Pakistan’s Impact on Afghanistan
Dr. Julian Schofield
Concordia University
# Pakistan’s Impact on Afghanistan

**Concordia University, 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. West, Montreal, Quebec H3G 1M8, Canada**

**1. REPORT DATE**  
OCT 2009  

**2. REPORT TYPE**  

**3. DATES COVERED**  
00-00-2009 to 00-00-2009  

**4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE**  
Pakistan’s Impact on Afghanistan  

**5a. CONTRACT NUMBER**  

**5b. GRANT NUMBER**  

**5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER**  

**5d. PROJECT NUMBER**  

**5e. TASK NUMBER**  

**5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER**  

**6. AUTHOR(S)**  

**7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)**  
Concordia University, 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. West, Montreal, Quebec H3G 1M8, Canada  

**8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER**  

**9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)**  

**10. SPONSOR/MONITOR’S ACRONYM(S)**  

**11. SPONSOR/MONITOR’S REPORT NUMBER(S)**  

**12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT**  
Approved for public release; distribution unlimited  

**13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES**  
Counterinsurgency Leaders? Workshop, 27-29 Oct, Fort Leavenworth, KS  

**14. ABSTRACT**  

**15. SUBJECT TERMS**  

**16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:**  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. REPORT</th>
<th>b. ABSTRACT</th>
<th>c. THIS PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>unclassified</td>
<td>unclassified</td>
<td>unclassified</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT**  
Same as Report (SAR)  

**18. NUMBER OF PAGES**  
71  

**19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON**  

"Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)"  
Proscribed by ANSI Std Z39-18
Summary

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan
Conventional Wisdom
Soviets caused Afghan War
• Soviet invasion Dec 1979
Start of the Afghanistan-Pakistan War

- July 17 1973: Afghan President (king's cousin and brother-in-law), Mohammad Daoud
- Pakhtun separatist policy + Marri and Mengal Baloch sanctuary (1974-1977) Pakistan
Islamists opposed Pashtunistan
Organization of Muslim Youth 1969
- Rabbani
- Sayyid Qutb of al Azhar University in Cairo
- jahiliyya
Z.A. Bhutto and Mujahideen

- 1973-74: Provides stipends, weapons and training
- 1974 Faizani coup fails
- 1975 Islamist Revolt failed; refugees NWFP
- Reorganize: Hekmatyar + Rabbani
- Bombings: Kabul + Jalalabad
- Pakistani and Afghan troops clash
- 1976 escalation Afghan + Pak sought invasion
- Bhutto asks Soviets to pressure Daud
- June/Aug 1976 Bhutto wins
  - Maintains support to Islamists
Zia ul-Haq and Mujahideen

• 1978
  – Assassination provokes PDPA
  – Saur Revolution 80,000 refugees
  – Invite Pakistani Pashtun to Kabul
  – 8 training camps established in NWFP

• Jan 1979: 5,000 mujahideen attack Asabad

• April 1979: mujahideen attack Jalalabad

• March 1979: uprising fails: Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat: USSR intervenes 10 months later

• July 3 1979 – US enters the conflict (Brzezinski)
Counterfactual

- If no Soviets, Kabul fallen in April 1982 > April 1992 (= 1929 revolt)
- **Why** Distortion: Cold War template + Afghan + Pak downplay local conflict
- **Solution**: treat it as the local war it is: get the parties to negotiate a settlement
- **Mantra**: Taliban victory in Afghanistan will collapse Pakistan
Policy Panic: Myth of Pakistan’s Imminent Collapse

• Barnett Rubin: “The stability of Pakistan, a nuclear-weapons state that has been the main source of proliferation over the past two decades, is now at serious risk.” Mar 09 For Aff

• The Economist January 2008
Paths of Pakistan’s Collapse

• Military Islamist Coup
• Civil War – Pashtun v Punjab
• Islamic Electoral Victory
Coup

- Pakistan army not coup-proofed
- Corps Commanders Conference
- coup is very difficult without their approval
- 8 coups: none successful without military approval
Coups of Pakistan

1. Feb 1951 Pindi Conspiracy (failed)
5. Mar 1973 Military anti-Bhutto coup (failed)
   1988 assassination of Zia ul-Haq
Corps Commanders Conference

- Corps: 20,000 to 60,000 soldiers

Strike Corps North (1st Corps) – Mangla
10 Corps – Rawalpindi (protect GHQ, Kahuta); 111 Bde
31 Corps – Bahawalpur (Punjab)
2 Corps – Multan (Punjab)
4 Corps – Lahore (Punjab)
30 Corps – Sialkot (Punjab)
12 Corps – Quetta
5 Corps – Karachi
9 Corps – Peshawar

Northern Area Command - Gilgit.

