Role of Pakistan as a Frontline State and its Sociocultural Impact

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Abstract

Location of Pakistan has great geo-political and geo-strategic significance in the South Asian region. Pakistan played an important role for the strategic goals of the United States during the ruling periods of President Zia-ul-Haq and President Musharraf. As a frontline state Pakistan received economic and military assistance, during the period of President Zia-ul-Haq, for supporting US interests against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. After 9/11, due to its strategic location, Pakistan became the ally of the United States against terrorism and the biggest beneficiary of US economic assistance in the region. However, as a result of these policies Islamic extremism, sectarian violence and ethnic cleavages cropped up in the society, shattering social and cultural values. The purpose of this research paper is to highlight the key role played by Pakistan as a frontline state and its impact on the Pakistani society. This research paper follows descriptive and analytical methods.

Since its independence, Pakistan has been depending on foreign economic assistances. It has a geo-political and geo-strategic importance and has attracted foreign capital for a variety of reasons. As Napoleon said, "Geography determines a nation's history, but its bearing on national and international politics cannot be denied. So to forget geopolitics is to forget reality". For this reason, Petter Lyon, a British analyst of international politics of observed: "The foreign policy of a state begins at its frontiers. It means that much of any particular state's foreign policy agenda is set by its geo-political milieu". Thus to a great

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¹ M.A. Chaudhri, *Pakistan and the Troubled World* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1993), 230.

M.A. Shehik, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impact on Diplomacy* (London: IB Tauris, 1997), 8.

extent, international relations of any state are subject to its geographical situation.

Due to its geographical nearness to Afghanistan, Pakistan emerged as a frontline state in the regimes of President Zia-ul Haq and President Musharraf. The year 1979 changed the geopolitical landscape altogether and brought a few dramatic changes in the US foreign aid policy. In 1979, Islamic revolution of Iran deprived United States of one of its trustworthy ally — the Shah of Iran. The change of leadership in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, later the same year, affected the strategic significance of Pakistan overnight. The Afghan jihad against Soviet occupation militarized some Pakistani religious sects. The government of Pakistan permitted jihadi culture to breed, indoctrinating Pakistani youth and sending them to Afghanistan to participate in the so called jihad. Pakistan received financial grant from the United States and Saudi Arabia to win the war.³ After 1989, United States economic grant for Pakistan dried up and Pakistan was left to cope with many issues like financial burden of Afghani refugees, the social conflicts stimulated by the existence of Afghani refugees, the enormous supply of drugs, small arm forces and the rising religious extremism of those who had fought the war in Afghanistan. Islamic extremism also worried United States and the West.4

Before 9/11, the foreign policy of Pakistan was facing severe challenges. The Kargil crisis of 1999 further intensified tensions over the issue of Kashmir. Already, nuclear tests of 1998 of Pakistan and India had increased the threat of regional war. As a result, Pakistan faced economic sanctions of major trading countries like the US. It further weakened an already worsened economy with low growth rates, fiscal imbalance, rising inflation, heavy external debt liabilities and current account balance deficit.

The situation changed after 9/11, Pakistan, due to its strategic location, became Washington's collation partner against terrorism. After 9/11 Pakistan.

- Accepted its role as a frontline state.
- Attempted to suggest that it is a moderate Islamic state.
- Tried to reassure United States on its nuclear weapons program.
- Played a key role as a frontline state to attain economic aid from the

K. Ahmed, "Islamic Extremism in Pakistan", *South Asian Journal* (2003): 33.

⁴ K. Bajpai, "Managing Ambivalence: Pakistan's Relations with the United State and China since 2001", in Rajshree Jetly, (ed.), *Pakistan in Regional* and Global Politics, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009): 65.

United States and other western donors.⁵

All US sanctions on Pakistan were withdrawn in October November 2001. The US granted economic and technical assistance to Pakistan. The external debt of the country was addressed by debt management policies, Debt Limitation Act, foreign aid and an increase in remittances. The donor agencies rescheduled debt by extending the payment period. In FY2000, the external debt of Pakistan was 50.5 million rupees that was 48.4 percent of GDP.⁶ In FY2008, outstanding external debt and liabilities increased by US\$5.8million, over end of June 2007.⁷ It is noteworthy that due to rise in foreign aid and foreign investment, there was a tremendous rise in the liquid foreign exchange reserves. In return, Pakistan provided its logistic support, air bases and also allowed US to conduct low level military operation from Pakistan's western border. Pakistan cooperated with the US in number of ways.

