

# Research Report

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Advisory Panel

On the Question of Pakistan



# MUNISH '11



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<b>Forum</b>	APQ
<b>Issue:</b>	Pakistan
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## Introduction

The matter of Pakistan includes an extensive range of issues. Tensions between Pakistan and India are high due to disputed territories, terrorism is a great threat and natural disasters have left Pakistan in a dire situation.

Pakistan gained independence from British India in 1947. It was founded to be the Muslim State of Pakistan with western and eastern sections. However since the separation, Pakistan and India have been in conflict. They have fought two wars, both of which were over the disputed Kashmir territory. The third war between these two countries was in 1971, resulting from East Pakistan becoming the separate nation of Bangladesh.

Pakistan is also known for possessing nuclear weapons. When India began its nuclear weapon testing, Pakistan conducted its own test in 1998 and now wields a nuclear arsenal, both countries also possess long-range missiles. Pakistan is one of the non-signatory countries of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. This treaty focuses on the prevention of spreading nuclear weapon, disarmament and the right to peacefully use nuclear technology. Pakistan also has the seventh largest military in the world, which means it has the capability of defending itself from all threats, the most notable and serious being India.

Pakistan is divided into many ethnic groups. The main groups are: Punjabi, Pashtun (Pathan), Sindhi, Sariaki and Muhajirs. Most of the population is Muslim (75% of these are Sunni, whilst 20% are Shia), but other religions include Christianity and Hinduism. The difference in ethnicities has not proved to be a area of conflict, as Islam has shown itself to be the uniting factor amongst the general population. Pakistan is known to be plagued with corruption and an unstable government. However, Pakistan's current government is more stable than in has ever been.

The floods and chaos left behind in 2010 still is a major issue for Pakistan. The flooding caused by monsoon rains left one-fifth of Pakistan's total land area underwater. According to the Pakistani government, the floods affected about 20 million people, mostly by destruction of property, livelihood and infrastructure. This event caused wide spread poverty across the nation. The economy has also been severely damaged due to this natural disaster.



## Definition of Key Terms

### General Overview

#### Basic Information

Full Name: Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Population: 187,342,721 (July 2011) Approx. 187.35 million

Life Expectancy: Approximately 66 years

Ethnic Groups: Punjabi (44.7%), Pashtun (15.4%), Sindhi (14.1%), Sariaiki (8.4%), Muhajirs (7.6%), Balochi (3.6%), other (6.3%)

Languages: Punjabi, Sindhi, Siraiki, Pashtu, Urdu (official), Balochi, Hindko, Brahui, English (adopted as common language by most government ministries), Burushaski

Religions: Muslim (95% - Sunni 75% - Shia 20%), Other (including Christian and Hindu – 5%)

Nations Bordering: India, Iran, Afghanistan, China

Natural Resources: Natural gas reserves, some petroleum, coal (poor quality), iron ore, copper, salt and limestone.

Political Party in Power: Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarians (PPP)

President: Asif Ali Zardari

Prime Minister: Syed Yousef Raza Gilani

Next Election: To be held not later than 2013





**Map of Pakistan, showing bordering nations**

## History

### Origin of Pakistan and Kashmir Tensions

Pakistan's creation was a violent process, and troubled relations with its neighbour, India have largely scarred its existence since 1947. Three wars have been fought between the two parties, and numerous other incidents have fostered mistrust between the two nations.

Pakistan faces many problems in today's world, among which are counted poverty and a high illiteracy rate. It also holds precarious relations with its largest neighbour, India (largely over the disputed territory of Kashmir), which began during its formation in 1947, when both India and Pakistan were formed from British India. The predominantly Hindu India was to be largely controlled by Hindus, and the Muslim minority wanted to exist in a state where they would be governed by those of their own religion.



In the agreement that created India and Pakistan, 565 smaller states ruled by Princes were considered exempt and free to make their own choice of which nation to join. The Maharaja of Kashmir as a Hindu, ruling a largely Muslim population, could not decide which to join, and therefore decided to remain independent. He signed an agreement with Pakistan agreeing that services would remain operational.

### **October 1947**

In this month, Pashtun tribesmen (from the North-West province of Pakistan) entered Kashmir in an invasion intended to put a stop to violence against Muslims that had been reported from Kashmir. The tribesmen wanted to have Kashmir join Pakistan, and were supported by the Pakistani government. As a result, the Maharaja (Hari Singh) asked India for military assistance. The Maharaja signed a document of accession (that Kashmir would join India) and Indian troops arrived in Kashmir. The time that this document was signed is disputed, with some evidence indicating that the document was signed after Indian troops had already airlifted into Kashmir.