Director ISI
Director MI (Military Intelligence)
Self-Contained Military

- Military is self-contained
- Shaheen and Fauji foundation, hospitals, education
- Mercenary army – remains selective & voluntary no conscription.
- Cantonments, comptroller, contracts
- Most military believe in democracy (paradox).
Anti-Military Factions & Nuclear Security

- Jamaat-i-Islami
- Ulema-i-Islami
- Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shriat-e-Mohhamadi (mil)
- Sipah-e-Sahaba (anti-Shia)
- Tehreek-e-Jaferia (Shia)
- Lashar-e-Jhangvi (anti-Shia in S Waziristan)
- Jamaat ul-Fuqra
- Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Al-alami (assassination)
- Tehreek-e-Taliban-Pakistan
### Pakistan - Population Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>90 million (also Seraiki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>36 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWFP</td>
<td>23 million (Pashtun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohajir (Urdu)</td>
<td>13 million (Karachi/Hyderabad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>6 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FATA</td>
<td>4 million (Pashtun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindko+Kashmir</td>
<td>8 million (NWFP/North Areas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Population: 180 million (2009 est.)

Pakistan GDP US$ 144bn; 50% rural; $1,000 PPP/cap
## Ethnic Breakdown of Military

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>-22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>+8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtun</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>+8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>+4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Punjabi Officers
- 1979: 70%
- 1990: 67%
- 2005: 67%

*(60% of population)*

### Pashtun
- Officer Corps (22-25%)
- ISI (30-40%)
Civil War & Pakistan Military

- 600,000 volunteers, 10 million dependents, PML-Q
- Based: rural Punjab (Salt Range) and NE Pashtun (Kohat and Mardan; Yusuf-zai)
- 28 div, 2,400 tanks, 4,200 artillery, 383 combat a/c
- Unlimited violence against Muslims:
  - Bengal
  - Baloch
  - Kashmir
  - Mohajir
Civil War Scenario

- Pakistan’s bureaucracy strong 1954
- Pakistan’s army never loses CI
- Suppressed 75 million Bengalis in 1970-71 with 40,000 soldiers, 10 million refugees
Expert Counter-Insurgency

- None of the opposition groups are strong: mostly Pashtun, rest Punjabi.
- The Taliban problem is entirely a Pakhtun problem.
- Uprisings vs the Brits:
  - biggest was in 1897 – Malakand Force: Swat
  - Uprisings also in 1860, 1919
Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Pashtun only crossed over the Indus three times:
  - 1761 (defeated the Sikhs)
  - 1831 (disaster), 1919 (disaster)
Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Afghan Ahmad Shah defeated the Sikhs at Lahore in 1761
- 80,000 strong Afghan Jihadis led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi in 1831
- Few thousand strong Afghan Jihadis led by Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi in 1919
Major Political Parties

PPP

• Ali Asi Zardari

PML-N

• Nawaz Sharif
Major Political Parties

**PML-Q**
- Pro-military / feudal
- Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain

**PML-F (Functional)**
- Breakaway faction from Sindh (not accepted by Nawaz Sharif)
- Pir Sahib Pagara

**PPP – (Sherpao)**
- PPP Breakaway faction from the NWFP
- Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao
Minor Political Parties

MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement)

- Altaf Hussain (exile in London)
- Farooq Sattar Pirwani
Failure to Challenge Islam

- MQM: Mohajir Party
- Urdu speaking immigrants, well educated, marginalized, Islamic state ethic
- Control Karachi (pop 18 million) and Hyderabad
- Islamic ideology of the state of Pakistan
- US seeking to engage the MQM because of control of Taliban drug routes
MQM

- 45 killed single bombing, cricket match, kidnap foreigners, mil personnel, assass senator, bomb train, shut down US embassy in Karachi
- Violence 1986-2002: 1,000 killed
- Destroyed Karachi police – never defeated
Nuclear Weapons
Minor Political Parties

**ANP** (Awami National Party)
- Cooperate closely with the PPP
- Senator Asfandyar Wali Khan, (grandson of Abdul Gaffar Khan)
- 4 million Pashtuns Karachi

