DYNAMICS OF NATIONS

AND

PAKHTUN POLITICS

Preface by the Author

In these articles I have reflected on the laws which govern the dynamics of nations and the application of these laws to Politics of Pakhtuns in Pakistan and Afghanistan. My aim is to raise a voice for the Pakhtuns in particular and other oppressed nations in general as they have been the victims of state terrorism, foreign infiltration and religious extremism. Moreover I have also tried to answer the question:

What should be done in order to achieve freedom, progress and prosperity for the poor and the deprived masses?

These articles, therefore, is also an endeavour to encapsulate a futuristic vision for the Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations.

Most of these articles have been published in daily The Frontier Post, The News and websites like Khyberwatch.com, Chowk.com, Afghana.com, Afghanan.net, Pashto.org, Thehujra.com and a couple of foreign language sites which can be googled on the internet.

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DYNAMICS OF NATIONS

The Advent of Techo-Heuristic Age

Third world countries have been going through ups and downs of history due to their weak political structure. Due to the rapid changing world in which the state affairs are controlled by technology the existence and survival of these third world states is threatened due to the ignorance about the zeitgeist of the contemporary age and the absence of a clear futuristic vision.

Tribal or agrarian culture still prevails in these third world countries instead of a techno-creative culture. Based on what has been termed as “Asabiyah” [translated as “Group Mind” in English] by Ibne Khaldoon in his world renowned “Prolegomena to the History of Barbars”, tribal societal nomenclature has been the oldest but primitive integrating force of human society. It has been the major force behind the conquering of lands and countries in the past. It is due to this reason that the Greeks of the Hellenic period, the barbars of North Africa, the Aryans (present day Afghans/Pashtuns) and Mongols of Central Asia and the Arabs of Arabian Peninsula conquered various lands and countries. However with the fall of the tribal chief, these dynasties and empires got divided due to internal feuds and fights among the descendants of the chief and could not pass the test of time.

With the advancement of science and technology, however, the conquering nations and groups gradually lost their political freedom and autonomy to those who got lead in the warfare technology. The traditional rulers of the conquered lands were replaced by Europeans due to their advancement in science and technology. British, French and Portuguese came into power and established their empires. Similarly in the recent past, former Soviet Union (USSR) and USA took the lead in taking over the reigns of power in the third world countries due to their supreme technology and scientific war methodology. With the disintegration of Soviet Union as a result of withdrawal of Russian forces in Afghanistan due to the insurgency of CIA and ISI backed Mujahedeen, the export of socialist revolution to Afghanistan and South Asia was prevented. Consequently United States of America became the sole super power on the political screen of the world though it disturbed the global equilibrium of political power and gave rise to a unipolar world.

It is a fact that throughout the course of human history, the creation and innovation of technology has been playing the most important role in deciding the fate of nations. If a nation has the ability to serve technology by investing the intellectual energies of its brightest brains in the research and development to create new technology then the nation is destined to get an edge in the helm of socio-politico-economic affairs of the world.

Technology gives birth to its own culture, values, politics, social norms and economic systems. The agrarian technology has its own culture revolving around the ownership and cultivation of land. The values and norms based on capital, machinery and labour in an industrialised society are completely different from that of agrarian culture. With the advent of Information and telecommunication technology the whole economic structure has transformed as even teen agers telecommuting from their homes can turn into entrepreneurs.

Mobile and cellular technology is transforming the machinery associated with information technology into pocket size gadgets capable of communicating with the world, giving up-to-date information to its users as well as assisting in running businesses and performing job tasks via user friendly interfaces. The introduction of 3G technology has made it possible to view television and access internet via mobile phone.

The revolution in genetic engineering has given birth to cloning technology which would eliminate the compulsion of inheriting hereditary diseases. Advanced medical diagnostic techniques like MRI, CT scanning, organ transplants and laser technology have the ability to detect and cure those diseases which were considered fatal in the past.

Space technology is being used to search new possibilities of establishing colonies in space and other planets. The concept of global village which is confined to planet earth is transforming into a solar or galactic village in which humans living on different planets would be able to interact and communicate.

It is a fact that with the discovery of science and advancement of technology human history has been evolving and changing the tribal cultures in central Africa, Latin America, Southern Australia and Afghanistan. The nation states based on territorial nationalism are getting threatened due to the awareness of its masses due to mass media technology. Regional economic unions like European Union, SAARC etc are getting formed to challenge the capitalist market monopolies. Internationalism is being interpreted as a focus on a nation's political interests in the world community. Globalism is evolving due to the media awareness. Global issues common to humanity at large like poverty,peace,pollution and population are being raised by global activists to put constant pressure on the governments of first and second world.

The progress and advancement of technology in various sectors is predicting an age of globalism and universalism which will be based on a techno-heuristic view of life - a view of life in which the only basis and benchmark of human behaviour would be Technology.

It is therefore mandatory for the political leaders and intelligentsia of every nation to guide their people and help them evolve to the next stage of their collective evolution by taking correct and required decisions on socio-politico-economic fronts so that their nations get mentally prepared for the advent of the next stage of human evolution – the Techno-heuristic age.

The Input Output Law

The Input Output law states that: "There is no Output without Input". Input means effort whether it is in the form of thought or action or both. Man is solely responsible for his actions because what happens to him is the output of his input. This has been the presumption of all the ethical codes, religions, moral philosophies and systems of life. The collective input, efforts and struggle determine what is going to happen to a nation. With the help of Input Output law, the behaviour of man as well as cultures can be engineered by applying the laws of psychology and collective behaviour.

It should be noted that:

1. Effort can be individual as well as collective.

2. Effort may or may not result in the required result (output) due to the reason that it might not be the correct input.

3. The real challenging task is to know the correct input, that is: "What should be done in order to achieve a certain result?" .This is the first, foremost and fundamental question which should be answered in all sciences. By giving this point a serious heed, one can easily conclude that all the progress in human knowledge is nothing except an endeavour to answer this question.

4. Input might be and can be the output of another input so it is a challenge for us to either find out (if it is not known) or point out (if it is not clear) the correct input in order to achieve a certain output.

5. The law of probability is the biggest hurdle in the way to achieve a certain output.

6. Man has to do a lot of experimentation and homework to be able to either find out a new input (using his creative faculties) or point out the right input (using his faculty of logical reasoning) for a certain output.

7. The problem of finding the right input to get the required output becomes critical when it comes to solving collective problems of a society or a nation.

8. If a nation has to solve a problem or issue which decides its fate and it has not done homework (input) then the nation is destined to become history. On the other hand,if a nation has put the required effort (input) to solve its national or collective problem then the input output law for collective behaviour comes into action and the nation produces leadership which has the ability to save the nation. The leadership has to first plead and then lead the nation on the basis of its vision.

9. If the leadership of a nation is backed by intellectuals then the leadership with the help of intelligentsia can mould the collective energy of a nation to achieve national targets.

Let us consider examples from history to understand the operation of Input Output law.

1. In 70’s the point of view of nationalist groups proved to be correct when Bengalis founded a separate state due to the exploitation and atrocities of Punjabi dominated military establishment. The founding of Bangla Desh was the output of two inputs viz The policies adopted by the establishment of the then West Pakistan to exploit the resources of East Pakistan and the freedom struggle of Bengalis to form a separate state of their own.

2. The political instability of Pakistan is another example. Political stability is the output of political process. Military has been in rule in Pakistan and has been justifying its illegitimate rule and role by indoctrinating the masses about its sanctity and preventing democracy to flourish. Consequently in Pakistan the decision about the change management is performed in Pentagon instead of Parliament and the Chief Justice has to beg for Justice if he tries to give justice to the oppressed masses in a dictatorial regime.

It is the output of the 60 years old input of the Pakistani people who did not raised their voice against military intervention in time and let the Djinn become powerful by keeping silent. This is the time for the people of Pakistan to take a bold step about the fate of Military and future of Pakistan, failing which they have to face the music of Input output law.

The Fate of a Nation – Extinction or Glory

History is the memory of mankind while philosophy of history is the analytical ability of man to distinguish correct from incorrect. As Intelligence is the sum of memory and ability to distinguish hence history and philosophy of history constitutes the collective intelligence of mankind. Philosophy of history helps us to know the reasons for the rise and fall of nations. A group of people becomes a nation if they have common language or common ancestry or common territory.

If we trace back the reasons for the rise of nation they converge to only one reason as do the reasons of downfall and that sole reason is usefulness. The nation which is useful for the mankind rises to the skies of excellence and the nation which is a liability instead of an asset to humanity withers away from the pages of history as if it never existed at all. Only the nation that contributes to the collective evolution, progress and development of mankind rises. This indirectly is the surety for the survival of a nation which otherwise is threatened by the laws of nature all the times.

The fastest way to become useful to mankind is by focusing on the creative potential present in the human resource of a nation. The product of creativity is idea. Idea is an asset. Asset is the raw material for technology. Technology is the key to progress. Progress is the road to glory. Sharing the fruits of glory makes a nation beneficial to humanity and gives it the guarantee for survival. If nation with glory does not share the fruits of its glory and achievements with the rest of the mankind then its decline is unavoidable.

Explore the world and you will come to know why the undeveloped nations are responsible themselves for their backwardness and why the developed nations deserve the position they have reached. The reason is usefulness.

It is very easy to say that undeveloped countries have exploitative governments but who chooses these governments? If the governments are dictatorial then why the masses do not resent and resist the dictatorship? If there is democracy but still the system is not based on social justice then why the masses do not raise their voice against the system? How do you expect any positive change which is always the result and output of human effort without actually contributing your part of input?

It is very easy to put the blame on others but very difficult to confess one's own limitations and try to remove them. What is seen at the top is nothing but the output of a nation's collective input. If there is something wrong at the top there must be something wrong at the bottom. If you sow seeds of cactus then do not expect its fruit to be mango.

The following points are worth mentioning regarding the extinction or glory of a nation.

1. If the people of a nation have common ideology of life then their efforts will be fruitful.

2. If the ideology of a nation is in synchronism with the laws of nature then the nation will achieve excellence.

3. If the collective input of a nation is in accordance with the laws of collective behaviour then their efforts (input) will be in synchronism with the laws of nature.

4. If the input of a nation is in synchronism with the laws of nature then the nation will achieve their target.

5. If the target of a nation is in accordance with the laws of nature then the nation will achieve excellence.

6. If the target of a nation is not in accordance with the laws of nature then the efforts of a nation become futile and only adds to their experience assuming it is not attacked militarily, intellectually or technologically by other nations in the meanwhile.

History glorifies a nation if:

1) The collective behaviour of a nation is in synchronism with the direction of history and they have a clear vision to achieve its collective targets.

2) The nation has better ideology capable of attracting humanity due to their views about progress and prosperity of mankind and evolution of humanity.

3) The nation has an urge for exploration, expedition, creation, innovation, research, development and opening new vistas of knowledge and probability.

4) The nation has been leading their lives according to certain cultural values for centuries due to which their culture and language has been enriched with experiences and wisdom.

5) The nation has an affinity for their language, race, territory, culture, traditions and civilization.

Nature always favours that nation which promotes its cause. The cause of nature is the progress of humanity to achieve excellence. It is only by striving to rise to the skies of excellence that a nation can justify its existence which otherwise is always threatened by the rude and crude forces of nature. The nation which strives to achieve excellence is in synchronism with the direction of history and the scheme of universal evolution and forces of the universe align them in its direction giving a quantum jump to its struggle and paving the way for its glory. Any nation which does not strive to achieve excellence is indirectly offering open invitation to other nations to attack, conquer, exploit and perish it from the surface of earth.

Weapons of Mass Empowerment

A clear vision for future is the first pre requisite for the survival of a nation in the 21st century. Due to the absence of a futuristic vision a nation cannot synchronize its efforts in one direction. A futuristic vision can only be derived by knowing the past as well as contemporary age. The history of human development reveals that the human race has seen agrarian age, industrial age and now living in Information age.

In the agrarian age the basic asset was land, in Industrial it became labour while in the contemporary Information age it is knowledge and learning. Learning implies earning in today's world. Science and technology has therefore, become the weapon of mass empowerment in the modern world due to the cut-throat competition among the nations of the world. The developed nations have found the secret to progress and prosperity and are trying to control the nature by concentrating on just one thing – Science and Technology. This focus in turn guarantees the empowerment of the masses in these countries. The more a nation contributes to the development of science and technology the more its masses become powerful and vice versa.

Due to the focus on science and technology the world is divided into three camps. The nations which are creating technology are leading the world. The ones that are copying technology are second in the race. While the consumer societies of the world are at the tail-end and are the victims of imperialist policies of the leading and industrialised nations. In order to evolve to a higher rank in the world community, the most effective method for a nation to come at par with the developed nations of the world is to put all its effort to acquire, learn and discover technology.

There is only one way for a nation to become a developed nation and it is to create technology and make it a part of its culture. The one point agenda for underdeveloped nations of the world to secure real freedom from the exploitation of the imperialist nations is to concentrate on science and technology.

The implications of the Information revolution have compelled all the nations to aim at the following targets in order to survive in the modern world.

1) **Techno-Creative Culture:** Creativity is the most important asset human race possesses. Technology is the product of Creativity. The culture which aims at creating technology is called techno- creative culture. A techno-creative culture is a trigger and catalyst for the development of a nation. In essence all divides in the human history have infact been techno-creative divides. The visible techno-creative divide of our age is the digital divide. The products of techno-creative culture in the contemporary age are Electronic, Nuclear and Genetic Engineering technologies.

2) **Knowledge- based Economy:** The economy which is based on knowledge will be able to survive in the modern age because economy is based on capital. Capital is the product of technology and technology itself is the product of knowledge. The market pressures are compelling the businessmen to use technology not only to survive but also to become upto mark in the market. The

international standards and quality assurance benchmarks like ISO and CMM in various industries signify the fact that business is becoming complex and need knowledge and technology for its proper functioning and operation. Knowledge based economy is the sole guarantee for a secure and sustainable economy in the modern world.

3) **E-governance based Politics:** The 21st Century requires e-governance as the basic tool for state-craft. Unless and until planning, policies, development, growth, education, agriculture, industries etc are based on the transparent and predictable principles of e-governance, there is always a danger for a nation to be misled by fake tools like propaganda by state controlled media, hypnotic emotional speeches by dummy leaders, personality cults, leadership charisma and dogmatic creeds. It is the cry of the day to base the politics of a nation on the scientific principles of e-governance in order to make it synchronized with the speed of history. The ideals of good governance, accountability, transparency, merit and national interest can only make sense if e-governance technology is in place to translate them into a reality.

4) **Industry-based Education:** It is never too late to take a bold decision of converting Education into Industry. The education system has to be made industry-oriented to produce skilled human resource capable of running enterprises, industries, factories, beaureocracy etc and have the ability to compete in the international market. The curriculum which is in accordance with the zeitgeist and requirement of the market should be the major focus of the education system. If the education system produces quality assured product, industry gets a boost due to presence of skilled human resource, production increases, industrialization process gets expedited and hence more job market is created for the skilled human resource. Any other educational system by a government would produce academically qualified but economically unproductive human resource which would be a liability instead of an asset for the society. The non-productive human resource contributes to unemployment and corruption in the system. If the educational system produces human resource having no demand in the market then the government has to face the music in the form of unemployment pressure from the jobless junta. When the unemployment pressure crosses a certain limit then it gives birth to crime for which government has to allocate more budget as crime by the literate ones is more sophisticated in nature than by the illiterate ones. On the other hand if the product of the education system is incompetent then the system is bound to get corrupted.

