

Pakistan's Development and its Anti-American Sentiment

Eisuke Mori

Term Paper, Security and Development
Monterey Institute of International Studies,
Program for Security and Development
December 14, 2009

Introduction

During only two months preceding mid-November 2009, suicide bombings in Pakistan killed 350 persons.¹ Many of the suicide bombings were conducted by suspected Islamic extremists with roots around the Pakistani tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. The victims were not only Pakistani civilians but also non-Pakistani staff members of the United Nations (UN) dispatched there to aid Pakistani refugees who had fled from military conflicts between the Pakistani government and the Islamic extremists around the tribal areas.² On the other hand, the civilians were murdered not only by the extremists but also by suspected U.S. air strikes.³ Some civilians have been killed by errant U.S. strikes aimed at the extremists.

Right now, in Pakistan, three impediments, which have emerged from the military conflicts, have prevented the development which would lead Pakistani people to secured and stable life: refugees, terror attacks, and frequent blackouts. This paper will explore these three impediments and how stakeholders such as the Pakistani government, the United States, and the United Nations have dealt with them. In addition, this paper will consider an alternative policy to the current ones such as integration of the war on terror in Afghanistan and another in Pakistan.

Background: the Spillover from the war in Afghanistan to Pakistan

A part of the Taliban has occupied the tribal areas in Pakistan such as South Waziristan with its allies. The Taliban is an Islamic extremist group in Afghanistan, which had seized power in Afghanistan but was ousted by the United States because it denied the U.S. request to extradite the members of al-Qaeda including Osama bin Laden; al-Qaeda is another extremist group, of which bin Laden was the leader. According to a U.S. intelligence member, the Taliban in Pakistan have crossed the border with Afghanistan and been taking part in a war in Afghanistan.⁴ The Taliban has been fighting against the Afghan government as well as the troops of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF); it is the forces based on the United Nations Security Council's resolution 1386.⁵ The ISAF mainly comprises troops of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The U.S. government requested the Pakistani government to carry out the mop-up operation against the Islamic extremists in Pakistan to prevent them from participating in the war

¹ Pamela Constable, "For Pakistani President, Goodbye to Goodwill" *The Washington Post*, November 16, 2009. p. A.10

² "Gunmen Kill UN Worker, Guard at Pakistan Refugee Camp," *VOA News.com*, July 16, 2009, <http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2009-07/2009-07-16-voa7.cfm?moddate=2009-07-16> (November 27, 2009)

³ "Drone Kills 8 in Pakistan," *The VOA News*, November 20, 2009, <http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/Drone-Pakistan-70607257.html> (accessed November 29, 2009)

⁴ Jay Solomon, "Clinton Aims to Bolster Ties with Pakistan," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 28, 2009, p. A.11, N.Y. edition.

⁵ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1386 (2001), <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/708/55/PDF/N0170855.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed November 28, 2009)

in Afghanistan. In response to it, Pakistan has dispatched 120,000 troops out of its 500,000 army.^{6,7}

Three Impediments to Destruct Development in Pakistan

Three impediments have hampered the development in Pakistan due to the spillover of the war in Afghanistan. Due to the Pakistani government's attack against the extremists, Pakistani people living in the tribal areas had to leave their homes; this is the first impediment.⁸ The refugees included at least half of the 500,000 people living in South Waziristan. The number of the refugees peaked at 3.5 million.⁹ The people remaining in the area also suffer from the extremists' crack down such as road destruction, shutting down of schools. The extremists' oppression has reached not only infrastructure like these but also Pakistani people's culture; their traditional drumming, weddings, even funerals are prohibited.¹⁰ Moreover, in order to avoid extremists' abominable tyranny, they have to provide their sons to the extremists.¹¹

The second impediment is terror attacks against not only the Pakistani government and its military facilities but also Pakistani civilians and staff members of the UN aiding the refugees. These attacks are the retaliation for the attacks by the Pakistani government to the extremist group.^{12,13} For example, a presumed Taliban suicide bomber destroyed the International Islamic University and hurt at least 20 persons in October 2009.¹⁴ After the incident, many schools were closed for security. In addition, in the same month, five officers of the UN World Food Program (WFP) were killed by a suicide bomber, a member of the Taliban in Pakistan.¹⁵ The first and second impediments are challenges to human development: "It is about people realizing their potential, increasing their choices and enjoying the freedom to lead lives they value."¹⁶

⁶ The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Current Pakistan and Relations with Japan," the web site on MOFA, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/pakistan/kankei.html> (accessed November 27, 2009) Do not need access date in Chicago style

⁷ The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Pakistan – the Cornerstone of the world's Peace and Stability," the web site on MOFA, <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/press/pr/wakaru/topics/vol35/index.html> (accessed November 27, 2009)

⁸ Cited in Haq Nawaz Khan and Karin Brulliard, "Doubts Abound among People of S. Waziristan," *The Washington Post*, October 28, 2009, p. A.12, Washington, D.C. edition.