**MMA** (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal)
- Theocratic party
  - Jamiat-i-Islami, Ulema-i-Islami, Jamiat Ahle-i-Hadith, JUI-F, Shia Tehrik-e-Jafaria

**BNP** (Baluchistan National Party – Awami) – Sardar Akhtar Malik
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>FATA</th>
<th>Federal Capital</th>
<th>N.W.F.P.</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>Non Muslims</th>
<th>PARTY GRAND TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S #</td>
<td>Party Name</td>
<td>General Seats</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>General Seats</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>PPPP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PML-N</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PML</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PPP-S</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PML-F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>BNP-A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>137</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES
### GENERAL ELECTION - 2008 --- PARTY POSITION INCLUDING RESERVED SEATS

Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>N.W.F.P.</th>
<th>Punjab</th>
<th>Sindh</th>
<th>Balochistan</th>
<th>PARTY GRAND TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Seats</td>
<td>IND</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Non Muslims</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S#</td>
<td>PPPPP</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>PML-N</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ANP</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PML</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>PPP-S</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>PML-F</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>NPP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>BNP-A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ind.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RESULT AT A GLANCE
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION
2008

• http://www.dawn.com/events/election08/results/images/pakistan.gif
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Peoples Party</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awami National Party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)*</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties/Independents **</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Turnout</td>
<td>43.07%</td>
<td>45.46%</td>
<td>40.28%</td>
<td>35.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Seats</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Votes</td>
<td>% Votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>10,125,390</td>
<td>32.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (N)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>6,393,365</td>
<td>20.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (Q)</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7,432,918</td>
<td>24.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PML (F)</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>707,760</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQM</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2,350,377</td>
<td>7.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANP</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>573,440</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>395,110</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Parties</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2,802,751</td>
<td>9.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pending Results</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>342</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election</td>
<td>National Assembly seats won by NAP</td>
<td>NWFP Provincial Assembly seats won by NAP</td>
<td>National percentage of polled votes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.68%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.80%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PPP (Bhutto) Faction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Worth</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asif Ali Zardari</td>
<td>Benazir husband</td>
<td>$1.8 bn</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gov contract, Agro, M.E./West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasir Schon (Mohajir)</td>
<td>Sharif Exprop 1997</td>
<td>$1 bn</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bank, textiles, real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Razzaq Yakoub (UAE)</td>
<td>Zardari associate</td>
<td>$1 bn</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Media, real estate, gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewan Yousaf Farooqui*</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>$800 m</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Textile, automotive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Ali Lakhani*</td>
<td>Sindh/v mil anti-corrup</td>
<td>$800 m</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Textile, consumer goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimmy Querishi (USA)</td>
<td>Zardari associate</td>
<td>$480 m</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Banking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*probable association

### PML-N (Nawaz Sharif) Faction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Worth</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mian Muhammad Mansha Yaha</td>
<td>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</td>
<td>$2.5 bn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Textiles, constr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawaz Sharif &amp; Shahbaz Sharif</td>
<td>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</td>
<td>$1.4 bn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Constr, Gov contract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddaruddin Hashwani*</td>
<td>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</td>
<td>$1.1 bn</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hotel, textile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariq Saigol &amp; Nasim Saigol</td>
<td>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</td>
<td>$850 m</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Textile, banking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Bakar Sheikhani</td>
<td>Business with N Sharif</td>
<td>$600 m</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Real Estate, Gwadar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Razzaq Dawood (UAE)</td>
<td>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</td>
<td>$500 m</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Construction, M.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehangir Elahi</td>
<td>Brother of Mian Mansha</td>
<td>$400 m</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Power plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saddiq &amp; Sons*</td>
<td>Business with N Sharif</td>
<td>$260 m</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Sugar mills, real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasim Dada*</td>
<td>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</td>
<td>$200 m</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Auto parts, chemicals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*probable association
### PML-Q (Quaid-i-Azam - Musharraf) Faction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Worth</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malik Riaz Hussain*</td>
<td>Military connections</td>
<td>$ 800 m</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javid Saifullah (Pakhtun)*</td>
<td>Military marriages</td>
<td>$ 440 m</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Textiles, telecoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noon family (Zamindar)*</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$ 380 m</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Textile, construction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*probable association

### Unaffiliated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Motive</th>
<th>Worth</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sir Anwar Pervaiz (UK)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$ 1.5 bn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cement, UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafiq Habib &amp; Rasheed Habib</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$ 900 m</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bank, Auto. Textile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikh Abid Hussain</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$ 780 m</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Real estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mian Mohammed Latif</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>$ 700 m</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Textiles, M.E.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why Poor Pakistan Policy?