Pakistan decried the agreement between the Maharaja and India as false and suggested that the Maharaja had acted under threat of violence. Pakistan also stated that the Maharaja should not have acceded to India, while a 'standstill' agreement was still in place with Pakistan. In 1948, Pakistani troops were moved to the borders. Fighting continued until January 1<sup>st</sup> 1949, when a UN-arranged ceasefire came into effect. Pakistan was to control roughly  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Kashmir, and India roughly  $\frac{2}{3}$ .

### **1965**

A clash of border patrols in April became fighting; the Indian patrol withdrew, leaving Pakistan to claim victory. In August, Pakistan launched a covert offensive across the border line and India responded in September by crossing the border at Lahore. After three weeks, both parties agreed to another UN brokered ceasefire.

### **1971**

Another war was fought in this year between India and Pakistan over India's support for the former East Pakistan's autonomy. The Pakistani army surrendered in December and East Pakistan became Bangladesh.

### **Further Tension**

Along with other incidents in the years between, tensions again escalated in the 1990s when an arms race took place between India and Pakistan – in nuclear arms. Both nations became nuclear powers, and the security of Pakistan's nuclear arms has become a topic of concern for many.

In the present day, Pakistan's relations with India are not overly friendly. India accuses Pakistan of being uncooperative with its investigations into the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks.



## Issues and Their Causes

Pakistan faces numerous issues, with no single cause for all of them. Its violent creation and relations with India may contribute to many of its issues, but most have other causes as well.

### Unstable Governance

Pakistan has had several military coups, in 1958, 1977 and 1999. However, since September 2008, power has theoretically been in the hands of civilian government. Despite this, Pakistan's military remains powerful, with the intelligence service, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), under military command. See this link (<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/discussions/roundtables/whats-the-problem-with-pakistan>) to read a discussion on Pakistan's political problems.

Corruption is also a problem in Pakistan. Transparency International's Corruption Index put Pakistan in the lowest third of categories, with a 2.3 score out of 10 (10 being the best). In addition, 3 of Pakistan's last 4 civilian governments were dismissed due to corruption charges.

### Nuclear Arms and International Unease

Pakistan first tested nuclear arms in response to tests by India (1998). Since then, its arsenal has become the fastest growing in the world. Estimates by analysts put Pakistan's armaments at a number of 60-120 warheads.

Many western leaders are uneasy about this large nuclear arsenal of a country plagued with militant insurgents. Pakistan maintains that its arms are safe, stored in secret locations and guarded by around 10,000 soldiers; in addition, all staff that work at nuclear facilities are vetted. The Strategic Plans Division (SPD) of the Pakistani Army is in control of the weapons, and has an independent intelligence corps.

### Poverty

One of Pakistan's greatest problems is poverty, with 24% of its population below the poverty line. This report by the Asian Development Bank ([http://www.adb.org/documents/reports/poverty\\_pak/](http://www.adb.org/documents/reports/poverty_pak/)) highlights poor governance as a major cause of poverty, with corruption and instability causing the deterioration of economic growth and lack of efficiency in delivering services.

As an example, Pakistan's literacy rate is only 50%, putting it 185th of 204 countries. Due to a number of factors, such as this background of illiteracy, poverty rates and issues such as child labour mean that this rate is unlikely to improve. Low literacy is a problem for spreading information by worded methods, a factor worthy of consideration in a prospective resolution.

### Pakistan and Terrorism

Pakistan is, at the same time, both a committed fighter against terrorist groups, and a country considered a safe haven for the leaders of said groups. An example of this is Osama bin Laden's ability to remain hidden in Pakistan, in a relatively well-off area, for five years. Since this incident,



Pakistan-US relations are considered to have declined, with suspicions over how Bin Laden would have been able to hide for so long in a nation supposedly committed to fighting terrorist groups.

The following terrorist groups are considered to operate out of Pakistan:

Various anti-India groups, alleged by some to operate out of Pakistan with the support of Pakistani military and ISI. An example of these is the militant group Lashkar-e-Taiba, which is blamed by India for the Mumbai 2008 attacks, in which 174 people died.

Afghan Taliban: The original Taliban movement.

