Ahmad Shah Abdali Durrani in 1747. 19
  - The territory that was included in the Durrani state for significant periods between 1747 and the early 19th century included much of Central Asia, northeastern Iran, Kashmir, and almost all of what is now Pakistan." 20
  - Afghan participants of the conference claim that "modern Afghan identity and cultural heritage goes back to the Taherids (the dynasty of Taher)."21

#### PAK CLAIM:

- "From the Pakistani point of view Afghanistan was the only country that voted against its application for membership in the United Nations Organization in 1947."22
- Afghanistan refused to ratify its de facto border with Pakistan and under Daud Khan's premiership (1953-1963; he was later president 1973-1978) promoted the formation of a new entity, <u>Pashtunistan</u>, the boundaries of which were unclear at the time, but have since been represented as enclosing all the <u>Pashtun and Baluch</u> areas of Pakistan into a new country between Afghanistan and a severely reduced Pakistan."23

#### **HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:**

#### **AFGHANISTAN:**

- "Afghan participants of the conference" as mentioned earlier, "claim that <u>modern Afghan</u> identity and cultural heritage goes back to the Taherids (the dynasty of Taher)."24
- "Tahir ibn Husain and his successors were the first independent rulers in the Iranian world after the Arab conquest which brought Islam to west and central Asia in the mid-7th century. This conquest replaced the (Zoroastrian/Christian) Iranian Empire of the Sasanians (224-642) with the Caliphate in Damascus (661-750), and later in Baghdad (750-1258). However, beginning in the early 9th century the caliphs gradually lost the ability to rule this vast area directly, and local power centers began to fill the resulting political vacuum, without destroying the overall religious and social unity of the Islamic world. The Tahirids built the first of the se new centers."25
- "They ruled much of the eastern Islamic world (including most of what is now both Iran and Afghanistan) from Nishapur (now northeastern Iran) from 821 to 872."26
- "The Taherids gave way to the Samanids in Samarqand (819-1005, currently in Uzbekistan), the Saffarids in Sistan (821-1055, on the Helmand delta, currently on the Afghan-Iran border), the Ghaznavids in Ghazna (962-1186, now in southern Afghanistan). Finally, the whole of this area of modern Iran, Afghanistan and beyond was taken over in the twelfth century by dynasties formed by the immigrant Saljuq Turks."27
- "Modern Afghanistan was built around Pashtun (or Pakhtun or Pathan) tribal identity. In modern times Pashtun identity has been centered around Qandahar and Ghazna in southern Afghanistan and the Soleiman Mountains that stretch south into Pakistan, defining (in geomorphological terms) the southeastern border of the Iranian Plateau. Iranian linguistic and

cultural identity in general has always been strongest on the Plateau (which includes most of Afghanistan and Iran, and much of Pakistan), and culturally identified with it. "28

#### **PAKISTAN:**

- "Whatever the idea of Pakistan may have meant in 1940, Pakistan's image was changed by the events of Partition in 1947 and by the loss of East Pakistan in 1971. But from the beginning the people of Pakistan did not trace their identity back to Mahmud of Ghazna (whose invasions in the early 11th century led eventually, a century later, to the establishment of a Muslim government in the subcontinent." 29
- They did not trace it back to <u>Babar</u>, the descendent of Tamerlane, from Farghana in Central Asia, who founded the Mughal Empire in the Subcontinent at the beginning of the 16th century from his base in Kabul." 30
- "The Pakistanis demonstrated their subcontinental cultural roots, going back to the Pakistan Resolution (1940), according to which Pakistan was to be with India the twin successor state of the British Raj. At the time of definition the territorial boundaries were undefined, but it was generally assumed that they would be drawn to include not only Kashmir, but Hyderabad (now in the Indian state of Andra Pradesh)." 31
- "The validity of the Durand Line received little if any attention. The parties responsible for its legitimacy included not only Afghanistan and Pakistan, but India, Great Britain, Russia, China and the U.S., each with different degrees of enthusiasm for ensuring its validity." 32
- "Pakistan as we now recognize its territorial definition is the product of a series of political developments that ineluctably took precedence over ideals and principles. It is now left with an elongated triangle of territory in the northwest, all of which would have been happily gobbled up by either Afghanistan (Baluchistan, NWFP and the Northern Areas) or India (Azad Kashmir and the Indus Basin) if an opportunity had presented itself. Pakistan has never enjoyed the good will of either Afghanistan or India."33

