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**FACTORS IN PAK-IRAN RELATIONS:
POST COLD WAR ERA**



Researcher:
SULTAN SHOAIB
M.S Politics and IR
29-FSS/MSPSIR/F08

Supervisor:
Dr. Syed Qandil Abbas
Assistant Professor
School of International Relations
and Political Science Quaid-i-Azam
University Islamabad

**Department of Politics & International Relations
Faculty of Social Sciences**

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD



Accession No 74-7976

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Iran - Foreign relations - Pakistan

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**SULTAN SHOAIB
M.S Politics and IR
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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of
Philosophy degree in Politics & International Relations with specialization in “Factors
in Pak-Iran relations: Post Cold War Era” at the faculty of Social Science,
International Islamic University, Islamabad.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST MERCIFULL AND BENEFICIENT

DEDICATED

TO

My beloved mother, brothers and sisters, all of them have been a great source of inspiration for me during writing this thesis.

Certification

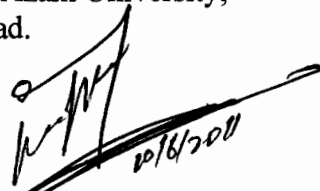
Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled "**Factors in Pak-Iran Relations: During Post-Cold War Era**" submitted by **Sultan Shoaib Reg # 29-FSS/MSPSIR/F08**, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of M.S/M.Phil Politics and International Relation.

Supervisor



Dr. Syed Qandil Abbas
Assistant Professor
Department of International Relations,
Quaid-i-Azam University,
Islamabad.

Internal Examiner

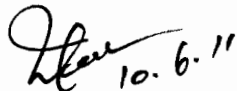


Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi
Assistant Professor
Department of Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University
Islamabad

External Examiner



Dr. Noman Omar Sattar
HOD, Strategic & Nuclear Studies
National Defence University,
Islamabad.



Professor Dr. M. Nazrul Islam
Head Department of Politics and International Relations
&

Dean,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
International Islamic University,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Let me acknowledge and thank a number of professors, friends and colleagues who made this thesis possible.

The first person I would like to thank is my direct supervisor Dr. Syed Qandeel Abbas. I have been in his project since I started off my thesis. During these years, I have known him as a sympathetic and Principle-centered person. I owe him lots of gratitude for having me shown this way of research. He could not even realize how much I have learned from him. With his enthusiasm, his inspiration, and his great efforts to explain things clearly and simply, he helped to make the thesis a fun for me.

It is difficult to overstate my gratitude to Dr. Nazar-ul-Islam and Dr. Sohail Mahmood. Their cooperation and support went a long way in helping me to kick off the project well. Dr. Nazar-ul-Islam, Dean, Faculty of social science had been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement for me. Had he not been for his sound advice and lots of good ideas, I would have lost my way in the labyrinth of data and interpretations.

This work would not have been possible without the moral, spiritual support and encouragement of Ch. Ghulam Rasool, Additional Secretary Ministry of Law, Ch. Abdul Hameed, Director Administration, L.D.A. and Muhammad Raza Chuahan Director M &E Higher Education Commission Pakistan.

I am indebted to many friends and colleagues such as Muhammad Ramzan Chaudhry, Khurshid Alam, Sajjad-ur-Rehman, Fareed ullah Shah and Ikhtlaq Rasool Khan, whose scholarly guidance enabling me to focus on doing the research and writing my thesis.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the official staff of the department of Politics and International Relations in particular and that of the University in general for assisting me in different ways.

Lastly, and most importantly, I wish to thank my parents. They bore me, brought me up, supported me, taught me, and have loved me.

(SULTAN SHOAIB)

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ACRONYMS

CENTO	CENTRAL TREATY ORGANIZATION
RCD	REGIONAL COOPERATION FOR DEVELOPMENT
ECO	ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION
NATO	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
UN	UNITED NATIONS
US	UNITED STATES
NAM	NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT
IPBC	IRAN PAKISTAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION
OIC	ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COUNTRIES
EU	EUROPEAN UNION
UK	UNITED KINGDOM
PIJEC	PAK -IRAN JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION
USSR	UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
ISI	INTER SERVICES INTELLIGENCE
CIA	CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
RAW	RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS WING
SSP	SIPAH SAHABA PAKISTAN
SMP	SIPAH MUHAMMAD PAKISTAN
NAP	NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY
MK	MUJAHIDEEN-E-KHALQ
NPT	NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY
IAEA	INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
AUC	ASIAN CLEARING UNION

Chapter: One

1.1 Introduction

Both Pakistan and Iran are major Muslim states in the world. Common faith, history, geographical location and many other common deep-rooted connections between Pakistan and Iran brought both states close to each other. Common ideals of Islam, shared values provide an opportunity and foundation to enhance bilateral ties. Pakistan's presence in the Sub-Continent is also of paramount importance for Iran because it provides security assurance for Iran in the region. Nature of bilateral relations between Iran and Pakistan depends on peace and security in the region. The inhabitants of Pakistan and Iran have a common vision and a promising future.

Iran occupied an important position in the foreign policy of Pakistan. Relations between the two countries initiated since ancient times during Persian Empire when the present Pakistan's Balochistan was a major part of this Empire. People of Pakistan give due regard to the Persian language because of its historical and cultural linkages with the people of Pakistan. Pakistan's national anthem is written in this language. Iran was the first state that recognized Pakistan in August 1947. During May 1948, a friendship treaty was concluded between two countries. The enthusiasm of friendship and brotherly bonds was improved with the passing day. The bond of deep relations was not impacted even by the change of regimes in Pakistan, where the successive government tried its level best to maintain smooth and good relations with Tehran. The prime objective of these ties was the protection of political, social, economic interests of both states on one hand, and lasting peace and stability on the other hand.

Several factors in those early days considered as predominantly responsible for the better and smooth ties between both countries. First was the common membership of both Pakistan and Iran in Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), which activated both states for the enhancement of active cooperation in certain fields. Both Iran and Pakistan joined Baghdad Pact in 1955, which is, in later stage, known as CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). Other member states of CENTO were Britain and Turkey. No doubt, this pact provided an opportunity to promote bilateral relationship.

Apart from security and economic needs both states desired to forge Muslim unity in the world. Iran and Pakistan played a major role along with other Muslims member states of Baghdad pact against Israel, British, and France during Suez Canal Crisis in 1956. All these Muslim states strongly condemned the aggression of Israel, Britain and France. During Arab-Israel war of 1967 both states extended their full support inside and outside of the United Nations to Arab world against Israel. In this connection Baghdad pact was a positive impact on Pak-Iran relations as well. The second factor was the mutual agreement with regard to their unsettled boundary, which was resolved by Joint Iran–Pak Boundary Commission (IPBC) appointed in 1956. A cause of possible future friction was removed under the signature of this agreement. The third factor was Iran's sincere and brotherly efforts to bring both Pakistan and Afghanistan on the table of negotiations after rupture in their diplomatic ties when Pakistan joined CENTO. By active role of Shah of Iran in May 1963 both Pakistan and Afghanistan initiated bilateral negotiations in Iran. In this way both countries agreed to establish diplomatic ties again.

The bond of bilateral ties was not only confined to politics, economic and security cooperation, but also both states strive for promotion of relations in other spheres of life. During those early days, Regional Cooperation for Development

(RCD) was also a major platform under which, economic and technical cooperation were established. It was established by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey as an economic grouping. It remained an active platform till 1979 and contributed a lot for the promotion of economic relations. Efforts by the leaders of both countries also led both states toward the expansion of cultural cooperation as well. It played a major part as a forerunner to the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which was formed in 1985.

1.2 Problem Statement

The pace of bilateral relationship between Iran and Pakistan was at peak in the 1960s and 1970s under the Shah of Iran. In the early 1970s, Pakistan was succeeded in curbing a powerful separatist insurgent movement in Baluchistan. Putting down this separatist movement was not possible without the strong assistances of Iran.

During the 1965 war, Iran provided active support to Pakistan. In this regard Pakistan even landed its planes in Iran. In the 1970s, Iran offered its military forces in case of an Indian attack on Pakistan. Repetition of Shah of Iran's statements on several occasions that Iran was not guilty of tilting towards Pakistan showed deep and inner love of Iran toward Pakistan.

Indeed, bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran have traditionally been close, cordial and cooperative but despite all these common and shared values and things relations between two states are not on acceptable level since 1979. Pakistan has adopted its traditional pro-west approach while Iran has anti-west approach since 1970s. Pakistan played a major role against communist block being a friend of United States, while during post cold war era Iran tilted toward communist bloc. During Iraq-Iran war, Pakistan could not be able to prevent both Muslim states from war in which millions of Muslims from both sides had been killed. Since 1990s several

Iranian people have been killed on Pakistani soil in sectarian violence and government of Pakistan could not take any substantial action against responsible persons. At the moment, Iran has shifted its regional policy and more inclines toward India. Bilateral trade relations between Pakistan and Iran are minimal. Both states could not take benefits from each other in the field of trade despite a lot of avenues are open in this regard. Pakistan is importing oil from other countries although Iran possesses large oil and gas reserves. Iran can provide oil and gas to Pakistan at very cheap rates which can assist in lowering down the current energy crisis in Pakistan. Pakistan is emerging as a well established technological and agricultural state. It has a large number of man powers which could assist Iran in promoting its economic and other fields of life. Both states can promote economic, social, political and military relations by mutual understanding and harmony.

In a nutshell, both Pakistan and Iran have a shared history, common culture, customs and traditions. Both Hafiz Shirazi and Omar Khayyam are as famous in Pakistan as Iqbal in Iran. Above all both States are connected together by the deep bond of common faith of Islam. Relations between Pakistan and Iran are not according to expectations since 1979, but a question arises here is that what are the main factors of uncordial and unfriendly relations between the two countries? Why both states could not enhance bilateral and mutual relations? Despite common faith, religion, culture, and history of smooth relations before post cold war era why both states have failed to consolidate their bilateral ties?

1.3 Hypothesis

Though historically Pak-Iran relations have been remained cordial, calm, friendly and smooth, yet due to some irritants relations between both states are not on acceptable level. My hypothesis is that some major external and internal factors are

playing major role in deteriorated relations between Iran and Pakistan, in which Taliban, Indian, Israel, United States, Sectarian violence in Pakistan and security issue in the Iranian part of Baluchistan and Pakistani part of Baluchistan are major ones.

1.4 Literature Review

S.M.Burke and Lawrence Ziring in “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy”¹ viewed Pak-Iran relations in historical prospective but their analytical view regarding Pak-Iran relations is very weak. They tried to see the issue from one side. In fact this topic is not as simple as most of the writers try to see .Without a comprehensive and comparative study it is very difficult to understand it easily. Mohammed Ayoob in his book “Indo-Iranian Relations: Strategic, Political and Economic Dimensions”² has tried to highlight the issue but he touches it superficially and his study is not sufficient to cover the topic. A short comparative study has been written by Mushahid Hussain, in his book” Pakistan-Iran Relations in the Changing World Scenario: Challenges and Response”³. This book is also not covering the whole range of the topic or not fulfilling the requirement of the topic. Muhammad Akram Rabani in his book “Pakistan Affairs”⁴ covered the era from 2001 to 2006 and superficially touched “Pak-Iran relations. He also sees the relations between both states on traditional level. Surendra Chopra in his book “Pakistan’s thrust in the Muslim World, ⁵ initially highlighted the cordial relations between states in Middle East and Pakistan and in later part tried to focus his attention on the unrest in Baluchistan and Iran. So he tried to concentrate attention on internal factor which causes deteriorated relations between

¹ S.M.Burke and Lawrence Ziring .*Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990

² Muhammad Ayoob, *Indo-Iranian Relations, Strategic and Economic Dimension*, Delhi: Kumar Publisher,2004

³ Mushahid Hussain, *Pakistan–Iran Relations in Changing World Scenario : Challenges and Response*, Lahore: Taj Press, 1999

⁴ M.Akram Rabani, *Pakistan Affairs*, Lahore: Carvan Enterprises, 2003

⁵ Surendra Chopra, *Pakistan's Trust in the Muslim World*, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publisher,1992

two brother states. Syed Abdul Quddus in book “Afghanistan and Pakistan a geopolitical study”⁶ viewed geopolitical importance of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the world and its impact on their foreign policy. In this book writer tried to explain the topic on totally different level. He is of the view that Iran wants its domination in the region that is why relation between Pakistan and Iran are not on acceptable level. P.K.Ramazani in his book “The United States and Iran the patterns of influence”⁷ tried to highlight the US interests in Iran and their impacts on neighboring states. Sumita Kumar in “Pakistan Iran Relations: The US factor”⁸ tried to cover different phases of relations between Pakistan and Iran. His main concern is the impacts of Pakistan and United States relations on Pak Iran bilateral tie, but his study highlighted some minor irritants between Iran and Pakistan. Dr. Monis Ahmar and Suba Chandara in their research articles and papers tried to focus attentions on sectarian violence in Pakistan and its impacts on Pak- Iran relations, but both have left certain important reasons of sectarian violence in Pakistan. The topic has been discussed by other authors too but just in a passing. In the same way hundreds of articles have been written on the topic but not covering the whole topic.

As it has been mentioned earlier that most of the researchers have focused their attentions on historical background or tried to cover a specific period of time of relations between Pakistan and Iran. There is no comprehensive research regarding this topic. Most of the materials written by different writers and researchers on Pak-Iran relations and internal factor consist of minor details. It will be the first attempt to cover this aspect “Factors in Pak-Iran Relations in Post Cold War Era” of Pak-Iran relations. An effort is being made to provide a comprehensive guide, thorough study

⁶ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Afghanistan and Pakistan a geopolitical Study*, Lahore, Rawal Pindi: Feroz Sons Ltd.1982

⁷ P.K Ramzani, *Iran's Foreign Policy, 1941-1973*____, Sharma Chbin, 1986,

⁸Sumita Kumar, *Pakistan –Iran Relations: the US Factor*, New Delhi:Routledge,2008

and analytical background of the topic. The significance of the research lies in the fact that no research work has been carried out on the subject so far.

1.5 Research Methodology

Methodology pursued for the specific study was analytical because without analytical and comparative study the topic becomes useless and unimportant. The literatures consulted for studying the “Factors in Pak-Iran Relations in Post Cold War Era” were comprised of the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources included news papers, articles from renowned current affairs magazines, the press clippings in the Associated Press of Pakistan, Press Information Department Islamabad, and research articles and papers of distinguished scholars. Secondary sources included books and online resource such as Internet.

1.6 Limits of the Research.

Primary chapters consist of historical background since 1947 but significance of the study starts from 1979 to date.

1.7 Organization of the Research

This research is included six chapters excluding conclusion. The first chapter includes Introduction, Hypothesis, Literature review, research methodology, limits of the research, and organization of the research. The second chapter includes Pak-Iran relations during cold war era (1947 to 1989). The third chapter concentrates on the Pak-Iran relations in Post Cold war era (1989 to 2010). The fourth chapter focuses on Pak-Iran relations: External factors. The fifth chapter discusses Pak-Iran relations: Internal Factors. The sixth and last chapter discusses future prospects of Pak-Iran relations.

Chapter: 2

Pakistan Iran Relations during Cold War (1947-1989)

(A) Pre-Revolution Era (1947-1979)

2.1 Genesis of Bilateral Relations

Iran is a major and important neighboring state of Pakistan due to its common faith, history, geo-strategic position and other important links. That was the main reason Iran occupied an important position in the foreign policy of Pakistan. Pakistan believes that maintenance of smooth ties with Iran is of paramount importance for getting economic development, and security. Smooth and good relations between two neighbors and brother states are the source of strength. Deep-rooted history of Pak-Iran relations encourages the leadership of both states to further strengthen their bilateral ties on smooth track. Common heritage of both states is the major sign of cordiality in bilateral ties.