Al-Qaeda: The group formerly led by Osama bin Laden.

The Pakistani Taliban: Formed when the Pakistani army moved into Pakistan's tribal areas, in 2002, to hunt down militants. This group has claimed responsibility for the bombing of a military academy in 2011, an attack that killed 80 people.

According to the Council on Foreign Relations:

<http://www.cfr.org/pakistan/pakistans-new-generation-terrorists/p15422>)

More militant groups have been targeting the state, causing violence to increase; given as an example is the fact that 2,654 civilians were killed in terrorist attacks between January 2010 until May 2011, as opposed to 1,600 between 2003 and 2006.

## **Pakistan-US Relations**

Pakistan-US relations have been both better and worse over the years, with the US supporting Pakistan's ISI in training Afghan militants to resist Soviet invasion in the 1980s. Along with this assistance \$3.2 billion was provided over 5 years.

Relations declined during Pakistan's nuclear test period, with the US imposing sanctions on Pakistan. After the September 11 attacks in the US in 2001, many sanctions were lifted from Pakistan. Reportedly under strong US pressure, President Musharraf agreed to combat the Afghan Taliban. As a result, aid began to be sent to Pakistan, in areas including: health, education, food, border security and law enforcement. Over the next years, the US completed several sales of military equipment to Pakistan, notably including F-16 fighter planes.

Then, the raid on Osama bin Laden's compound, and with it, a notable decline in Pakistan-US relations. The US did not inform Pakistan of the operation, because "it was decided that any effort to work with the Pakistanis could jeopardise the mission. They might alert the targets." (Leon Panetta, Chief of the CIA)

## **Major Parties Involved**

### **Political Parties**

#### **Pakistan Peoples' Party**

Largest party in Parliament. Centre-Left. Led by the Bhutto family until the death of Benazir Bhutto.



### **Pakistan Muslim League (N) – PML Nawaz group**

Second biggest party in Parliament. Centre-Conservative (centre - right-wing)

### **Pakistan Muslim League (Q) – PML Quaid-e-Azam group**

Centre-Conservative. Third largest party in Parliament.

## Organisations

### **United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP)**

After the independence of India and Pakistan, the Security Council created the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP), and, on the recommendation of that commission, then created a group of unarmed military observers, UNMOGIP, who first arrived in the area in January 1949, to supervise.

UNMOGIP's original mandate was to observe the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and to provide assistance to the Military Advisor to the UNCIP. After the conflict of 1971 however, and the following ceasefire agreement, UNMOGIP's mandate has been to observe developments relating to the observance of this ceasefire, and to then report to the Secretary-General.

### **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)**

Pakistan currently hosts around 1 million Afghan refugees, and the aim of the UNHCR in Pakistan is to provide assistance, protection and re-settlement to this group.

## Countries

### **India**

There are significant ties between Pakistan and India, in that both India and Pakistan separated from the same British colony. Tensions between both countries have existed since Independence (see history).

### **China**

A major arms provider to Pakistan, China also supplies nuclear assistance, with many experts suggesting that China supplied the designs for Pakistan's nuclear bomb. China shares a border with Kashmir, putting it as a power in the region.

### **United States**





There are (or were) good relations between Pakistan and the United States, with years of mutual co-operation against terrorist organisations. However, since the recent raid on Osama bin Laden's compound, some consider these relations to have declined (see issues).

## Timeline of Events

- 1947** Muslim state of East and West Pakistan created out of partition of British India. Hundreds of thousands die in widespread violence and millions are made homeless.
- 1948** First war with India over disputed territory of Kashmir.
- 1956** Constitution declares Pakistan to be an Islamic republic.
- 1965** Second war with India over Kashmir.
- 1971** East Pakistan attempts a coup, leading to civil war. India intervenes for East Pakistan, which becomes Bangladesh.
- 1972** Simla Peace Pact (between India and Pakistan) sets new borderlines in Kashmir.
- 1977** Military coup by General Zia ul-Haq.
- November 1988** Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) wins general elections, with a great majority.
- 1998** Pakistan conducts nuclear tests after India tests several nuclear devices.



