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India-Pakistan Dispute on Kashmir: Pakistan's Allegiance in the Efforts of "War on Terrorism" of the United States after the WTC 9/11 Attack

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Abstract

When the Cold War took place, the Soviet Union took side on India. Consequently, the US made Pakistan as its ally. Then after the Cold War was over and allegedly Pakistan helped the Afghan terrorist forces, US turned to side with India. But it turns out it was only Indian trickery to get support from the US. After the 9/11 WTC attack, the US set priorities that fighting against terrorism was more important. The US sided to Pakistan and invited Pakistan to work together to fight against Afghan terrorists. In this discussion paper, the author will explore and analyze what kind of win-win cooperation that the US and Pakistan have. The author applies theory of neo-realism, concept of power, and concept of national interest to analyze the case.

Keywords: Kashmir Dispute, The United States, War on Terrorism, India, Pakistan

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Background

After World War II (1945), the international political constellation was divided into two axes: 1) The United States with its liberal-capitalist countries alliance; 2) The Soviet Union with its socialist-communist countries alliance. This has created bipolarity pattern. The Cold War was not an open war between the United States and the Soviet Union, but what happened was a proxy war between two puppet countries: Pakistan and India. The United States sees Pakistan as the right ally for a puppet state, while the Soviet Union takes the opportunity to make India a puppet state. Seeing the conditions of Pakistan and India there are enough differences both in culture, race and religion that create conflict. The longest India-Pakistan conflict is the struggle for an area called Kashmir.

Suwarno stated that historically, the term Kashmir is described as a valley in the most southern part of the Himalayas (Suwarno, 2012). Politically, the term Kashmir is described as a large area covering the Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh regions. "Kashmir Valley" is strategically located and the land is very fertile. Kashmir is surrounded by

beautiful mountains and flowed by many rivers from its valleys. Kashmir is administratively entered into India and 77.11% of the population is Muslim. Pakistan claimed Kashmir as its territory from the beginning. Therefore, Kashmir became the area of the first confrontation between India and Pakistan. Therefore, at least three wars have taken place in 1947-1948, in 1965, and in 1999 which was well-known as the Kargil War.

During the Cold War, America used Pakistan as a frontline bulwark against the expansion of communism in South Asia (Wirsing, 2003, p. 70). However, after the Cold War was over, the US changed its alignments, which at the first place supporting Pakistan then turned into supporting India. Because it was alleged that Pakistan facilitated Afghan terrorists to conduct training in Kashmir. Nevertheless, the US' support for India does not necessarily triggers India and Pakistan for direct confrontation. The US continues to persuade the two parties to negotiate a win-win solution to the ongoing conflict in Kashmir. This is conveyed by Ahmad Ejaz in his article entitled "U.S. Policy on Kashmir Dispute in the Post-Cold War Period" he argues that after the Cold War the United States adopted a centric

Indian policy that made Washington redesign its policies in the dispute in Kashmir, Pakistan has supported terrorist movements in Kashmir which are managed by providing training, arming and launching terrorist attacks across the control line (Ejaz, 2016, p. 16).

Meanwhile, according to Shaheen Akhtar in his writing "War on Terrorism and Kashmir Issue" that there is a very different perception when discussing terrorism and terrorism activities in Kashmir, the Indian government stated that the resistance in IoK (India over Kashmir) was entirely an issue of terrorism and Pakistan sponsored "cross-border terrorism". It was simply India's way to win Kashmir from Pakistan. India accuses Pakistan of carrying out terrorism training in the Kashmir region. The US president who initiated war on terrorism - Bush, believes that with certain backing from Pakistan for war on terrorism will show the international world that America is neither an enemy of Islam nor an enemy of Islamic countries (Momani, 2004, p. 44). America also wants to show that not all Islamic countries are being fought and opposed.

The author specifies the research from 2001 up to 2018, because after the 9/11 World Trade Center (WTC) attack, the US massively promotes "war on terrorism". Pakistan is an important country to study because of its geographical location which is very close to Afghanistan, the country of origin of the Taliban. The location of Afghanistan, which is a land-lock country, makes it difficult for the US to reach it, therefore US approaches Pakistan so that it can send non-lethal war ammunition through the land because shipping through the ocean costs higher. It is a very rational decision for the US to defeat Afghanistan.

On that basis, Pakistan also gained a "special relationship" and became a "major non-NATO ally" following its willingness to work together to curb Al-Qaeda and the Taliban in South Asia (Soherwordi, 2010, p. 51). By the US landed in Afghanistan, Pakistan has become the "de facto" neighbor of the US even though it is geographically 7,000 miles away from the Atlantic coast. Meanwhile, C.Christine Fair on her book stated that economic and military assistance alone is not enough to strengthen US-Pakistan relations (Fair,

2010, pp. 182-183). Facilitate democratization in Pakistan should be the US' main priority in order to gain other prominent goals in South Asia. For further comprehensive bilateral relationship between US and Pakistan, if Pakistan has become a democratic country and has the same understanding as the US, surely communication and relations between the two countries will be well established. The US and Pakistan will be able to exchange interests for a long-term goals.

