

Pak-US Collaborations and its Implications (2001 – 2008)

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ABSTRACT

Cooperation or conflict among the nation states does have its concomitant affects sustained by respective societies; with both constructive and destructive, long term and short term consequences. All wars, either of regional or international nature: Second World War, Korean War or Afghan War were severe for their local and across the border contiguous effects that wreaked a havoc upon the people of the respective region to pay the cost in terms of unparalleled sufferings, abrupt societal changes and long term psychological traumas. The 9/11 attacks stymied entire world in terms of security, economic, political and societal concerns. Same applies in case of Pakistan, that being the focal point in war against terrorism has to sustain severe social consequences. For the assessment of such fallouts, this research uses state level of analysis by focusing on law and order, religious attitude, people sentiments regarding America, education (religious and secular), media, status of women, and cultural norms and traditions during Pakistan's cooperative relations with US during 2001 to 2008.

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Introduction

Whatever intentions, ideologies, activities and interaction among individuals, groups and states, society has never been remained aloof from the effects. It is another case whether these effects are asserted as positive or negative, but one thing remains universally acknowledged that the people always bear the consequences. For instance, Hitler's decision to go to war in order to have supremacy over the world, led the people of Germany and the whole world pay the cost in terms of unparalleled sufferings and revolutionary societal changes.

Equally, the 9/11 terrorist's attacks that engulfed the entire world from security, economic and political perspective, society could not remain detached from the effects. Pakistani society too, being bulwark against the War Against Terrorism, faced severe consequences in term of casualties and wrath of terrorist organizations operating through the localized orthodox Sunni clergy and laity. For the assessment of such fallouts, this research focuses on Pakistani society by surveying the debilitating law and order situation; religious attitude; resentment against America, educational reforms (religious and secular), media, status of women, and cultural norms and traditions during Pakistan's cooperative relations with US from 2001 to 2008.

Pak-US relations have always been the major focus of research scholars and many of them have made carriers out of their expertise on these relations. From Ziring to Kux, no one has given much value to the societal aspect of such relations. However, the major focus of such studies is primarily from the vantage of the official discourse of the US built around Cold War and post-9/11. The Pakistani perspective that is inspired by right wing ideologies and official position is primarily driven by security concerns and directed by the military authorities. The major actor that suffered a lot in the imbroglio remained missing in much of narrative either official or back tracks was the societies in either case. For American society that is foreign policy issue

that acquires salience at the time of election. However, in Pakistan the society is kept missing from such discourse and remained unaccounted and unheard. This research is primarily focusing the society and also makes a good highlight of her sufferings during strategic interaction between Pakistan and US.

The Post-9/11 Pak-US Social Cooperation

One of the important sources of foreign policies is a society. Its culture, history, perceptions, values and traditions play role in determining goals, instruments and strategy for the attainment of national interests¹. However, the social sector has always been neglected in the relationship between Pakistan and US. After the 9/11, a substantial improvement was observed in the relationship between Pakistan and US. Similarly, slight improvement was also observed in social sector in comparison with the relationships in 1950s and 1980s.

Nevertheless, by comparing it with political and security interactions between both the nations, there had been less social interactions. For instance, both the governments had not taken serious measures to encourage people-to-people contact except some scholarships provided to Pakistani students and professionals to get higher education in US, or people by themselves had visited each other's countries with various interests. Even in the case of private visits, Pakistanis visited US frequently as compared to Americans, who were warned not to visit Pakistan time and again by the state department. Moreover, all policy making institutions in Washington DC., which perform a task to give policy suggestions regarding Pakistan, mostly focus on political, security and economic relationship between US and Pakistan, thus ignoring social relationship and people to

1 Kegley, Jr. & Eugene W. Wittkolf, "The Analysis of American Foreign Policy: The Many Faces of Causation," In *American Foreign Policy*, 5th edition. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 14-30.

people contact, which provide basis for strong and stable relationship².