• Canada NATO > Afghanistan

• US (speculation):
  • (1). Not provoke an Islamist coup
  • (2). Believe that Pakistan is not able to affect the Taliban
  • (3). Not provoke PRC (DPRK, Taiwan).
  • (4). Not provoke Saudi Arabia (key to Middle East).
Pakistan’s Allies
What Does Pakistan Want?

Return to the state of affairs in 1963-1973
Cessation of support for Pashtun nationalism either:

1. by having a strong Kabul or
2. weakening Kabul
• Dec 1947 demand access to sea
• 1947 Pakhtunistan Claim
• 1950-1960s "rough" frontier policing
Partition History

- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
  - Red Shirts
- Sardar Ibrahim
- Jihad in Kashmir 1947
1953 Prime Minister
Mohammad Daud Khan
- 1951 Afghan Army infiltration
- 1953 P.M. Mohammad Daud Khan
- March 1955 70,000 Afghan mobilize
- Sep 1960 infiltration: Bajaur
- May 1961 infiltration: Dir
- Fall 1961
- 1962-1963 sporadic infiltration
- Pakistan: Lesson Learned: Local security
• 1963-1973 Royal Peace with Pakistan
• Afghanistan supports Pakistan 1965 & 1971
• 1973 Daud overthrows Zahir Shah
Pakistan’s War in Afghanistan

Causes:

1. Pakhtun Secessionism
2. Non-recognition of the Durand Line
3. Support to India
• 1995 - Zahir Shah
• 1996 – Benazir Bhutto supports Taliban
• Taliban never recognizes Durand Line
• Hakimullah Mehsud
• Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan
• al Qaeda
• No separatists
• Swat (neutralize)
• Mohmand (victory)
• Bajaur (victory)
Trade

• third party trade transit rights for Afghanistan to India
• economic development will fail
• 2009 Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement ATTA
• Pakistan not permit direct road or rail to India
• Pakistan main trading partner (US$1.7bn 2007),
• Re-exports, dumping
Trade

• Kabul shift its trade northwards to Soviet Union
• trade embargo in 1961
• Resumed 1963 (Iran mediation)
• revised ATTA in 1965, never fully restored the status quo ante
Strong Kabul

• If NATO can deliver a strong regime in Kabul strong enough to resist the temptation of stoking secessionism in Pakistan, then Islamabad will cooperate.

• Misconception: ISI Contact with Taliban

• Misconception: Afghanistan Support for suppression of Taliban:

• While the Kabul government accuses Pakistan of harboring insurgents in the tribal areas, it would be the first to object to a military occupation and consolidation of control of those regions.
Failure to Engage Islam

- Why:
  - (1). Fear of blowback
  - (2). NATO is secular – not promote Islam

- Policy: patronage local sufi tariqas and pir shrines and families + urban Hanafi ulema

- Islam is malleable

- Pakhtunwali; Pashtun lashkars militia > tax
The Deoband

- Quetta Shura – Deobandi – Mullah Mohamad Omar: Shura > Loya Jirga
- Jamaat-i-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) party. access refugees madrassas
- Deobandiism 1867 1831 Jihad Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi + 1857 Great Mutiny
- popular Pashtun beginning 20th Century
Reaction to Decline

• Deobandiism Islamic reaction erosion Mughal power 18th century (Hindus)
• Mawdudi Jamiat-i-Islami bureaucrats turned religious leaders
• rise of European colonialism in the 19th century.
• Muslims: how to recapture the greatness of their community.
• Paradise: martyrdom
• Islam: law > metaphysics
Islamic Revival

- Faradiyyah
- Mawlawi Sahri’atullah of Delhi in 1802 Mecca
- Wahhabi Hanbali fiqh Koran - ijtihad
- Hanafi-consistent Koran and the Hadith, but stripped of Hindu + political role of Islam
The Modern Reformers

• 19th century Jamal al-Din al-Afghani
Modern Reformers

• Muhammad Abduh, al Azhar University Cairo salafist a Hanafi variant of Wahhabism
• Islamic code of the Arab Abbasid Caliphate, free of Sufiism and Persian influence
• Sayyid Qutb scholar of Abduh
The Sufi and Pir Impulse