5) **WWW-based Morality:** The code of ethics which has helped the developed nations of the world to progress is what I call www principle viz:

My worth is my work and my work is my worship.

WWW principle means that the worth of any person is measured solely by his work and unless work is considered as worship by the person it has no worth.

PAKHTUNS AND PAKISTAN

Pakhtuns in the Contemporary World

Pakhtun nation between Oxus and Indus is at a critical juncture of its history. Three decades of war in Afghanistan has literally devastated the infrastructure in Afghanistan and more than 3 million Afghans are living as refugees in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. Due to the vital geo-strategic position of Afghanistan, the western powers under the leadership of US are there to safeguard their vested interests in central and south Asia.

The Pakhtuns living in Pakistan are facing extreme exploitation of their water and mineral resources due to the indifferent and discriminatory policies of all those who belong to the echelons of power in Pakistan. They have been used against their fellow Afghan brothers in the name of religion. They have been pressurized to show morally unjustified loyalty to all the regimes who have been in power in Pakistan. All the revenue that has been earned from the water and mineral resources of Pashtuns have been going to the pockets of the Pakistani establishment for the last sixty years but still the extreme injustice is that despite of all these sacrifices of Pakhtuns at the altar of Pakistan, the Pakhtuns have been projected as religious fanatics and backward nation. They have been deprived of basic human rights by the decision makers of Pakistani establishment.

Pakistani establishment has left no stones unturned to keep them geographically divided, economically poor and politically deprived nation.The Pakhtun nation is divided into two main geographical units: Pakhtuns of Afghanistan and Pakhtuns of Pakistan.

The Pakhtuns of Afghanistan are divided into two factions:

I. The religiously active and ISI backed Taliban who are fighting against the ISAF and trying to take over the reigns of power and striving to implement their version of Islam which suits the vested interests of Pakistani establishment.

II. The Pakhtuns who are sceptic about the future of Pakhtuns in Afghanistan due to the political turmoil and instability caused by the fight between the ISI backed Taliban and foreign forces and also internal ethnic differences between Pakhtun and non Pakhtun population.

On the other hand the Pakhtuns of Pakistan have been divided into five geographical units viz: NWFP, FATA, Baluchistan, Western Punjab (Attock and Mianwali) and Karachi. The Pakhtuns of Pakistan are not only divided but also confused about their future due to the pro-Punjab cum Mahajir beaureocracy, biased institutions and a dictated constitution.

In the current geo-political scenario when Pakhtuns and their resources are being exploited they have two options for their existence and survival.

a) Evolutionary approach for their temporary well being within current territorial units.

b) Revolutionary approach for their long term welfare as a nation.

In evolutionary approach Pakhtuns have to develop themselves in their current geographical territories whether they are in Afghanistan or in Pakistan while the revolutionary approach dictates that all Pakhtuns should strive for their right of self determination either by having a separate Pakhtun nation state based on the tenets of Pukhtunwali or a merger with Afghanistan due to the expiry of Durand treaty.

The short term goals for Pakhtuns across the Durand line should be:

1) To get their political right of governance in Afghanistan as they are in majority but giving due rights to the minority ethnic groups at the same time.

2) To reclaim and unite the Pakhtun majority areas of current “NWFP”, “FATA”, Pakhtun areas of Western Punjab like Attock & Mianwali and Pakhtun part of Baluchistan into a single united province to be called Pakhtunistan or Pakhtunkhwa.

3) To claim complete provincial autonomy, royalty of all the natural resources including water, natural gas and precious stone etc, reducing the responsibilities of the federal government to only few portfolios, effective devolution of powers from centre to provinces and proportionate representation in all federal institutions.

4) To claim extra budget for education and development on priority and emergency basis for the development of deprived areas of Pakhtuns, from Islamabad which has been enjoying all the aid, for the last three decades, that has been given by the world community for the development and rehabilitation of Pakhtuns but which has been used for killing Pakhtuns on both sides of the border

The Political Emancipation of Pakhtuns

Pakhtuns have to realize what they have to do in order to stand on their own feet. The immediate goal for the whole Pakhtun nation is the visible economic independence and real political freedom. However the principle of “First deserve then desire” is the main hurdle to get freedom from the exploitation of visible and invisible forces both in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakhtun nation has to prove their worth to become a free and independent nation capable of deciding their own fate and have to put an end to all forms of control over their lives and destiny.

Any nation that desires to get politico-economic emancipation has to satisfy three pre-conditions.

1) The first pre-requisite is consensus on a cause.

A common cause unites a nation and synchronizes the collective intellectual and emotional energies of a nation. In case of Pakhtuns the common cause is freedom. The freedoms to live, learn, earn and yearn for life of honour and dignity. The practical proof of seriousness towards the achievement of freedom will be the demonstration of unity in diversity and collective mentality.

The principle scientific pluralism dictates that variety is the spice of life and hence despite different and diverse views and opinions a nation striving for freedom should be able to work jointly to achieve a goal. Secondly a nation should have collective mentality because all collective efforts need sacrifices from the individuals of a nation. The national interest of Pakhtuns lies in the unified effort for freedom from the economic exploitation and political hegemony of establishment in Pakistan and from those of western powers in Afghanistan.

2) The second pre requisite is the presence of scientific nationalism.

According to Akbar Ali, there are two types of nationalism: Historic and Scientific. The salient features of historic nationalism are hero-worship, personality-cult, nostalgic fanaticism, racial prejudices and tribal norms. Historic nationalism has always been exploited by the imperialist powers for their own nefarious designs. History tells us how the three-tier nomenclature of historic nationalism viz (1) leadership, (2) cadres (worker) and (3) pressure has been manipulated by the imperialist powers. The imperialist powers either buy the loyalties of leaders or even kill them. They tempt or bribe the workers to break their organogram and hierarchy. The public pressure of a nation is diluted or even counteracted by amplifying the sectarian differences present in the nation like the projection of two religious groups in Khyber Agency. Consequently historic nationalism has been falling prey to the trap of enslaving a nation and exploiting its resources. On the contrary scientific or radical nationalism is based on the principles of science, technology and industrialization for the emancipation, progress and prosperity of a nation instead of personalities.

Scientific nationalism is futuristic. Masses themselves are considered to be the heroes in scientific nationalism. Historic nationalism despite its emotional appeal indirectly helps status quo which is the first target of all imperialist forces. Scientific nationalism on the contrary is the biggest challenge to status quo as it

considers the creative potential and innovative intuition of a nation to be the only force which can bring a change.

3) The third pre requisite for freedom is what I call the correct Input or effort.

The philosophies of history which have been discovered by social scientists like Ibn-e- Khaldoon, Arnold Toynbee, Marx etc are infact the corollaries of a higher law of Nature which governs the individual and collective behaviour of mankind. That law is the Input-Output law, which states that "There is no Output without Input". Freedom is nothing except the output of human efforts. All those nations desirous of freedom have to know those inputs which will result in the required output.

First deserve then desire is the dictation of the input-output law. This simply means two things: (1) The leadership must have the capability to deliver and (2) the nation should posses the ability to endeavour. Leadership can only deliver if its word and work are synchronized and reflects a scientific vision which means a vision based on the laws of nature as embodied in science and technology. A scientific vision guarantees the progress of a nation towards freedom. Input - Output law dictates that a nation has to go through various stages of social and psychological evolution before it gets mature enough to secure its freedom.

Laws of nature always offer biological, psychological, environmental and geographical as well as socio-politico-economic challenges to a nation in order to test and train it for achieving freedom. These hurdles can only be overcome by possessing and more importantly discovering science and creating new technology. If a nation is ready to overcome the challenges and able to tolerate the hardships which come in its way then the nation is destined to achieve freedom.

Never has it happened in history that a nation desiring to come into power achieved their goal without deserving it. If a group or nation is desirous of getting freedom then it has to deserve it first by fulfilling its preconditions. There is no reason why the struggle of freedom from the national and international imperialist forces will not be fruitful for the economically deprived and politically oppressed masses of Pakhtun nation if they satisfy the pre requisites for it.

National Unity and Survival of Pakhtuns

Due to the geo-strategic coordinates of Pakhtun land as a gateway to south Asia, the expansionist designs of imperialist powers from Alexander to Babur played a catastrophic role in destabilizing Pakhtun land. Despite of lacking organised defence mechanism and military technology, Pakhtuns resisted all invaders and kept on fighting till they kicked their enemy out of their land. While Pakhtuns never invaded any nation or state, the imperialist powers never let them live in peace and work for the development and stability of their land. Pakhtuns suffered a lot due to their defensive policy and principle of non interference. It was in 1747 that Ahmed Shah Baba, contrary to the defensive policy of Pakhtuns, adopted the policy of offence as a means of defence, to establish the first Afghan republic extending between central and south Asia.

The secret behind the establishment of Afghan Empire under the leadership of Ahmed Shah Baba was that he gave a political vision and a national goal to the disintegrated and disillusioned Afghans. It was the struggle for the achievement of this goal which resulted in the unity of Afghan tribes. This historic achievement showed that the unity of Pakhtuns was the effect of a cause and not a cause in itself. It established the fact that no nation can be united without a goal. National goal is the binding force for any nation hence the contemporary leadership of Pakhtuns should also set a clear national goal for the nation if the leadership is sincere to see the national unity of Pakhtuns.

Let us analyse the strategy of the antagonist forces in Pakistan working against Pakhtuns in order to break their unity and prevent them from becoming ‘a power to reckon with’ on the map of the world.

1. Retaining the British administrative division of Pakhtunkhwa according to which Pakhtunkhwa was first separated from Afghanistan and was further subdivided into NWFP, FATA and Pakhtun belt of Attock, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan and Baluchistan.

2. Formation of Pro-Military and hence pro-Punjab constitution to safeguard the vested interests of Punjab.

3. Preventing the formation of popularly elected governments.

4. Intervention by military forces with the help of its agencies to pressurize the elected governments in case the elected governments want to do any legislation against the national interests of Punjab.

5. To topple the elected government if they dare to take any bold decision in the interests of masses against the will of the military forces.

6. To project the vested interests of Punjab and military forces synonymous with the national interests of Pakistan.

7. To deteriorate the law and order situation in Pakhtun regions by using military forces and its agencies to discourage investment and developmental work.

8. To compel the brain trust to migrate from the Pakhtun land so that Pakhtun land suffers from brain drain. The proof of the above cited fact is the continuous outflow and outsourcing of skilled human resource to Karachi, Middle East, Far East and Europe from Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan and the investment of Pakhtun businessmen and traders in the cities oft Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Lahore, Faisalabad and Karachi instead of investing in Pakhtun land.

9. Fabricating and catalyzing the differences between the Pakhtun and Non Pakhtun population of Afghanistan by infiltrating ISI agents into Taliban to fight against ISAF forces.

10. Projecting Taliban as the representative group of Pakhtuns so that the gulf of hatred could be inculcated between Pakhtun and ISAF forces on one side and between the Pakhtuns of Afghanistan and that of Pakistan on the other.

11. The operation of Military forces in FATA to support Taliban so they can hijack the tribal as well as settled areas of Pakhtunkhwa.

12. The support of Taliban by military forces from FATA region to back them up against the ISAF forces in Afghanistan and giving a wrong impression to the world that it is the Pakhtuns of the Tribal region who are responsible for supporting Taliban.

13. The hypocritical foreign policy of Pakistani establishment to talk about promoting mutual friendship and collaboration between Afghanistan and Pakistan and continuing military operations in the tribal areas of Pakhtunkhwa to make it a “no-go-area” for the common Pakhtuns and discourage rather prevent all sorts of mutual interaction between the Pakhtuns across the border.

14. Showing a tough stance on relations between India and Pakistan but at the same time opening all vistas of opportunity and mutual interaction between east and west Punjab.

Power is like money and lack of power is poverty. Money attracts more money and poverty brings more deprivation till it questions the very existence of the poor. Without power Pakhtuns are poor and their poverty will keep on depriving them of all their resources of livelihood till it finally threatens their survival.Pakhtun have witnessed the phase of their political and economic deprivation and now their very survival is under threat.Pakhtun are being killed and compelled to take revenge so that their mass killing can be justified, their victimization is the target of ethnic cleansing in Karachi, their massacre is in progress in FATA and they are suffering in the resonating explosions of bombs planted by Pakistani agencies in different cities of NWFP and Baluchistan.

The occupied Pakhtun heaven-on-earth is being wrongly projected as a safe haven for foreign terrorists. It seems that the atrocities and injustice against Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations in Pakistan will compel the Pakhtuns and their leadership to initiate a struggle for their survival and freedom. It is time to regain the political control of Pakhtun-soil in Pakistan by putting an end to the occupation of agencies once and for all before it is too late and life for a Pakhtun becomes something to hate. It is better to die for the freedom of Pakhtun soil

while raising your voice than to live like a slave in a country which is ready to sell your resources and quote your price.

Exploitation of Pakhtuns and Future of Pakistan

The major hurdle in the unification of Pakhtuns to become an effective political power is the imperialist technique of dividing Pakhtuns into geographical, religious and political groups to break their power and say in the helm of affairs. Several cards have been used against Pakhtuns in Pakistan to achieve that goal. The major reason due to which Pakhtuns have been weakened is the vested interests of Pakistani Establishment.

It is important to unleash the imperialist tactic of civil and military establishment of Pakistan by which they realize their nefarious designs. One of such tactic is to use religion, religious people and parties. This tactic has been used by Pakistani establishment against Pakhtuns to keep them weak and deprived of their legitimate right to rule their own land. The nations that are preaching Islam to Pakhtuns now were fighting against Pakhtuns under the flag of various imperialist powers. Back in history when the whole Muslim world including the holy cities of Makkah and Medina were under the control of figure heads appointed by the imperialist powers it was only the historic homeland of Pakhtuns – Afghanistan including the current NWFP,FATA,Pushton belt of Punjab and Baluchistan, which was enjoying an independent and sovereign status. Hence Islam might be a religion for the other nations of the world but it is a part and parcel of Pakhtun culture so much that Pakhtuns and Muslims are synonymous words.

Pukhtunwali – the ethical code of Pakhtuns has been a constituent element of Pakhtun life. Pakhtuns embraced Islam due to its compatibility with their social norms and ethical code called Pukhtunwali but unfortunately despite of sympathetic and respectful behaviour of Pakhtuns towards Islam and its preachers the religious demagogues and religious movements have used Pakhtuns to safeguard their vested political interests.

a) Syed Ahmed of Baraili – the leader of so called Tehreek Shaheedain - had to travel to the Pakhtuns areas to seek their help in order to establish his version of Islamic state. He was even made the Ameer-ul-Momineen of Peshawar by Pakhtuns but the movement could not do much good when it came to political power and consequently failed due to its narrow sectarian version of Islam.

b) Tableeghi Jumaat (TJ) movement is a seemingly non political movement headquartered in Punjab and is spread all over Pakistan including Pakhtunkhwa ,but least people know that it has been acting as a nursery for producing religious stereotypes that were used successfully by the military establishment under the leadership of ex-DG ISI. The movement has been indoctrinating Pakhtuns with their version of Islam trying to inculcate pro establishment and inert ideas into nationally deprived , economically poor and politically unaware Pakhtuns so that they can easily be mislead by the ISI backed demagogues later on whenever and wherever needed.

c) Jamaat-e- Islami Pakistan (JIP) never became prominent on the horizon of Pakistani Politics until its leadership emerged from Pakhtun belt and their vote bank in the Pakhtun areas is getting stronger with the passage of time but it is interesting to note that while the Pakhtun youth have been persuaded by the Jamaat to fight in Afghanistan and Kashmir for safeguarding the vested interests

of Pakistani Establishment ,the off-spring of the Jamaat leadership are getting equipped with modern education and technology in the west instead of killing themselves at the altar of Pakistani agencies.

d) The leadership of both factions of Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI) is from the Pakhtun regions and Islamist political parties under the umbrella of MMA have recently been elected by the Pakhtun majority areas of North and South Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP and Pakhtun areas of Baluchistan respectively) but what have they delivered to the Pakhtun nation except help legitimizing and prolonging the military regime of Musharraf.It suffices to say that Pakhtuns have always supported all those groups who have sought their help in the name of religion although the same groups have done least good to Pakhtuns in return and, on the contrary, have used religion against them to safeguard their vested interests.