# HOW DO I LOOK AT THIS BACKGROUND?

- Interestingly, if the above Pak-Afghan claims and historical background are taken into consideration for deciding the future of Durand Line for its tacit and then declared delimitation then isn't it logical to expect that at any time in future Afghans and the military power(s) behind it may re-claim "much of Central Asia, northea stern Iran, Kashmir and almost all of what is now Pakistan?" One must not fail to take into consideration the visible and invisible crisis of identity in the identified territories. The territories interestingly, fall into declared and already mapped Global War Theater of United States!
- It is ironic that, for known reasons, our country's elite class does not like to trace the identity of Pakistan back to Mahmud Ghaznavi or Babar. Some of them go to the extent of declaring Mahmud Ghaznavi as a "dacoit" who repeatedly plundered the Hindu places of worship. Pakistan does not trace back its identity to Indus Valley Civilization too because that will result in Indian claim on Pakistan's territories on the basis of pre-Mughal Hindu political era same as Afghanistan's claim on the basis of post Mughal and Pre-British era. But one thing has to be kept in mind that East Pakistan became Bangla Desh after cessation but it did not become part of India. Same can be said with confidence about Kashmir and other territories on the map of the Global War Theater too.

#### FROM WHERE DOES INDIA COME IN?

"Apart from the fact that Pakistan was in pre-colonial times included within Afghanistan, not
only did the Mughal Empire in India before the British period include most of Afghanistan, but
India's first prime minister after Independence, Jawaharlal Nehru, considered that India's
natural northwestern border would be the Hindu Kush range that runs east to west across the
center of Afghanistan."34

# The inclusion of India in any negotiated settlement can not be ruled out.

#### PARTIAL CONCLUSION:

Pakistan is passing through a very critical moment in its history. The country has been destabilized for known reasons. A small mistake can change the entire regional geographical outlook involving not only Pakistan and Afghanistan in the first phase but Iran, India and Central Asia also in the second phase. Our civil and military leadership appears to have lost control on the situation and desperately trying to make a last effort which has a very remote chance of success because <a href="the situation">the situation</a> and <a href="the solution">the solution</a> both are evidently <a href="pre-engineered">pre-engineered</a> for which another set of documents is available.

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS:

- The real intentions and the identity of the alleged Taliban groups have not been so far verified specifically.
  - The use of derogatory or disrespectful terms like "Islam Pasand" Islamists and terrorists for Taliban is very insulting because every true Muslim is a Muslim only because he does not like Islam but he truly loves Islam and can even die for it when the time comes. Though, Islam itself permits a Muslim to be careful in showing his love for Islam in a situation when Islam is threatened more by Munafayqeen than the Mushrayqeen. Islam and the Muslims can not be hurt or killed by the Mushrayqeen. They are hurt and killed with the help of Munafayqeen. AND Pakistan is full of such Munafayqeens in and outside government, political parties, civil society and print / electronic media.
  - Islam does not allow a Muslim to commit suicide also. He is asked to either fight or wait till he is prepared for strike at an appropriate time in a befitting manner.
  - Religious scholars rightly state that there is no compulsion in DEEN according to the teachings of Islam. They, however, fail to point out that this statement is meant for the non-Muslims only. The non-Muslims can not be forced to embrace Islam. But the Muslims are "essentially required to form groups of people who watch and guide the Muslims to strictly adhere to the teachings of Islam and refrain from their deliberate violation." The effort of Taliban to do so in settled and tribal areas has resulted in serious resentment of elite segment of media in Pakistan and abroad, for obvious reasons, presenting them as insurgents who have challenged the writ of the state. One of the most acceptable reasons is that they are certainly not qualified to do that. Did anyone try to explain that to them in a language that they understand? So there was no option available but the use of military force against them to make them understand? In addition to a few hundred insurgents more than two million "Pakistanis" have lost their homes and thousands their lives in this so called action against alleged insurgency.
- Northern Areas of Pakistan are in a "state of war against unidentified and unlocated enemy."
- The so-called Collateral Damage and Internal Displacement of millions of civilians provide undeniable evidence of **intelligence failure** and obvious indication of Pakistan Army's lack of requisite skills in guerilla warfare tactics for which they are now trained by Americans!
- Pakistan's most beautiful areas are gradually turned into inaccessible ruins and the local business base is almost destroyed.
- There was no debate, when the military operation in NWFP and FATA began, both in the national assembly or the senate and not even in the NWFP assembly for the authorization and / or legitimization of the military action in Peshawar, Swat, North and South Waziristan.
  - Even after an in-camera presentation on the situation in NWFP and the FATA on and after 8<sup>th</sup> October 2008, the members of the rubber stamp assemblies have, as expected, endorsed whatever the Army and ISI Chiefs have asked them to endorse. Some