- By growing logistic facilities
- Sharing intelligence
- Capturing and handing over Al-Qaeda terrorists

Social Impact of 9/11 on Pakistan

Religious organisations: After 9/11, Pakistan had to reconsider its priorities under the influence of US war against terrorism. The US believed that the religious organisations served themselves as a platform for Al-Qaeda network. During the era of President Musharraf, government banned Lashkar-e-Tayaba (LAT), Jaish-e-Mohammad (JEM), Tehreek Nifaz Fiqh-e-Jafria (TNFJ), Sipah-e-Sahaba (SSP) and Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) organisations. Their bank accounts were frozen and their offices were sealed.⁸

To fight against extremism, President Musharraf's strategy was as follows:

- Banned organisations must not emerge again;
- loudspeakers in mosques must not be used to generate hatred or militancy;
- any such material which provokes hatred or militancy must not be published rather the printers, publishers and distributers must be controlled;
- the curriculum of school which may lead to sectarianism,

Ibid, 71.

⁶ State Bank of Pakistan, *Annual Report 1999-2000*, 112.

⁷ Ibid, Annual Report 2007-2008, 103.

⁸ R. Musarrat, "US War on Terrorism and its Impact on South Asia", *Journal of Political Studies* XI (2007): 22.

disharmony and militancy must be revised to better the understanding of religion, and

• the *madrasas* must be reformed and students must be guided.⁹

In the eighties, the number of *jihadi* organisations had increased remarkably. According to various reports, individuals belonging to the Sipah-e-Sahaba and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi received training from Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). ISI obviously played the central role in strengthening these organisations. ¹⁰ National security of Pakistan was the key concern for ISI in Afghan *jihad*. The Durand Line is 2,430 km long boundary between Afghanistan and Pakistan. On geopolitical and geostrategic grounds, it is considered one of the most dangerous borders in the world. Russia has close friendly ties with India. Soviets occupation of Afghanistan was considered a great threat for the national security and integrity of Pakistan. In this situation, Pakistan fought and won its own security war against the Soviets.

In January 2002, Pakistan declared six new groups to the proscribed terrorist list: Jaish-e-Mohammad, Sipah-e-Sahaba, Lashkar-e-Tayaba, Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariate-Mohammadi, Tehreek Nifaz Fiqh-e-Jafaria, Harkat-ul-Mujahuddin in addition to Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. The strategy of President Musharraf to curb religious extremism by banning these organisations did not prove fruitful. Threats to internal stability of Pakistan increased when these organisations reemerged under new names. The United States Ambassador, Nancy Powell, publicly warned the regime: "These groups pose a serious threat....these banned groups are re-establishing themselves with new names". 12

As a result of these strategies to curb extremism, law and order situation became worsened. Militants from different religious organisations spread to different areas of Pakistan like Karachi, Lahore, Quetta, Tarbela, Kohat, Multan etc. The ratios of bomb blasts and suicide attacks increased. No one felt secure. Due to terrorism, it became difficult to control deteriorating law and order situation. The wide spread terrorist activities affected the political system and caused a colossal damage to the economy. In this situation, Islam was seen as a religion of

Dawn, 30 January 2006.

S. Kumar, "Pakistan's Jehadi Apparatus: Goals and Methods", *Strategic Analysis* XXIV, 2 (2001): 2181-83.

¹¹ C.H. Kennedy, "The Creation and Development of Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Regime, 1997-2003", In, New Perspectives on Pakistan: Visions for the Future, ed. S. Shafqat, 1st ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 343.

¹² A. Rashid, *Descent into Chaos* (London: Allen Lane, 2008), 230.

violence, fanaticism and terror. Such concepts are negation of the real spirit and teachings of Islam.

Islam is religion of peace. Islam is against terrorism as Allah Almighty says: "Don't take life of any one which Allah has not allowed but legally". 13 Holy Prophet (SAW) said: "Abusing a Muslim is a sinful deed and killing him is disbelief". 14 Our Prophet SAW has counted the killing of anyone as the greatest sin. 15 Islam preaches that Muslim should work for the benefit of human beings rather than killing or even harming them. Holy Prophet (SAW) said: Amongst trees, there is a tree which doesn't shed its leaves. It is like a Muslim. He (SAW) asked his companions to tell him the name of that tree. Then, he (SAW) himself explained that it is the date-palm tree. 16 The meaning of *Hadith Nabavi* (SAW) is that a Muslim is always helpful to people and he does not hurt anyone.

Reforms of madrassas: Before discussing the reforms of madrassas, it is crucial to highlight the reasons of religious extremism in Pakistan. Why has Pakistan become a breeding ground for extremism? After United States declared war against the Soviet Union, it became a nearly consensual view that madrassas of Pakistan were breeding grounds for iihad.