Pakhtun have always been actively resilient against the domination of all exploiter classes once they came to know about their nefarious designs. Due to injustice and exploitation of oppressed nations specially Pakhtuns in Pakistan, the political events are heading to a scenario similar to that of late 40's and early 70's.History divided India giving birth to Pakistan. It further divided Pakistan due to injustices done to Bengalis by Punjabi establishment and Bangla Desh came into existence. It seems that due to the military regimes and opportunist cum exploitative nature of Pakistani establishment the count down has already begun for yet another division. This time it will be even more difficult to fight against this judgment of history because the military forces of Pakistan will have to fight against Pakhtuns and others oppressed nations of Pakistan.Pakhtuns are known to be in peace when they are at war for principles.

It is never prudent for any ruling junta to legitimize their vested interests by labelling them as national interests and to keep Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations deprived of their basic human rights including the right to rule their own land. It is not impossible that the deprivation of Pakhtuns might trigger the justified initiation of a struggle for the restoration of geopolitical status of Pakhtuns when they were a part of Afghanistan and were fraudulently made a part of the then Pakistan as a result of an unfair and biased referendum which was boycotted by the Khudai Khidmatgars – the sole Pakhtun representative movement in pre partition India. The hatred and antagonism of all oppressed nationalities and ethnic groups for Pakistani establishment is due to socio-politico-economic Injustice prevalent in Pakistan. These forces use all ways and means including religion, religious people and parties to keep Pakhtuns away from progress and prosperity and deprive them of their fundamental human rights.Pakhtuns should identify, retaliate and resist the unjust occupation of all exploiter groups which include army, intelligence agencies, civil bureaucracy, pro-establishment political parties, religious theocracy, biased state-controlled-media and pseudo - intelligentsia. All these exploiter groups are the real enemies of Pakhtuns. Pakhtuns of all land should unite and fight for their rights.

First Pashto channel and Pakhtun expectation level

The first Pashto channel is celebrating its third anniversary. The launching of AVT Khyber - the first Pashto channel in July 2004 was major good news for Pakhtuns despite the reservations of a section of Pakhtun intelligentsia who were considering it as an effort by the establishment to distort the Pakhtun values and social structure and convince the Pakhtuns that they had so called freedom in Pakistan. On the contrary it was considered by the optimists to be a dream come true and a medium to plead the case of Pakhtuns' fight for their rights. It was seen as a ray of hope which Pakhtuns saw after the darkness of decades of war, devastation and disasters as a result of which they got rejuvenated and revitalized and in their excitement raised their level of expectations.

The keen, meticulous and perfectionist nature of Pakhtuns always appreciates the courage but not the wisdom of an initiative until they either compel it to excel or make it obsolete. Consequently Khyber channel had to revise its initial policies along with the change of its management to come unto the expectations of its audience. Since then it has been trying to improve though it has compromised on its pioneering stance of being the representative channel of Pakhtun community.

It seems that Khyber channel is under commercial compulsions, financial constraints as well as political pressures and the Pakistani establishment is directing it to mould the Pakhtun public opinion on sensitive political issues to a view which serves their vested interests. In the contemporary competitive and challenging world of media, it will be wise for Khyber channel to devise popular policies to attract Pakhtun audience across the globe as it does not enjoy the status of being the only Pashto channel anymore and other Pashto TV channels like "Shamshad" and "Lemar" of Afghanistan are already there to give tough competition to Khyber channel.

The following policy principles are recommended for a channel claiming to be the representative of Pakhtun nation:

1) Promote and Propagate Pashto and Pakhtun culture.
2) Project Pakhtun "Pohaand" [Intelligentsia].
3) Keep the channel independent by giving major coverage to Afghanistan.
4) Project Pakhtun land as tourist paradise and the main route to central and south Asia.
5) Use the channel for education with major focus on science and technology.

The following is a list of recommendations for further improvement:

1) The presenters of the programs who are able to talk in original Pashto accent should be given opportunity as critics are considering the gloomy side of Khyber channel as an effort to distort Pashto and Pakhtun culture due to inclusion of too much Urdu and non-Pashto speakers.

2) The Music programs planned to be transmitted, despite of their good quality, seem to be a little more than what could be absorbed by Pashtuns. The inclusion of dance culture in music videos seems to be an effort to indianise Pakhtun

society. A channel claiming to be Pakhtun family channel should refrain from such negative trends.

3) It is suggested to present traditional and modern music giving due regard to the cultural acceptance factor. Striking a fine balance between the old and the new will be appreciated by the Pakhtun community.

4) Pashto educational programs should be produced. The efforts of Virtual University Pakistan and Ujala TV UAE are good examples in this regard. Distant learning programs should be commenced to promote literacy & education. An effort in the fire fighting mode for pointing out the defects in Lord Macaulay's colonial legacy and confused Pakistani educational system along with the reformation of educational system on scientific grounds is the cry of the day. Career guidance and student counselling programs to highlight job prospects should be considered in conjunction with the effort for educating the masses.

5) A separate program for teaching Pashto is a must. Programs on the prose and poetry of Pashto along with the personalities associated with it would compel the historian of the future to thank this channel for its contribution to the development and promotion of Pashto literature.

6) It is suggested to give a new touch to Pashto drama by using it as a literary medium to project true Pakhtun culture in addition to reforming the negative trends present in the Pakhtun society. The inculcation of Political awareness in the Pakhtun society should not be ignored or overlooked.

7) Any effort to use the channel for social accountability in the interest of the masses will be help the society to get rid of corruption and reformation of institutions.

8) Talk shows on burning and banned topics related to Pakhtun nation with representatives from the opposite camps would reflect the genuine views of the oppressed Pakhtuns in Pakistan.

9) News should be transmitted round the clock and repetition should be avoided. The substance of the news should increase the credibility of the channel and viewers should be able to recognize the difference between ATV and AVT Khyber.

10) The focus of the news should be the Pakhtun community across the globe especially those of Afghanistan and Pakistan while the content of the news should be different from the ISPR oriented propaganda presented on PTV as news. The technical style of presenting news, headlines, alerts and breaking news needs a lot of quality and aesthetic improvement.

11) Documentaries should be borrowed from English channels like Discovery, BBC, National Geographic and Explorations TV and dubbed into Pashto in case it is difficult for the channel to produce documentaries of international calibre. It will be appreciated however if efforts are made to produce more professional documentaries related to the problems and issues of Pakhtuns in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

12) Detailed interview and "hard talk" sessions should be conducted with Pakhtun

personalities from all walks of life including scientists, information technology professionals, doctors, engineers, technologists, literary people, poets, artists, players etc.

13) The religious programs should be more interactive sessions than hypnotic and indoctrinating sermons. The advocates of scientific schools of thought like scepticism, agnosticism, nationalism and socialism etc should be given chance to question the dogmatic, non-progressive and pro-establishment versions of religion prevalent in Pakhtun society.

14) Program for projecting the hill stations and historical places in NWFP and Baluchistan to promote tourism should be in the priority list of a channel which claims to be a Pakhtun community channel.

15) The website designed for Khyber channel is a heavy one and takes a lot of time to open contrary to those of other channels which have more substance but can still be opened easily by web surfers.

The Khyber channel still has the choice of creating history by helping achieve the summum-bonum of liberating an occupied and oppressed nation to live freely according to their historical norms of Pukhtunwali while it can become history itself and get dissolved into the fathomless ocean of time if it turned out to be just another business venture which airs its voice to become comparatively clear and loud instead of becoming "pride of the proud".

The Political Role of Military in Pakistan

It is mind boggling to know that most of the time the most revered persons, tombs, concepts, books, places, and institutions have been used for the exploitation of masses on mass level in the third world countries.e.g the names or tombs of religious saints have been the biggest source of income for their descendents or believers, the concept of determinism has been making it easy for the kings and monarchs to rule the fate- struck masses of the east, the holy places worldwide have been used to attract masses to invest their money in search of peace of mind or fulfillment of their wishful prayers, the dissemination and propagation of sectarian religious books have been serving the purpose of bringing out the worst in humanity and compelling them to fall prey to the commercial trap of their propagators at the same time similarly the institutions of Pakistan military is using India phobia to get a lion's share in the budget of Pakistan.

In Pakistan almost all the institutions necessary for the proper functioning of the state have been jeopardised so it is necessary to crack the code of the virus which is responsible for their mal-functioning rather dysfunctioning of this failed state. To the surprise of the state-indoctrinated and suffering masses of Pakistan and the mislead portfolio-holders of Pentagon in the United Sates, that virus which is resident in the roots of the Pakistani system is Pakistan Army. The institution of Army and its associated Agencies has been actively involved in grabbing the reigns of power to become a dictatorial, authoritarian and autocratic regime and decide the fate of billions of people of Pakistan.

Army is considered as a sacred cow in Pakistan by its ex-worshiper Punjabi majority. It is blasphemous to utter even a single word against the immoral and terrorising activities of Pakistan army and its associated agencies like ISI ,MI and IB because the main argument of all military and dictatorial regimes, to justify their illegitimate tenures and refute any criticism, has always been the misuse of the ambiguous phrase “Everything we do is in the national interest of Pakistan”.

Let us have a quick look at the charge sheet against this organised and revered institution which has been technically competent for being financially and politically corrupt, desperate and determined to kill anyone who can raise a voice against their atrocities and injustices and ever ready to squeeze major chunk of the budget of a third world country like Pakistan to quench its thirst for power.

The power-grabbing strategy of Pakistan military works as follows:

1) The Punjabi-majority army shows its allegiance and loyalty against all known human standards of self respect and national interest to the United States alleging the politicians to be immature to handle nukes responsibly.

2) After the official acknowledgement from the Whitehouse, it then exaggerates the US concerns in the region and offers its services to help achieve US national interests in the region.

3) Depending on the political scenario and circumstances the military awaits the green signal from the Whitehouse to grab the reigns of power till the sanction is granted by the decision makers in the Pentagon.

4) Based on the assurances of the Whitehouse Army uses Intelligence agencies to exploit any mistake or weak point to topple the government.

5) Once the army comes into power it faces the question of legitimacy to face the free world and world media.

6) It easily gets legitimacy from the Judiciary by offering incentives to those who long for it while use force and tactics of extortion, pressure ,threats and sacking to the resilient ones.

7) After getting legitimacy it gives a fake and imaginary vision to the masses win give a catharsis to the latent hatred and rebellion of the masses against the system and benefactors.

8) To suppress and divide the masses and keep their attention diverted from the real cause of unrest, the common dirty job all military regimes do in Pakistan is the fabrication of ethnic and religious terrorist organisations.

9) Over a period of time , the tenure of the regime due to its incompetence, misuse of power ,wrong and unpopular policies culminates in the destruction of institutions followed by corruption and misappropriation which in turn gives birth to injustice and hence unrest in the masses. Then with the help of ISI and other agencies, Army fabricates a king's party and holds an engineered election to bring them into power by buying their vote and promising incentives and power sharing in the future.

10) Due to the appointment of fake political figures and titular representatives in the king's party the government is unable to deliver due to which the masses gets agitated once again and the agencies comes into action once again on the directive of the high-ups in Army to find out alternative plan to keep the reigns of power in military hands.

Let me quote two shameful examples briefly:

a) The first example from the black history of Pakistan was the emergence of General Zia-ul- Haq ,who offered the services of Pakistan army and agencies to defeat Russia and contain it to Afghanistan in the name of religion, propagated religion to win the sympathies of masses, fabricated Sipah Sahaba and Sipah Mohammad to polarise the society on sectarian basis ,established and encouraged MQM - the largest ethnic terrorist network in the history of Pakistan, formed IJI , killed or imprisoned all those who raised a voice against his dictatorship, used and projected religious demagogues who justified his regime.

b) The second example is the current dark and dictatorial military regime of Pervez Mushharaf,who toppled the democratic government of Nawaz

Sharif ,exploited the new slogan of ‘Pakistan first’ and accountability ,offered the services of army to kill Taliban and Al-Qaeda - both of whom were harboured , trained ,financed and encouraged by ISI in different cities of Punjab, fabricated PML-Q as the king’s party and bought the votes of religious parties to further strengthen his regime.

In the conclusion let me quote France based Syed Jamaluddin who was forced to leave Pakistan after military coup of General Pervez Musharraf in 1999.He has elaborated the role of Army and ISI in Pakistan in his book "Divide Pakistan to eliminate terrorism" published in 2006 about the issues related to terrorism and Pakistan. He writes:

[“Pakistan is the central headquarters of all terrorist activities under the authoritative command of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) an organ of Pakistan Army who have been sheltering ethnic and religious terrorists organizations in the country through military as well as financial support”]

Putting light on the pro-Punjab policies of ISI regarding using Taliban against small provinces he writes:

[“Inter Services Intelligence Agency (ISI) is the real government in Pakistan. It is part of the ISI’s well-established policy to organize violent pro-Taliban protest demonstrations against the United States in the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan and NWFP (North West Frontier Province) and keep the province of Punjab away from these demonstrations and strikes”]

Regarding patronising the fanatic, extremist and even terrorist groups against US and sacrificing the innocent people of minority provinces at the altar of military he writes:

[“The United States and international community assured the Pakistani rulers that if they extend co-operation to United States and international community in the war against terrorism, Pakistan would get the legitimate fruits of such co-operation. After these assurances of the International Community the ISI conspired to activate the religious and so-called Jihadi groups on their payroll to use the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan and NWFP (North-West Frontier Province) provinces as their battleground against United States and International Community. This conspiracy to use the minority provinces was aimed to give the United States of America and the International Community a completely wrong impression that people living in these provinces are against USA while the real situation is totally different.”]

Highlighting the double game played by Pakistan Army to depict a wrong picture of the smaller provinces on one side and deceiving the world community on the other , he goes on to tell us about the real safe haven to harbour terrorism in Pakistan:

[“Pakistan Army through its terrorism network called ISI has made an attempt to tarnish the image of small provinces of present Pakistan on one hand and on the other to deceive USA and the International Community. It is a bitter truth that the province of Punjab is the hub of all the fanatical and so-called Jihadi groups and the Headquarters of all the fanatical and extremists groups are situated in

different cities of the province of Punjab like Lahore, Multan, Jhang, Faisalabad and Nankana. The ISI's "game" to deceive the United States and international community would not last long and this act of deception would reach to its logical conclusion. When that happens the world would know who actually benefited by deceiving others and who lost, whereas who was deceived by whom and who was hoodwinked."]

