PAKISTAN in Perspective
An Orientation Guide

Technology Integration Division
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Chapter 1: Geography

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Chapter 1: Geography

Introduction
Pakistan is located in the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent. It occupies an important geostrategic position. It borders Iran and Afghanistan on the west, China on the north, and India on the east.

Pakistan controls two important passes, the Khyber and the Bolan, which have been traditional routes of invasion between the Indian subcontinent and Central Asia. The nation has access in the south to the Arabian Sea. Its land size is 796,095 sq km (310,477 sq mi) with terrain and climate ranging from glaciers to deserts, forests to plateaus, and mountains to plains. The terrain and climate support diverse and unique flora and fauna, some of which are endangered. Pakistan’s natural geography and geology make it vulnerable to frequent floods and earthquakes. Ecological degradations from human activities include desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, water and air pollution.

Area
Disputed for centuries, the borders of present-day Pakistan have changed many times. Before 1947, Pakistan and India made up one country, with the Durand Line (still contested today) dividing Afghanistan from what would become Pakistan after independence from Britain.

On the eve of independence, the colonial authorities partitioned India, creating Pakistan with east and west wings flanking India. East Pakistan gained independence in 1971 and became Bangladesh. West Pakistan then became Pakistan, which now includes four provinces and the Pakistani-controlled area of the disputed Jammu–Kashmir region along its northeastern border. Pakistan’s provinces largely follow the country’s geographic and ethnic patterns. Comprising the mountainous western and northern parts of the country, the Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces are the historical homelands of ethnic Baluchis and Pashtuns, respectively. The provinces of Punjab and Sindh, on the other hand, occupy primarily river plains.

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Geographic Regions

Northern Mountains

The northern part of Pakistan, including virtually all the areas of Jammu and Kashmir controlled by Pakistan, consists of mountainous terrain interspersed with river valleys. The highest mountains lie along the northern border, including the Karakoram Range to the northwest and the Hindu Kush to the northeast. Prominent peaks include Tirich Mir at 7,708 m (25,282 ft), the highest peak in the Hindu Kush; K2 at 8,611 m (28,244 ft), the highest Karakoram peak and the world’s second-highest mountain; and Nanga Parbat at 8,126 m (26,653 ft), the only peak over 8,000 m (26,240 ft) in the Western Himalayas.4,5

In the southern part of this region, the mountains decrease in height. Most of the river valleys are in this area, including the tourist destinations of Swat Valley and the Kaghan Valley. The rivers and streams that run through these valleys all ultimately feed into the Indus River farther downstream.6

In October 2005, a violent earthquake of magnitude 7.6 struck the Kaghan Valley. Over 75,000 people were killed in one of the world’s deadliest earthquakes. Some Kaghan Valley towns and cities, such as Balakot, were so completely destroyed that officials have decided that the towns will not be rebuilt at their old sites.7,8

Submontane Plateaus

Between the northern and western mountains, surrounded by low hills, are a series of plateaus. The largest of these is the Potwar Plateau, which is separated from the Indus River Plain by the narrow Salt Range that runs east–west, north of the Jhelum River. The Potwar Plateau receives more rainfall in the northwest regions than the arid south, but the soil is generally not suited for cultivation.9 In the northeastern part of the Potwar Plateau are the cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad, Pakistan’s capital. The plateau region continues west and north from the Potwar Plateau to areas on the western side of the Indus River. These plateaus include the Vale of Peshawar, known as the gateway to the famed Khyber Pass, and regions to its south in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province.10

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5 Maurice Isserman and Stewart Angas Weaver, Fallen Giants: A History of Himalayan Mountaineering from the Age of Empire to the Age of Extremes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 500 n37.
Indus River Plain

Most of the population of Punjab and Sindh provinces lives in the Indus River Plain, which is the agricultural heart of Pakistan. The northern portion of the Plain, often referred to as the Punjab Plain, is marked by the confluence of four large tributaries of the Indus River: the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and Sutlej rivers. The regions between the rivers are known as doabs. Three of the doabs (Rechna, Chaj, and Bari) are some of the most productive agricultural lands in Pakistan, because of the extensive irrigation systems that have been developed there. Several of Pakistan’s largest cities, such as Lahore, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, and Multan, are also in the three doabs. The westernmost doab, the Sindh Sagar, lies between the Indus and Jhelum rivers and is mostly desert.¹¹

The southern Indus River Plain, or Sindh Plain, begins just south of where the Indus River is joined by the Panjnad River. The Plain in this region narrows between mountains to the west and deserts to the east. The Indus River in the southern portion is much wider, carries more silt, and is more prone to flooding. The river’s delta region covers a wide portion of the southern coast because of several channel changes over time.¹², ¹³

Western Mountains

South and west of the northern mountains lay numerous lower ranges that border Afghanistan to the west and the Indus River Plain to the east. The Khyber Pass, used for centuries by traders and invaders as a passage into the Indus River Plain and northern India beyond, is situated in a northeastern spur of this range.¹⁴

Balochistan Plateau

Much of Balochistan Province lies within the Balochistan Plateau. This region is extremely arid, particularly in the northwestern areas. The Plateau contains numerous parallel mountain ridges that run southwest–northeast in the south and north–south in the east. The Bolan Pass in the Central Brahui Range provides the main access to Quetta, the area’s only large city and the capital of Balochistan. North of Quetta lays the Khojak Pass, the only official entry point into Afghanistan along its long border with Balochistan.

The Kharan Basin in the western part of the Balochistan Plateau is primarily desert and extremely inhospitable. The few rivers that exist are short-lived and do not drain outside the Basin. It is in this region that Pakistan has carried out its underground nuclear tests.\(^\text{15, 16}\)

**Deserts**

Much of southern Pakistan is arid, receiving between 10–25 cm (4–10 in) of rain each year. Only the presence of the Indus River and the numerous canals branching from it has allowed substantial agriculture to take place within the lower Punjab and Sindh Plains.\(^\text{17, 18}\)

Some dry areas have infertile soils, however, and cannot be irrigated. One such area is the Thar Desert, which occupies the western side of Sindh Province and the southeastern portion of Punjab Province.\(^\text{19}\) It also extends into adjacent portions of India. The portion within Punjab Province is known locally as the Cholistan Desert.

Farther north, in the Sind Sagar Doab between the Indus and Jhelum rivers, lays the Thal Desert. Hard work has reclaimed some of the Thal Desert through irrigation, but the remainder supports only grazing lands.\(^\text{20}\) To the west, much of the northwestern portion of the Balochistan Plateau is also considered desert land and is one of the most sparsely populated areas in Pakistan.\(^\text{21}\)

**Makran Coast**

Pakistan’s portion of the Makran Coast extends from the Iranian border in the west to near Karachi in the east. This region lies beyond the monsoon areas and receives little rainfall. A handful of fishing villages with natural ports dot the coastline; otherwise, the region is mostly uninhabited. One of these port villages, Ormara, hosts the Jinnah Naval Base, which opened in June 2000.\(^\text{22}\) This base serves not only as a naval port but as the testing grounds for Pakistan’s missile delivery systems for conventional and nuclear weapons, including the Shaheen series missiles.\(^\text{23, 24}\) Farther west, the government opened a new deepwater port in the village of

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Gwadar in 2008. A paved two-lane road now runs from Karachi to Gwadar, significantly reducing the isolation of the coastal region.

**Indus River Delta and Sindh Coast**

From the southeastern outskirts of Karachi to the coastal border with India is a low-lying coastal region comprising mud flats, mangrove swamps, and creeks that meander through the Indus River Delta and adjoining areas. Unlike the Makran Coast, which rises relatively abruptly from the Arabian Sea, the continental shelf along Sindh Province is broad with a gentle slope.

**Climate**

All of Pakistan lies within the North Temperate Zone, but meteorological and topographical variations provide a diversity of climate types. Much of the country is arid or semiarid. A relatively small region in the north, just south of the Himalaya foothills, exceeds 50 cm (20 in) in average annual precipitation—usually considered the minimum for dry farming. From this area southward, rainfall drops off significantly, and only regions in the western mountains and the far southwestern corner of the country receive an average annual precipitation of 25 cm (10 inches) or more.

Winter is short, running from December through February. Spring typically lasts from March through May. This is followed by the southwest monsoon season from June through September, bringing much-needed rain to the country. Finally, October through November is the equivalent of fall, and the monsoon retreats.

Except for the high mountain areas, much of Pakistan is quite warm from late spring through early fall. The monsoon season brings increased cloud cover even if no rain falls, so temperatures are moderated somewhat. But the higher humidity during this period still leads to uncomfortable weather conditions.

To the north, in the Indus River Plain, average temperatures are lower than in southern Pakistan, although daily high temperatures may still average over 40°C (104°F) during the hottest summer.

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months. Only in the high regions of northern Pakistan are temperatures moderate from April through October.

**Bodies of Water**

*Arabian Sea*

This northwestern arm of the Indian Ocean covers 3,862,000 sq km (1,506,180 sq mi). It represents the primary sea route between Europe and the Indian subcontinent. Asia and Africa border its northern, eastern, and western sides. It is connected to the Persian Gulf via the Gulf of Oman. Pakistan enjoys a long coastline of 1,046 km (649 mi) along the sea. The strategic location of the Arabian Sea has greatly contributed to Pakistan’s economic and military development, international trade, and the wars with India.

*Indus River*

Except for some areas along the Makran Coast and in the Balochistan Plateau, all rivers and streams in Pakistan eventually flow into the Indus. One of the world’s longest rivers at 2,900 km (1,800 mi), it originates in the high altitudes of the Tibetan Plateau in China. It flows northwest through the Indian- and Pakistani-controlled portions of Jammu and Kashmir, before turning southward and entering the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province.

As the Indus descends from the high northern mountains, it reaches the reservoir at Tarbela Dam, the largest earth-filled dam in the world. The generators at Tarbela produce the majority of Pakistan’s hydroelectricity. After a few more turns, the Indus finishes its route at the Arabian Sea.

The upper Indus River is too tumultuous for navigation. The lower Indus is navigable by small boats, but because the country’s railroad system is more efficient, the river is seldom used. The Indus River’s primary value is for Indus Valley crop irrigation and hydroelectric power generation.

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33 *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Arabian Sea,” 2011
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/31653/Arabian-Sea

34 Central Intelligence Agency, “Pakistan,” in *The World Factbook*, 6 April 2011,


36 *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Indus River,” 2011
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/286872/Indus-River


38 Sally Morgan, *Natural Resources* (Mankato, MN: Smart Apple Media, 2009), 35.
**Jhelum River**

The Jhelum River is the westernmost of the Punjab rivers that feed into the Indus. Its headwaters are in the Indian portion of Jammu and Kashmir, and it is the principal river flowing through the Vale of Kashmir. It flows through Muzaffarabad, the largest city of Pakistani Azad Kashmir, before turning south to descend toward the Punjab Plain. For much of this stretch it forms the border between Azad Kashmir and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. North of Jhelum, the largest city along the river, the river flows into the Mangla Dam reservoir, the second largest dam in Pakistan.\(^{39, 40}\)

Several link canals below Mangla Dam feed Jhelum water into the Chenab River. These canals are part of a massive water redistribution system that transfers water from the Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab Rivers into the eastern Punjab rivers.

One ongoing dispute between India and Pakistan is the Wullar Barrage, a controversial water project that India began constructing in 1984 on the Indian portion of the Jhelum. India suspended work in 1987 when Pakistan claimed that the project violated terms of the Indus Waters Treaty. Since then, ongoing talks have established a dialog, but have not drawn any solutions.\(^{41, 42}\)

**Chenab River**

The Chenab River originates in the Himalayas of India. It flows through the Indian portion of Jammu and Kashmir, entering Pakistan near the city of Sialkot. From there it flows southwest through the Punjab Plains as it links with the Jhelum and Ravi Rivers. In the southern Punjab Plain the river is joined by the Sutlej, at which point the combined river becomes known as the Panjnad.

The Chenab has been at the center of an ongoing water-development dispute between India and Pakistan. But in this case, a neutral expert (called in by the World Bank to mediate) seemingly settled the status of the project (Baglihar Dam in the Indian portion of Jammu and Kashmir) in February 2007.\(^{43}\)

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Ravi River
The Ravi River originates in the Himalayas of India. It follows the Indian–Pakistani border for 80 km (50 mi) before running through the northwestern part of Lahore, Pakistan’s second most-populous city. It flows into the Chenab River north of Multan in central Punjab Province.

The Ravi is the smallest of the Punjab rivers and is the most polluted. Many industrial and municipal polluters discharge human waste and heavy metals into this and all other Pakistani rivers.44

Sutlej River
The Sutlej River, longest and easternmost of the five Punjab rivers, enters Pakistan from Punjab State in India. The river begins its flow from a lake in southwest Tibet. Near the Pakistani border with India, the Sutlej flows into the vast reservoir behind Bhakra Dam, one of the highest concrete gravity dams in the world.45

As it nears the Pakistani border, the Sutlej receives the waters of the Beas River. The Sutlej subsequently flows along the Pakistani–Indian border for 105 km (65 mi). Several link canals from more eastern Punjab rivers help restore the Sutlej’s flow before its final stretch through the central Punjab Plain. At its confluence with the Chenab River, the combined rivers become the Panjnad River before flowing into the Indus.46

Kabul River
The most significant Indus River tributary that flows in from the river’s west bank is the Kabul River, which rises west of the Afghani capital of Kabul and flows into Pakistan through a narrow river valley north of the Khyber Pass. Near Peshawar, the Warsak Dam on the Kabul was the first large dam project built by Pakistan after partition. The dam serves as the main source of water for the city of Peshawar and generates electricity for the region. In 2008, the Taliban threatened to destroy the dam in retaliation for attacks against the terrorist organization by local residents.47

46 Jack Kalpakian, Identity, Conflict and Cooperation in International River Systems (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 152.
Major Cities
With an estimated population of 184.8 million people in 2010, Pakistan is one of the most heavily populated countries in Asia. According to the most recent Pakistani census, slightly less than one third of the Pakistani people live in urban areas. This low percentage is nonetheless higher than that of either India or Afghanistan, Pakistan’s neighbors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City Name</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Population 2009 est.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Karachi</td>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>13,125,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>7,132,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Faisalabad</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>2,849,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>2,026,000</td>
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<td>Multan</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>1,659,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gujranwala</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>1,652,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>1,590,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peshawar</td>
<td>Khyber Pakhtunkhwa</td>
<td>1,422,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>Federal Capital Area</td>
<td>832,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quetta</td>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>841,000</td>
</tr>
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Karachi
The provincial capital of the Sindh Province, Karachi is Pakistan’s most populous city and primary seaport. Following partition, it served as Pakistan’s capital for over a decade until the government moved to Rawalpindi and then to Islamabad. For much of Pakistan’s history, Karachi has been Pakistan’s only commercial port, and that role has cemented the city’s preeminence within the country.