On the contrary, after 9/11, the individual efforts of interactions had been considerably reduced because of the US administration's policy of visa restrictions for Pakistanis, and advice to its citizens not to visit Pakistan under the plea of security concerns. Although, the lack of social interaction developed communication gap between the societies and generated misperception about each other, this in turn had hurt politico-strategic interests of both sides in the past. By realizing the significance of social interaction as an aspect of overall exchanges, the former American ambassador to Pakistan, Nancy J. Powell, in her speech on November 13, 2003 in the Council on Foreign Relations, in Karachi, described her government's interest in this area. She said:

A forth area of US interest is our desire, particularly in these troubled times, to increase understanding between the people of the US and Pakistan. There is currently too much mistrust and lack of understanding between us; for our part, we are intent on working to reduce these gaps. As people coming from different cultures and historical experiences, we may not always agree with each other; but we must continue to strive to listen better, and to attempt to understand the other's point of view.³

Thus, to develop social cooperation remained, to some extent, one of the American interests in Pakistan. It was because of their concerns that in Pakistan Islamists were strengthened after fifteen years of foreign support and the patronage of Pakistan's intelligence, which was a probable

2 For instance, the Pakistan Policy Working Group, is one of such groups, is an independent, bipartisan group of American experts on U.S.–Pakistan relations. The group was formed in January 2008 to assess the state of U.S.–Pakistan relations and to offer ideas to the next U.S. President and his Administration on managing this critical partnership. The group's efforts were guided by the understanding that Pakistan is and will remain one of the United States' foremost foreign policy and national security challenges, deserving of heightened attention in the new Administration.

3 Nancy J. Powell, "US Foreign Policy towards Pakistan", Address at Council on Foreign Relations in Karachi, November 13, 2003, www.us_foreignpolicytowardspakistan.htm.

threat to American military presence in Pakistan and its neighbour, Afghanistan.⁴

Moreover, American think tanks believed that the bad socio-economic conditions paved the way for extremism in the country. They feared that if Pakistan failed, it would repeat the story of Iran and Afghanistan and would have repercussions for Americans in the region.⁵ Accordingly, they believed that the event of September 11 and the American re-engagement in the region provided an opportunity to transform Pakistan into a moderate Islamic state, which could only be done by enhancing social cooperation with Pakistan. Therefore, the Bush administration had extended cooperation to Pakistan in areas like education, health, media, law and order, tourism, cultural exchange programs (one of the important ways in which gap among citizens could be abridged), and security assistance program including counter terrorism and improving law and order agencies' efficiency.

American administration was taking keen interest in the education of Pakistan as a source of societal change, Nancy Powell described it as:

Through a five-year \$100 million agreement with the Ministry of Education (signed in August 2002), USAID is helping to improve Pakistan's education system, with particular emphasis on expanding access for girls; training teachers and administrators to raise the quality of public and private school instruction; improving national youth and adult literacy programs; testing and using distance education methods and developing more public-private partnerships to increase community involvement in primary education.⁶

In health sector, the US in collaboration with the British government, the UN, and the Government of Pakistan tried

4 Stephen Philip Cohen, "The United States and South Asia: Core Interests and Policies and their Impact on Regional Countries," Presented at the Conference on "Major Powers and the South Asia", 11-13 August 2003, Organized by The Institute for Regional Studies, Islamabad, 8.

5 Tom Clancy, General Tony Zinny (rtd) and Tony Koltz, *Battle Ready* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2004), 335.

6 Powell, "US Foreign Policy towards Pakistan".

to expand quality-productive health services, especially in rural areas. It had also granted \$38 million over the period of three years. For improving law and order, the US government also provided training, technical assistance, and commodities to enhance law enforcement capabilities. Moreover, the assistance was also provided in road building, irrigation, and portable water.⁷

Table 1: US ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN IN THE FY 2001– FY 2004

Program Account	FY -2001 Actual	FY -2002 Actual	FY-2003 Allocation	FY-2004 Allocation
CSH	...	14.0	15.6	25.0
DA	...	10.0	34.5	50.0
ERMA	...	25.0
FMF	...	75.0	224.5	75.0
PL.480 TITLE 1	0.5	10.0	15.0	...
PL480 TITLE2	1.9	5.1	12.4	(D)
SECTION 416(B)	85.1	75.5
Total	\$91.0	\$1,160.8	\$522.0	\$394.3

SOURCE: Rizwan Zeb, "US Interests in South Asia in Post 9/11 Era: Effects on Pakistan," *Margalla Papers*, (2004)