The common culture, language and religious affinities date back to centuries encompass the whole spectrum. The people of Iran and Pakistan ethnically belong to the same Aryan stock.⁹ Persian, the mother and national language of the people of Iran, has had a deep and strange impact and influence on the most of the languages in Pakistan. Geographically Iran and the areas which formed present Pakistan were the parts of Persian Empire. During the rule of Ghazna and Achaemenians both states were the parts of one empire. British considered Iran as important factor for the defense of India during their rule in India.¹⁰

⁹ S.M burke and Lawrence, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1990), p9

¹⁰ Safdar Mehmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development* (1947 to 1999) (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p225

Till 1979 all these elements connected both Pakistan and Iran as trust worthy and permanent friends. Demands and challenges of the global environment and regional politics have affected the policies of two countries from time to time. During the initial period of relationship both states faced issues of consolidation. Due to security needs both states joined themselves with United States during the Cold-War Era. At later stage, both countries disenchanted with their common ally and moved toward the mutual cooperation at regional level. Alteration in the basic equation of mutual relationship occurred at the time when Pakistan dismembered during 1971 leaving Pakistan dependent on economically powerful Iran. During this period the two countries brought themselves in closer cooperation. The later half of 1970s witnessed disturbances in Pakistan as well as in Iran, which had resulted into the establishment of revolutionary government in Iran and military government in Pakistan.¹¹

The cordial and smooth ties between Iran and Pakistan have a long history date back into the past. If one examines the pre-history and historic period, one can see close contacts already taken placed between two states. During the pre-historic period dates back to 5000 years B.C, both countries were having great common affinities in culture and materials discovered from the various archeological sites of Iran and Pakistan. In historic era the influences of Iranians were great and deeply rooted in every walk of life because of the annexation of Gandhara which may be described in modern era as the “Peshawar Valley” in which the hilly areas of Swat and Bannu extended up to Taxila are comprised of. Ghandhar was considered as the part of Persian Empire during the period of Achaemenid period from which one can witness the intimate contacts between the areas which now formed Pakistan and Iran. During the rules of Sassanian in Persia (226-251) bilateral ties were further

¹¹ M.Hassain, *Pak-Iran Relations in changing World scenario challenges and Response*(Landon: Taj Press:1999), p22

consolidated. The chain of continuity of relationship between Iran and Pakistan was further strengthened when Islam emerged as universal and global religion in Arabia.¹² Indo-Persian cultural and commercial ties became a source of strength in the golden period of Haroon-ur-Rashid, which became further strong and intensified in the reign of Sultan Mehmood Gaznavi and periods of his successors. A fresh and new chapter of bilateral relationship was opened during the period of Mughal Empire in Sub-continent between Indo-Persia. Persian was official language of Mughal for more than a thousand years in India. This language was the major medium of instruction and the basis of cultural exchange.¹³ The Persian influence over Indo-Pak Subcontinent affected entire gamut of social and cultural style, for example, literature, education, thoughts, language and architecture. A new language was emerged with the assimilation of Persian with Hindi called Urdu. Ghalib, Iqbal, Amir Khusru and Robia Khuzdari all poets of Indo-Pak Sub-continent put their influences upon the literature of India.¹⁴

In real sense, Iran is the mother of Pakistani culture and the national language of Urdu. The major and important factors which brought both Pakistan and Iran closer to each other soon after independence were the common heritage and geostrategic location. Iran was the first state in the world that extended its recognition to Pakistan and assisted Pakistan's entry into United Nations. It was the Iran that supported the stance of Pakistan over Kashmir issue inside and outside the United Nations till 1979. In past Iran viewed Kashmir as disputed territory between Pakistan and India and wanted settling it according to United Nations resolutions. There were several Muslim countries in the world that extended or supported Indian stance over Kashmir but Iran

¹² P.K Ramzani, *Iran's Foreign Policy, 1941-1973*(____, Sharma Chbin, 1986), p 23

¹³ Dr.Syed Minhaj and Syed Abdul Hussein Raeisossodet, *Pak-Iran Relations in Historical prospective* (Peshawar: Cultural Center of Islamic Republic Of Iran, Peshawar, Pakistan, 2004), p141

¹⁴ Ibid

fully supported Pakistan over this crucial issue after freedom till the period of post cold war. At that critical juncture Iran was the only Muslim state which backed Pakistan by all possible means. In addition to these, it is of paramount importance for Pakistan to cultivate bond of friendship with Iran, because Pakistan lacks strategic depth and for its defense Iran was the only state that could provide depth to Pakistan at that period. So political, strategic, economic and security needs of Pakistan brought it closer to Iran. Religion also played a dominated role between Pak-Iran bilateral ties. Majority of people in both countries are the followers of Islam. Common faith in the Holy Quran, and Sunnah brought them further closer. During his initial visit to Pakistan in March 1950 in his speech Shah of Iran stated that the emergence of a new Muslim state on the map of the world and neighborhood in the shape of Pakistan delighted us.¹⁵

2.2 Pakistan Iran Relations and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization)

In international relations one of the main characteristic of small state behavior is to have closer ties with a super power to secure its security interests. The geopolitical location of both Pakistan and Iran has made them constant partners. In the presence of close geographical location of Soviet Union with Iran and Pakistan it was really logic to think that both states would try to cultivate friendship with United States. But history shows that Soviet Union intervened on several occasion in Iran that was the main reason which stopped Iran to promote bilateral ties with it. Moreover, Pakistan came into being on the basis of Islamic ideology and it was difficult for it to promote relationship with Soviet Union because Pakistan was strongly against the Soviet policy of communist expansion.¹⁶

¹⁵ M.Akran Rabani, *Pakistan Affairs* (Lahore: Carvan Enterprises, 2003), p453

¹⁶ Syed Salahuddin, *Foreign Policy of Pakistan* (Karachi: Comprehensive book Service, 1996), p 61

of love, understanding and mutual respect came forward as a result of this pact. Some of differences were amicably solved. In 1956 boundary issue was solved which had the potential of becoming the source of friction between both states.

2.3 Iran's Role as Mediator between Pakistan and Afghanistan

Another major development that promotes friendship between two countries was the Iran's role as mediator between Pakistan and Afghanistan to normalize tension that had become tense following a rupture in diplomatic ties in September 1961. At first stage the efforts made by Shah of Iran could not produced due results but he continued his efforts till his tour of Pakistan and Afghanistan in September 1962. As a result of good office of Shah finally diplomatic and trade relations were restored in May 1963 between Afghanistan and Pakistan.²⁰

2.4 Pak-Iran and Regional Cooperation for Development. (R.C.D)

RCD came into being on July 22, 1964 in Istanbul (Turkey) among Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Soon after the formation of this organization a new era in relationship started. Main objective of this organization was cooperation in economic, cultural and technical fields among Pakistan, Turkey and Iran. The RCD was established mainly by its member states because of their disenchantment with CENTO's role (Central Treaty Organization). It was mainly a tool of big powers to enhance their self interests against the interests of small states. These imperial powers used both Iran and Pakistan as tool. Turkey was dissatisfied with this organization because of the Cyprus issue, Pakistan over Kashmir while Iran over the conflict with Iraq.²¹ Soon after the formation of RCD, both Pakistan and Iran entered into a new phase of relationship. Joint ventures were started in different field of life such as commerce, industry, transport, communication, banking and culture. After the

²⁰ Nadeem Iqbal, "New Era in Pakistan Iran Ties, "Asia Time, (2001).

²¹ Syed Salahuddin, *op.cit.*57

formation of this organization both Shah of Iran and Ayoub Khan of Pakistan was quite satisfied because it served both states. Because previously opposition parties in both states were entirely against the CENTO. They wanted the liberation from USA. The leaders in Pakistan called it a step in right direction. It was called as cultural, economical and political unification of 150 million Muslim by the leadership in Pakistan and Iran. This organization proved more beneficial to Pakistan in the fields of economic and defense. The cooperation extended in political field from Iran to Pakistan showed its momentum during the wars with India in 1965 and 1971.²²

2.5 Role of Iran in Pak-India Wars

Iran proved itself as a time tested friend of Pakistan during the wars of 1965 and 1971 with India. During these wars Iran openly extended necessary possible assistances to Pakistan. In 1965 war Iran supported Pakistan in military field. Iran considered Pakistan defense as its own. During the whole period of war Iranian officials were in direct contact with the high level authority in Pakistan, and supported Pakistan diplomatically, materially and publicly. On 14 August, 1965 in UN General Assembly Iranian representative declared full-fledged support to Pakistan.²³ All possibilities were used by Iranian authority to assist Pakistan during war. Pakistani civilian air crafts were supported by Iran during that critical phase. Essential defense equipments were lifted up by Pakistan International Airline (PIA) from the territory of Iran. Colonel Norrallan Eritfai, the Armour school, talking about Iranian's love for Pakistan, Stated that "Pakistan was considered as preserve by the people of Iran". During and after war Iran supported Pakistan on diplomatic, political, economic and moral level. It boosted the courage of Pakistan. Feeling of isolation was brought down to the level of zero that was the direct result of the neutral attitude of its western allies.

²² S.M burke and Lawrence, op.cit. 13

²³ Ibid p13

People and government of Pakistan extended their full thanks to the government and people of Iran for its support in the war.²⁴ In the same way Pakistan received full military and diplomatic support in the war of 1971. Iran declared India as aggressor and India's action as interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The Shah of Iran in an interview to the media in September 1971 said that Iran is 100 percent behind Pakistan to support it and oppose all kinds of interferences in the internal affairs of Pakistan and said that Iranian government would not allow Pakistan to be destroyed. Iranian government also severely criticized India for not adhering to the UN resolution and demanded for the immediate cease fire.

2.6 Pak-Iran Relations during Bhutto Period

Minor irritants in Pak-Iran relationship began in early 1974 when government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto moved toward Arab world especially toward Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirate. At that time Iran's ties with these countries were strained. That was the main reason Iran opposed Pakistan policy to move in Gulf. The Shah of Iran had a reason to believe that Bhutto was playing the Arab world against Iran. Because of tense relations with Arab world it became quite evident when Iran did not attend the Islamic summit conference held in Lahore. On the other hand Pakistan concerns were that Iran is promoting its ties with India. The frequent exchange of visit between the top leadership of Iran and India apprehended the policy makers in Pakistan.²⁵ Visit of Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi to Iran in April 1974 created a big gulf between the bilateral ties because Indian PM issued such statements which were not in favour of Pak-Iran ties. Smooth relationship between Iran and India had strong implications for Pak-Iran relations because it could weak Pakistan's geopolitical and geo-strategical position. Bhutto wanted to restore good relations and remove irritants

²⁴ M, Akram Rabani ,op.cit.482

²⁵ Sobiha Hasan, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*(Karachi:Pakistan Horizon,1986),p 14-15

in Pak-Iran relations. For this purpose he toured Iran in April 1974. His visit proved fruitful and all misunderstandings and suspicions were removed between two brothers and neighbor states. On 25 February, 1975 Shah of Iran paid a state visit followed by the visit of Bhutto. His visit also assisted in promoting bilateral friendship and brotherhood. Major objective of the Shah's visit was to remove the Pakistan's misunderstanding regarding Iran's ties with India. From 1975 to 1979 both states helped each other on domestic as well as international level. During this period Pakistan found Iran as a steady friend. Iran as a mediator tried its level best to restore or normalize Pakistan's relations with Soviet Union and India. Until 1975 when Iran has improved its ties with several Middle Eastern states Pakistan played an important role as a useful medium in improving these ties.

In 1976 Iran again played a major part to restore Pakistan's diplomatic relations with Afghanistan.²⁶ Shah of Iran was successful in creating an atmosphere which became conducive for the leadership of the Pakistan and Iran to exchange state visits with each other in 1976.

During 1970s a military operation was launched against Baloch insurgent groups by the orders of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In this operation government of Bhutto was fully supported by Iranian government. Why such an operation was conducted against Baloch insurgent group? According to Baloch nationalists, Baluchistan means, the eastern and South-western part of Iran's Dasht-e-lut and Indus valley in Pakistan, including the south Western Part of Afghanistan. Baloch nationalists claimed that their independence had been honored by Mughal Empire on one side and Iran and Afghanistan on the other. It was only British colonial rule in India that partitioned Balochs. The main objective was to destroy the Baloch identity and unity.

²⁶ Ahmad Muntazeran and Kashif Mumtaz, Iran Pakistan Cooperation for regional stability and Peace, (*Strategy Study*: 24, 1, 2004, p 76

On many occasions Baloch people resisted the Iranian attempts to dominate them but could not success till when Raze Shah came into power in Iran and subdued them with the sweet will of USA and U.K. Both Pakistan and Iran were strongly against any independence of Baloch nationalist in a form of government. In December 1970, National Awami Party (NAP) for the first time came into power with majority party in Baluchistan. In 1972 first provincial government was formed in Bolochistan. According to former Chief Minister of Baluchistan Attaullah Mengal, the development in Baluchistan really worried the Shah of Iran who thought the extension of democratic government in Balochistan was contrary to his policy of suppressing Balochs living in Iran. Shah of Iran expressed his deep concerns and stated that it was a dangerous move for the national interests of Pakistan as well as for Iran.

(B) Post Revolution Era (1979-1989)

(a) Pak-Iran Relations in Changing World Scenario

3.1 President Zia-ul-haq Era

The year 1977 saw several developments on the political scene of Pakistan. In a military coup Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government was over thrown by the General Zia in July 1977, when political agitations by the main opposition parties and people against his government began. After Zia came to power a new chapter in Pak-Iran relations was opened. During the years 1977-78 bilateral visits of head of states from both sides gave a new impetus to Pak-Iran relations. During the visits of top leadership the question of regional security was discussed specially development in Afghanistan brought pro-Moscow government in Afghanistan in the shape of Noor Muhammad Tarakai. Shah of Iran wanted to take further steps for the purpose of regional security but he became the victim of the revolution of 1979. After Zia came into power he made several efforts to promote relations with Iran. But once again

doubts began developing in the relations after confirmation of death sentence to Bhutto. Iran threatened Pakistan to stop financial aid which was near \$300 million a year, if the death sentence was confirmed to Bhutto. Besides, the unimportant statements of Shah of Iran strained bilateral relationship. In a statement in 1978, Shah of Iran stated that in case there was any chance of further disintegration of Pakistan or Zia's government under heat his government would intervene. Such statements from the side of Iranian government annoyed and created anxiety to the government of Pakistan. To convince the Iranian government on the issue of Bhutto's sentence General Zia toured Iran along with his Kabul visit in September 1978. In his visit the question of regional security, bilateral ties, and problems related to the reaction of the neighbors and the possible future understanding were discussed in detail.