During the post-independence years when Karachi was Pakistan’s capital, booming construction and infrastructure growth brought waves of Pashtuns, Punjabis, and Kashmiris into the city as workers. Afghani refugees and illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, India, and Sri Lanka later boosted the city’s population and its ethnic diversity.

Violence between the city’s two largest ethnic groups—Pashtuns and Muhajirs—has plagued Karachi for several decades. The city has also seen sectarian violence in the last decade between Sunni and Shi’a Muslim groups.

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Karachi’s population boom has tremendously strained the city’s ability to address the needs of its burgeoning population. The city’s location in a mostly desert-like region with swamplands to the southeast has made water particularly difficult to supply. Most of its water is piped in from the Indus River, but the demand is greater. During drought periods, when some of Karachi’s secondary sources temporarily dry up, water-supply conditions can become critical in some sections of the city.\(^{53}\)

**Lahore**

Lahore, Pakistan’s second-largest city, is near the Indian border in northern Punjab. Unlike Karachi, Lahore has been a major city of the Indian subcontinent for centuries. For fourteen years (1584–1598 C.E.) during the reign of Akbar the Great, Lahore served as capital of the Mughal Empire. The modern city retains many renowned architectural remnants of the Mughal era. Foremost among these are the Badshahi Mosque, the world’s largest “historical” mosque, and the Lahore Fort. The city also displays numerous examples of extensive projects built during the British colonial period.\(^{54}\)

Modern Lahore is capital of Punjab Province, the most populous of Pakistan’s provinces. The traditional region of Punjab was divided between India and Pakistan during the partition of 1947. Lahore, the center of Punjabi culture and only 24 km (15 mi) from the new Indian–Pakistani border, was hit particularly hard by the violent disruptions of the pre-independence period. The city’s Hindus and Sikhs, who made up approximately one-third of Lahore’s population prior to independence, migrated to the Indian side as Muslims from Amritsar and other northern Indian cities came to Pakistani Punjab. The ensuing violence left nearly 6,000 homes damaged in Lahore.\(^{55}\)

Despite the terrible tensions and disruptions of the independence period, Lahore has avoided many of the ethnic conflicts that still embroil Karachi. Partly this was because many of the Lahore Muhajirs spoke the same language (Punjabi) as the existing Lahore population and in many cases had established kinship networks in the city. That was not the case in Karachi.\(^{56}\)

Today, Lahore stands as the cultural capital of Pakistan and one of its economic and financial centers. Lahore is home to the country’s most prestigious business and arts colleges, as well as the historic University of the Punjab. The economy is typically diversified for a city of its size,

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\(^{53}\) Noman Ahmed and Muhammad Suhail, “Alternate Water-Supply Arrangements in Peri-Urban Localities: Awami (People’s) Tanks in Orangi Township, Karachi,” *Environment and Urbanization* 15, no. 23 (2003), [http://eau.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/15/2/33.pdf](http://eau.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/15/2/33.pdf)


ranging from steel and chemical plants to a growing information technology segment.\textsuperscript{57} Cotton textile plants have traditionally been the largest manufacturing employer.\textsuperscript{58}

\textit{Islamabad and Rawalpindi}

Pakistan’s capital, Islamabad, is one of the world’s youngest capital cities. It was built in the 1960s to be the new capital, replacing Karachi. The site chosen was at the base of the Margalla Hills just north of its larger sister city Rawalpindi.\textsuperscript{59} Islamabad is part of a capital territory that has a population of over 1,000,000, with an estimated 851,000 living within the city proper.

Rawalpindi, Islamabad’s much older and larger sister, is the Pakistan Army’s headquarters—in character with the city’s history as the largest garrison in British India.\textsuperscript{60} Pindi, as the city is referred to by locals, is a crowded, bustling city with factories and industrial plants, including textile mills, a refinery, an iron foundry, and Pakistan’s only brewery.\textsuperscript{61} The many bazaars in Rawalpindi’s Old City are famous and attract locals and tourists.\textsuperscript{62}

\textit{Faisalabad}

Founded in 1890 as Lyallpur, the modern city was renamed in 1977 after the late Saudi King Faisal. The city came into existence when the British built perennial irrigation canals and transformed the economy of the Punjab Plain. As agricultural production came to the \textit{doabs}, the previously arid scrublands between the Punjab rivers, the British colonial government established and dispensed land grants to the new agricultural areas. They then administratively organized them into colonies. These new canal colonies, as they were called, triggered a wave of migration from northern Punjab to the lower Punjab Plain. Lyallpur was created to be the headquarters of the Lower Chenab Colony, the largest of the canal colonies. It emerged as an agricultural market center that soon dwarfed the older market towns along the Chenab River.

Following Pakistani independence in 1947, Lyallpur began to develop a strong industrial base. The textile industry led the way, and the city quickly became Pakistan’s textile center.\textsuperscript{63} Other industries include hosiery, sugar mills, pharmaceuticals, and textile and agricultural machinery.

\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Encyclopedia Britannica Online}, “Lahore,” 2011, \url{http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/327951/Lahore}
\textsuperscript{60} Sudhir Chadda, “Pakistan Military—Another Inevitable Coup? It May Not be Good for India and America!” \textit{India Daily}, 5 October 2004, \url{http://www.indiadaily.com/editorial/10-05b-04.asp}
\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Encyclopedia Britannica Online}, “Rawalpindi,” 2011, \url{http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/492326/Rawalpindi}
\textsuperscript{63} Faheem ul Islam, “Insight into the Dynamics of Clustering in Traditional Industries in Developing Economies: The Case of Faisalabad Cotton Textile Cluster in Pakistan” (conference paper, 9th Annual Global Conference of TCI, Lyon, France, October 9–13, 2006).
The accumulation of industries and the lack of waste treatment facilities have together created a major pollution problem for the city.64

Despite Faisalabad’s emergence as an industrial center, it also continues to serve its initial role as a market and support center for the surrounding agricultural areas. Agricultural research is one aspect of this role. In 1961, the University of Agriculture was established in the city, upgrading the former Punjab Agricultural College and Research Institute. The University has since become Pakistan’s largest and top-ranked agricultural school.65, 66

**Peshawar**

Peshawar is the largest Pakistani city outside of the Punjab or Sindh Province, and is the capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. It has historically acted as the gateway to the Khyber Pass and Central Asia beyond. Its location made it one of the key trading centers along the Silk Road.67 The current name of the city is ascribed to the Moghul Emperor Akbar the Great and means “the place at the frontier.”68

Peshawar lies in a valley and is surrounded by agricultural fields in which sugar cane, wheat, vegetables, maize, sugar beets, and fodder are grown. The local economy is dominated by services and the construction industry. Industrial and manufacturing operations tend to be relatively small.69

Since the late 1970s, the city has been enmeshed in the ongoing civil wars and insurgencies in nearby Afghanistan, and refugees and combatants have streamed into the city. The city has long had a concentration of Pashtun culture, and the recent influxes of mostly Pashtun Afghans have further increased the percentage of Pashtuns living in the city.70

As the city’s population has rapidly grown, the infrastructure has struggled to keep pace. The city suffers from a significant housing shortage, and the large number of Afghan refugees has heavily stressed health facilities. The road system also has not kept up with the increased amount of traffic.71 Air, water, and noise pollution have become major concerns.72

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70 Pashto.org, “Pashtun,” 2007, [http://www.pashto.org/content/view/19/63/](http://www.pashto.org/content/view/19/63/)
Multan

As the principal city of the southern Punjab Plain, Multan serves as a commercial and industrial center for the region. The city lies near the Chenab River and was the location for the first of the canal colonies developed beginning in 1886. The city is one of the hottest locations in all Pakistan.73

Modern Multan is tied to the surrounding rural regions, with 80% of the city’s population earning their income directly or indirectly through agriculture.74 Cotton and livestock are key elements of this agricultural economy, as are mangoes, which are an important export. The city is well known for its blue pottery, camel-skin work, and other cottage industry products.75

Environmental Concerns

In a country where 92% of the land is arid or semiarid, one of the biggest environmental concerns is water quality.76 One of the world’s most massive irrigation systems has been built to increase Pakistan’s agricultural capacity, but inadequate drainage systems have led to water logging and increases in soil salinity.77, 78

Industrial water pollution is a major concern as well. The Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency reports that only 1% of the country’s wastewater is treated before being discharged into rivers. In 2006, major epidemics of waterborne illnesses struck many of Pakistan’s major cities.79 Authorities estimated that 60% of all infant mortalities in Pakistan in 2005 resulted from water pollution.80 Addressing the water-quality problem has become a national priority.81

As Pakistan’s population continues to grow, particularly in urban areas, air pollution has become a major problem. Dust and smoke particles in the air of Pakistani cities have been measured at levels twice the world average and five times the average for developed nations. Automobiles are major contributors to these air-quality problems. The number of vehicles on Pakistani roads has increased 500% over the last few decades, and many of these cars and trucks use low-quality, high-emission fuels. The government has reacted by encouraging the use of vehicles fueled by compressed natural gas, which is less polluting.  

**Natural Hazards**

**Earthquakes**
Because of Pakistan’s position along the plate boundary between Asia and the Indian subcontinent, earthquakes are a persistent hazard, even in areas far from the towering Himalayas. For example, in Quetta, the largest city in Balochistan, a magnitude 7.8 earthquake destroyed the city in 1935. An even stronger magnitude 8.1 earthquake shook the Makran Coast 10 years later. The earthquake and subsequent tsunami caused significant damage and loss of life near the epicenter and in Karachi, 443 km (275 mi) away.

**Floods**
Floods occur seasonally along the major rivers of Pakistan, particularly during the summer monsoon. As a result, protective embankments and spurs have been built to protect river cities and nearby infrastructure. Almost all these flood-prevention projects are in the Indus River Plain in Punjab and Sindh provinces. Flood management policies have also encouraged appropriate development within historic flood plains. Still, the swollen Indus River flooded in 2010, submerging about one-fifth of the country and causing 1,985 deaths, 2,946 injuries, and damaging 1,744,471 houses.

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83 Roger Bilham, “28 November 1945 Makran Mw 8.1 Earthquake,” Earthquakes and Tectonic Plate Motions, Cooperative Institute for Research in Environmental Sciences, University of Colorado, 2003, [http://cires.colorado.edu/~bilham/Makran1945/MakranTsunami.html](http://cires.colorado.edu/~bilham/Makran1945/MakranTsunami.html)
Drought

Pakistan is particularly vulnerable to drought conditions. Arid regions such as Balochistan and the desert regions of the Indus River Plain have always faced limited water resources. Even in areas fed by the rivers flowing from the mountains, the large amount of this water devoted to agriculture can produce serious water supply issues for a growing population that is increasingly urbanized. Shrinking water storage capacity in aging dams that continue to silt up has also reduced Pakistan’s ability to augment domestic water supplies during dry years.\(^{88}\)

Chapter 1: Assessment

1. Pakistan’s entire southern border is along the Arabian Sea.
   **True**
   Pakistan’s southern border lies entirely along the Arabian Sea, which is the outlet for both trade and naval forces.

2. The border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is known as the Durand Line.
   **True**
   It was drawn by British diplomat Sir Mortimer Durand during colonial times. It divides contentious tribal areas, but Afghanistan has never recognized the demarcation.

3. Pakistan is highly susceptible to earthquakes.
   **True**
   Because of Pakistan’s position along the plate boundary between Asia and India, earthquakes are a persistent hazard, even in areas far from the towering Himalayas.

4. Sindhis are the largest ethnic group in Karachi, the provincial capital of Sindh Province.
   **False**
   Sindhis are a minority in Karachi, one of Pakistan’s most ethnically diverse cities. The city’s two largest ethnic groups are Pashtuns and Muhajirs.

5. The Ganges River is the most significant river in Pakistan.
   **False**
   The Indus River is the most important river in the country, as most other rivers flow into it.
Chapter 2: History

Overview
Pakistan’s history dates 4,500 years to the beginning of the Indus Valley civilization, one of the oldest urban civilizations. When Indo–Aryan tribes migrated to the Indus Valley’s present-day Sindh and Punjab provinces, they brought early forms of the Sanskrit language and a religious system that evolved into Hinduism. One empire after another tried to conquer the area, including the Hellenistic Empire (Alexander the Great) and the Mauryan Empire. Distinct cultures emerged, such as the Greco-Buddhist Gandhara, which lasted several centuries. Traders and invaders from the south arrived in Sindh in the eighth century, bringing Islam. Many Islamic caliphates successively ruled Pakistan until the collapse of the great Mughal Empire in the 18th century. The entire territory of present-day Pakistan, India, and parts of Afghanistan was then occupied by the British Empire, a period marked by wars and treaties until 1947. Concurrent with their departure, the British instituted the partition of India, which resulted in violence and mass migration of Pakistani Hindus into Hindu India and Muslim Indians into Muslim Pakistan. In 1947, Pakistan flanked India in two parts, East Pakistan and West Pakistan. After the 1971 war between the two wings and India, however, East Pakistan seceded and became the nation of Bangladesh. Pakistan’s history has seen continued tumult since then, as the people struggle to establish democracy. Its brief independence has been marred by numerous coups, rampant corruption, political unrest, assassinations, and economic troubles. In addition, the antidemocratic Taliban continue to operate along the porous border with Afghanistan. In 2009, the Pakistani government launched a major offensive against them in the regions of the Swat Valley and Waziristan. Tensions between Pakistan and India remain high as militants continue to attack India from Pakistan.

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Early History

The Indus Valley Civilizations

The history of today’s Pakistan connects to ancient world cultures. The earliest ruins lie in the Kacchi Desert of eastern Balochistan, known as Mehrgarh, and date to the eighth century B.C.E. Scholars have traced several thousand years of settlement history there. Before 2500 B.C.E., a number of city-states emerged on the Indus River Plain. This Indus Valley Civilization (also known as the Harappan Civilization) had a writing system, a diversified economic system, and communal structures such as public baths. The most famous ruins of this era are at Mohenjodaro, near the Indus River in Sindh Province. Stone seals discovered at Mohenjodaro display a pictographic script, which has yet to be deciphered. The end of the Indus Valley Civilizations has been ascribed to the invasion of Aryan tribes from Central Asia, although archaeological evidence of demolished cities is scant. The ancient Hindu text, the Rigveda, refers to defeats of non-Aryans at a site linked to Harappa, providing some support for this theory. But numerous theories say that Indus Valley cities declined for reasons other than invasion.