During the war against that Soviet Union, madrassas, particularly the Deobandi seminaries in the Pakhtoon areas bordering Afghanistan, proved to be recruiting grounds for *mujahideen* (fighters). Madrassas of two categories took part in Afghan jihad. Jammat-e-Islami and Rabita Madrassa produced literature, mobilized public opinion and recruited and trained volunteers. The latter was more independent and encouraged volunteers to travel to Afghanistan to fight. Both networks were financed from abroad, with ISI controlling access to funds. During this period, *mujahideen* received educational support from the West. For instance, University of Nebraska-Omaha, received \$51 million from the US government, between 1984 and 1994, to produce special textbooks in Dari and Pushto. These books extolled jihadi beliefs and mujahideen training. More than thirteen million books were distributed among Afghan refugee camps and Pakistani madrassas.¹⁷

Our'ān: 6: 151

M. bin Ismail Bukhāri, Sahīh al-Bukhāri, Hadīth No. 48

M. Bin Iesa Timidhī, Jami 'Al-Timidhī, Hadīth No.1207.

¹⁶ Bukhāri, Hadīth No.61.

Y. Fouda & N. Fielding, Masterminds of Terror (New York: Arcade Publishing Inc., 2003), 42.

The given report may well serve to clear the image of *madrassas* as extremists in front of the West. The movement of Taliban began, on its own, among the students who were studying in religious schools. About two million Pakistani children, who were being trained in about ten thousand *madrassas*, are among those who have been taught militant anti-western, anti-American, anti-Hindu, and even anti-Shia values. Press, referring to estimates of government, reports that almost 10 per cent children attend madrassas and 10 per cent of those madrassas are linked with militant groups. Secretary of State Powell acknowledges that these madrassas offer "Programs that do nothing but prepare youngsters to be fundamentalists and to be terrorists". 18

President Musharraf was obliged to apply political restrictions and regulations on largely sovereign madrassa system. He highlighted that Pakistan had 14000 madrassas. In his government, it was made obligatory for all madrassas to register themselves with government. Government also encouraged introduction of latest subjects. It was made clear that only those madrassas would be funded which follow the government policies and rules. President Musharraf claimed that most of madrassas accepted reforms. 19 He said, "It bears repeating that among Pakistan's 150 million Muslims, only a small fraction is extremists". ²⁰ In November 2003, the government took the decision of spending US\$ 50 million per annum on registered madrassas. It, specially, included the salaries of the teachers who would teach non-religious subjects.²¹

To help reduce militancy and extremism:

- Sectarian conflicts should be reduced. Scholars of different sects should preach tolerance to their followers.
- Government needs to be mindful of those religious institutions which preach hatred and violence.
- Role of foreign intelligence agencies should be strictly prohibited.
- Government should make it certain that all madrassas are registered and they are not involved in any terrorist or religious extremists activity.
- Latest subjects should be made compulsory at madrassas so that students may get education in accordance with the contemporary

¹⁸ World Bank, Education Reform in Pakistan (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, 2004), 2.

¹⁹ P. Musharraf, In the Line of Fire, 1st ed. (London: Simon Schuster, 2006), 310-11.

²⁰ Ibid., 310.

K. Ahmed, "Madrassas, Islamic Rejectionism and Terrorism", South Asian Journal (2005): 35.

challenges.

• If any *madrassa* is found involved in any terrorist activity, strict action should be taken against it.

Sectarian conflict: Sectarian conflict is not a new phenomenon in the society of Pakistan. The clashes over doctrinal issues of Islam between Shia and Sunni sects are the main reason of sectarian violence. The Sunni sect constitutes 90% of the world's Muslims and 75-85% of Pakistan. Shia constitutes 15-25% of the population of Pakistan. ²² In Pakistan, as well as in some other Muslim countries, Islamic resurgence has also been paralleled by a resurgence of sectarian controversies and conflicts. The major reason behind sectarian conflict in Pakistan, between Shias and Sunnis, is related to two factors: (1) the government's Islamisation drive during Zia's regime; (2) and the spillover effects of Iran-Iraq war.²³ Moonis Ahmar states that two external events were responsible in shaping the dynamics of sectarian conflicts in Pakistan. They were the anti-Soviet jihad, instigated by Afghan mujahideen, and the Iranian revolution, which established a state on the ideology of Shias.²⁴ General Zia gave the highest priority to the Islamisation process. As he was convinced that Pakistan could survive and progress only through Islamisation. Throughout his regime, Islamisation of law, education and culture illustrated the Sunni sectarian bias. The establishment of Sunni-Hanafi state, reflecting the beliefs of the dominant sect, created a sense of insecurity among the Shia minority community. The dynamic of exclusion and minoritisation, which had been existing in various forms, was concreted by General Zia's Islamisation. The Shia community reacted strongly to the enforcement of the Hanafi laws by the military regime. The development of Deobandi orthodoxy has also intensified sectarian conflict. In small towns, the old Shia-Sunni debate restarted with the bitterness that had dampened in the past.²⁵ Sometimes, the method of teaching and curriculum in the religious schools also play a part in creating sectarian bias among people. As almost every religious school represents a special sect and teaches