The Cost-Benefit Analysis

Extremism

The extremism had increased since the American invasion of Afghanistan and Musharraf's support to that war, though the roots of extremism were date back to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, and the Kashmiri mass resistance in 1989. The power of these groups could be assessed from the fact that a group of people, belonging to the Jaish-e-Muhammad (which is banned now) in Bahawalpur who was arrested with grenades and riffles by the police during the efforts of de-weaponisation, was released because of the pressure exerted by these groups through holding 17

7 Powell, "US Foreign Policy towards Pakistan".

government officials as hostages.⁸ After the intervention of the intelligence organization these members were freed and the situation was defused. These extremists had given a mind set to people, especially the youth that believed in violence as a means for solving problems.⁹

Even before the incident of 9/11, there was strong realization in Clinton's administration that the US policy towards Pakistan was going against American interest. Gen. Zinni writes:

This was a stage; the government was shaky and badly corrupt; and politically powerful Islamists inflamed the population. If Pakistan failed, or turned into an Iranian- or Afghan- style theocracy, we would have major problems in the region... and beyond. We did not want nuclear-armed Islamist radicals, then or now.¹⁰

George Tenet insisted on getting the cooperation of Pakistan's intelligence because of his firm belief that Pakistan nurtured the Taliban. He also believed that the top rank officers of Pakistan's army and intelligence services had long been hesitant about confronting Islamist extremists, for instance, Musharraf who later on extended cooperation to US against terrorists maintained good relations with the Taliban before 9/11.¹¹ In the viewpoint of American experts on Pakistan, this alliance between Pakistan's army and the Islamists, cultivated due to Kashmir and Afghan problem. An eminent American scholar writes:

Linkages between Pakistan military establishment and the militant Islamists were forged in the unresolved Kashmir dispute. The 1999 Kargil incident was just the latest example of the blurring lines between those professing Islamic and national goals. The Pakistan Army's role in Afghanistan could not end with the withdrawal of Soviet forces. To commit to an Islamic solution, Pakistan identified with the Taliban and the Taliban in turn joined hands with Afghan Arabs associated with Osama bin Laden. The holy war against the chief representative of Marxism had been won, but the war against

8 Sreedhar, ed., *Pakistan After 9/11* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2003), 94.

9 Arshad Shareef, "Combating Extremism", *Dawn*, March 2005.

10 Clancy, Zinni (Rtd) and Koltz, *Battle Ready*, 335.

11 *The 9/11 Commission Report* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company), 368.

the new infidels of northern Afghanistan and elsewhere had just begun, so too the renewed struggle in Kashmir.¹²

The association of Pakistani government with the Bush (Jr.) administration turned the people against Musharraf regime and provided an opportunity to extremist organizations to promote their agenda by recruiting young through exploiting their emotions against the Afghan war. Thus, ground was ready for religious and political terrorism and violence that cost Pakistan in a bad light abroad. In 2002, the murder of American journalist, Daniel Pearl, four Chinese engineers, and 11 French engineers and technicians, were some of the cases.¹³ Moreover, the ruling elites were also being targeted, for example, the suicidal attack on General Musharraf, Shaukat Aziz, the then Prime Minister and the then Corp Commander Karachi. This resulted in the virtual absence of foreign tourists and inhibitions of foreign as well as Pakistani entrepreneurs to invest in Pakistan. In age where *laissez faire* was the norm, no country could develop economically, unless investment, both foreign and local, took place in enormous numbers.

Poor Law and Order

Another negative social implication that Pakistan faced immediately after the Afghan war and Musharraf's association with the American's war in Afghanistan, was law and order situation. Because of the Afghan war, religious parties launched a countrywide campaign against the decision of Musharraf to join the coalition against terrorism. They held strikes, protests, demonstrations, and used threatening language against the government, resulting in

12 Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2004), 264.