Crossroads of Empires

Traders and invaders have long used the mountain passes in Afghanistan and northern Pakistan to access the Indus River Plain. Many groups came and then quickly vanished. Yet others formed empires that inevitably fell to a later wave of invaders through the mountain passes. In 330 B.C.E., the armies of Alexander the Great swept through the northern Indus River Plain into the region known as Gandhara. His armies quickly retreated westward. The Mauryan Empire, a power from the east, absorbed the Indus Valley. The Mauryan era brought increased Buddhist influence, and the city of Taxila (near modern Islamabad) became a center of Buddhist learning. A succession of invaders from Central Asia precipitated the decline and eventual retreat of the Mauryans back to the Ganges region. Bactrians, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushans successively came, conquered, and fell. The Kushans ruled from Peshawar from the mid-first century C.E. to the mid-third century C.E. During Kushan rule, Buddhist culture reached its zenith in the Indus region. Most of the Kushan

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100 Romila Thapar, “The Aryan Question Revisited” (lecture transcript, Academic Staff College, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 11 October 1999), http://members.tripod.com/ascjnu/aryan.html
Empire eventually fell to the Persian Sassanids in the west and the Guptas in the east. During the fifth century C.E., White Huns (Hepthalites) swept from the north into modern Pakistan and northern India. (The White Huns left no written records, but it is thought that they were assimilated into the local population after their defeat by the Turks in the sixth century C.E. At the end of the fifth century C.E., the local Rai Dynasty came to power, and was succeeded by the short-lived Hindu Brahman dynasty in the mid-seventh century.

Islamic Empires

*The Early Islamic Empires*

The first Islamic incursion came from the south. In 712, the Umayyad Caliphate (also Omayyad) conquered the ancient port of Daibul on the Arabian Sea and advanced north up the Indus River. The southern Indus region, primarily Buddhist at the time, was ruled by an unpopular Brahman governor and thus was easily conquered. Umayyad control ultimately reached as far north as Multan, in southern Punjab. A few decades later, the Abbasid Caliphate overthrew the Umayyad Caliphate and took control of the southern Indus territories. Under Umayyad and early Abbasid rule, Arabs and Sindhis established intellectual contacts. Islamic mystics, known as Sufi masters, helped spread the Muslim religion. They remain a significant cultural component of Sindhi literature and religion to this day.

As the Abbasid Caliphate declined, the Ghaznavids entered into the Indus region from the Turkish principality of Ghazni, in modern Afghanistan. Mahmud of Ghazni expanded the empire as far as Lahore, its administrative and cultural center. By the late 12th century, Muhammad of Ghor had advanced east through the Ghaznavid Empire; Lahore fell to him in 1187, and it became the Ghorid capital. His successor established the Sultanate of Delhi, which grew rapidly and eventually controlled all of northern India and the Indus River Plain for several hundred years. During this time, many Punjabis converted to Islam. A brief invasion by Mongolian armies led by Tamerlane in 1398 hastened the decline of the Sultanate, although it did regain some of its power during the Lodhi Dynasty in the late 15th century. Nonetheless, the Sultanate was soon to be replaced by the greatest of the Muslim dynasties, the Mughal Empire.

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The Mughal Period

Babur, an ethnic Mongol and descendant of Tamerlane, saw his empire (in present-day Uzbekistan) conquered at the turn of the 16th century. Regrouping, he moved southwest, first into modern Afghanistan, then into Punjab, and finally into the Ganges Plain. In 1526, Babur’s armies, despite being vastly outnumbered, defeated the last Lodhi sultan at the Battle of Panipat. Superior weaponry and tactics were largely responsible for his victory. Babur founded the Mughal Empire. He died only a few years later, however, and his son Humayun proved unable to consolidate control over the newly conquered regions. But under his grandson Akbar, the Mughal Empire began to flourish.

During Akbar’s reign, the mansabdari administrative system was introduced. Under this military and civilian meritocracy, mansabdars earned cash payments and personal fiefs based on their performance and ability to enlist troops. None of this land was inheritable, however, and thus did not increase the power of given families. The Mughal period is also remembered for its architectural achievements; the most famous is the Taj Mahal in Agra, India. Within modern Pakistan, the Lahore Fort, Shalimar Gardens, and Badshahi Mosque in Lahore were built during the early Mughal Empire. By the late 17th century, the empire overextended its troops and its money. As local rebellions ensued, a small island nation in Europe began to focus attention on the Indian subcontinent.

Colonial Era

The British Enter the Indus River Plain

During the 18th century, the Mughal Empire was fragmenting into independent principalities, while England and France competed to expand far-flung coastal trading posts. Military support for these trading ventures became crucial as hostile European competition reached trading enclaves around the world. The British fought three wars against the French on Indian soil to emerge as the preeminent European power on the subcontinent in the mid-1700s. Within modern Pakistan, British influence came late. During the first part of the 19th century, both Sindh and Punjab were independently ruled. Neither region had escaped British attention, however. A treaty signed in 1832 recognized Sindhi integrity and banned British transport of armed vessels or military stores on the Indus River.

In 1839, the British ignored the ban and launched the First British–Afghan War. Armed conflict between the Sindhi rulers and the British quickly followed. In 1843, the British annexed all of Sindh after their victory at the Battle of Miani. The Upper Sindh region of Khairpur avoided the conquest by treaty, becoming one of many “Princely States” and retaining some degree of sovereignty. In Punjab, the kingdom began to unravel after the death of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler, in 1839. The British, watching the chaotic events in Punjab, readied for war. Ultimately, two Anglo–Sikh wars occurred in the 1840s that eventually left Punjab under British control. After the first of these wars, the British ceded Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu for a concessionary sum of money. Thus began a Hindu dynasty in a mostly Muslim land, sowing the seeds of a conflict that continues to this day.

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Colonial Rule

The Indus River Plain entered the British fold just as the first wave of rebellion spread through India. During the India Mutiny of 1857, Indian soldiers staged uprisings in various cities of northern India. Eventually the British put down the revolt with the assistance of troops from Punjab. The end of the mutiny marked the beginning of direct British rule in India and the end of the reign of the last Mughal emperor. The tribal areas of the Pashtuns and Baluchis were located on the western frontiers of the Indian Empire. The British considered these areas vital because the mountains (and passes into Afghanistan) provided a defensible buffer against Russian advances into Central Asia. The British ultimately negotiated agreements that transformed much of modern Balochistan into princely states, allowing the British to control the areas of the southern mountain passes into Afghanistan.

In the Pashtun regions to the north, the British waged a Second Afghan War from 1878–1879. A treaty negotiated by British diplomat H.M. Durand in 1893 defined the boundary (the Durand Line) between Afghan and British claims. Today, the Afghanistan–Pakistan border divides the traditional Pashtun homeland between the two countries. The British thereafter loosely “ruled” their side of the tribal areas as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), known today as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Punjab and Sindh became the granaries of northern India under the British. Irrigation systems lengthened growing seasons and expanded the amount of farmland, creating canal colonies in once-semiarid regions of central and southern Punjab and increasing the agricultural output of Sindh.

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The Beginnings of the Hindu–Muslim Split

The British suspected the Muslim aristocracy’s involvement in the Indian Mutiny of 1857. While the British-educated Hindu middle class thrived, the Muslim upper classes (who had ruled India for many centuries) increasingly found themselves culturally and politically isolated within the British Raj. As Indian nationalism rose as a popular cause, many Muslim leaders viewed the nationalist groups—most notably, the Indian National Congress—as representatives of Hindu interests. At the beginning of the 20th century, the British implemented administrative and political changes to divide Hindus and Muslims within India. After the All-India Muslim League was founded in 1906, the British enacted legislation that allowed Muslims separate electorates for the Indian Legislative Council.

In 1916, the Congress and the Muslim League signed the Lucknow Pact, in which the Congress accepted the separate Muslim electorates, and the Muslim League agreed to support the Congress’s drive to expel the British. One of the key architects of this pact was the lawyer Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a member of both the Muslim League and the Congress. During the 1920s, the nonviolent boycotts advocated by Mohandas Gandhi increasingly dominated the home-rule movement in India. Jinnah, now Muslim League president, opposed Gandhi’s Hindu-based approach, which he felt was unconstitutional. The Nehru Report of 1928 urged the Congress party to put aside their Lucknow Pact commitment to Muslim electorates. Frustrated, Jinnah resigned his Muslim League presidency and moved to England for 5 years to resume his law practice.

Independence and Partition

In 1934, Jinnah returned to India to reclaim leadership of the Muslim League, but he was no longer the ambassador of Hindu–Muslim unity. He had embraced the Two Nations Theory, first introduced by Muhammad Iqbal in 1930. In 1940, Jinnah submitted the Lahore Resolution. It called for the eastern and northwestern Muslim majority areas in India to “be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units should be autonomous and sovereign.” After the Lahore Resolution, relations between the Congress and the Muslim League became increasingly strained, and positions hardened. In the 1946 elections following World War II, the Muslim League gained 90% of the Muslim seats in the Indian Parliament. This

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132 Nikhat Ekbal, Great Muslims of Undivided India (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2009), 72.
earned them a place at the negotiating table for whatever agreements the British might entertain concerning Indian independence.

A final British plan for an independent India proposed a central government controlling functions such as defense, foreign policy, and currency, while Muslim- and Hindu-majority provinces otherwise maintained autonomy. The plan was rejected by the Congress. When the British later rejected Jinnah’s proposal for equal power sharing in an interim Indian government, the Muslim League decided to boycott the new government. Shortly after, in August 1946, Jinnah called for “Direct Action,” triggering violent communal riots in Bengal and Bihar in eastern India. The British hastily fashioned plans to implement the independence of a partitioned India. They determined to separate both Bengal and Punjab into Hindu and Muslim areas, and the princely states were to align with the country chosen by their rulers. On 14 August 1947, India and Pakistan became independent nations. The partition boundary was announced 3 days later, triggering one of the largest and most violent mass population migrations in history.

The Nation of Pakistan

Post-Independence

Pakistan faced many issues upon independence. Was the country to be an Islamic nation under shari’a law, or a secular state with a Muslim majority? How would a country in two parts separated by 1,600 km (1,000 mi) of a hostile neighboring country govern itself? What would be the national language when the East spoke Bengali and the West primarily spoke Punjabi and Sindhi? How could Pakistan assimilate the new Pakistanis who streamed into the country after partition? In addition, the status of Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province were still unresolved at independence. The Pakistani military used force to bring some of the Baluchi state of Kalat into Pakistan. In the NWFP, the Pashtun leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a Congress member who fought against partition. Though he urged his followers in the NWFP not to vote in the plebiscite to join Pakistan, the plebiscite passed despite a large boycott.

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But the foremost territorial issue was Kashmir. When the Hindu maharajah of Kashmir, who initially did not agree to become part of either country, saw Pashtun tribesmen nearing his capital of Srinigar, he finally agreed to join with India. All factions in Kashmir continue to debate the details of that formal agreement and use them to justify their positions. The immediate result was a war between India and Pakistan only 2 months after independence. The two adversaries eventually agreed to a ceasefire line, but they have yet to arrive at a long-term solution to the Kashmir issue. Jinnah became Pakistan’s first Governor General, but ruled for only a year before dying of tuberculosis. He advocated equal rights for all citizens of Pakistan, regardless of their religion. Jinnah’s statements suggest that he had favored secular statehood for Pakistan, but Pakistan eventually moved in a different direction.

A Country Divided
During the first 25 years of Pakistan’s history, many of the issues that had arisen at independence continued to fester. The national language chosen was Urdu, a primary language only for the *muhajirs* (Muslims who had fled India after Partition), and this choice upset the Bengali population of East Pakistan. The Kashmir conflict continued and Pakistan and India again went to war over the region in August 1965. Ethnic tensions in the Sindhi cities heightened as the *muhajirs* became the dominant group in Karachi and Hyderabad. In 1956, Pakistan completed drafting its constitution and became an Islamic Republic. Still, there were protests in East Pakistan over the language issue. In addition, East Pakistan perceived economic favoritism toward the western part of the country, where the capital Karachi was. These issues translated into a political power struggle between the Muslim League, the dominant party of West Pakistan, and the East Pakistan-based United Front Party.

In 1958, the Pakistani military carried out the first of a string of coups that have characterized much of Pakistan’s history. The new leader, Mohammed Ayub Khan, abolished the constitution and imposed martial law for more than three years until a new constitution with strong presidential powers took effect in 1962. But the 1965 war with India over Kashmir weakened Khan’s political base. Many believed that he had capitulated to India in negotiating the ceasefire agreement. In addition, many East Pakistanis perceived insufficient Bengali representation and unbalanced distribution of tax revenues between East and West. As the army was forced to quell uprisings, Khan’s position became increasingly untenable. In 1969, he declared martial law again. He handed over power to his Commander-in-Chief, Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, who scheduled elections for the following year.

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**The Bangladesh Independence War**

The December 1970 elections began the final chapter in the continuing political battle between East and West Pakistan. The Awami League, which strongly advocated a six-point program for significant financial and political autonomy for the two Pakistans, swept all seats in East Pakistan. The Awami leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, now felt that his party had the mandate to form a national government. On this point he was opposed by West Pakistan political leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whose party controlled the majority of the legislative seats from the western half. When negotiations reached an impasse, President Khan, on 1 March 1971, delayed convening the new National Assembly. Strikes and protests broke out across West Pakistan, causing an open revolt. By the end of the month, Rahman was under arrest and Pakistani army forces were flowing into East Pakistan to crush the rebellion. Pakistan was involved in a civil war.\(^{148}\)

The ensuing conflict eventually drew in India, where millions of East Pakistani Hindus had fled during the civil war.\(^{149}\) In early December 1971, full-scale war broke out between the two countries. Besides fighting in East Pakistan, the two countries battled in Punjab and Kashmir. For Pakistan, the war was a disaster for their military. By mid-December 1971, the Pakistani forces had surrendered to the combined Indian and rebel forces. In the wake of the Pakistani defeat, East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh.\(^{150}\)

**Bhutto and ul-Haq**

Bhutto became the new President and Chief Martial Law Administrator of the now contiguous country, and Yahya Khan resigned only days after the 1971 war. Under Bhutto, Pakistan began the slow process of rebuilding. The military was purged, with Muhammad Zia ul-Haq becoming the new Army Chief of Staff. Educational and healthcare reforms were instituted, major industries and banks were nationalized, and a new constitution was enacted.\(^{151}\) In 1973, Bhutto resigned the presidency to become prime minister, the primary seat of power under the new constitution. Elections were scheduled in 1977, and a strong opposition known as the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) ran a vigorous campaign against Bhutto’s Pakistan People’s Party (PPP). When the election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the PPP, street protests broke out. Bhutto ordered the army to quell the demonstrations and had the PNA leadership arrested.\(^{152}\) On 5 July 1977, the military stepped in. They arrested Bhutto, declared martial law, and Zia became President and Chief Martial Law Administrator. Plans were initially announced to hold an election within 90 days, but the election was cancelled when it appeared Bhutto might win.

Instead, Bhutto was put on trial and convicted for conspiracy to murder a rival politician. Despite world outcry for clemency, Zia did not back down, and Bhutto was hanged in 1979. Zia pursued a policy of Islamization in which Pakistan increasingly aligned with the rest of the Muslim world and instituted many Islamic laws and punishments. The Zia regime still faced numerous challenges. Balochistan nationalism was largely quelled by economic development in the region, but ethnic tensions in the cities of Sindh Province had turned violent. After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, Pakistan’s border regions in the North-West Frontier Province became bases for Afghani mujahideen fighting the Soviets.