⁹ The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Current Pakistan and Relations with Japan."

¹⁰ Haq Nawaz Khan and Karin Brulliard, "Doubts Abound among People of S. Waziristan," *The Washington Post*, October 28, 2009, Washington, D.C. edition, A.12

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Jay Solomon, "Clinton Aims to Bolster Ties With Pakistan."

¹³ Constable.

¹⁴ "Bombers Attack Pakistani University," *VOA News.com*,

<http://www.voanews.com/bangla/2009-10-20-voa9.cfm> (accessed November 1, 2009)

¹⁵ Salman Masood, "Suicide Bomber in Paramilitary Uniform Kills 5 at U.N. Food Office in Pakistan," *The New York Times*, October 5, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/06/world/asia/06pstan.html?_r=1 (accessed November 1, 2009)

¹⁶ Human Development Report 2010, "Twentieth Anniversary Edition: Rethinking Human

The third one is frequent blackouts due to the government's concentration on the military conflicts. The blackouts have prevented the Pakistani economy from growing and helped the Islamic extremists to accuse the government of not being able to keep infrastructure intact.¹⁷

Three Policies towards the Three Impediments

To reduce negative effects from these three impediments and proceed with the development in Pakistan, such three policies have been or will be conducted: food aid by the WFP, military aid by the United States, and financial one for social and economic development. However, all of them do not demonstrate enough effects. The first policy is WFP's humanitarian aid; it has provided the refugees, who are forced into rental houses, with food and commodities such as blankets.^{18,19,20} However, due to the terror attacks on the members of the WFP, the UN had to close its offices across Pakistan for a while.²¹ Subsequently, the UN decided to withdraw its non-Pakistani staff from around the tribal areas.²² The humanitarian aid seems to yield to the terror attacks.

The second policy is the U.S. military aid for the Pakistani government and its Army; this aid comprises people, goods, capital, and military operation. The United States has dispatched 150 American Special Force (ASF) members who provide the Pakistani Army with training and advice. The number of the members of ASF has increased twice as much as eight months ago.²³ The United States also provides equipment and technology such as Predator drones, Apache helicopter gunships, another type of helicopters such as Russian-built Mi-17. In addition, equipment has been given such as "200 night vision goggles, 100 day/night scopes, more than 600 radios and 9,475 sets of body armor."^{24,25} Additionally, the United States has paid for \$12 billion as reimbursement for the Pakistani counterinsurgency operation since 9/11 terror attack in 2001, of which \$500 million was paid in 2009.²⁶ Lastly, the United States has conducted air strikes against the Islamic extremists around the tribal areas.²⁷

Development," The United Nations Development Programme, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2010/> (accessed November 27, 2009)

¹⁷ Jay Solomon, "U.S. Gives Aid to Stave Off Pakistan Power Shortages," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 29, 2009, p. A.16, Eastern Edition.

¹⁸ Masood.

¹⁹ Khan and Brulliard.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Masood.

²² Miki Yotsukura, "UN Withdraw its Non-Pakistani Staffs from the Northwest," November 3, 2009, <http://www.asahi.com/international/update/1102/TKY200911020374.html> (accessed November 27, 2009)

²³ Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Quietly Expands Role in Pakistan, Speeding Aid for Drives Against the Taliban," *The New York Times*, October 29, 2009, Late Edition, A.1.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Daniel Dombey, "Clinton Moves to Pour Oil on Troubled Waters," *Financial Times*, October 29,

However, the U.S. military aid also does not work; the extremists do not stop their terror attacks in Pakistan. In addition, no news article has said that the Pakistani Taliban gives up crossing the border with Afghanistan. The cause of the malfunction of the aid is likely to be that the Pakistani Army does not really want to fight against the Islamic extremists. Some members of the Army, allegedly, have given aid to the extremists since the 1980s.²⁸ In addition, no refugees said that they had seen the member of the Army in the tribal regions.²⁹

