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## **From the Chairman's Desk**

Afghanistan has, since last three decades, been a major foreign policy concern for Pakistan. With the Saur Revolution to the Soviet invasion and now the US military action with NATO forces, Afghanistan has enormously influenced Pakistan's polity, domestic and foreign policy. The current phase of bilateral relations is of particular concern as Pakistan is being accused by Kabul for the instability and violence in Afghanistan. President Karzai has publicly accused Pakistan of being a "sanctuary for terrorists".

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee decided to have a transparent honest and informed assessment of Afghan situation and invited 4 experts having unique insight into the Afghan affairs. They included a former ambassador, an internationally recognized Afghan expert and journalist and media experts with intimate knowledge of Afghanistan's politics and culture. Their testimonies were revealing and rewarding.

The presentation and the recommendations they made are worthy of serious consideration and implementation by the governments of both countries.

The verbatim record of their testimonies makes this Report a landmark document laying out the problem in perspective in a frank manner through public hearings.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is committed to bringing out the truth in dealing with contentious issues to facilitate a solution and help conflict resolution in the light of facts on the ground and thus promote better understanding among the two countries.

This Report, the first in 2007 and the 13<sup>th</sup> in the series of published reports, is an attempt to link Parliament to policy-making on issues vital to peace, security and stability in our volatile region.



**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed**



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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## Executive Summary

Recognizing the importance of continuing Afghanistan crisis and its impact on bilateral relations, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee held a meeting to hear the views of four experts to speak on the topics mentioned against each:

- i. Mr. Ahmed Rashid**  
Afghanistan: regional and international dimension.
- ii. Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand**  
Pakistan-Afghanistan relations: what is to be done?
- iii. Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai**  
Afghanistan: Taliban resurgence or Pukhtun resistance?
- iv. Mr. Hasan Khan**  
Impressions of his recent visit to Afghanistan.

Mr. Ahmed Rashid's talk was divided into three parts. The first part detailed the reasons of the Afghan crisis. The second dealt with misrepresentation of the internal affairs of Afghanistan by Pakistani authorities and finally he made some recommendations for the solution of the Afghan crisis. Dwelling on the first part of his presentation Mr. Ahmed Rashid said that the Afghan crisis was largely due to:

- (i) United States failure to prioritize nation building after its victory in Afghanistan in 2001;
- (ii) Failure of the entire international community to assist in the reconstruction of Afghanistan;
- (iii) Failure of President Karzai in providing good governance;

- (iv) The rising insurgency in Afghanistan and the radicalization of the border region. Harboring Taliban leadership inside Pakistan and allowing them to reorganize and rearm over the last five years;
- (v) Pakistan's failure to democratize FATA and give a chance to the people of FATA whether they want to form a new province or continue as a federally administered area;
- (vi) Failure on the part of Pakistan to overhaul the Madrassahs;
- (vii) Failure of Pakistan's reconstruction strategy in Afghanistan. There is no Pakistani landmark in Kabul or anywhere else in Afghanistan. On the other hand, India has launched an imaginative and creative programme to win the hearts and minds of the Afghans.

Discussing the internal affairs of Afghanistan Mr. Ahmed Rashid criticized Pakistan's policies of not supporting the Afghan government and overplaying the Pukhtun card; and maintaining that 60% Pukhtuns have not been given due representation in the Cabinet etc.; while the fact is that the Ministers of Defence and Finance are both Pukhtuns. The Interior Minister and the Foreign Minister are both non Pukhtuns but have nothing to do with Northern Alliance. The Northern Alliance warlords were removed from the Cabinet by President Karzai during 2004-05. The removal of General Fahim was a major political event in Afghanistan and which Karzai did at enormous risk to himself.

Mr. Ahmed Rashid stated that Pakistani statements constantly portray and over exaggerate the role of India. There are four Indian consulates in Afghanistan and not six as is repeatedly said. In

1979, Iran, Pakistan and India, all had four consulates each in Afghanistan and the Indians are back to that position.

Mr. Ahmed Rashid said that Pakistan needs to register all mobile and satellite phones in the border region so as to prevent the use of this technology by the Taliban, both Pakistani and the Afghan. Pakistan needs to encourage the MMA and the Intelligence Agencies to allow moderate Taliban to emerge, who would be willing to hold dialogue with the Karzai Government. He recommended that the Senators and Parliamentarians may visit Kabul to understand the Afghan hatred for Pakistan, which is washing all the good that Pakistan has done to Afghanistan since 1979.

Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand, former Chief Secretary of NWFP and former Ambassador to Afghanistan, stated that Pakistan should be conscious of the tremendous socio cultural convulsions of Afghanistan and show a high degree of maturity and understanding in dealing with the people whose pride is wounded, whose country is betrayed, whose land is occupied, whose future is uncertain and whose destiny is obscure. He recounted all the good things that have happened in Afghanistan which include election of the President, the election of the Parliament, international support from countries like USA, EU, Middle East, Japan, China, Russia, Central Asia and South Asia and the massive developmental work but that does not seem to reflect the aspirations of the people of Afghanistan. There is an ongoing insurgency which is getting worse by the day. The insurgency has now spread to Western Afghanistan while the writ of the Government extends only to some cities and highways. Forty three thousand foreign troops provide security to the Government. A strong ethnic factor is at work. With breakdown of the institutions the impact of billion of dollars

of assistance has not been felt on the lives of the ordinary Afghans.

Lack of a consistent policy has damaged our credibility in the eyes of most Pukhtuns. Pukhtuns were hostile because of the support we provided to Hekmatyar and then to Taliban. Now the Pukhtuns have turned against us for having abandoned the Taliban. The refugees are being asked to return home ensuring that they also become hostile. The goodwill created in Afghanistan was destroyed by incompetent handling, sponsoring individuals in groups, ignoring the long term goals of Pakistan's policy, disregarding Iran's role and excluding it from the scheme of things. There is no level playing field now for Pakistan vis-à-vis Iran and Russia.

Mr. Hasan Khan based his observations on a recent tour of Kabul and Jalalabad. He stated that the Afghans are convinced that whatever is happening in Afghanistan is backed by Pakistan and is the handiwork of Pakistani agencies.

The Afghans are convinced that the Taliban have a base in Pakistan and they come from Pakistan. Taliban and Al-Qaeda are now interchangeable words. Mr. Hasan was of the view that one has to agree with the Afghans because the insurgency is in the Pukhtun areas bordering Pakistan.

The only chance for Pakistan is the option of Jirga where Pakistan can play its cards rightly and agree to stop its activity in Afghanistan. President Karzai and the members of Afghan Parliament are awaiting the Jirga as they feel that it will decide the matter of Pakistan's involvement in Afghanistan and the insurgency.

Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai's focus was whether Taliban resistance is a Pukhtun nationalist resistance movement or otherwise. He went in

great details to emphasize that it was not a Pukhtun movement. He asserted that the nature of the Taliban movement is very secretive like that of a communist party. But due to his interactions with Mullah Muhammad Omar and the general Taliban cadre, he realized that being Pukhtuns they are an Islamic movement rather than a secular Pukhtun movement. Referring to his meetings with Mullah Omer where he asked him why Taliban were hosting Osama Bin Laden? Is it because you are a Muslim or you are a Pukhtun and following your traditions? Mullah Omer on every occasion replied that Osama Bin Laden is being hosted because he is a Muslim and we have provided him refuge because he is in trouble the way he supported the Mujahideen when the Afghans were in trouble. Mullah Omer on one occasion said that Afghanistan has been destroyed in the war and if the rest is destroyed in trying to protect Bin Laden, we are ready to do that.

The Taliban movement has always been more disciplined than the other groups. When Taliban came into power Pashto became the dominant language in Afghanistan replacing Persian or Dari. The communication was in Pashto and so was the language of the newspapers. Despite their insistence that they are an Islamic movement, their dress, language, writings and culture were of Pukhtun tradition. They could not stop the national dance of the Pukhtuns that continued to be performed at weddings and other places during the rule of the Taliban.

President Hamid Karzai is a Pukhtun. Most of the Governors are Pukhtuns and most of the top positions are held by Pukhtuns. Initially there was dominance of the Northern Alliance but that has been gradually undone by President Hamid Karzai. He concluded by saying that Taliban movement is still a religious movement but is gradually taking the shape of a Pukhtun

movement because all the military operation are taking place in the Pukhtun belt.

Senator Nisar A. Memon raised the questions on the reasons for Pakistan's inability to reach out to Uzbeks, Tajiks and the Turkmen and the position of the Afghan Government on the Turkmenistan-Pakistan pipeline and Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline.

Mr. Ahmed Rashid responded that most of the projects detailed in the working paper have not been completed or have taken a long time to complete. Importantly, there has been no projection of these projects the way other countries have projected theirs. The Foreign Office has never taken a team of journalists to Afghanistan to project and highlight Pakistan's projects. He agreed with Senator Memon that historically Pakistan has backed the Pukhtuns to the detriment of having good relations with the other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. Given the security situation in Balochistan the Gwadar Port will be a non-starter. No Central Asian country will trade through southern Afghanistan as long as there is an insurgency there. On the one hand, we are housing the Taliban leadership but we are not talking to the Baloch for peace in Balochistan. Mr. Rahimullah was of the view that roads, hospitals and clinics are coming up and hoped this will bring a positive impact in Afghanistan. According to him the point of concern was that the Afghans arrested in Karachi or Quetta and delivered to the Afghan authorities at Spin Boldak and Chaman are released. The Afghans argue that Pakistani authorities are arresting ordinary Afghans and not the real people required by them.

Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed regretted that the Committee was discussing the Afghan issue so late. He suggested that the Committee should meet in camera to discuss this issue and come



up with an honest assessment and some guidelines on which the Afghan policy should be reformulated as the President, the Government and the agencies have played a role in creating a mess in Afghanistan. The Taliban movement is an indigenous movement and attributing everything to the agencies is over exaggeration. Secondly, he said the role of Iran is very important and that is one of the major failures of Pakistan policy that instead of having a bipartisan policy in cooperation with Iran it has taken a solo flight.

Senator Wasim Sajjad stated that the Government of Pakistan has made a proposal to fence the border with Afghanistan, which the Afghans are opposing. He asked whether this could be a solution and the reasons for Afghan opposition to that idea. Is there any way the Afghan Government can be persuaded to accept this proposal by any arrangement? Will this help in solving the problem of Pakistan being accused?

Senator Latif Khan Khosa stated that Pakistan has borne the maximum brunt of the Afghan crisis since 1979 as it was the frontline state unfortunately used by the Americans for disintegrating USSR and at that time America in fact created Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban. He asked what the Americans have gained in the last five long years in Afghanistan. Have they installed or restored democracy in Afghanistan? We may not agree with the Taliban form of government but nobody has the right to erase an Islamic government just because you do not like their system of governance.

Mr. Khalid Khattak, Additional Foreign Secretary, stated that Pakistan's policy is that it has no preference for any ethnic group, for any kind of government and ideological or ethnic composition of the government in Afghanistan. We want an

Afghanistan which is a friend of Pakistan. Pakistan's assistance to Afghanistan is not to a particular regime but to a neighbouring country. He was of the view that the real situation is characterized by three major failures. The Government policy is aware of the limitations of our influence on the Afghan people. At the same time, the Government policy is taking into account the factors which directly impact Pakistan and on that score, like any other responsible government, it will have to take actions to minimize the negative fall out of what is happening in Afghanistan and in Pakistan itself. The Jirga proposal was made by the Afghan side and we want to be helpful and cooperative. It is difficult for Pakistan to differentiate between a refugee and a Talib, who is crossing the border. He said that Afghanistan will have to take back the refugees for which Pakistan will help in their repatriation with honour and safety.



## Participants of the Meeting

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## Participants of the Meeting of Senate Foreign Relations Committee

December 14, 2006, Parliament House, Islamabad.

### Afghanistan with reference to relations with Pakistan and the region.

1. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed	Chairman
2. Senator Wasim Sajjad	Member
3. Senator Nisar Ahmed Memon	Member
4. Senator Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi	Member
5. Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani	Member
6. Senator Professor Khurshid Ahmad	Member
7. Senator Sardar Latif Khan Khosa	Member
8. Senator Jan Muhammad Khan Jamali, Deputy Chairman, Senate	on special invitation
9. Senator Dr. Muhammad Said	on special invitation
10. Senator Prof. Muhammad Ibrahim Khan	on special invitation
11. Ex-Senator Murad Ali Shah	on special invitation
12. Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, MNA	on special invitation



*Chairman and Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Other parliamentarians also attended the meeting as special invitees.*

The following distinguished experts were also invited who spoke on the topics mentioned against each:

1. Mr. Ahmad Rashid                      Afghanistan: regional and international dimension.
2. Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand        Pakistan-Afghanistan relations: what is to be done?
3. Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai         Afghanistan: Taliban resurgence or Pukhtun resistance?
4. Mr. Hasan Khan                      Impressions of his recent visit to Afghanistan.



*From left: Mr. Ahmed Rashid, Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand, Mr. Hasan Khan and Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai, the experts who briefed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on various dimensions of the Afghanistan situation.*



# Proceedings of the Meeting

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## (Verbatim Record)

- Opening remarks by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- Briefing by experts on Afghanistan situation.
- Question - Answer Session.



## Proceedings of the Meeting of Senate Foreign Relations Committee

### Afghanistan with reference to relations with Pakistan and the region.

December 14, 2006

#### Vebatim Record

#### Opening Remarks:

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Ladies and Gentlemen, the meeting will now come to order. We are very grateful to all the honourable members of the Committee and the distinguished participants for their participation. Today we have arranged this special hearing on Afghanistan.

note that when I came back from America after completing my education, I joined a teaching position at the Pakistan Administrative Staff College, Lahore and there was a course for new entrants into the Foreign Service and Mr. Khalid Khattak was one of those distinguished young



*The Foreign Relations Committee has set the tradition of involving media, public opinion experts and intellectuals for creating better understanding of regional and international issues.*

The experts who have been invited have independent view and not an official view. They write independently and know the areas well. The way we will go about it is that first there will be presentations by the experts present here, starting with Mr. Ahmad Rashid followed by Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand, Mr. Hasan Khan and Rahimullah Yusufzai. Presentation will not exceed twenty minutes and after that we will have questions and comments. I would also like to welcome Mr. Khalid Khattak, Additional Secretary and Mr. Abrar Hussain, Director General from the Foreign Office. I just want to add on a personal

officers in the course. Welcome Mr. Khalid Khattak Sahib. Murad Ali Shah Sahib, most welcome sir.

There are some special invitees here. From the National Assembly, Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, who is a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Murad Ali Shah Sahib, he is ex-Senator and has remained our colleague. Regarding the Afghan policy, he is one of the most well informed persons. This is a hearing which is open to everybody, the media and others also. I first request Senator Professor Khurshid Ahmad to recite from the Holy Quran.

Mr. Ahmad Rashid, we will start with you. Mr. Ahmad Rashid needs no introduction. He is one of Pakistan's eminent experts on Afghanistan. He has written a very famous book which was read avidly by everybody immediately after 9/11 and his views have often varied with the officially certified truth due to which he has come in for criticism. At times, he is *persona non grata* with the establishment but he is a distinguished scholar, writer, journalist and academic in his own right and he is also writing for several newspapers in the UK and the West. So, over to you, Mr. Ahmad Rashid, you have up to twenty minutes.

## Briefing by Experts on Afghanistan Situation

**Mr. Ahmad Rashid:** Thank you very much, Mushahid Sahib. It is a great pleasure to be here. It is certainly the first time that I have ever been asked by a Government body and elected body to address it. I have addressed many institutions abroad, the United Nations, the Security Council, the NATO Headquarters, Parliaments in Holland, Norway and also other places but this is the first time that I have the chance of addressing my own parliament and I am very grateful. My talk is divided into three parts. I want to just briefly depict, why is Afghanistan in crisis today and why has there been a Taliban resurgence?

The first point I want to make is that the Afghanistan crisis is largely because of the US failure to prioritize nation building right after the victory in 2001. Almost immediately after that the US went to Iraq. It was totally distracted by Iraq and Afghanistan suffered as there were not sufficient numbers of American troops in Afghanistan and there were not sufficient resources devoted to the country.

The second point is the failure of the entire international community to reconstruct Afghanistan, to provide basic funding which would have at least rebuilt the infrastructure. In Kabul today, provision of electricity is less than it was under the communists. Only 6% of Afghans have electricity. Now five years on after 9/11, that is a disgrace for the international community, for the Americans and for everybody else. And of course, the lack of infrastructure has led to the fact that there has been no investment in agriculture, which has resulted in the increase in the drugs epidemic. There was a very late start to rebuilding the security forces, the Afghan Army and the Afghan Police, and the crisis today has not been faced up by NATO which is also unfortunately not providing enough troops or money for reconstruction.

Thirdly, there have been major successes in having an elected president, an elected parliament and forming a new constitution but unfortunately there have been failures on the part of President Karzai for not being proactive and more decisive in dealing with areas where he does have authority such as good governance, the appointment of honest officials, dealing with drugs and dealing with corruption. These are internal issues where he did have capacity to change things and there has been a failure on his part.

The fourth issue is dealing with the Taliban resurgence and the role played by Pakistan. The Taliban resurgence is certainly linked to all the failures in Afghanistan that I have outlined above but there is another determining fact for the insurgency and the radicalization of the border region which is the harboring of the Taliban leadership inside Pakistan and allowing them to reorganize and re-arm over the last five years. The Taliban are today being allowed to draw from 40 million Pukhtuns in Balochistan, NWFP

and FATA as well as Afghan refugees, who are potential recruits for radicalization of the border region inside Pakistan. I do not need to tell you that a Talibanized belt is being created in FATA, NWFP and all the way down into the Pukhtun belt in Balochistan. Now, I say this on my own personal authority, my personal investigation and also because this is what the NATO Commander in Afghanistan, the Foreign Ministers and Defence Ministers of 14 NATO countries who have been through Afghanistan and Pakistan, have also surmised that the Taliban leadership is based in Pakistan. The US and other world bodies believe this, not to speak of Afghans themselves. Now, the current insurgency created this summer something like 7 to 8 thousand heavily armed Taliban were able to launch offensives in Qandahar, Hilmand and Zabul provinces. Several thousands were slaughtered in the heavy bombardment by NATO and during next spring it is feared that the Taliban will launch even bigger offensives. I do not think that there is any doubt in anybody's mind in Afghanistan that this kind of reorganization and offensive could happen without a safe sanctuary. We should know about sanctuaries because we provided sanctuaries to Afghan Mujahideen in the 1980s, and we provided sanctuaries to Kashmiri resistance in 1990s. I think we and the military know perfectly well what a sanctuary can provide and what it cannot. And let me just say finally that this policy is leading to enormous anti Pakistan feeling inside Afghanistan. It is not just the government that is accusing Pakistan it is the whole Afghan population including the Pukhtuns who remain very adamantly opposed to these policies.