Pakhtuns and Military Regime in Pakistan

Pakistan came into existence as a result of a struggle which did not have any roots in the masses. Since then it has been a laboratory for different imperialist powers to install dictatorial regimes of their choices to safeguard their vested interests. The latest puppet regime is that of an Indian immigrant Pervez Musharaf.General Musharraf came into power as a result of Coup det'at .Pakistan army as usual supported his dictatorship. He has been playing a dirty game of power politics to justify his illegitimate regime with the help of secret agencies since October 1999.He was given the opportunity to rule Pakistan after 9/11 by the US to own their war on terrorism. The task assigned to him was to control Afghanistan and also kill Pakhtuns in the tribal areas of Pakistan who were allegedly supporting the foreign terrorists despite of the fact that all the religious extremists were originally invited and encouraged by the secret agencies of Pakistan during the Afghan war.

Musharraf made the strategy of blackmailing US to support him and using army and secret agencies to legitimize his dictatorship. The analysis of his strategy is as follows:

1) The targeted killing of the ISAF and Afghan forces by the secret agencies using Taliban as a result of which the Afghan and NATO forces reacted and their bombing killed innocent Afghans specially Pakhtuns.

2) This targeted killing of Afghan and ISAF forces pressurized the NATO and Afghan government and gave idea to the external world that the Taliban are being supported from the tribal areas on the Pak-Afghan border. It also created hatred and mistrust in the Pakhtuns on both sides of the controversial border.

3) It was propagated by the secret agencies that the tribal people were supporting the Taliban and talibanisation was going on in the tribal areas so a military operation in the tribal areas was necessary. Innocent Pakhtuns were massacred brutally .Media was not permitted to report the killing of Pakhtuns in the tribal areas. Using this propaganda Pakistan army justified the massacre of Pashtuns in the tribal areas as a result of its military operation.

4) On the other side of the border in Afghanistan ,due to targeted killing of the ISAF and Afghan forces the NATO forces expedited their bombings in Southern Afghanistan killing innocent Pakhtuns.

5) Detonation of Bombs were carried out in most of the cities of Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP) and Kurram agency during the Moharram and Rabiul awwal of 2007 so that people could confuse it with sectarian killings to give the impression to the world that talibanisation was being exported to the settled areas of NWFP too from the tribal areas. It also gave political advantage to the Musharraf Government. Consequently Pakistan sent a signal to the US to win her sympathies and financial aid in the war against terror.

The second card played by the Presidential team which also affected Pakhtuns badly was challenging the sanctity of Judiciary by showing power to a judge was upholding the sanctity of Judiciary in military ruled state like Pakistan and

challenged the privatization of national assets like Pakistan Steel, kidnapping of those persons who tried to expose the injustices done by the ISI and MI and to revert the attention of the masses from other issues like:

1) The growing unrest of Pakhtuns due to injustice being done to Pakhtunkhwa for example in the case of water and its net profit.

2) The question of Provincial Autonomy.

3) The importance of Pak-Afghan Jirga to settle the difference of opinion over cross border infiltration into Afghanistan by Pakistani agencies and killings of innocent Pakhtuns on both sides of the controversial border.

The third step of Musharraf regime which affected Pakhtuns was when the street of Mardan and Peshawar were resonating with the noise of bombs blasted by Pakistani agencies using the name of ISI backed Taliban. The intention was to project Pakhtunkhwa as a disturbed area lacking peace and to prove that Pakistan was trying to justify the promised 3 billion dollar aid from US for curbing the war against terror by projecting Pakhtunkhwa as the next area which Taliban are going to hijack.

The interview of Ryan Crocker with AVT Khyber confirmed the strategy of Pakistani due to which they had to extend the plan of hijacking the settled areas of Pakhtunkhwa in addition to its tribal areas in the name of Taliban by sending threatening letters to saloon owners, CD shops and girl schools. Still more steps are expected from the GHQ to extend the military .As of now legislature, judiciary and media have already been jeopardized to achieve the result of extending military tenure.

Near future will show the reactions of all these actions which are being witnessed by the people of Pakistan who now know all the fake techniques of the military regime to prolong its unjust rule in Pakistan. The whole aim of military regime is nothing else except the extension of its tenure. The strongest argument to be used will be the possible attack of US on Iran but even if it doesn't happen the Plan B is already in place to keep the reigns of power in Military arms.Pakhtuns should not get erred in pointing out their enemy. It has always been the religious theocracy and civil cum military beaureocracy which has made plots to destroy and devastate Pakhtun regions and sacrifice Pakhtuns at the altar of their vested interests.

Electronic Media and Pakhtun National Interest

The 21st century is unfolding to be a century of media which is rightly considered as the 4th pillar of the state. Electronic media has assumed the role of mirror which is reflecting the incident rays of unpopular government policies to the crying and affected masses of most of the third world and Arab countries due to Autocratic governments. In the contemporary age, with the help of psychological warfare, media is used as a weapon to fight more than the military might. This implies that the fight for the rights has become a challenge for all those phenomenally free but noumenally occupied nations that are struggling against the injustice and exploitation. The projection and propagation of the electronic media is an effective tool to educate and motivate the poor and oppressed masses of a nation as well as to expose the blind aggressive forces responsible for their deprivation and poverty.

In Pakistan, the electronic media became the axis of people's attention when it gave glimpses of the real picture of Pakistani establishment and the dirty game played by military government to hide the bitter realities from the masses. The courageous role of electronic media in the coverage of instances like Presidential reference against CJP, the attack on Islamabad office of GEO TV channel by Punjab Police, the targeted killing of ANP, PPP and PTI workers and firing on Karachi office of AAJ TV channel by the terrorists of MQM etc - was highly appreciated by everyone who saw that coverage. Moreover the policies of Pakistani establishment regarding the continuity of state terrorism in the form of military operations in Baluchistan and FATA, cross-border infiltration of Pakistani agencies, as mistakenly confessed by the foreign minister, into Afghanistan and planting of bombs in the NWFP was another dictated policy which was exposed by the electronic media.

It is important to analyse the impact of electronic media on the dynamics of Pakhtun politics because the state-controlled-electronic media of Pakistan has been negatively used for the last few decades to propagate sugar-coated disinformation in the Pakhtuns by giving them a false sense of being a part of a "regional community" instead of being part of five thousand year old nation. On the political front, the absence of Pakhtun electronic media in the recent past has resulted in fruitless and futile exercises to highlight the real issues which are of vital importance for the future of Pakhtun nation viz:

1) The absence of third option for Pakhtuns of NWFP, FATA, Baluchistan and West Punjab to join their motherland – Afghanistan, by the British in the referendum at the time of Indian partition (due to which the Khudai Khidmatgar movement boycotted the referendum).

2) The legal status of the Durand line separating Pakhtuns from their motherland.

3) The criminal negligence of Pakistani establishment on the status quo over the colonial division of Pakhtuns into NWFP, FATA, Baluchistan and West Punjab after the division of India.

4) The labelling of Pakhtun political struggle for provincial autonomy and basic human rights as anti-state by Pakistani establishment.

5) Keeping the Pakhtun nation detached from the glorious Afghan history and central Asian roots by associating them with Indian and Arab heroes in order to condition Pakhtuns for accepting a fake identity.

6) Continuous exploitation of the natural resources of Pakhtun land by pro-Punjab establishment using Firangee - loyal families to prolong their unawareness and ignorance about fundamental human rights.

7) Using anti-Pakhtun political ideologies to control the reigns of power in Pakhtun land.

8) Exploiting the poverty of Pakhtuns by Punjabi establishment to use Pakhtuns against their fellow brethren who were struggling to get the fundamental human rights for their nation.

9) Using the tribal belt of FATA as a buffer zone to protect the rest of Pakistan rather the vested interest of Punjab while rewarding the local Pakhtuns with indifferent and corrupt agencies-controlled- federal government to implement the inhuman FCR laws which is “license-to-kill” anyone without giving a fair trial to the accused.

10) Keeping the religious demagogues on the payroll of the Pakistani agencies and giving them the job of indoctrinating Pakhtuns with a retrogressive version of the religion to keep them away from all roads leading to progress and prosperity of Pakhtun nation.

In short it has been the absence of electronic media and lack of projection and propagation that the capabilities and energies of Pakhtuns have been exploited for the protection and promotion of anti-Pakhtun vested interests. In such circumstances independent Pakhtun electronic media is the only source which can give a sigh of relief to Pakhtun nation – a nation which has been confused intellectually and disintegrated geo-politically by the establishment of Pakistan. The management of Pakhtun electronic media has to do the Herculean job of amalgamating the orient with the occident if they want to highlight the real issues of Pakhtuns.Playing this courageous and historical role against the will of oppressive and dictatorial policies of Pakistani establishment is the cry of the day and is in the national interest of Pakhtun nation.

The Future of Pakhtuns

Pakhtuns have resilient nature due to which they have passed the test of time and challenges of history and have survived as a nation. One of the reasons, why Pakhtuns have never been conquered in history is their resilient nature. These qualities of Pakhtuns have been inspiring them to fight for the right, resist foreign aggression and say no to dictation.

Pakhtuns have been role models against aggression and injustice for the nations of the world and history is a witness to this fact. The freedom struggle against the British rule in India, the defeat of the British in Afghanistan ,the defeat of Russian forces, the liberation of the current Azad Kashmir by Pakhtuns of Waziristan, the raising of voice against the massacre of Muslims in Indian Gujarat, refusal of Pakhtuns to say “Yes Sir” to the dictatorial regime of Musharraf ,raising voice against the massacre of innocent Pakhtuns by Pakistani agencies in Pakhtunkhwa and protest against the targeted killing of Pakhtuns by the terrorist network of MQM in Karachi are few examples from the recent past.

Despite their glorious past, the Pakhtun nation between Oxus and Indus is at a critical juncture of its history. Three decades of war has literally devastated the infrastructure in Afghanistan - the motherland of Pakhtuns. Pakistan is continuously trying to destabilize the elected government of Afghanistan using ISI – trained- Taliban within Afghanistan and aggravating the Pakhtuns living in Pakhtunkhwa against Afghan government by planting bombs in Pakhtunkhwa and putting the blame on Afghanistan. The religiously active and ISI-backed-Taliban in Afghanistan are fighting against the ISAF forces and trying to take over the reigns of power to implement their version of Islam which suits the vested interests of Pakistani establishment. On the contrary the common Pakhtuns in Afghanistan are suffering and are getting concerned about the future of Afghanistan due to the political turmoil and instability caused by the fight between the ISI-backed-Taliban and ISAF forces and also some internal ethnic differences between Pakhtun and non Pakhtun population.

Contrary to the fake and false statements of the so called officers of Pakistan Army, the agencies have been providing a safe haven to the terrorists of Al-Qaida in the cities of Punjab and Karachi while Musharraf regime has been diverting the focus of the world community from sanctuaries of Al-Qaida terrorists in the cities of Punjab and Karachi and misleading the world community by pointing fingers to his political rivals - the Pakhtuns who have been refusing to accept his illegitimate regime. After the retrieval of top leaders of Al Qaeda in the past ,the world community including US should understand and get convinced that protecting Al-Qaeda in the cities of Punjab and Karachi is Pakistani strategy while Taliban despite of being involved in fight against ISAF in Afghanistan, is a multiethnic group having military experts from Pakistan Army and Intelligence agencies.

The politically active but practically passive divided Pakhtuns of Pakistan living in NWFP, FATA, Baluchistan, Western Punjab (Attock and Mianwali) and Karachi are suffering economically as well as politically due to Pro-Punjab-Mahajir Civil and Military beoureocracy, biased institutions and a dictated constitution. The Pakhtuns of Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP, FATA and Pakhtun belt of Punjab and

Baluchistan) have been facing the indifferent and discriminatory policies of Pakistani establishment. They were used against their fellow Afghan brothers in the name of religion and were punished for not showing the unjustified loyalty to the dictatorial regimes that have been in power in Pakistan. All the revenue that has been earned from the water and mineral resources of Pashtuns have been going to the pockets of the Pakistani establishment for the last sixty years.

Despite all these sacrifices of Pakhtuns at the altar of Pakistan, the extreme injustice is that Pakhtuns have been projected as fanatic and terrorists by the state-controlled media and are still intentionally kept backward and deprived of basic human rights. The Punjabi dominated establishment of Pakistan has left no stones unturned to keep Pakhtuns geo-politically divided, economically poor and deprived nation. In the current geo-political scenario when the resources of Pakhtuns are being exploited by the Punjab dominated institutions in Pakistan, the only option Pakhtuns have for their existence and survival is political struggle to fight for their rights.

The focus of the struggle for claiming the rights of Pakhtuns should be the following:

1) To reclaim and unite the Pakhtun majority areas of current “NWFP”, “FATA”, Pakhtun areas of Western Punjab like Attock & Mianwali and Pakhtun part of Baluchistan (which constitutes more than 45 percent of Baluchistan) into a single united province which should be preferably called Pakhtunkhwa.

2) To claim complete provincial autonomy, royalty of all the natural resources including water along with its profit from WAPDA, natural gas and precious stone etc, limiting the federal responsibilities to few portfolios, effective devolution of powers from centre to provinces and proportionate representation in all federal institutions.

3) To claim extra budget for education and development on priority and emergency basis for the deprived areas of Pakhtuns from federal government which has been enjoying all the aid, for the last three decades, that has been given by the world community for the development and rehabilitation of Pakhtuns but which has been used for killing Pakhtuns on both sides of the border.

The major problem of Pakhtuns is not the claim for name or identity of their province in a state which itself is suffering from identity crises due to having an alien language as its national language. The major issue of Pakhtuns is to put and end to the status quo on the historic injustice done to the Pakhtun nation as a result of which their unity was torn apart and they were intentionally divided into different administrative units to prevent their united struggle for basic human rights including the right to govern their own land.

The history of nations is witness to the fact that blood is thicker than water. Though idealistic it might sound but it seems that the forces of history will compel Pakhtuns of Pakistan and Afghanistan to get rid of the controversial border dividing the Pakhtuns of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This would be a feasible solution for peace in south Asia because contrary to other nations of Pakistan, Pakhtuns are not Indians by origin and hence have no grudge, jealousy or rivalry

either with the inhabitants of current India or those of current Pakistan. The failure to have an Afghanistan without the current Pakhtuns of Pakistan would result in an unstable Afghanistan which would definitely affect Pakistan and South Asia because Pakhtuns can only die for Pukhtunwali or religion but never for a country whose army, establishment, terrorist groups and ethnic parties have been involved in killing their kins and are ever ready not to spare any other chance to repeat the same criminal role.

Militarily troubled Pakistan and terribly administered Tribals

Pakistan was hijacked by the civil and military beaureocracy after its creation to control the state of affairs. This control made it an unfair state instead of a welfare state. It was the fallacious vision and vested interests of Pakistani leaders due to which genuine political leadership was not encouraged to come forward and take the reigns of power to empower the masses of Pakistan and lead them towards the goals of progress and prosperity.

The poor but proud sons of the land especially Pakhtuns, Baluch and Sindhis who raised their voice against the exploitative policies of the puppet popular governments and military regimes for their legitimate rights were dealt with an iron hand and state propaganda was used to defame them and distort their image in the masses. On the contrary despite being part of the third world, India is transforming itself into a world power and asserting herself in the world community. UAE in the Middle East and Finland in Europe are good examples. These countries have evolved a stable system in relatively much lesser time. India is even asking for a seat in Security Council due to its strong institutions. The constitutional safety to the institutional-building-reforms has put India on the road to progress and progressive development. The reason for the glorious march of Indian nation towards becoming a probable super power of the 21st century is nothing except its strong institutions.

The critical evaluation of socio-politico-economic vision in the synthetic political nomenclature of Pakistan history gives a dark and gloomy picture.

1. In the British India Muslim League were using the slogan of an Islamic ideological (theocratic) state as envisioned in Lahore resolution based on Muslim nationalism. It aimed at realizing the dream of establishing an ideological state based on the tenets of Islam. It proved wrong with the creation of Bangla Desh.