There are three reasons for the Army's reluctance. First of all, the army has been skeptical about the U.S. policy toward Pakistan because the United States has tightened relations with India. Therefore, U.S. President Barack Obama's giving a friendly reception to Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, must have upset the Pakistan Army; Mr. Obama and Mr. Singh had a summit meeting at Washington, D.C. in November 2009 because India is a very important partner for the United States given the rise of China.³⁰ Pakistan has experienced serious tensions with India over sovereignty of Kashmir. The two countries have had three military conflicts, in 1947-1949, 1965, and 1972.³¹ Even though the tensions have been reduced recently as a result of India's support for Pakistan when Pakistan suffered from a serious earthquake in 2005, they are still locked in an arms race.³² Both of them have signed neither the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) nor the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-ban Treaty (CTBT); both have carried out nuclear tests.³³ They have also proceeded with their test-launches and deployment of ballistic missiles that are capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

Secondly, some members of the Pakistani Army have sympathy for the extremists who hold the same beliefs; they are the warriors who ousted the troops of the former Soviet Union from Afghanistan; the former Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan in 1989.³⁴ The U.S. Central Information Agency (CIA) recruited the extremists including Osama bin Laden, and dispatched them to Afghanistan.³⁵ The third reason is Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari's lack of political power. The "sabotage" of the Pakistani Army may gain impetus due to him.?? The former Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf, doubled as the General of the Army, which is the top of the Army. Consequently, he was able to control the Army, though he was notorious for taking power in a coup and for being a dictator, more effectively than Mr. Zardari, the leader of the political party, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), who is a civilian, not a military. Mr. Zardai

2009, 3.

²⁸ "Bypassing the aid trap in Pakistan," *The Washington Post*, November 13, 2009, Washington, D.C. edition, A.19.

²⁹ Khan and Brulliard.

³⁰ "India, US Agree on Climate Change," *The VOA news*, November 25, 2009, <http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/India-US-On-Climate-Change-73563797.html> (accessed November 27, 2009)

³¹ Japan Ministry of Defense, *White Paper of Defense 2007*, 76.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Iftikhar H. Malik, *The History of Pakistan* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008), 200.

³⁵ Ibid.

inherited the position from his wife, Benazir Bhutto, who was former Prime Minister of Pakistan, and died in a bomb explosion in December 2007.³⁶

Moreover, Pakistani people may tolerate the Army's "sabotage" because they have the same anti-America sentiment as the members of the Army have, and consider President Zardari as more pro-America than needed.³⁷ Many Pakistani believe that the United States must have territorial ambitions toward Pakistan and try to usurp Pakistan's nuclear weapons in the name of the war on terror.³⁸ One of the reasons for the Pakistani to have such a sentiment is the U.S. failure in its airstrikes, which has killed Pakistani civilians. According to a survey, while only small portion of Pakistani supports the extremists, however, less Pakistani support the U.S. diplomatic policy.³⁹

The third policy to challenge the reduction of the negative effects brought by the three impediments is a series of U.S. aid packages for Pakistan to encourage its social and economic development. The prime policy among them is the non-military aid to the Pakistani government based on the Kerry-Lugar legislation, accounts for \$7.5 billion in the next five years, which President Obama signed on October 2009.⁴⁰ Other than this, U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Rodham Clinton, declared \$125 million aid for eradication of Pakistani frequent blackouts; Pakistan is running short of 2,500 megawatts of power, which has prevented the Pakistani economy from growing.^{41,42} Furthermore, the United States decided to give Pakistan additional support to restore its irrigation pumps bolstering its agricultural industry.⁴³

It is uncertain that this \$7.5 billion aid will work because it is very controversial; although the Zardari administration agrees on it, the Army opposes it. The reason for its opposition is that the aid requires Pakistan to fulfill three conditions: 1) Pakistan should keep its nuclear arsenal secured and should not proliferate its nuclear materials; 2) Pakistan should fight with the extremists, and prevent them from cross-border attack against Afghanistan; 3) Pakistan should use the weapons it would buy with the U.S. aid only to the extremists, not to India.^{44,45} U.S. Senators Robert Menendez and Bob Corker asked to add these conditions to the aid legislation.⁴⁶

³⁶ Ibid., 205.