- dramatized expressions of differences of opinion or agitation were expected and practically voiced and staged but that was it!
- The Ministries of Foreign affairs of Pakistan, India and Afghanistan have failed to resolve the differences on LOC in Kashmir and Durand Line dividing Pakistan and Afghanistan. Now Pakistan is looking vulnerable both in Kashmir and in the NWFP and FATA also. Add to that PUNJAB too, politically. <u>Balochistan is ALMOST lost!</u>

#### **SOME RELEVANT QUESTIONS:**

- Did the President and / or the Prime Minister and / or the Chief of Army / ISI of Pakistan have
  the constitutional authority to declare inland war <u>PRIOR TO A CONCLUSIVE</u> debate in the
  national and the provincial assemblies and the senate? Is post-operation legitimization of
  military action justified?
- Why a referendum is not carried out in Pakistan, regarding the war on terror on behalf
  of the United States. Majority of the Pakistanis evidently hates this war against
  terrorism according to almost all credible independent international surveys. THEY
  MAY VOTE YES NOW AFTER A WELL CONDUCTED PRE AND POST-AGREEMENT
  PSY-WAR ON MEDIA.
- Who will decide that the Taliban are really terrorists or the freedom fighters and on what grounds?
- Who will decide that the Taliban are involved in terrorist activities or these activities are acts
  of sabotage by Indian / U. S. agents or the agents representing other countries involved
  directly and / or indirectly in Afghan and Kashmir disputes?
- Is Pakistan supposed to accept "compensation" for a war which is its own and is not fought for and on behalf of other country or countries within and outside the borders of Pakistan?
- Is it constitutionally defendable to attack civilian population and local villages for killing a few thousand unidentified foreign insurgents making more than two million Pakistanis homeless?
- On whose intelligence input / information the military action is taken within the territory of Pakistan?
- What is the criteria and procedure for ascertaining the presence of insurgents in a local village?

# SOME CASUALTIES OF AND OUTCOMES OF WAR AGAINST TERRORISM:

There are following unfortunate aspects of the war on terror that have been ignored by both the political and military leadership and media owners in Pakistan for the reasons only they are aware of:

### **CASUALTIES:**

- The first serious casualty in this war against terrorism is our respect for Islam. It is noticed in almost all English daily newspapers and certain TV channels that the Editors, columnists, contributors, reporters and anchors due to their visible lack of Islamic knowledge unintentionally use remarks which hurt the feelings of the Muslims who know the teachings of Islam as clearly as they know themselves.
- The second serious casualty of this war against terrorism is our national pride. We have joined the enemies of Islam and Pakistan in their declared crusade against Islam and Pakistan. In doing so we are not slightly ashamed of maligning, targeting and even killing our own brothers in faith and nationality on apparently and evidently false grounds.
- The third casualty of this war against terrorism is Pakistaniat.

We forget that the military action in any part of Pakistan is as serious as an attack against the entire country. Are we going to repeat the same mistakes which resulted in cessation of East Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh?

- The fourth casualty of this war against terrorism is our heroes like Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan.
  - What is his crime? Was it possible for him to commit the crime alone? Where were the ISI & MI?
  - Why is he under house arrest and on whose demand?
  - Are the intelligence agencies of the foreign countries more reliable for the political and military leadership of Pakistan then one of their most outstanding scientists?
- The **fifth** most serious casualty of this war against terrorism is our weak kneed political and military leaders and ad-hungry media owners for the following four very serious observations:
  - These political and military leaders and media owners forget that they have been authorized to use the political, military and broadcasting mandate representing and indoctrinating more than 170 million people of a nuclear state. They have no authority for the use of this mandate against Pakistani nationals in any part of the country without a proper prior to military action legislative process and / or judicial trial and a valid court order. Post-Military-Action-Endorsement is an attempt to justify mass murder and an un-called for and avoidable displacement of millions of people for which political and military leadership and media owners will ultimately have to answer either in the supreme court of Pakistan or on the Day of Judgment. The formation commanders have failed to learn from their past mistakes. They have committed two blunders:
    - Pak Army will end-up with a blame for the defeat by Taliban both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The defeat of Taliban in Pakistan will be a temporary retreat.
    - An irresponsible media has <u>once again</u> pushed Army into a <u>political and administrative dispute</u> which was a direct consequence of <u>irresponsible and irresponsive governance</u> and that had to be redressed both politically and administratively through a process of <u>serious dialogue</u> with all concerned.
  - Entire country and particularly the federal capital Islamabad has been turned into a military bunker. People live in a state of fear. Foreigners are leaving the country including the families of the UN. Airlines are closing down their operation.
  - Pakistan is now compared with Somalia, Iraq and Afghanistan as a dangerous place to live and visit.
  - Is Pakistan on its way to acquire the status of a failed state instead of a fragile state?