Now, specifically what has been Pakistan's policy and role after 9/11? The US priority in Afghanistan was to catch Al-Qaeda and not Taliban nor rebuilding the country and, unfortunately, I see Pakistan's strategy as

startling in that role in the sense that we were helping the Americans deal with Al-Qaeda. We caught over 700 Al-Qaeda which of course led to a lot of problems for us in FATA but we have not been apprehending Taliban at any level. No senior Taliban leader has ever been handed over or even arrested in Pakistan or held by Pakistan. The fear is that there are various elements in Pakistan who have been helping the Taliban – active or retired members of the intelligence services, the MMA, the Governments of the NWFP and Balochistan, the drug mafia based in Pakistan and extremist Kashmiris and Pakistani groups who had trained and fought previously with the Taliban in Afghanistan. The key element in all this was the state policy, I am not saying the state was involved but I am saying that the key element was the state policy not to prevent any of this from happening and unfortunately that has led to this escalation.

The fifth point is Pakistan's failure to democratize the FATA. Immediately after 9/11, the extremists were demoralized and there was a great deal of realization in the FATA that a referendum was needed. The FATA people should have been given a choice whether to be part of Pakistan or to form a new province. That was denied them and instead we have seen radicalization of the FATA with both Pakistani and Afghan Taliban and Al-Qaeda playing a role there, to the extent that now there is no discussion of political alternatives and instead we are seeing what the Taliban now call the Islamic Emirate of Waziristan. This is a very dangerous situation for Pakistan.

The sixth point is failure to overhaul the Madrassahs which remain, unfortunately, the main sanctuary and recruiting base for Afghan and Pakistani Taliban in Quetta, in Chaman and in FATA itself. Unfortunately, we saw the bombing recently of the Madrassah in Bajaur which only

tends to show that the Madrassah reform programme has really not been carried out in the last five years.

Lastly, Pakistan's reconstruction strategy in Afghanistan has been a miserable failure and I will repeat "a miserable failure". We gave a hundred million dollars to Afghanistan but it has had absolutely no impact. It has taken us four years alone to build the 70 km Jalalabad – Torkham Road which was supposed to be the part of our reconstruction. We took four years to build that road. There is no Pakistani landmark in Kabul or anywhere else in Afghanistan. There is no Pakistani constructed college, university, school, hospital, orthopedic centre or any other kind of center. However, India has launched a massive and I would say a very imaginative and a very creative programme to win the hearts and minds of the Afghans. That programme has affected all Afghan ethnic groups, including the Pukhtuns, the minorities and all classes both the poor and the rich. Now clearly there is battle of influence in Afghanistan between India and Pakistan but we have declined to compete at the economic level due to a complete lack of strategy and due to our limited resources. The fact is that India is giving \$ 600 million and we are giving \$ 100 million does not mean that we should not use that hundred million dollars more effectively to win hearts and minds.

Now, I want to get on to a more sensitive topic. Unfortunately, a great deal of misrepresentation of the internal affairs of Afghanistan is being done by the Pakistan Government, by the Parliament, by the President, by the Foreign Office and by the Foreign Minister. The first issue is that we have since 2001 talked about helping moderate Taliban emerge and of helping forces like the MMA, who are close to the Taliban, to persuade them to create moderate Taliban who would be willing to hold dialogue with Mr. Karzai's

Government. Unfortunately that has not happened. Even five years on, there is still a crying need for this so-called moderate Taliban emerge and talk to Karzai.

Secondly, the Afghans themselves have started a national reconciliation process with the Taliban in 2003 and unfortunately the Government of Pakistan did not support it. I have personal knowledge of many Taliban who were prevented by the Pakistani intelligence agencies from returning to Afghanistan, even though they wanted to and they were being summoned by them. Pakistan, unfortunately, has never endorsed the Afghan reconciliation process which is now headed by Sibghatullah Mujaddadi. This process, if it has the support of Pakistan, I think, could go a long way in helping a joint Pakistan Afghan effort to get these Afghan-Pukhtuns who are still living here as refugees to go back under peaceful conditions.

Thirdly, there have been disparaging ethnic remarks made by the President of Pakistan in particular, by the Foreign Office, by the Foreign Minister, which have inflamed Afghans and inflamed the situation in Afghanistan. The President and others have constantly remarked on the internal ethnic situation in Afghanistan, for example, claiming a much higher percentage of Pukhtuns in Afghanistan. Now, what are the facts on the ground? The fact is that there has been no census in Afghanistan since 1977. Nobody knows the percentage of Pukhtuns. The President has repeatedly said that 60 percent of Afghans are Pukhtuns. Without census, the UN has determined, because it organized the parliamentary and presidential elections, that Pukhtuns are not a majority group but they are the largest ethnic group. There is a difference. The President of Pakistan has defined them as the largest ethnic group at 60 percent. I do not know from where he has taken that figure. He

has been unfortunately misinformed. Anyway, if Karzai was to talk about Punjabis, Sindhis and Baloch in this manner, there would be uproar. I think honourable Senators themselves would complain about this. I think we should give the Afghans due consideration that this kind of interference is avoided. The ethnic situation in Afghanistan is very tense; we know that comments by outsiders certainly do not help.

Fourthly, the constant reference by Pakistani leaders that there are not enough Pukhtuns in the Afghan Cabinet shows how uninformed Pakistani leaders are about the real situation and unfortunately I go back to that and ask; who is misinforming the President, who is misinforming the Foreign Ministry, from where this information is coming? Let me just say and make it very clear; all major ministries in Afghanistan are held by Pukhtuns. The Defence Minister is Pukhtun and Finance Ministry, that is to deal those who have money under their control, is held by a Pukhtun. The only non Pukhtuns are the Interior Minister, who is a Tajik and who is probably about to be replaced and the Foreign Minister who is a Herati – both are loyal to the President. Both had nothing to do with the Northern Alliance and in fact they were abroad and opposed to the Northern Alliance.

The second part of this has been the constant statements by Pakistani leaders that the Panjsheris, Tajiks and the Northern Alliance warlords are still in control. In fact the Northern Alliance warlords were removed from the Cabinet by Karzai in 2004 and 2005. It is unfortunate that General Faheem's removal, which was a major political event in Afghanistan and which Karzai did at enormous risk to himself, was never appreciated by Pakistan. The last Panjsheri, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdullah Abdullah was removed last year.

So, I think, there has to be some recognition that the ethnic format of the Cabinet has changed but we seem to be harping on what was existing in 2002 and 2003; nobody seems to be informed about the correct situation.

Fifth, the President likens all Pukhtun Taliban and there have been statements by several responsible members of the Government. I think this fact is resented by the Pukhtuns. Not all Pukhtuns like Taliban. The Taliban do not represent Pukhtun culture or Pukhtun traditions. It is not in the Pukhtun traditions to carry out suicide bombing. It is not in the Pukhtun tradition to kill women and children as we saw two days ago in Kabul, in Kunarh Province where two women teachers were killed by the Taliban. I think there has to be a clarification. The fact is that the statement by the Foreign Office and the President is that the Taliban are an indigenous movement in Afghanistan. That is not correct. The Taliban are a cross border movement. They were based both in Pakistan and in Afghanistan. If you remember, in 1994, the first move to overthrow the government of the warlords in Qandahar was carried out by Mullah Omer and he was immediately supported by Afghan Taliban who came from Chaman and Quetta. So let us be realistic. The Taliban are a cross border movement and they are as much a problem to us today as they are a problem to them. We need a joint strategy to deal with this. We cannot lump it all to Afghanistan. On the one hand, the President is saying that we have a Taliban problem in Waziristan and on the other hand, he is saying the Taliban are completely in Afghanistan. So, let us get our policies straight, let us get our facts right.

The personal attacks against President Karzai and vice versa, I think, are totally uncalled for. I think, for the President of Pakistan, the ruler of a country of 116 million people, to call the



President of Afghanistan an ostrich as he did in Washington to mean that he does not even know his own country, I think such remarks are completely uncalled for remarks and naturally they have led to a response from Karzai which is also very unfortunate.

Pakistani statements constantly portray an over exaggerated role for India. I have heard a senior Pakistani military official saying "India has taken over Afghanistan". This is a ridiculous situation. If anybody has taken over Afghanistan, it is the Americans or the NATO. It is certainly not India but India has had a role and is certainly playing a role. There is competition and we can go into that later and it is possibly detrimental to Pakistan but here I give you an example. There are four Indian consulates in Afghanistan. In 1979, Iran, Pakistan and India, all had four consulates each in Afghanistan: Mazar-e-Sharif, Herat, Qandahar and Jalalabad. All these three countries have only gone back to the situation existing in 1979 when they all had four consulates but the briefing being given by Pakistani military officials, the ISPR and the Information Ministry, have constantly told Pakistani journalists that there are four or six Indian consulates along the border. I have heard Pakistani officials say that there is an Indian consulate in Khost, which is not true. Yes, there may be covert activity by the Indians, just as there is by Pakistan but there is no Indian consulate in Khost. So, I think this misrepresentation of Indian role is not helping the dialogue – the Pakistan-India dialogue and it is creating tension with India in Afghanistan also.

What should be our future policy? Well, my recommendations are fairly blunt. Pakistan is correct when it says it cannot close the border, it cannot prevent thousands of Pukhtuns crossing the border back and forth but I think what Pakistan needs to do is to arrest the Taliban leaders living

on its soil. It needs to make more of an effort to arrest them. It needs not to hand them over to the Americans or the Afghans. Pakistan can arrest them and hold them and insist on a dialogue between the Taliban and the Kabul Government.

Secondly, Pakistan needs to ban all shipments of the Taliban equipment that is arriving from abroad, including night vision equipment, arms and ammunition and communications equipment. The Taliban are re-equipping inside Pakistan. This equipment is not being given by Pakistan. It is being given to the Taliban through the drug traders who are able to buy and ship enormous amount of equipment. This has to be stopped. Pakistan needs to register all mobile and satellite phones in the border regions so as to prevent the use of this technology by the Taliban – both the Pakistani and the Afghan. Pakistan needs to shut down fund raising by the Taliban in Pakistan through the drug trade, through mosques, through Madrassahs, through extremist groups and private donations. Pakistan needs to encourage intra institutional contacts between the Afghan and Pakistan Parliaments, between the Senates of the two countries, between the provincial councils and the governments.

It is amazing that after four years there has been no meeting of the two parliaments, no meeting of the two Senates, no meeting even of the local district administration, the Frontier Province and the FATA with the other side. Pakistan needs to condemn Taliban leaders including Mullah Omer and Mullah Dadullah as criminals responsible for the murder of Afghan civilians, women, teachers and NGOs workers. Would we tolerate Pakistani Pukhtuns based in Afghanistan killing Pakistani women and teachers and burning down 300 schools? That is what the Taliban have done today in Afghanistan. Pakistan needs to encourage the MMA, the intelligence agencies

to allow moderate Taliban to emerge, who are willing to hold dialogue with the Karzai Government. Pakistan needs a concrete strategic re-building strategy for Afghanistan. It needs a strategy which will win hearts and minds and be more effective than it has been. Pakistan needs to look to Afghanistan without looking through the prism of its dealings with India. It needs to look at the stability in Afghanistan for itself rather than constantly referring back to the problems with India.

Finally, Pakistan has made enormous sacrifices for Afghanistan. There is absolutely no doubt about that. We have lost thousands and

initiated through the Afghan Ambassador here that we would like to invite a delegation of our counterparts of the Afghan Parliament to have a parliamentary dialogue and that we are ready to also take a delegation to Kabul, whenever they are ready. We have extended an invitation to Mr. Qanooni, the Speaker of the Afghan Parliament to visit Pakistan and we hope that the invitation will be accepted soon.

**Senator Jan Muhammad Jamali:** Sir, before you say something, I will just add to your information. I was recently in Iran for meeting of the recently formed Asian Parliamentary Association. Afghanistan which had an observer



*Interaction with subject specialists on regional and international issues gives a better perspective and understanding of the issues to the parliamentarians as well as general public through media.*

thousands of people in all sorts of activities since 1979. Unfortunately, the way we are going now, we are just letting it go because the amount of hatred building up in Afghanistan for Pakistan needs to be addressed and I think, the Senators and the Parliamentarians need to go to Kabul to understand the feelings of the Afghans at the moment. We need to address this problem. Thank you very much.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much, Ahmad Rashid Sahib. I just want to add for your information that we have already

status was given a permanent member status, which move was fully supported by Pakistan. This was an update for your information.

**Ex-Senator Syed Murad Ali Shah:** People in the parliaments of both the countries have no links with each other. I want to bring to your kind notice that our President desired to address their parliament but Mr. Qanooni did not permit him to do so.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** We will talk on this point later on when the floor will be



opened for discussion. At present, we have to listen to the presentations of all participants and after that we will comment on them. Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand has been Chief Secretary in the Frontier Province and also Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan. He is very up front, independent and a man of integrity. He does not speak the official truth – “*sarkari sach*” and he speaks his mind. I had a chance to meet him when he hosted us in Kabul where I was leading a Muslim League delegation to Afghanistan in 2003. Sir, it is a pleasure to welcome you. Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand.

**Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand:** Sir, it is a great honour and a privilege to be addressing this august gathering of Parliamentarians. I would need to put the situation in some perspective in order to generate a constructive debate. When we focus on our relations with Afghanistan, I think, we must be conscious of the tremendous socio cultural convulsions of that country and show a high degree of maturity and understanding in dealing with the people whose pride is wounded, whose country is betrayed, whose land is occupied, whose future is uncertain and whose destiny is obscure. On the one hand, today, ladies and gentlemen, there is a government in Afghanistan which is backed by the whole world. There has been no government in the history of that country, which has such overwhelming support of the entire international community. There is a support from countries like North America, E.U., Middle East, Japan, China, Russia, Central Asia and South Asia and this support is not manifesting itself in political terms. It extends to generous economic and military assistance. Over the past five years, Afghanistan has received more than 14 billion dollars in international assistance which is a huge amount of money. Major infrastructure projects have been undertaken, some vital roads have been reconstructed, new houses have been

built, schools have been established and many renovated hospitals are being equipped, some power and irrigation projects have been launched, urban developments projects have been executed, thousands of Afghans have been trained in sectors such as education, health, telecommunications, etc. A new Afghan Army has been raised and a new police force has also been created. Jobs have been created in thousands. There has been a construction boom which has helped raise the prices of urban land and rents have gone up. And above all election has been held. An elected President and an elected Parliament are in place. Elected provincial councils are also functioning.

Now, this is one side of the picture. But despite these pluses, the system does not seem to reflect the aspirations of the people. Forty three thousand foreign troops provide security to the government. There is an ongoing insurgency which is getting worse by the day. Twenty attacks on an average are launched against the government installations, its army and the coalition forces. The insurgency has now spread to western Afghanistan. The writ of the Government extends only to some cities and highways. Defections from the army abound insurgence attacks are met with disproportionate use of heavy artillery, tanks, rockets and aerial bombardment. This entails unintended colossal damage. No wonder the death toll has increased manifolds in the recent months. House searches and mass detentions have made life miserable for most ordinary Afghans in south and eastern Afghanistan. Persecutions are common. Humiliation in the detention camps are widespread phenomenon. With no checks and controls in place, the captives can do what they like to innocent helpless detainees. On the slightest suspicion, detainees are transported to Guantanamo Bay which has become a graveyard for values like decency, morality and

compassions. The masses, in these circumstances, cry out and try to reach anyone who could have the authority to listen and intervene.

In southern and eastern Afghanistan hundreds of schools and clinics are shut. NGOs and many UN agencies have left the areas, resulting to further compounding the economic woes and reducing rehabilitation and reconstruction to a yoke. Despondency is there for the rule rather than the exception. Now, five years on, half of Kabul city is without power. On the whole, 6 to 8% population of the country has access to power, 12% to clean drinking water and 13% to basic sanitation. 20% children below age 5 die of malnutrition. Drought has taken its toll. Afghan diaspora is in no mood to return except those who could be assured of lucrative positions, disproportionate to their skills and capacities.

A strong ethnic factor is at work also. The biggest casualty of years of fighting is the break down of the institutions. In the absence of the institutional checks and controls, administrative and developmental policies have suffered. There are undue delays, un-wanted obstructions and an unchecked graft. Endemic corruption has caused un-quantifiable loss of money to the exchequer and has severely upset the calculation pertaining to economic recovery. Now, with the institutions at their weakest, the impact of billions of dollars of assistance has not been felt on the lives of ordinary Afghans. As the inflows diminish and the state apparatus is not able to generate its own resources, there is going to be another social upheaval in the country.

Afghanistan, the space of frightening scenario – this is the other side of the picture. Expanding insurgency is a manifestation of the deep psychological, social and administrative malice which basically stems from the occupation of the

country. Let us also understand that increase in the level of attacks does not mean a substantial increase in support for the Taliban. Taliban, even after five years – the last five years of mis-governance, lawlessness, corruption, mass detentions and humiliation of prisoners, do not enjoy overwhelming support amongst the masses. Ordinary Afghans blame them for harsh penalties, for lack of economic opportunities, during their rule. Many Afghans also blame them; hold them accountable for the occupation of the country and the fact that their hot stance led to Afghanistan sovereignty being compromised. Now, having said that let me also add that many Afghans long for the time when there was peace, order and justice for most Afghans. They remember the formidable achievements made by the Taliban which include disarming the population, dismantling private armies, instituting system of administration of justice – a virtually corruption free system, and elimination of opium poppy. But the Taliban rule could have delivered more.

I must confess that at a very important juncture in the history of the troubled nation, Pakistan could have done more in terms of providing a vision and a direction to the state and its rulers. Pakistan was ideally placed to help the statesmanship and help defining the objectives and strategy of a group of people who were not well-versed in statecraft, and who believed isolation would pose no problems. It was a huge miscalculation. On the one hand, we did not help in creating a trust and utilizing that trust help in the design of crucial policy issues which could end the country isolation and, on the other hand, we ignored the vital role of Iran, an important neighbour. We did not allow Iran to enter the equation and naively believed that the Taliban policies are correct and that it could become a surrogate state. Let me also hasten to add that this perception was confined to those who were



executing the policy and not really the framers of policy. The framers of policy were perhaps not made aware of the many pitfalls that would lie ahead by following introverted policies which would only deepen Afghanistan's isolation.

Pakistani establishment believed incorrectly that they have finally dealt with the problem of Afghanistan. In that, most pro-Pakistan Government of simple, straight forward Madrassahs related students have been established and that by eliminating the last remaining obstacle to complete the Taliban control i.e. defeating Engineer Commander Masood, the problem of Afghanistan would be over. The crucial relevance of Iran was, once again, overlooked and that sent extremely disturbing signals to an important neighbour both of Pakistan and Afghanistan. In the wake of the September attacks on the twin towers and the Pentagon, the new policy created some problems. Whereas the complete U-turn did bolster Pakistan's image in helping create a new equation between the government of Pakistan and Kabul, it also created unfavorable impressions about the moral basis that we follow in the total absence of consistency in policies that we design. People thought expediency drive us into abandoning allies. What is more, it has damaged our credibility in the eyes of most Pukhtuns.

Now, we are in a very difficult situation. Non Pukhtuns were hostile because of support we provided to Hekmatyar and then to Taliban. The Pukhtuns have turned against us for having abandoning the Taliban. In the last segment of Afghan population the refugees are now being asked to return home, ensuring that they also become hostile. I remain of this conviction, having stayed with the problem for over two decades that lending support to one *Tanzeem* or group or individual to the exclusion of others and seeking to promote favorites has been a huge failure that has been our undoing in Afghanistan. Instead of

investing in the country, in its people as wise counsels would have warranted, we seem focused on creating friends who would do our bidding, the Afghan proved more mature actors in the end.

Now, having hosted 3.2 million Afghan refugees in our soil for long years, having trained and sheltered the Mujahideen, having exposed itself to the wrath attacks of a super power, Pakistan created a huge reservoir of goodwill in Afghanistan but that was destroyed by incompetent handling, sponsoring individuals in groups, ignoring the long term goals of Pakistan's policy, disregarding Iran's role and excluding it from the scheme of things. This has resulted in an awkward situation. There is no level playing field now for Pakistan vis-à-vis other regional players, notably Iran and Russia.

As far as the objective of playing an effective role in bringing about regional stability in promoting greater political and economic cooperation is concerned, all the goodwill, unfortunately, has evaporated. Why has it been replaced by an abiding sense of anger, acrimony and hatred, and why are there such deep suspicions without Pakistan's motives? Why every move is weaved with the greatest skepticism. Historians would ponder to seek answers to these questions but having been a student and observer of these tumultuous events, I may venture to submit that lack of vision, lack of foresight, lack of long term prospective, were perhaps the principal factors which contributed to this policy.

Now, we have to start with recognizing the ground realities. The ground realities are, in my view, as long as the coalition forces are present in Afghanistan, there would be resistance against occupation. The resistance would not depend, I would beg to disagree with Mr. Ahmad Rashid,

on external support and it will grow or diminish in intensity depending upon a number of other factors. As long as there is armed resistance against the occupation, the government would blame Pakistan and relations would never become ideal and friendly. I think, this has been demonstrated in the outburst of Mr. Karzai in the last two or three days. No matter what you do, Afghans would continue to blame Pakistan for the violence in Afghanistan. Seen in this context, it would appear that we are supporting a government which remains deeply critical of not only our actions but also our intentions. Should we then continue to lend support to a government which is engaged in relentless vilification campaign against Pakistan? Should we continue to back a government whose President, after all these engagements at the highest level and all these actions and overtures, just the other day told foreign journalists that it is not the Taliban but Pakistan which need to be perhaps sorted out. Is it for the Government; is it for this Government that we have let more than 750 of our soldiers getting killed and 500 tribesmen getting killed, in order to provide stability to Mr. Karzai's Government. We have to take a long look at the regional situation. We cannot take a U-turn, yet again.

What are the options? We begin to focus on wining hearts and minds of the people of Afghanistan. We should establish hospitals in some areas including those in the north. We should reach out to ethnic groups like Hazaras, Uzbeks and Turkmen besides Tajiks. Medical Camps, I think, have to be organized in selective cities. Large hospitals have to be built. I.T. Centers could be opened. We should raise the number of Afghan students seeking admission in our universities and colleges. This will be an investment in future Afghanistan – in the future leadership of that country. Training facilities could be offered and increased in sectors like banking,

agriculture, Police, Army, medicines, etc. Travel should be made easier. More routes need to be opened. Better management at the check posts should be ensured. We should implement, in conjunction with international community, an ambitious broader infrastructure of projects aimed at rapid socio-economic uplift of the people on both sides of the divide. We should also begin to access Central Asia through Afghanistan in a more robust fashion than has hitherto been possible.

This is one option. The other option is that we, using the medium of OIC, encourage contacts between various Afghan groups to reach a broad consensus on ways to deal with the aftermath of the withdrawal of coalition forces. The OIC has to be part of these efforts. Iran has to be an indispensable factor in these endeavours. The groups would have a clout influence and this approach would envisage that contacts are established with people like Qanooni, Mohaqqiqi, Dostam, remnants of Hekmatyar and the Taliban. They have to be under the auspices of the OIC, represented in a new interim set up to be installed in a situation where there would be a basic agreement on the withdrawal of the coalition forces. Such an interim government, if it comes to existence, would arrange an orderly withdrawal of the coalition forces. Having withdrawn the foreign troops, peace hopefully will return to the country to be guaranteed by the OIC military presence. The new interim government would immediately endorse or amend the constitution under which elections will have to be held under the auspices of the OIC within one year of the installation of the new government. There would be a peaceful and orderly transfer of power to the new government. The OIC military presence would continue and would terminate one year after the new elected government has assumed control. Insurgency would have ended, removing the root cause of violence inside the country on



the border in Pakistan. Efforts would now focus on general reconstruction and the rehabilitation of the economy. Pakistan and Afghanistan are natural allies. Their relationship would flourish and blossom only when there are representative governments in both countries deriving strength from the masses and rooted in the culture of the area. Natural allies grow and acquire vigor under natural conditions, not under super imposed conditions, not under regimes which do not reflect the aspirations of the people of those countries. This is a lesson that we need to learn sooner rather than later. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much Mr. Rustam Shah Mohmand and I think, nobody would dispute what you have said about Pakistan – Afghanistan being natural allies, neighbours who need each other and thank you for your perspective for the future. Now, I will request Mr. Hasan Khan, Bureau Chief of the AVT Khyber. Mr. Hasan Khan has taken a very good and comprehensive interview of Mr. Karzai, in Kabul recently. We want his insight.

**Mr. Hasan Khan:** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and the worthy Senators for giving me this opportunity to honestly share with you what I saw in Afghanistan during my ten days stay there. I was in Jalalabad, Kabul and the suburb of Kabul. Fortunately, during my ten days stay there, I met with different people; the man on the street, the MPs, journalists, women and officials at the highest level. I had two interactions with President Karzai, one on Friday and the other on Sunday and both the times I met him for one hour.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I think the latest interview that Mr. Karzai has given to any Pakistani journalist is Mr. Hasan.

**Mr. Hasan Khan:** It was an honour for me. I was

amazed to see the level of their confidence in the way that they were so much convinced that what is happening right now in Afghanistan is backed by Pakistan. It is the handy work of the Pakistani agencies. This is a kind of *tazzad* (inconsistency) in Afghanistan. On one hand, they are convinced that what is happening in Afghanistan is done the Government of Pakistan, ISI and particularly Punjabis. There is a culture in Afghanistan to say Punjabi, not Pakistani. They say that Pukhtun, Sindhis, and Baloch are not doing this, these are only Punjabis. According to them a Pukhtun will never kill a woman or destroy a school, it is only the Punjabi mentality that is doing it. While on the other hand, I met the ordinary people; they are so much in love with the people of Pakistan. They are still nostalgic about the life they spent here in Pakistan during the days of their refuge. They still realize that we have been in Peshawar, Faisalabad, Karachi, Lahore and everywhere in Pakistan. They still talk about it. But when you talk of insurgency in Afghanistan, the situation suddenly takes a U-turn and then there is no friendship, then there is no realization of hospitality, extended by the people of Pakistan to them.

I came across diverse opinions in Afghanistan. These are all just my personal experiences and not my personal opinions. I will share with you what I saw there. At the official level, right from President Karzai down to an ordinary man working in the hotels and restaurants, whenever there is talk on Pakistan they get annoyed and say that they are confused and cannot understand what Pakistan is doing. This is a big question. They want to know what Pakistan wants from Afghanistan – and this is what President Karzai told me twice that this Jirga will be a kind of '*nanawaatae*'. Rahimullah Sahib is here, Rustam Sahib is here and they will explain the word "Nanawaatae" – that this Jirga is aimed to go as nanawaatae to the Government of Pakistan

and the people of Pakistan to say; Okay, if we have done anything wrong to you in the history, we are here to apologize for it, but please stop what you are doing in Afghanistan. We will apologize to the people of Pakistan, to the Government of Pakistan about the wrong decision that we have taken in history regarding the Pakistani Government and Pakistan.

When one is in Kabul and receives any report from Badakhshan, Helmand, Kandahar, Herat, Paktika or anywhere in Farah, etc., without any investigation the Afghans will say it has been done by the Pakistani agencies. They are so much convinced. When I point out during my several interactions with them, that there are reports even in Kabul and people are talking about the American role of creating a group of Taliban to counter or defame the Taliban, and that there are other elements particularly the Chinese and Iranian elements that they want to keep the pot boiling for the Americans so that they should leave this region as soon as possible. The Afghans are never ready to hear that Iran, India, the NATO or anybody else is doing anything wrong in Afghanistan. They say; no, this is Pakistan. They are so much convinced. And these daily reports are, I think, now the official propaganda. I am using the word propaganda in the Pakistani context but in Kabul it is not propaganda alone, they take it as a fact. Officially, they do not say that so many people are killed, so many people are injured. They say; children are being killed, teachers are being killed, Madrassas are being destroyed. So, they try to inject it in such a powerful manner through media. I met a journalist in Kabul and I think that they are too much influenced by the American training on how to project and then inject an issue into people's mind. They will always tell you that children were killed in front of the Interior Ministry; children were killed in Helmand, in Badakhshan, in Paktika, in Kandahar. They will

never say people were killed, they will use the terms children, women and Madrassah. So this is the media there.

Then I had interaction with two – three T.V channels, particularly the 'Talu' which is considered to be very much hostile towards Pakistan and people say that Iran is financing while India is running it. Now India has sold its very famous drama '*Sass Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thee*', which they have translated in their local languages, Pashto and Dari. Wherever you go, people are watching '*Talu*', due to this drama "*Sass Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thee*". It is very much popular in Kabul.

So, the tickers are going on and this Pukhtun element is very strange. As a Pukhtun you must follow a certain line otherwise you are either ISI, either Talib or Khalqi – these are the three terms. You must be one, either you have to follow the official line otherwise you are from these three groups. I met with so many MPs and they told me, "Hasan, it is very much difficult for us. If we are convinced that Pakistan has not done this and we point it out towards some other country, we are directly dubbed as ISI agents". There is no second thing to it. But once you say that Iran, India or America has done this then there is a lot of government failure.

As far as the corruption is concerned, it is at the highest level. Anwar-ul-Haq Hadi is the Finance Minister and I had his interview. I asked him, "Hadi Sahib, just tell me honestly that how much corruption is there?" I asked that at least half of the amount has been spent. He said that no, the major part of the money has been wasted in corruption. The Finance Minister himself said that there is so much corruption; "when you are in Kabul or Jalalabad, believe me, you will realize that how much poor Pakistan is." When we talk about corruption there, it is not in Afghani and



Pakistani rupee it is in millions of dollars. There is so much corruption there that they are always talking about 4 hundred thousand dollars, 3 hundred thousand dollars or 2 million dollars, 3 million dollars. They are talking about the corruption in millions and billions of dollars.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** May we send there Malik Allah Yar, Chairman of Public Accounts Committee. He is very effective in nabbing corruptions.

**Mr. Hasan Khan:** Then, sir, Taliban and Al-Qaeda, again. I will say that they are convinced that the Taliban have a base in Pakistan. They are coming from Pakistan. They said that this is not Al-Qaeda, these are the Taliban. The Taliban and Al-Qaeda are now interchangeable words. So, they say that they have a base in Pakistan. I put this question as a journalist several times to them that look, Iran has an interest in Afghanistan, India has an interest in Afghanistan and the US has an interest in Afghanistan, but they were so much convincing that I had to believe them, because right from Badakhshan down to Kandahar and Helmand, you will see that these are the only areas where there is insurgency. These are the areas where people are being killed. These are areas where Madrassas are destroyed. These are the areas where children are denied going to schools. And everybody will tell you, if Pakistan is interested and it has so much love for the Pukhtun it must come forward because in Afghanistan only the Pukhtun are targeted. The insurgency is in the Pukhtun areas. There is no road in the Pukhtun areas, there is no school running in the Pukhtun areas, there is no hospital under construction in the Pukhtun areas, there is nothing going on in the Pukhtun areas. Nobody can do that. President Karzai told me that he drove right from Kandahar to Kabul when the road was under construction. It took five to six years to complete and the same

project in the northern part of the country took just a few months. So, when he asked the construction company they told him, “Mr. President, when we are here people are welcoming, they provide us food and they provide us security. But when we are there in the Pukhtun areas we are targeted, so we have to take care of so many things there. They steal our equipment, they bully us and they even try to kill us. So, it is not easy to work in the Pukhtun areas” and they again blame Pakistan for it. I have overheard this several times that this is the Pakistan policy to own one side. Even President Karzai himself used the words “stabbing in the back”.

In my interview, President Karzai told me that he is willing to talk to Pakistan. They are convinced that if Pakistan is using the Pukhtun card, it is not serious in it. It has no love lust for the Pukhtun. They just want to keep the Pukhtun down. Particularly the Khalqis and the communists point of view is that the Pakistan wants to put them down and down so that the Pukhtun on the Pakistani side look a bit okay and the issue of Durand Line shall never surface again. So, the Taliban are nourished in Pakistan. They do not have any office in Afghanistan and they are convinced that they do not have any homes in Afghanistan. They have no activity in Afghanistan. They hit and run. They come here and then go back.

As I have told you earlier, if somebody points it to Iran or any other element, he is directly dubbed as an ISI or Punjabi agent. Given my experience in Kabul and in Jalalabad I agree that Pakistan is using this Pukhtun card at a wrong time and in a wrong way because the Pukhtuns are already on the Pakistani side. I think there is no use of going public because it is not earning anything from the Pukhtun side. They (the Pukhtun) say; “please stop it, do not go public”. Because by

going public, they say; “look at Pakistan, every time they are just talking about Pukhtun and Pukhtun” and the Pukhtuns from here also say; “please stop it, we do not need anything from them”.

There is another very interesting thing in Afghanistan and particularly in Kabul, that they are very much worried about the Pukhtuns in Pakistan. They say that in Pakistan the Pukhtuns are not considered as the citizens of Pakistan, they are being dominated by the Punjabis. This view is very common in Afghanistan. Everywhere

know the facts”. There is another view in Afghanistan, that the best way to stop Pakistan’s interference in Afghanistan is to create insurgency in the Pukhtun area of Pakistan. This is the thinking there. There is an understanding that the best thing is to shift the trouble from this side of the Durand Line to the Pakistani side of the Durand Line. And they say it is very easy for them. They have this understanding also that the Pukhtun are very much poor and illiterate. They have been denied rights and subjected in Pakistan. On the bases of this understanding during my interaction, I felt that they are now



*Mr. Hasan, briefing the Committee on his recent visit to Kabul. Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand is seated on his left while Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai on his right. Afghan Charge d’Affaires, Mr. Gulab Majnoon, can also be seen.*

you go, they say, “look! Pukhtuns in Pakistan *Mahqoom thee*, – the Pukhtuns in Pakistan are slaves and we are independent, we have fought the war of independence and are still fighting”. I replied them time and again; we have the equal status in Pakistan and this happens everywhere in the world in a federation. Such things happen in the federating units. There is at times, strife on water, sometimes on resources and sometime on divisible shares. That is a common thing in democracy. But they do not agree and say; “no, we know what kind of behavior is being meted out to you there” and I replied; “I am living in Islamabad, I am working in Islamabad and I

thinking that O.K. if Pakistan is doing this, let us cross the border and do the same there.

I had interaction with several diplomats in Kabul, including the Pakistani diplomats. I found that there is a difference in the way we Pakistanis look at things in Afghanistan and in Kabul and the way other people look at things in Kabul and in Afghanistan. I met with the First Secretary of a very developed country and these were his words, “Pakistan is running out of time, it has lost its options” and according to him Jirga is the only option where Pakistan can rightly put its card and say, O.K, enough is enough, we

have to stop it. “Pakistan is running out of time” were the words of that diplomat. I do not know why he was saying that Pakistan is running out of time. Definitely it reflects the mind of the diplomat community there. They will be looking at Pakistan in a suspicious way. They say that we do not understand what Pakistan wants here. Why Pakistan is doing so? They say Pakistan is the biggest exporter to Afghanistan. Afghanistan’s total import is plus 4 billion dollars, of which Pakistani exports account for about 1.2 billion dollar. So, Pakistan is getting the major share in Afghanistan, as for the Afghanistan imports are concerned. So, instead of inflaming insurgency, instead of giving life to insurgency, instead of backing the insurgents, Pakistan should do more.

On the other hand, when I was coming from Kabul to Torkham, they were still talking about the best road ever made by the Pakistani government. They say that in Afghanistan the Americans have built a road, the Indians and the Iranians have helped to build the roads but the best one is the Pakistani road. I do not know why they are talking too much of the Pakistani products in good terms? They said Pakistan’s petrol is of the best quality. I was filling my vehicle at a filling station and there I asked which fuel is the best, they replied the Pakistani fuel and they referred to the Attock Oil. May be it’s my personal opinion, but they were talking good as far as Pakistani products and its people are concerned – and this is a kind of *tazzad* (inconsistency). The purpose of my visit to Afghanistan was to solicit the views of different people about Jirga.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** You have three more minutes.

**Mr. Hasan Khan:** O.K. sir. I found three kinds of people in the Afghanistan. The people who are from the areas where there is an insurgency,

they are very much anxious for the Jirga that this Jirga will do some thing for them. I met with MPs of Uruzgan, Helmand, Kandahar and Paktika. They said that we are waiting for it and they were hopeful that Pakistan will do something. They expect that the Afghan Government and the Jirga will decide against the Pakistan insurgency. The Jirga will establish that Pakistan is behind the insurgency and backing the Taliban.

Thank you worthy senators for providing me this opportunity. This is my request to all of you that please do something in this matter. The people of Afghanistan still have love for Pakistan, for Pakistani goods, for Pakistani people but at least we must change our policies. It is what they think. Thank you very much.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much, Mr. Hasan Khan. It was a very informative briefing and I am glad that the bottom line is clear that the people of Afghanistan have tremendous goodwill, love and affection for Pakistan and nostalgia is there.

Our last presentation, this afternoon, would be from Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai who is a very distinguished journalist and writer and he and I go back a long way because he was my colleague when I was Editor of the Daily, ‘The Muslim’ and in fact, I discovered him because he was working in the Institute of Regional Studies with General Akram and I wanted to have a new Bureau Chief in Peshawar and I found him a very decent person who writes very well. I called him and I said; “why you are not in journalism” and he was a bit reluctant but he never looked back since then and now he is an eminent expert on Afghanistan and on regional issues and I have always found him a man of tremendous moral courage and tremendous integrity and independence. Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai.

**Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai:** Thank you very much, Mushahid Sahib. Yes, I remember those days. It was 1985 and you offered me the job and I went to Peshawar and the rest as they say is history. I think my topic is fairly simple. Is the Taliban resistance a Pukhtun nationalist resistance movement? I think that I will straight away say, no. I will explain as to why I think like that. The Taliban movement is now twelve years old. It emerged in the autumn of 1994 and we still do not know much about the Taliban, i.e. the nature of the movement. It is very secretive. It is, in a way, very tough – like a communist party. They have got a politburo but they call it Shoora.

I think, to start with, I will tell you a story which will explain the Taliban nature and the nature of their movement. In my meetings with Mullah Muhammad Omer on at least three occasions I asked him as to why the Taliban were hosting Osama Bin Laden. I asked him whether you are doing it because you are a Muslim, you are an Afghan or you are a Pukhtun because the impression was that they are hosting Bin Laden because they were Pukhtuns. It is a Pukhtun tradition or an Afghan tradition to give refuge to somebody in need, somebody in trouble and I wanted him to say that it is a Pukhtun tradition and that they are Pukhtun, that is why they are hosting Osama Bin Laden. He angrily told me on every occasion that we are hosting Bin Laden because he happens to be a Muslim. He said that we are an Islamic movement. We are Muslims and we have given him refuge because he is in trouble. He said Bin Laden was nice to us. When we were in trouble he supported the widows, the orphans and he supported the Afghan Mujahideen. In fact, he brought all those bulldozers and all those trucks and he built the Mujahideen camps in Paktia, in Khost, in Nangrahar and Kunarh. He said that we are grateful to Mr. Bin Laden and now he is in trouble and we are offering him refuge. So that shows

that they always thought about themselves as an Islamic movement, as a Muslim movement and Mullah Omer, on one occasion, even told me that, “look, half of this country of mine – Afghanistan, has been destroyed in the war and if the remaining half is destroyed in trying to protect Bin Laden, I will do that, I am ready for that”. He was willing to go that far to protect Bin Laden. I think all those reports that the Taliban were willing to surrender Bin Laden or were willing to hand him over to a third country were not true because till the end the Taliban and Mullah Omer in particular wanted to protect Osama Bin Laden.

I never, even once, heard the Taliban say that they are a Pukhtun movement. They always referred to themselves as a Taliban Islamic Movement – the “Talibano Islami Tehrik”, that was the official name. They named their country the “Amarat-e-Islami Afghanistan” when they were in power. They renamed their ‘Radio Afghanistan’, as ‘Radio Shariah’. The newspapers were also renamed. So, you know all this symbolism shows that they were always an Islamic movement and they would very angrily deny that they were a Pukhtun movement. They were all products of Madrassahs and the stress was on Islam. They were trying to show that they were good Muslims. So, everyone of importance in the movement was either a Mullah or a Talib. A Mullah is the giver of knowledge. Talib is a seeker of knowledge. Mullah Omer would say; “my education was interrupted by the Afghan Jihad so I am a Talib”. He did not call himself a Mullah. He said; “I am a Talib” and that was why he would refer every issue to the Shoora of Ulema that was very clever also because he could always say that the Shoora has decided this, “I am not the only one who is the decision maker”. Mullah Omer was called Ameer-ul- Momineen and he was given so much authority that his every word was law but even



then he ruled by consensus. I am witness to all that. He would refer every issue to the Shoora and it was the Shoora which could decide the issue of Mr. Osama Bin Laden whether to hand him over to the Americans or not. The issue of the destruction of the Bamyán Buddha, the release of Iranian prisoners and every issue was referred to the Shoora and if the Ulema came up with something, Mullah Omer would always accept that. Shoora is an Islamic way of doing things, like counseling, as we had our own *Majlis-e-Shoora* in 1985. So, they had their own Shoora and even now, there is a ten-member "*Rehbar-e-Shoora*", the leadership council, which is actually managing the jihad or whatever. So, those wordings, those terms are still being used and *Rehbar-e-Shoora* shows very clearly that they still believe in the Islamic inheritance of their movement.

Then, look at the Taliban composition. They came from different Mujahideen groups. The Taliban was not a new movement as such, or not a party as such, it was actually an alliance of people who came from different Mujahideen groups. Mullah Omer himself belongs to the *Hizb-e-Islami* of Maulvi Younis Khalis. He was an unknown fighter in Qandahar. All these leaders and commanders came from the seven Mujahideen groups. That is why, they also brought their differences, their personality clashes and their different ideologies into the movement. Whenever we hear about differences in the Taliban movement it is because they belong to various different groups. Even now, if you look at the composition, those differences in certain respect still persist. There were some Taliban commanders who were no longer active because they differ with the strategy of Mullah Muhammad Omer. I think the Taliban were very smart, they named Omer as the *Amir-ul-Momineen*. It was very clever because then there was one leader. Everybody would go to Mullah Omer who would

be the final authority and differences would be curbed. As we say in Pakistan, unity of command; so unity of command was there in Afghanistan.

The Taliban movement, as far as I know, was 95 percent Pukhtun and still is a Pukhtun dominated movement. Five percent, we can say were Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen who joined the Taliban because they were studying in Madrassahs and they became friendly with the Pukhtun Taliban. There were Tajik Taliban from Badakhshan who became very prominent in the Taliban movement. One of them was Najam Uddin Agha who was named in one of the members of the ruling Shoora in Kabul. There were six people on the ruling Shoora – the highest authority which was led by Mullah Muhammad Rabbani who was the de-facto Prime Minister of Afghanistan at that time. So, a Tajik was given this position and other five were Pukhtuns. There were a few Tajiks who also became Governors in the Taliban rule. So, they were given importance and Taliban would very proudly introduce all these non-Pukhtuns to the media and say there are non-Pukhtuns amongst us and it is not a Pukhtun movement.

Then, I will say that the Taliban movement has always been more disciplined than the other groups. They had more unity and they had one leader. But now as you have seen, there have been some inherent problems. There have been some differences and those differences are still there because when they were in power, Taliban from other provinces in the east and the south complained that the Taliban movement is dominated by the people from Hilmand, from Uruzgan, from Zabul and in particular from Qandahar because they said that all the important positions and all the ruling party figures are from Qandahar or Hilmand and I think, that is still the case because if you look at the Leadership Council now. They have a Shoora. All ten people on this Shoora are Pukhtuns and they are mostly

from Qandahar and Hilmand. Only two of them, Jalaluddin Haqqani and Saif ur Rehman Mansoor belong to Khost and Paktia while all the other people – eight people on the Shoora, are from Qandahar, Hilmand, Uruzgan and Zabul and that is where the fighting is more severe and that is where the NATO forces are operating because most of the trouble is in that area. Then, if you look at the Taliban movement, there are some symbols which show that at the back of their mind the Taliban knew that they were Pukhtuns. They emerged in Qandahar which was the old capital of the country. The birthplace of the Taliban, as you know, was Qandahar. The two founders of Afghanistan, Mir Wasniqo and Ahmad Shah Abdali, both belonged to Qandahar. So, they knew that Qandahar was the old capital, the Qandaharis founded Afghanistan, the Pukhtuns in Qandahar actually made this country and they are going to defend it. They are going to keep it intact.

The Taliban considered themselves the successors of all those leaders and they still have this feeling that the Qandaharis, Hilmandis and Uruzganis are the ones who founded the country and they must save it and, in fact, they used to claim that, “we have unified the country when we were in power”. Before they came into power there were six centers of power in Afghanistan. Abdur Rashid Dostam was in the North in Mazar-e-Sharif, Abdul Karim Khalili was in Bamyán, Ismail Khan was ruling Herat, there was the Mujahideen Eastern Shoora in Jalalabad and we had the Taliban ruling Qandahar and Ahmad Shah Masood and Rabbani were ruling Badakhshan, Takkar and Panjsher and the area north of Kabul – Shumali area.

When the Taliban came into power, Pashto became the dominant language in Afghanistan. Before that Persian or Dari were the dominant languages. Again, after the fall of the Taliban

regime, Dari has become the dominant language and now Dari is getting more time on the Radio and in the newspapers because there are now bilingual newspapers in both Pashto and Dari, but when the Taliban were in power the newspapers were mostly in Pashto, most of the radio time was devoted to Pashto and all the communication was in Pashto as well. “Pashto is a major language and Pukhtuns are again in power”, that was what the low rank Taliban would mention. He would say; “look, we are Pukhtuns and we must try to promote Pashto”, but the top leadership always said; “we are Muslim, we are an Islamic movement and we are not a Pukhtun movement”. But in their dress, in their language, in their writings and in their culture, they were the Pukhtun. They could not stop *Atarhn* – the national dance of the Pukhtuns that was still being performed at weddings and other places. Taliban tried to stop that but in vain.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Rahimullah Sahib, obviously an all-male dance.

**Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai:** So, if you start saying that you are a Pukhtun nationalist movement then you cannot say that this is a Jihad. It would become a secular movement and they will lose support of the Afghan Muslims or even the Islamic movement elsewhere in the world. They want to stress on the factor that it is a Jihad and that is how they can get support from the Islamic movement elsewhere in the world. I think that they cannot say again that there is an Islamic movement because there is this Pukhtun movement where Pukhtuns still have a lot of power in the country. You know, Mr. Hamid Karzai is a Pukhtun. Most of the Governors in Pukhtun provinces are Pukhtuns. Most of the top positions are held by Pukhtuns. Initially, there was some dominance of Northern Alliance but that has been undone gradually by Mr. Hamid Karzai. Mr. Fahim, the Defence Minister was removed

and replaced by General Abdul Raheem Vardak, who is a Pukhtun and the Interior Minister, Mr. Qanooni has replaced Mr. Zarar Ahmad Muqbal who was a Tajik. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Abdullah Abdullah has been replaced by Mr. Rangeen Dad, who is from Herat. So, the dominance of the Northern Alliance has been diluted. Taliban cannot claim that theirs is a Pukhtun movement because it does not really work in this case. I will like to say towards the end that President Musharraf, twice in the past, has said that Pakistan's policy in Afghanistan is pro-Pukhtun and that was something unwise as you alienate 50 percent of the Afghan population when you identify the country's policy with the Pukhtuns. In fact, the Pukhtuns in Afghanistan also do not like this. They say we can manage our affairs as we are strong enough to maintain our dominance in the country. If you say, again and again, that Pakistan's policy is pro-Pukhtun then it will give the impression that Pakistan is supporting the Taliban. It is always said in Afghanistan that Pakistan's policy in Afghanistan has always been pro-Pukhtuns and they do not care about the interest of the Tajiks, Uzbeks and the Hazaras. So, that also is a factor that why Afghan Government is so critical of Pakistani policy but I will say in the end that the Taliban movement is still a religious movement but it is gradually moving, may be, towards Pukhtun movement in the Pukhtun areas because all the military operations are taking place in the Pukhtun belt. Destruction is continuing while reconstruction is very slow in the Pukhtun areas. The Pukhtuns are becoming angry and if the Pukhtun become angry they would join the Taliban who are resisting the foreign troops and that is what is happening. But the Taliban publicly have not said that they are a Pukhtun movement and they want to identify themselves as good Muslims and an Islamic movement. Thank you.

## Question - Answer Session

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much, Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai, and thank you very much all the distinguished experts and participants, who have given us, I think, an excellent insights with their own differing perspectives on various dimensions of Afghanistan internally, its impact on Pakistan and focus on the future. Now the floor is open for questions and comments and I see the first hand being raised by Senator Nisar A. Memon and I would say that please address your question to either one of the participants by name or all of them and I would hope that the questions will be focused. Senator Nisar A. Memon.

**Senator Nisar A. Memon:** Thank you, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed. It was great pleasure to listen to all the distinguished speakers who have enhanced our insight on the subject. Two or three speakers mentioned that Pakistan's assistance has not been so predominant. We have a paper here from the Foreign Office which says Pakistan's total assistance was US \$ 250 million and the projects that have been listed are, Nishtar Kidney Medical Centre in Jalalabad, Allama Iqbal University, Sir Syed Postgraduate Jinnah Hospital in Kabul and Lagur and Zia-ul-Haq Artificial limbs at Badakhshan. There are about 10 or 11 projects that have been listed and then for the Joint Economic Commission that we had. In that again, some other projects have been committed. In addition to that, we also find in the working paper that Pakistan has arrested over 500 Taliban this year from Quetta and 400 of them have been handed over to Afghans. Mr. Ahmed Rashid said Pakistan has arrested Al-Qaeda members only and no Taliban. The perception is that they do not consider that Pakistan has done enough, despite the good

Jalalabad road and the good oil from Attock Refinery. Now, can any of the four gentlemen answer that what is the one underline thing which is really damaging Pakistan's perception in Afghanistan?

Secondly, Afghanistan has something like 50 to 55 percent Pukhtuns, 25 to 30 percent Tajiks, 10 to 12 percent Uzbeks, 5 percent Turkmen

course, it was said that Mujahideen were being financed. What is the contribution of that kind of a thing to the Taliban movement today?

My last question to you, gentlemen, is that you did not mention the importance of hydrocarbons, oil and gas. I would like somebody to answer as to how much is the distance from Quetta to Qandahar to Herat and the distance from Khost



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and 8 to 9 percent Hazara population. If this is the mix of the population and the Taliban predominantly being Pukhtuns, my question, therefore, is: what is the degree of Pakistan's inability to reach out to Uzbeks, Tajiks and Turkmen?

My third question is related to poppy cultivation. In the 1980s, if you recall, there was tremendous amount of poppy cultivation in Afghanistan which financed the Jihad, apart from the US money. During the Taliban rule poppy cultivation went down or was almost non existent. Now once again, there is historic growth in poppy cultivation in that country. Who is doing that on the Afghan side? Who are being financed today? Earlier, of

to Turkmenistan in the context of Turkmenistan Oil and also the Iran-Pakistan-India Gas Pipeline? You need to comment on how the position of the present Afghan government is different from that of the Taliban?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much, Mr. Nisar Ahmad Memon. Very comprehensive questions. I just want to add that 92% of the world's opium production is now in Afghanistan when it was zero in 2001 and that is 6200 metric tons. Please be specific in your answers. What you have already stated in your presentations may not be repeated? Who will start of first? Mr. Ahmed Rashid.



**Mr. Ahmed Rashid:** Sir, regarding the Foreign Office list of projects detailed in the working paper. To be very frank, most of these projects have not been completed. Secondly, I mean the roads have been completed but as I said it took four years to do so. Unfortunately, there has been no real projection of these projects, the way other countries have been able to project theirs. Now, whose fault is that, I do not know – the Foreign Office or the Embassy of Pakistan?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I will give the Additional Secretary, Foreign Office, a chance to reply whenever he deems fit.

**Mr. Ahmed Rashid:** Right! For example, has the Foreign Office taken Pakistani journalists to visit any of these projects? Not at all! There is absolutely lack of imagination on the part of the Foreign Office or the Planning Division, in order to project these projects to Afghans and to Pakistanis. Secondly, as far as negative perception is concerned, I think you are very right. Historically, Pakistan has backed the Pukhtuns to the detriment of having good relations with the other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. You are absolutely right that this perception amongst the Afghan continues. It is enhanced by what President Musharraf keeps saying and the Foreign Office keeps saying that we are pro-Pukhtuns and we support the Pukhtuns. I think these remarks are highly tragic and very bad in form. I really would like to see the President and other officials reaching out to the Afghans as a whole. So, I would tend to agree with you there, very much.

Thirdly, as far as oil and gas is concerned, sir, we are really faced with a crisis here. We have just built a port, a new port, *Masha-Allah*, in Gwadar. This port is for trade with Afghanistan and Central Asia. I have to say that this port could be the biggest white elephant in the history

of the world. We may face a situation where not a single ship will be willing to come to this port. Why? We have an insurgency in Balochistan and particularly in Makran, which we are not dealing with in a political fashion. I am glad to say that the Committee under Wasim Sajjad has started talking again to the Baloch but for two years we had an attitude by the military regime of '*Mar Dhar*' as far as the Baloch are concerned. The Baloch can block any access of this port.

Secondly, there is a full blown insurgency in southern Afghanistan. No Central Asian, in his right mind, is going to be swamping her traffic, trucks or trade through southern Afghanistan where you have got an ongoing insurgency. I think this is a classic case where, on the one hand, we are backing the Taliban while the Taliban leaders are still living in Quetta. I visited the village of Mullah Dadullah, just outside Quetta. Why is Mullah Dadullah, his wife and his family and some of his relatives still living in Quetta? Why senior officials go to weddings in this village when there is a wedding in his family? Now, on the one hand we are housing the Taliban leadership and backing them but we are not talking to the Baloch. I don't see how we are going to be this great transit for oil and gas and I am deeply concerned about it. I am not concerned about the rivalry inside Afghanistan because everybody will need Pakistan. After all, the energy demand is in India and for anybody to reach India they have to go through Pakistan. But it requires peace and stability and that is really not the case.

As you know my book on the Taliban dealt very much with the UNICEF Project in 1990 and it was the same issue when the UNICEF Project collapsed, although it was being backed by Pakistan, really because we were backing the Taliban and we were unwilling to settle the civil war in Afghanistan at that time. We wanted an

outright Taliban victory which was never achieved until the death of Commander Masood. So, we should take a lesson from that and understand that backing one side, as Rustam Shah Mohmand has rightly said, backing one side in a war – in a civil war is not the right idea. We should play a role of peace making, so that we can eventually get these pipelines laid. Thank you.

**Mr. Hasan Khan:** As far as the project is concerned, I had an interaction with a Pakistani official there. I got this perception that Pakistan has many projects in pipeline but unfortunately the administration in Kabul is not cooperating with them so enthusiastically and most of the time the site for the Hospital in Kabul is changed. He told me that once they offered a piece of land in a very remote area and we told them that it did not cater to the needs of the people. Then they gave us another place which was marshy land, a water logged area which needs a lot of funds to rehabilitate. The Pakistani official told me that we have projects in the pipeline and we are ready to start even today if the Government of Afghanistan supports us and gives us the land and so on.

I think everybody who is visiting Kabul will believe that Pakistan is interfering in Afghanistan because Afghanistan has neighbours like Iran, Tajikistan and Pakistan, etc. It has six neighbours but it is only the area which is bordering Pakistan – right from Kunarh to Badakhshan down to Qandahar and Hilmand – where insurgency is taking place, where schools are being destroyed, where children are being killed, where women are being killed, where the students are denied access to schools.

So, I think it is very difficult for you and me to change the perception of the people of Afghanistan regarding Pakistan. They ask what

is happening in Qandahar? Who is doing it? Why is it not happening in Farah, in Herat, in Qandus, etc? Because these are not bordering Pakistan, these are not close to the border of Pakistan. The people of Afghanistan like the people of Pakistan. They offered terrestrial rights to our television channel, Khyber TV. Although Pakistan is not ready to give that right but the President of Afghanistan is ready to give the Khyber TV the terrestrial rights. They say we are giving you the license, we are giving you the opportunity, come and invest in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, I do not know whether my management will agree to it or not because it is a huge investment. Mushahid Sahib, do you agree?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Information Minister is here. I think you are certainly right. Thank you very much. Now we have Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai.

**Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai:** I would just like to add to what you were saying, Memon Sahib. I think there has been a pleasant change now. In the past, we were giving money to the warlords and that money was being used for killing the Afghan people and destroying the country but now there has been a change and the money is being well spent. There are roads coming up, there are hospitals, there are clinics. This is a pleasant change and I hope this will bring a positive impact in Afghanistan.

Secondly, the people who are being arrested in Karachi or Quetta and delivered to the Afghan authorities at Spin Boldak, at Chaman – almost all of them are released. They are saying that you are arresting ordinary people and Afghan refugees. You are not arresting the real people. That is the complaint. I have been hearing that almost all those 400 people who were delivered to the Afghan authorities were released

subsequently. There was not a single leader amongst them. Many of them were patients in hospitals who were wounded, who had fought in Afghanistan and had come back for treatment in Quetta and Chaman.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Twelve patients were arrested about a fortnight ago. Mr. Khattak, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Mr. Khalid Khattak:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. While I deal basically with the facts, I would not go into the details. I do not want to give a comprehensive answer yet. Well, about these projects. Work has been started on quite a few of these projects but in a situation which is characterized by a number of things, such as absence of infrastructure, bad roads, bad weathers, security problems. Where the host government or the host organizations also are not very functional or are not very effective, these projects then do take time. If it has taken four years for this road to complete then it should be understood in that perspective. The fact of the matter is, as far as this road is good and the people are praising it, it goes to the credit of the people who constructed it and that goes to the credit of Pakistan.

The second thing is that with regard to some other projects, you will appreciate that Pakistan can offer assistance and is giving assistance but in its utilization, Pakistan does not have a free hand when it comes to, for instance, a plot of land for a hospital. Who decides? Is it the Government of Pakistan or the Government of Afghanistan? Now, if a marshy land is offered for the hospital construction and then there is a delay, do you blame Government of Pakistan for that or do you blame the recipient? So, we have to look at this in the larger perspective. The very fact is that we have committed assistance to the

tune of \$ 450 million of which \$ 200 million will be committed later but \$ 250 million have been directly committed. Out of this \$ 93 million have already been spent and we are doing whatever is possible. Thank you.

**Senator Nisar Ahmed Memon:** Mr. Chairman. I have a small comment. I think, Mr. Ahmed Rashid mentioned about the Central Asian corridor. Gwadar is important to Afghanistan and to China as a corridor. The United States today, has got the seventh fleet in the Indian Ocean which can obstruct China in the Indian Ocean. My question is can Afghanistan do without Gwadar? In any case, as an alternate to Gwadar, China has the Karakoram corridor as well. Mr. Chairman, my other question is still unanswered. So, I will rephrase it so that it is answered. Can Pakistan engage non-Pakhtun Pakistanis in its negotiations with Afghanistan? Would that help? I ask this because there are Tajiks and Uzbeks and others who could perhaps be more receptive of non-Pakhtuns.

**Senator Professor Khurshid Ahmed:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, let me very frankly confess that this has been a very educative, enlightening experience. My only regret is that we are discussing this issue too late. Our Committee should have met much earlier. But I must say that all the four presentations had a lot for us to reflect upon. While I disagree with a lot of what our specialist, Mr. Ahmed Rashid, has said, there is definitely some substance in the issues he has raised and it is for us, as a Committee and more for the Government, to critically re-examine our policy. Soul searching is required because the fact is that our Afghan policy is in shambles.

My only concern is that while we are focusing on the immediate that is extremely very important, perhaps we have to see things in perspective,

if not pre 1979 till date. I think there is continuity and seeds of some of our failures were sown in some of the policies we sowed even during the 1980s.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Absolutely correct.

**Prof. Khurshid Ahmed:** How was the Geneva Accord arrived at? What it targeted – and we are still harvesting the bitter fruit of that blunder. But any way, the issue I want to raise is that I was disappointed on one count and that is the role of occupation in Afghanistan. The American policy is there, the NATO policy is there and to what extent that is responsible for the present situation in Afghanistan, as well as the dichotomy between the establishment there today and the insurgents. That is a very important dimension which should have been looked into.

Secondly, I was disappointed and regard it rather simplistic to assume that all that is being done by or in the name of Taliban can be attributed to Pakistan. I think, we are too generous to attribute that because our leadership has not given us the confidence that they are capable of that much but definitely the President, the Government, the agencies have played a role in creating this mess. That is why, I think the Committee should meet in camera, discuss this issue and come up with an honest assessment and some guidelines on which the Afghan policy has to be reformulated.

I fully realize the two points that struck you most. No.1; the nature of the Taliban movement, which has to be understood and definitely it is an indigenous movement. The fact is that there are Pukhtuns on both sides of the border. It is a reality and there have been interactions in the past. They interact even today and these interactions will continue in the future too.

Attributing everything to the agencies, I think, is over simplistic, over exaggeration. Secondly, I think, the role of Iran is very important and I am grateful that Mr. Rustom Shah has touched upon that and that is one of the major failures of Pakistan policy – that instead of having a bipartisan policy in Afghanistan in cooperation with Iran, we have been trying to have solo flight and that is responsible not only for some of our policy failures but also the problems created within Afghanistan. I would confine to these two observations at the moment.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much. Actually, the purpose of this discussion, and I think this is the task of a parliamentary committee and parliamentary oversight is, that issues pertaining to Pakistan, its national interest and its people should be discussed publicly and this is why we will have a public hearing from experts who are non officials and they have their say. All of this is being recorded and minuted and we will publish it as a tradition of this Committee. We have presented twelve reports so far. This will be published as a report with recommendations and I will also encourage that there should be an effort from the Government and the Opposition side to initiate a debate on this issue in the Parliament itself.

I also want to recognize another colleague and that is Mr. Saleem Safi who have come here. He is our friend. He also wants to speak but he came here a bit late. Regarding occupation, Rustom Shah has also stated that as long as occupation persists the resistance will be there. So, that point is well taken. Does anybody want to respond or comment, Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand Sahib?

Mr. Imtiaz Alam is the Secretary General of SAFMA. By the way, I want to say also that at



the end of this hearing, the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mr. Muhammad Ali Durrani is kindly hosting a lunch in the Senate Banquet Hall for all of us here and we will be his guests for lunch after this briefing.

**Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand:** Thank you, sir. In my presentation I did touch upon this briefly but let me visit that theme again. I think, the root cause of all the troubles, of all the violence and of the entire insurgency in Afghanistan today, which I am convinced is an absolutely wholly indigenous insurgency, is the occupation of Afghanistan by the coalition forces. If they were not in picture, I think, the situation would be completely transformed. It will look completely different. So, the root cause is the occupation of Afghanistan by coalition forces and not being able to deal with problems like opium cultivation. This problem was resolved with one decree of the Taliban and poppy was completely removed or destroyed. In the last year of the Taliban rule, the total production of poppy in Afghanistan was 90 tons, of which 40 tons was grown in the entire Afghanistan while 50 tons was grown in the Masood controlled enclave of 2 or 3 small provinces of Afghanistan. Today opium production has exceeded 6100 tons, in spite of these seminars, workshops, incentives and placement of 43,000 National Army and 40,000 Afghan Police and so much of technology and resources. What does it show? It proves there is no writ of the Government which shows that the system that the Americans have tried to impose on Afghanistan has miserably failed and collapsed. That is one part.

The other thing is the arrests of the Taliban. I think the question arises; if we cannot arrest people in 160 million population of Pakistan, Afghanistan should be able to make arrests as it has a population of 15 million only. Why the Afghan authorities cannot arrest leaders who

are on their soil? Why point fingers at Pakistan? I mean, Karachi is a city of one and a half crore people – 15 million that is about the population of Afghanistan. Why they cannot arrest Mullah Dadullah who is present in Hilmand, in Qandahar and carrying out operations. Why are the Americans and the NATO forces, with their technology and their resources and their aerial power in full action in Hilmand, in Qandahar and in Uruzgan, asking Pakistan to make arrests? Even if it is accepted that Afghan leaders come to Pakistan, they do so very briefly and then they go back and stay there, carry out operations, supervise operations, give training and give instructions. The other thing pertaining to arrests is that Pakistan Government did which no other government would do, that is, since the Roman times, no country has handed over an Ambassador but Pakistan handed over the then Afghan Ambassador to the US. That should not have been done. So I think, to say that Pakistan Government has been lacking in action on this count is incorrect.

Regarding the Mujaddadi Commission. I think the Mujaddadi Commission is not really about the refugees. Anybody who knows Mujaddadi or his clout in Afghanistan would know that the very fact that Mujaddadi was made head of that Commission showed that the government of Afghanistan or the Americans were not attaching great importance to winning or persuading people to come back and join the government. The Mujaddadi Commission is, and in view of most Afghans, was a complete nonstarter from the very word goes. Like Jirga would be a nonstarter. As far as the other points, I would take up later but I have perhaps responded to your earlier points.

**Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmed:** Mr. Chairman. I have not been able to express one of my points

as I wanted to. What I meant by occupation was that their original target was Osama, call it Al-Qaeda. It is fine that the focus shifted entirely from Al-Qaeda to Taliban and occupation of Afghanistan was not merely to hunt for Osama

Musharraf. I would like to remind that it needs to be seen in the historic prospective. In 1964, there was the new democracy of King Zahir Shah, then in 1977, there was the Republic of Afghanistan, then in 1979, the Islamic Jihad and



*Mr. Ahmed Rashid, listening to the questions raised by the honourable members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Sitting on his left, Foreign Office representatives, Mr. Abrar Hussain, Director General and Mr. Khalid Khattak, Additional Secretary.*

but to take over Afghanistan. Whether one agrees with Taliban or not we do not agree with the American system. Should we take on that? There are Taliban in the White House and the Pentagon more than in Afghanistan. Should we attack USA because neo conservatives are calling the shot? So what I was suggesting was that the whole issue of occupation and its relationship to the current stake – Pakistan's stakes and Iran's stakes. Then, of course, the resistance. Fair enough, the Taliban are spear heading it. But I think it is the issue of occupation. American policy there and that perspective, I thought, has not really come into full force.

**Senator Nisar Ahmed Memon:** I have difference of opinion to express on what has been said by honourable member, Prof. Khurshid Sahib. It is fundamentally, as I understand, putting the blame on the present government, particularly President

finally in 1992, we had this Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. All of this is part of history and what we or the Government of Pakistan is facing is the sum total of what our people and some of the parties supported in the past, particularly supporting the Jihad and the Taliban and creation of Islamic Emirates in 1992. I think that needs to be kept in perspective because all blame cannot be put on the present Government in Pakistan.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I may add for your information that when Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masood first came to Pakistan in 1975, the Prime Minister of Pakistan was Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mr. Murad Ali Shah, sitting on your right, also played a very key role in that operation from the Jamat-e-Islami side. So I think, it is not just blaming one party, Peoples



Party also played a positive role or a negative role historically. Whatever has happened has happened. Senator Wasim Sajjad.

**Senator Wasim Sajjad:** Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank the honourable experts for a very educative, informative and incisive analysis. It has helped us to understand, I think, the Afghan side of the story much better because we don't get this analysis which we can absorb and understand directly first hand, from people who visited Afghanistan. Now everybody seems to agree that there is a very strong perception in Afghanistan that the troubles are being fomented by Pakistan. I think everybody seems to agree that we are helping the insurgency, we are helping the Taliban and we are undermining the government. As you know, there is about a thousand plus miles border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, I believe there is a particular belt of about 80 miles or so from which it is alleged that the insurgency is taking place or we are sending people across. Now the Government of Pakistan has made a proposal that we fence this area, which the Afghans are opposing. Do you think that this could be a solution? Why are the Afghans really opposing it? Is there any way that they can be persuaded to accept this by any arrangement? Will this help in solving this problem where Pakistan is accused?

Secondly, this perception on Afghanistan – obviously the perception, is created either by the media, the newspapers and the electronic media. Now, this perception created by the media could not obviously be only Afghanistan media, it is of course, the statements by the Afghan President as well. Only yesterday, he made a statement that Pakistan wants to enslave Afghanistan. Then there are statements by the Americans, their ambassadors and generals, that Pakistan is behind this. The motives of India are also very obvious. I am sure their media is playing a big

role in creating that perception. Now what can be done to counter this?

Number 2; there is a perception on this side that all this perception is being created because the Americans and President Karzai have failed in their policies. Bush is, even today, reluctant to accept the fact that his policy in Iraq has failed. They have thousands of troops in Afghanistan. They have massive electronic equipment and President Karzai is getting whatever help he needs from outside but the policies are failing. Now, instead of saying that we have failed they have to find a scapegoat. There is a strong perception on this side that the scapegoat is Pakistan and, of course, there is India which has motives and which has a reason for encouraging that perception. So what is the experts comment on these two matters?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Very good question, sir. Who will take on first? Mr. Ahmed Rashid. Please short sharp answer.

**Mr. Ahmed Rashid:** Sir, on this question of occupation. First, there are lots of contradictions here, especially Rustam Shah in his own presentation, on the one hand, says that Afghanistan Government is the most recognized in history. Yes, but the United Nations Security Council sanctioned foreign troops to Afghanistan. Why did they do that? Certainly, there was the American desire to hunt for Al-Qaeda but we should remember, there were no security forces in Afghanistan in 2002 which were loyal to the state. They were all warlord forces, militia forces which were disloyal. Now one of my biggest critics says that the Americans were so slow in actually trying to rebuild the Army – although today, they are supposed to have trained 40,000 of the 70,000 Army and if you read the recent report on police reforms, you will see that it is an utter failure. The Germans were doing police

reforms and they failed miserably. So, we are dealing with a country without security forces. Firstly, the US force and the NATO forces have been sanctioned by Pakistan, as well we voted for in the UN Security Council. So we have to stand by it because it is not an occupation force. Secondly, Iraq is not Afghanistan and Afghanistan is not Iraq. Yes, Iraq was in occupation, it was an invasion because it was done without international consent and without the consent of Iraqi people. The Afghan people have endorsed foreign troops through the Parliament, through the Bonn process and through Pakistan. I think you have to differentiate here. Now, who is going to fight the Taliban and Al-Qaeda when you have the insurgency? The Afghan forces are not up to date. On the other hand, Iran has sent a message, a very strong message to President Karzai through the Iranian Foreign Minister; saying, "if Pakistan is backing the Taliban we are backing you" and I fear that there will be another confrontation with Iran. The Iranians, Russians and Indians are backing Karzai 110 percent because they feel that Pakistan is backing the Taliban.

Thirdly, I agree there is very dangerous situation. I started my presentation describing policy failures. You know, why Afghanistan has failed? It has failed because of Pakistan. It has failed because the Americans and whatever blah, blah, blah I said. What has to be taken into account is that specifically the insurgency, the resurgence and the issue of sanctuary. I am not saying, the perception is that the ISI is dishing out weapons to the Mujahideen and the Taliban and what the ISI has allowed is a sanctuary for the Taliban to do what they want. They have drug money, they have contacts in the Gulf and they can import and export whatever they need. Recruitment process in the Madrassahs is going on. ISI is not doing that. The Taliban are doing it but the fact is that they have been allowed to do it. That

is the big danger for Pakistan. We have abdicated responsibility of dealing with this force which is an alien force now and which is trying to subvert a neighbouring country. That is my point. And the issue of sanctuary is a very important issue and you have to look into it. May be what the Afghans say, is exaggerated. Of course, they blame Pakistan for everything and so do the Americans but we are not being made a scapegoat. What I think is, we have to own up to our responsibilities. And our responsibility is to stop the Taliban using Pakistan as a sanctuary. I just want to say that we should be responsible for our territory. When President Musharraf and the Foreign Office said; "give us justifiable intelligence", "excuse me, whose country is this? Is this America's country or NATO's country?" "Who should be providing intelligence and rounding up terrorists and extremists like Mullah Omar? This is our country and we should be doing it ourselves". This is nonsense to say, "give us intelligence and then we will do it" and we know what happens when the Americans find intelligence. They bomb the damn place, just like they bombed Bajaur and killed 80 people probably – and a lot of them innocent children. So what we need to do is to be responsible for ourselves, for our soil, for our country and not abdicate responsibility and say the Americans can come in or the British can come in and provide us intelligence reports. This is a statement no other country in the world would have made.

Lastly, on the border thing. Sir, Pakistan and Afghanistan are the only two countries in the world that have no border definition between them. There is no legal border where this fence would be built? We would define it and they would define it. There would be permanent quarrel as there has been in Waziristan over border posts and all the rest of it. There is no border. We do not agree to a border. They do not agree to a border. So the question of building



*Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed with the "Lion of Panjsher", Commander Ahmed Shah Masood. (1990)*

*(File photos)*

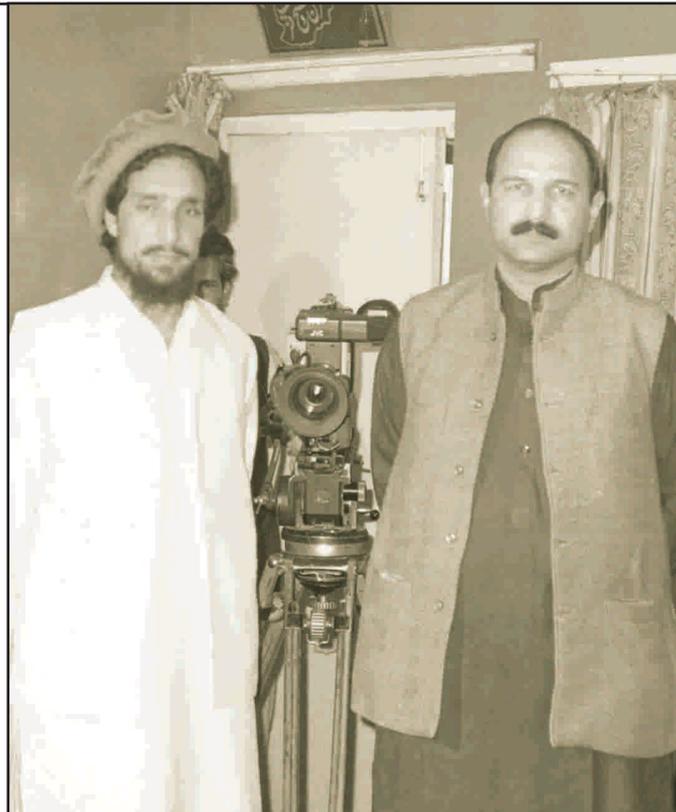
a fence is really like raising another big huge issue. Secondly, there is no doubt that the Pukhtuns have been marching back and forth – trading, living, marrying across the border with each other for thousands of years or hundreds of years at least. Now, what the Afghans are saying is that put a stop to this. You are going to create more tension on the border rather than reducing it. Thank you.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:**

There is a comment from a lady from London who was sitting right there. She says that in British press there are complaints that the number of troops in Afghanistan is not adequate and they are poorly equipped, so that is why, it is easy to blame Pakistan. Senator Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi.

**Senator Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi:**

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I will



like to thank all the four speakers, for a very educative, stimulating and enlightened discourse and this Committee, of course, will take notice and we have already taken notice of everything you have said and it will be a wise government which will listen to the very valuable suggestions that have been made by you and I hope that our government does benefit from this exercise today. Mr. Ahmed Rashid has given us a worldview. Mr. Rustom Shah, a more indigenous one. Mr. Hasan Khan, a personalized but very valuable and of course, Mr. Yusufzai, you have given us an insight of the Taliban which many of us did not have before and we have a better understanding of it now.

Mr. Ahmed Rashid first said that prioritize nation building. Now this is an absolutely new colonial or Western concept that, first of all, you come to some Muslim country or Asian country or poor country, you try to blast them out of existence, you kill all their people, you turn the country into a war torn nation and then you start nation building process, then you start development and you try to win over hearts and minds – of whom, I fail to understand and the world has failed to understand as yet. If you look at Iraq, if you look at Palestine, if look at Kashmir or at Chechnya or at any trouble spot anywhere in the world, the Western nations concept of prioritizing development projects has never paid any dividend and is never likely to do so. And I would like you to kindly elucidate on your point of view that how this development or this nation building will take place, which will win over hearts and minds.

The second is that Pakistan has not done enough. I don't think any nation in the world has done more and can possibly do more. The proof of the pudding is in eating. No country in the world has suffered more from the Afghan crisis than Pakistan and that is the proof that we have

done the most. We are suffering, Pukhtun population is suffering and the whole nation's development is affected because we have done so much and we want to do so much for our brethren and people of Afghanistan. Leaving aside the normal things of refugees, the aid and development and the projects the Foreign Ministry is talking about – the love, the dedication, the devotion shown by the Pakistanis for their development and stability in the region and especially in Pakistan, needs no words as proof.

You mentioned sir, that the warlords have been eliminated. If the warlords have been eliminated kindly let me know, from where have these warlords who double as drug lords, come from and why has the drug trade gone up? The fourth question I would like you to address. It is a personal opinion of mine from study of the past, that wherever CIA has been involved they have always dealt with the drug barons. Now this is a system devised by them which helps the CIA to fund this operation. They have done it in South America openly. Iran Contra Affair is an example of it. The insurgency in Afghanistan or the Russian occupation and the American involvement there is another example of it, when the drug trade went up – and now again, when the Americans are back, the drug lords are flourishing. So, I would like you to mention, is there any link between these two or is it an indigenous matter of the Afghans only?

Mr. Rustom Shah Mohmand has very wisely and rightly said that this Afghanistan is nothing new. Anybody who has studied Afghanistan know the Pukhtun people on either side of the border have never been conquered. They are very adverse to outside sources. They do not accept occupation. These are very well known things. 19<sup>th</sup> century, 20<sup>th</sup> century and 21<sup>st</sup> century are before us. The solution has to be indigenous solution – and military solutions throughout the



world, have not solved any problems. There can never be a military solution whether we talk about it internally in Pakistan or abroad. There has to

media, so that we who have been in the hearts and minds of the Afghan people can take that position back, again? I mean, we only have to



*Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed with Dr. Najibullah, President of Afghanistan. (1986)*

*(File photo)*

be a political solution and it has to be through dialogue. So, sir, what do you suggest should be an indigenous solution or concrete steps that can be taken by Pakistan? And Mr. Hasan Khan is absolutely right. You repeat a lie enough times and it becomes a truth and you can shout and scream the truth from the roof top and nobody will ever listen to you. That has happened, it is happening and it is going to continue to happen, especially if those beautiful girls of India are seen on the TV screen of Afghanistan – just like is happening here, that does more harm than good for India's relations with other countries. What do you suggest, because you are also from the

go back to what love and affection we had, especially from the Pukhtun population.

Finally, I agree with all the speakers and my colleagues that we are overemphasizing the support and our preference for the Pukhtun population is arousing a backlash and is counterproductive and should be stopped by the President and our Government as quickly as possible. Our policy should be for the whole of Afghanistan, for the betterment of Afghanistan and for security and prosperity of this region. Thank you, sir.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you, Senator Mashhadi. I would urge each expert to respond specifically to the question which has been posed to him. Mr. Ahmed Rashid will you take it first or Rustam Shah Mohmand; you want to say something? No? Okay, fine!

**Senator Jan Muhammad Jamali:** Mushahid Sahib, if you allow me I will just add; being from the Senate – and luckily there are also members from the National Assembly, that before the Government comes into action why not we, the Parliamentarian of Pakistan and Afghanistan, start interacting so that we could understand each other.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** We have already taken that initiative, sir, and I have talked to the Afghan Ambassador for a joint Inter-Parliamentary dialogue between Pakistan and Afghanistan. I have invited my counterpart, Mr. Abdur Rab Rasool Sayaf, who was a former Mujahideen leader that he should come here and we are ready to go there. Now, he is more reformed and moderate and he is an enlightened moderate. He has seen the light like Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman from MMA or like Maulana Sami-ul-Haq from MMA.

**Senator Jan Muhammad Jamali:** We have heard that President Karzai had been living in Quetta. We remember those days but the anti-Karzai people in Afghan Parliament should also be heard. It is not fair that we should be taking only Karzai's point of view.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** There are 42 members of the Afghan Parliament. We want their views also.

**Senator Jan Muhammad Jamali:** What are their views about Pakistan, we want their views also. There is openness we want – to sit with

their Opposition. We want to see them also. I may inform the Foreign Office that this is only for the Pakistani angle. First, we have foreign policy with neighbour countries then neighborhood would be needed. We should talk with Iran, Afghanistan and India but not with those who are fifteen thousand miles away from Pakistan. Mrs. Tasleem Aslam, Foreign Office Spokesperson, has been issuing topsy-turvy statements for three days to answer the facts. We have to see that angle. We Pakistanis have our own identification. We have to live with our neighbours and luckily we understand our neighbours. I am a Baloch, I understand my Afghan neighbours, I understand my Irani Baloch neighbours. Lahoris understand Indians well.

As far as the fencing is concerned, I think it is not going to materialize. I think it is not possible because if you fence an area of 90 kilometers people who were to cross will use other routes. This is 2200 kilometers long border and has 235 entry routes. To fence and man 2000 kilometers long border, I think, is not possible, not practicable and the Afghans protested because they say that it will divide the tribes. So, in an era where there is so much of cooperation in different regions in the world and barriers are collapsing, barriers are being dismantled, to create more barriers will go against the current history.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Can I have Senator Latif Khosa for his intervention?

**Senator Latif Khosa:** Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is indeed a pleasure and honour and it has been educative in the way we have heard brothers on the other side and I think, sir, you are rightly on the track that we should be interacting more because there is a lot of misperception on the both sides of the aisle, of the divide as well. Well, your remarks are very uncharitable when you spoke about the Zulfiqar

Ali Bhutto of 1975. He has nothing to do with Talibanization.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** No, no, I was stating a fact.

**Senator Latif Khosa:** Never mind. It was absolutely out of context. Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Shaheed had nothing to do with this Taliban era or with that. So, I will proceed further but I was just reminding you that he has nothing to do – and your comments were not apt, at all, in the circumstances.

In fact, I am really shocked also and amazed how the world and how the other side of the aisle is taking all these things. Pakistan has borne the maximum brunt of the Afghan crisis, the Afghan issues. Since 1979 we were the frontline State, unfortunately, and used by the Americans for disintegrating the USSR, the second world power. And at that time, America, in fact, created Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban. At that time, they were not willing at all, so was Saddam when he was committing genocide of the Kurds and browbeating the Iranians and pumping in everything. He was a hero; he was not a tyrant at all. Why this duplicity – I do not understand. Once they had achieved the target in Afghanistan, shockingly enough, the Americans left Afghanistan suddenly and there was complete vacuum. Who is responsible for this Talibanization? Afghanistan was destroyed, as a matter of fact, during that struggle. And the battle in which we and the Afghans were used and Osama Bin Laden was brought in as a folklore hero, it was being dubbed as a Jihad at that time. My question is; Jihad against whom? We gave America the uni-polar status which it is enjoying today. Afghanistan was abandoned then, instead of being reconstructed. I wish they had done so, because at that time, if Afghanistan had been reconstructed they would have been

the so-called enlightened moderates, which is being so proudly projected by the President now. We would not have seen this fiasco, at all. Because in a vacuum, of course, the Taliban went in; they crept in and they were certainly trained and they certainly had the armament and they certainly had the masses and the might with them and Osama was there as well to guide them for whatever purpose. But once 9/11 happened, the Americans thought that Osama should be handed over to them.

I am a Baloch and belong to the southern Punjab. There have been very uncharitable remarks against Punjab. Since Punjab is the largest province in Pakistan it is blamed for everything. Similarly, the Pukhtuns are the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan. Therefore, everything bad is attributed to the Pukhtuns in Afghanistan. Well, this is natural because any group which numerically outweighs gets the blame for everything. In southern Punjab we are as much probably naive and as much deprived and degraded as Balochistan or for that matter, the Frontier or Sindh. It is not the Punjabis in general who are responsible for all the fiasco or all the bad things that continue. May be a coterie or some in the Establishment belong to Punjab that all this is attributed to the Punjabis but still this is very uncharitable and also a misperception.

Sir, it has been five years – rather more than five years that we barged into Afghanistan for what? The world community is helpless, so is the OIC. While unipolar America, being the big bully and dominated by gangsters, has a complete sway. The United Nations is a puppet in the hands of America. Osama was not being given by the Taliban regime at that time so the America wanted to get to Osama and then it said; “fine, if you do not give Osama we will conquer your country and destroy the infrastructure there”. I am a practicing lawyer also. It does not mean that if

somebody is being hobbled by somebody, you destroy the whole territory, the whole people and the infrastructure. You have to catch hold of that man. You have all the paraphernalia in the world so get hold of Osama Bin Laden or at least get hold of those people who are harboring him because harboring a criminal is also an offence under the Pakistan Penal Code and anywhere in the world. On the contrary you barged into Afghanistan under the garb of the world community coming in and the NATO forces coming in. Now what have you gained in five long years? Do you think the Americans or the world has installed or restored democracy over there?

In fact, we are a part of it. We helped Karzai in the elections and still we are being blamed for everything. We had the largest number of refugee influx. Since 1979 more than 3 million have come. We had the heroine culture, the Kalashnikov culture and we are still bearing the brunt. The Afghans are settled right from Peshawar to Karachi and we take them as our brethren and they are being given share in our resources. They are enjoying full liberty, they are not reckoned as foreigners and they are not denied of home and hearth or their livelihood. They are, in fact, facilitated and they are considered as equal citizens with Pakistanis. Can Pakistan with 160 million people to feed, capable of having 3 million Afghans? They are a drain on our economy but, sir, we are looking after them. It is very uncharitable when I hear all this that Pakistan is being blamed for everything that is happening over there across the border. Now the world community, unfortunately, has equated Al-Qaeda with the Taliban. Al-Qaeda are foreigners, they are Arabs, they are people from different nationalities while the Taliban are not Al-Qaeda. Why are you killing the Taliban? The Taliban are Afghans. They may be the Pukhtuns but they are Afghans. Alright, how many Taliban are you

going to kill? How many Pukhtuns are you going to kill and what is the legal justification of international community to kill the Taliban?

I hope everybody knows the history of the Pukhtuns or the people of Afghanistan. Well, they never accepted subjugation. Even though for 350 years the British were in the Sub Continent, they could not go to Afghanistan. They could not conquer and colonize Afghanistan, at all. They should have known that the Afghan people are so proud that they will not have *Sadiqs and Jaffars* – the people who could be their collaborators to facilitate their rule over there.

In Bonn, you agreed to reconstruct Afghanistan. Where is the reconstruction? It is all on papers. I don't see schools flourishing. I don't see roads, bridges, hospitals, and the other infrastructure and industrialization. I do not see the youth of Afghans being brought in the mainstream of working class having jobs. What I see is destruction. What I see are bombs being thrown or the NATO forces bombing those caves – and it is, in fact, humiliating to see everything over there. Well, if development is in the pipeline, it is hallucination. If the money is being devoured by corrupt, it is not for that purpose, at all. How many more years are you going to stay there? Is the world conscience going to just sleep over it, lull over it and let the Afghans be killed and maimed? Well, we are not killing children and women which they attributed to Taliban killing them. Why would they do it? Believe me, a Pukhtun will never ever insult a woman and wherever a woman or a child is walking they will protect the woman and they will protect the child. It is not the Pukhtuns or the Pakistanis who can ever do this. Who are doing it – it is for you and for the world community to consider. I dispute that the Taliban are killing them under the garb of the NATO forces.



We are again very faithful, even though the American drones come here and in Bajaur kill as many as 82 people – and we say we killed them. We take that blame on ourselves. What else Pakistan can do? Pakistan is doing its maximum. Pakistan is suffering the most. Pakistan's resources are being drained out. We are impoverishing our own people at the cost of this Afghan crisis. We are the only country who wants stability in Afghanistan. We want to strengthen Afghanistan. We want peace in Afghanistan because this is how we can be stable as well. We do not want interference. Why should Karzai blame us? I am shocked, even today, over the flash news in the newspaper that Pakistan is being blamed. Why should Pakistan infiltrate into Afghanistan and destabilize Afghanistan? We want a strong Afghanistan because we want to protect our own resources and our own people. We want these refugees to go back and live in peace and harmony in their own country. Can we afford destabilizing Afghanistan? I do not understand – on any logic, on any principle and on any ethical or legal norm, why would Pakistan do that? We do not have any expansionist designs. Well, if we wanted to do it, we would have first gone to Kashmir because that is something which matters to Pakistan. Afghanistan is never a disputed territory for us. Why would we want to trample into Afghanistan or infiltrate into Afghanistan or try to destabilize Afghanistan? We want strong Afghanistan. Everything trickles down into us and you may not like the Taliban but the Taliban were a puritan form of government. Poppy was completely erased over there. I do not like that they should segregate women students from males and all those things, but you see, this is how society revolutionizes. You have no right to erase an Islamic Government over there just because you do not like their system of governance. You do not have any right, the world has no right. I say, what is the system of

governance in the United States and in the United Kingdom?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** He is addressing the international community. Ahmed Rashid is seeing him personally.

**Senator Latif Khosa:** I am a Pakistani and I am defending Pakistan as a Muslim. I am not defending Musharraf nor defending the Government policy. I say the policies have failed because we are getting the blame. It is for the Government of Musharraf to see because its image is being erased from that. If Parliament or the people were involved in it, we would have given them a different image.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** That is why, we are gathered today.

**Senator Latif Khosa:** Yes, I am a very strong critic of the Foreign Policy because Pakistan's image is being projected as a terrorist country. What the Government is doing on that? So, I am not defending the President.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** He is a *pukka* nationalist. He says, "Pakistan first".

**Senator Latif Khosa:** But I say, look at their system of governance. They would live without marriage for years and years and bear children and would you like that to happen in your families.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** He has gone to Haddood laws now.

**Senator Latif Khosa:** No. I think the world community should be pulling out of Afghanistan. It is high time that the world community should realize its responsibility in stabilizing Afghanistan and the best thing No.1 is to reconstruct Afghanistan, its infrastructure – to provide schools,

hospitals and to provide avenues of jobs. The construction industry also provides jobs and it should be activated so that the people are put to job and poppy is also erased and eliminated. This can only be done if you have a national consensus. I tell you, no occupying force, whether you used that tactics in Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Balochistan and Waziristan, can retain homogeneity and initiate the process of development unless the people themselves are involved in it. So, you have to involve the people of Afghanistan in it and you need the Loya Jirga – and for that, Pakistan is ever willing to facilitate because in this part of the world also, we have the Pukhtuns or members of the Loya Jirga.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much, Senator Latif Khosa, for a very impassionate defence of Pakistan's national interest. I am sorry; we have to conclude now because I have been told by Senator Durrani that lunch is being served. All of you are cordially invited for lunch as Senator Durrani is right now here and I want to inform all the honourable members and others present here that on Sunday, December 17, at 7:30 p.m., the European Union Parliamentary Delegation is going to call on us and have a meeting with us and as is the norm with our Foreign Relations Committee, it will be an open meeting because the Foreign Relations Committee strongly believes that public policy debates should be open with the involvement of the elected representatives, opinion leaders, intellectuals and journalists and that is how informed decision-making can take place. All of what has been discussed today has been recorded, not just by intelligence agencies but my own people. It will be published also in a report form.

I have one last comment from the Foreign Office but I would suggest Mr. Khattak, please be very brief, specific to the point and do not repeat what

has already been said.

**Senator Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi:** Mr. Chairman, I have a one liner. We have become a convenient whipping boy of the West because of the failure of the Karzai Government and the United States and the NATO in Afghanistan. Paki bashing is going on which is the term they use. Are you going to take solid steps to stop this Pakistan bashing and if you are not going to take it, are we going to oppose them and play the game on their field?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** I have one last question. I went to Kabul two - three times after 2001. The best and the most expensive area in Kabul is where the Pakistani Embassy is housed. Why is the Pakistani Embassy not being rebuilt? As it is really the centre of Kabul, it will give a very important message. I was told that the President and the Prime Minister have given directives but the Embassy is still not touched. So I would like, if there is any comment on that. Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai.

**Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai:** Mr. Mushahid Sahib, I want to make a comment. It is a good idea if we can get parliamentarians from Afghanistan to Islamabad. There will be more interaction but it will be a coup if you can bring Sayaf to Pakistan. He has not been to Pakistan for 12 years.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** But he is my counterpart. I will invite him.

**Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai:** His family is living here in Pakistan in Jalozai Camp. The same failure was a big factor in antagonizing non-Pukhtuns because Ahmed Shah Masood was not brought to Pakistan for so long. You know, the Pakistan Government tried, but he never came here.



**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** He came in 1999 and I interviewed him and there was a big problem. I agree with you. So I will request my counterpart, Mr. Abdur Rasool Sayaf, to come here. Thank you for this. Yes, Mr. Khattak.

**Mr. Khalid Khattak:** Thank you, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed. I will comment very briefly. I will first comment on one of the key questions which were taken up repeatedly and this was about the Afghan sensitivity with regard to the Pukhtuns alienation and sir, the comments attributed to the President.

Now, let me clarify the position of Karzai Government. The position of the international community is that most of the problems, most of the violence and insurgency is in the Pukhtun areas. In response, when we say that, alright; that means that this insurgency and this violence has to be addressed in the Pukhtun areas by focusing on the Pukhtun areas. Then we are accused that we are showing a kind of a preference for one ethnic group or the other ethnic group. Our stated policy is that we do not have any preference for any ethnic group. We do not have any preference for any kind of government. The ideological or the ethnic composition of the government in Afghanistan is of no interest to us. We want an Afghanistan which is a friend of Pakistan. Pakistan's assistance or support to Afghanistan is not to regime "A" or regime "B". It is to a country, a neighbouring country. So, in this respect, the President has been misquoted time and again. Even his comments in Brussels were reported completely out of context and what he did was, he gave an objective assessment that, alright; if the problem is in the Pukhtun areas then the grievances of the Pukhtuns have to be addressed. Now this was not a kind of comment that he was saying that the Tajiks should be excluded or others should be included.

The second aspect of our Afghan policy; I will not comment on the views, perceptions and some in Afghanistan and Pakistan have. I just come to two or three basic realities. There is a real situation and the real situation is characterized by three major failures. Now, there are two ways to go about it. One is to go into the analysis of it. Who did it and why, is not relevant. The other aspect is that how do we address this situation, how do we face this situation? I think, in this respect, the Government's policy is fairly realistic. The Government policy is aware of the limitations of our influence on the Afghan people. At the same time, the Government policy is taking into account the factors which directly impact Pakistan and on that score, of course, like any other responsible government, it will have to take actions and to minimize the negative fallout of what is happening in Afghanistan and in Pakistan itself. The Jirga proposal, by the way, was made by the Afghan side. We have gone ahead. We want to be helpful and we want to be cooperative. Regardless of the modalities that they want to have and regardless of the modalities that we have in our mind, but this is a sign of the helpful nature of Pakistan's policy on Afghanistan.

Now refugees; it is a sensitive issue. I agree with Mr. Rustam Shah but the point is that; if you have close to 3 million refugees and these 3 million refugees move across the border because of their family connections, because of their other connections and then that situation has linkages with the stability of the border also – how do you address it? How it is possible, for instance, for Pakistan to tell between an ordinary refugee and a Talib who is crossing over or crossing from that side. I think that Afghanistan and the international community, in the last analysis, will have to take the responsibility of refugees. They will have to take back the refugees. We will help in repatriation. We would like these refugees to be repatriated with honour and safety but in the final

analysis, this problem cannot be allowed to linger on forever just because we happen to be neighbours. After all, Afghanistan has other neighbours as well.

Now, I will respond to the question of Deputy Chairman, Senate. Yes, regional policy is important and regional and global policy has to have linkages. But the point is that if there are some problems with our regional policy, is it because of us only. I will give you the example of Iran. What is the quality of Iran's relations with Turkey? What is the quality of Iran's relations with Azerbaijan? What is the quality of Iran's relations with Iraq? What is the quality of Iran's relations with the Gulf? Do you hold Iran solely responsible for it? No. The very character of the global order is such that the global situation invariably impacts on the regional situation and regional policies are not evolved in abstract or as a matter of desire. Regional policies have to be evolved on the basis of mutuality of interest and complexity of interest and I do agree. This is our policy to coordinate with Iran, to have close and friendly relations with Iran, in every respect. Thank you.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed:** Thank you very much. I think we have had a very intellectually stimulating session. Insha-Allah all your recommendations will come in our report and that report will be presented in the Parliament and there will be discussion on that.

I am very grateful, particularly to all the distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who remained seated, especially Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani and Deputy Chairman of the Senate were both awfully busy because they had other appointments but they participated in the meeting. Senator Wasim Sajjad, Leader of the House, is here after disposing of court cases. I think the important thing was they all wanted to be part of the debate. We came to listen and to learn. We have listened and learnt a lot.

We are grateful to you, Rustom Shah Mohmand Sahib, Hasan Khan Sahib, and Rahimullah Sahib. I have already thanked Mr. Ahmed Rashid Sahib and Khattak Sahib. Thank you again and I am very grateful to the media people who participated in the meeting, especially ladies from the US Aid. Thank you, all.



## Views from the West

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- **Pakistan is the Priority**

*by Anatol Lieven*

(International Herald Tribune, March 8, 2007)

- **Why Pakistan is crucial to the world's stability**

*by Denis MacShane*

(The Observer, March 18, 2007)



# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Thursday, March 8, 2007



Anatol Lieven

## Pakistan is the priority

*We must keep firmly in mind that while certain elements in the Pakistani military and intelligence services may well be protecting the Taliban, by far the most important reason for the Taliban's power in the Pashtun parts of both Afghanistan and Pakistan is that they have the support of local populations.*

**WASHINGTON:** A classic mistake in military strategy is to become so obsessed with a secondary objective that it comes to dominate your entire campaign, not only sucking away essential resources from other, more important goals, but actually working against them.

This process can often be self-reinforcing. Once a particular issue has been publicly proclaimed as vital, then your prestige demands that you must sacrifice more and more to achieve it — and the more you sacrifice, the less possible it becomes to admit that the sacrifice has been in vain. A particularly disastrous example of this syndrome was Hitler's obsession with the capture of Stalingrad.

The West is in danger of making this mistake with regard to Afghanistan. Already long forgotten has been the fact that the United States

intervened in Afghanistan not to overthrow the Taliban or take one side in the Afghan civil wars, but to eliminate Al Qaeda.

Today, however, the Qaeda leadership is still alive and free, while the defeat of the Taliban has become not just a principal goal of U.S. strategy but a key test of NATO's "relevance."

If the Taliban can indeed be defeated, that would be a very good thing not just for the West, but for Afghanistan and the entire Muslim world. However, to have any chance of achieving this may require a level of indefinite military and economic commitment of which the West may simply not be capable.

The second point is that in the context of the "war on terror" as a whole, defeating the Taliban in Afghanistan is indeed a secondary issue. Of

far greater long-term importance is the survival of Pakistan as a state, and its development as a successful modern society and economy.

The reasons for this should be obvious. Afghanistan has always been a backwater of the Muslim world. Pakistan is central to that world's future. It has six times Afghanistan's population, a powerful army and nuclear weapons. Pakistan's relations with India are critical to the peace and development of South Asia. The large Pakistani diaspora in Britain means that Islamist extremism in Pakistan reaches into the heart of the West.

A great deal of the Taliban's support comes from the Pashtun areas of Pakistan, whose people are closely linked to their co-ethnics in Afghanistan, and among whom hostility to the United States is overwhelming.

The Taliban are using these areas as safe havens from which to launch attacks into Afghanistan. This is understandably causing great anger and frustration in both the Afghan government and the West.

The danger is that if Taliban attacks intensify, and the prospect of Western victory recedes still further, the United States may react either with open military raids into Pakistan or by putting massive and successful pressure on the Pakistani government to launch an overwhelming military offensive against the Taliban and their local supporters in the Pashtun areas.

The first strategy would utterly humiliate the Pakistani government and spread anti-Western fury and Islamist extremism across Pakistan. The second would almost certainly lead to civil war in Pakistan, and the present war in Afghanistan becoming a regional one.

This might temporarily reduce the Taliban's pressure on NATO in Afghanistan, but at the

cost of radically destabilizing Pakistan. In other words, we would have gained a limited and temporary tactical victory at the cost of a grave strategic defeat.

We must keep firmly in mind that while certain elements in the Pakistani military and intelligence services may well be protecting the Taliban, by far the most important reason for the Taliban's power in the Pashtun parts of both Afghanistan and Pakistan is that they have the support of local populations.

This is a replay of repeated Pashtun uprisings in the name of Islam stretching back more than 160 years, of which both the British and Russians had bitter experience.

Given patience, fortitude, political compromise, bribery and above all successful economic development in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, it may be possible for the West over many years to defeat this latest Pashtun surge.

We should not, however, dream of being able to do this quickly through military measures alone, least of all ones that would in fact make the conflict, and the terrorist threat from this region, even more widespread and even less soluble.

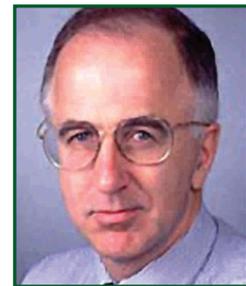
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# The Observer

Sunday, March 18, 2007

## Why Pakistan is crucial to the world's stability

*The time is overdue to acknowledge the sacrifices Pakistan has made. It has 80,000 soldiers along the 2,300km frontier with Afghanistan; 500 have been killed, far in excess of NATO casualties in Afghanistan or Britain's in Iraq. India could join the war against terror by removing its 700,000 soldiers from Kashmir and opening the border.*



Denis MacShane

Anyone who wants political power in Pakistan, so say the street pundits, must hold three aces - America, the army and Allah. As Pakistan plans its 60th birthday celebrations this year, it may hope for a future less in thrall to its military, to its mullahs and to Washington. President Pervez Musharraf, who took power in a bloody 1999 coup, is facing a crisis.

Far from being NATO's calm eastern ally, a new front in the fight against terrorism, Islamabad's streets feel shaky, divided and waiting for the worst. Pakistan is neither dictatorship nor democracy. Its newspapers are louder in criticism of their President than the anti-Blair or anti-Bush press in the West. Its intellectuals roam the world, trashing their country. Opposition politician, Cambridge-educated billionaire, Benazir Bhutto, is free to return home when she wants. But General Musharraf and his army are in charge. The house arrest of Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, after he refused Musharraf's demand to resign, has caused outrage. In a nation that reveres high office, the manhandling of the judge shocked even the most cynical of Pakistani politicians.

Pakistan urgently needs a return to democratic civilian rule even if its elected leaders in the Nineties became bywords for corruption, encouraging the Taliban and the madrassas, as well as the long-bearded, turban-wearing politicians who insist the law should be subordinate to theocracy. Democracy requires compromise between the military and the politicians. Instead there may be a slow drift towards increased authoritarianism under Musharraf, further alienating Pakistan.

In fact, the most poignant story in Pakistan last week was not about the Chief Justice but the stoning to death of a woman and two men accused of adultery. The rise of religious intolerance is now a political danger from the Christian West to the Muslim East. Yet it is all too easy to patronise Pakistan. Britain is currently gushing over India with its clever graduates and Midas-touch businessmen. But India's record on human rights and the illiteracy of half its population is little better than Pakistan's. India is rightly seen as a strategic partner for the West, especially the US, which is playing a balance-of-power game using India against China. But Pakistan,

not India, is key to stability in the new world order.

The chain reaction that began when the West and Saudi Arabia called into being the jihadi movement to oust the Russians from Afghanistan is coming back to haunt Pakistan. In the Eighties it allowed itself to be the base for military attacks on Russia, even as the USSR tottered on the edge of history's dustbin. Now the jihadis are heading steadily eastwards as fanatical Islamism preaches hate and justifies suicide bombings. But Afghanistan could be saved if a political-economic-social campaign can gain ground from a purely military definition of the challenges. Earlier this month US soldiers ran amok after a bomb attack. They fired indiscriminately, killing 30 people. A few more Bloody Sundays like this and Pakistan's neighbour will be Iraqified before reconstruction pays off.

Britain is sending one of its toughest trouble-shooting diplomats to take over a beefed-up presence in Kabul. The UN agencies, the European Commission plus the European Council, plus dozens of NGOs constitute the huge effort being made in Afghanistan, yet without better co-ordination it may end up chasing its tail.

The news is good in terms of schools, roads and hospitals built. Kabul looks richer than when it was a hippy-trail stopover three decades ago. But relentlessly the Taliban and the jihadis from among the three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan are back in business. Pakistan is endlessly reproached about not doing enough. It is told to close its frontier, as if the US can close the Mexican border or 30,000 British soldiers could seal the border across which IRA killers roamed. Pakistan is pressured to hunt bin Laden, but NATO can't find Radovan Karadzic or persuade the Serbian army to stop protecting Ratko Mladic.

The time is overdue to acknowledge the sacrifices Pakistan has made. It has 80,000 soldiers along the 2,300km frontier with Afghanistan; 500 have been killed, far in excess of NATO casualties in Afghanistan or Britain's in Iraq. India could join the war against terror by removing its 700,000 soldiers from Kashmir and opening the border. Musharraf has been braver than his predecessors in acknowledging that Indian-controlled Kashmir is not going to return to Pakistan.

If Pakistan felt its eastern flank was secure, it could transfer its military to the west - Afghanistan. Britain in recent years has given £1bn in aid to India, while India spends £200m on aid to Afghanistan. UK aid is, in effect, subsidising India's efforts to pull Afghanistan into its orbit. India is opening consulates in parts of Afghanistan where no Indian has been seen in years. From Pakistan's perspective, this looks like India seeking influence in order to keep up pressure on its old foe.

This summer heroin will be cheaper on the streets of Pakistan than sweets. India and China have a bigger drugs problem than the UK. Both countries should cut Islamabad some slack. If Afghanistan goes wrong, the next target for the ideologues who unleash suicide bombers will be Pakistan with its nuclear arsenal. **Pakistan is the key to defeating the new threats to the world. Time and again, the West has turned its back on Pakistan. That mistake should not be made again. Britain, with its close links to Pakistan, its able, articulate Muslim MPs, and its duty to tell America to change tactics, should help before it is too late.**

- *Denis MacShane is Labour MP for Rotherham and was a minister at the Foreign Office until 2005.*

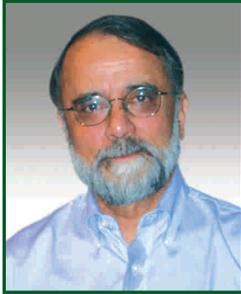


# PROFILES

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- Profile of the guest speakers.
- Profile of the Chairman and Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- Profile of the Committee Officials.





Ahmed Rashid

Ahmed Rashid a Pakistani journalist and author has been the 'Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia' correspondent for the past 20 years for London's 'Daily Telegraph' and 'The Far Eastern Economic Review' until it recently closed down. He also writes for 'The Nation' Lahore. He is a regular contributor to BBC Online, the International Herald Tribune, the New York Review of Books and the Washington Post. He has lectured widely around the world on Afghanistan, Central Asia and South Asia.