After the uprising in Iran in 1979 a religious leader emerged in the shape of Ayatollah Khomeini. Soon after Khomeini came in to power relations with Pakistan were not on acceptable level, because Pakistan was a pro- American state, while the objective of revolution in Iran was anti America and anti West.²⁷ At that occasion Pakistan could not play a major role in mitigating the pressure came from the United States and Western powers against Iran. Revolutionary government under the leadership of Khomeini clearly formulated the principles of Iran's foreign policy. A major principle of Iran's foreign policy was emphasis on equal distance from super powers.²⁸ It also described as one which leans on "neither East nor West". The major post-revolution guiding principles are as follow (a): Complete rejection of dependency on either West or East (b): United States was considered as the prime enemy of the Revolution. (c): Strive against Imperials and Zionist powers in the world in any form.(d) Close friendship and relations with all oppressed states, especially

²⁷ Naseem Zahra, *Pak-Iran relations: Compulsion and Conditions for a strategic Relationship*, ISS (Islamabad, Spring 2003), p 85, 86

²⁸ Ibid p86

with Muslim world. (e): Liberation of Jerusalem (f): Opposition to anti-Islam and pro-Israeli states. (g): Support everywhere suppressed and oppressed people in the world. (h): Struggle against pro- US government.²⁹ Last principle of Iran's foreign policy was against the foreign policy of Pakistan because Pakistan had been a pro-west and pro-America since 1947. Other principles were same as Iran has. So to implement the formulated policy, Iran terminated her membership from CENTO.

It also cancelled the 1959 bilateral defense agreement with the United States and 1921 treaty with Soviet Union and joined the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The foreign minister of Iran Sanjabi reiterates the proposal of Shah of Iran that enlargement of the scope of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) is the need of time and India is emerging economic power, it should be the member of RCD. This statement touched the tender chord of Pakistan. The reaction on this statement was severe in public as well as in official circles of Pakistan. Foreign minister Agha Shahi said that the inclusion of much larger and developed countries in RCD could lead to the economic domination of smaller and less developed countries by the larger and more advanced ones.³⁰

3.2 Afghan Crisis and Pak-Iran Relations

Another major irritant was the lukewarm attitude of Iran toward the Afghan Mujahideen against Soviet Union. It is of paramount importance that Iran did not play a significant role in Afghan war against Soviet Union. Only the group of Hazara mujahideen was supported by Iran. In real sense, both Iran and Soviet Union had same objections on Afghan crisis, because both wanted dialogue with Mujib regime, while majority in Afghan mujahideen was not in favor of any dialogue with said regime. So differences in policy on Afghan issue strained bilateral ties between Iran

²⁹ M.Akram Rabani, Op.cit.483

³⁰ Abdul Sttar, op.cit.56

and Pakistan. In fact both Pakistan and Iran were seeking power and influence in Afghanistan. In such situations it was far difficult for them to agree on a common agenda of mutual interest.

3.3 Dissolution of Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) and Emergence of ECO

The RCD was considered as a legacy of the previous regime under the leadership of Shah. Hence it looked with suspicion in revolutionary regime. Government of Pakistan's explanations to the Iranian new regime that there was no relationship between CENTO and RCD, and United States had no influence upon it.³¹ But despite that Iran's last foreign minister Mir fendersky had also hinted at such a link. Age Shai told the foreign minister of Iran that RCD was a regional body formulated for the benefits of its members states and government of Pakistan left the membership of CENTO because its was supported by big powers for the sake of their own national interest. Actually Iran was not satisfied with the performance of RCD. Besides that it also had objections at the close ties of Pakistan with USA, and Tehran considered USA as "Great Satan, Big Evil", and whose main objective was to sabotage the Iranian revolution. Iran thought that United States was stood in the way of Pak-Iran relations.

RCD could not fulfill its prime object and as a last resort it had to dissolve. After it a new regional organization emerged in 1985 called ECO (Economic Cooperation Organization). The founder members are Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. The main goal was to enhance economic, technical and cultural cooperation among member states. In 1992 seven new members, namely Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan joined ECO. The power and

³¹Ibid p 142

status of ECO has increased during the years of 1985 to 1989. But in real sense it was facing several challenges. It had no appropriate infrastructure and institution. During this period domestic issues of Pakistan and Iran also affected the role of ECO, but despite that both states tried their best to enhance bilateral relations through it. Through it both countries strived for the mitigation of minor irritants. In real sense ECO provided further boom to enhance bilateral economic, political, technical and cultural ties for both Pakistan and Iran. At present scenario bilateral trade has crossed the figure of \$1billion.

3.4 Pakistan Iran Relations and Iran Iraq War

Over the centuries the people of Pakistan and Iran have inspired by the same glories, moral values, and common ideals of Islam. The heritage showed its power during the war between Iran and Iraq. Iran-Iraq war started on 22 September 1980. It took a toll of over 2 million Iranian and half a million Iraqis Muslims. Pakistan that has always been supported the Unity of Muslim Umah (Muslim nation), was really upset by that development. On the issue Pakistan expressed deep concerns even five months before the escalation of border clashes between Iraq and Iran. Iran was in quite isolation and almost all Arab worlds with the exception of Syria, Libya, and Algeria were pro-Iraqi. Iranian spiritual leader Khomeini accepted that Iran's isolation was due to its inflexible attitude. He said that we have no more friends except few which could be counted on the fingers of one hand.³² One of the major reasons of Iran's isolation was the hostage of USA people in Iran soon after the revolution. Iraq was a Sunni majority states while Iran was a state with Shia majority, but in spite of that on the issue Pakistan adopted balanced approach.

³² M.Akram Rabani, Op.cit.484

Pakistan on its part was careful in not saying thing or acting in a manner which in any way annoyed Iran.³³ President of Pakistan Zia on several occasion tried his best to bring both Iraq and Iran on a joint agreement to settle their disagreement but like previous approach Iran did not show flexibility.

Despite these exchanges of bonhomie continued even during the period of tension and stress. Pakistan extended every possible moral and political support to Iran. Iran on the other hand delivered a message through his representative in which full thanks to the people and government of Pakistan were conveyed for their support in the time of need. Iranian government stressed on Pakistan to remain united for the successful enforcement of Islamic system in Pakistan. It is of paramount importance that president of Pakistan Zia also warmly welcomed the enforcement of Islamic government in Iran. President of Pakistan sent a special message of felicitation to Khomeini. In reply to Zia's message Khomeini in a special message expressed the desire that the two brother states henceforth get closer under the banner of Islam.³⁴ The main objective of both states was establishing Islamic system. It was common thing which brought both brother states closer to each other.³⁵ On the occasion of second anniversary of Iranian revolution president of Pakistan Zia again sent a special message of felicitation to Iranian president Abol Hassan in which it was stated that Islamic Revolution was a source of strength for the people of Iran and Pakistan. Initially Pakistan was considered as suspicious friend because of its neutrality over Iran-Iraq war. Iranian accused Pakistan of false neutrality in the war.³⁶

On the other hand, Pakistan with other Muslim states continued its efforts to resolve Iran-Iraq war. In this regard president of Pakistan played a major role but he

³³ Ajmal Khokhar, "Pak-Iran friendship and Present world scenario", *Daily, Dawn*, Islamabad, January 3,2005

³⁴ Nasim Zehr, op.cit.87

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Asma Yaqoob, "issue of Peace", *Daily Times*, Islamabad ,March 4,2004

said that on the issue Iran had remained inflexible than Iraq in its attitude. These measures played a dominant role to improve bilateral ties with Iran.

During this period some other factors also played major part in strengthening bilateral friendship in which condemnation of chemical weapon by Pakistan are major one. Iran appreciated the policy of Pakistan over chemical weapons. In fact, Pakistan attitude was quite supportive for Iran, when the latter was in dire needs. Pakistan adopted an open policy with regard to Iran-Iraq war when president of Iran visited Pakistan in 1982-1983. President of Pakistan Zia in an interview with the Iranian news agency accused Iraq of aggression against Iran.

During the same era leaders from both sides visited each other states and tried to expand economic, cultural and technical ties. To further promote bilateral friendship in different fields, the first round of formal talks was held in Tehran on 12 September 1984 between the foreign ministers Dr. Ali Akbar Valayati and Sahibzada Yaqub.³⁷

A new era was initiated in Pak-Iran relations on 14th January 1986, when president of Iran Ali Khomeini paid his first visit to Pakistan since Iranian revolution in 1979. He was warmly welcomed while arriving in Pakistan. President of Pakistan clearly said in an interview that Iraq attacked Iran and occupied its territory. Iran took its land after forcing the invading troops. Zia's open statement came as surprise in the world. Iranian president Syed Ali Khamenei and president Zia called for complete Islamic unity and solidarity for overcoming the problems faced by the Muslims in the world.

On the question of Afghanistan, Iran extended every possible support to Pakistan, which was appreciated by the president of Pakistan. President Zia said that it was really a historical moment in the annals of bilateral friendship and mutual

³⁷ Iffat Malik, "Smile All Around," *Ahram*, Karachi, June 5, 2008

cooperation. He also mentioned the names of several religious scholars who played a major part in this connection.³⁸ Soon after the visit of Khamenei both states tried to accelerate the two-way understanding and mutual relationship. During his visit to Pakistan on August 1986 foreign minister of Iran Ali Akbar Valayati said that his visit had increased mutual cooperation and understanding between two brothers and neighbors countries.³⁹

On 25 August 1986, Pakistan federal minister of finance and foreign affairs Mian Muhammad Yasin Khan Watto represented Pakistan during Pak-Iran Joint Ministers Commission stated that both Pakistan and Iran should strive for consolidating their relations by expanding cooperation in science, technology, cultural, agriculture, industry and other fields. He also added that close brotherly relations, deep love, affection and regard between the peoples of the two neighbor states had been further consolidated by mutual cooperation through the existing framework of bilateral and multilateral forums of which both Pakistan and Iran were members. Efforts were made by the leaders of both sides to promote mutual understanding in the field of religion and culture.

³⁸ Ahmed Montazer, Kashif Mumtaz, *op.cit*, 75.

³⁹ Ibid

Chapter: 3

Pak-Iran Relations in Post Cold War Era (1989 to 2010)

(A) Pak-Iran Relation (1989-2001)

4.1 Bilateral Visits

During 1990s Iran and Pakistan enjoyed good economic, political, technical and social relations. Top leadership from both sides paid bilateral visits during this period. Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Iran on May 15, 1990 and December 8, 1993. She met with President Hashemi Rafsanjani and other leaders. In the same way former Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif paid his official visits to Tehran during his both terms of office. President Rafsanjani visited Pakistan on September 6, 1992, and President Muhammad Khatmi has paid visit to Pakistan in December 2002.

4.2 Cultural Exchange

In term of people to people contacts particularly in the form of cultural and linguistics Iran remained very ahead than many other Muslim states, because Persian was the court language and the principal vehicle of literary and intellectual expression for several centuries of the Muslim rule in the Indo-Pak sub-continent. In the same way we can ignore the role played by the Iranian cultural centers during 1990s which were established in many important cities of Pakistan for promotion of bilateral culture. Along with cultural activities, social and educational gathering with the people of all sections, particularly with scholars, intellectuals and students are of paramount importance. Such a positive role was not done before in Pakistan by any

other country. Even such a role could not be truly accomplished by the political leadership and diplomats of both Pakistan and Iran.

4.3 Trade Relations: Ups and Downs

In trade and commerce too there has been development since 1989 between both Pakistan and Iran. Though, much remains to be done as there are more potential for progress in this connection. However, Pak-Iran Joint Ministerial Commission established in 1986 provided a useful and best opportunity to further enhance bilateral trade during 1990s. The major areas identified by this commission include industry, banking, oil, gas, communications, manpower, agriculture, education, culture science and technology. Though during this era trade balance was quite in favour of Iran, yet Pakistan tried its best to introduce new products in Iranian market to imbalance it.

During the years 2000 to 2001 trade between Iran and Pakistan declined from \$384.581 million to \$165.500 million. In 2001 Pakistan had lost Iranian markets for transport equipment and leather.⁴⁰ The figure of US\$1 billion has crossed from 773.53 million in 2007-08 to US \$1,251.37 million in 2008-09 between both states.

According to embassy of Pakistan in Iran, in past Pakistan-Iran trade and economic ties have been affected by many political and non political problems and both states could not pick benefits with untapped economic and trade potentials. However, after Pakistan Peoples Party coming into power in Pakistan, the situation has improved a lot. In last two years, President Zardari has twice visited Iran. In the same way Iranian President Ahmadinejad also paid visit to Islamabad. Visits of high profiles have further improved bilateral trade and economic relations between the two countries. Both countries have taken many steps to further enhance cooperation in the field of trade and economy. At present Pakistan exports to Iran have increased to great

⁴⁰ *The News* (Islamabad), December 24, 2002, p.1

extend which is very beneficial for its economy. To promote trade and cultural ties Pakistan International Air line and Iranian Air Line have concluded an agreement to start flights from Koita to Zehdan and vice versa on 14, January 2011.

Due to democracy in Pakistan and initiatives taken by political leaders in Iranian regime has showed agreement to give 60,000 barrels of crude oil per day on 90 days interest free deferred payment. At present imports from Pakistan has increased from 15,000 barrels per day to 50,000 barrels per day from July 2008 to August 2010.

4.4 Taliban Factor in Pak-Iran Relations

In 1997 Students from Islamic madrasas came into power under the leadership of Mula Muhammad Umar. When Taliban captured almost 90% Afghanistan, Pakistan was among three country along Saudi Arabia and Arab Amareit which recognized Taliban regime. Taliban's government in Afghanistan impacted bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran. Soon after the emergence of Taliban in Afghanistan and killing of Iranian diplomats in Mazar Shahreef relations between Iran and Pakistan once again strained. Iran alleged Pakistan as the main states behind the killing of its diplomats in Mazar shareif. Iran considered Taliban as the secret militia of Pakistan, working outside of its national frontier for its national interest. Pakistani government denied the allegations came from Iran. So during Taliban regime relations were not as good as should be.

(B) Pak-Iran Relations (2001 to 2010)

5.1 Post 9/11 Scenario

A sudden happy era started soon after the collapse of Taliban regime in Afghanistan after 9/11. Change in Taliban government brought new ways of relationship between Pakistan and Iran. Both states deeply understood the ground reality and agreed upon the establishment of multi-party government in Afghanistan. In this connection efforts were made by the leaders of both countries and at last a multi-party regime came into power under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. At present both Pakistan and Iran have same policy over Afghanistan. Both states are not in favour of any foreign rule in Afghanistan. Though Pakistan is playing as front line state in so-called global War on Terror, yet it is of the view that NATO forces should leave Afghanistan and an opportunity should be given to Afghan forces themselves to control the security of the country or Taliban also should be incorporated in national stream or government so that a long lasting peace could be maintained in the region. So at present over the issues of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran both states have unanimous foreign policy.

5.2 Nuclear Controversy and Pak-Iran Relations

After the fall of Taliban regime in Afghanistan bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran had consolidated but a sudden issue cast a deep shadow on the goodwill between two brother countries. That was fall out of nuclear controversy. Pakistan always supported Iranian's nuclear programme for peaceful purpose. On many international forums Pakistan declared that Iran had right to enrich uranium for peaceful purposes. Past intentions and statements of the top leadership of Pakistan show that they could be involve in transfer of nuclear technology to other Islamic countries. After initial denial government of Pakistan accepted that though A.Q Khan

group gave centrifuges to Iran yet government of Pakistan has not any hand in any illegal trade regarding transfer of nuclear technology. Iran that had revealed its nuclear programme to the IAEA allegedly delivered evidences of centrifuges by some Pakistani individual. When Iran transmitted documentary evidences to IAEA; it created severe internal problems in Pakistan.

While Iranian government was fully aware of resentment in Pakistan about its action, despite that it issued documentary evidences to IAEA. It created deep resentment in Pakistani people and government. View of government of Pakistan on the issue was that Iran provided false data under strong international pressure and dragged Pakistan into the unnecessary controversy. In this regard, Pakistan was not under investigation by IAEA because it did not sign Non Proliferation treaty (NPT). This major problem has not been closed so far and negative impacts of this controversy will remain in the long term on Pak-Iran bilateral relationship. For the time being it impact negatively on those who were main supporters of Pak-Iran strategic relations.⁴¹

5.3 Iranian Terrorists Group Jundulla and Pak-Iran Ties

During this era several bomb blasts and target killings of Iranian military personnel inside of Iran also created hurdles in the smooth way of relationship between Pakistan and Iran. In these blasts Iranian authority leveled allegations against the ISI (the secret top intelligence agency of Pakistan). According to high officials in Iran people from militant organization Jundulla are getting training and financed inside of Pakistan and this top secret agency of Pakistan ISI (Inter services Intelligence) is the main party which is providing substantial assistance to terrorist

⁴¹ Rabia Azmat, "Fall of nuclear controversy" ,*The World Today*, March 3, 2010

TH-7976.

organization⁴². In this regard militant Sunni Organizations are also assisting to Jundulla and other terrorists groups. But top leadership of Pakistan and Iran demonstrated high patience during this period. They tried to remove misunderstanding between both states. High level dialogues were held to remove misunderstanding and they were succeeded in this connection.

⁴² Zahoor Qadeer, "Pak-Iran ties and challenges" ,*The Dawn*, September 12, 2009

Chapter: 4

Pak-Iran Relations: External Factors

Pak-Iran relations: USA Factor

6.1 Policy contradiction: Post 9/11 Scenario

It is a common perception that in Pakistan's foreign policy making United States is playing major role. It is true to a great extent because after 9/11 incident Pakistan could not release pressure came from the side of United States. US government successfully used Pakistan against the supporters of Taliban in frontier areas of Pakistan and Taliban's regime in Afghanistan which is considered as secret militia of Pakistan working out side of its national territory for its national interests. Pakistan has played dominant part as main ally and front line states of United States in so-called War on Terror. In this regard, general perception is that United States has not been satisfied with the performance of Pakistan and insists on the government to do more.

On the other hand, severe criticism came from inside of the Pakistan on its pro-US policy. Common people are of the views that government of Pakistan is deeply involved in so-called war which affected the vital national interests of state; especially it strained bilateral ties of Pakistan with other States. Iran is also among those countries which could not sustain smooth relationship with Pakistan due to US factor during this period. Pakistan is playing its role as front line state in the War on Terror as US ally in Afghanistan, while Iran is not in favor of US presence in the region. Iranian government is of the view that US government including NATO members states should pull out their troops as soon as possible and an opportunity should be

given to Afghan people to handle their problems. They have the capability to handle these issues.⁴³

6.2 US Relations with Iran Pre and Post Revolution: An overview

Historically relations between Iran and United States have been remained friendly and cordial for about three decades. During the period of Shah of Iran and before that relations with US were at peak. Shah of Iran was considered as a tool of United States promoting the agenda of Imperialism in its country.

But soon after the Revolution in Iran, old policy was set aside by revolutionary regime in Iran. Now the main foreign policy objective of revolutionary government is to promote Islamic ideology and discourage the vision of imperialism in the world. In 2002 president of United States George W Bush included Iran in the category of “Axis of Evil” which brought the already deteriorated relations to low ebb.⁴⁴ US hostility increased after 2002. United States strived for putting more pressure on Iranian regime by different ways. Pakistan played a major role in global War on Terror as US ally. In such circumstances what thing prompted the government of USA to depend on Pakistan for the attainment of its interests? In fact main objective of United States is that Pakistan can play a vital role for USA in containing and subverting Iranian government.⁴⁵ United States wants to dominate the whole world. In Asia Iran is one of the big hurdles in this regard, because it is main objective of Iranian foreign policy to oppose imperial powers in the whole world, especially against USA which is strictly against the present policy of Iran.

⁴³ Rahat amen, Afghan war and its impacts, *The dawn*, December 23,2009

⁴⁴ Roger Haward, *Iran Oil: The New Middle East Challenge to America* (London: I.B Tauris, 2007), p 81.

⁴⁵ Anwar Iqbal, “Iran pipeline can not be abandoned US Told”, *Daily Dawn*, June 13,2005 at [Http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South Asia/GF16H03.h/ml](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South Asia/GF16H03.h/ml)(Accessed on August 18,2008)

6.3 Pak-Iran-Indian Gas Pipeline Project and United States: Conflict and Cooperation

It has been a common view that United States has been a stumbling block in the way of smooth relations between Pakistan and Iran. Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline project is also one of the major tools for US to weaken bilateral ties between two brother states. Both Pakistan and Iran have concluded a bilateral gas pipe line agreement on May 28, 2010. After completion of this project current energy crisis in Pakistan is expected to be ended. It is a common perception that USA was not in favor of “Pak-Iran and Indian Gas Pipeline Project”. United States strived on several occasions to divert Pakistan from an agreeable and final draft of the project. General perception in US was that Pak-Iran-India gas pipeline project will weaken United States efforts in isolating Iran in the world. Final agreement on this project will lead Iran as economically more powerful state. On the issue United States demonstrated its displeasure when Pakistan was about to sign this agreement on many occasions.

In March, 2009 during his visit to Pakistan US Energy Secretary Samul Badman expressed his deep disapproval with regard to this project. In the same way, former-US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice said that “the gas pipeline project is against the Law of United States. If United States government gave up its opposition, the media, academia and a strong lobby in US Congress would continue to oppose it. It would certainly effects bilateral ties with Pakistan”⁴⁶. Pakistan government said that completion of this project would lead Pakistan toward economic and political benefits. Pakistan will get \$600 million a year from this project. Pakistan has been warned by US on several occasions that sanctions could be imposed if it goes forward

⁴⁶ Asma Yaqoob , “Peace Pipeline”, *Daily Times*, Islamabad, 10 Febuary, 2008

regarding this project. US officials say that Pakistan should oblige for the aid which was received since 2002.

According to Iran-Libya act, any foreign company that invests in energy sector in Iran of more than \$20 million per year will face imposition of sanction.⁴⁷ While Pakistani authority on many times tried to convince the US government that by agreeing with the project it will not violate US law. Further stated, that it would not go in any investment in Iran which was forbidden by Iran-Libya act. This project is more beneficial for Pakistan because Iranian side will be constructed and financed by Iranian government with a group of International investors. Pakistan will initiate its work when the pipe line reaches Pakistan's territory. US authority argues that Iran will make strong its nuclear weapon with the income of this project. So United States is using its every possible weapon to force Pakistan and Iran for abandonment of this project.

In April 2007 USA embassy's Charge d Affairs emphasizes on Pakistan that it should search for alternatives energy sources for overcoming its energy crisis, we will surely oppose this project. Iran always reacts strongly on this project. According to Iranian government, both Pakistan and India should clear their concerns. According to Iranian minister for petroleum Bijan Zanganch it is beyond the logic to prevent India and Pakistan for signing an agreement with regard to gas pipeline project. He further stated that we are selling crude oil and LNG, why can not we sell gas.

Negotiation with regard to gas pipe line began in 1994 but there were several issues which had to be solved as bad relations between India and Pakistan and huge cost of the project.

⁴⁷ Nadeem Iqbal, "New Era in Pak-Iran Ties", *Asia Times*, 16 July, 2001

It is necessary for Pakistan to import at least 80% of its requirement in energy sector because present production in energy sector is far less than its total needs. Apart from overcoming the present energy crises it is profitable for Pakistan in term of transit fees. For Iran, that has world' second largest deposits of natural gas, the successful completion of the gas line project would further boom its economy which is shrinking day by day due to the sanctions imposed by US.

In real sense government of Pakistan was afraid of any possible economic sanction against it by United States if it worked against US interests in the region. That was one of the main reasons both India and Pakistan tried to avoid any possible agreement with Iran on this project. Bilateral negotiation with Iran initiated during 1990s, since then it took a long time for the successful final agreement. On several occasion Iran, India and Pakistan were about to sign a final agreement but pressures from United States halted them. At last both Iran and Pakistan concluded an agreement for the completion of this project with out third party. Leaderships in both states realized the importance of this project. It will lead both brother states toward development and prosperity.⁴⁸ Bilateral friendship and brotherhood would be better between both states in near future.

Since 1990, both states had less trust in each other, but after the final agreement mutual trust and understanding have increased. Due to this project investors from all over the world would surely divert their attentions toward Iran and Pakistan. For promoting ties Pakistan should not follow the dictations from United States.

⁴⁸ David Montero, "Pipeline would extend Iran's reach". *The Christian Monitor*, retrieved on May 31,2008 at<http://www.csmonitor.com/2008/0531/p04s02-wosc.html> 41

6.4 US Presence in Pakistan and Pak-Iran Relations

On the issue of gas pipeline and its nuclear liaison with Iran, Pakistan has been adopting more or less independent policy. While on many occasions government of Pakistan stated that it would not permit US to utilize its territory for military and other hidden purpose against Iran. But in real sense several indications show that Pakistan has been involved in providing many facilities for close surveillance of Iran. Top leadership especially during the era of president Musharaf has been involved in such activities. According to Seymour Hersh in New York Times in 2005 that “The US government had been conducting secret reconnaissance mission inside the Iranian territory since summer 2004”.⁴⁹ Prime target of this secret mission was to collect intelligence and information with regard to Iranian nuclear, chemical and missile installations.

A group of US army was reportedly working with a group of scientists and technicians which had been close with Iranians. Information is flowing from Pakistan to this task force. This task force is penetrating eastern Iran, and main objective is getting information, and tracking underground installations. In exchange for this assistant US authority insured Pakistan that they would not insist on A.Q Khan network for interrogation.⁵⁰ Such a report was rejected both by Pakistan and US, while reaction in Iran was more harsh. Iranian government and media considered it as sophisticated psychological operation by United States, and Pakistan as a tool working for the sinister design of United States. B.Raman, an Indian analyst, says that Pakistan cooperation with United States against Iran initiated date back to February

⁴⁹ Seymour Harsh ,*New York Times* ,New York ,August 2,2005

⁵⁰ Alyas Abraheem, *The Post*, Islamabad, May 7, 2008

2002.He stated that no penalty was imposed on ISI (Inter Services Intelligence) that was main agency behind the kidnapping and killing of Denial Pearl⁵¹.

In fact, United States is using Iraq and Pakistan for operation against Iran. But Pakistan is far better option for USA because internal situation in Iraq is not normal and US military is facing severe resistances in it, while Pakistan is a free place for it. In this regard Syed Saleem the Pakistan Bureau Chief of Asian Times online revealed the main secret and says that Pakistan extended full assistances to special units from U.K and USA. Main purpose of these provided facilities was so to put pressure on neighboring countries.⁵²

A question arises here why Pakistan is supporting US government against Iran. Pakistan supported United States because Iran was considered to be a logical fall out of its disclosures to IAEA about Pakistan's complicity in developing nuclear technology. During Afghan war of 1980s United States strived for destabilizing Iran by different ways. In 1984, Vice President of USA George Bush visibility offered to train and use some of Afghan Mujahideens already there in Pakistan's Baluchistan to destabilize Iranian government. It was also stated that in early 1990s CIA center based in Islamabad was monitoring Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. Officials in Iran say that Mujahideen-e-Khalq played a major role while providing secret information to USA regarding Iranian nuclear programme. The group is also known as "National Council of Resistance of Iran" with its headquarters in London.

⁵¹ Gulam Hassan , "Gunfire over the Pakistan border rattles Iranian leaders", *The Times* March,12 ,2009

⁵² Shahzada Zulfiqar, "New Pawn Old game", *The Herald*,38(5),Karachi,(2007), p 58-59

6.5 US Sponsored Baloch Insurgent Groups and Pak-Iran Relations

In 1990s, some Baloch insurgent groups were facilitated by CIA so that they could be used against those states which did not comply with its dictations. Why Balochi groups are working against the wide national interests of their states. Baluchistan is a large province in Pakistan. According to Baloch nationalists, Baluchistan means, the eastern and south-western part of Iran's Dasht-e-lut and Indus valley in Pakistan, including the south western part of Afghanistan. Baloch nationalists claimed that their independence had been honored by Mughal Empire on one side and Iran and Afghanistan on the other. It was only British colonial rule in India that partitioned Balochis. The main objective was to destroying the Balochi identity and unity. On many occasions, Balochi people resisted the Iranian attempts to dominate them but could not success till when Raze Shah came in to power in Iran and subdued them with the sweet will of USA and U.K. Both Pakistan and Iran are strongly against any independence of Balochi nationalist in a form of government.

In December 1970, National Awami Party (NAP) for the first time came into power with majority party in Baluchistan and in 1972 first provincial government was formed in Baluchistan. According to former Chief Minister of Baluchistan, Attaullah Mengal, the development in Balochistan really worried the Shah of Iran who thought the extension of democratic government in Balochistan was contrary to his policy of suppressing Balochis living in Iran. Shah of Iran expressed his deep concerns and stated that it was a dangerous move for the national interests of Pakistan as well as for Iran. In later part NAP government was removed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto prior to his tour to Iran.⁵³

⁵³ Syed Saleem Shahzad and Masood Anwer, "Open Door to US Forces", *Asia Time*(2005)

By using these dissidents groups United States wants to change regime in Iran and at the last resort military action to halt nuclear program of Iran. Moreover, militant and terrorist organizations may further increase the already deteriorated ties between Iran and US. Colonel Sam Garder a retired USA Air Force commander said that such clandestine activities only made the government in Iran more distrustful of the diplomatic solutions of the problems. It is bad policy, should be give up as soon as possible.⁵⁴ A group of Balochistan has been engaged in recent years to destabilize eastern part of Iran. This claim gained momentum in early 2007 when Iranian dissident groups increased their activities of bombing, shooting and kidnapping against Iranian military personnel in Sistan, which is quite near to Pakistani border. Balochistan has still its importance for United States to weaken Iran with the collaboration of pro-US groups and states in Asia. Iranian officials alleged USA, UK and Pakistan as the main factors which involved in bomb blasts in Iran. Foreign Ministry in Iran called on Pakistan Charge d Affairs to lodge pretest over Sistan blasts. Iranian official said that they had clear cut evidences that the blasts were master minded in Pakistan.

Ahmadi Naejad alleged some officials from ISI in Pakistan for these blasts. Pakistan military personnel have themselves complained about the involvement of US in Sistan blasts. In this connection, Iran made no specific threat against UK and USA but fingers pointing at Pakistan directly. Pakistan strictly denied these allegations of the involvement of ISI. Prime Minister of Pakistan strongly condemned the act of terror. These explosions took placed when a meeting was in progress between tribal elders of Sunni and Shia communities that was arranged by slain commanders. Soon after these blasts Iranian government demanded from Pakistan the extradition of those

⁵⁴ Syed Salaam Shahzad and Masood Anwer, op. cit.

individuals who has planned these blasts in which some top personnel of its elite force were involved. Using harsh language Iranian Interior minister blamed Pakistan of deep negligence to hand over the people involved in the blasts. He stated that “we can not ignore Pakistani negligence over handing over the terrorists and Pakistan can not justify its claims over the issue, and Pakistani officials should be accountable to the terrorist attack in Serbaz town”⁵⁵. Their main purpose is to effect regime change from within. In 2007 president Bush had requested to US congress for at least \$400 million to finance such organizations that are violently oppose Iranian government ,in which Jundullah and Mujahedeen-e- Khalq are major ones.

6.6 Jundulla’s Connections with US and Pak-Iran Relations

According to Press TV, Jundulla has deep connection with US operatives, and the group is receiving around \$100000 to flash sectarianism in Iran. Iranian people and government considered these bomb blasts as severe blow for territorial integrity and national interests in the long run. According to UK officials, it makes no sense for us to sponsor a terrorist and violent organization such as Jundulla which informally announced its relationship with Al-Qaida and Taliban.

US government also denied its ties with Jundulla, by saying that creation of this organization is a permanent threat to its non-NATO ally Pakistan. On the other hand, Jundullan leadership itself stated that it has no secret goal except fighting for the rights of Sunni Balochis in Shia majority Iran. United States could use the dissidents for future incursion into Iran. Besides, Balochi insurgent groups, some other dissidents in Iran itself reportedly being sponsored and financed by the US.⁵⁶ There has been increase in financial support from abroad and those Iranian people who are in exile in London and Dubai. No doubt, United States wants moderate leadership

⁵⁵ Farhan Bokhari, “Iran Pakistan can Super Mideast Talks,” *Gulf News*, May 15, 2003

⁵⁶, Akhtar Hassain, “US and security policy of Pakistan”, *Daily Dawn*, Islamabad, September 22, 2009.

who can work with those rival insurgents groups in Iran that are agents of USA. In February 2007 Nasrullah Shanbe Zehi who was a member of Insurgent group of Jundulla (later executed by Iranian authority) claimed responsibility of car bomb blast in Zehdan city of Iran, in which 11 members of revolutionary guards were killed. In April 2007 in a documentary on ABC news channel reported that Jundullah was sponsored by USA to conduct terror raids inside Iran. Some tribal men that have close proximity with jundullan leaders accepted that Jundullah has sound relationship with United States and receiving funds for the recruitment of its members. In this regard CIA monitors the activities of Jundulla and officials from USA secretly visited the border areas of Iran through Pakistan. This militant organization was formed as reaction to the execution of Sunni Balochi leaders by Iranian authority.

Initially, Jundullah was operating in the Iranian province of Sistan-Balochistan, which is very adjacent to the Pakistani districts of Chagi, Kharan, Punjgoor, Kuch and Gawadar. According to Iranian government, Jundulla was initially financed by those groups which are engaged in drug trafficking along the Pak-Iran border.⁵⁷ In later part it was backed by CIA to create troubles in the Iranian province of Sistan- Balochistan. Tribes men living in Pak-Iran border says that top leadership of Jundullah spent several months with US soldiers at Bagram Airbase in Afghanistan in 2006. Pakistan was alleged of not taking substantial measures to bring under control Jundulla, which resulted into strain and friction in bilateral ties. Pakistani government denied these allegations stating that, in 2007, 21 Iranian officials were freed from the custody of Jundulla by its forces.⁵⁸ On its part government of Pakistan accused of Iran, India and Afghanistan of sponsoring Balochi nationalists who have intensified a long running insurgency against its government. Pakistan officials categorically said that it has not

⁵⁷ Nadeem Iqbal , "Sistan blasts and Jundulla", *Time Online*,9 April 1,2009

⁵⁸ Abid Jamal, "Border security and brothers", *Daily Dawn*,Islamabad,September,23,2008

any secret mission to weaken Iran, and covert operation in Iran is the objective of non state actors. According to the officials in Pakistan, our state is not useful base for United States because it has sound military airbase, with huge army, air force with ally states in Afghanistan and Iraq. Such a covert operation is not in favor of national interests of Pakistan because instability in Balochistan and Sistan-Balochistan impacts its bilateral ties with Iran. Soon after the Sistan bomb blast Prime Minister of Pakistan assured Iranian government that it would provide all possible assistances to arrest the responsible of Sistan bomb blasts. Official from both sides agreed upon establishing of joint system and intelligence sharing so that militants could be easily brought under control. They also agreed upon substantial increase in border security forces. But both states could not understand the real threat.

The issue is not as simple as they think because USA has an easy access in Balochistan; especially the areas which are very adjacent to the Pak-Iran borders. That was the main reason Iranian officials have sought to advise officials in Pakistan to adopt separate method from that of USA and to hide information provided by Iranian authority to interior ministry in Pakistan. Although, both Pakistan and Iran have improved relationship after the removal of Taliban regime in Afghanistan, but the misunderstanding and suspicions will not go away easily, and the damage done by Sistan blasts will take time to repair. To fulfil its commitments government of Pakistan striving for the nabbing of Jundullan leadership, which according to the Interior Minister Rehman Malik was base in Kabul under Kurzai government.⁵⁹ So unrest in Balochistan is a critical issue between Iran and Pakistan. Though both states have concluded gas pipeline agreement but in spite of that misunderstanding and suspicion is looming over bilateral friendship. Foreign elements are getting benefits

⁵⁹ Bilateral issues and Comentment, *The Post*, Rawalpindi, April 12, 2010

from existing misunderstanding between both brothers and neighbors countries. In this regard US secret agencies are major ones.

(B) Pak-Iran Relations: India as Factor

7.1 Growing level of Relationship between Iran and India

Policy makers in Pakistan are visibly worried with regard to the growing level of friendship between Iran and India, because these policy makers view the development as Indian's efforts to encircle Pakistan. It is quite evident that Indian never accepted Pakistan as viable state since 1947, while Iranian official are of the views that they are not enhancing its ties with India at the cast of Pakistan. Dr. Hassan Rohani the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council says that "Pakistan has been a good neighbor and brother country for us, and Islamabad should not show its apprehension over the growing friendship between India and Iran".⁶⁰ He further stated that we always kept these things in our minds while promoting our ties with India. We are making efforts in resolving difference between India and Pakistan. During his visit to Pakistan in 2001 Dr.Rohani said that our good friendship with India would surely assists the people of Pakistan and Kashmir to resolve their bilateral disputes with India. But to a great extend India has remained as major factor in Pak-Iran relations.

7.2 Common Policy of Iran and India toward Taliban

Pakistan staunch support to Taliban regime brought both India and Iran closer to each others. Against Taliban regime both India and Iran assisted Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Pakistan wanted the successful Taliban regime in Afghanistan because through this it can secure its national border and interests easily. While India and Iran have keen desires in strengthening Northern Alliance for the promotion of their own

⁶⁰ Nazeer Hassain, *Pak-Iran Relations in Post 9/11 era, Regional and Global impacts* (Lahore: Azhar publisher, 2002), p 56

interests in the region.⁶¹ India considers Taliban as main supporter of religious fundamentalism whose ideology could affect Kashmir issue. In the same way, Iran which is predominantly Shia majority state was surely against the hardliner Sunni Taliban in Afghanistan. Afghan issue was the main in policy making in Iran and India during civil war in Afghanistan. On May 24, 2000 Indian minister for external affairs Jaswant Singh during his five days visit to Iran said that Iran provided India as natural posture.

Both India and Iran were keen to construct a gas pipeline from Iran to India but it will have to run through Pakistan. On many occasions Pakistan demonstrated its full willingness on the gas pipeline project, but India did not show its full commitment on it. As a last resort, both Iran and Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement on the project. On many occasion Pakistan and Iran showed their willingness regarding the project but India was the main stumbling block in the way. Before Kargil war Indian government was ready to let the project through Pakistan but at last time it separated itself.⁶² At present India forwarded a suggestion of construction underwater pipeline beyond the exclusive economic zone of Pakistan, but it will take too much cost. The main and prime objective of India is to isolate Pakistan in the world.

7.3 India and Sectarian Violence in Pakistan

Sectarian conflict is a major issue in Pakistan at present. Indian secret agencies are playing their roles behind the sinister design. India never accepted birth of Pakistan with the core of its heart and considered it as nonviable state in the long run. Indian conspiracies resulted into the dismemberment of East Pakistan. According to government of Pakistan, hundreds of Indian agents are working in religious

⁶¹ Ibid p57

⁶² Syed Adnan Ali Shah Bukhari, *Bilateral issues between Iran and Pakistan*, Paper presented at Second Pak-Iran Roundtable Conference, Jun 2, 2002

organization to fulfill their hidden agenda.⁶³ Both Sunni and Shia are two major sects in Islam. They have 95% similarities on the basic principles of Islam. Only 5% disagreement can not mould them against each other. In this regard Indian is creating misperception between Sunni and Shia on one hand and between Iran and Pakistan on the other hand. Though whole of the Islamic world is a target of Indian conspiracy, yet its attitudes toward Pakistan and Iran are most stiff, because Pakistan is only atomic state in Muslim world, while Iran is going to be nuclear power in near future. US-led western states have been assisting the Indo-Israeli nexus against Pakistan and Iran by different ways. In a special interview to an Indian weekly "Out Look" on February 18, 2008, Israeli ambassador to India, Mark Safer said "that we had a different kind of relations with India, which is not secret"⁶⁴. On his visit to India in 2003 Prime Minister of Israel Ariel Sharon had to reveal the secret. The Indian Tribune wrote on September 10, 2003 that "India and Israel took huge steps for promoting the existing strategic ties and forging new one".⁶⁵ Tal Aviv has agreed to share its expertise with India by various ways in different fields of Life as anti-fidayeen operations, surveillance, satellites, and intelligence sharing and space exploration. Next day, Indian Express revealed all secret agreement between them. In resent times both India and Israel have strengthened their bilateral friendship in various fields, especially defense co-operations have known no bounds. Their friendship has not any limit because they want to increase military cooperation in future too to fulfill their agenda against Pakistan and Iran. In this connection, former Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu said that we have no limitation in our friendship, by this long lasting friendship we are promoting our strategic gain. After

⁶³ Akhthar Ali, Indian agencies in Pakistan, *Daily Khyber, Lahore, Jun 5, 2009*

⁶⁴ Israeli Ambassador Mark Safer interview to Indian weekly, *Out look*, February ,18 2008

⁶⁵ -----, *Indian Tribune* , September 10, 2003

9/11 incident both states tried to gain strategic interests in Pakistan and Iran by their secret agencies.

7.4 Indian Involvement in Terrorist Activities in Iran and Pak-Iran Relations

On October 18, 2009 in a deadliest suicide bomb blasts several of officials including the deputy Commander for the Revolutionary Guard Brigadier General Nour Ali Shoustari and Provincial Commander, Brigadier Rajab Ali Mohammad were killed. The militant Sunni Organization which is active against Iran accepted the responsibility of attack.⁶⁶ Soon after the blasts a statement was released by Revolutionary Guard, revealing that, they had strong evidences regarding the involvement of foreign elements whose main objective was to damage the interests of Iran⁶⁷. Though Iran directly accused U.K., UAS and Pakistan but main player behind the scene was India. Over the issue Iranian government lodged a strong protest against Pakistan for the failure of its law enforcing agencies regarding the nabbing the Jundullah. Iranian officials were of the view that the plan of suicide attack was prepared inside of Pakistan. Some top leadership in Iran expressed their apprehension regarding the involvement of ISI, the top secret intelligence agency of Pakistan.⁶⁸ This is what India and Israel wanted. Their main aim was creating rift between Pakistan and Iran. Prime Minister of Pakistan assured Iranian government that it would provide all possible assistances to arrest the responsible of Sistan bomb blasts. To fulfil its commitments government of Pakistan striving for the nabbing of Jundullan leadership, which according to the Interior Minister Rehman Malik was base in Kabul under Kurzai government. While on many occasions, government of Pakistan stated

⁶⁶ Wajid Najmi, "Sistan in danger", on October 21, 2009 ,accessed on 12-2009 ,<http://www.Newsflash.com>

⁶⁷ Adnan Raza, "Security issues in Iran", *The Dawn*, Islamabad, August 12, 2009

⁶⁸ Iqbal Ch. "Pak-Iran Relations at present scenario", *The Post*, Rawalpindi, July 12, 2009)

that it would not permit any non-state actor to utilize its territory for military and other hidden purpose against Iran.

It is quite obvious that some forces that are working in Pakistani Balochistan are also engaged in Iranian Balochistan as well. Prime objectives of these terrorists and militant organizations are to spoil bilateral relationship between two brothers and neighbor states. But historical back ground of Pakistan and Iran are strong enough to counter the objectives of such groups. Nevertheless, it is good sign that Iran also perceived the real situation at eleventh hour that both Indian-Israel nexus are sabotaging Pak-Iran ties and it is part of their strategic game for the domination of India and Israel in Asia⁶⁹. The so-called military operation in Pakistan and Afghanistan by NATO and US forces has a indirect signal to Iran to halt her nuclear program other wise get ready for such kind of operation.

Indian and Israel have been backing the Baloch elements of Pakistan and Iran by secret agencies CIA, RAW and Mosad respectively.⁷⁰ These states are covertly assisting Baloch liberation Army (BLA). Baloch nationalist leaders have been fighting for independence of Balochistn. They named it Greater Balochistan. In fact, India and Israel need a part near Pakistan and Iran to keep a watch on whole of the Asia. Target killing in Balochistan is the order of the day. It could be gauged from the fact that soon after the killing of six coal-mine workers Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) claimed responsibility. As far as Jundula is concern, in past few years, it

⁶⁹ Syed Athar Ali Shah. "Geostrategic Importance of Pakistan and Iran" Pakistan Times, Islamabad, March 2, 2009

⁷⁰ Wilson John, Iran-Pakistan and Nukes, retrieved on 11/5/2010 from <http://www.observerindia.com/analysis>

conducted multiple terrorist activities in Iran like kidnapping, killing of Iranian nationals including suicide attacks in Pakistan's side of Balochistan and that of Iran.⁷¹

It is accepted fact that Jundulla is a tiny and small militant organization which has not any potential to inflict huge damage on security personnel in Pakistan and Iran. But on the other hand it has power and capability to damage the national interests of both Pakistan and Iran because it was backed by foreign elements in promoting their own agenda. At present Baloch Liberation Army and Jundulla have established links with each other and receiving arms and ammunitions from India Israel and USA. These organizations train their members in Afghanistan under President Karzai to create instability in Pakistan and Iran. Soon after Taliban regime, India has established its net work of consulates in Afghanistan near Pakistani border's areas. These consulates are playing major role in fulfilling the sinister design of India against Pakistan.⁷² In this regard geostrategic location of Afghanistan provides natural cover to terrorist. Both Pakistan and Iran shares common borders with Afghanistan. Jewish-Indo lobbies are working together in United States, Europe and other parts of the world in manipulating the issues of human rights and terrorism in Pakistan and Iran while seeing the double standard of USA, Europe and other pro western states in the world. These states accused Pakistan and Iran of sponsoring cross-bordering terrorism in South Asia and Middle East. In September 28, 2009 Iran fired Shahab iii surface to surface missile with a range of up to 2000 km. Soon after this test Israel openly and severely condemned it and said that it was against the security of Israel. In the same way relations between Pakistan and India are not smooth and on acceptable level. Pakistan did not recognize Israel till now, while rift between Iran and Israel is not a secret. Common objectives brought Israel, India and UAS together.

⁷¹ Shireen Mazari, Iran-Pakistan Cooperation in the new strategic environment, *Strategic Studies*(Islamabad) Spring ,2000

⁷² Abdul Hafeez, "Pakistan and terrorism", *Press Reviews, Islamabad*, ISPR, March 29,2010

It is notable that India-USA nuclear deal was the keen desire of Israel, because Strong India and weak Pakistan is in the great interest of both India and Israel. It is also in favor of USA because strong India is necessary to mitigate the influence of China and Russia in the region. In real sense the conspiracy that was made by India and Israel against Pakistan and Iran damaged bilateral relationship of Pakistan and Iran to a great extent, because after these blasts Iran tilted its policy toward India, until when both Pakistan and Iran concluded a bilateral gas pipeline agreement on May 28, 2009. This agreement is a hall mark in the history of Pakistan and Iran. It will provide a natural boom and encouragement in promoting the halted and non-smooth bilateral ties. Geostrategic location of Balochistan is of paramount importance in the world because of Gawadar sea port. It depends on the capacity of Pakistan to pick the benefits up of it. It could be major junction connecting rest of the world with Central Asia and further promote bilateral relationship with Iran as well. It is main reason that United States is trying to creating instability in Iranian province of Sistan and Balochistan in Pakistan for its own interests.

(C) Taliban as a Factor in Pak-Iran Relations

Afghanistan lies in the north west of Pakistan. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan have common borders occupying a territory of 251,773sq.m. Just like Pakistan and Iran, both Pakistan and Afghanistan have historical, cultural, linguistic and geographical relations with each other. Afghanistan played a role of buffer state during British rule in India between Soviet Union and British Empire. From the very beginning Afghanistan adopted hostile policy toward Pakistan. Their have been some ups and downs between Pakistan-Iran's diplomatic and political relations just like many other states. In this connection attempts were made by foreign power and extremists groups to create misunderstanding between two states. These foreign

elements tried to exploit Pak-Iran hostility. It was the ultimate desire of Indian and other extremists groups to crush Pakistan diplomatically, politically, militarily, and economically. Such an activity severely damaged Pak-Iran relations on diplomatic and trade level for example, ECO which has populations of 300 million people of different states. Main aim of this organization is to promote economic relations among and between its member states. Six summits of this organization were held during Taliban regime in Afghanistan but war in Afghanistan and then Pak-Iran bilateral differences remained a stumbling block to the ECO progress. The relations became further restrained when Taliban captured Mazar Shareef and killed nine Iranian diplomats. Due to historic links with Afghanistan Pakistan is essential for the development, peace and prosperity of Afghanistan. Such a situation continued with slight interval and short phases of good relations till emergence of Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

8.1 Emergence of Taliban: Pak-Iran Differences

Students of Islamic madrasas, the Taliban played a major role in the struggle against Soviet Union. At that occasions they had not any organize and systematic platform. So they lost their importance soon after war with Soviet Union, and other mujahideen warlords gained sufficient power in new structure. But when they organized themselves under the leadership of Mullah Muhammad Umar, they defeated all other Afghan warlords one by one. What were the reasons of Taliban popularity during the initial phase? It is stated that initially Taliban established better law and order in Afghanistan under their control. The people of Afghanistan had never experienced such a good law and order situation before in their whole history. Condition of security was better than before; Traffic and judicial system became smooth. In such situations majority of people welcomed Taliban having religious,

modest and uncorrupt minds. Taliban regime could not satisfy most of the population by being simpler, having only religious education, lacked International Law and politics. People of capital were more sophisticated than them because they had been groomed under the modern afghan rulers as a part of modern ideas. Taliban restriction upon women brought more criticism abroad then within.⁷³

A sever criticism came from many Muslims states of Taliban's extreme interpretation of Islam. These Muslims states especially Iran viewed it as archaic interpretation of Islam, especially the corporal punishments. Only a few states accepted such an interpretation of Islam with half hearts. Tehran showed its reservations due to many factors about Taliban regime. Iran was in favor of composite government in Afghanistan, comprising of Tajik and Hazara just like Pakistan hoped for a government comprises of Pushtoon and Uzbeks.⁷⁴ The Taliban adopted a policy of discrimination against Hazara and non-Pushtoon. A ban on women, on their jobs and education outside of the home, demolition of Buddha statues in Bamiyan, brought criticism from International community. The opinion of International community was quite unacceptable of giving asylum to Osama Bin Laden and his followers.

8.2 Pakistan's Support for the Taliban Regime

When Taliban came into power and almost 90% of Afghanistan came in to their domination then Pakistan was among three other states that extended recognition to Taliban government in May 1997. This measure of Pakistan provoked International communities toward Pakistan. Though, the decision of extending recognition was according to International Law. For conducting official matters with the government in power in Afghanistan, matters of travel and business among people of common

⁷³ M.Akram Rabani, op.cit, 477

⁷² Syed Salahuddin, op.cit, 88

ethnicity on both sides of the states such a step was necessary. More than three millions Afghan refugees were in Pakistan and for their return negotiations were required with the Taliban regime. In real sense, Pakistan evinced goodwill and friendship toward Taliban and hope to influence them and their policies.⁷⁵ But it was known at the later part that Taliban committed one blunder after another. They proved themselves as unreasonable and rigid in the world. International community considered Taliban as the creation of Pakistan. It is on record that one of minister in Pakistan called Taliban as their boys. Beside Taliban, the Tajic, Hazara, Uzbek denounced Pakistan for its pro-Taliban policies which effected whole of the Afghan people for the long run. International opinions were entirely against Pakistan and believed that Pakistan is backing Taliban regime only for control and domination. Pakistan tried its best to persuade friendly states in the world to extend their recognition to Taliban regime in Afghanistan but could not succeed in this regard. Not only United Nations refused to accept Taliban government but also Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) refused to give their favor for Taliban regime.⁷⁶ Though Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates recognized Taliban regime but at later stage they found the anachronistic interpretation of Islam quite unacceptable. In this regard Iran adopted more rigid and harsh attitude toward Taliban and enhanced reasonable assistances to opposition parties in Afghanistan. Iran like Pakistan played active role in Afghanistan. Iran's limited financial supports provided an opportunity to those states and elements that have anti-Taliban and anti Pakistan policies. So when Pakistan and Iran deeply involved in the issue of Afghanistan, their bilateral relationship severely affected. Iran

⁷⁵ Majis Alavikia, Amin Jan, Prospect for peace in Afghanistan: The role of Pakistan, Retrieved on 14 Feb, 2008 from <http://www.ipicademy.org/publication/report/research.print.html>

⁷⁶ Nazir Hussain, "Pak-Iran Relations in Post 9/11 period regional and global impacts", *Regional Studies*, Spring 2003, p 86

viewed Taliban regime as backed by Pakistan and USA against its national interests. Differences widened between two states during 1998 when Taliban militia captured Mizar Shahreef in north part of Afghanistan. The Taliban militia killed nine Iranians diplomats. According to Taliban government these diplomats were supporting Northern Alliance against their government.⁷⁷ In the same ways many Hazaras (that have Shia majority) were killed by Taliban. As a matter of defense policy Pakistan always tried to avoid a two-front threat, in its northeast and northwest. For these reasons good relations with Iran as well as Taliban was necessary at that times. Thus it was primary compulsion for Pakistan to extend its diplomatic recognition to Taliban regime.

Officials in Pakistan were of the view that primarily their support to Taliban was not because of its competition with Iran but because of India, which never accepted the birth of Pakistan and wanted to damage its territorial integrity. So to secure its national borders from the future possible aggression of India and other anti-Pakistan state- elements Pakistan adopted pro-Taliban policy⁷⁸. It is historical fact that geo-political situation in Afghanistan influenced the main stream politics and security of Pakistan. In the same way Pakistani politics, society and geographical position impacts Afghanistan. Iran's interests and reach into Afghan society are well known. For a long times Iran also described as a force for stability in Afghanistan. US officials are of the views that at present Iranian made ammunitions were found in to the hand of captured Taliban, and Iran is actively providing insurgents with operational and material assistances. US officials further stated that Iran is playing double game. On one side, it is backing Taliban regime while on the other hands it claims to be a good friend of Kabul. Similar allegations were made by Afghan

⁷⁷ Ibid p.104

⁷⁸Tahir Qurashi, "National Interests verses National politics", *Daily ,Dawn*, Islamabad, October 25 2009

security forces that Iran is supporting insurgents. British forces also claimed to uncover Russian made small guns and low altitude surface to surface missiles that are believed to have originated in Iran. In spite of uncover of weapons that have direct links with Iran, proved that Tehran is actively involve in providing supports to insurgents. USA and government of Afghanistan are deliberately ignoring to accuse Iran because it can undermine the NATO and US mission and over all stability in Afghanistan. How it can undermine the interests of USA and Afghanistan? A numbers of reasons may be behind this logic. Lack of concrete evidences regarding the involvement of Iran may be one reason. It proved that Just like Pakistan Iran is backing present Taliban militia against US and its allies just to secure its national interests⁷⁹. It is said that states always give importance to its national interests, and foreign policy of a state is made in such a way that it could secure the best interests of the state. Whenever a conflicting situation occurs between states to secure their national interests, they try to secure it by different way. So Pakistan and Iran adopted same policies for the sake of their own national interests.

But it does not mean that Pakistan did not condemn the inhuman act of terrorism of Taliban committed against Iranian diplomats in Mazar Shahreef. Pakistan with International community strongly condemned it. In fact Taliban factor was a major one which severely affected bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran to a great extend. It created misunderstand between two brothers countries for along time. Both states blamed each other over minor problems and these minor issues continued till the September 9/11 incident. All situations abruptly changed following the US air strike over Afghanistan with the energetic assistances of Pakistan. That resulted collapsed of Taliban regime. Change in Taliban regime, brought friendly and smooth junctures for

⁷⁹ Javid Alam, "Diplomacy in Afghanistan", *The Post*, Rawalpindi, August 18,2009

Pakistan and Iran. India and those extremists groups which are trying to create misunderstanding between two states could not fulfill their sinister designs. Both Pakistan and Iran regained their old and historical relationship. Both States had agreed for the formation of broad-base, multiethnic government in Afghanistan. Former foreign and finance minister of Pakistan Sartaj Aziz of the view that “the ouster of the Taliban does remove a major irritant between Pakistan and Iran but there are still some other issues need to be resolved”⁸⁰. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, The head of Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) said that major problem between Iran and Pakistan have been solved but both parties need to accommodate each other over Afghanistan issue.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Asghar Ali, “New enemies Old friends, “*The Dawn*, December, Islamabad 5,2009

⁸¹ Pervez qbal Chema, Pak-Iran Relations and Taliban, IPRI, Isalmabad, Vol No I, p 23,2008

Chapter 5

Pak-Iran Relations: Internal Factors

(A) Internal Factors of Pakistan

9.1 Iranian Propaganda against Zia Regime

During the later part of Zia era some differences emerged between Pakistan and Iran. It began with President Zia's new ordinance of Zakat. According to this ordinance Zakat would be given to government of Pakistan. Shia sect in Pakistan did not want payment of Zakat to government as this sect pays this religious tax to their own religious leaders.⁸² So a petition was submitted by Shia of Pakistan to amend Zakat ordinance. Before its submission in court radio Tehran broadcast an incited programme in which it was said that the Shia of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia would launch an arm revolt against their government because they were promoting the agenda of imperialism and Zionism. It created strong reaction and resentment in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Pakistani press reacted strongly against these remarks but government of Pakistan avoided paying Iran with the same coins on the issue. The explanation of Iranian charge d' Affairs in Pakistan that government of Iran had no hand in the broadcast as the radio in Iran did enjoy full freedom. Iranian Charge d' Affairs message did not convince the people and government of Pakistan.

According to officials and common people in Iran president of Pakistan Zia wanted to be ameer-ul-momeneen. Through his process of Islamization, he wanted to

⁸² Syed Minhaj, Syed Abdul Hussein, *Pak-Iran Relations in Historical prospective* (Peshawar: Cultural Center of Islamic Republic Of Iran, Peshawar, Pakistan March, 2004), p 141.

prevail sunni version of Islam which is not acceptable for the Shia sect of Pakistan⁸³. To counter such measures of Zia, Iranian government, common people and media demonstrated their resentment.

Tension mounted between Iran and Pakistan once again in 1987. Pakistan government was of the view that Iran was backing sectarian issue in Pakistan and substantial funding was provided by Iran to the fundamentalist Shia groups in Pakistan.

In the same way Iran was financing some of the Afghan fundamentalist parties in Peshawar in an attempt to win political power within the Afghan resistance moment. But this period of irritant was very short one and bilateral friendship in different fields improved after short span of time.

9.2 Sectarian Violence in Pakistan and Pak-Iran Relations

Sectarian conflict is a major destabilizing factor in Pakistan's political, religious, social, economic and security order. It created unrest, disorder, violence, economic and several other major problems on the top level which are leading Pakistan toward national disintegration. History of sectarian violence started in Pakistan since 1947 soon after the birth of Pakistan. Yet since 1979s and 1980s this menace emerged as full-fledged national issue. Several factors are responsible in creating this menace in Pakistan, for example interference of Arab states in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The military regime of General Zia-ull-haq which came into power in 1977, flourished his tenure by connecting religion with politic and named it "Process of Islamization, which resulted in deepening of sectarian division between Sunni and Shia on one hand, and deterioration in bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran on the

⁸³ Naqeeb Qurashi, "Islamization process of Zia", daily Jung, October 12 2007

other hand.”⁸⁴ Jihad of Afghanistan in 1979 and of Kashmir against India was other factor which created such elements which increased the issue of sectarianism in Pakistan. Yet sectarianism emerged as main issue in Pakistan since Islamic revolution in Iran. This problem was initiated by Iran in Pakistan to accelerate the power of Shia community in Pakistan. Before 1979 no one had ever heard regarding it. Many scholars and analysts are of the views that this menace had died its own death if other states did not try to counter the influence of Iran in Pakistan. In this regard Saudi Arabia was major one which strived for the reduction of Iranian influences through financial aid to militants groups in Pakistan. It is said that it was a proxy war between Iran and Saudi Arabia to increase their sphere of influence in Pakistan and it is continued at present as well.