³⁷ Constable.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Karen DeYoung, "Clinton visits Pakistan in bid to improve ties," *The Washington Post*, October 28, 2009, Washington, D.C. edition, A.13.

⁴⁰ Jay Solomon, "Clinton Aims to Bolster Ties With Pakistan."

⁴¹ Dombey.

⁴² Jay Solomon, "U.S. Gives Aid to Stave Off Pakistan Power Shortages," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 29, 2009, Eastern Edition, A.16.

⁴³ Jay Solomon, "U.S. Gives Aid to Stave Off Pakistan Power Shortages."

⁴⁴ The Economist Intelligence Unit, "Pakistan politics: The poisoned pill of US development aid," *EIU ViewsWire*, November 11, 2009.

⁴⁵ Jay Solomon, "Clinton Aims to Bolster Ties With Pakistan."

⁴⁶ "Congress Passes Sens. Menendez-Corker Measure to Help Endure Military Aid to Pakistan Is Used as Intended," *US Fed News Service*, October 27, 2009.

The reason for that is that they thought that the tax the Americans pay should be used for U.S. national security.⁴⁷ The Pakistani Army's distrust of the United States raises another distrust of the Pakistani Army in U.S. Congress. The U.S. administration is also worried about the Pakistani Army's action. When Mrs. Clinton visited Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, in November 2009, she stated that the U.S. government would discuss the nuclear proliferation issue with Pakistan because "We worry about proliferation, and we have good reason to worry," even though she went there to calm down the Pakistani Army's and Pakistani people's anti American sentiment and persuade them that the United States is willing to strengthen not only military relations but also social and cultural ones with Pakistan.⁴⁸ On the other hand, in response to the U.S. instruction for the use of the aid, the Pakistani Army revolts because the instruction is encroachment of Pakistani sovereignty.⁴⁹ Jay Solomon, a correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, is worried about the Pakistani Army's more reluctance to fight against the extremists in the future.⁵⁰

What can the International Community Do in This Chaos?

Even though the United Nations and the United States have continued to support development in Pakistan, none of these three efforts has worked or is not likely to work well. One of the probable alternatives to make a breakthrough is for the UN to integrate the two battles: the war on terror in Afghanistan and another in Pakistan. Because the extremists in Afghanistan and the other extremists in Pakistan have the same root, the UN has no reason to distinguish between them. Specifically, the UN would take over the role the United States is playing in Pakistan right now.

The primary issue which has prevented development in Pakistan was the spillover from the war in Afghanistan: the Islamic extremists. The Pakistani government and the international community should resist the Islamic extremists because they have threatened Pakistani people living in the tribal areas to move out. However, the Pakistani Army may be reluctant to do so, and opposes the U.S. \$7.5 billion aid. When the Army is so and does so due to its anti-American sentiment, the best thing for Pakistan is for the UN to stand in for the United States. Even though the United States is a member of the UN, this alternation between the United States and the UN would likely to conciliate the tensions in the Pakistani Army and the Pakistani people.

The United States and the other countries cooperating with it require the UN Security Council to issue another resolution to allow all of the UN operation in Afghanistan including the operation of the ISAF to be applied to Pakistan. The UN expands the ISAF and dispatches it to Pakistan to fight against the Islamic extremists and help the Pakistani Army as the same as they do in Afghanistan. With the integration, the UN may be able to increase the efficiency of its support to the Afghan and Pakistani governments. Concerning the commander of the troops of an

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Jay Solomon, "Clinton Aims to Bolster Ties With Pakistan."

⁴⁹ The Economist Intelligence Unit.

⁵⁰ Jay Solomon, "Clinton Aims to Bolster Ties With Pakistan."

extended ISAF, a non-American would be favorable due to Pakistani anti-American sentiment. In addition, an extended ISAF would be able keep the food and supplies aid for the refugees conducted by the WFP secured.

As for the \$7.5 billion U.S. aid, the United States would contribute it to the UN, and the UN would pay it for Pakistan. The UN would supervise the use of the aid by Pakistan. To increase the efficiency of the aid, it would be useful to refer to the Marshall Plan, as the Washington Post suggested. The Marshall Plan was the economic restoration plan for Europe after the World War II, which adopted “loans to local business.”⁵¹ Even though a government tends to be insufficient and corrupt in its aid expenditure, local business is more likely to use aid effectively due to its obligation to pay back aid to a government. The Washington Post argues that “The result [of the Marshall Plan] was economic growth, employment and a stable middle class that opposed the popular communist parties across Europe.” An adoption of loans to Pakistani local business in the \$7.5 billion aid, hopefully, would replace the word “the popular communist parties across Europe” with “the Islamic extremists across Pakistan.”