Research Question

To be able to focus, the author limit the scope of the research by following question: What are the United States measures toward Pakistan in an effort to persuade Pakistan to support "war on terrorism" against Afghanistan terrorists?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is needed to be able to analyze a problem so that the analysis result can be logic, valid, and objective. In this discussion paper, the author applies neo-realism approach, the concept of power, and the concept of national interest.

1. Theory of Neo-Realism

Before explaining this theory further, the author wants to distinguish between classical realism theory and neo-realism theory. Classical realism was constituted by Hans Morgenthau, while neo-realism was conceived by Kenneth Waltz. Two theories above have a slight difference. Both theories concern with state's own national interest and strengthen the power to achieve national interest. Kenneth Waltz succeeded in formulating neo-realism that complements the previous theory of realism. Waltz tried to formulate systemic and scientific realism in his 1979 book entitled "Theory of International Politics" (Pashakanlou, 2009).

John J. Mearsheimer's opinion also reinforces Waltz's argument, Mearsheimer carries the idea of structural realism which says that in fact countries do not want to get abundant power, however, the international political structure is deliberately designed to force a country to strengthen its own power. In which there is no power exceeds the great power, where there is no guarantee that a country will not attack another country. Therefore it is very important for a country to strengthen itself and protect itself when it is attacked. Thus, in

essence, the power of countries trapped in a cage that requires them to compete with other countries to be able to survive.

Nevertheless, in neo-realism this allows for cooperation among states to strengthen power. Neo-realism is very suitable to be used in this research because US supports Pakistan in Kashmir conflict by carrying out national interest to be achieved. In this case, the US uses Pakistan land route to reach the battlefield in Afghanistan. Further analysis, the US is not a single actor. The US makes Pakistan becomes an ally to make the plan runs well conquering Afghanistan. It shows that in neo-realism theory which emphasizes the state as an actor in international politics tends to work with other countries to strengthen power and achieve national interest.

2. The concept of Power

Power is defined as an ability owned by a state to be able to influence and dominate other states in an effort to achieve its national interest. Realists argue that power is the essence of a human being or a state to pursue power. Hans J. Morgenthau in his book entitled "Politics Among Nations", stated that a state in formulating policies and actions will not be separated from rationality and prudence, where every action and policy

taken need to consider the benefits, advantages and disadvantages for the state (Morgenthau, 1978, hal. 27).

The context of power in this case is related to the national power of a country which is not solely sourced from military power. Not limited to natural resources, but also the level of technology, science, forms of government, and ideology possessed by the country. A country that has great economic and military power usually plays a role in helping countries that are experiencing conflict in the world. This is based on the hegemony that the big country wants to do. This also shows other countries that the big country has a power that cannot be underestimated by other countries.

3. The concept of National Interest

The national interests of a country are the elements that shape the vital needs of the country such as defense, security, military, and economy (Anak Agung Banyu Perwita, Yayan Mochamad Yani, 2005, hal. 35). The concept of national interest is very important to be used in analyzing international cases because of the national interest that underlies a country's actions. National interest is also a

fundamental determining factor in a country's foreign policy making.

Country's national interest is very diverse. Donald E. Nuechterlin suggests that there are four types of national interests, namely:

- a. Defense interests, including the interests to protect citizens, territories and political systems of threats from other countries.
- b. Economic interests, including the interests of the government to improve the level of the country's economy by establishing relations and cooperations with other countries.
- c. International order interests, by creating or maintaining an international economic and political system that benefits the country.
- d. The interests of ideology, which is to defend and protect ideologies from ideological threats from other countries.

The author considers this concept very relevant for analyzing the actions of the US in South Asia especially its policies towards Pakistan.

Research Method

1. Type of Research

This research uses descriptive analysis method. Descriptive analysis method is an analysis used to analyze data by describing describe the data that have been obtained as it is without intending to make over-generalizing conclusions (Sugiyono, 2010, p. 207).

2. Data Collection Method

The author uses observation and library research as method of data collection. The data used in this research are primary data and secondary data. Primary data in form of document from United States Agency for International Development (USAID), while the secondary data are supporting data such as document from book, journal, news, report, working paper, and other related documents.

Finding and Discussion

The following are US economic and political efforts in persuading Pakistan to support "war on terrorism":

1. The US abolishes three economic sanctions which have been imposed on Pakistan

Some US sanctions against Pakistan being abolished are the Symington Amendment (1978), the Pressler Amendment (1990), and the Glenn Amendment (1998). These sanctions were dropped by America because of the possession of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons testing (Momani, 2004, p. 44). The Glenn Amendment contains a rule that countries included in the list of US sanctions are not allowed to apply for loans. By cutting out these sanctions, it indirectly rewards Pakistan after Pakistan is willing to support the US in fighting against terrorism.