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V.R. Nasr, "International Political Domestic Imperatives and Identity Mobilization: Sectarianism in Pakistan 1979-1998", Journal of Comparative Politics 32, 2 (2000): 171.

M. Ahmad, "The Crescent and the Sword: Islam, the History and Political legitimacy in Pakistan 1977-1985", Middle East Journal 50, 3 (1996): 377.

M. Ahmad, "Sectarian Conflicts in Pakistan", Pakistan Vision 9, 1 (2008):
9.

Z. Hussain, Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam (Lahore, Vanguard Books, 2007), 91.

specific curriculum in accordance with their own sect, it leads to an increase in sectarian conflict.

The following table shows that incidents of sectarian violence have been increasing after the incidence of 9/11. War against terrorism also destroyed the peace and law of society. So, under these circumstances, incidents of sectarian violence multiplied. Nevertheless, the ratio decreased during the regime of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Sectarian Violence in Pakistan: 1989-2018

Year	Incidents	Fatalities	Injured
1989	67	18	102
1990	274	32	328
1994	162	73	326
1998	188	157	231
2001	154	261	495
2004	19	187	619
2007	341	441	630
2008	97	306	505
2009	106	190	398
2010	57	509	1170
2011	30	203	297
2012	173	507	577
2013	131	558	987
2014	91	208	312
2015	53	276	327
2016	35	137	182+
2017	16	231	691
2018	5	7	4

(http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/sect-killing.htm retrieved 03-11-2018)

As the table shows since 1989-2016, there had been 3016 incidents of sectarian violence. The fatalities reached 5229 and 9904 people were injured. This increased sectarian violence has badly affected different aspects of social life. The deep-rooted religious intolerance fractionalized the society.

Pakistan is an Islamic state and Islam disallows sectarian violence. Allah Almighty says in the Holy Quran: "Surely, who divide their religion and turn into sects, you (Holy Prophet SAW) have no concern with them. Their matter is only left to Allah. He will tell them of

all what they did. 26 Hold fast to the rope of Allah all together and be not divided". 27 Islam even disallows saying anything wrong about the gods of other religions. Allah Almighty commands in the Holy Quran: "Do not abuse those, they invoke other than Allah, in case exceeding the limits they should abuse Allah due to ignorance". 28 This peaceful religion does not permit to divide religion and break it into sects. Islam wants harmony and tolerance among its followers. Muslims strengthen each other; it is a prerequisite for their brotherhood. Holy Prophet (SAW) said: "Muslims are like a single body. If the head aches, the whole body suffers this pain and fever". 29 A true Muslim is like a building for other true Muslim whose one part strengthens the other.³⁰

The wiping out of sectarian violence in Pakistan is not an easy task and will take a long time for it has deep roots. Nevertheless, following measures should be taken:

- Government should revise curriculum of madrassas. It is important to introduce new subjects updated with contemporary requirements. Learning these new subjects, students would engage themselves in research and technical education. This interest would reduce sectarian conflict which is being produced by the current curriculum of the *madrassas*.
- Government must exclude all such material from the curriculum of madrassas and educational institutions, which instigates sectarian violence and promotes hatred and bias.
- External intervention in sectarian matters must be effectively checked.
- Government must stop private funding of Muslim countries to their associated sects. For example, some groups are funded by Gulf countries.
- Media must provide opportunities to religious scholars belonging to different sects to promote the issues of agreement and discourage the practices which create disagreement.
- Islamic democratic values such as tolerance and respect of other religions and sects must be propagated by media.

The rise of ethnic cleavages: In Pakistan, there are different variables that are generating and growing ethnic conflicts such as religious

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²⁶ Our'an 6: 159

Our'ān 3: 103

²⁸ Our'ān 6: 108

²⁹ Bukhāri, Hadīth No. 2446.