13 S. A. Sayood, "National Scenario," *Pakistan Political Perspective* 13, no. 6 (June 2004): 32.

catastrophic situations where some of the innocent lives were lost and property destructed.¹⁴

Another aspect of this poor law and order condition was the menace of sectarianism. Pakistan, being the neighbouring country of Afghanistan, already suffered the religious and sectarian violence since last many years due to Talibanisation. However, in post-9/11 cooperation, this problem got aggravated, as we observed a series of suicide bombing in Balochistan and Sindh in early 2004, sectarian terrorism that hit the province of Punjab in October 2004, in which, at least 30 people were killed and more than 50 seriously injured. The examples of this sectarian violence in Punjab could also be assessed from a suicidal attack at the Jamia Masjid Zainabia during Friday prayers in Sialkot. Few months later 41 people were killed and another 150 injured when a car bomb exploded near the chowk Rashidabad, where “Maulana Azam Tariq Shaheed Conference” was organized by the banned the Millat-e-Islamia (Sipah-e-Sihaba Pakistan).¹⁵ Moreover, the increasing number of criminal activities in Pakistan was another example of this poor law and order condition. It was all because of the fact that the law enforcement agencies remained engaged in providing protection to the ruling elites. Therefore, providing security to elites was one of the reasons of poor performance of law enforcement agencies in curbing the menace of lawlessness from the society.

Besides low capability of law enforcement agencies, weaponisation in the country was another cause of poor law and order situation. However, the Musharraf regime in its early days endeavoured to eliminate weaponisation from Pakistan, but the event of 9/11 and the war against terrorism, instead of spurring up this process, further enhanced the level of violence and weaponisation. The

14 Pervez Iqbal Cheema, “The Challenge of Terrorism After September 11: A Pakistani Perspective,” In *The World After September 11: Challenges and Opportunities*, Moonis Ahmar, ed., (Karachi: BCCT Press, 2003), 75.

15 Cheema, “The Challenge of Terrorism after September 11: A Pakistani Perspective,” 28.

major reason was 'tit for tat', what they did to further strategic interests in Kashmir and Afghanistan, back lashed in Pakistani society when military regime turned its back on their own guys. According to statistics given by the Interior Ministry, from June 21, 2001 to March 12, 2002, as many as 141,180 weapons and 848,407 pieces of ammunitions were recovered from four provinces.¹⁶

Anti-Americanism

The phenomenon of Anti-Americanism was not only existed in Pakistan but, across the Muslim world even before the event of 9/11. The cause of this anti-Americanism was not the jealousy against American prosperity or its values but the grievances of the Muslims against American power-based policy towards the Muslim world.¹⁷ Certain religious groups representing a section of the people had been visibly unhappy over the president's "turnabout" when he pledged support to, in their viewpoint, the "American invaders". These elements openly expressed their view that the presence of foreign troops in Muslim Afghanistan would mean nothing short of a "crusade" against the Muslims. Such feelings among extremists presented by Kunwar Idris:

The fundamentalists in Pakistan portray Americans in beast-like terms, like vermin, dogs and bacteria – thereby making these into enemies deserving of extermination. This outlook has the crucial importance and implication that the violence against the Americans is viewed as defensive in nature. That in turn attempts to harm Americans or even destroy the United States.¹⁸

Other than religious people, many common Pakistanis felt that the American policy presented different standards, which was not based on a set of principles, rather had been designed for its own convenience in its dealings with its friends and foes. There was a commonly held belief that the United States made no distinction between terrorist actions

16 Sreedhar, ed., *Pakistan After 9/11*, 93.

17 Munawar Hussain, "Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World," *Al-Siyasa*, VII, (Summer 2005): 89-94.

18 Kunwar Idris, "Cynicism in Politics", *Dawn*, September 19, 2004.

and a genuine war of liberation, such as the one in the Indian-held Kashmir. The US declaration to all militant organizations as terrorists without excluding the genuine freedom fighters and pressurizing Pakistan to abandon its support to Kashmir struggle against Indian occupation not only caused anti-Musharraf feeling but also, at the same time, enhanced anti-American sentiments.¹⁹ These people wanted American government to realize that all human lives were equally precious. They had the view that if Americans were concerned about the deaths in New York and Washington DC, why not in Kashmir, Palestine, Chechnya, Afghanistan, or Iraq.

Educational Reforms

Education as another area of society had more positive than negative implications during the Pak-US cooperation in war on terror from 2001 to 2008. Such effects could be observed on secular education as well as religious education. Though, such reforms were taken under immense American pressure as American policy makers felt that by reforming education they could reduce the level of anti-Americanism, extremism and terrorism in Pakistani society that were contrary to American interest in the region.

By cooperating with the US, General Musharraf insisted that education involved more than religious learning and he had every intention of revitalizing Pakistan's secular educational institutions. At the same time, he reiterated that the country's religious schools required reforms and introspects. Therefore, he announced a new Madrassa Ordinance, which made those schools responsible to the same codes of behaviour as required of other schools providing secular education in particular. Thereby, all madrassas required to be registered by March 23, 2002 and new madrassas would need the permission of the government.