In last two decades, thousands of innocent people have been killed and many more received injuries due to communal riots, suicide attacks, bomb blasts and firing between two sects in Pakistan. Pakistan is a Sunni majority state in which Shia constitute a very small number of total population. Till 1980 both Sunni and Shia were living with tranquility, peace and harmony but after 1980 a serious of events shocked Pakistan with unexpected sectarian violence. During Ahmadi (Qadeani Movement) in 1974 Shia of Pakistan played a major part along with other community of Pakistan. When ahmadi were declared as non-Muslim in Pakistan, Shia community in Pakistan were eager to play a central role in the main stream politics of Pakistan. In this regard “Revolution of 1979” in Iran was also a major factor which mobilized Shia sect of Pakistan for playing their role in the state of Pakistan and its society. Revolution in Iran was warmly welcomed and admired in Pakistan. Yet it is said that this revolution encouraged Shia of Pakistan to clear the way for similar kind of

⁸⁴ Naseem Zahra, op.cit, 57.

revolution in Pakistan.⁸⁵ In this regard many militant organizations were sponsored by Iranian government on many occasions against the hardliners of Sunni communities in Pakistan that are commonly known as Devbandi and Wahabi. It is said that Iran is assisting Shia militants groups as Imamia Student Organization and banned Sipah Muhammad and Tehreek Jafera Pakistan (TJP). These Shia militant organizations not only take revenge against Sunni community in Pakistan but also have been used against those Iranian dissidents in the country who are against the Iranian regime. While Saudi Arabia is supporting Banned Sepah Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and Laskar Jangvi.⁸⁶ SSP came in to being on September 6, 1985 in Punjab's city of Jung with the core mission of targeting Shia. Molana Haq Nawz Jangvi was the founder of this militant organization. This organization took part in the main stream politics of Pakistan as well. Some scholars says that it came in to being as the reaction of 1979 revolution in Iran, while others are of the views that it was formed as a reaction to curtail the growing power of Shia community in whole Pakistan in general and in Jung city in particular, where Shia feudal lords depressed middle class Sunni community socially and economically. In fact it is beyond justice that Iranian government is involved in brutal act of sectarian violence in Pakistan. In this regard no concrete evidences are found against the involvement of Iranian regime. Though misunderstanding between two states was existed on some issues that have been removed successfully. In deed, there are some hand picked elements that are creating hurdles in the way of bilateral ties of Pakistan either in the form of Sepah Muhammad or in the form of Sepah Sahaba or Lashkar Jahngvi. These elements were used as a tool by foreign states for their own national interests. Among them India, United States of America Israel and Afghanistan are major one. The activities of these

⁸⁵ Abdul Hafeez, Inqalab Iran or is kay Asrat, Daily Osaf, May 12, 2008

⁸⁶ Mehtab Ali Shah, Sectarianism, *A threat to Human Security*, A case Study of Pakistan, Vol 94, October 2005, p617

militant organizations were severely damaged when the government of President Musharaf came in to power. His government tried to reduce the power and influence of these organizations and succeeded to a great extent. In an interview to the State TV channel of Pakistan, President Musharaf said that at the moment Pakistan is facing twin problems. One is from outside of the state while other is from inside of the country. Internal threat is more dangerous than outer side and my government will try its best to halt the activities of those elements.⁸⁷

It seems the sectarian violence in Pakistan cannot be removed without pursuing a policy of pragmatic realism. A policy of peaceful coexistence and reconciliation is essential so as to manage, if not resolve, sectarian conflicts in Pakistan. What strategies should be formulated and adopted in order to deal with sectarian violence in Pakistan and to bridge the gap between the two major Muslim groups? What should be the role of state in dealing with the sectarian conflict and how civil society can play a viable role to end sectarian polarization in the country? Pakistan is a Sunni majority state, while Iran is Shia majority. It is said that Iran main supporter of Shia militant groups in Pakistan. Iran is of the view that government of Pakistan could not take adequate steps to punish the individuals, who were responsible for killing of Iranians inhabitants. Killing of these people contributed negatively on Pak-Iran relations. Such an unpredicted incident created misunderstanding between two brother states. Hard statements were broadcast by the Iranian media on such occasion, but government of Pakistan showed its deep patience over such statements and tried to cover the damage done which were occurred between Pakistan and Iran by unprecedented killing of Iranian people on the soil of Pakistan.

⁸⁷ Masoor chaudhry, "Internal security in Pakistan and preventive measures", *Daily Dawn*, Islamabad, October 5 2007

9.3 Terrorists Attacks against Iranian People in Pakistan

Although the problem is purely a domestic issue of Pakistan yet due to it several diplomats and citizens of Iran have been killed by terrorist in Pakistan. In 1990, Sadiq Ganji, the Iranian Consul-General, was killed in Lahore. In 1997, five cadets of Iranian air force were killed near Rawalpindi. These act of sectarian killing created severe resentment In Iran. The failure of the government of Pakistan to take action against responsible persons greatly contributed to the deterioration of Pak-Iran bilateral ties as well as created a huge gap between two major sects of Islam in Pakistan known as Sunni and Shia. On several occasions government of Iran lodged strong protests over the killing of its people on the soil of Pakistan and demanded the handing over of the culprits in their custody.⁸⁸

(B) Internal Factors of Iran

10.1 Balochistan Issue: An Ethnic Issue and Pak- Iran Relations

The Balochis have three major groups. First, peasants whose main daily work in life is agriculture, stock raising and manual crafts. Second is tribal Peasant. Third, Bedouin Baluchis, whose life style is entirely like purely Bedouin. Among these Baluchi tribes, the Rigi tribe is most important. The province has big size with small population. The Sistan-Baluchistan province is understood as a source of friction because of its long borders with Pakistan and Afghanistan.

These Baloch groups call themselves as the heirs of an ancient kingdom and distinct from other Iranian ethnic Persian population and other groups that comprise of the whole Iran. Iranian Baloch often known with the larger Baloch community that is based in Pakistan and Afghanistan because tribal and family relations traverse all three countries. While going through history, we come to know that Baloch historical

⁸⁸ Nasim Zehra, op.cit, 58

narrative is shaped by a collective sense of oppression by regional and colonial powers that ultimately result into the division of the Baloch nation.

Majority population of Iran is comprised of Shiites while the overwhelming majority of Iran's Baloch population is Sunni branch of Islam. These Baloch practices a form of tribal Islam.

Though Pakistani part of Balochistan has remained a stronghold of Taliban elements yet Baloch nationalists over there rely far less on Sunni Islamist discourse for attaining their respective goal.⁸⁹ The nationalist uprisings in Pakistan and Afghanistan have had a strong influence on the Iranian province of Sistan-Balochistan. Tension is being increasing between Sunni and Shia due to growing national sentiment among Sunni Balochis of the Sistan-Balochistan. This growing tension came in the form of clashes between the two ethnic groups. Due to the efforts of some Sunni moderate leaders such as Molawi Abdel-Hamid the situation has been brought under control, otherwise there were more possibilities of civil war.

The border between Iran and Pakistan is not a hurdle for Abdul malik Rigi and his group, who cross the border daily easily because both countries Pakistan and Iran cannot fully control the border areas.⁹⁰

Iranian official are of the views that Rigi's support base is located in Pakistan. Jundallah claims itself as reformist group, yet it is clear that the group was established outside Iran and it is financed and sponsored by foreign powers and terrorist groups. According to Jundullan leaders, they represent the whole Baluch ethnic of Iran and use their suffering as a propaganda tool on national and international level, but they are unable to forward a concrete projects that can truly mitigate this distress.

⁸⁹ The Nation, December 23, 2005

⁹⁰ M.A Iqbal, Jundulla a growing threat, daily Pakistan Observer, November, 1, 2009

10.2 Jundulla: A Growing Religious Issue for Iran and Pak-Iran Relations

Jundollah is a terrorist organization based in Iranian Balochistan that claims to be fighting against Iranian security forces and government for the fundamental rights of Sunni Muslims in Iran. Founding father of this organization is Abdul Malik Rigi who was captured in Iran and hanged On February 23, 2010. After Rigi's capture and execution, Jundallah declared Muhammad Dhahir Baloch as their supreme leader.⁹²

The members of Jundallah called themselves as Islamist Sunni Baloch militant. The main targets of this organization were high-profile Iranian, both military and civilian. Some observers call it an offshoot of Balochi autonomist movement, which was founded by late president of Iraq Saddam Hussien along with several other organizations such as Mujahideen-e-Khalq to weaken Iran during the Iran Iraq war.⁹³ Moreover, Jundullah was declared as a foreign terrorist organization in November 3, 2010 by US States Department.

More than 4000 have been killed by this organization besides several civilians. It is said that Jundulla is a major party of Baloch insurgency in Pakistan and in Iran's Province. Iranian government has included it in the top list of terrorist organizations because it committed many acts of terrorism besides kidnapping and smuggling. It is believed that this organization has deep connections with Al-Qaeda and Taliban. According to Irani government Jundullah is receiving active support from United States against Iran government. US government has denied these allegations of any involvement. Hussein Ali Shahriari, Zahedan's representative in Iranian parliament rhetorically said on many occasions that without the active support of Pakistan, USA,

⁹² Rashid Malik, US label Iran's Jundulla as terrorist Organization, *Daily Dawn*, November, 10, 2010

⁹³ Karthikeya, Raja (7 August 2009). "Jundullah a wedge between Iran, Pakistan" *Asian Times*. http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/KH07Df04.html. Retrieved 10 July 20

Taliban, and Saudi Arabia Jundullah can not function easily. Iranian authority has been accused the UK, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia of their active support to Jundullah. According to Iranian officials these powers are active against Iran possibly operating their assistances from Pakistani territory, whereas Pakistan has strongly rejected Iranian allegation. According to Pakistani officials it has long history of active cooperation with Iran to mitigate the trans-border militant. Jundullah also has rejected any connections with USA, UK, Pakistan, Taliban and Saudi Arabia or with any other powers or organization.

Leaders of Jundullah have denied that organization had any separatist agenda. They merely fight against Iranian forces for equal rights for Sunni Muslims in Iran. On many occasions Malik Ragi stated that his group is active for the improvement of the lives of Sunni Baluchis in a democratic Iran.⁹⁴ Iranian regime is more skeptical of the claims and views that this terrorists group is used by foreign elements to destabilize Iranian regime.

The region is inhabitant by both Sunni and Shia which made the province an ethnic and sectarian diverse area. This ethnical and sectarian division further aggravated the tension between Sunni and Shia. Shia population is supported by the central government which is considered a kind of discrimination by the Baluchi Sunni ethnic group.

On the website of the Balochistan People's Party (BPP) it is described that Iranian security forces are committing atrocities against Iranian Sunni Baloch

⁹⁴ Massoud, Ansari (January 16, 2006). "Sunni Muslim group vows to behead Iranians". Washington Times. <http://www.washtimes.com/world/20060116-124019-6619r.htm>. Retrieved 2007-04-05.

civilians. They called the operation a genocidal operation against minority Sunni in the province. In this connection they included visual evidences.⁹⁵

It is still unclear whether Jundallah and other Baloch militants groups are really fighting for the rights of Sunni minority or other wise. Come what may, whether it is ethnic issue or religious issue, it really affected bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran for the long run because Iran alleged Pakistan as a sponsored state to Jundulla.⁹⁶

Use of force against hard liners of Baloch through deployments of special and regular army units is not in favor of lasting peace and stability in the region. Since Iranian Baloch grievances run deep, groups such as Jundallah will gain sympathy among the local population against Iranian security forces. This has seriously not only effected Iran's Sistan-Balochistan province, but also Pakistani Balochistan.

⁹⁵ <http://www.balochpeople.org> accessed on October 5 2010

⁹⁶ The News International, January 8; Asia Times, June 8

Chapter: 6

Future Prospects of Pak-Iran Relations

Both Pakistan and Iran are major actors in International politics because of their significant geo-strategic position in the world. They provide efficient, economical and safe transit land route to the states of Central Asia, China, and many other states for the export of energy and other resources. Political and Economic development of Iran surprised whole of the world. Both Iran and Pakistan are lucrative markets for foreign investors. Iran is rich in oil and gas resource with 5% of the whole world's oil reserves and 14% of gas reserves. It has strengthened its industrial and agricultural sectors according to international standard. Pakistan on the other hand, is progressing by leap and bounds in industrial, agricultural and technological spheres. It is first Islamic and seventh world atomic power in the world. Both Iran and Pakistan are members of many International and regional organizations such as United Nations Organization (UNO), Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and D-8 countries⁹⁷. These International and regional organizations provide energetic platforms to strengthen their bilateral relationship. Besides, history of bilateral ties has been smooth except some minor irritants which created misunderstanding between two states since 1979. Due to these irritants both states could not promote bilateral relations as they expected for.

Those irritants were as follow:

⁹⁷ Dr, Syed Salahuddin, *op.cit*, 63.

- (a) Interference of United States, India, and Israel in the internal affairs of both states which created misunderstanding in bilateral ties.
- (b) Emergence of Taliban in Afghanistan and their relations with Pakistan.
- (c) Sectarian Violence in Pakistan and killing of many Iranian people.
- (d) Iranian Nuclear issue and Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan Net work.

These all factors created misunderstanding between Iran and Pakistan due to which both states could not promote bilateral relationship. There is no denying fact that smooth ties generate confidence and trust that ultimately lead toward cooperation in different spheres of life. When countries are politically and economically integrated, it provides an opportunity to the stakeholders of each side to resolve the conflictual issues and promotion of peace and harmony. So a permanent solution of all conflictual issues between Iran and Pakistan is necessary for the promotion of political, economical security, and social fields which can lead toward bright future. How are all these irritants and conflictual issues solved? For that a consolidated and proper mechanism is necessary that is as follow:

11.1 Promotion of Economic Relations

The areas where both sates have to divert whole attentions are the enhancement of bilateral trade and commercial ties. Till now both countries have not been able to promote relations on economic footing. There is huge potential to enhance the volume of bilateral trade. Both countries can pick benefits up of liberal trade through road, air links and rail. At present, there are many opportunities for Pakistan and Iran to promote close economic and trade relationship. Though cooperation in the field of trade is going on, but there is still big room to promote bilateral trade. At present, trade balance is entirely tilted towards Iran. By adopting proper measures it can be improved. Irritants in other

spheres would be solved by enhancing trade relations⁹⁸. For the expansion of Trade exchange between Iran and Pakistan certain steps are necessary which are as under:

- (a) Acceleration of single country trade exhibitions by both countries.
- (b) Encouragement of trade delegations for exchange of visits between both states.
- (c) Establishment of dispute settlement committee between two states.
- (d) Coordination between both states for preventing cross boarder smuggling.
- (e) Relaxation for issuance of visas to businessmen is essential.
- (f) A direct flight between Tehran and Islamabad.
- (g) On going process of privatization in Pakistan provides a golden opportunity to invest in various sectors, so Iranian businessmen should take benefits by investing in Pakistan in various spheres.

11.2 A Brief Assessment of Economic Relations of Pakistan and Iran.

At present, bilateral trade between Pakistan and Iran is limited. Due to limited trade relations traders are facing problems in many fields, which mitigate the prospects of trade enhancement. During 1990s, Trade with Iran was conducting in convertible currency.⁹⁹ In this regard, Asian Clearing Union (ACU) was the main body which assisted in transaction between two states to which both are members at present as well. Accounts between both states are settled under this arrangement after every two years. There is a commission called Pak-Iran Joint Economic Commission (JEC), which was established in 1986. It is not in function at present scenario. By reactivating it, both states can promote their economy. There is no consistency from the side of Iran in import. Iran was importing around 1.50 millions tons of rice every year from Pakistan, but in the year of 2009/2010 it

⁹⁸ Dr.Syed Minhaj, Syed Abdul Hussein Raeisossodet, *op.cit*, 42.

⁹⁹ Ibid 143

imported very small amount of rice from Pakistan. Iranian rice's needs can be fulfilled by Pakistan on very cheap rates. Again balance of trade has further widened because of resumption of import of Iranian crude oil for example, Pakistan has started importing of crude oil from Iran since July 2000. Our imports from Iran have increased. So an urgent need to reactivate the transit trade agreement of 1995 and transit transport framework of 1998 for the enhancement of trade relations. In the same way a common border market has been established in September 1999. Pak- Iran joint trade commission was established in 2001. It is expected that bilateral economic relations will continue to grow in future. Visits of top leadership would be helpful in expansion of trade ties, which ultimately will push them in removing past misunderstanding in other fields as well. The outline of powerful regional equilibrium may emerge by enhancing trade relations.

11.3 Major Fields of Cooperation

For mutual cooperation there is vast scope. For this reason there is a dire need of formulation of rational and executable strategy. Major areas which assist both states to strengthen bilateral relationship are as under.

11.3.1 Defense Cooperation

Exchange of security information and intelligence gathering with each other is necessary so that sound security could be established. In this way both states can mitigate the threat coming from the side of terrorist groups inside and outside of the countries.¹⁰⁰ Pakistan has modern weapons as Al-Khalid tank, Mashak training airplane, gunboats and many other small modern weapons. Many states are interested in buying these weapons. Iran can enhance its security by these modern weapons. Recently Makran Scots had recovered the kidnapped Iranian

¹⁰⁰ Abdul Ghafar , "Security Threat or scourge of Terrorism", *Daily Dawn*, Islamabad, August 15, 2009

military men from Balochistan; it shows that both states have major concerns about each other's security. For the promotion of sound security, bilateral visits of defense delegations are essential.