- most Sunni Afghans, rural and urban: Sharia + Sufi + local shrines + pir worship
- discouraged by formal Islam
Sufi tariqa

- Three Sufi tariqas (orders)
  Afghanistan 500 yrs tradition:
- Naqshbandiya (especially Kabul)
- Qadiriya (eastern Pashtun and Kandahar)
- Chistis.
Ijtihad and Ijma

- Afghans Hanafi (fiq): ijtihad (legal speculation) and ijma (consensus)
- rival strict Hanbali Arabia limited -ijtihad – Ijma
Flexible Fiqh

- ijtihad + ijma adaptation of Islam in South Asia, Buddhist + Hindu influences
Sufism stronger than Salafist

• Deobandism (Hanafi salafist)
  = Hanbali fiqh v Sufism
• Ahl-i-Hadith, Hanbali
• Deobandi austere lifestyles of Pashtun refugees
  Deobandi rejection Sufism: will fail
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Ascend</th>
<th>Elected</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>---</th>
<th>War Hero</th>
<th>Son</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Shah Durrani</td>
<td>1747-1773</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timur Shah</td>
<td>1773-1793</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amir Dost Muhammad</td>
<td>1826-39, 1842-63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khan Amir Sher Ali</td>
<td>1869-1879</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdur Rahman Khan</td>
<td>1880-1901</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amir Habibullah Khan</td>
<td>1901-1919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanullah Khan</td>
<td>1919-1929</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadir Shah</td>
<td>1929-1933</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zahir Shah</td>
<td>1933-1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Draconian</td>
<td>Unstable</td>
<td>Orderly</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Draconian</td>
<td>Static</td>
<td>Unstable</td>
<td>Stable</td>
<td>Autocrat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End</td>
<td>Assass</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Assass</td>
<td>Exile</td>
<td>Assass</td>
<td>Exile</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base</td>
<td>Tribes</td>
<td>Tribes</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Army</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>Jihad</td>
<td>Strict</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>Dominate</td>
<td>Revolt</td>
<td>Accomodate</td>
<td>Restless</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Divine</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Challenged</td>
<td>Fading</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenue</td>
<td>Booty</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Bacha</td>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>Failed</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Saqqao</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureaucr.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Founded</td>
<td>Strengthen</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Bankrupt</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Conscription</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Revolt</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>Modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Revolt</td>
<td>Hanafi</td>
<td>Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durrani</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Revolts</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghilzai</td>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>Subdue</td>
<td>Subdue</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Relocated</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajik</td>
<td>Defeat</td>
<td>Subdue</td>
<td>Reassertion</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Suppress</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Revolt</td>
<td>Crushed</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbek</td>
<td>Defeat</td>
<td>Subdue</td>
<td>Reassertion</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Crushed</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazaras</td>
<td>Defeat</td>
<td>Conquer</td>
<td>Subdue</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Crushed</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qizilbash</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Koranic</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Limited</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Soviet,US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War v India</td>
<td>8 attacks</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>1839-42, 1878</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Cautious</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Failure to Engage Islam

- **Malleability**
- Islam in Afghanistan 1200 years
- end of the 19th century Abdur Rahman Khan Pakhtunwali > Sharia family law
- 1931 Nadir Shah legalized Hanafi fiqh
- Mughal UK patronage sufi shrines rural counter balance Islamic revivalism
- Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh + Muslim League v Islam created Pakistan
Failure to Engage Islam

• Sufi tariqa:
• Habibullah Kalakani, a Tajik of the Naqshbandiya tariqa, 1929 Jihad
• Mawlana Faizani, Qadiriya tariqa pirs v. PDPA (People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan)
• Naqshbandi + Chisti, tabligh > NATO
• Ulema passive v colonialism; no converts during colonialism.
Failure to Engage Islam

- India and Pakistan: Barelvi: Pir Jamaat Ali Shah (Qadiri tariqa pir) joined Naqshbandi + Imam Ahmad Reza
- decline of Islam Hanafi Sharia ulama through sufiism
- fight Deoband Hanbali Ahl-i-Hadith control of mosques, fatalities
- Aid: Pakistan Barelvi India Chisti
Limits of Islam

• Hekmatyar’s Hizb-e-Islami Gilzhai
• communist, self-admitted nationalist
Conclusion

• Cause of the Afghan War
• What Pakistan wants
• Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan