

## CHAPTER I

### PROLOGUE

"Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim Ideology which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope other will share with us."

~Muhammad Ali Jinnah, *Quaid-e-Azam* Pakistan

### Introduction

**1.1** Pakistan's political history began with the birth of the All India Muslim League in 1906 to "protect Muslim interests, amid neglect and under-representation" and to oppose the Congress and growing Indian nationalism, in return the British Raj would decide to grant LCal self-rule. On 29 December 1930, philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal called for an autonomous new state in "northwestern India for Indian Muslims". The League rose to popularity in the late 1930s. Muhammad Ali Jinnah espoused the 'Two Nation Theory' and led the League to adopt the Lahore Resolution of 1940, demanding the formation of independent states in the East and the West of British India. Eventually, a successful movement led by Jinnah gained independence from the British, on 14 August 1947. Promulgation of Constitution in 1956 lead to Pakistan declaring itself as an Islamic Republic (official name) with the adoption of parliamentary democratic system of government. The Constitution transformed the Governor-General of Pakistan into President of Pakistan (as head of state). The last sixty nine years of Pakistan's existence, ever since its independence, has seen the state vascillate between democracy and martial law in almost equal measure. In the formative years, there was instability on account of differences between the Bengalis in East Pakistan and the Punjabis or Pathans of West Pakistan.

The Bengalis of East Pakistan were victims of oppression which eventually led to the creation of an independent state of Bangladesh. It would be evident that every democratic era was succeeded by a military era. The military has invariably taken control by dismissing the elected government. Even the democratic eras have been marred with Presidents sacking elected Prime Ministers. In one instance, in less than two years from 1956-58, President Iskander Mirza dismissed four elected Prime Ministers – Maulana Bhashani, I Chundrigar, Sir Feroz Noon & Nurul Amin. The period also saw a number of prominent leaders being assassinated/ eliminated, i.e. Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President Zia-Ul-Haq and Benazir Bhutto, some under mysterious circumstances. The period has also witnessed numerous coups to usher in military rule. The evolution of Pakistan has been marred by instability in governance under shadow of mistrust and deceit. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to the creation of Taliban by Pakistan with financial and military hardware support of the United States of America in order to combat the Soviets in Afghanistan. Pakistan is in a state of turmoil due to the following reasons:-

- (a) Predominant and coercive role of Pakistan Army in State affairs.
- (b) Active policy of Pakistan as a State sponsor of Terrorism in Afghanistan & India.
- (c) Excessive friction between the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, which has impaired development.
- (d) Inherent mistrust between the organs of governance.
- (e) Lack of development of infrastructure and national capacity.
- (f) Provided space for Islamist clerics to pursue their agenda – ‘Talibanisation’.

- (g) Severely impacted economic development.
- (h) Widened the existing fault lines – Baluchistan, FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

### **Statement of the Problem**

**1.2** Pakistan is an important Western neighbour of India. It is a country with which India shares a boundary of 2,900 kms, of which 772 kms is disputed and is referred to as the Line of Control (LC) and 121 kms is not demarcated and is referred to as the Actual Ground Position Line (AGPL). India – Pakistan disputes centers around the state of Jammu and Kashmir and as a consequence, India and Pakistan have fought four full scale wars. Pakistan has been actively abetting terrorism earlier in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir and now across in all bordering states of India with Pakistan. Since 1988, India has lost 50,000 lives to terrorism at the rate of almost 90 lives per month, which can be ascribed to Pakistan's active abetment to cross border terrorism<sup>1</sup>.

**1.3 Terrorism.** Pakistan remains the hub of terrorism in the South Asian sub-continent. It has itself been severely afflicted by the scourge of terrorism and this can be borne out by the fact that since 2001, 45,000 Pakistanis have died in terrorism related violence, including 7,000 security personnel. Suicide bombings were unheard of before 9/11; there have been 300 since then. The country's biggest city, Karachi, is a battlefield. Pakistan also remains a state sponsor of terror. Three of the five most-wanted on America's counter-terrorism list live in Pakistan. The mastermind of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Riedel Bruce (2013). 'Battle for the Soul of Pakistan.' Available at <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/battle-for-the-soul-of-pakistan/>. Accessed on 21 August 2016.

- (c) **Focused Group Discussion.** Theme based focused group discussion was held with domain experts during the course of the research.

### **Chapterisation Scheme**

1.30 The study will be presented in the chapters as given out in the subsequent paragraphs.

1.31 **Chapter I – Prologue.** This chapter contains a brief preamble on the subject giving out the Statement of the Problem, Objectives of the study, Research Design, Research Questions to be answered, Research Rationale, Limitations and Delimitations of the study, Literature Review along with the Chapterisation Scheme.

1.32 **Chapter II – Evolution and Radicalisation of Pakistan.** This chapter traces the evolution of Pakistan analyzing the political changes which led to intermittent Military Rule and the consequent effects on organs of governance which accounted for the present instability. This chapter also delves into radicalisation of Pakistan as the character of Islam moved away from the moderate form of Islam towards the Whahabi-Salafi and Deobandi form of Islam.

1.33 **Chapter III – The Stability Paradigm.** This chapter analyses the various organs of governance; the interplay between various organs of governance through Pakistan's evolution; religious , sectarian and ethnic conflicts; state of the Pakistan economy including structural weaknesses of the economy which has made it very

fragile; nuclearisation of Pakistan and the potential instability it can cause in the sub-continent; terrorism which has been used by Pakistan as an instrument of state policy which has now come back to haunt Pakistan itself; the instability on account of the strife in Baluchistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and finally the chapter examines the instability caused as a result of Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan.

**1.34 Chapter IV – India's Engagement with Pakistan.** This chapter evaluates the various facets of engagement of India with Pakistan so that the strategic imperatives for dealing with Pakistan can be envisaged.

**1.35 Chapter V – Strategic Imperatives for India.** In light of the instability in Pakistan and the consequent outlook towards India, this chapter deals with the Political, Diplomatic, Economic, Military and Internal strategic imperatives for India in dealing with Pakistan.