### **OUTCOMES**:

- The first visible outcome of this war against terrorism is the beginning of a pre-engineered process of Pakistan's <u>destabilization</u> and its possible / ultimate transition to <u>disintegration</u>.
   By Whom?
  - By our own so-called friends and an irresponsible media which have shamelessly submitted to the dictations of those so-called politicians and their characterless touts who are evidently known criminals both in and outside Pakistan.
- The **second** visible outcome of this war against terrorism is a state of hopelessness.
  - A Pakistani of even average intellectual level says that the country's political and military leadership and media owners have sold their soul to the enemies of Pakistan thinking that their political power and the stars on the shoulders of the officers of the armed forces and unmanageable flow of TV commercials and sponsorships are a definite reward of their dedication to the objectives of the war against terror. The day they falter in their

uncompromising dedication to the cause of the war against terrorism they will lose political, military and ad-pulling power like Pervez Musharraf did.

 The third visible outcome of this war is the simultaneous creation and then monsterization of characters like: Osama bin Laden, Mullah Omar, Aiman al Zawahiri, Baitullah Mahsud, Commander Khalil-ur-Rehman, Maulana Fazlullah and many others without explaining precisely:

What they have done? What are they doing and on whose behalf? Where they are? What are their sources of financing? How do they communicate without interception? How impenetrable the firewalls of their computers are?

• The **fourth** visible outcome of this war is that the country is now exposed to *more serious* threat from within than from outside.

Those who declare war against terror as their own war and "Democracy is the best revenge" are unintentionally adding fuel to the fire of Pakistan's pre-engineered and already declared destabilization and ultimate disintegration. Have a look at the MAPS published by the Friend of the Friends of Pakistan.

The fifth outcome of this war is the collapse of judiciary.

Judiciary has been made sub-ordinate to the whims of a political and corporate mafia which is running profitable businesses through artificial price hike - visible through senseless and meaningless flood of television commercials- to the extent of inhuman fleecing in all three sectors of the economy, namely, agriculture, industry and services with visibly inhuman, brutal and evident support of the government and an irresponsible and greedy media. They have corrupted the judiciary, the bureaucracy, mass media, some of the senior most officers of the armed forces and even those in the intelligence agencies.

 The sixth most dangerous outcome of this war is the unintentional exposure of political and military weaknesses:

our political and military leaders have unintentionally exposed their now widely known inexcusable personal and institutional weaknesses without having the slightest idea of how will the enemies of the country benefit from their blunders and hit them so hard that they will not be able to even look at what has hit them.

• The **seventh** outcome of this war is economic strangulation.

Our economy is already chocked to an alarming level of suffocation and the country's President is expecting that the "Friends of Pakistan" will gladly lend a \$100 billion ignoring Pakistan's ballooning trade deficit, reliance on imports, shrinking volume of exports, increasing cost of production inputs, artificially devalued currency for the benefit of a few billionaire Pakistani politicians, retired generals / bureaucrats and tax evaders, over ballooned / borrowed foreign exchange reserves and in-competitiveness of our corporate sector to move a yard without tax-evasion AND over-profiteering. A natural and human resource rich country is lead by billionaire political, executive and corporate beggars.

• The eighth outcome of this war is

Our ignorance of our state of war readiness, availability of military equipment in "working condition" and access to the financial donors to make sure that fuel will be available to keep our troops moving and fighting..! Our military leaders know it very well for how many days they can keep their troops moving and fighting. I have serious observations about Civil Defense Preparedness.

#### THE STATE OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN PAKISTAN

A new breed of "on-television-screen-political-leaders," retired civil and military analysts, intellectuals / so-called human rights activists and celebrities has emerged, thanks to the elimination of trained producer as captain of the ship, script-less programs / shows and emergence of less than a dozen "socially and psychologically sick" and "artificially elevated dishonest and over-pampered status-conscious print and electronic media journalists-cum-

anchors-cum-producers" patronized and promoted by print and electronic media owners, planted by local and foreign intelligence agencies and obliged by leaders of the political parties.

These over-projected and under-performing politicians, professionally visionless retired civil and military analysts, intellectuals / human rights activists, journalists / anchors and celebrities <u>with rare exceptions</u> comment on national and international politics without any cognizance and slightest understanding of the emerging geo-strategic scenarios and realities on ground. They ignore the sensitivities of the past history and are unaware of the future written on the wall.