2. After partition though the pre partition vision of Islamic republic was encapsulated in objective resolution but when the first constitution of Pakistan was enacted the objective resolution was kept in directive principles and not in operative clauses due to its impracticality.

3. In the dictatorial regimes upto Ayub Khan, the vision shifted to Industrial targets but due to lack of institutionalization the dream could not be realized.

4. Bhutto gave a democratic cum socialistic vision to the nation but US with the help of military establishment did not let him complete his agenda. He left a valuable legacy of framing a constitution which was, although, not according to the wishes of all the major nationalities living in Pakistan but reflected the aspirations of the cross section of people living in west Pakistan.

5. When power was usurped by General Zia he deceived the whole nation with the so called Islamisation vision and instead of presenting it as a system of social justice which could be somewhat acceptable to the people of Pakistan, he used it as a militant ideology to safeguard US interests and justify his illegitimate military

regime. Millions of Afghans and Pakhtuns were sacrificed at the altar of the political cum military interests of both US and Pakistan. The whole nation was indoctrinated with the holy war philosophy to prepare them to sacrifice their lives for containing the Anti American revolutions in Afghanistan and Iran. All current day sectarian and militant groups including Mahajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) and top of them all the Al-Qaeda were fabricated in Zia regime by ISI and CIA.

6. During the incomplete political tenures of Benazir and Nawaz positive steps were taken to give a popular vision to the nation but due to short span, corruption and military interruption it could not be realized.

7. The military regime of Musharraf had to shift the focus to a progressive vision but at the cost of sovereignty and self respect of the nation. After he became an ally in the war against terrorism by the United States which is infact a war against imperialism by the divided states of the third world especially Muslims states, Musharraf had to neutralize the effects of his predecessor General Zia who encouraged, nourished, created and aided the terrorist groups with the help of ISI and CIA during his regime.

The first mistake of the Musharraf regime was opting to join the so called war against terrorism which was aimed at targeting and then controlling all those states which had the potential of becoming threats to the political hegemony of United States in its post 9/11 world global vision.

The second mistake he committed was that after becoming ally with the United Sates and getting aid to combat terrorism in Pakistan he used the aid to strengthen his political stature instead of using it to eliminate the reactionary Arab terrorist group called Al-Qaeda which targets the educated lot and ex-military personnel to plan and use poor religious youth to carry their operations from various cities of Pakistan.

The third mistake which his regime did was that his corrupt ministers and military establishment used the US financial support to increase its strategic depth in Afghanistan to make it unstable by aiding Taliban despite of repeated protests by the Karzai government to stop cross border infiltration into Afghanistan.

When ISI-backed Taliban became stronger enough in Afghanistan to pressurize Karzai government, they were hijacked by educated beaureocrats and ex-military Pakistani men of Al-Qaeda operating in Pakistan and the innocent Pakhtuns of Pakistan had to face the consequences of their political influence after the djinn came out of the bottle to target Pakistan itself. The same mistake was done by NATO forces in Afghanistan. Instead of acting as peace keeping forces, helping the Afghan government to form and equip a national army, establishing the infrastructure, providing security to investors and working for the welfare of Afghans, the search of NATO forces for the ISI-backed Taliban resulted in a lot of casualties due to which they started loosing the sympathies of Afghans.

The current situation is that ISI-backed Taliban are getting strength throughout Pakistan and the planners and sympathizers of Al-Qaeda are misleading them to achieve their ulterior motives. Terrorism is an Arab reactionary phenomenon. Neither Afghans across the Durand line nor Pakistanis ever approved of it in the past.

The latest gift of wrong Pakistani policies is the US warning of challenging the sovereignty of Pakistan by attacking the Tribals who have been serving as volunteer army for Pakistan and offered volunteer services in conquering the current Azad Kashmir while the army has been enjoying all the perks and portfolios for more than four decades in Pakistan history. Having been a part of invincible Afghanistan for centuries it is a shame for a ruling and historic nation like Pakhtuns to live in a state which has given nothing to them – not even a name to their region but has looted everything from them except their sense of pride and honour.

It is against the psyche of Pakhtuns to buy submission at the cost of freedom and compromise on their honour by not retaliating against any aggression. The people in the tribal belt and Pashtuns are totally innocent and they have no idea whatsoever about Al-Qaeda which had been based in the past in cities like Rawalpindi due to the ISI headquarters or in Lahore due to Global religious headquarter of Raiwind or in Karachi due to being a big metropolis from which Al-Qaeda leader like SKM was arrested in the past.

The following strategy should be adopted to prevent any potential extremism in the fraudulently administered Tribal areas FATA:

1. Political parties should be allowed in the tribal areas so that the unemployed and illiterate people get political awareness and do not fall prey to the indoctrination of the religious demagogues.

2. It is recommended to convert the existing madrassas into schools which teach modern science & technology subjects in addition to the religious subjects.

3. Establish industries in the tribal belt. Industrialization creates its own culture and values and changes the thinking, lifestyle, needs and life goals of individual. It is a real and practical tool for cultural engineering. Values and culture are products of technology.

4. Practical steps should be taken to make tribal areas as industrial zones and tourist resorts so that the youth get employed. Unemployment has to be uprooted from underdeveloped areas especially tribal areas as it has been the root cause for the youngsters of these areas to get attracted towards madrassas which work on charity basis.

5. Formal education, technical education and vocational training should be introduced to facilitate the industrialization process.6. Political reforms should be introduced by abandoning the colonial legacy of FCR and merging the tribal areas with the mainstream Pakhtuns regions of NWFP, Attock, Mianwali and Pakhtun belt of Baluchistan to make a united province called Pakhtunkhwa.

Political Autonomy for Pakhtuns

Political autonomy is the first pre-requisite for the progress and development of a nation. If we trace back the reasons for the underdevelopment of a nation all of them converge to one root cause and that is - the lack of political autonomy.

All imperialist,exploitative,dictatorial,authoritarian and fascist governments convince and even compel the masses to help themselves in health, security , education and other basic human rights which are infact the primary responsibilities of every government. On the contrary they leave no stone unturned to continue their never ending thirst for loot and plunder of the national resources. In third world countries even religious beliefs like determinism are used to pacify and convince the masses to content themselves to their existing resources and avoid raising voice for their rights and share in the resources of the country.

The main technique used by authoritarian governments to deprive masses from their legitimate rights and divert their attention from the real issues to virtual issues is the good old principle of “divide and rule” .

This technique is used in the following forms:

1) Encouraging religious clashes and sectarianism.

2) Using state controlled electronic and print media and ads-dependent private media for false propaganda.

3) Using state sponsored terrorism to suppress or kill all those voices which are raised against the usurpers.

4) Hijacking, terrorising and even killing the second level and in some cases top leadership of anti-government groups and parties.

5) Engaging the masses by creating confusion and disappointment. The demands of a disorganized mob have always been helping status quo while an organised and systematic demand based on a vision has been fruitful in history. In case of Pakhtuns, their indifferent attitude towards national problems due to poverty and their victimization by the state have been the main reasons of diverting their attention, diverging their energies, disillusioning their goal and diluting their efforts.

Thanks to the media which is projecting the state sponsored drama in the tribal areas by Pak forces and war against terror by US that Pakhtuns are identifying their internal and external enemies viz military establishment , civil bureaucracy , pro-establishment parties and the US. Private electronic media has contributed a lot to the political consciousness of Pakhtuns so much so that Pakistan government had to close Pashto programs on the national television and shift the segment of Pashto programs to another government channel which is only available via satellite and hence not accessible by the majority of Pakhtun masses.

The detonation of bombs by secret agencies in Pakhtunkhwa to create law and order situation and execution of a well thought plan to make ISI-backed talibanisation phenomenon synonymous with Pakhtun nationalism is in progress. The target of this effort is to pave the way for the ethnic cleansing of Pakhtuns first in the Pakhtun land and then all over Pakistan specially in the native city of General Musharraf who is inclined politically to US and ethnically to MQM both of whom are anti-Pashtun forces. All the efforts of Musharraf are being focused on Pakhtun areas as it serves both the purposes of US as well as MQM.At the same time maligning of Pakhtuns by projecting them as extremists, inclined to terrorism and hence justified to be killed by the "Pak" forces alone without getting help from the US forces is understandable in the given context. The provincial autonomy bill which is infact a bitter pill both for the dictatorial regime as well as for establishment has suddenly disappeared from the political scenario.

The combined force of the opposition and the credibility of the major parties have already been damaged as a result of a well thought plan. The only threat to the Musharraf regime is from the Judiciary which is being pressurized again by Musharraf's ethnic party - MQM in Karachi and to which a warning signal in the form of violation of SC ruling was sent on 10th September 2007 by deporting Nawaz Sharif.

Pakhtuns are destined to suffer more in the future both at the hands of local as well as foreign enemies if they do not realize the gravity of situation and get rid of the optimistic self deceit they are deeply engrossed in for the last 60 years. The most they are going to get from the heirs of colonial masters is a name for the current NWFP province and some portfolios for the seasonal, opportunist, firangee loyal, Muslim league type black sheep elements among the Pakhtun nation. Obviously this palliative treatment is not going to solve the problems of Pakhtun nation whose very survival is at stake in Pakistan. Therefore the national interest of Pakhtuns in Pakistan lies in finding an answer to the question of political autonomy.

In my opinion Pakhtuns of Pakistan have three options:

a) To become a part of Afghanistan.

b) To establish a separate Pukhtoon state.

c) To remain a part of Pakistan but subject to the following conditions:

1. New Name for Pashtun province comprising of NWFP, FATA, PATA, Attock, Mianwali and Pakhtun belt of Baluchistan into a single Pakhtun Province to be called Pakhtunkhwa.

2. Provincial autonomy.

3. Share of water along with its net profit and due proportion in the revenue of tobacco.

4. Establishment of new industrial estates in Pakhtun land and stabilization of the old ones like Gadun Amazai, Jamrud and Hattar industrial estates.

5. Change of strategic depth policy by military Establishment to destabilize Afghanistan.

6. Compensation for the loss in Pakhtun land which Pakistani military has incurred in playing its role as an obedient servant to United States.

There are precedents set for all three options in history for example the unification of east and west Germany, founding of Bangla Desh and provincial (state) autonomy to states in USA and India .Which option shall we opt for is to be decided by the masses and intelligentsia of Pakhtun nation. After having a consensus on a national agenda for taking any of the above cited options in the larger interest of Pakhtun nation, the public will of Pashtun masses and intellectual support of Pakhtun intelligentsia will combine. It will be easy for the leadership of Pakhtuns to lead the Pakhtun masses to achieve the goal.

The following elements in the society will be decisive in moulding public opinion in order to achieve national targets.

1) Intelligentsia like Voltaire and Rousseau for French revolution of 1789, Marx, Engels, Trotsky and Ludwig Feuerbach for Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 etc.

2) Electronic media TV channels, cellular tech, internet etc.

3) Print Media focused on national goals.

4) Professionals like lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, professors, teachers etc.

5) Nationalist Leadership.

The Need for Pakhtun National Movement

The proud land of the Pakhtuns has become a playground for national and international forces playing political chess in order to safeguard their vested interests. The major players in the game are Secret agencies, Al-Qaeda, CIA and Religious theocracy (Taliban and MMA).The Pakistani secret agencies are transforming the Pakhtun heaven on earth to a living hell by detonating bombs in Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan and targeting their “political” rivals.

The secret agencies namely ISI, IB and MI are no more national institutions but are playing the roles of watchdog and the creators of law and order situation especially in Pakhtun land to justify and stabilise military dictatorship. They are working for the most influential but hated political party headed by the army chief. This party called army has the ability to outsmart any political force by any and all means beyond all moral, legal or ethical limits.

The result of creating law and order situation is weak security and instability which gives the impression to the external world that Pakhtun land – which is the prime target of secret agencies, is no more the land of heavenly peace and tranquillity. The burning and bombing activities by the secret agencies in the Pakhtun land is diverting the attention of the Pakhtun masses from provincial autonomy to merely a question of survival and peace. The biased and criminal acts by the secret agencies are hindering all progress and development work in Pakhtunkhwa and are indirectly helping the governments of PML (Q) and MQM – the fabricated and the fascist parties respectively due to their unethical allegiance and support for the dictatorial regime. The secret agencies are helping the most malicious design of military regime to do ethnic cleansing of Pakhtuns who are considered a potential threat to the dictatorial regime as well as the exploiter classes of Pakistan.

The drama in the tribal belt is also a courtesy of secret agencies supported by the ISI - backed Taliban to destabilize tribal Pakhtun belt in order to facilitate cross border infiltration into Afghanistan. The secret agencies are helping and supporting Taliban to implement Pakistan’s strategic depth policy to destabilise Afghanistan.Al-Qaida is operating throughout Pakistan and is acting against the interests of Pakistani and Afghan governments. It is collaborating with Taliban too and indoctrinating rather brainwashing youngsters for suicide attacks to achieve their ideological goals both in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The CIA is operating majorly in NWFP and Baluchistan using some pseudo nationalist elements, religious clergy and local criminal elements. It aims at the targeted killing of anti-imperialist forces, destabilizing Baluchistan to safeguard its economic interest against that of China in Gwadar and execution of its plan to have a strategic presence in FANA and the adjacent areas to contain and watch China for geo-political interests of US.

The religious theocracy represented by Taliban and MMA are unpredictable elements in Pakhtun politics and are ideologically based on sectarian and pro-establishment religious interpretations having intrinsic roots of contradictions.

They are political amalgams aiming at exploiting the religious inclination and ignorance of poor Pakhtuns masses.

Lost in the self-created optimism about the occupied land of Pakhtunkhwa, the pre-occupied Pukhtoon leadership which is seemingly united now is wasting its energies to become a scape goat in the hands of opportunist Pakistani Politicians. They are being used indirectly to safeguard the vested interests of one or more out of Mahajir terrorists, Punjabi feudals, Sindhi waderas, ISI backed Taliban in the form of Musharraf-MQM, PML (Q) - PML (N), PPP and MMA despite of the fact that none of them have benefited Pakhtuns in the past. This is a wake up call for Pakhtuns.Welcome to the land of pure slaves. Pakhtuns are no more part of the great Pakhtun Durrani Empire. Hence the real challenging task for the Pakhtun leadership is to launch a strong Pakhtun National Movement across the controversial border in Afghanistan and Pakistan to regain the paradise lost of Pakhtuns in order to be able to face the techno-political challenges of the contemporary age.

The Pakhtun national movement possibly under the umbrella of PNDA and other Pakhtun nationalist organisations should inculcate a zeal and fervour in the hearts of Pakhtuns to achieve their lost glory. It should reach all Pakhtuns across the globe and in the nook and corner of Pakhtun land to invite them to become active members of Pakhtun national organic whole.

It should expose all the conspiracies against Pakhtuns by all institutions, organizations, parties, governments etc and impart political consciousness to the Pakhtun masses. The aim of the movement should be to attain political autonomy and strengthen the Pakhtun national character embodied in the Pakhtun ethical code of Pukhtunwali.It should at the same time propagate the Pakhtun code of life which is a beautiful and balanced combination of the secular and the sanctified cultural institutions of Pakhtun societal nomenclature called ”Hujra” and “Jumat” .It should highlight the fine balance present in the cultural life of Pakhtuns signifying the aesthetic outlook of Pakhtun social life.