M. Bin Hajaj, Sahīh al-Muslim, Hadīth No. 6588.

conflict, language conflict and territorial conflict. Feroz Ahmed said that Pakistan is a multi-ethnic state. Its ethnic diversity is an historical and sociological fact. One major unsettled area of conflict in Pakistan is the problem of ethnic and regional sub-nationalism in the smaller provinces. Though, after 1971, Pakistan stands unified yet a number of problems are a hurdle in nation building. Other provinces grievances against Punjab is the biggest issue. This animosity booms from the demographic composition of the provinces, the existence of regional economic disparities and the ethnic origins of the military. Government should reduce regional disparity to make Pakistan prosperous and a peaceful land.

A climate of antagonism and hatred is poisoning relations between different ethnic and religious groups and destroying the basis of normal democratic politics.³³ Today, Pakistan is facing ethnic cleavage in tribal areas of Pakistan. Pakistan's tribal areas are populated mainly by Pashtuns, an ethnic group that extends into Afghanistan. Constant warfare in recent years has led many Pashtuns to believe that they are fighting a tribal war to preserve their way of life. They feel threatened by the government of Pakistan.³⁴ In the return of considerable American assistance, security forces of Pakistan took a mission of eradicating Taliban located in tribal areas. Instead of being eradicated, Taliban have grown in number and extended their influence beyond tribal areas. They are creating a state of their own within the state of Pakistan. They have become a troublesome factor for the domestic affairs of Pakistan.³⁵

To control ethnic cleavages, Pakistan should:

- Give top priority to the development of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Balochistan. Increased fund to enhance social development should be spent in a fair and transparent manner.
- Reduce disparities among provinces. Gwadar Port and China Pakistan Economic Corridor Project could serve as a mile stone in reducing disparities in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Through this project people could acquire work and get benefits

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F. Ahmed, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 271.

M. Ahmad, "The Crescent and the Sword: Islam, the History and Political Legitimacy in Pakistan 1977-1985", *Middle East Journal* 50, 3 (1996): 379.

P. Wilkinson, "Terrorism: International Dimensions", *The New Terrorism*, ed., W. Gutteridge (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1986), 34.

H.H. Ziadi, "Why Sovereignty is as Myth in our Case", *Dawn*, 11 October 2008.

S. Anwer, "Dealing with Militants", *Dawn*, 3 June 2007.

from Chinese Industrial Zones. It will help in developing industrial base in Balochistan.

Increasing threat to national security of Pakistan: Threats to Pakistan's national security include any threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity, ideology and the political institutions of the state.³⁶ Economic security and civil order are also critical to national security as they make the country vulnerable to external forces.³⁷

As far as national security of Pakistan is concerned, the domestic situation is rather perturbing. All the essential and vital elements that are essential for the maintenance, integration and survival of society are running amuck because of lack of harmony and unity between the system and people's aspirations. This, consequently, produces a negative collusion of societal forces. The system faces the threat of disintegration with an explosive repercussion on national security.³⁸ After 9/11, Pakistan played the role of a front line state, grabbed external debt and aid and put the future of Pakistan at stake. About the loss of country's sovereignty, Shaid-ur-Rehman reminds that Pakistan puts its salvation at stake when it acquire external debt.³⁹ The national security policies of Pakistan must be reoriented. The understanding of our policy makers is limited to the military only, while it has a broader perspective. Whereas external security safeguards the salvation of the country; internal security ensures the survival of the nation and ensures harmony amongst its people.

A better and broader appreciation of national security is therefore needed like exploration and utilization of natural and minerals resources, for example, must be ensured by practical projects. In this way government may not only acquire revenue, but may be able to repay its debts and make Pakistan a state that works for the welfare of the masses.

Conclusion

Pakistan played the role of a frontline state during the military dictatorships of President Zia-ul-Haq and President Musharraf. During this period Pakistan acquired economic assistances from the United

G. Rizvi, "Pakistan: The Domestic Dimensions of Security", South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers, eds. B. Buzan & G. Rizvi (United States: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1986), 60.

S. Junaid, *Terrorism and Global Power System* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 66.

F. Aziz, *Pakistan's National Security Problems* (Lahore: Sh. Ghulam Ali and Sons Ltd., 1984), 8.

³⁹ S. Rehman, *Pakistan Sovereignty Lost* (Islamabad: Mr. Books, 2006), 143.

States and donor organisations. Pakistan role as a frontline state has affected the society badly giving rise to issues such as terrorism, sectarian conflict, ethnic cleavages and threat to internal and external national security. Taliban were breading during the eighties; now they have become a threat to Pakistan's internal and external security. So, in order to restore peace and revive economic development of the country, it is important to rethink our priorities and to redefine out national interests. It is also the need of the time that our leaders should demonstrate through their policies and actions that Islam is fully compatible with universal values of human rights, rules of law, tolerance and fundamental human rights. Lastly, it is important to put our trust in the democratic process and the political leadership of the country.