Recent History

Return to Democracy

Zia ended martial law in 1985, but before doing so, a constitutional amendment was passed that enormously affected the Pakistan political landscape during the 1990s. The Eighth Amendment allowed Pakistan’s President, a figurehead position as defined by the 1973 constitution, to reserve the power to dismiss the Prime Minister and National Assembly and to call for new elections. In August 1988, a plane carrying Zia, the U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, and top Pakistani military officials mysteriously crashed, killing all aboard. An election scheduled for November went on as planned, and the PPP, led by Bhutto’s daughter, Benazir Bhutto, won the most seats. Bhutto became the first Muslim woman head of state. Bhutto’s term lasted only 20 months before Pakistan President Gulam Ishaq Khan used the Eighth Amendment to dismiss her on charges of corruption and to call for a new election. The election, held 2 months later, swept in the Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI) and their leader Nawaz Sharif, a Punjabi industrialist. The IJI and Sharif instituted reforms that boosted Pakistan’s economy, although critics argued that the fast pace of reforms hurt the most vulnerable segments in Pakistani society. The Sharif government also passed legislation expanding shari’a law.

Pakistan’s pendular politics continued when Sharif and Khan stepped down in 1993 after a constitutional confrontation, followed by another election and the return of the PPP and Benazir Bhutto. Bhutto’s second tenure as Prime Minister was longer than her first, but economic decline, continued ethnic unrest in Sindh, and further charges of corruption eventually weakened

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her political position. Pakistan’s new President Farooq Leghari dismissed Bhutto in 1996. In the ensuing elections early the next year, Sharif’s new party, the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), won an overwhelming majority. Soon after Sharif returned to power, an amendment was passed to repeal the Eighth Amendment that had been used so often during the preceding decade.

**Back to Military Control**

In 1998, Sharif appointed Pervez Musharraf as Army Chief of Staff. As a *muhajir*, Musharraf was an outsider in the primarily Punjabi power circles and thus seemed less of a threat to Sharif. But Sharif did not foresee that Musharraf would replace him less than two years later. Musharraf came to power after Sharif tried to fire and arrest him. This triggered a military revolt that led to Sharif’s ouster and Pakistan’s return to martial law. Sharif saw Musharraf as a threat because the Pakistani military was unhappy when Sharif backed down from another military conflict with India over Kashmir in early 1999. At that time, Pakistan had carried out its initial nuclear weapons test. The U.S. and other nations pressured Sharif to pull Pakistani-backed infiltrators out of India’s side of the Line of Control. Besides losing military support, Sharif was increasingly vulnerable because of the country’s faltering economy, unhappiness over press restrictions, and legal maneuvers to stifle political opposition.

After Musharraf assumed power as Chief Executive, a 1999 ruling by the Pakistani Supreme Court validated the coup and gave him 3 years of executive and legislative authority starting from the coup date. He named himself President in 2001, and a referendum in April 2002 extended his presidency for another 5 years. National Assembly elections were held later in the year, giving Musharraf’s political party a plurality. Following the elections, the Assembly elected Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali as Prime Minister, the first Baluchi to hold that position. Musharraf continued as President and Army Chief of Staff until 2008.

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The Aftermath of 9/11

A turning point in Pakistan’s role in the world came in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001. Pakistan, which had supported the ruling Taliban in Afghanistan, reversed policy under pressure from the United States and other countries, and joined the coalition to remove the Taliban from power. Pakistan also committed to eliminate terrorist camps operating on its soil. U.S. military and economic assistance to Pakistan increased dramatically as the United States sought to foster an ally in the region. The Pakistani military made some headway in their counterterrorism efforts in the ensuing years. In the summer and fall of 2009, military campaigns in the Swat and Waziristan valleys led to the capture and the killing of militants. In October 2007, Musharraf won the presidential election. He resigned from his army post to be sworn in as president. By that time, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif had returned from exile, and general elections were slated for January 2008. Shortly after emergency rule was lifted, however, Bhutto was assassinated and general elections were postponed to February 2008. In August 2008, Musharraf resigned under pressure of impeachment proceedings against him. On 6 September 2008, Asif Ali Zardari, Benazir Bhutto’s widower and PPP member, was elected president.

The end of 2008 also saw strained relations with India as bombings in Mumbai were linked to Pakistani militants. Moreover, in the global economic crisis, Pakistan had to borrow billions of dollars from the International Monetary Fund to balance its payments.

170 Robert A. Pape and James K. Felman, Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 156.
Recent Events

Zardari has faced persistent questions regarding his popularity, and some government officials question his legitimacy. In November 2009, he transferred authority over the country’s nuclear weapons program to his Prime Minister, Syed Yousuf Raza Gilani. Zardari’s decision came days after the expiration of an amnesty protecting him and other government officials from graft charges.172

In fact, public dissatisfaction with Zardari, Gilani, and opposition leader Sharif continues to escalate. Some prominent critics, including Shaheen Sehbai and Shafqat Mahmood, hope that Army Chief of Staff Ashfaq Parvez Kayani will at least forcibly remove the leadership and replace them with a caretaker civilian government. Others wish for the general to take control of the government.

On 2 May 2011, members of the United States Naval Special Warfare Development Group, more commonly known as SEAL Team 6 or DEVGRU, conducted a major operation inside Pakistan, code-named Operation Neptune Spear. In the suburban town of Abbottabad, the elite team raided the compound where Osama bin Laden was believed to have been living for the past 6 years. They found bin Laden and killed him.173

It is highly expected that the discovery of bin Laden living so openly and close to the capital will further strain relations between the United States and Pakistan. It again raises the question as to how committed the Pakistani government—and the military and intelligence service in particular—is to fighting al-Qaeda.174 In fact, it was revealed in early 2011 that the U.S. government has long considered the Inter-Services Intelligence Directive (ISI), the main Pakistani intelligence agency, to be a terrorist organization.175

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172 Seth G. Jones, In the Graveyard of Empires: America’s War in Afghanistan (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2009), 308.
Chapter 2: Assessment

1. Pakistan’s history is one of the world’s most ancient civilizations.
   True
   Pakistan’s 4,500 year history dates back to the beginning of one of the oldest urban civilizations, the Indus Valley civilization.

   True
   Zia ended martial law in 1985, but before doing so, a constitutional amendment was passed that enormously affected the Pakistan political landscape during the 1990s.

3. Much of what is today Pakistan was under the control of Zoroastrian kings when Islam was introduced in the eighth century C.E.
   False
   In 712, the Umayyad Caliphate conquered the ancient port of Daibul on the Arabian Sea and advanced north up the Indus. The southern Indus region, primarily Buddhist at the time, was ruled by an unpopular Brahman governor and thus was easily conquered.

4. Overwhelming force was a key factor in the establishment of the Mughal Empire.
   False
   In 1526, Babur’s armies, despite being vastly outnumbered, defeated the last Lodhi sultan at the Battle of Panipat. Superior weaponry and tactics were largely responsible for his victory.

5. Provisions of the agreement ending the Anglo–Sikh Wars of the 1840s were indirectly responsible for the ongoing sectarian violence in Kashmir.
   True
   After the first of these wars, the British ceded Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu for a concessionary sum of money. Thus began a Hindu dynasty in a mostly Muslim land, sowing the seeds of a conflict that continues to this day.
Chapter 3: Economy

Introduction
Since independence, Pakistan’s economy has alternated between periods of slow and fast growth. Large-scale manufacturing has been a major component of the government’s growth strategy during this time, with much of this sector focused on consumer goods such as textiles, garments, and processed foods.\footnote{Yasmeen Niaz Mohiuddin, \textit{Pakistan: A Global Studies Handbook} (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2007), 136.}

Though Pakistan’s economy was often characterized as “resilient,” that is no longer the case.\footnote{BBC News, “IMF Praises Pakistan’s Resilience,” 20 August 2002, \url{http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/2205896.stm}}\footnote{Associated Press of Pakistan, “Pak Economic Resilience Gets Translated Into High Growth Rate,” 18 April 2007, \url{http://app.com.pk/en_/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7872}} Official government figures maintain that the economy has continued to grow despite numerous shocks to its political and economic systems, ranging from military coups and ethnic violence to economic sanctions and catastrophic natural disasters. But many independent observers believe that such positive figures are artificially inflated.\footnote{Ayub Mehar, “End of Another Decade of Economic Weakening,” \textit{Economic Review} 42, no. 2 (February 2011), 5–8.}

By 2008, political instability, reduced investment, and high global commodity prices had raised Pakistan’s deficit, increased inflation, and reduced the value of the currency.\footnote{Ayub Mehar, “End of Another Decade of Economic Weakening,” \textit{Economic Review} 42, no. 2 (February 2011), 5–8.} An International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan of USD 10.8 billion and a stabilization program averted a default on foreign debt payments and restored macroeconomic balance.\footnote{Embassy of Pakistan, “Economy and Trade,” n.d., \url{http://www.embassyofpakistan.com/economy_trade.php}} The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate for the 2008–2009 fiscal year was a mere 2%, however, and expectations for fiscal year 2010–2011 growth have been reduced to 2.5%. Although this reduction is partly caused by the devastating floods of 2010, it also represents systemic weaknesses of the Pakistani economy.\footnote{Jane’s Defence, “Economy, Pakistan,” \textit{Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—South Asia}, 24 March 2011.}

Despite a generally above-average increase in per capita income and gross national product (GNP, the value of all final goods and services produced within a given period) over the last several years, Pakistan is still one of the world’s poorest nations. In the most recent Human Development Index published by the United Nations, Pakistan ranked 125th out of 169 countries.\footnote{United Nations Development Programme, \textit{Human Development Report 2010} (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 151, \url{http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2010_EN_Complete_reprint.pdf}} High illiteracy rates (especially among women), poor health infrastructure, rapid...
population growth, and political instability are some factors that have kept Pakistan from progressing further in the fight against poverty.\textsuperscript{185}

**Agriculture**

Agriculture continues to be a large segment of Pakistan’s economy contributing about 22\% of Pakistan’s GDP and employing 43\% of the country’s workforce.\textsuperscript{186, 187, 188} Agricultural products also contribute directly or indirectly to over 75\% of Pakistan’s exports.\textsuperscript{189}

The agricultural sector contributes to Pakistan’s economic growth in terms of the raw materials it supplies, the market it provides for industrial products, and as a source of foreign exchange earnings.\textsuperscript{190} Yet this sector suffers from limited investment and low productivity. Poor input and infrastructure, insufficient use of resources, inefficient allocation of water for its irrigation systems, and imbalanced distribution of farmland hinder agricultural progress.\textsuperscript{191} Though nearly 70\% of the country’s population relies on agriculture for its livelihood, a few wealthy landowners own more than half the arable land. These landowners, who become legislators and politicians, influence policy and pursue their interests over the issues and challenges of industry and small landowners.\textsuperscript{192, 193}

The primary agricultural regions are in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab in the heavily irrigated Indus River Plain. Non-irrigated regions are primarily in northernmost Punjab and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province and constitute about one-fourth of cultivated land in Pakistan. These areas rely on summer rain to grow winter-sown crops.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{193} The World Bank, “Pakistan: Priorities for Agriculture and Rural Development,” http://go.worldbank.org/KQ3CN500J0
Cotton is the most important cash crop because it is the raw material for Pakistan’s vital textile and garment industries. Pakistan is the fourth-largest consumer and producer of cotton in the world. Wheat is the biggest grain crop and major food staple. Acreage has also been increasingly devoted to fruit, particularly citrus, mangoes, and apples.

Industry
Pakistan’s industrial sector, including manufacturing, mining, construction, and electricity and gas, generates about 25% of GDP. Industry employed 20% of the work force and had an estimated 3.4% growth rate in 2008. Manufacturing is the largest portion of this sector, and it has historically experienced higher growth than the economy as a whole; however, this has not been the case since 2009. Most workers in this sector are involved in small-scale manufacturing enterprises that typically pay less and have working conditions inferior to those in larger operations. These small-scale enterprises produce items such as carpets, knives, leather and sporting goods, garments, and furniture.

Large-scale manufacturing has been a major component of the government’s growth strategy, focusing on a few consumer goods such as textiles, garments, processed foods, paper, and tobacco. In overall manufacturing, the percentages of intermediate and capital goods, such as fertilizers, cement, chemicals, steel, and automobiles, have been increasing.

Projections for the 2010–2011 fiscal year anticipate a significant decline in industrial output largely because the codependent agricultural sector has yet to recover from the devastation of massive flooding in 2010.
Services
The service sector is the largest component (55%) of GDP and employs about 37% of the working population. Service accounted for twice as much GDP growth as agriculture in 2010, while industry rebounded from a negative growth rate in 2009 to lead GDP growth in 2010. Export shares of the service sector were third after textiles and other export commodities with USD 24 billion in 2008. Improvements in service helped narrow the trade deficit because of lower imports, but the high cost of services in Pakistan contributed to core inflation.

Transportation
Pakistan’s transportation sector contributes over 10% to GDP and employs more than 6% of its workforce. Despite ongoing privatization initiatives throughout Pakistan’s major industrial and service sectors, government agencies and businesses continue to control transportation growth and development. Though Pakistan has a functional transportation infrastructure, it needs further development. Lack of growth in transportation is slowing the country’s economic expansion as a whole.

Poor reliability and high cost of transportation coupled with long travel times result in lower export competitiveness, a higher cost of doing business, and reduced participation in global supply chains that require speedy delivery. The government, with foreign assistance, is devoting significant resources toward improving road and rail infrastructure. A prime example of

this endeavor is the Makran coastal road, a 653 km (406 mi) highway connecting Karachi with the newly developed Gwadar port.216, 217

The country’s rail system, Pakistan Railways, is one of the largest government-run transportation enterprises. It handles passenger and freight traffic. With rates for the latter partially subsidizing the former, it is cheaper to transport freight by road than rail. Thus, quite a high percentage of freight is carried on the nation’s motorways.218

Pakistan’s commercial aviation and port industries have yet to reach their potential. Domestic and international air cargo travels primarily through Karachi’s Jinnah International Airport, although Islamabad and Lahore handle significant amounts of cargo. The major airline is the government-run Pakistan International Airlines (PIA), which handles about 70% of domestic air passengers and almost all domestic freight.219 Port traffic has grown steadily in the last few years. Almost all international trade is handled by two major ports, Port Karachi and Port Qasim.220 But the government is pouring money into the development of Port Gwadar, a project bankrolled with significant Chinese contributions.