Struggling to establish a Pakhtun society based on the tenets of Pukhtunwali with politico-economic independence and autonomy is an ideal worth struggling for to commence a new age of progress and prosperity for the inhabitants of the Pakhtun land. The so-called freedom of Pakhtuns in Pakistan is a fake freedom rather a trap of slavedom.Pakhtun leadership should strive to win political and economic freedom of the Pakhtun land which no doubt is currently depicting the picture of a living hell but in the words of John Milton “It is better to rule in hell than to serve in heaven”.

Pakhtuns annihilation in a failed federation

After the unfair division of India in 1947 and the subsequent emergence of Pakistan on the map of the world, a fraudulent referendum was conducted to make Pakhtun regions a part of the then West Pakistan. The referendum was boycotted by the Khudai Khidmatgars because it lacked the third option for Pakhtuns to join Afghanistan. After achieving the required result through unfair means the establishment in higher echelons of power started exploiting the Pakhtun resources to safeguard their vested interests in the name of national interests of the nascent land. The newly born state was based on Jinnah's ideology which was better known to the ex-master than the founding father.

The strategy which was used to justify and continue the exploitation of Pakhtun resources was the misuse of religion as Pakhtuns have been known for their inclination towards religion. They were indoctrinated by the state sponsored clergymen about the stories of ideal past to win their hearts. They were hypnotized with the nostalgic romanticism of the Arab imperialism and retrogressive cum pro-establishment version of religion to keep them away from the helm of affairs. Their energies were used in the name of religion at the altar of the state to safeguard the vested interests of the ruling junta.

Pakhtuns have been raising voice against the exploitative and unjust rule of Pakistani ruling junta. Seeing it as potential danger, the ruling elite of Pakistan is now threatening the very survival of Pakhtuns as they consider Pakhtuns as the real hindrance in the realization of their nefarious designs. After investing in the indoctrination of Pakhtuns for decades, the establishment is now blaming Pakhtuns as religious fanatics. Even their love for their land and language – their nationalism is being made synonymous with talibanisation so they can easily be targeted. They are being presented as extremists. They are being killed and massacred in Pakistan and for Pakistan and their killers are taking the credit of their massacre to please their offshore masters. It is time for Pakhtuns to re-think their decision of remaining a part of Pakistan in the presence of the indecisive Durand line issue.

The government of Pakistan has to answer the following questions to convince Pakhtuns to remain a part of Pakistan.

For the last 60 years what has the state of Pakistan done for Pakhtuns?

1. Has it changed the British pre partition name of NWFP?

2. Has it made the pre-partition Pakhtun regions of NWFP, FATA, PATA, Attock, Mianwali and 45% Pakhtuns belt of Baluchistan into a single Pakhtun Province within Pakistan?

3. Has it given the share of water along with its net profit according to A.G. Qazi formula to NWFP?

4. Has it banned the inhuman FCR in the fraudulently administered tribal areas – FATA?

5. Has it built any infrastructure or done any development work in Tribal areas despite of their volunteer service of defending the western border?

6. Has it given the due proportion in the revenue of indigenous tobacco production to the provincial government of NWFP?

7. Has it established any new industrial estate or stabilized the old ones like Gadun Amazai or Jamrud industrial estates in NWFP against the vested interests of the Punjabi Feudals?

8. Has it put more effort even after 60 years than what a single man Bacha Khan had put 60 years ago to establish schools or colleges in NWFP?

9. Has it given the due importance to investment in Mineral industry and Tourism industry in the heaven like NWFP?

10. Has it established the infrastructure necessary for the development of NWFP?

11. Has it changed its policy of strategic depth to destabilize Afghanistan as the instability of the geo-strategically important Afghanistan gets reflected in the Pakhtuns regions of Pakistan and even affects the whole South Asia?

12. Has it spent even 10 percent of the US aid to invest in modernizing the security in NWFP?

13. Why most of the bomb blasts, killings and suicide attacks are in NWFP while the centres of command and control are in Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi?

14. If military forces of Pakistan have been using Pakhtun regions to fight US war for the containment of Saur revolution during Zia regime and using it again to fight US war on terrorism in Musharraf regime to destabilize and control Afghanistan then is it not the responsibility of Pakistan government to reconstruct and rehabilitate the Pakhtun regions and compensate for the loss which Pakistani military has incurred in playing its role as an obedient servant to United States?

15. Has its Election commission conducted fair and free elections to give due representation to Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations so that they can put an end to the atrocities of the corrupt civil beaureocrats, military establishment , feudal lords, capitalists, industrialists, waderas and sardars? There is a limit to exploitation and injustice.

According to Ali – a wise Arab ruler: “A state can survive with disbelief but cannot survive with injustice”. The very basis of state, according to the master mind behind French revolution - J.J. Rousseau, is a social contract between the people and the state in order for the latter to provide civil rights to its citizens. If it fails to do so it has no justification.

If the state of Pakistan cannot even assure the basic human right to live to Pakhtuns and other citizens – what can one expect about the other human rights? The civilized is justified to question the justification of such a state or atleast term it as a failed state. The sooner the Musharraf military regime backed

by the fabricated PML-Q and fascist MQM hands over the reigns of power to the real representatives of people the better it is for the national interest of Pakistan.

The national interest of Pakistan is to make Pakistan a strong democratic federation, devolve the power and autonomy to the provinces and keep minimum portfolios with the centre lest it is too late and the same Pakhtuns are compelled to carry a different passport to visit Islamabad as the Muslims of Pakistan had to carry to visit Delhi after 1947.

Pakhtuns and Contemporary Political Challenges

Pakhtun nation seems to be trapped between the devil and the deep blue sea. The devil is in the form of biased state institutions namely civil and military establishment headed by anti-Pakhtun elements. The deep blue sea is the mob of those traitors of the Pakhtun soil who have been working for all these biased and anti-Pakhtun institutions and are involved along with the oppressed classes in their criminal role of killing their own brothers in the name of religion, working against the interests of their own land due to being so called public servants. They are concentrating all their energies to help the ruling junta suck the blood of their own Pakhtun brothers, sisters and children.

The religious elements among the clergy have been on the payroll of ISI and other anti-Pakhtun agencies for selling out the lives of innocent youngsters in the name of religion in Pakistan - a country which is so much under the control of oppressors that even the Chief justice is begging for justice. The movers and shakers in the higher echelons of power in Pakistan cannot tolerate the very word "Pakhtun" even within the geographical jurisdiction of Pakistan - hence they have coined absurd names NWFP,FATA and Baluchistan for North, Central and South Pakhtunkhwa respectively for the Pakhtun territories in Pakistan.

A commonly proposed approach to solve the problems of Pakhtuns is adopting reformative approach which means establishing schools, increasing literacy rate, poverty alleviation, capacity building ,striving for peace ,establishing NGO's,propagating religious teaching etc.

This approach has flaws as it assumes:

1) That Pakhtuns enjoy freedom and equal status in Pakistan

2) That the state is taking care of their basic human rights and needs

3) That the non Pakhtun leaders and parties are there for their rights

4) That the existing system prevalent in Pakistan is right and even "Islamic" and has the solution to their problems.

The flaws are becoming evident and proving catastrophic for the political entity and even existence of Pakhtuns with each passing day.

It is, therefore, suggested that:

a) The only thing Pakhtuns have to strive for is Political autonomy.

b) The only way to achieve political autonomy is to impart political consciousness to the masses and mobilise them to fight politically for their freedom against the occupation of oppressor class represented by Civil and military beaureocracy and political groups like Muslim League,MQM,JUI(F) in Pakistan.

c) Pakhtun political parties should therefore:

1) Win the sympathies of Pakhtuns by raising voice for their rights and warn Pakhtun masses from getting entrapped in the clutches of Pakistani troika aka military establishment, civil beaureocracy and religious theocracy specially those Pakhtuns who are involved in the dirty game of ethnically cleansing the Pakhtun nation.

2) Set a clear target of achieving political autonomy for Pakhtuns

3) Mobilise Pakhtun masses for political struggle to achieve the target

The near future events will form a critical juncture in the political history of Pakhtun.The change seems to be inevitable due to the continuous military interventions and dictatorial rule to suppress the basic human rights of the poor and oppressed nationalities in Pakistan.

It seems that the near future is going to witness a major geo-political change in south Asia. The probable options on the table are Azad Baluchistan, Azad Pakhtunistan, Greater Punjab and Sindho Desh with Karachi as Jinnah Pur for Mahajirs (or the remaining Pakistan consisting of Punjab and Sindh).

Pakhtuns might initially resist the change due to the sixty years of state indoctrination along with other Pakistanis. However they will be compelled to form a separate state and become part of a politically and economically weak Azad Pukhtunistan sandwiched between powerful neighbours to safeguard US interests. But as the new option might atleast give them the right to live instead of being killed by their so called Muslim brothers for some US bucks so they might opt for it. However it will be a challenge for them to demand merger with Afghanistan. Similarly in case Azad Baluchistan is formed it will serve US interests in the Arabian ocean via Gwadar in which case again the Pakhtun nationalist forces will face the challenge of demanding merger of Pakhtun belt (south Pakhtunkhwa) of Baluchistan with Afghanistan.

The dramatic changes in the political arena of Pakistan shows that the great game –which might turn out to be a blessing in disguise for the oppressed masses of Pakistan - has already commenced and is going to get expedited with each passing day especially after the proposed 18-Feb 2008 election drama.

ANP's Victory - Analysis and Expectations

The Awami National Party (ANP) has secured a reasonable majority in the Feb 18 2008 elections due to its views regarding the restoration of peace in Pukhtunland and a possible invisible deal with Pakistani establishment. The victory might seem as a sigh of relief for the Pakhtun nationalists and hopefully for the Pakhtun nation but it also has critical political implications for the decision makers in ANP.

It is an established fact that giving an opportunity to Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations in Pakistan would be the last option for Pakistani establishment therefore it is important to know the reasons for the victory of ANP in NWFP.

The possible reasons as to why ANP has been given the opportunity to rule in NWFP other than ANP's genuine political struggle for the last 60 years could be:

1) To use ANP for curbing down the possible future freedom struggle due to the genocide of Pakhtuns in the military operations being carried in the Pakhtun land.

2) To fail ANP govt like that of MMA and hence prove the inability of the Pakhtun nationalists like that of religious forces to address the issues confronting Pakhtun nation.

3) To use ANP for exploiting the sentiments of Pakhtun nationalism against the possible intervention of US forces in the tribal regions to target ISI-backed Taliban and other religious extremists so that Pakistan may continue its policy of strategic depth against Afghanistan.

It is imperative; therefore, that ANP should be cautious in fighting the war for the rights, national interests and welfare of Pakhtuns and should be aware of the traps by the invisible hands working in Islamabad. The following gloomy side of the picture should also be kept in mind while unconsciously playing the role of scapegoat for defending the rotten Pakistani system.

The results of the Feb 2008 elections seem to be a concocted effort by the Musharraf led establishment to give rise to a hung parliament with intrinsic contradictions of power-interests between the stake holders and hence increased dependability on pro-Musharraf parties like PML(Q),MQM and MMA to keep the business going under the autocratic presidential power to dissolve the parliament at his sweet discretion.

It is, therefore, suggested that:

1) ANP should strive to strengthen the govt in the centre so that there is no excuse for the brutal and autocratic powers of the president to get executed.

2) The choice of coalition partner is critical for smooth and sustainable government so ANP should form coalition with PPP so that the chemistry has strong bonds of political affinity for long term working relationship.

3) Keeping in view the bitter experience of its alliance with PML-N in the past , ANP should make sure this time to offer conditional support to the ruling coalition partner in the centre in order to get its support for addressing the issues facing Pakhtuns both in the centre as well as in the province.

4) ANP should not rule out the worst case scenario that the central govt may not survive while devising plans and strategies.

The following is a to-do list of Four P's for ANP to give good governance and come up to the expectations of Pakhtuns.

1) **Peace:**

In order to ensure peace in the region, the war on terror should be fought using political and reformative approaches instead of military tactics projecting the real causes of terrorism to the international media.

ANP should highlight that:

a) The roots of terrorism in Pakhtun land are in the policy of strategic depth by Pakistani establishment which has been forming, supporting, training, facilitating and empowering the religious extremists, fanatics groups and sectarian factions in Afghanistan to fight against the ISAF forces using the loyalties of religious demagogues of politico-religious parties in Pakistan.

b) Islamabad is continuously playing a double game with the west by exaggerating the threat of Talibanisation – a phenomenon which is the brainchild of ISI itself as most of the Taliban leaders are on the payroll of Pakistani secret agencies.

c) Pakistani establishment is not using the western aid for improving the socio-economic conditions of FATA or other troubled areas of Pakhtun land. It is, therefore, the change in Islamabad's policy of strategic depth against the democratically elected govt in Afghanistan and Islamabad's negative propaganda against the security and peace keeping ISAF forces to project them as invaders instead of the Islamabad's policy of ethnic cleansing of innocent Pashtuns which will ensure the eradication of terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

2) **Provincial Autonomy:**

The demand for provincial autonomy should be the second priority to ensure among other rights: the demand of united Pakhtun province called Pakhtunkhwa comprising of current NWFP,Attock,Mianwali and the Pashtun belt of Baluchistan, change in the contents of concurrent list, Pashto as an official language in the province and semi-autonomous status for FATA possibly under UN administration. ANP should also raise its voice against the misappropriation of funds and aids provided by US for FATA because if Islamabad is pocketing all the aid and funds it has no right to ask the provincial govt to take care of FATA.

3) **Prosperity:**

Visible economic prosperity is a basic litmus test for the good governance of any government. It is a must for ANP govt to translate the outcome of all the provincial resources and income to the welfare and well being of the inhabitants of NWFP to bridge the gap in their standard of lives due to their sixty years old economic deprivation.

4) **Pukhtunwali**:

ANP should use the electronic and print media to revive the centuries old socio-ethical code of the Pakhtun society and culture called Pukhtunwali and translate it giving due respect to the zeitgeist of the contemporary age. A failure to revive Pukhtunwali will result in detaching Pakhtuns and other nations living in Pakhtunkhwa from their cultural and historic roots. It is due to the virtues of Pukhtunwali and its effects in social-politico-economic life of Pakhtuns that Afghan/Pakhtun nation has been surviving for centuries. It is a challenge and in the best interest of the Pakhtun nation to revive their national code of ethics as it is constantly being threatened by the values of indianisation.

Reform in Pakhtunkhwa – Agricutural, Educational and Industrial Sectors

In a resource-rich but poorly administered province like Pakhtunkhwa if a party claiming to be a nationalist party succeeds to get the reigns of power and it is not able to deliver then there is something wrong at the bottom. An opportunity at the cost of invisible compromises with the establishment of Pakistan should be exploited to bring the reforms necessary for the economic and social uplift of Pakhtuns.

In order to exploit the opportunity of controlling the reigns of power, the ANP government in Pakhtunkhwa should aim at three major targets viz;

a) Clear Vision about future goals,

b) Concrete Methodology to materialise the proposed goals and

c) Capable Human Resource to achieve the goals.

A clear and scientific vision coupled with a multipronged strategy based on administrative as well as socio-politico-economic reforms is required to achieve the goal of sustainable development and economic prosperity. Scientific vision means that if the causes are known for certain phenomena then the effects should be predictable and this should hold true under all circumstances having the same causes.