# INDIANIZATION OF PAKISTAN'S ELECTRONIC MEDIA: The beginning of the end

A comparative review of Indian and Pakistani television channels reveal the following interesting program priority highlights.

**PAKISTANI CHANNELS:** 

**INDIAN CHANNELS:** 

 Focus on:
Religion
Indian Culture
National Pride
Family Relations
Social Sector (Special Children)
(Community Affairs)
(Inspirational Themes)
Segment based approach
Motivational subjects
Vulgar, PG & X-rated sub-standard
comedy
Chain of endless series of conspiracies

A detailed person-to-person survey reveals that the criteria for participation in current affairs and entertainment programs, programs' formats and presenters irritate the knowledgeable viewers for the following reasons:

## **POLITICIANS:**

- The performance profile of politicians in their respective constituencies is deliberately ignored
- The participation and contribution of the elected representatives of the political parties in the process of legislation and institutional reforms are not taken into consideration
- The participation of politicians in public service initiatives / activities when their parties are in and out of power are totally neglected
- The reflection of their personal image in country's perceived image within and outside Pakistan are not weighed

# RETIRED CIVIL AND MILITARY ANALYSTS AND SO-CALLED INTELLECTUALS / HR ACTIVISTS:

- <u>Most of</u> the retired civil and military officials, intellectuals / human rights activists are frequently presented on screen as country-loving "knowledgeable" analysts whereas even ordinary citizens with average intellectual level are aware of their respective in-service and after-retirement dubious background and pro-enemies of the state activities.
- Most of them are criminally responsible for the mess Pakistan is in
- Most of them are professionally dishonest, morally bankrupt and ethically untrustworthy

## PRINT AND ELECTRONIC JOURNALISTS: (WITH OBVIOUS RARE EXCEPTIONS)

- Most of them are knowledgeable BUT dishonest, inward-looking, and over-pampered.
- Most of them think that by interviewing VIPs and VVIPs they themselves have become VIPs and VVIPs whereas in reality people hate on-and-off-screen VIPs and VVIPs because they are responsible for the mess Pakistan is in. Consequently, they hate those anchors too who

invite them as political and professional angels. (VIP now means Very Insecure and Highly Incompetent Person)

- Majority of them is ignorant of State Management Concepts, Practices and Trends.
- Most of them knowingly mis-represent the country's internal and external predicaments.

#### **CELEBRITIES:**

- Our Media Owners have developed a group of celebrities consisting of only film stars (without film industry!), solo singers, music bands, cricketers, television stars / anchors and fashion designers.
- The script-free show hosts have started bringing their parents, new born babies, husbands, brothers and sisters in live shows and the media owners are encouraging that irritating personal and family projection. Some hosts have gone to the extent of showing their repulsively decorated houses to the viewers and a leading entertainment channel's surprisingly "over-impressed" show-host-cum-producer has gone to the extent of showing the bath room of a "proud floor dancer." The same anchor was declared Oprah of Pakistan by a distinguished personality who is on top of the list of those who have successfully buried the film industry and are now busy in digging the grave of country's entertainment channels.
- An anchor advised her viewers to keep their eyes on her "shoes collection" and other compared the "cost of his tie" with the "minimum daily wage earner's earning."
- An anchor had a complete program on her own father on Father's Day. If her father was such
  a big name why did the other channels miss him on such an important occasion as father of
  the entire country? The program was co-hosted by her three sisters!!! The management of
  the channel was sleeping before, during and EVEN after the show!!!
- An over-aggressive anchor-cum-current affairs director of a channel, aggressively and at times violently, jumps into the throat of a guest who deviates from host's "rigid perceptions" on national issues to make him/her agree to the host's particular emphasis on the urgency and legitimacy of military action inside Pakistan.
- Director news of a channel is very fond of remaining focused on camera in and outside the studio and delivering lectures based on pre-historic information and references. When he is not on-camera he makes sure that his voice remains on air. His over-exposure has made him undesirable on screen.
- Director current affairs of a news channel and co-host of a conceptually pirated program does not take more than a few seconds to lose his temper and shout at his co-host and even live callers whenever an opinion contradicting his own views is voiced.
- A book shop-keeper-cum-anchor-cum-scholar-cum-editor-cum-analysts-cum-anchor does not hide his fear of the domination of "Muslims" and rule of "Shariah" in Pakistan and wants everyone to make sure that anybody who differs with his views gets shot and killed by any available legitimate and or illegitimate means.
- Hardly two or three genuine educationists and religious scholars are seen on the screens of almost all the television channels. Most of the guests presented as Expert Analysts are on the pay role of the CIA and MI through world's leading think tanks and educational institutions.
- Decision-making process in media is non-transparent. Joker like non-professional characters are introduced as dummy and stiff-necked Presidents/CEOs/COOs who are understandably not available to genuine talent due to their professional incompetence and ineligibility to make on-the-spot-decisions and even to discuss genuine issues. THEY HAVE ALMOST SHUT THEIR DOORS ON GENUINE TALENT. It is surprising that the leading print and electronic media in Pakistan is dominated by four brothers. In psy-war it is called convenience of communication!!! Though it is hard to question any aspect of their professional credentials, credibility and personal integrity.
- There is no platform to acknowledge the achievements of outstanding professionals. As a
  matter of fact the genuinely outstanding professionals are deliberately marginalized,
  isolated and humiliated by making them subordinate to non-professional favorites and
  dishonest informers of the management, politicians, local and foreign civil and military
  intelligence agencies.