217 Jane’s Defence, “Infrastructure, Pakistan,” Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—South Asia, 24 March 2011
Natural Resources

Energy

Pakistan’s main natural resources are arable land, water, hydroelectricity, and energy, including natural gas, oil, and coal.\textsuperscript{221} Because Pakistan’s oil production is modest, however, it depends on imports to satisfy domestic oil demand.\textsuperscript{222} Natural gas accounts for the largest share of Pakistan’s energy use, amounting to about 50\% of total energy consumption. Pakistan currently consumes all the domestic natural gas it produces; without higher production rates, it will need to become a natural gas importer. Because energy problems are undermining the country’s growth in all industries and taking a toll on public finances, Pakistan is making privatization of the gas and oil sectors a priority. But workers have protested the move and delayed progress toward that goal.\textsuperscript{223, 224}

Pakistan’s proven coal reserves are mostly located in the Thar Desert of Sindh Province. The Thar deposits are the largest in the world.\textsuperscript{225} At about 174 billion tons, they are expected to have the potential to satisfy the country’s energy needs for 100 years.\textsuperscript{226} Since the discovery of these deposits in 1992, however, coal production in Pakistan has not significantly increased, and the country imports coal to meet its modest coal demands.\textsuperscript{227}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{221} Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, U.S. Department of State, “Background Note: Pakistan: Economy,” 06 October 2010, \url{http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm#econ}
\item \textsuperscript{222} Jane’s Defence, “External Affairs, Pakistan: Imports,” \textit{Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—South Asia}, 24 March 2011.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs, U.S. Department of State, “Background Note: Pakistan: Economy,” 06 October 2010, \url{http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm#econ}
\item \textsuperscript{224} Jane’s Defence, “Natural Resources, Pakistan: Natural Gas,” \textit{Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—South Asia}, 24 March 2011.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Siddharth Srivastava, “Pakistan’s Thar Desert Coal Deposits,” \textit{Asia Sentinel}, 09 May 2011, \url{http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3179&Itemid=243}
\item \textsuperscript{227} Jane’s Defence, “Natural Resources, Pakistan: Mineral Deposits,” \textit{Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—South Asia}, 24 March 2011.
\end{itemize}
Mineral Resources

In 2009, Pakistan’s mineral industry accounted for 2.9% of GDP with a 5.8% growth rate. The sector employs less than 2% of the population in both state and private companies. Construction and industrial materials such as limestone, gypsum, aragonite/marble, and clays have been extensively mined. Chromite and iron ore are currently mined more than other minerals. Balochistan in particular is the site of several reserves of valuable minerals, including the recent discovery of possibly the seventh-largest copper reserves in the world. The Pakistani government is also exploring Balochistan’s granite and marble deposits. Many Baluchis feel that the national government has excluded Balochistan from its fair share of the proceeds of its valuable mineral and natural gas deposits. This perception has become an underlying element of the ongoing unrest there.

Trade

Pakistan has been running a sizable trade deficit for several years. In 2004, the trade imbalance was roughly USD 2.75 billion. With the recent global economic crisis, it soared to USD 20.91 billion in 2008, but declined to USD 17.04 billion in the 2009 fiscal year and to USD 11.6 million in 2010. The principal culprit for the continual deficit has been the rising price of oil imports, which has hit developing countries like Pakistan particularly hard. The trade gap has been offset primarily by the privatization of national companies, foreign direct investment, and larger remittances from Pakistanis working abroad.

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Exports
Pakistan’s exports have steadily grown since the midpoint of the previous decade. For the fiscal year 2010, exports accounted for nearly USD 23 billion. The most important markets for Pakistani exports over this period were the United States and the European Union.\(^{237}\) But in 2009, exports dramatically declined, particularly to the United States and United Arab Emirates, because of decreased consumer demand and global trade.\(^{238}\) Effective measures are needed to build a much larger export base that is sufficient to finance oil, machinery, and other essential imports.\(^{239}\) The World Trade Organization (WTO) statistics for 2009 reveal that just under one-third of Pakistan’s commodity exports were textiles and clothing.\(^{240}\) Leather goods, woolen carpets and rugs, rice, and sporting goods are also significant export goods. Of Pakistani exports in 2009, 16% went to the United States, followed by the United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan, the United Kingdom, and China.\(^{241}\)

Imports
Pakistan’s imports increased in 2008, totaling USD 38 billion. In fiscal year 2009, imports were reduced 10% from the previous year because of lower oil prices and import restrictions.\(^{242}\) But for fiscal year 2010, imports rose to nearly USD 33 billion.\(^{243}\) Petroleum and petroleum-based products are Pakistan’s largest import commodities. Machinery and equipment also make up a high percentage of Pakistan’s imports.\(^{244}\) Fertilizers, iron, steel, and vegetable fats and oils are also significant import items.\(^{245}\) China was Pakistan’s largest import partner in 2009, with Saudi Arabia (Pakistan’s largest supplier of oil), the United Arab Emirates, the United States, and Kuwait being the top five.\(^{246}\)

**Tourism**

Pakistan has considerable tourism potential, with many archaeological and historical attractions, plus the heights of the Himalaya Mountains and the Karakoram Range. The industry has suffered greatly in recent years largely because of political and civil unrest.

**Banking and Finance**

The national currency of Pakistan is the rupee (abbreviated PKR). In 2010, the PKR-to-USD exchange rate was 85.27:1, an increase of nearly 15 rupees to the dollar from the previous two years. An increase of imports into Pakistan tends to devalue the rupee and raise the exchange rate against the dollar.

As a result of consolidation, modernization, and improved transparency, Pakistan’s banking system has undergone significant changes over the last two decades, moving from a state-dominated sector to a more privately owned system. Today, an overwhelming majority of the commercial banks in Pakistan are private. Yet on a regional basis, the Pakistani financial sector lags in performance.

The State Bank of Pakistan manages the currency, public debt, and exchange controls. It also developed a framework for integrating Islamic banking practices into the national financial system. Banks now offer numerous financial instruments and partnerships in lieu of interest-bearing loans for commercial banking transactions that do not involve foreign currencies. This arrangement exists, in part, because the Quran forbids the charging of interest.

With Pakistan’s economy under renewed pressure, partly from the worldwide economic recession, the State Bank of Pakistan instituted austerity measures in the latter part of 2010. Those measures had the unintended consequence of driving inflation to a record high, bringing consumer spending sharply down and further exacerbating the economic crisis.

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Investment

Total investment in Pakistan has declined over the last few years because of the political instability and unsafe investment climate. The same factors have caused stock market outflows.\(^\text{252}\) Other deterrents include corruption, arbitrary and inconsistent regulations, poor infrastructure, and a lack of coordination across the national and regional governments.\(^\text{253, 254}\)

The ongoing privatization of government-owned businesses and industries has spurred much of the foreign investment in Pakistan. Pakistani law requires that 90% of these privatization proceeds go toward debt retirement.\(^\text{255}\) Pakistan was thus able to reduce its debt service (the percentage of export and remittance revenues that go toward debt repayment) from 25% in 2000 to 15% in 2010.\(^\text{256}\) Foreign direct investment has steadily declined over the past 5 years, however, from a high of USD 5.5 billion in 2007 to USD 1.4 billion in 2010, with projections showing a continuing trend in 2011.\(^\text{257, 258}\)

Standard of Living

In Pakistan, the global financial crisis made a bad living situation worse. Already, 38% of Pakistani children were moderately underweight due to food and fuel insecurity. By 2008, the effects of spiking commodity prices had caused half the general population to go without adequate food supplies.\(^\text{259}\) Today, one-third of the population, more than 50 million people, live in poverty.\(^\text{260}\) Women, children, the disabled, and the elderly suffer the most. Some children are forced to work and parents are not able to obtain healthcare for their family. Pakistanis are also forced out of their homes because of insecurity and conflict. In the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, 2 million people have been displaced, the largest emigration since the partition from

\(^{259}\) Jane’s Defence, “Economy, Pakistan: Main Economic Indicators,” Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—South Asia, 24 March 2011.  
India in 1947. In October 2009, 20 food hubs of the UN World Food Program in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province were temporary closed because of security concerns.

Before the financial crisis of 2007 and 2008, Pakistan had made strides in raising its per capita income and improving quality of life. The per capita gross national income has nearly doubled since 2000 to USD 1,000 in 2009. Life expectancy, primary school enrollment, and most health indices, such as infant and child mortality rates and immunization rates, showed improvement between 2000 and 2009. Most of these successes are the result of the Social Action Program (SAP) put in place during the 1990s and early 2000s.

### Employment Trends
The estimated unemployment rate for 2010 was 15%, almost the same as the preceding year. When added to the other negative economic, political, and social trends that define Pakistani society today, this creates viable conditions for terrorist organizations to easily recruit volunteers. With the steep decline in foreign direct investment and the continuing global economic slowdown, it seems unlikely that Pakistan will be able to reverse this trend soon.

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269 Robert A. Pape and James K. Feldman, *Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010), 132–133.
Public versus Private Sector
In 1991, the government established the Privatization Commission Secretariat to oversee the transition of government-owned assets, including “banks, industrial units, public utilities, oil, gas and transport companies, and infrastructure service providers[,]” to private industry. This reversed a long-standing practice of central planning by the federal government. The privatizations have positively affected the economy by stimulating foreign investment, creating jobs, and increasing quality through competition. Militant activity and unstable government have curtailed growth, however, because foreign investors fear investing in an uncertain economy.

Business Outlook
According to the World Bank, despite Pakistan’s growing economy, the business outlook for the country remains uncertain.\(^{272}\) Pakistan’s rapid economic growth in the past decade was the result of external financing, profits from privatization, grants, and foreign-investments that offset the trade deficit.\(^{273}\) But because revenues and savings were stagnant, Pakistan’s economy was unable to stay balanced when the global financial crisis hit in 2007–2008. Macroeconomic reform and lower global commodity prices have helped to stabilize external and fiscal imbalances, lower inflation, and build up foreign reserves. To reduce the government’s vulnerability to shock, Pakistan needs to increase its revenues.\(^{274}\)

An ongoing issue is diversification. Pakistan’s industrial exports are still tied to textiles and garments. Competitive pressures from other countries and the industry’s sensitivity to drops in cotton production pose key challenges to textiles. In addition, a large percentage of textile exports are with only a few countries in Europe and North America. Insufficient diversification made export trade vulnerable to a recent downswing in trading activity with these partners.\(^{275}\) Pakistan continues to look for ways to diversify its economy. One potential growth area is the outsourcing of software, information technology, and business services for developed countries (similar to India’s model). Yet several significant hurdles must be overcome, including a shortage of technical graduates, high bandwidth costs, and security concerns by some Western companies.\(^{276}\) To date, lower-tech outsourcing, such as call centers and business process offices, has been growing the fastest.\(^{277}\) With the Strategic Trade Policy Framework for 2009–2012, the government of Pakistan is trying to expand its export base and diversify its economy in promising sectors.\(^{278}\)


\(^{277}\) Naween A. Mangi, “Pakistan: Better Late Than Never in Outsourcing,” *BusinessWeek*, 9 May 2005, [http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_19/b3932079.htm](http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/05_19/b3932079.htm)

Chapter 3: Assessment

1. The agricultural sector employs more Pakistanis than any other sector of the economy. **True**
   Agriculture continues to be a large segment of Pakistan’s economy. Agriculture contributes about 22% of Pakistan’s GDP and employs 43% of the country’s workforce.

2. Pakistan’s primary agricultural areas rely solely on seasonal rains for watering crops. **False**
   The primary agricultural regions are in the provinces of Sindh and Punjab in the heavily irrigated Indus River Plain. Non-irrigated regions are primarily in northernmost Punjab and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province and constitute about one-fourth of cultivated land in Pakistan.

3. Tobacco is the most important cash crop in Pakistan. **False**
   Cotton is the most important cash crop because it is the raw material for Pakistan’s vital textile and garment industries.

4. Most jobs in the industrial sector are found in small-scale manufacturing enterprises rather than large industrial facilities. **True**
   These small-scale enterprises produce items such as carpets, knives, leather, sporting goods, garments, and furniture.

5. The service sector provides the largest portion of Pakistan’s gross domestic product. **True**
   The service sector is the largest component (55%) of GDP and employs about 37% of the working population. Service accounted for twice as much GDP growth as agriculture in 2010.
Chapter 4: Society

Introduction
Pakistan is a multiethnic nation with a high population growth rate, causing the average age to become increasingly younger. It is the sixth most populous country with 185 million people, 38% of whom are under the age of 15.279 Pakistan has one of the largest refugee populations, most of whom are Afghans.280 The majority of Pakistanis live along the Indus River, and about 35% live in urban areas.281 Pakistani customs have changed little over the centuries. Art, literature, and culinary traditions adopted from the Mongols, Turks, and Persians are still in place today. Its culture is rich with handicrafts influenced by the various waves of invaders. The people of Pakistan are well-known for the courtesy they extend to guests, however, a travel advisory warns against tourist travel because of possible terrorist activities.282

Ethnic Groups
Pakistan’s ethnic groups are categorized by a combination of language, religion, and tribal affiliation. The major ethnic groups are Punjabis (approximately 45%), Pashtuns (15%), Sindhis (14%), Saraiki (8%), Muhajirs (8%), Baluchis (4%), Kashmiri and other (combined 6%).283 In 1971, when East Pakistan became the independent nation of Bangladesh, Pakistan’s largest ethnic group was the Bengali. The separation changed the ethnic mix of Pakistan. The Muhajirs had already immigrated to Pakistan from India after Partition (1947), and most settled in urban Sindh. Sindhis and Punjabis still live in Sindh and Punjab provinces along the Indus River. Punjabis are now the majority population. The Pashtuns live in the mountains of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. Pashtuns also live alongside Baluchis on the Balochistan Plateau in Balochistan Province.284 Saraikis live primarily in the region between northern Sindh and southern Punjab provinces. They speak Saraiki and lobby actively for an ethnic province of their

279 Population Reference Bureau, “Data by Geography: Pakistan: Summary,” 2011,
280 UN High Commissioner for Refugees, “2011 Country Operations Profile–Pakistan,” 2011,
http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e487016
281 Bureau of Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State, “Background Note: Pakistan: People,” 6 October 2010,
http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm#people
282 Bureau of Consular Affairs, U.S. Department of State, “Travel Warning: Pakistan,” 2 February 2011,
283 Central Intelligence Agency, “Pakistan: People,” in The World Factbook, 25 April 2011,
237.
own. Tension between ethnic groups in Pakistan, spurred in part by religious zeal, is the cause of much unrest and hostility.

**Punjabis**

The Punjabi people are a diverse mixture of pre-Islamic Jat and Rajput castes, with groups originating from places as diverse as Arabia, Kashmir, Afghanistan, and Persia. They are divided into different tribes by ancestry and occupation; the Punjabi language unites them.

Punjabis dominate the upper military and civil service echelons and, in large part, run the central government. Many other ethnic groups resent this situation. It is particularly abhorrent to Sindhis, who are few in number, of humble means, and underrepresented in civil service positions. Tensions mounted between them and Punjabis in the early 1980s, when the Sindhis were feeling alienated from the state. The capital of Pakistan had been moved in the 1960s from Karachi (in Sindh) to Islamabad (in northern Punjab).

**Sindhis**

The name **Sindh** derives from a Sanskrit word for the Indus River and is also the source of the words “India” and “Hindu.” Sindhis speak the Sindhi language, and most practice Islam. They have deep roots in Sindh Province, where life is based on a strong feudal structure. Large Sindh landowners own most of the farms and reap most of the benefit of work done by tenant farmers. Even in elections, Sindhi villagers cannot override the rules and mandates set by landowners. Muhajirs from India replaced the departing Hindu Sindhis after Partition and gained power at the expense of the remaining Sindhis. Ethnic tension between the Sindhis and Muhajirs continues because there is still no clear solution to the unequal power distribution.