The nationalist government of ANP has to first define its vision based on a five years plan which should be a corollary of a long term vision based on the solutions to the issues confronting the inhabitants of North Pakhtunkhwa (NWFP), central Pakhtunkhwa (FATA), south Pakhtunkhwa (Pashtun belt of Baluchistan), Pakhtuns in Karachi, Afghanistan and finally Pakhtuns across the globe. The vision should be welfare and reforms oriented and should have the potential to accommodate the challenges of the new age. The following points envisage the short term vision:

1) Agricultural Sector:

In agriculture sector the target should be to achieve self sufficiency in basic food commodities to take care of local food requirements. The following points are worth considering in this regard:

a) Mechanisation of agricultural techniques is a must. Without mechanisation the yield per acre of land cannot be increased to a level which can take care of local needs.

b) The concept of corporate farming is the key to increase production in a scientific way using mechanised tehniques.Corporate farming will give opportunities to the private sector which will increase efficiency and hence production in addition to creating a lot of job opportunities for the agriculturally skilled human resource.

c) Agricultural reforms safeguarded by laws within the jurisdiction of provincial legislation should be introduced on issues like constraints on the ownership of lands, tax schemes on agricultural yield and preventing the use of agriculturally fertile land for residential and non-cultivating purposes.

d) The computerisation of land records is necessary for transparent transactions in corporate farming and statistical analysis.

2) Educational Sector:

The main target in education sector should be the inculcation of creativity and innovation oriented mentality in the students. Education has to be treated as an industry aimed at producing quality products (graduates) who possess innovative mentality and practical skills to suit the requirements of public and private sector industries. The following points need a serious heed:

a) A literacy rate of 35% both for males and females separately should be aimed at for the first 5 years.

b) Technical skills should be made compulsory in the curriculum both for boys and girls at the school level.

c) Pashto/Hindko/Arabic should be taught as a compulsory subject in the schools to polish the faculties of intellect and comprehension while English should be the medium of instruction so that learning should imply earning and the graduates of our academic institutions are able to compete in national and international market.

d) The scheme of internship should be introduced to make education a fruitful and productive activity and to open new vistas of opportunities for the capable graduates in public and private sector.

e) Stipends, loans and job opportunities should be given to all master level graduates as well as graduates of professional colleges and universities on priority basis.

3) Industrial Sector:

Industrialisation should be the main target of any nationalist government. Industrial vision is the defining vision for any government and is the most effective tool for cultural engineering. Industrialisation helps in transforming the society from agrarian to industrial society. The basic essence of industrialisation is competition which compels the people to discover and invent new technology in order to get an edge in the market. The following points should be considered:

a) Self sufficiency in the production/manufacturing of basic day to day items and commodities.

b) Facilitation of industries both in public and private sector like subsidised electricity rates, relaxed taxation etc subject to production of quality assured and export quality products.

c) The liaison of industry with academia to create opportunities (internships/jobs) for the graduates of universities and professional colleges.

d) Establishment of Peshawar Stock Exchange.

Analysing the Musharraf regime

In Pakistan almost all the institutions necessary for the proper functioning of the state have been jeopardised by the virus of social, economic or political corruption. The only reason for the mal-functioning of all the institutions is the lack or absence of genuine democracy in which all the nationalities get their due rights. Unfortunately the military establishment of Pakistan has been in power to decide the fate of billions of people for most part of Pakistani history due to which democracy could not flourish in Pakistan.

Due to revolution of media and restoration of Judicial dignity - the two beautiful mistakes of Musharraf regime, the military intervention is now considered as unjustified even by the common man and no one except the feudal class of Punjab or Wadera shahi of Sindh is ready to accept the discontinuity of genuine political process in the national interest of Pakistan.

The economic empire of the military establishment as a result of being in power for more than half of Pakistan history has already been exposed by Ayehsa Siddiqa in her much appreciated work "Military Incorporated". .The role of military regime lead by Musharraf - the defacto head of state and government and dejure chief of army (hopefully till 15th Nov. 2007), in delivering "quality assured" services to the "land of the poor" at the end of his second term are important to be analysed to question his indispensability for Pakistan.

The political charge sheet against Musharraf regime is as follows:

1) It became ally, against all known human standards of self respect and national interest, with the United States for its war on terror which has already been exposed by the world community as a spoiled war for oil.

2) It sacrificed the lives of hundreds of security personnel to kill innocent Pashtuns on both sides of the Durand line alleging them as Taliban just to justify its role as a hired security force.

3) It challenged the sanctity of Judiciary and used immoral tactics including force, extortion, pressure, threats and beating those who resisted.

4) It gave a fake and imaginary vision to the masses which gave a palliative catharsis to the latent hatred and rebellion of the masses against the system and its beneficiaries.

5) It supported MQM which killed hundreds of innocent people of its political rivals such as ANP,JI ,PTI and PPP twice during its tenure.

6) Due to its visionless and unpopular policies, the military regime destroyed the institutions due to which it is difficult even for the middle class people of Pakistan to live an honourable life in Pakistan.

All military regimes bring new gifts to its people. The gifts of current military regime are also as destructive as were those of its predecessor General Zia who

toppled the popularly elected government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, offered the services of army to US for fighting its war in Afghanistan against former USSR for containing the Saur revolution, exploited the slogan of "Islamisation" to win the sympathies of masses, fabricated sectarian religious groups to polarise the society on sectarian basis, established Mahajir Qaumi Movement - an ethnic party to counteract Pakistan Peoples Party in Sindh,formed IJI - the fabricated king's party to support his regime politically, and used religious parties to strengthen his regime.

Musharraf also followed the benchmarks laid in the past but with new names and modus operandi as he also toppled the government of Nawaz Sharif, offered the services of army to US for fighting its so called war on terror in Afghanistan, exploited the slogan of "Pakistan first" to win the sympathies of masses, projected the idea of "Enlighted moderation" to divide the society into two camps - extremists and moderates,re-enforced the strategic depth policy using Taliban to destabilise Afghanistan which backfired when the same elements extended their circle of activities to the Pashtun belt of Pakistan, formed the fabricated PML(Q) as the king’s party to counter act PML(N)and used the religious parties to legitimise his regime.

The military and civil establishment of Pakistan love to compete with India in every walk of life so much so that they had to hire a ex-banker as PM when Dr Man Mohan became PM in India. The only area in which Pakistan loses its sense of competition is the proud status of India being the largest democracy in the world and the logical consequence of this status to be the next probable super power. Having been ruled by the previously revered army for more than 3 decades, there is no comparison of Pakistan with India where an army chief cannot even think of snatching the reigns of power due to the existence of strong institutions. It is time for the military to call it a day once and for all and restrict itself to its profession which has already suffered an irreparable loss of sanctity due to its frequent intervention in the political affairs of the country.

The Countdown for Musharraf

The divided land of the poor is suffering due to the united interests of the pure imperialist forces. The United States has been exploiting the psychopathic self delusion of military leaders of Pakistan due to which they have been considering themselves as the defenders of the so called fortress of Islam. Indoctrinating the people of Pakistan with the utopian idea about Pakistan as the fortress of Islam is meaningful because it is but logical to justify the rule of any military dictator as fortresses are ruled by commanders not common people.

When the US sees its interest in any region of the third world it starts investing in the internal conflicts and contradictions present in that region. The installation of Saddam and fabrication of his Bath Party to contain and confine the anti imperialist revolution in Iran and the installation of General Zia and emergence of Mujahedeen to contain the anti imperialist Saur revolution of Afghanistan are examples from the recent past.It is interesting to note that US does not want stability in the third world countries. Stability means peace. Peace implies progress. Progress paves the way for industrialisation. Industrialization gives birth to democracy. Democracy brings national leadership. National leadership safeguards national interests. National interests are always against the economic interests of the multinational companies and their native imperialist states. It is therefore comprehendible why third world countries are suffering from political instability.

Third world countries including Pakistan are huge consumer markets for the products of these multinational companies. Multinational companies invest huge amounts in the third world countries to discourage indigenous production and encourage consumerism. On the contrary national leadership keeps industrialization through indigenous production, industry oriented technical training and employment of national human resource on top of its priority list. In case of Pakistan the vested interests of the establishment have been the main hurdle in the emergence of national leadership which could ensure the achievement of economic and hence political independence through industrialization.

It is important to know the technique of imperialist powers to safeguard their economic interests. United States promoted and installed Saddam, made him a Sunni cum national hero and used him against Iran. When he attacked Kuwait, US got alarmed about her oil-interests in neighbouring sacred US colony - Saudi Arabia and decided to do away with him.Saddam due to the confidence and experience of ruling the oil-rich Iraq for decades thought that he had become a national hero and started resisting and opposing US interests. It was the time for US to remind him his real political stature and consequently he had to face the music for his self deceit.

Another example was that of General Zia. He was appointed by the US to get rid of Bhutto as the latter – being true popular leader, was taking steps in the national interest of the people which were going to culminate in the establishment of a democratic system in the country. When General Zia delivered the first deliverable of hanging Bhutto he was granted a prolonged tenure by the US to deliver another challenging task. This task was the confinement and containment

of Saur revolution in Afghanistan and Shia revolution in Iran – both of which were anti-imperialist in nature. General Zia with the help of US used the brave and religious minded Afghans across the Durand line to contain the Saur revolution by fighting PDPA which was aided by USSR.

On the other hand he amplified the shia-sunni sectarianism in Pakistan by fabricating sectarian parties to create hatred for shias in order to contain the anti-imperialist revolution of Iran. Similarly MQM was established to counter act the anti-imperialist voice of ANP by creating hatred for Pakhtuns to contain the anti-imperialist Saur revolution of Afghanistan.

The best thing which happened to the US as a by-product of Afghan war was the disintegration of USSR. The consecutive successes of General Zia disillusioned him about his real stature. He was convinced due to some self conceived arguments that his presence in power was synonymous with the survival of Pakistan and even with the larger interest of the “Ummah”. He also wrongly considered himself to be a popular rather national leader which was neither a reality nor acceptable to the then sole super power. Consequently the super power had to help him ascend to the heavens during his flight from a comparatively higher altitude. After the military dictatorship of General Zia, a catharsis was given to the Pakistani nation in the form of glimpses of democratic governments of PPP and PML but the imperialist powers continued their vigilance on the remnants and fallouts of the Afghan war, the potential danger of Iran for US-backed Israel, the rising economic hegemony of China and the probability of misuse of nuclear teeth of Pakistan by the Islamic extremists.
As imperialist powers are never interested in the political stability of third world countries so they had to create a scenario to bring a strong person to safeguard their interests in Pakistan. It was in these circumstances that Musharraf came into power out of the blue sky.

The major US concern about the fallout of Afghan war and the rise of religious elements became a reality on 9/11 after which US re-prioritized its agenda and extended the tenure of Musharraf to deliver the deliverables. Musharraf formed his own party with the help of agencies by buying the loyalties of a major chunk of Muslim league which is historically known to welcome invaders, dictators and oppressors. He won the loyalties of Punjab by adopting the slogan of Pakistan first which infact meant Punjab first and military foremost. He installed religious government in Pashtun regions to control Pakhtuns who have been over indoctrinated with retrogressive and pro-establishment version of religion. He gave power to his ethnic group MQM for his political backing in Sindh.After making the setup he shifted his strategic depth from India to Afghanistan on the directives of US. While he succeeded in getting rid of the religious extremist which could be potential threat to US from other parts of Pakistan, the military forces faced tough retaliation while controlling the regions of Pakhtuns who posses a long history of retaliation against aggression and who do not consider submission as wisdom and prefer to rule in hell than to serve in heaven. That is why Musharraf had to use peace pacts with the Pakhtuns in order to pacify them. The act of voluntary peace treaties with Pakhtuns was a step in the right direction though not appreciated by US due to its policy of destabilizing Pakhtun regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan to justify her presence. It was sometime after these treaties that Musharraf got confidence and started acting like a national leader and took some steps which were in the national interests of the country and even

dared not to cooperate in the so called war against terrorism on a couple of occasions. This daring gesture by a military man was against the to-do list given to him by the US and hence the invisible hand started reversing and nullifying all what would have otherwise gone to the credit of his military regime. Everything started getting reversed with every passing day. This was to remind the army chief cum President that if a person hired for promoting a particular definition of national interest dares to define it himself then his definition of national interests becomes notional entrust and the person himself becomes resident of his real estate instead of remaining the real president of a state.

The forces of Pakistan are trained to be under a false sense of respect rather a delusion of grandeur. Its leadership wrongly says yes to any chance granted either by the US or by the descendants of the firangeee-loyal families of Pakistan to “save” the nation. When the verdict of history is announced to keep the record straight and things in perspective the military dictators come to know about their real stature and realize that there is a difference between commanding disciplined employees of a formation and demanding freedom for the exploited masses of a nation. The moral of the story is that a strong leaf of a weak tree might break the discipline and plunge into deep waters following a light stone in order to create the same ripple effect but contrary to a light stone a strong leaf always lacks the weight required to mobilize the still waters.

Eight years of Four M's - Musharraf, MQM, Muslim League and Mulla

The unfortunate combination of four M's namely:

1) Musharraf (representing Military),
2) MQM (mis-representing Indian Mahajirs),
3) Muslim League (representing the opportunists of Punjab) and
4) Mulla (represented by MMA) has been leading Pakistan to the brink of total catastrophe for the last eight years.

It is common in Pakistan for the military to play active role in power politics by creating firstly a full fledged political party/alliance over night comprising of opportunists who can give political legitimacy to any military autocrat and secondly hiring a group of pseudo-intellectuals who can give intellectual backing and support portraying any dictator to be the messiah of the nation. That is why except Mahmud Khan Achakzai most of the politicians have been used or exploited by these invisible forces in the last 60 gloomy years of Pakistan's political history.

The psuedo-intellengtsia has also been there to defend the interests of these classes intellectually contrary to the interests of poor and deprived masses of Pakistan. In the words of C.W.Mills - who is considered the pioneer of the Power Elite Model: "There are more people of knowledge in the service of power than people of power in the service of knowledge".

In case of Pakistan the high rank officers in the military forces ,intelligence agencies coupled with the feudal and clergy play the role of movers and shakers like that of the power elite in US politics. After the successful coup de'tat of Musharraf in October 1999, the agencies formed PML (Q) - the first fruit of Musharraf's dictatorial regime following the precedent of another seemingly rootless and low profile dictator Ziaul Haq back in late 70's.Then followed the MQM - which was also established during Zia regime - to join the camp of the dictator in order to take advantage of his illegitimacy and ethnicity at the same time for their future nefarious designs.

While the proud sons of the land like Mahmud Khan Achakzai, Imran Khan, Akbar Bugti,CJ Iftikhar along with the other deposed judges of the Supreme Courts and lately Benazir Bhutto did not bow their heads to the dictator and opted to face the consequences, the religious clergy, represented by MMA , on the contrary , could not resist the color of dollars shown by the dictator through his faithful brokers to compete in the race for loot and plunder. Master mindedly represented by Fazal Rehman and naively figure headed by Qazi ,the religious clergy surrendered to the dictatorial rule of Musharraf by legitimizing and helping him to extend his rule whenever he needed it.

Using the differences of political parties to his advantage, Musharraf has been helping to reward the fabricated PML (Q) for their pre-planned criminal support for the dictator. He has also been transforming the fascist MQM and malicious Mulla's JUI into a mainstream party and trying to malign and abandon parties

having popular support like PPP into the background by using military tactics like targeted killing. Lastly he has been successful in sidelining the nationalist parties who have been demanding their legal and constitutional rights and provincial autonomy in not-so-loud words.