 A disgustingly irritating, repulsive and annoying circle of so-called celebrities and their families has been created by the media owners with a consequence that the genuine creative talent is hard to find.

On the one hand, the media owners are responsible for this <u>on-going-on-screen drama</u> and on the other, the situation in Pakistan clearly reflects the symptoms of "a transition phase from an <u>ongoing destabilization to disintegration process."</u> They <u>must</u> keep the following paragraph from the Founding Statement of the Principles of Project for the New American Century in mind:

"America has <u>a vital role</u> in maintaining peace and security in Europe, <u>Asia</u> and the <u>Middle East</u>. If we shrink our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century should have taught us that <u>it is important TO SHAPE</u> circumstances <u>BEFORE</u> crises emerge, and to meet threats <u>BEFORE</u> they become <u>DIRE</u>. The history of the past century should have taught us to embrace the cause of the American leadership." What the Americans are doing accordingly in War Theater across the globe including Pakistan and countries around it is in their national interest and <u>they can not be</u>, therefore, <u>blamed</u> for the "intended" and/or "un-intended fallout" of their doings.

So whatever is happening <u>NOW</u> in <u>settled</u> and <u>tribal areas</u> of <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Karachi</u> and <u>Baluchistan</u> are a loud and clear indication of the fact that "a transition <u>phase</u> from <u>destabilization</u> to <u>disintegration</u> of <u>Pakistan</u>" is <u>ABOUT TO</u> begin and our political leaders, media owners, retired civil and military analysts and senior journalists-cum-anchors-cumproducers are <u>intentionally</u> or <u>unintentionally</u> adding fuel to the fire. Are they doing it consciously or innocently? Only God knows that. Benefit of doubt is their genuine right.

INTENDED DESTABILIZATION AND DISINTEGRATION OF PAKISTAN & IRAQ AND ITS FALLOUT:

Certain external forces are evidently working on a project to destabilize Pakistan and ultimately break it into five independent emirates, namely, Jinnahpur (MQM), Sindh (PPP), Baluchistan (?), Punjab (PML-N) and Pakhtoonkhawa (ANP/JUI-F). Can anyone of the parties claim to be a genuinely national party?

#### The stage is set.

The project is a part of the geographical regrouping on the basis of ethnicity and sectarianism. The concept of regrouping was inspired by Russian geo-strategist Mistilavsky who had propounded that Afghanistan was a conglomerate of different ethnic groups which could not be governed by a central authority. The purpose of Soviet attack on Afghanistan was to contain the possibility of Iranian influence on Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan and to redraw the boundaries of Afghanistan by dividing it into Pushto, Afghan and Russian zones.

The reflection of this former Soviet Plan can be seen in the planned and expected division of Iraq into Shia, Sunni and Kurdish zones. This example will help in understanding the consequences of Pakistan's destabilization plan. According to different research analysts:

- "Iraq had presented a buffer within the Middle East System ------ counterbalancing Iran and keeping Turkey facing west; now Iraq is the epicenter of a new set of tension drawing in Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran and Turkey."36
- "IRAN HAS BECOME A DOMINANT PLAYER IN THE HEART OF THE MIDDLE EAST."37
- Consequently, the apparent "elimination of Iraq as a strong state" is expected to create "a regional vacuum completely altering the power balances and containment effects of that."38

"The linkage between the Arab World and the Asian subcontinent" according to another research report "is under-examined."39

• The war over identity, religion and state-society relationships is played out acutely in five countries of the Middle East and South Asia: Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and India. "40

# "THE FIVE STATES INTERACT IN MULTIPLE AND FUNDAMENTAL WAYS. NONETHELESS, PROSPECTS FOR FORMS OF STATE FAILURE ARE HIGH IN NEARLY ALL CASES."41

 "At present stresses are most acute in Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Iran and India are least susceptible to severe disruption, although political violence in India and the gap between state and society appears to be quite strong in the case of Iran. Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Pakistan now acknowledge the demand for change in political processes and institutions."42

THE REGIONAL TRENDS, PREDICTIONS BY THE RESEARCHERS AND SOME QUESTIONS:

- "Religious forces remain strong in Saudi Arabia and in Pakistan, and draw the two states closer together."43
  - Can Saudi Arabia bring all the regional countries on a newly formed Arab-Asian platform to find a peaceful way out on the principle of give and take in the widest possible interest of all countries in the region?
- "Iraq's transition creates added uncertainties for Saudi Arabia and Iran, but the outcomes are more troublesome for Saudi Arabia."44
  - Can the anticipated trouble be avoided through a series of dialogue between the countries involved?
- "India's rise and economic expansion create new diplomatic and commercial opportunities for India in the Muslim world."45
  - Will India allow the countries in the region to benefit from these diplomatic and commercial opportunities as sovereign equals?
  - Are the politically, militarily and economically fragile countries of the region capable to benefit from the visible opportunities?
- "Iran and India are the "twilight zone" states between the two regions with aspects of the both."46
  - Will Iran come out of the geo-strategic containment circle around it or fight its way through the circle to benefit from the emerging regional geo-economic realities? Which new bi-lateral and / or multi-lateral alliances and geo-strategic military formations are expected in the near future?
- "Tensions with the world of Islam, between Sunni and Shi'a, are likely to become stronger with Iraq as the catalyst."47
  - Is there a possibility of the neutralization or marginalization of the anticipated tensions through sectarian understanding, moderation and toleration? Will the outside forces and global geo-strategic players allow this understanding to develop and mature?

#### **CONCLUSION:**

The above journey through the past, present and a peep into the immediate future enables us to draw the following conclusion:

A detailed analysis of pre and post 9/11 scenarios, identifies the following areas of concern which are not confined only to Pakistan but are visible in almost all Muslim and non-Muslim countries:

- Lack of Strategic National Consensus Political Front
- Activities of the Religious Lobbies Religious and Diplomatic Front
- Communication Deadlock Media Front

The cause and effect analysis clearly indicates that the *Lack of Strategic Consensus on Political Front* and *Activities of the Religious Lobbies on Religious and Diplomatic Front* have created a *Communication Deadlock, clearly visible on Media Front* between governments and certain influential segments of masses and their self-proclaimed religious, secular and political leaders providing a position of privilege to confronting extremist and fanatic religious groups and lobbies both in the Muslim and the non-Muslim countries. These religious,

secular and political groups are visibly and evidently taking full advantage of the social, economic and political frustration of the deprived and underprivileged people as their so-called well-wishers. The consensus, therefore, can only be arrived at by declaring an all out war against the following social and economic evils that have eroded the confidence of the people in the "Overall State Management System" in almost all the Muslim and non-Muslim countries by converting the globally acknowledged visible strengths of the elements of their respective national power into psychologically irritating weaknesses:

• Illiteracy and Ignorance: results in

• Unemployment: results in

Poverty: results in
Deprivation: results in
Disease: results in

• Crime & Corruption: result in

Injustice and Violation of Human Rights: result in
 Political, Ethnic and Religious Prejudices: result in

Sectarianism and Terrorism: The Beginning of the End of an Individual and a State

The above social and economic evils are partially identified by the UN Millennium Development Goals. Billions of dollars are being spent annually but the situation is day by day deteriorating to an alarming extent increasing the number of failed states with the following visible consequences:

"The Polity IV dataset identified fourteen such countries in early 2008, including Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Colombia, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of Congo, Georgia, Iraq, Moldova, Myanmar, Pakistan, Serbia, Somalia, and Sri Lanka. The World Bank identifies about thirty countries as Iow income countries under stress (LICUS). DFID classifies forty-six countries as fragile. The Peace and Conflict series has concluded that all countries directly and recently affected by serious armed conflicts (within the past five years) and those governed by anocratic (mixed democratic and autocratic) or autocratic regimes (totaling eighty-five countries in early 2008) 'have been prone to instability and state failure.' The 2007 State Fragility Index (SFI) highlighted four categories of fragility across ninety-eight states—twenty-three highly fragile, thirty very fragile, thirty with substantial fragility, and twenty-five with low fragility. The broadest definition is assigned by the Failed States Index (FSI), which lists only thirteen states as sustainable, though it, too, provides an ordinal rating for each country."48