The Challenges to this alternation is human resources and funds. It would not be easy for the UN member countries to spend more money and dispatch more troops to Pakistan in addition to Afghanistan. The UN Security Council has already made the decision to obligate the member countries to establish 68,000 troops in the ISAF in Afghanistan, of which 400,000 troops are American.⁵²

In order to resolve the challenges, China would play the key. In the summit meeting held in Beijing on November 17 2009, U.S. President Obama and Chinese President Hu Jintao agreed on the countermeasures against terrorism.⁵³ Even though the joint statement of the two countries did not mention the cooperation in the war on terror in Afghanistan and Pakistan, China would likely be cooperate with NATO members in the operations of an expanded ISAF for two reasons.

The first reason is that China has the Xinjiang issue. There, Uyghur people, the majority of whom are Muslim, provoked insurgency against the governance by Han people, who are the majority in China.⁵⁴ What if Islamic extremists such as the Taliban intervened and fomented Uyghur people to expel the Chinese government? The anti-government protest in Xinjiang would have larger effect than that in Tibet because the protest in Xinjiang may spread to all Muslims living in China. They may also be supported by Muslims living in countries other than China. The Chinese government has already been so wary of the effect of the Islamic extremists in South Asia and Middle East to Uyghur people that it has required the Pakistani government a transfer of custody of those who accused of terror attacks. In response to it, the Pakistani

⁵¹ “Bypassing the aid trap in Pakistan.”

⁵² “UN Security Council Extends NATO Mandate in Afghanistan” *The VOA News*, October 8, 2009, <http://www1.voanews.com/english/news/a-13-2009-10-08-voa7.html> (accessed November 28, 2009)

⁵³ U.S.-China Joint Statement, November 17, 2009.

⁵⁴ Cited in “China Sentence a Death on the Brawl Causing Uyghur Riot,” *The New China News Agency*, October 10, 2009, <http://sankei.jp.msn.com/world/china/091010/chn0910101401001-n1.htm> (accessed November 28, 2009)

government extradited nine Uyghur people to China, who had been arrested as the member of the Islamic extremist in the tribal area.⁵⁵ Therefore, it would be certain that China agrees with the other member countries of the UN Security Council to issue another resolution on an expansion of the ISAF operations. In addition, China would dispatch the Chinese Army to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The second reason is beneficial relations between China and Pakistan. A symbol is the unveiling of a fighter called “Thunder,” in which China and Pakistan have invested and developed together for the first time. The two countries rolled out it at a factory in Pakistan in November 2009.⁵⁶

Conclusion

In Pakistan, the war against the Islamic extremists has hindered development. They have displaced Pakistani people from the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan, threatened the remaining Pakistani to offer their sons to them. In addition, they also have killed Pakistani civilians with bombing as the retaliation for the Pakistani government’s attack against them. The political and military chaos has hampered maintenance of infrastructures such as power plants; shortage of electricity brings about economic stagnation. The UN and the United States have made efforts to stop the violation of human rights and enhance the development by the food and commodity aid, military aid, and finance aid aimed at economic and social development. However, none of them works, due to the anti-American sentiment in the Pakistani Army and Pakistani people.

One of the resolutions for the current situation is an alternative to the United States with the UN. In so doing, the anti-American sentiment in Pakistan may be reduced. In this alternation, China would become the key; it would be able to supplement a UN’s lack of human resources and funds. Playing the key role would be beneficial for China because it is worried about the effect of the Islamic extremists in the South Asia and Middle East to the Xinjiang Muslims.
(3091 words)

⁵⁵ Shuya Yamamoto, “Pakistan Extradite 9 Uyghur to China,” *The Sankei Shimbun*, May 12, 2009, <http://sankei.jp.msn.com/world/asia/090512/asi0905120912004-n1.htm> (accessed November 28, 2009)

⁵⁶ “The First Fighter Co- Developed by China and Pakistan has Completed,” *The Xinhua News*, November 24, 2009, http://www.xinhua.jp/socioeconomy/economic_exchange/241279/ (accessed December 1, 2009)