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285 Harihar Bhattacharyya, *Federalism in Asia: India, Pakistan and Malaysia* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 34.
289 Harihar Bhattacharyya, *Federalism in Asia: India, Pakistan and Malaysia* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 103–104.
Muhajirs
As a consequence of Partition, 7 million Muhajirs emigrated from India in 1947, replacing millions of Hindus and Sikhs who departed for India. Although they represent only 8% of Pakistan’s total population, they now form 50% of the population of two cities in Sindh Province, Karachi and Hyderabad. Furthermore, they displaced many native Sindhis from prominent positions. In India, the Muhajirs had lived mainly in cities, where they obtained professional skills and high levels of education. When they immigrated to Pakistan, they became entrepreneurs and civil servants, assuming a disproportionate share of positions in government, finance, and business. Many joined the Muhajir Quami National Movement (MQM), spurred by animosity toward them. 294

Pashtuns
The Pashtuns constitute one of the largest tribal groups in the world. Many believe they descend from European soldiers of Alexander the Great’s army. The majority of Pashtun clans live in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces. They are known for their complex, male-centered code of conduct—Pashtunwali—that requires honor, revenge, hospitality, and formal abasement. Pashtunwali code commands that women be restricted to private family compounds. On the few occasions when Pashtun women leave their homes, they wear a burqa, which covers them completely except for small openings for the eyes. The fourth part of the Pashtun code, formal abasement, requires that those who lose a fight show submission, and those who win show mercy. 295 Most Pashtuns are Sunni Muslims, and adhere to an egalitarian ethos in their communities. 296

Pashtuns make up the bulk of the Taliban in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. There is a long-standing nationalist movement among ethnic Pashtuns. Pashtun political leaders warn that younger cadres may abandon politics for arms. 297 Preventing the radicalization of more Pashtuns is important. They are essential to successful counterterrorism.

Baluchis

Pakistan’s fifth largest tribal group lives mainly in Balochistan, a barren landscape that extends into Iran and Afghanistan. Baluchis share this region with other ethnic groups of common beliefs, moral order, customs, and literature. Baluchis place great importance on personal honor, loyalty, hospitality, generosity, and offering protection to those in need. They engage in pastoral nomadism and agriculture. Their arid land requires irrigation, so they use water from oases or from channels that divert water from rivers. Their society is organized into a “feudal militaristic” order in which the word of the tribe’s leader is law. Known for resisting intrusions into their way of life, they are among Pakistan’s poorest people. Most speak Baluchi, an Indo-Iranian language, although some speak Brahui, an ancient Dravidian language. An ongoing ethnic insurgency among the Baluchis aims to combine the ethnic provinces in Pakistan and Iran into a separate Balochistan.

Saraikis

The Saraiki were the dominant ethnic group of the Princely State of Bahawalpur, which opted in 1947 to join Pakistan. Rather than creating a Bahawalpur province, the Pakistani government merged the territory with that of Punjab. There have been various movements among the Saraikis to attain greater autonomy as either a separate province of Pakistan or a sovereign nation. The Saraiki movements have been predominantly nonviolent. Some Saraiki politicians have made threats that if their demands are not heeded, they might take up arms.
Kashmiri
According to a 2008 estimate, 4.1 million people live in that part of Kashmir that is administered by Pakistan. The vast majority of these people are ethnic Kashmiris.  

Although the Kashmiri are predominantly Sunni Muslim, the pre-1947 ruler of Kashmir was Hindu. He opted to join the territory to India following the independence of British India. This triggered a series of wars that have left the area divided among Pakistan, India, and China.

The Kashmiris have their own language and a long history of independence from both Pakistan and India prior to 1947. Yet they are closely related to the other people of the region and influenced by the same factors. Pakistani-controlled territory in Kashmir has served as a staging point for militants who have frequently attacked sites in India, and a number of militant groups are active in the area and among the Kashmiri.

Languages
Although more than 20 languages are spoken in Pakistan, the most common are Urdu, Pashto, Sindhi, Punjabi, and Baluchi. These languages are classified as Indo-European languages and use the same Perso-Arabic script, which is based on the Arabic alphabet and modified to accommodate additional sounds from Persian. Many languages in the region use the Arabic alphabet and add letters, dots, and other shapes to represent additional sounds from the native language. The script reads from right to left and letters are written in cursive style. All consonant sounds are represented in the script; however, some vowel sounds are not written, which sometimes makes reading difficult. In Pakistan, Urdu and English are the official languages and are used in university classrooms, private schools, government and legal documents, and in army manuals.

Urdu
Urdu, an Indo-Aryan language, is spoken by approximately 104 million people. Urdu and Hindi (now spoken mostly in India) rank among the top five most-used languages in the world and largely are mutually intelligible when spoken. Urdu is spoken as a native language by only 8% of the population, yet is Pakistan’s national language. Over 75% of Pakistanis and 95% of

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304 Jane’s Defence, ―Territories, Pakistan-administered Kashmir,‖ Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment–South Asia, 26 April 2011.
305 Jane’s Defence, ―Non-State Armed Groups, Pakistan,‖ Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment–South Asia, 26 April 2011.
307 This figure includes those who speak Urdu as a second language.
those who live in cities in Pakistan understand Urdu. The word *urdu* comes from the Turkish word *ordu*, which means “camp” or “army.” Muslim soldiers of Persian, Arab, and Turkish descent used Urdu as a common language during their conquest of India.

**Punjabi**

Punjabi, an Indo-Aryan language, is spoken by about 104 million people, mainly in Punjab Province in Pakistan and Punjab State in India. It is the world’s 12th most spoken language and is used by approximately 44% of the Pakistani population. The writing system for Punjabi varies from Devanagari to Shahmukhi to Gurmukhi, depending on socio-geographical factors. Punjabi’s many dialects follow a geographical continuum in which they merge with Sindhi in Pakistan and Hindi in India. Dialects are spoken by peoples of different religions, including Hindus, Christians, and Muslims, as well as Sikhs, for whom it is the language of their sacred text.

**Pashto**

Pashto is an Indo-Iranian language that first appeared in written form in the 16th century. Pashto is spoken by 25–30 million people living mainly in Afghanistan and Pakistan’s Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. In Pakistan, it is spoken by 8% of the people. It has many dialects, which vary by country. Eastern Pashto is spoken in Pakistan and Western Pashto in Afghanistan, where it is an official language along with Dari.

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**Sindhi**

Sindhi is the third most spoken language in Pakistan. About 12% of the Pakistani population speaks Sindhi, predominantly in southeast Pakistan. An Indo-Aryan language, Sindhi’s modern script is based on a version of the Perso-Arabic script adopted in the mid-19th century. Today, Sindhi is written in Arabic script in Pakistan. Over 70% of Sindhi words are Sanskrit, though small parts of its vocabulary are Dravidian, Arabic, and Persian. The Sindhi language—a strong element of Sindhi identity—has a rich literary history, and was the majority language before Partition in the area now known as Pakistan. After the large migration in 1947 of Urdu-speaking Muslims from India (Muhajirs), Sindhi speakers became the minority in the cities, and became greatly disadvantaged socially, educationally, and economically.

**Saraiki**

Recognized by the Pakistani government as a separate language in 1981, Saraiki was long labeled as a dialect of Punjabi. About 10% of Pakistanis speak the language. Since the 19th century, when it became a written as well as spoken language, it has primarily been written in the same modified Persian script used for Urdu. Since the mid-1970s, the Saraiki people have more aggressively asserted their ethnic identity by forming social organizations and political parties, and using their language to promote their cause.

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Religion

Islam

Islam is the second largest religion in the world (second to Christianity) with over 1 billion followers. The word “Islam” means “to submit” or “to surrender.” Islam, like Judaism and Christianity, is a monotheistic religion and recognizes the validity of the Old and New Testaments. But Muslims believe that the final and culminating revelations were made to Muhammad, the last prophet. The Quran (the Final Testament), is considered the record of God’s revelations to Muhammad. The Five Pillars of Islam are 1) belief in Allah as the only God and Muhammad as his prophet, 2) praying five times each day, 3) almsgiving, 4) fasting from sunrise to sunset during the month of Ramadan, and 5) making the pilgrimage to Mecca. A Muslim is encouraged to lead a healthy life that exemplifies the qualities of kindness, chastity, honesty, mercy, courage, patience, and politeness.

Sunni and Shi’a Islam

Sunni and Shi’a are the two major sects within the Islamic religion. Upon Muhammad’s death, the community debated how to select a new leader. Some believed religious leadership should be based on merit; they saw leadership as a trust that is earned. They later became identified as Sunnis. Another group believed leadership should descend from Muhammad through his family. They believed that to live in unity with the truth of Islam, people need the help of divinely favored individuals: those from the Prophet’s lineage. Of the four caliphs who ruled after Muhammad, Ali was the closest relative. Those who believe that Ali should have been the immediate successor are called Shi’a, short for Shi’a-t-Ali, or “party of Ali.” Shi’ites today receive their spiritual leadership from a council of imams.

Islam in Pakistan

About 97% of Pakistanis are Muslim. Sunni Muslims make up 77% and Shi’a Muslims the other 20%. Christians, Hindus, Sikhs, and others make up the remainder of the population. The term “Islamist” (not to be confused with “Islamic”) refers to a practitioner of political Islam who seeks to end the secular state and replace it with a strict religious state. In Pakistan, various Islamist groups are often opposed to each other as well as to Western influence. The Islamist

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cause was strengthened in Pakistan when shari’a courts were established under Zia ul-Haq and then in the early 1990s under Prime Minister Sharif.\textsuperscript{328}

**Cuisine**

Many kinds of bread or \textit{roti} made of unleavened wheat are a substantial part of Pakistani cuisine. The common bread, \textit{chapatti}, is shaped from wheat dough into a thin disc that is baked on a dry hot iron pan. Another slightly thicker bread cooked in oil is called \textit{parata}. A type of bread or cake called \textit{naan} is cooked in a clay vessel called a \textit{tandoor}.\textsuperscript{329}

Pakistani cuisine consists of foods that are abundant and cheap. The milk in which both the curds and butterfat have been removed is called \textit{lassi}. Lentils are the more common vegetable, while meat, eggs, and fruits are consumed by wealthier Pakistanis.\textsuperscript{330}

Though every region in Pakistan has its unique cuisine, all Pakistani cooks rely heavily on spices, herbs, and flavorings to benefit an otherwise bland dish. Spices such as chili powder, turmeric, garlic, paprika, pepper, cumin, ginger, cinnamon, and saffron are used liberally in Pakistani cooking.\textsuperscript{331}

**Traditional Dress**

The traditional dress in Pakistan is the \textit{salwar kameez}, Pakistan’s national dress. The \textit{salwar} are the loose-fitting pants with the \textit{kameez} worn over them like a tunic or long shirt. This \textit{salwar kameez} can be worn by men and women and styled accordingly. In urban settings it is quite common to find people, especially of the younger generations, wearing Western style clothing instead of traditional attire.

\begin{footnotesize}
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Women
To accompany their *salwar kameez*, Pakistani women wear the *dupatta*, a long headscarf.⁴³² Women also wear traditional shoes called *khussa*. They are hand-stitched lightweight flats, often decorated with ornate embroidery. In northwest Pakistan, the Kalash women traditionally wear a *shushut*, or headdress. To accompany this, they also wear long black dresses decorated with beadwork or embroidery.⁴³³

Another head covering worn by Muslim women in Pakistan is the *nigab* that covers the face completely except for the eyes. The *hajib*, the most common of the headscarves, is square in shape and wraps around the head, leaving the face exposed.⁴³⁴

Men
Men in Pakistan wear the *salwar kameez* and usually wear a hat. There are various hats depending on the region. Pakistani men also wear turbans, and the style changes with each region.⁴³⁵

Gender Issues
Patriarchal Culture
Because Pakistan is a patriarchal culture, men and women conceptually inhabit separate worlds. The home is defined as the women’s world whereas the outside world is defined as the men’s world. Pakistani women are considered domestic producers and providers, lacking social status and value. In addition, the preference for sons is dominant in Pakistan, so giving birth to a female child is not as celebrated as giving birth to a son.⁴³⁶ Men in general receive a better education and more access to public resources than women do. Among children in poor families, the rate of chronic malnutrition is higher for girls than boys. Women lack access to proper healthcare because of their low economic, social, and cultural status. Since men are allowed to eat first, there often is little or no food for the women, so they may suffer nutritional deficiencies.

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³³⁶ Khan M. Ibrahim and Ulrich Laaser, eds., *Critical Gender Issues in Developing Countries: The Case of Pakistan* (Lage, Germany: Jacobs, 2001).
Women’s roles are clearly delineated and limited. Girls are expected to marry at a young age and give birth to numerous children. In general, women lack access to financial resources including earnings, formal lending institutions, or careers. Except in urban areas, they generally do not work outside the home for wages; if they do, they remain responsible for household duties.

**Violence toward Women**

Violence toward women is a powerful mechanism used by the family and society to silence any voices of resistance. Forms of violence toward Pakistani women have included physical and mental torture, murder, honor killing, sexual harassment, rape, kidnapping, trafficking, and prostitution. Statistics on these occurrences have remained low because these violations tend to be underreported.\(^{337}\)

Despite women’s legal rights to own land and inherit property, few women have access to these resources. A 1995 report found that only 36 women out of 1,000 rural households surveyed in Punjab owned property in their names, and of those, only one-quarter had control of their property.\(^{338}\)

**Bills of Protection for Women**

In 2001, the Government of Pakistan amended their constitution to address issues of gender inequality. The amendment gave women more representation in local and national government. As of 2005, women’s representation was better in Pakistan’s government than in “most countries of the world, including the largest democracies.” There has been much talk of reforms for women in the social, political, and economic arenas, but actual reforms have been. A recent study revealed that “[l]ack of political will, weak and corrupt governance structures, limited technical and intellectual capacity of institutions, and resource constraints have been the main impediments in policy implementation.”\(^{339}\)


\(^{338}\) Ghulam Moheyuddin, “Background, Assessment, and Analysis of the Gender Issues in Pakistan” (background paper, World Bank Institute, November 2005), [http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/683/01/MPRA_paper_683.pdf](http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/683/01/MPRA_paper_683.pdf)

\(^{339}\) Ghulam Moheyuddin, “Background, Assessment, and Analysis of the Gender Issues in Pakistan” (background paper, World Bank Institute, November 2005), [http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/683/01/MPRA_paper_683.pdf](http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/683/01/MPRA_paper_683.pdf)
Arts

Ghazals
Taken from both Arabic and Persian poetry, ghazals are songs about love. Considered semi-classical music, these songs are accompanied by percussion and stringed instruments. They were originally sung in Farsi; singers today perform them mainly in Urdu, but can sing them in other Pakistani languages. Pakistani women are the primary singers of this style of music. 340

Storytelling
Storytelling to music is an ancient art, now becoming “endangered” in Pakistan. One center of this art form was in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, specifically in Peshawar. People would come to the central marketplace to listen to storytellers from varied cultural backgrounds tell their tales. Although professional storytellers have largely disappeared, this tradition in modified form made its way into the theaters and continues in the major cities of Pakistan. 341

Folklore
Folklore in Pakistan is a mixture of beliefs, facts, and fiction, and has been told over the generations so much that the Pakistanis claim that it has become difficult to tell the fact from the fiction. The stories often revolve around themes of unconditional love with dynamic female characters willing to fight societal norms for the love of their mate. Symbolism is a large part of Pakistani folklore. It is seen in characters such as faqirs, or holy persons, who can destroy or restore life and turn blood into water. Other symbols that figure into Pakistani folk tales are ogres, heroes, and sleeping beauties. These characters find themselves in incredible situations that they must overcome, such as a quest in search of fortune or responding to warning dreams. The story then attempts to explain the situation and provide a favorable outcome. Pakistani children’s folktales originally derived from India and have gained so much popularity that books about them have been published and television shows have portrayed them. 342

Sports and Recreation
While such sports as skiing, baseball, cycling, rowing, and yachting are quite popular, cricket remains the most popular game. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, known as Pakistan’s founder, had a great love for sports. He recognized their potential to promote discipline and health among Pakistan’s citizens. As a result, Pakistan has participated internationally in the Olympics, the Commonwealth, Asian, and South Asian Federation games, and the Cricket World Cup.