Even a bill was issued by the congress which states that (Senate US Congress, 2003):

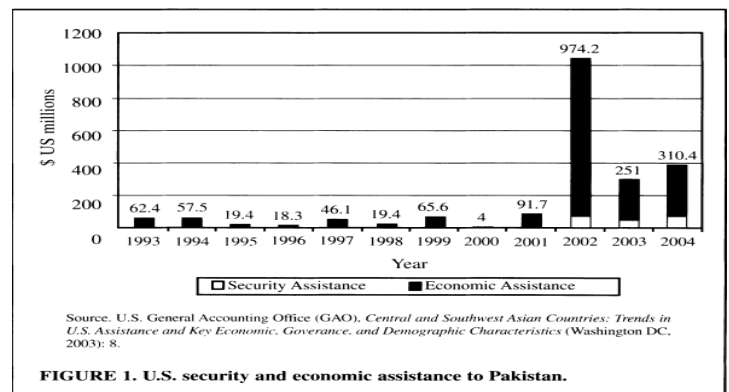
The president is authorized, for Pakistan and India, to provide assistance, enter into contracts, take actions in international financial institutions, sell, lease, or authorize the export of defence article or defensive services, authorize the export of dual-use items, or extend other financial assistance.

This bill was entered into law, so that the president is allowed to

dispensate a number of economic incentives to Pakistan.

2. The US provides assistance in various funds

In 2002 Pakistan was promised \$ 1.2 billion in aid as US foreign aid to be disbursed, including development assistance funds managed by (United State Agency for International Development) USAID. The US also provides Pakistan \$600 million in cash, in order to help Pakistan paying off foreign debt. Not only that, America also provides aid funds to strengthen Pakistan's military and security. This can be seen from figure 1 below which shows that Pakistan got the most funds since the Cold War ended.



3. The US provides loans through Paris Club

Paris Club is an informal group of creditor countries which aims to find workable solutions to payment issues faced by debtor countries (Instopedia,

2019). In Paris Club, the US is willing to reschedule Pakistan's due date of paying the bilateral debt of \$379 millions and initiate another bilateral debt for Pakistan. Whereas Pakistan had previously been subjected to Brooke sanctions imposed by the Paris Club because Pakistan failed to make principal and interest payments on previous loans.

In addition, Pakistan also wants to reschedule its debts on easier terms than before under the Houston terms (the Houston terms is Paris Club debt repayments with terms of longer than 15 years with the lightest concession rates). In this kind of term, the US' approval is very essential. The US can do the lobby to the debtor countries to provide convenience to Pakistan. These facilities may not be obtained by other creditor countries.

4. The US gives trade concessions to Pakistan

The US agreed to reduce tariffs and reduce quota restrictions on Pakistani textile goods, particularly cotton yarn products. Textile is one of the ten main commodities of Pakistan which are exported to the US (Momani, 2004, p. 45). The abolition of quota restrictions on Pakistani commodities entering the US is one of the US' national interests. This

makes the US formulates policies that are contradictive to its former policies. In 1998, the US complained about the poor quality of Pakistani textile products and reported the issue to the World Trade Organization's Textiles Monitoring Body (TMB). But these efforts were not responded by TMB. Then us forced TMB to reduce product quotas from Pakistan. The US policy regarding Pakistani textiles is not a strings attached, because it is one of the ways US persuaded Pakistan to cooperate. Another advantage given by US to Pakistan is that it allows Pakistani duty-free goods to enter the US under the General System of Preferences (GSP) program.

5. The US Launches Pakistan's Loan Application to the IMF

The US made an offer to Pakistan to support war on terrorism or better known as GWOT (Global War on Terrorism). In return, US will provide Pakistan with various financial and political benefits (Momani, 2004, p. 41). One of those benefits is to ease Pakistan's process of borrowing money from IMF. The US argued that the process of launching the loan was politicized by the US, but it was very clear from a very smooth procedure. Because not all countries can have

effortlessly get loan from the IMF.

Conclusion

After the tragedy of the 9/11 WTC attack, researchers expect US to use all its strength to gain international support. The US is accustomed to using economic assistance as a form of persuasion toward countries that are considered having capability of streamlining its national interest. It is not surprising that Pakistan gets a lot of political and economic rewards for joining the US war against terrorism. The US claims to have helped Pakistan pass the loan proposal to the IMF for \$135 million, and IMF officer has confirmed it. The loan release is intended by the US to show its earnestness in fighting terrorism. From American policies towards Pakistan which the authors describe in the discussion, it can be concluded that Pakistan accepted US' offer to help promoting war on terrorism.

Based on the theories and concepts applied in this discussion paper, it can be concluded that US uses economic power superiority to convince involving countries that can help US in carrying out its mission in South Asia and achieve its national interests. US chooses Pakistan is a rational action of a

country to have beneficial ally who can bring benefits and advantages for itself. The benefit is that most of the US supply for the war in Afghanistan includes fuel sent from the port in Karachi to Torkham on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. After that, the supplies were sent on a ship bound for Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan.

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