He is the author of three best selling books including 'Taliban' which was translated into 26 languages, sold over 1.5 million copies in English alone and is a course book at 200 US and British universities. His most recent book 'Jihad – The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia,' has been translated into 16 languages and is also a course book at over 100 US, British and Japanese universities.

He has addressed numerous universities, think tanks and international meetings around the world and has won numerous awards in Britain, the US and Pakistan including the 'The Nisar Osmani Courage in Journalism Award,' given by the Human Rights Society of Pakistan.

He is a member of the Advisory Board of Eurasia Net of the Soros Foundation, a scholar of the Davos World Economic Forum and a consultant for Human Rights Watch. In 2004 he was appointed to the Board of Advisers to the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva.

At the invitation of the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, he became the first journalist to address the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2002 and the first journalist to address NATO ambassadors in Brussels in September 2003

After the 2001 war in Afghanistan he donated one third of his book earnings to set up the 'Open Media Fund for Afghanistan', which has handed out nearly US \$ 400,000 in start up funds for newspapers and magazines all over Afghanistan in all the Afghan languages.

Ahmed Rashid was born in Rawalpindi, Pakistan in 1948 and was educated at Malvern College England, Government College Lahore and at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge University. He is married with two children and lives in Lahore.

Ahmed Rashid's website is : <http://www.ahmedrashid.com/>



Rustam Shah Mohmand

**Date of Birth:** August 15, 1942

**Qualifications:** Bachelor of Arts  
Bachelor of Engineering

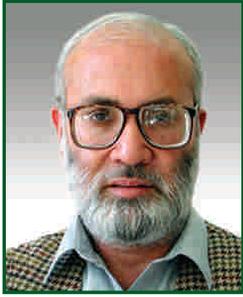
**Languages:** Fluent in English, can read and write Arabic, basic knowledge of French.

Did training courses in Finance Service Academy and Civil Service Academy, Lahore, Pakistan.  
Studied the following disciplines:

- Development Economics
- Public Finance
- Law
- Public Administration

Joined Civil Service of Pakistan in 1968 and served on the following key positions:

- Chief Commissioner Afghan Refugees (1987–89)
- Chief Secretary, Government of NWFP
- Secretary, Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan (1999)
- Adviser to the Government of Pakistan on Law and Order, Security, Immigration, Prisons, Human Rights.
- Secretary, Ombudsman Secretariat. This is an institution which has legal mechanisms for the redress of public grievances.
- Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan (2002 – 2005).
- Attended short courses in Public Administration, National Budgeting, Appraisal of Industrial Projects, etc. in the USA and the UK.
- Represented Pakistan in many international conferences.
- Represented Pakistan in negotiations between different political factions in Afghanistan in several rounds of talks in 1997 and 1999.



Rahimullah Yusufzai

Mr. Rahimullah Yusufzai is an executive editor of daily, 'The News International', in Peshawar. He is also a correspondent for the BBC and ABC News. He has been contributing articles for the last several years to Time magazine, Newline, Gulf News in the UAE, Outlook in India, and to publications in South Korea, Japan, Portugal, Germany, etc.

He has reported extensively on Afghanistan, the NWFP and Balochistan, and FATA. In the past he was associated with the Institute of Regional Studies in Islamabad and with the English daily The Muslim, which has closed down.

Mr. Yusufzai is the co-author of a book titled "Past, Present and Future of Afghanistan." He also contributed comprehensive articles on Osama bin Laden, whom he met twice in 1998, and the Taliban Years in Power, to two books on Afghanistan published by Roli Books in India. He also wrote a research article on the Afghan crisis for the Swiss Peace Foundation.



Hassan Khan

- Education: Master in English Literature (Peshawar University)
- Present Position: Director Current Affairs AVT Khyber Islamabad;  
Lead political anchor of first Pashto television channel
- Previous: Staff reporter The News International, Peshawar. Anchor PTV Peshawar Center, Started career from The Frontier Post Peshawar as sub editor in 1998,

**Important achievements:**

- Interviewed President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai (Exclusive three times)
- Pakistan President Gen Pervez Musharraf (Exclusive once)
- US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher on US policy and future commitment to tribal areas along Pak Afghan border (The only interview he given exclusively to Pakistani channel)
- Conducted live marathon transmission as lead anchor on Afghanistan presidential and general elections respectively.
- Visited Afghanistan soon after proposal of Pakistan-Afghanistan Peace Jirga to get first hand information from as diverse as people on the street and parliament so that solicit people's perspective on the issue.
- As print journalist played a key role in framing NWFP health policy particularly introducing Institutional Based Private Practice in public sector hospitals

**Presentations:**

At several seminars in Peshawar and Islamabad on menace of landmines in Pakistan tribal areas, Participation of women in political process.

Participated in different programmes in US, Germany (twice) and India and Afghanistan

Have an honour to be invited by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee for sharing experiences of the Afghanistan visit.



# **Profiles of the Chairman and Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

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## Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed

(PML - Federal Capital)  
Chairman

Mushahid Hussain Sayed is currently a Senator and Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He is also Secretary General of the ruling party, Pakistan Muslim League. He has been a Cabinet Minister, Journalist, university teacher and political analyst. As Information Minister from 1997 to 1999, Mushahid Hussain was the country's principal spokesman and appeared frequently on international television and radio channels to present Pakistan's position on issues ranging from nuclear weapons to Islam and foreign policy. He was also Leader of Pakistan's Delegation to the UN Human Rights Commission at Geneva in 1993. After October 12, 1999, Mushahid Hussain was held without any charges as a political prisoner for four-hundred and forty (440) days, including a period in solitary imprisonment. The world's leading human rights organization, Amnesty International, declared him a 'Prisoner of Conscience' making him the first such Pakistani to be so honoured for the year 2000.

Mushahid Hussain has a Master's degree from the School of Foreign Services in Georgetown University at Washington. While studying in the US, he was President of the Pakistan Students Association and was awarded a Congressional Internship to work in the United States Congress. In Pakistan, he studied at the F.C. College in Lahore, from where he received a BA.

After completion of studies in the United States, he returned to Pakistan and became Member, Directing Staff of the country's prestigious training institution for civil servants, the Pakistan Administrative Staff College. He then joined Pakistan's oldest seat of learning, the Punjab University, as Lecturer on International Relations in the Political Science Department, from where he along with three other teachers was removed on political grounds during Martial Law.

In 1982, at age 29, he became the youngest Editor of national English daily, The Muslim, published from capital Islamabad, which was respected for its independent positions.

As a specialist on international political and strategic issues, he has lectured widely and his articles have been published in various national and international publications including The New York Times, The Washington Post, International Herald Tribune, and Middle East International. He was elected Co-Chairman of the NAM Media Conference of 100 countries, held in New Delhi in December 1983 and he is the first Pakistani journalist to have a syndicated column in the Indian media, writing regularly in the 'Time of India' and the 'Hindustan Times'.

Mr. Mushahid Hussain is the author of three books. He is also Chairman of the Board of Governors of Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), a leading Think Tank.

He is also the Vice President of the Centrist Democrat International (CDI) Asia – Pacific Chapter. On January 27, 2006, he was awarded Congressional Medal of Achievement by the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines.

### Membership of the Senate & Parliamentary Committees:

- Committee on Foreign Relations, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas (**Chairman**)
- Committee on Defence and Defence Production.
- Functional Committee on Government Assurances.
- Functional Committee on Human Rights.
- Finance Committee
- Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir.
- Joint Parliamentary Committee on Balochistan.

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Former USAID Building, G-5/1, Islamabad.



**Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri**  
Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Ex-Officio Member

Mian Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri is a member of the National Assembly from NA-140 (Kasur-III) constituency. He is currently Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Mian Khursheed Mahmud Kasuri graduated with a B.A (Hons.) degree from University of the Punjab in 1961, followed by a tripos degree from Cambridge University and qualified as Barrister-at-Law at Gray's Inn London. During his political career, Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri was elected as First Secretary General of Peoples Democratic Alliance and was appointed Federal Minister for Parliamentary Affairs in the interim government of Prime Minister Mir Balakh Sher Mazari.

Mr. Kasuri is an ex-officio member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

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**Senator Wasim Sajjad**  
(PML - Federal Capital)  
Member

Mr. Wasim Sajjad was born on 30th March, 1941. He went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar in 1964 from where he obtained the Degrees of M.A. (Jurisprudence) and B.C.L. He is a Barrister-at-Law from the Inner Temple London and an Honorary Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. He has a highly distinguished career in politics and public service and has held the office of :-

**President of Pakistan** (July to November, 1993 and December, 1997 to January, 1998).

**Chairman Senate of Pakistan** (24th December, 1988 to 12th October, 1999). Elected in 1988 and re-elected in 1991, 1994 and 1997.

**Federal Minister for Law, Justice & Parliamentary Affairs** (September, 1986 to December 1988). Has also held the portfolio of the **Federal Minister for Interior & Narcotics Control**.

**Leader of the Opposition in the Senate of Pakistan, 1988.**

Elected as **Senator** from Punjab on a technocrat seat in 1985. Re-elected in 1991, 1994, 1997 and 2003. Presently he is the **Leader of the House in the Senate of Pakistan** and is a Member of the Pakistan Muslim League.

As a **Lawyer** by profession, he is presently heading his own law firm (**Sajjad Law Associates**) having its Head Office in Islamabad.

He is the **President of the Foundation for Advancement of Science & Technology** and **Chancellor of the National University of Computer and Emerging Sciences**.

He has travelled extensively and visited over fifty countries. He is married and has three children.

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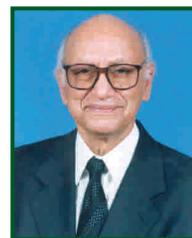
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Senator S. M. Zafar  
(PML - Punjab)  
Member



Senator S. M. Zafar is a prominent lawyer and former Federal Minister for Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Pakistan. He is involved with various aworks and is Chairman of the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency - PILDAT's Board of Advisors, Chairman of the Human Rights Society of Pakistan as well as of the Senate Committee on Human Rights. He was President of the High Court Bar Association Lahore (1975) and President of the Supreme Court Bar Association (1979). He is also Chairman of the Cultural Association of Pakistan. Senator Zafar has visited the US, Canada, UK, France and Germany. He enjoys farming and has three sons and a daughter.

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Senator Prof. Khurshid Ahmad  
(MMA - NWFP)  
Member



A world renowned research scholar, an educationist, an economist, a versatile writer and a preacher of Islam, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad was born on March 23, 1932 at Delhi, India. He holds a Bachelors degree in Law and Jurisprudence, Masters degrees in Economics and Islamic Studies and an Honorary Doctorate (Ph.D) in Education. Prof. Khurshid Ahmad has held the portfolio of the Federal Minister of Planning and Development and has been Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in the Government of Pakistan from 1978 to 1979. He has written around 30 books in English, over 20 in Urdu and contributed to a large number of magazines. Senator Ahmed was elected as member of the Senate in February, 2003, and is a member of the Senate's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Affairs. He previously served as member of the Senate from March 1985 till March 1997. During that tenure he was also Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Finance and Economic Affairs from 1991 till March, 1997. He is Vice President (Naib Ameer) of Jama'at-e-Islami Pakistan and Founder and Chairman of both Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad and the Islamic Foundation, Leicestershire, UK.

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**Senator Sardar Mahtab Ahmed Abbasi**  
(PML-N - NWFP)  
Member

Senator Sardar Mahtab Ahmed Abbasi is former Chief Minister of the NWFP and a Federal Minister. He is an experienced politician and one of the prominent leaders of the PML-N.

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**Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq**  
(MMA - NWFP)  
Member

Senator Sami-ul-Haq completed education from Jamia Darul Uloom Haqqania Akora Khattak, and received a degree in Tafseer from spiritual leader Maulana Ahmad Ali Lahori. He was awarded an honorary degree from Darululoom Deoband India and Jamia Makka Muazzama, serving as Chancellor and Teacher of Hadith. Senator Maulana Sami-ul-Haq is a central leader of MMA and runs Dar ul Uloom Haqqania, a religious seminary at Akora Khattak, NWFP. He is also the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Religious Affairs and Minorities Affairs, and has been serving in the Senate of Pakistan since 1985. Senator Sami-ul-Haq is the Secretary General of the JUI-S, and Senior Vice President of the Islamic Democratic Alliance. He is Founder and Secretary General of the National Uniformity council (A common council of all religious political parties). He is the also the founder of the monthly Jamia Haqqania Al-Haq, and has authored several religio-political books in Urdu.

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**Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani**  
(PML - Punjab)  
Member



Senator Muhammad Ali Durrani, Minister for Information and Broadcasting, is a leading political activist and grass roots organizer of his party who founded the youth movement “Pasban”. He was Secretary General of the National Alliance, a coalition partner of the ruling party. He is also the President of the Wise Education Society and Women Welfare Society. He is the Founder of the Institute of Afghan Affairs (1985) and Education for All (EFA). He has launched campaigns for the Kashmir cause, free employment (1997), Shaukat Khanum Memorial Trust Hospital, collective marriage ceremony, true freedom (2000), and for relief on foreign debt (2001). He played a leading role in the establishment of IJI (1988), Millat Party, National Alliance and the Grand National Alliance. Senator Durrani has visited Europe, Asia and Africa and is married with three sons and a daughter.

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**Senator Nisar A. Memon**  
(PML - Sindh)  
Member



Senator Nisar A. Memon is the former Minister for Information and the former Chief Executive of the IBM Pakistan. He is also Chairman of the Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production. He previously served as Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting twice (1993 and 2002); as President of the Overseas investors chamber of Commerce & Industry Pakistan (1994); and as Chairman Board of Directors, Engro Chemicals Limited, Pakistan (2001-2002). He is a Syndicate member of Karachi University and President of The Reformers. Senator Memon has visited Europe, USA, Canada, Middle East, Africa and Central Asia. He is married with two daughters and enjoys reading and playing Golf.

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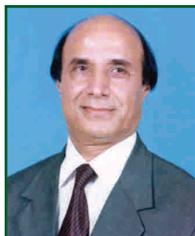
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**Senator Sardar M. Latif Khan Khosa**  
(PPPP - Punjab)  
Member

Senator Sardar Muhammad Latif Khan Khosa is one of the country's leading lawyers who has actively defended constitutional and political cases of his party leadership. He was President of the High Court Bar Association thrice (1981-82, 1987-88, 1995-96), Member Pakistan Bar Council since 1995, Chairman Executive Committee P.B.C. (1995-96), Chairman Appeal Committee Punjab-1 (1996-2000) and Member Tribunal P.B.C. (1995-2000). He is a Life Member of the High Court Bars of Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi. He is also Life Member of the Supreme Court Bar Association, and Chairman of Khosa Law Chambers. Senator Khosa has visited the USA, Canada, France, UK, China, Ireland, Dubai and Saudi Arabia. He is married with four sons and two daughters and enjoys cricket, debating and music.

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**Senator Muhammad Talha Mahmood Aryan**  
(MMA - NWFP)  
Member

**Membership of the Senate Committees**

- Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Resources.
- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.
- Functional Committee on Government Assurances.

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Senator Col (R) Syed Tahir Hussan Mashhadi  
(MQM - Sindh)



**Education:**

- BSC (Hons)
- PSC (Command and Staff Course Quetta)

**Achievements:**

- Ex-Chairman, District Karachi East.
- Ex-Town Nazim, Jamshed Town, Karachi.
- Columnist, Political Analyst, Articles frequently appear in leading English language Newspapers and periodicals.
- Retired Army Officer.

**Membership of Senate Committees:**

- Committee on Rules of Procedures and Privileges. (**Chairman Committee**)
- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.
- Standing Committee on Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs and Tourism.
- Standing Committee on Education and Science and Technology.
- Standing Committee on Interior.

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Senator Gulshan Saeed  
(PML - Punjab)  
Member



Senator Gulshan Saeed, Chairperson, Senate Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping, is a long-standing political activist and she runs an NGO called Roshan Pakistan. She was a member of the Punjab Social Welfare Board from 1998-2002. She has visited the UK, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, France, Holland and USA. Senator Gulshan Saeed is married with two sons and two daughters.

She is currently the Vice President of the Women's Wing of Pakistan Muslim League, and member of its General Council. She has held assignments of Punjab Social Welfare Board, Bait-ul-Mal Punjab and Chairman Zakat Committee Lahore.

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# PROFILES OF THE COMMITTEE OFFICIALS

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**Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar**  
Secretary Committee

Mr. Iftikhar Ullah Babar is Additional Secretary at the Senate of Pakistan and is currently working with the Parliamentary Committees of the Senate.

Mr. Babar completed his Secondary School and Higher Secondary School from Burn Hall School Abbottabad and Abbottabad Public School respectively. He attended Edwardes College Peshawar for his Bachelor's Degree and University of Peshawar for a Master's Degree in Economics. He also holds a Master's Degree in Development Studies from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, The Netherlands.

Mr. Babar attended the 13<sup>th</sup> Advance Management and Development course at the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) Peshawar and the 76<sup>th</sup> National Management Course at the Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC) Lahore.

Mr. Babar has authored a number of research articles on wide ranging topics namely, the Eighth Constitutional Amendment, Research support to Parliamentarians, the Parliamentary Committee System in Pakistan and Parliament and Financial Control. He has written numerous reports for the Committees, which were presented in the Senate.

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**Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui**  
Consultant  
Ambassador (R)

Mr. Tayyab Siddiqui joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1967 and served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Zimbabwe (1986-1990), with concurrent accreditation to Zambia, Botswana and Namibia; to Indonesia (1992-1996), with concurrent accreditation to Papua New Guinea; to Egypt (1997-1999); and to Switzerland (1999-2003), and also to the Holy See and Liechtenstein.

In a 35 - year career as a diplomat, he also served in Pakistan missions in Amman, Beirut, Colombo, Berlin (GDR), Athens, Dhaka and Washington D.C. He was a member of Pakistan delegation to the UNGA for four years (1977-1980).

Ambassador Siddiqui is currently a regular analyst on international affairs with Radio Pakistan and PTV and other private channels. He is a regular contributor to English dailies - 'Dawn', 'The Nation' and 'The Post' on current international issues. He also contributes a regular column entitled "Harf-e-Haq" to the Urdu daily, 'Ausaf'. The selection of his columns was published in March, 2005.

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