Cricket
In Pakistan, cricket teams began to develop after Partition and have grown more numerous over the years. Pakistan now has men’s, women’s, youth, and school cricket leagues. In 1992, the national team won the World Cup, the most prestigious award in the sport. In 2009, they won the World Twenty20 championship, the newest tournament sponsored by the International Cricket Council.

Field Hockey
The Pakistan Hockey Federation started in 1948, and field hockey today is Pakistan’s national sport. Pakistani hockey gained recognition during the 1960s when the team participated internationally, and Pakistan later won several world titles, the last in 1994. Pakistan has both men’s and women’s hockey teams.

Gulli Danda
Similar to cricket or even baseball, gulli danda is a sport played in rural areas. It requires a danda and a gilli, two sticks, one swung at the other with a golf-like swing. As in baseball, the person hitting the gilli is out when another player catches it. There is no running to bases; rather, if the gilli is not caught, the hitter hits another one. After three strikes, the hitter is out.

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343 Om Gupta, Encyclopaedia of India, Pakistan & Bangladesh (Delhi: Isha Books, 2006), 183–184.
345 Ian Graham, Pakistan (North Mankato, MN: Smart Apple Media, 2004), 20.
**Rugby**

The Karachi Rugby Football Union was formed in 1926 and almost folded by the 1980s. In the 1990s, local players established clubs in Lahore and Karachi, and foreign staff from embassies and business agencies established a club in Islamabad. Popularity has since increased considerably, and in 2000, the Pakistan Rugby Union was established. Pakistan fielded its first national team in 2003. Rugby has become so popular that schools now offer it in their curricula.\(^{348}\)

\(^{348}\) Pakistan Rugby Union, “Pakistan Rugby Union,” 2007, [http://www.pakistanrugby.com/about.html](http://www.pakistanrugby.com/about.html)
Chapter 4: Assessment

1. Punjabis are the largest ethnic group in Pakistan.
   **True**
   Making up about 45% of the Pakistani population, the Punjabis dominate in the upper echelons of the military and civil service and, in large part, run the central government.

2. Sindhi is the national language of Pakistan.
   **False**
   Urdu was made the national language after partition in 1947. This demotion of the Sindhi language was seen as a blow to the cultural unity of Sindhis.

3. The Muhajirs are an ethnic group indigenous to Pakistan.
   **False**
   Muhajir is the catchall term for the 7 million Muslims who emigrated from India in 1947, replacing millions of Hindus and Sikhs who departed for India. Originally these people came from a variety of backgrounds, but the Pakistanis categorized them together as new arrivals who did not conform to the country’s preexisting ethnicities.

4. *Pashtunwali* is the term used for the Pashtuns’ code of conduct.
   **True**
   This code of conduct places tremendous value on hospitality and the granting of refuge to all who seek it; an obvious advantage to the Taliban and al-Qaeda fugitives seeking to hide from U.S. and allied forces in the area of the Pakistan–Afghanistan border where the Pashtuns live.

5. A number of Pakistan’s ethnic groups seek greater autonomy from the central government or outright independence.
   **True**
   The Balochis, Pashtuns, and Saraikis are prime examples of Pakistani ethnic groups that are pursuing greater freedom from the government through a variety of means, including armed struggle and legislation.
Chapter 5: Security

Introduction
Pakistan has had a tumultuous history, from its violent birth in 1947 to wars with India, civil war and the secession of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in 1971, and four military coups. Although a democracy, it was founded for religious reasons. Today, Pakistan tries to balance its secular and religious identities.

The already complicated story of Pakistan began a new chapter in 2001, when the country became an ally of the United States in global counterterrorism. To advance its own efforts at development, Pakistan accepted substantial economic and military assistance from the United States. For years, Pakistan had supported the predominantly Pashtun Taliban government in neighboring Afghanistan. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan renounced its relationship with the Taliban. Still, many Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters found refuge in Pakistan, fleeing U.S. and allied forces after the ouster of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Pakistan largely left these fighters alone for the next several years. But in the summer and fall of 2009, the Pakistani military conducted aggressive campaigns in the Swat and Waziristan valleys. These protracted battles restored some degree of government control over these areas and forced the Taliban fighters underground.349

United States–Pakistan Relations
Since late 2001, the United States and Pakistan have battled against extremist groups in the region. Hundreds of al-Qaeda members have been captured or killed, sometimes with the assistance of the Pakistani military and intelligence organizations. U.S. economic and military aid have been reestablished, totaling tens of billions of USD since 2001.350, 351, 352 Pakistan was given Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) status in 2004.353 In September 2009, Pakistan successfully pleaded for an additional USD 7.5 billion in aid for the next 5 years. Conditions were placed on how it would be spent.354

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350 Jeremy Page and Zahid Hussain, “Barack Obama’s Pakistan Policy in Disarray after Opposition to $7.5bn Aid Conditions,” Times Online, 14 October 2009 http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/asia/article6873616.ece
The United States has increasingly criticized Pakistan’s efforts to suppress the Taliban. The U.S. government has been especially persistent in demanding that Pakistan launch an offensive against the Pakistani Taliban in North Waziristan, partly because the May 2010 Times Square car bombing attempt in New York City was linked with that organization.\(^{355}\)

**Relations with Neighboring Countries**

Pakistan, nearly twice the size of California, is strategically located within Southwest Asia.\(^{356}\) To its east and north lie the world’s two most populous countries, India and China, with rapidly developing economies. In the west are Iran and oil states. Most of Pakistan’s western border is with Afghanistan, a country that has been repeatedly invaded and embroiled in civil wars for over 30 years. During those conflicts, western Pakistan has hosted refugee camps and informal military bases for different combatants.

**India**

Pakistan gained independence in 1947. The partitioning of the former British colony of India, which carved East Pakistan and West Pakistan from Indian territory, was marked by mass violence that forced non-Muslims in Pakistan to move to India and Muslims in India to migrate to Pakistan. The partition also caused the current Jammu and Kashmir controversy. Two Pakistani–Indian Wars in 1965 and 1971 over this issue were followed in 1972 by an agreement formalizing the “Line of Control” for Jammu and Kashmir. The “Line of Control” is essentially the same as the boundary established after Partition and the 1947–1948 war.\(^{357}\) Contention has continued, especially over the interpretation of this boundary near the valuable water supply of the Siachen Glacier in western Jammu and Kashmir; this resulted in another Pakistani–Indian armed conflict in 1984. Since then, there have been long standoffs punctuated by occasional battles in this region.\(^{358}\)

In 1999, the two countries clashed over Jammu and Kashmir for the first time since Pakistan matched India’s status as a country with nuclear weapons capability.\(^{359}\) The 1999 hostilities raised fears that the two long-time enemies might be tempted to use their nuclear arsenals.\(^{360}\) Relations in the last decade have alternated between tense political and military standoffs and periods of thaw, with ongoing terrorist attacks within Kashmir being an additional source of conflict. Major terrorist attacks in the last few years have created a highly tense situation. India continues to demand that Pakistan extradite those responsible for the November 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India, and has placed all negotiations on hold until this matter is resolved.

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\(^{357}\) The 1971 war began as a conflict between India and Pakistan over East Pakistan secession that led to the creation of the country of Bangladesh. But it eventually spread to a western front, especially to Jammu and Kashmir.


Iran

Iran borders Pakistan along the western edge of Balochistan Province. Although the two countries have generally been on good terms, their relationship was strained during the Afghanistan civil wars of the 1990s because they supported opposing sides. Since the fall of the Taliban, the two countries have moved closer. With Indian assistance, Iran has recently built a new deep-water port at Chabahar, only a few hundred kilometers down the coast from Pakistan’s new port at Gwadar. The two new ports are near the strategic Gulf of Oman that serves shipments from oilfields. This has created competition to develop inland trade and access routes to aid the flow of energy resources to the Central Asian republics and China.363

In early 2011, the Bahraini government contracted with the Fauji Foundation, an enterprise operated by the Pakistani Ministry of Defense, to recruit Pakistani mercenaries from retired military personnel.364 These mercenaries were deployed to help quell unrest, particularly among Bahrain’s minority Shi’ite population. This action has caused a diplomatic problem with Iran, which is a regional power sympathetic to the Bahraini Shi’ites.365

Afghanistan

Since 11 September 2001, the Pakistan–Afghanistan border may have become the world’s most publicized frontier. Known as the Durand Line, Afghanistan does not recognize this border, which divides the traditional tribal areas of the Pashtuns and Baluchis. The border runs 2,430 km (1,507 mi) from near the northernmost tip of Pakistan’s Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province to the country’s westernmost point at Ribat.366

Smugglers, refugees, terrorists, and everyday Pashtun tribesmen have long been able to move freely from one country to the other. Controversy over the porous border has been heightened in recent times because terrorists and Taliban militia have moved freely within these nominally governed Federally Administered Tribal Areas (known as FATA or simply “tribal areas”) of Pakistan. The Pakistani army responded by building fences along 35 km (22 mi) of the border,

which Afghan troops in turn have tried to remove. The resulting border skirmishes have threatened the cooperation needed by Afghanistan, Pakistan, and NATO forces to control the Taliban insurgency. The call for a full border fence is an ongoing issue, and Pakistan has resorted to placing landmines in strategic areas of the border. Each government continues to accuse the other of interfering in its national affairs. Pakistani officials have accused Afghanistan in particular of allowing India to use Afghan territory to support violent unrest within the tribal areas.

During Taliban rule in Afghanistan, Pakistan accepted approximately 2 million Afghani refugees. But the prospect of greater numbers of refugees, who pose a security risk and an economic burden, caused Pakistan to officially close the border. Nevertheless, both countries are trying to improve and strengthen ties by furthering mutual interests. Pakistan has pledged aid to Afghanistan, and by 2009, there was a “new environment” of confidence and trust between them. By late 2009, however, Pakistan had interrupted the India–Afghanistan transit of the Wagah border, nullifying a previous Afghanistan–Pakistan agreement that allowed Afghanistan to import Indian goods.

China

In 1950, Pakistan was one of the first non-Communist countries to recognize the People’s Republic of China (PRC), and diplomatic relations between the two have been generally good since then. For many years, their mutually strained relations with India and the Soviet Union reinforced their strategic relationship. China has several border disputes with India in the Jammu and Kashmir area. In 1963, the two countries negotiated a border agreement...
that gave China control over the Trans-Karakoram tract, a region that India still claims as part of greater Jammu and Kashmir.\(^{376}\) Although the external dynamics have changed over the last decades with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the rapprochement of China with India, and the rise of insurgency in Pakistan, the two countries have so far maintained their “all weather relationship.”\(^{377}\)

China has provided Pakistan with major economic, military, and technical assistance, including nuclear technology. They have collaborated on numerous projects, including gold and copper mines, power plants, and highways.\(^{378}\) In 1986, the two countries finished building the Karakoram Highway to link China to Pakistan’s northern area. Pakistan and China are widening this road as part of a program to better connect western China with Pakistan’s new deep-sea port at Gwadar, which was built with extensive Chinese aid.\(^{379, 380, 381}\) China is also financing a highway link from Gwadar to Rawalpindi, near where the Karakoram Highway to China begins.\(^{382}\) This joint venture has unnerved some Indian officials who claim that Chinese Army engineers are using the project as a pretext for military construction in Pakistan’s portion of Kashmir.\(^{383}\) Pakistan and China signed a comprehensive trade agreement in 2008, anticipating annual trade of about USD 7 billion a year.\(^{384}\)

One point of contention between the two neighbors is China’s concern over the level of extremism inside Pakistan, and the fact that China’s Muslim ethnic separatists find safe haven in the tribal areas of Pakistan.\(^{385, 386}\)

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385 Omar Waraich, “China Leans on Pakistan to Deal with Militants,” Time, 10 April 2009, [http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1890205,00.html](http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1890205,00.html)
Tajikistan

Pakistan was among the first countries to recognize the independence of Tajikistan, and relations have remained friendly thereafter. Although the two countries do not share a border, they are only separated by a 14-km (9-mi) sliver of Afghanistan, and share many cultural and historical connections.  

Throughout the Tajikistan Civil War (1992–1997), Pakistan hosted tens of thousands of refugees from Tajikistan. Many of these refugees have since returned to Tajikistan.

Much of Central Asia’s opiate drug traffic runs through Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. The three governments try to work together to thwart such activity.

As part of the Trilateral Transit Trade Agreement between Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan, Pakistan has promised to provide Tajikistan with easy access to Pakistani ports. The agreement also provides for the transmission of electric energy from Central Asia to Pakistan via Afghanistan.

Law and Order

Pakistan has the seventh-largest armed force in the world, though it has insufficient training and out-of-date equipment. One 2008 estimate placed its total strength, including paramilitary forces and civilian personnel, at approximately 900,000. Pakistan’s armed forces include its army, air force, and navy.

Army

The Pakistani Army is the largest of the armed forces at 619,000 members, with 528,000 in reserve. Their main responsibilities are to protect Pakistan’s borders, maintain border and internal security, and defend the country’s national interests. It is one of the most organized and powerful institutions in the country, with control over Pakistan’s political, social, and economic resources. During the reign of Zia ul-Haq, the Pakistani Army became closely connected to Islamic parties, whose support eventually allowed General Musharraf to become president as

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well as Chief of Staff for the Army. The Pakistani Army frequently plays a major role in humanitarian assistance during the natural disasters.

**Air Force**

The Pakistani Air Force was formed in 1947. It has 45,000 personnel including civilians, and 330 combat aircraft. Pakistan’s three regional commands are in the northern, southern, and central regions of the country, with headquarters in Peshawar, Karachi, and Sargodha.