The Foreign Policy/Fund for Peace Failed States Index 2009 ranks Pakistan as one of the weakest countries worldwide—the 10<sup>th</sup> state most at risk of failure.49

How to convert this uncertain environment of weakness, fragility and failure into a movement for strength, progress and prosperity? The world leaders have a responsibility to declare a genuine war against the identified social and economic evils. This war will automatically put an end to sectarianism, fanaticism and terrorism. The proposed Agenda of the war against social and economic evils will consist of the following five steps:

- The proper evaluation of the natural and human resource potential of the least developed and the developing countries in general and "failed / fragile countries" in particular
- A real and unbiased evaluation of the performance of the social and economic indicators to determine the precise extent of their self-reliance and reliance on others
- The declaration of a Strategic Plan consisting of workable options for the bilateral, regional and global cooperation to fill and / or narrow the artificial bridgeable gap between natural and human resource potential and social and economic performance
- The creation of unhindered channels for the flow of human and natural resources from human and natural resource rich countries to natural and human resource poor countries.
- The mandatory authorization of International Court of Justice to try and punish the rulers, politicians, bureaucrats, top officers of the armed forces and business tycoons who are responsible for the creation and perpetuation of the "Cycles of National, Regional and Global

Social and Economic Evils" through "Well-Conceived Structures and Systems of Inhuman Exploitation."

It is the urgent need of the time to take immediate steps in this direction because the delay in the declaration of war against social and economic evils will make the world an increasingly unpleasant and alarmingly unsafe place to live.

#### THE LAST WORD:

Pakistan's head of the state, prime minister, leaders of the opposition parties, parliamentarians, chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff, chiefs of staff, the heads of ISI and MI and the media owners must keep the following paragraph from the **Founding Statement of the Principles of Project for the New American Century** in mind as a reminder from a God fearing ordinary citizen of Pakistan:

"America has <u>a vital role</u> in maintaining peace and security in Europe, <u>Asia</u> and the <u>Middle East</u>. If we shrink our responsibilities, we invite challenges to our fundamental interests. The history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century should have taught us that <u>it is important TO SHAPE</u> circumstances <u>BEFORE</u> crises emerge, and to meet threats <u>BEFORE</u> they become <u>DIRE</u>. The history of the past century should have taught us to embrace the cause of the American leadership."50 What the Americans are doing accordingly in War Theater across the globe is in their national interest and <u>they can</u> not be, therefore, blamed for the "intended" and/or "un-intended fallout" of their doings.

So whatever is happening <u>NOW</u> in <u>settled</u> and <u>tribal areas</u> of <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Karachi</u> and <u>Baluchistan</u> are a loud and clear indication of the fact that "a transition phase of the process from destabilization to disintegration of Pakistan" is <u>ABOUT TO</u> begin after the completion of military operation other than war with the help of on-going psy-war in print and on electronic media. Our political leaders, commanders of the armed forces, media owners, retired civil and military analysts and senior journalists-cum-anchors-cum-producers are <u>intentionally</u> or <u>unintentionally</u> adding fuel to the fire. Are they doing it consciously or innocently? Only God knows that. Benefit of doubt is their genuine right.

I REST MY CASE TILL THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT WHEN ALL MEN AND WOMEN WILL STAND EQUAL BEFORE GOD.

### **BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT ZAHID HUSSAIN KHALID**

An exciting biographic journey from childhood to school to university to Russian classes to job in Saudi Arabia to employment in Jang Group to adventurous years in Pakistan Television Corporation to memorable time spent with Jang Group's Mir family as an employee and relocation to Hong Kong for the refining of professional skills, back to Jang Group and the launching of International Media Sales with authorization to market Forbes, Euromoney Magazine, Petroleum Economist and Asiamoney magazines in Pakistan, beginning of the most satisfying creative period by authoring two winning technical and financial proposals for 9th SAF GAMES fundraising campaign and President of Pakistan's post 9/11 strategic media plan.

#### A FEW MILESTONES:

Global Vision 2000: A conceptual framework to make the world an enjoyable place to live

Launching of the pre-test edition of State Management Review - Country's first magazine on Good Governance

Identification of a Cycle of Nine Social and Economic Evils and preparation of a global, regional and Pakistan specific plan to confront and eliminate the evils

Preparation of a Model for a unique Media City-cum-Theme Park in Pakistan

#### PROJECTS IN PIPELINE:

A book on Future of Emerging Markets and Global Economy

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