19 Syed Farooq Hasnat and Tehmina Rahid, "Implications of the 9/11: A Pakistani Perspective", *Pakistan Affairs*, no. 36: 343.

The Ordinance prohibited the possession of weapons and militant activities. It was also insisted that trained teachers would be inducted who would be capable of teaching the standard subjects like Maths, Science, and other languages. In addition to this no foreign students would be admitted unless properly documented and those who had not received certification from government were to be deported.²⁰

Whether these reforms were implemented or not, but that was an untouched task the regime had undertaken. Musharraf himself acknowledged that issuing ordinance and regulations was easy and that the difficulty would come in the implementation part. Therefore, there was widespread criticism over such educational reforms from different sections of the society. Such as there was widespread perception that these reforms were made at the behest of US; and mixed-up of secular with the religious education was conspiracy against Islamic values.

On positive side, Pakistan received US \$34 million in FY 2003, under the development aid program to improve the much-needed educational sector as a means of preventing future terrorism. This positive side could be assessed from the facts that 57 percent of Pakistanis were totally illiterate with 18 percent being educated of primary level, 9 percent at middle school, while only 37 percent possessed graduate and post graduate qualifications, and 80 percent women were illiterate altogether.²¹ This trend needed to be reversed since illiteracy did breed poverty, and poverty in turn forced individuals to be involved in criminal activities, leading to terrorism. Moreover, due to limited number of public schools, nearly a million Pakistanis were being educated in madrassas where they were indoctrinated and trained by religious extremists, though not all madaris necessarily. They had been blamed, by the US, for promoting militancy,

20 Ziring, *Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History*.

21 Rizwan Zeb, "US Interests in South Asia in Post 9/11 Era: Effects on Pakistan," *Margalla Papers*, (2004): 82.

anti-Americanism and producing terrorists. Therefore, the USAID helped the Government of Pakistan in improving the quality of education and provided accessibility to females to get education. In addition, teachers-training program and revision of syllabi helped raise the quality of education in Pakistan, leading to a shift in the perceptions about their life and the West.

Media

Media always played vital role in shaping and moulding public opinion about certain phenomena. However, in Pakistan it was widely believed that media was influenced by the ruling elites i.e. politicians, military officials, bureaucracy, and judiciary. One Pakistani scholar wrote, "Electronic media in Pakistan is completely influenced by political and non-political elites while digital communication is exposing the shallowness of democratic process in Pakistan."²² Nevertheless, we cannot turn our face off the fact that due to American influence Pakistani print media became free and vibrant and new independent channels had come forth.

On the bleak side, where these new independent channels demonstrated the freedom of flowing information, they were televising such programs, which exposed less modernization and more Westernization. Once a nation digressed away from its own culture, norms, values and traditions, it lost its identity and vanishes away. "Masti hi Masti", a musical dance programme on ATV was one out of many examples.

Women Empowerment

In all the developed nations, women played a decisive role in development of their societies. In the case of Pakistan, woman was the most neglected entity that resulted in less development in all walks of life. According to CRS Report, "Discrimination against women was wide spread, and traditional constraints - cultural, legal, and spousal - kept women in a subordinate position in society. 'Honour killings' continued to occur

22 Abida Eijaz, "Media's Role in Pakistan for Revival of Democracy," *Pakistan Vision*, 2, no. 2 (December 2003): 76.

throughout the country. The adult literacy rate for men in Pakistan is 60 percent, while only 1-3rd of women could read and write.”²³

Keeping in view the importance of women in development of a country and the pressure from international community because of media reports on the plight of women, General Musharraf took a revolutionary step in March 2002. The government announced policy objective of empowering women in political process of the country, thereby, reserving 60 seats in the National Assembly and 17 in the Senate for women.²⁴ The representation at the highest as well as at the grassroots level of decision-making was vital for political empowerment of women.

Moreover, in some cases, the NGOs and the government had protected women against maltreatments. For instance, the case of Mukhtara Mai, in which the division bench of Lahore High Court had acquitted five of the accused; sentenced earlier by an anti-terrorism court to death. On this Mukhtara Mai met the high authorities, and was heard sympathetically.²⁵ Federal Shariat Court also took notice of the case.