**Navy**

The Pakistani Navy is much smaller than the Army and Air Force, with 27,200 personnel, including reserves, stationed in various squadrons according to ship type and their mission. The Navy’s main duties are to defend Pakistan’s coastline, territorial waters, offshore economic resources, and to maintain Sea Lines of Communications. It also has an air component headquartered at the Pakistan Naval Station Mehran near Karachi.

**Police**

In the current model, introduced by the British during the colonial era, each province has a police force, and these units take orders from the federal government only on matters of national security. But today’s Pakistani Police Force has been poorly managed and trained. It was only in 2002 that all 1,250 police stations in Pakistan had their own vehicles.

Estimates place the number of Pakistani police at about 350,000 for a population of nearly 185 million; clearly insufficient to meet the needs of the citizenry. For example, Karachi, with a population of around 13 million, has only 29,000 police. Not surprisingly, the city has one of the highest crime rates in the country. Terrorist organizations have frequently targeted police personnel and facilities.

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In addition, the Pakistani police suffer from chronic corruption. As early as 1999, it was reported that torture was routinely used by Pakistani police, and proper procedures for interrogation were rarely followed. In 2001, the Asian Human Rights Commission stated that the police force was used by influential people as a tool of oppression. Pakistani government funding to pay the police force was limited, fueling the abuse of power, corruption, and intimidation. The lack of money, abysmal morale, and a high desertion rate have contributed to the increased strength of the Taliban. Increased aid and better salaries, although still low, have raised public approval ratings.

Frontier Corps (FC)
Serving under the Ministry of the Interior, Pakistan’s Frontier Corps is deployed along the Pakistan–Afghanistan border, with headquarters in Quetta and Peshawar. Although members of the corps are typically recruited from the local population, officers are assigned from the Pakistan Army. The FC’s main tasks are border patrol and interdiction; however, they also assist local law enforcement agencies.

FC units frequently serve in the vanguard of operations against insurgents and other militants in the western provinces. They are poorly equipped and ill-trained for such operations, so both the United States and the United Kingdom have provided training and aid for the organization.

Current strength for the organization is estimated at 80,000 troops. The Pakistani government intends to use Western aid to expand the FC and transform it into a counterterrorism force.

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Intelligence Agencies
Pakistan has three major intelligence agencies: the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the Intelligence Bureau, and the Military Intelligence. There is a high degree of rivalry and tension between the three agencies, so they do not work closely together.\(^{415}\)

To address this situation, and similar to reform in the U.S. intelligence community, Pakistan is striving to create a more centralized intelligence structure with a new entity, the National Counter Terrorism Authority, at the head of the intelligence bureaucracy. Its task would be to assure greater cooperation between the agencies. But the government has been unable to pass legislation to allow the new organization to operate.\(^{416}\)

**Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI)**
This agency is by far the strongest of the Pakistani intelligence agencies. Its core responsibilities involve covert surveillance, collection of foreign and domestic intelligence, and covert operations. The ISI has used its ties to drug dealers and Islamic extremists to influence events in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Kashmir region of India. As the Taliban began to threaten the government’s existence in 2009, however, the ISI increased its cooperation with American intelligence officials by joining forces to conduct raids and bombings, even as each side sought conflicting long-range goals.\(^{417, 418}\)

**Military Intelligence (MI)**
MI, which ostensibly was charged solely with military matters, gained importance during the Musharraf regime and encroached upon the responsibilities typically assigned to the rival ISI. MI has become increasingly influential in internal security and domestic political matters.\(^{419}\)

**Intelligence Bureau (IB)**
Reporting directly to the prime minister, the IB is tasked with “national police affairs and counterintelligence.”\(^{420, 421}\) The agency has frequently been used by military and civilian regimes to target rivals and manipulate elections.\(^{422}\)

\(^{420}\) Peter Lyon, *Conflict Between India and Pakistan: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 84.
Issues Affecting Internal Stability

Militant Groups
Numerous extremist and terrorist groups, ranging from local organizations to transnational networks, operate in Pakistan. Al-Qaeda, the most well-known of these groups, operates mainly along the border of Afghanistan in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and Balochistan. Insurgents are strong enough today to spread their influence and to target areas in major urban centers and in military and government installations. Terrorist incidents arising from ethnic strife, Sunni–Shi’a tensions, and militant sub-nationalists have become more sophisticated, coordinated, and frequent since 2007. The government has made efforts at peace, but also has conducted military offensives such as those in the Swat Valley and Waziristan. The Pashtun tribal areas adjacent to the Afghanistan border continue to be a particular security concern. In the annual report on terrorism released in April 2009, the U.S. State Department labeled much of Pakistan as “safe havens for AQ [al-Qaeda] terrorists, Afghan insurgents, and other terrorist groups.”

The Pakistani military continues to confront the Taliban and other militant groups in northwest Pakistan. The American military has used drone attacks to target militants in that region over the last several years.

Islamist Groups
Al-Qaeda is pan-Islamic in its scope, aiming at the reestablishment of the caliphate and the creation of Islamic states throughout the Muslim world. To date, it has proved to be the most lethal and wide ranging of terrorist organizations. Many top-level operatives have been captured or killed. It is believed that many leading figures of the organization are hiding in Pakistan.

Another important Islamist group closely associated with al-Qaeda is Tehrik-e-Taliban, an umbrella organization of the Taliban groups in the region. A U.S. missile killed the former Pakistani Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud in Waziristan. Mehsud’s fighters, Tehrik-e-Taliban, have been blamed for the subsequent wave of terrorist bomb attacks in October 2009. More than 150 people died in 5 separate incidents in 12 days. The group is also linked to the failed car bombing in Times Square in New York City in 2010.

Under the leadership of Hakimullah Mehsud, previously noted for his attacks on NATO convoys and the capture of hundreds of Pakistani soldiers, the Tehrik-e-Taliban remains a viable and deadly force.428, 429

**Sectarian Groups**

The Lashkar-e-Jhangvi is a Sunni terrorist group aimed at creating a Sunni Islamic state in Pakistan. Its leadership is drawn from mujahidin who fought the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. They are anti-Shi’ite and have frequently attacked Shi’ite minorities in Pakistan.430 On 14 October 2010, Pakistani police in Multan arrested members of the group who were planning to assassinate Prime Minister Gilani.431 The group had previously threatened to carry out similar attacks against then-Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.432

By contrast, Sipah-e-Mohammed, or Soldiers of Muhammad, is a Shi’ite organization that seeks to establish a Shi’ite Islamic state in Pakistan. Other aims of the organization focus on the liberation of Shi’ite communities in other countries.433 The group targets law enforcement officials and Sunnis.434

**Ethnic Nationalist Groups**

A number of organizations operate in Balochistan and Kashmir with the intent of creating a separate ethnic homeland or gaining greater autonomy for their people. Among the Baluchi, the Balochistan Liberation Army, Baluch People’s Liberation Front, Baluch Republican Army, Lashkar-e-Balochistan, Baluch Students’ Organization—Awami, and Baluch Mussalah Difa Organization are a few of the more prominent groups. In general, these groups aim at carving an independent Balochistan from Baluchi majority areas in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran.435 These groups claim to have made significant progress in recruiting new members in recent years, and on 16 April 2011, they attacked a regional gas pipeline, rendering it inoperable. In what

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seemed to be a response to this attack, the Pakistan Army withdrew from the related gas fields and handed security for the area to the Frontier Corps.\(^{436}\)

In Kashmir, the key groups include Harakat-ul-Mujahideen (Movement of Holy Warriors), Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure), and Jaish-e-Mohammed (Army of Muhammad). Although these organizations differ in their aims for Kashmir, they all perceive their main enemy to be India. They have carried out attacks in that country from safe havens inside Pakistan and Pakistani-controlled Kashmir. Tactics include suicide bombings, assassinations, car bombings, and similar terror techniques.\(^{437, 438}\)

**Water Security**

Water—specifically, the lack of access to safe drinking water—is a critical issue in Pakistan.\(^{439}\) Since water scarcity is a regional issue, water rights disputes have led to conflicts between neighboring countries.\(^{440}\) At the current rate of usage, Pakistan is expected to reach water-famine status by 2020. By 2015, water shortage will stop farming, the primary economic activity of about 70% of the population. At any time, Pakistan only has 30 days of stored river water, and, along with India and China, harvests most of its water.\(^{441}\) Pakistan’s economy and population rely almost entirely on the snowmelt into the Indus River system from mountains in India. Its availability and quality determines food security, economic growth, energy production, and human health.

The Indus Treaty of 1960 split the Punjab rivers between Pakistan and India. Though it allocates the eastern parts of the rivers to India and the western parts of the rivers to Pakistan, Indian dams built on the eastern rivers divert the waters and reduce water flow to Pakistan.\(^{442, 443}\) On the western side of Pakistan’s border, the Kabul River, emanating from Afghanistan, is facing increased demand for infrastructure development and population growth.\(^{444}\)

\(^{444}\) Parliamentarians Network for Conflict Prevention and Human Security, “Management of the Kabul River and Afghanistan’s Relations with Pakistan,” 28 May 2009,
Looking Forward

U.S. officials believe Pakistan must do more to find, weaken, and capture militants, especially the Taliban leadership in Quetta, as well as those who are supplying their brethren in Afghanistan. Paki

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nese security services and coalition forces have cooperated in border security, criminal investigations, and other long-term projects to fight militancy in Pakistan and abroad. Pakistan has arrested or detained over 50 members of Lashkar-e-Taiba believed to be responsible for the Mumbai attacks that killed 174 in November 2008. But it appears that the group, previously active primarily in the disputed area of Kashmir, has extended the scope of its activities. In April 2011, U.S. Admiral Robert Willard testified before the Senate Armed Services that Lashkar-e-Taiba had carried out attacks in India and Afghanistan. He stated they also were responsible for providing materiel for a series of bombings in 2004 and 2005 in Bangladesh.

In April 2011, Prime Minister Gilani urged visiting members of the U.S. Congress to convince the Obama administration to share unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) technology with his country. He claimed this would enable Pakistan to take a more active role in the fight against terrorists operating in Pakistan, and reiterated his request that the U.S. refrain from using its UAVs to carry out such attacks inside Pakistan. In 2010, the U.S. Department of Defense indicated that it is open to the idea of providing Pakistan with such weaponry.

http://www.parliamentariansforconflictprevention.net/meeting/management-kabul-river-and-afghanistan%E2%80%99s-relations-pakistan


Jon Grevatt, “Pakistan Calls for UAV Purchase to Engender Military Independence,” Jane’s Asia—Pacific Industry Reporter, 19 April 2011.
The 2011 acquittal of a Central Intelligence Agency contractor accused of murder in Pakistan failed to produce a thaw between the United States and Pakistan. Rather, the act further alienated the unpopular government of Prime Minister Gilani and President Zardari from the public. Repeated U.S. UAV attacks against terrorist targets in Pakistan and the May 2011 covert operation to kill Osama bin Laden have strained the fragile relationship more. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that Pakistan’s civilian government exerts little control over its military.449,450

All of this has led to a general concern about the stability of the Pakistani government and the growing belief that a new general election or military coup is likely.451

http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/12/world/asia/12pakistan.html?_r=1&scp=49&sq=pakistan%20intelligence&st=c
Chapter 5: Assessment

1. Prior to the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan supported the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.
   True
   For years, Pakistan had supported the predominantly Pashtun Taliban government in neighboring Afghanistan. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan renounced its relationship with the Taliban. Still, many Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters found refuge in Pakistan, fleeing U.S. and allied forces after the ouster of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

2. Despite changes in the leadership, U.S.–Pakistan relations have remained completely harmonious.
   False
   The United States has increasingly criticized Pakistan’s efforts to suppress the Taliban. The U.S. government has been especially persistent in demanding that Pakistan launch an offensive against the Pakistani Taliban in the North Waziristan region.

3. Relations between Pakistan and India are friendly.
   False
   The two have fought three major wars against one another, and they still dispute the area of Kashmir. Militants based in Pakistan and Pakistan-controlled Kashmir frequently launch terrorist attacks against sites in India.

4. Pakistan and China enjoy close military and diplomatic relations.
   True
   In 1950, Pakistan was one of the first non-Communist countries to recognize the People’s Republic of China, and diplomatic relations between the two have been generally good.

5. Pakistan’s has one of the smallest armed forces in the world.
   False
   Pakistan has the seventh-largest armed force in the world, though it has insufficient training and out-of-date equipment. A 2008 estimate placed its total strength, including paramilitary forces and civilian personnel, at approximately 900,000.
Final Assessment

1. One of the biggest environmental concerns in Pakistan is water quality. **True or False?**

2. Karachi is the only Pakistani city with a population in excess of 1 million people. **True or False?**

3. The partition of British India into the independent countries of Pakistan and India had a tremendous impact upon the demographics of Pakistani cities. **True or False?**

4. The recurring wars in Afghanistan have profoundly affected the demographics in the city of Peshawar. **True or False?**

5. Pakistan enjoys a tropical climate with ample rainfall. **True or False?**

6. The Mason-Dixon Line has served as the demarcation between Afghanistan and Pakistan since the late 19th century. **True or False?**

7. Political disagreements and personal rivalries split the Hindu and Muslim communities during the years leading up to and following independence in 1947. **True or False?**

8. The Partition of British India into the independent countries of Pakistan and India caused great violence and mass migrations. **True or False?**

9. Pakistan has been a model of democratic governance in an otherwise chaotic region. **True or False?**

10. Pakistan–United States relations are strong and warm. **True or False?**

11. Pakistan, an oil producing nation, provides for its domestic use and exports excess supplies of petroleum-based products. **True or False?**

12. The perception among Balochis that the Pakistani government exploits the vast natural resources of the region is a chief motivation of unrest in the region. **True or False?**

13. Foreign direct investment, which first began to grow in the early 2000s, has continued to do so in recent years. **True or False?**

14. Pakistan’s unemployment rate has remained in the single digits. **True or False?**

15. The Pakistani government has actively pursued the privatization of government assets. **True or False?**

16. The vast majority of Pakistanis are Hindu. **True or False?**

17. In terms of gender relations, Pakistan has a largely egalitarian society. **True or False?**
18. It is not uncommon in major urban areas to see Pakistanis wearing Western clothes. **True or False?**

19. Unlike other South Asian cuisine, Pakistani cooking is noted for its uniform blandness. **True or False?**

20. The majority of Muslims in Pakistan are Shi’ites. **True or False?**

21. Much of Pakistan’s military hardware is outdated. **True or False?**

22. Pakistan’s police force is woefully understaffed and has frequently been cited for human rights violations. **True or False?**

23. The Frontier Corps’ main tasks are border patrol and interdiction. **True or False?**

24. The U.S. government has insinuated that the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence is in league with the Taliban and associated militant organizations. **True or False?**

25. Over the last several years, the Pakistani military has been successful in eradicating most militant organizations operating in the country. **True or False?**
Further Reading