11.3.2 Mitigation of Taliban Factors

Emergence of Taliban regime in Afghanistan was beginning point in deterioration of bilateral relations. Pakistan tried to convince Iran that despite its influence over Taliban it is unable to install a multi-ethnic and broad based representative government in Afghanistan. Iranian top leadership should accept the present ground realities in this regard. At present Pakistan itself is the major prey of Taliban's activities. There is a strong possibility of emerging of Taliban once again, which can damage Pak-Iran relations. Once again misunderstanding like past can damage the relations. In this connection mutual understanding and trust between both states is the dire need of time. So the future policy should be formulated in such a way that it can promote bilateral ties rather than mistrust and misunderstanding.

11.3.3 Counter Sectarianism Mechanism

In the last twenty-eight years, sustained violence caused heavy damage to both Sunni and Shia communities in the form of killing injuries and material loss which made the task of sectarian reconciliation difficult. In this regard not only the activities of Sunni and Shia militants groups divide the Shia and Sunni communities, but also giving way to foreign factors for playing major part in sectarian conflict in Pakistan. There are some fundamental and preventive measures to mitigate or control sectarian violence, which are as follows:-

- (a) A full-fledge constitutional provision should be declared in which it is mention that those elements which promote sectarian conflict should be awarded severe punishment.
- (b) In the national syllabus which is taught in different educational institutions, particularly in schools and collages in Pakistan, such materials that increase misunderstanding, misperception, hatred and biasness on the basis of religion, sect, sex, ethnicity and culture must be formatted.
- (c) Top officials from government must adopt neutral policy as far as their dealings with Shia and Sunni conflict is concerned. They should not adopt the policy of favoritism.
- (d) Both print and electronic media must adopt such a policy which could be helpful in mitigating Sectarian conflict.
- (e) Mostly it has been observed that government has banned sectarian organizations, which are involved behind this menace, but at later stages, they come on the surface with a different name, such organizations should not be allowed to reappear under a different name.
- (f) Government must check external intervention in sectarian matters effectively.
- (g) A complete ban must be imposed for not using Zakat and other sources in sectarian matters.
- (h) Disband completely all private militias, including those organized for sectarian and jihad causes.
- (i) Effective curbs on sectarian leaders and extremist groups by imposition of laws against such a speech and incident of communal violence which create hatred, violence and misunderstanding between both sects.

- (j) Strict legal action must be taken against those religious leaders responsible for verbal or written edicts of apostasy.
- (k) In the same way strict legal action against those leaders who call for internal and external jihad with out the permission of higher authority.
- (l) Flashing the evidence for banning sectarian groups.
- (m) A complete ban on the print declarations (licenses) of sectarian publications.
- (n) A ban on such madrasas run by sectarian groups and organizations.
- (o) Registration of all madrasas, including old and new madrasas.
- (p) Appoint Imam Masjid at mosques and madrasas under the Auqaf. They must be paid from governmental resources. Verification of such an Imam is essential. Only that applicant should be appointed that has no record of sectarian extremism.
- (q) Special physical security for those judges presiding over cases of sectarian terrorism.
- (r) Government should formulate such a policy to bring consensus between Religious and modern subjects, school and madrasas.
- (s) The more isolation of religious peoples from the affairs of state, result more problems. Therefore they must be included in the national stream.

11.3.4 Iran and issue of Kashmir

Iran's stance over the issue of Kashmir which has been occupied by India without paying any regard to the will of the people and UN Resolutions, and remained a perpetual bone of contention between Pakistan and India, was very enthusiastic and supportive, but soon after the killing of Iranian people on the soil of Pakistan increased tension between Pakistan and Iran. Iran, therefore, withdrew its enthusiastic support over the issue. On this issue Pakistan needs support from International

community especially from the side of Iran and other Muslim states. Assistance over Kashmir issue would further promote bilateral relationship between both countries.¹⁰¹

11.3.5 Pak-Iran and Central Asian States

Though Central Asian states are rich in natural resources but they could not utilize these resources because of internal problems and problems from outside world. In this regard, Pakistan and Iran should cooperate with each other to boost the internal security, political stability, and economic problems of Central Asia rather than to competing each other. With the cooperation both states can make strong their position on international level. Gawadar Port could be connected with the states of Central Asia by the port of Bandar Abbas and Iran's railway network. At present other imperialistic powers are trying to control the top leadership of the states of Central Asia for the purpose of getting hold over the economy of this region in future.

11.3.6 Mitigation of USA Role.

It is quite evident that till 1979 both Pakistan and Iran were pro-USA states. But soon after the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 Pakistan remained on the footing of traditional foreign policy toward USA, while Iran became an anti-US state. Since then United States and Iran have become arch rival states toward each other. In this regard United States has adopted different techniques to weaken Iran. Both Pakistan and Iran have concluded an historical gas pipeline agreement on May 28, 2010, but United States is trying its level best to harm this agreement.⁶⁷ Top leadership of USA is putting pressures on the government of Pakistan in this regard. Both Pakistan and Iran should understand the real purpose of USA. This mega project should be completed as soon as possible so that both states can promote their economy. USA is also a main promoter of sectarian violence in Pakistan which created misunderstanding between

⁶⁷Syed Minhaj, Syed Abdul Hussein, op.cit.143

Pakistan and Iran. In the same way USA is assisting militant group Jundulla, which also created problems in bilateral ties between Pakistan and Iran. So both Pakistan and Iran should take care about the real threat coming from outside.

11.3.7 Relations with Arab States

At present gulf region has significant geostrategic importance in the world. No one can deny the fact. Pakistan has excellent and deep relations with the Arab world, while Iran ties with the gulf Arab states are not on acceptable level. In this regard Pakistan can play a major part to improve Iran's relations with these Arab states.

11.3.8 Cultural Exchange

Though both Pakistan and Iran belong to same Islamic culture, but state to state level there is slight difference in sub culture. Seven major cultural centers (Khana-e-Farhang) of Iran are functioning in Pakistan currently. To enhance cultural relations Pakistan has requested for opening such cultural centers in Iran as well.¹⁰² In this connection Iran allowed Pakistan of opening one cultural center in Iran. Exchange of cultural delegations will also enhance bilateral relations. Both states have to consolidate cultural relationship because it could assist bilateral favorable psychological perceptions toward each other. In this connection organization of yearly art exhibitions in each other states is essential. Visits of university officials, students and research fellows could be established. Extension of more and more scholarship for the students of each other will also help to enhance relations.

There are several other fields for example communication, transportation, agriculture, power, engineering, forest, chemical, medicine and so on. In these fields of investment and experience sharing would help to enhance bilateral relationship

¹⁰² Ejaz Bakhtawer, "Culture development and states" *The Post*, Rawalpindi, 22 February 2009

between Pakistan and Iran. It is up to the top leadership of both states to create such an environment which can push both states toward exemplary and historical relationship like in the Past.

Conclusion

After a long history of smooth and cordial ties, both Iran and Pakistan are passing through the phase of mistrust and misunderstanding. Both states strived for overcoming the irritants which caused misunderstanding between them. In this connection certain energetic measures have been taken by both states to consolidate bilateral ties as conclusion of "Pak Iran Gas Pipe Line Agreement", exchange of visits of top leadership between two states recently. But these steps are not enough to promote bilateral relations. Both states have to mitigate the chances of future possible conflicts because those entire factors which are responsible in creating misunderstanding and mistrust are still exit with full fledge energy and power.

Situations in Afghanistan are changing swiftly and it is quite evident that United States will have to leave it very soon. Soon after withdraw of USA from the region there are more chances of the emergence of Taliban again. It would be a huge challenge for both Pakistan and Iran to control the possible threat of Taliban. In this regard a unanimous foreign policy toward Afghanistan is essential. Support for a central and common régime is of paramount importance in Afghanistan. Both states have to remove bitter experiences of past sooner or later for better future. Beside this central government in Afghanistan would be more helpful for the mitigation of instability in the whole region. Pakistan suffered more than that of any other country in the so- called global War on Terror. External threat from the side of foreign founded insurgent groups in both parts of Balochistan is another major area. For it both states have to formulate a common policy. In this regard intelligence sharing between both states should be more reliable and swift.

An effective crackdown against those militants groups is necessary, that are the main supporter of sectarianism in Pakistan. Such an effective crackdown will surely break the organizational structural of sectarian groups. Conflict over Afghanistan, Central Asia, sectarian violence in Pakistan and role of foreign powers are creating misunderstanding between both states. The management of these irritants is the major key to avoiding possible future friction. Both Iran and Pakistan have to realize that they are by no means locked in Zero-Sum game and good faith can always be beneficial for both countries in the long run.

Neither state faces security threat from other but both have to realize that converting current ties into more sustainable friendship that would be more beneficial for them. In this connection governments and public of both states together have to formulate and create a conscious process. Both states have to realize that unilateral adopted policies will surely impact the relations in the fields of security, economic, and politics. For the actualization of those commitments which were made by the top leadership in the recent high level visits is necessary. Continuous interaction at the high level for the exploration of new avenues and for the improvement of existing ties is essential. Promotion of trade relations between both states is necessary for the better future.

Formulation of political, socio-economic conditions in both states would have a major impact on their policies because of divergent social conditions in both countries. Due to many reasons social conflicts are likely to go on in the future too, as ethnicity, religious sectarianism and economic issues would have their acute impact on the domestic as well as external policies of Pakistan.

Annex-a

Iran's Profile

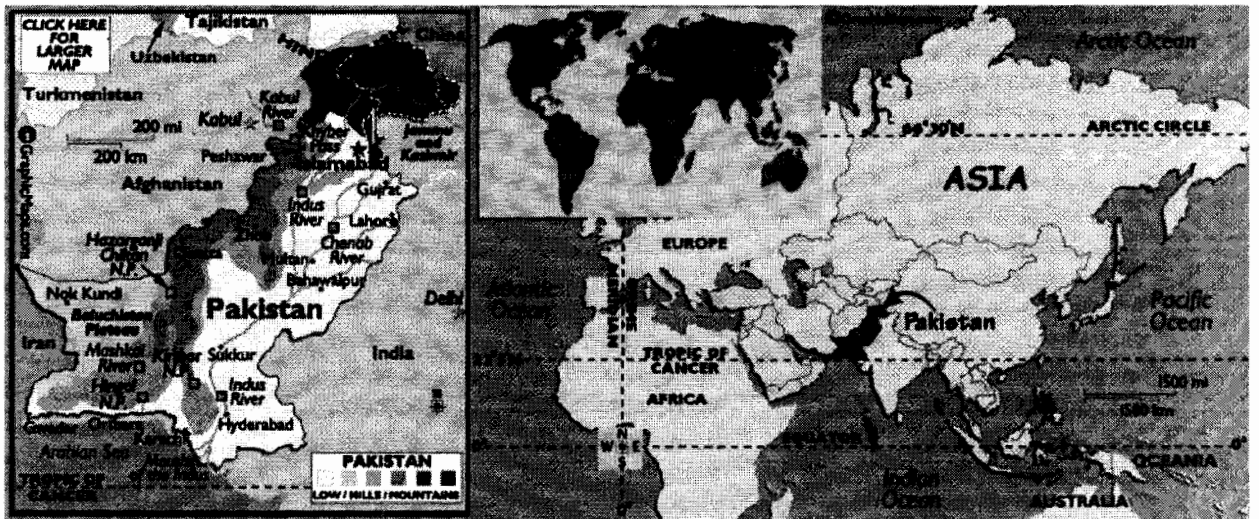
Official Name	Islamic Republic Of Iran
Capital	Tehran
Official Language	Persian
Area	1663,000 sq.km.
Population	71956,322 (2008)
Currency	Rial (US \$ =3000 Rials)
Per Capita Income	\$ 13170.

Annex -b

Pakistan's profile

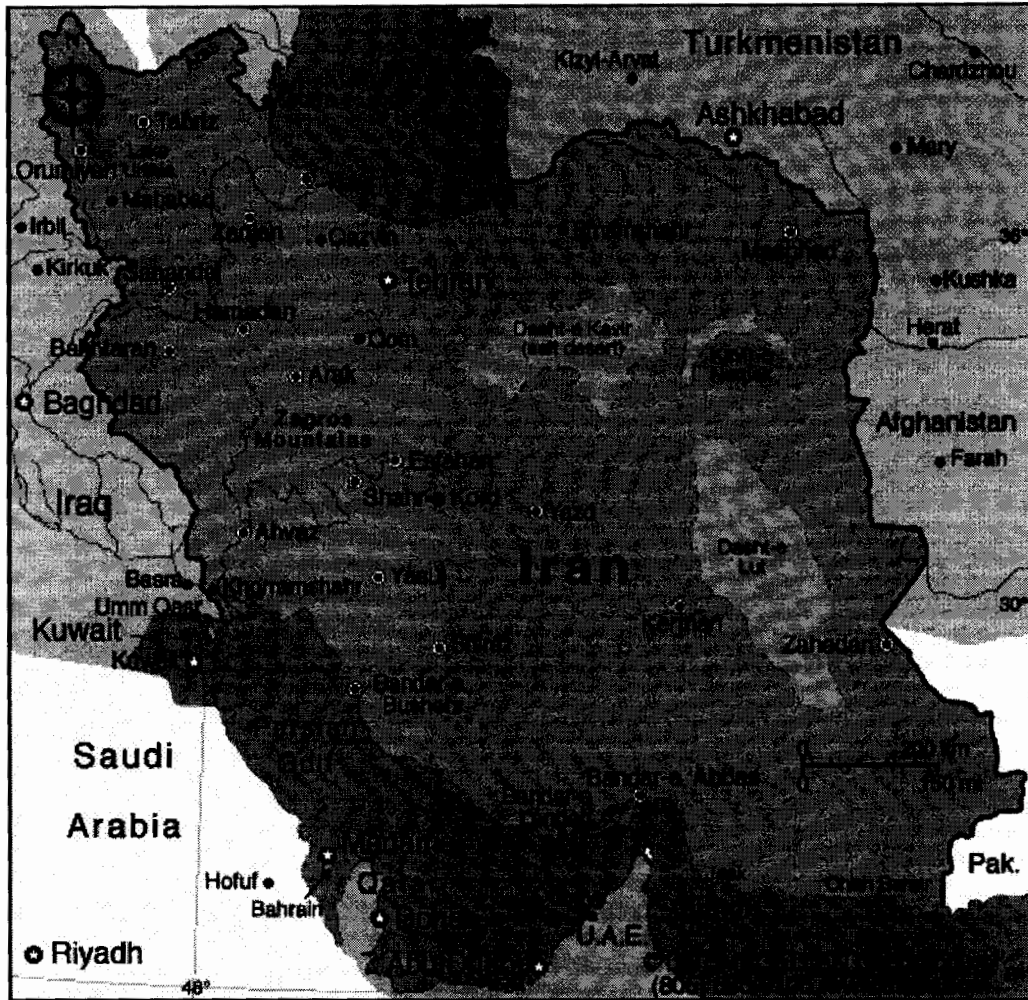
Official Name	Islamic Republic of Pakistan
Capital	Islamabad
Official Language	Urdu
Area	796096 Sq.km
Population	169,945500
Currency	Rupee (US \$=86 Rupee)
Per Capita Income	US \$ 1000

Annex-c



Pakistan

Annex-d



Iran

Annex-e



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