Rise of Religious Parties

The rising power of religious parties was another product of cooperation between the US and the Musharraf regime, which in turn affected the social fabric of the frontier region. One of the main causes of this phenomenon was the US bombing and civilian casualties in Afghanistan, which made the “Pushtuns”, who strongly had socio-culture linkages with their ethnic compatriots in the areas bordering Pakistan – Afghanistan, felt betrayed. Their rising power, their intention to implement *Shariah* and views against co-educational system increased the apprehensions of NGOs, since many of them were funded by the western agencies. Thus, this void in the existing

23“ Pakistan-US Relations”, CRS Issue Brief for Congress, Congressional Research Service, Order Code IB 94041, October 8, 2004, 12.

24 Amina Mehmood, “Women Empowerment: Under Musharraf Administration,” *Pakistan Vision* 5, no. 2 (December 2004): 17.

25 Mehmood, “Women Empowerment: Under Musharraf Administration”.

situation and the efforts to trim it according to the western dictates generated a lot of problems as well.

Second, the success of the six-party Islamic coalition, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), in the 2002 elections in Northwest Frontier Province and Balochistan was clear cut manifestation of the rise of religious parties as a unified single block due to war on Terror. However, the massive win of religious parties in the elections was in fact also due to the rigging in polls by the establishment, which sought to side line the main opposition i.e. the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N). Therefore, we observed that in absence of the establishment's support in the 2008 polls, the MMA was routed by the PPP, the PML-N and the Pashtun nationalist Awami National Party (ANP).²⁶

However, it can be concluded that the ability of Pakistan's rising Islamic parties to mount possibly violent opposition to the government had made democratic reform, decrease of religious extremism and development of a more peaceful and stable society, more challenging.

Polarisation in Society

Difference of opinion and thought is a natural and essential part of any healthy human society. But the kind of polarisation in Pakistan on the issue of extending cooperation with US in the war on terror was almost crossing the danger level. After the 9/11, the Musharraf regime joined coalition war under immense pressure from US and the international community caused the great social violence in Pakistan and divided the society into two groups. First group favoured the government policies by arguing that the Pakistani society which was already suffering from Talibanisation, terrorism, and sectarianism in post-disintegration of the Soviet Union, now had an opportunity to free the society with the help of American aid and assistance from the shackles of the menace of terrorism.

The second group represented religious people who opposed the government policies and had the view that it was illegal and

26 "Islamic Parties in Pakistan", International Crisis Group, Report 216/Asia, December 12, 2011.

immoral to support the infidel against the Muslim sisterly country – Afghanistan. They saw US as an aggressive force that sought to steal Muslim's resources, exploited their labour, and undermined their religion.²⁷ This dichotomy of approach had torn apart the societal fabric. By simply noting the language used by each side for the other, one could say that the real enemy was not terrorism itself but the ideological 'other'. The Rightists labelled the first group as 'America ke totay' [Urdu: America's parrots (puppets)] and 'liberal fascists' while the terms used by the other side include 'terrorists', and religious extremists.

Conclusion

To sum up, the effects of 9/11 and the subsequent cooperation between Pakistan and the US was varied, and it put certain repercussions on the Pakistani society. In fact, there were some benefits like American aid and support in different areas of social sectors i.e. education and health however, it also negatively affected Pakistan's society by rendering extremism, anti-Americanism, law and order problem, which have been continuously affecting the Pakistan's society till today. Pakistan did not learn lessons from the decade of the 1980s when it was declared as a frontline state against the Soviet intervention into Afghanistan and faced consequences in the form of extremism, heroin and Kalashnikov culture.

Thus, it is time to review and tone down Pakistan's foreign policy, particularly, in respect of its overactive role in fight against terrorism, especially in tribal areas of KP and Balochistan, that is polarising the society on the one hand and destabilising it on the other. Secondly, Pakistan should focus on its education and health sectors that have been neglected in these areas, since long. Thirdly, Pakistan should also increase entertainment activities for the youth in the areas where operations were carried out, so that they may not be dragged into extremism. Pakistan should also give the desired freedom to media and go for educational reforms, keeping in view the cultural norms and values.

27 Idris, "Cynicism in Politics", *Dawn*, September 19, 2004.