- April 1999** Benazir Bhutto and her husband are convicted of corruption and further vote rigging charges and given jail sentences. Benazir stays out of the country in self-imposed exile.
- October 1999** Prime Minister Sharif is overthrown in a military coup led by General Pervez Musharraf. The coup is widely condemned by the international community, leading to Pakistan's suspension from the Commonwealth.
- July 2001** First summit between India and Pakistan for more than two years.
- September 2001** Musharraf backs the US against terrorism and supports attacks on Afghanistan.
- December 2001** India and Pakistan place troops along their common border amongst fears of a looming war.
- May 2002** Pakistan test fire three Weapons of Mass Destruction. President Musharraf defends Pakistan by saying he does not want war, but is ready to respond with full force if attacked.
- October 2002** First general election since 1999. The result is a hung parliament. Pakistan asks for aid.
- November 2003** Pakistan and India declare a Kashmir ceasefire.
- May 2004** Pakistan readmitted to Commonwealth after anti-Taliban efforts.



**October 2005** An earthquake, with its epicentre in Kashmir, kills tens of thousands of people.

**February 2007** Pakistan and India sign an agreement to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war.

**October 2007** Ex-Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto returns from exile. Dozens of people die in a suicide bomb targeting her homecoming parade in Karachi.

**December 2007** Benazir Bhutto assassinated by suicide bomber at a rally in Rawalpindi.

**August 2010** The worst floods in at least 80 years kill at least 1,600 people and displace more than 20 million. The government response is widely criticized leading to support for militant groups

**September 2010** Pakistan suspends the NATO supply route into Afghanistan after a series of US drone strikes

**March 2011** The Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan meet to watch a cricket match, an occasion seen as a chance for the two nations to repair relations.

**May 2011** Osama bin Laden, is killed by American Special Forces in the city of Abbottabad, 50 km northwest of capital Islamabad.

Parliament passes a resolution describing the US operation in Abbottabad as violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, and calls for a review of relationships with United States. This causes further friction between the two countries. The USA however calls for a review on how much aid will be sent to Pakistan due to a lack of trust as bin Laden was found very close to the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad.

## Relevant (UN) Documents

After independence in 1947, the UN, in 1948, passed resolution **39 (1948)** which set up the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP). In April 1948, the UN, by resolution **47 (1948)** expanded the membership of this organisation, and decided to utilise military observers (who would become UNMOGIP) to help stop the fighting. In 1951, the UNCIP was terminated but resolution **91 (1951)** of the Security Council decided that UNMOGIP would remain to supervise the ceasefire between Pakistan and India. Following the 1971 hostilities, resolution **307 (1971)** demanded an enduring ceasefire in all areas of conflict and UNMOGIP's mandate became to monitor this ceasefire.

## Possible Solutions

It is important to recognise that the issues involving Pakistan are multidimensional. The solutions, however, are interdependent, and a single solution can easily fix multiple issues at once. The possible solutions are specific, but they cover multiple issues at once.

In order for Pakistan to restore their economy, they must restore economic growth. Their economy has been severely constrained by a drought and flood which greatly effected the agricultural sector, the large debt burden. The manners in which they could counter these would be to promote domestic and foreign investors confidence, increase exports to generate foreign exchange, and maintain a level of social development spending to stem the deteriorating social indicators. Solutions to the economic issues seem simple on paper, however this is a daunting task for a government strained by large debt, poverty and corruption. Because the solutions are interdependent, these solutions will not only help the economy but also numerous other problems Pakistan is facing.

Since gaining independence, Pakistan has improved their standards of living. However, 30 % of the population still lives under the poverty line. The private sector in Pakistan is very important to drive growth, yet Pakistan is still a very expensive country to do business in. Because many parts of the country are so dependent on aid, it would be imperative for the international community to instead help the population to create their own forms of income generation, as aid is not sustainable over long periods of time. Thus they must try to come up with ways to give people the means to generate income to buy food, instead of leaving them reliant on handouts of food.

As to tackling the causes of Pakistan's problems, which are rooted in natural disasters, corruption and instable government, there are a number of approaches that could be made. It is



evidently not possible to prevent natural disasters, however the aim would be to prevent the extent of the damage. This could be through better warning systems, better construction of accommodation and better locations of built up areas. There would need to be an improved system of relief to offer immediate support to those in need. Yet it is important to note Pakistan's geographical barriers. It is not always possible to be quick in a disaster situation if the facilities are not available. To tackle corruption is a much more sensitive issue. It is common to want to create an organisation that is internationally monitored which tries to fight corruption. However, whether this is the most effective and innovative solution is questionable. Pakistan's government is relatively stable at the moment, so be able to continue that would be imperative, also to keep corruption further at bay.

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