After eight years of authoritarian and autocratic rule of these M's Pakistan has transformed into a hell filled with price hike, ethnic tensions, political victimisation, hatred for the security forces, exploitation of national assets, load shedding, scarcity of basic necessities of life and above all reactionary suicide bombers. Abandoning independent Judiciary, ethnic cleansing of innocent Pakhtuns in NWFP and FATA , rise in religious extremism as a reaction to the export of terrorists by ISI to Afghanistan and supporting them in FATA are the other gifts of these M'S. The worst case scenario is a nightmare to imagine – a situation wherein the nuclear weapons will be in the hands of religious extremists who were politically represented by MMA, trained by ISI and taught by JUI's demagogues in the past.

It will be a disastrous situation wherein the whole region will depict a picture of ashes if the rule of these M's continues. It is concluded therefore that: a) The result of four M's rule is the dragging of Pakistan First and the people of Pakistan fast into the ravine of destruction by sticking to the reigns of power by any and every means, in one form or another despite of being the most hated political entities in Pakistani history. b) Secondly Pakistan once a poor but peaceful country is becoming the most unfavourable country for the poor masses of Pakistan to dwell in and will continue to be until the four M's are discouraged and rejected by the masses of Pakistan.

The question of Pakistan's survival

The basic questions which are posing a threat to the survival of the current Pakistan are two:

1) Lack of democracy as the basis of statecraft.

2) Reluctance to grant provincial autonomy to the federating units.

Let us analyse the consequences of these threats. The foreign powers especially US are the major hurdles on the road to establish democracy in Pakistan due to its political vested interests. Dictatorial and autocratic rulers of Pakistan suit the designs of US to keep Pakistan as their colony with the help of military establishment which has been serving as its loyal servant since long.

The military establishment has in turn been using coercive force and religious theocracy to tighten its grip on the non-submissive and freedom loving nationalities in Pakistan like Afghans (Pashtuns) , Sindhis and Baluchis while it has been buying the loyalties of the other nationalities by bribing them with material benefits. It is due to this reason that the forces of Pakistan have least representation from Pashtuns, Baluchis and Sindhis and hence it does not represent bonds of national harmony among the nationalities of Pakistan.

It also implies why Pakistan army uses brutal force against its so called fellow country men and Muslim brothers in Pashtun land as well as in Baluchistan. The second factor is the use of religious demagogues to disintegrate the national unity of the oppressed nationalities and confuse them about their national goals. The vote bank of the politico-religious parties in Pashtun belt and their role in supporting the Punjab dominated exploitative colonial legacy system prevalent in Pakistan is the proof of this strategy.

It is a well established fact now that the religious extremists who have been working for the interests of Pakistan army since Afghan war have been facilitated, trained and even created by the agencies of Pakistan in order to serve their US masters. Even currently the so called religious clerics or groups like Mulla Sufi Mohamad, Mulla Fazlullah, Mangal Bagh (an ex-bus driver but currently the defacto king in some parts of Pashtun Tribal areas (FATA) who is allowed to hold and show any type of arms and weapons across Pakistan) and the so called Jamiat Ulema Islam, Jamiat Ulema Pakistan and Jumaat-e-Islami etc are all either the products or the facilitators of Intelligence agencies of Pakistan. The major nationalities of Pakistan aka Pashtuns, Sindhis, Baluch, Seriakis and Mahajirs are least interested in the so called National interest of Pakistan as it practically means the national interests of the Punjab.

The state controlled media has been propagating the synonymy of Punjabi national interest with Pakistan's national interest to the poor and oppressed masses of Pakistan and specially those of Pakhtunkhwa,Baluchistan,Sindh and South Punjab so that any voice against the injustices of Punjab should be cut in the bud by labelling it against the "national interest of Pakistan". The very structure of the Punjab province is questionable as it should at least be divided into three provinces to give proper representation to the Seriakis and Potoharis

too who constitute two major nationalities of Pakistan having separate cultural and political identity.

The Punjabi dominated civil and military establishment has been avoiding the question of provincial autonomy and all those steps which may bring progress and prosperity to more than 60 percent down trodden and poor masses of Pakistan in general and of Non-Punjabis in particular. It is prime time for the oppressed nationalities of Pakistan to rise up and demand their rights from the so called federation of Pakistan and put an end to all political and institutional dramas being run by Punjab dominated institutions for the last 60 years.

The civil and military establishment has no more chances. If they continue their policy of racial discrimination and ethnic cleansing and socio-politico-economic exploitation of the oppressed nationalities of Pakistan then they will soon be ruling a Pakistan made up only of Punjab minus Seriaki belt and Potohar region.

Unleashing Terrorist Network in Pakistan

The Pakistani Media has again as usual, mis-quoted the recent statements of President Karzai in which he issued a forceful warning to militants in Pakistan, saying he will send Afghan troops across the border to combat Taliban insurgents. The mis-interpretation of the President's statements is done intentionally by the Pakistani media to provoke the Tribal Pashtuns against their fellow Afghan brethren despite of the fact that President Karzai has been warning Pakistan regarding cross border infiltration of Pakistani religious and military terrorists into Afghanistan.

What President Karzai said in his statement was :

1) That terrorists from Pakistani tribal areas are entering Afghanistan for suicide bombing to target Afghan and ISAF forces.

2) That these Terrorists are [ISI-backed] Taliban whose leader is Baitullah Mehsud or Mulla Umar in Pakistan.

3) That Afghanistan and ISAF forces reserve the right to take the revenge of killings by these Talibans in Afghanistan even if Afghan and NATO forces have to chase them to their houses in the FATA.

4) That Afghanistan is also concerned about the atrocities being committed to Pashtuns in Pakistan.

5) That Afghanistan only trusts ANP among the political parties in Pakistan.It is obvious that if the govt of Pakistan does not take any action against these terrorists entering Afghanistan but rather facilitates and trains them to do these nefarious activities then Afghanistan would feel insecure and it would be compelled to take precautionary measures for her security.

Pakistani media is projecting the statement as provocative statement and trying to hide factual position from the world while the statement simply means :

1) That Afghanistan is neither interested to violate the so called sovereignty of Pakistan nor does it want to harm or attack its fellow Pashtun brothers in FATA.

2) That Pakistan is behind the suicide attacks in Afghanistan.

3) That Pakistani agencies are behind the planning and training of the suicide bombers and terrorist.

4) That Pakistan is not sincere to see peace and progress in Afghanistan.

5) That Afghanistan reserves the right to take revenge of all the suicide bombs done by the invisible hands which get activated from FATA – the land of non-local terrorists trained by Pakistani army and agencies with the help of local religious demagogues.

Let us unleash the multi-tier terrorists network active in Pakistan under state

supervision .It is a well established fact that the Taliban as well as other religious prototype groups are the products of ISI.The statements of Baitullah Mehsud and Mulla Umar of TTP are just the Pashto translation of ISPR's statements regarding Afghanistan and Pakhtunkhwa.

The nomenclature of the terrorist network in Pakistan is as follows:

1. The planning and strategy formation is done at the GHQ Rawalpindi both against Pashtuns,Baluchis or Sindhis and against India and Afghanistan.

2. The plan is executed by the intelligence agencies (ISI, MI, IB etc) of Pakistan.

3. Depending upon the geopolitical situation of the region, the modus operandi of the terrorist activities is customised accordingly. In Pakhtunkhwa, the religious parties and clerics are bribed to provide "manpower" for the suicide bombs and other terrorist activities while the more technically sensitive operations like killing of political leaders are carried out by the intelligence agencies themselves.

Religious groups like Taliban along with the local criminal elements are guided by the professionals of the intelligence agencies to control the local people through religious authority. The network of Taliban is extended across Pakhtunkhwa regionwise in order to hijack the freedom and liberty of the local people anytime and to terrorise the people constantly.

Baitullah Mehsud in Waziristan,Mangal Bagh in Khyber agency, Mulla Fazlullah in Swat,Mulla Omar in Bajaur etc are all the ISI puppets playing with the lives of innocent Pashtuns - a nation which has never been conquered with sword but has been falling prey to the authority of religion in history. On top of it all, the military is carrying out operations in the name of war on terror but infact killing all those among the local population who might potentially become a power to reckon with against the designs of the state sponsored terrorist activities and hegemony of Punjab dominated Pakistan army.

In Afghanistan, there is peace in all those cities that are bordering other neighbouring countries except Pakistan. It is the border with Pakistan which has been experiencing political unrest and insurgency due to Taliban. The Taliban in Afghanistan – who were the product of ISI in the early 90's - are under the complete control of Pakistani agencies and plotting plans to destabilise Afghanistan in every possible manner. Pakistani agencies export experts and expertise to the Taliban in Afghanistan via FATA.The same notorious agencies are propagating against the ISAF forces to deceive the world media on one hand and motivate the local population for "Jihad" on the other in order to justify its anti-Afghan activities.

It is therefore suggested that the world community should pressurise Islamabad so that it stop its interference in the internal affairs of its neighbouring countries specially Afghanistan. A stable Afghanistan is in the best interest of Pakistan as Afghanistan is the gateway for all the trade routes to central Asia. Based on an ambiguous state ideology and having no roots and bonds of integrity among the various nationalities ,Pakistan is already on the brink of another collapse due to the prevalent system of injustice and exploitation and therefore is fastly loosing its chances of survival.

Reasons of War in the Pakhtunland

There are three major reasons which makes it necessary for Pakhtuns to fight a war for the freedom of the Pakhtun land:

1) The Al-Qaida factor:

The Al-Qaida mentality is purely an Arab mentality in the garb of religion. They are not interested in the materialisation of Monotheistic ideals translated into a system in the form of Islam but are more interested in the implementation of the Arab culture over the world. Al-Qaida is using Islam as a means for Arab domination rather than a panacea for woes and worries of the world. The ideal of Al-Qaida, therefore, is indirectly an Arab nationalist ideal. This nationalist ideal attracts the Arab blood from across the world due to its anti-Semitic appeal and it tries to mesmerise the rest of the nations by projecting the genuine element of truth associated with it in addition to a promising a bright future in the conception of life hereafter.

Taliban is the localised version of Al-Qaida mentality .The interests of Taliban intersect with Pakistani ideals as far as the destabilising of India and Afghanistan are concerned. That is why Pakistan Army and ISI also corroborate Taliban's ideology invisibly. The Army and ISI mentality sees Al-Qaida cum Taliban ideology as a counteracting factor against Pashtun Nationalism. That is why Pakistan Army train, support and facilitate Taliban as far as their destructive activities in Pashtun land are concerned. But when it comes to the vested interests of Punjab, the army and its agencies retaliate if the Arab nationalist element in Al-Qaida ideology, which aims at the global domination of Arab culture, comes in conflict with the nationalist ideology of Punjabi dominated Pakistan.

ISI has even fabricated a fake Taliban version consisting of local criminal elements and the ISI guys for maligning Pakhtuns because Pakhtuns, despite of being a historically acclaimed retaliatory nation, have been denouncing and flaying extremism and terrorism in strong words and even stronger actions. The terrorist activities much projected on the Pakistani media are the activities of this ISI-fabricated version of Taliban.

2) The American Factor:

The USA has a genuine concern against the rising power of China. It takes it as a blessing that Sino-Indian bonds either do not exist or are extremely weak. So it is in the national interest of USA to take India into confidence and strengthen it in order to deal with China in the future and to de-nuclearise, destabilise and most probably disintegrate Pakistan as it has already served the purpose of its existence for being a proxy against former USSR.

It is also in the interest of US to support anarchy and chaos in Pakistan due to the intrinsic weakness of harmony among the various nationalities living in Pakistan so that on the basis of this chaos it may take the reigns of power directly or indirectly via Pakistan Army. The Americans have also started to realise the same, atleast as part of their current US foreign policy now, after ruining the Pakhtun land for the last three decades using the Pakistani army, ISI, Arabs, Central

Asians and above all the weakness and poverty of feelings of internally as well as externally displaced Afghans. It is also a fact that behind every "mad mullah" in Pakhtun land it is either the ISI or Al-Qaida [Allocated-Quasi political-aide-of-America] working behind the veil.

The barbarians of Al-Qaida were the heroes of Gen. Zia, Gen. Akhter Abdur Rahman and Brig. Yusuf from Pakistan side and William Casey from US side, during the unholy Afghan war in the past. Mark Edkin has already revealed this fact to the world from a military point of view in his book “The Bear Trap”. Interestingly this time, it is the “beard” which was responsible for the unholy Afghan war which is getting trapped by its own creators.Pakhtuns, despite of the misleading propaganda by the theocracy and media of Pakistan, do not consider Americans as their real enemies. However it should neither be considered their naivety nor ignorance as they know the goals and ambitions of the Ford Foundation and the Trilateral Commission behind the Obama administration.

3) The Pakistan factor:

Nationalism, unity and harmony has never been in the interest of any imperialist power, be it British imperialists or Pakistan Army or US global hegemony. While Sindh is clearly either PPP or MQM, Punjab is Muslim league in one or another form [one in power another in opposition] , it is sad to know that the Pakhtun land [North, South and Central Pakhtunkhwa] has divided vote bank of ANP,PKMAP,Mulism league,JUI,JI,PPP etc.While the Mahajirs of Eastern Punjab shares the same culture with the Muslim and non Muslim Punjabis and do not even consider themselves as Mahajirs in Pakistan, there is a large gap between the Muslim Pakhtuns of North,Central,South Pakhtunkhwa in addition to a totally alien feeling for the fellows Muslim Afghan brethren. While the focused Punjabi elite uses Pakhtuns to secure Pakistan and its national interests and take their credit, the Pakhtuns/Afghans, never even used their own resources to achieve the national goals for Pakhtuns/Afghans and safeguard their national interest in Afghanistan and Pakhtunkhwa.

There is big media hype if a single non-Pashtun is killed in Pakistan while no TV channel, no newspaper, no human rights group ,no NGO literally no body except the non projected voice of International Socialists or Nationalists like PKMAP condemn the killing of even hundreds of Pakhtuns by the Pakistani army.

Conclusion:

The feelings of revenge and anger are hibernating in the unconscious of the innocent Pakhtuns, who are not able to see their invisible enemy now, but will soon know them after which the silent ocean of tears in their eyes will transform into a devastating storm of hatred which will destroy everything coming in its way. Pakhtuns are poor but they are used to draw power from their poverty when they stand for their near and dear ones and fight against their enemy. If Nawaz Sharif can stand for the Punjabi interests by initiating the long march and raising his voice even for Baluchistan, why the Pashtun leaders do not have the guts to do the same for Pashtun land. Why ANP or PKMAP cannot lead a long march and seize the parliament for bringing peace to the former Pakhtun state of Swat which by mistake got merged with Pakistan as did the rest of Pakhtunkhwa. The situation in North and Central Pakhtunkhwa is not a local problem. It is the

symptom of a bigger crisis in which Pakhtuns are going to be trapped due to neglecting the importance of sticking to the national interests of Pakhtun land.Pakhtuns of all land should unite and fight for their right to make their future shining and bright.

The Countdown for Pakistan

Pakistan was founded on a weak bond of pan Islamism and a loose concept of Muslim nationalism .It underwent a division in the early seventies as predicted by Abul Kalam Azad .The Bengalis ,who were in majority ,got freedom from the Punjabi dominated state and founded a state of their own called Bangla Desh.The inclusion of Bengal in the then Pakistan was part of the artificial amalgamation of nations having different rather contradictory mindsets and cultures, antagonist histories and conflicting interests. With the passage of time the intrinsic contradictions of various stakeholders in the federation of Pakistan became more and more clear.

In the absence of any natural binding force between the provinces , the consistent policy of Punjab to exploit the resources of other provinces, the unjustified supremacy of armed forces, the absence of a system based on justice for all the citizens nay inhabitants of the state , Pakistan is heading towards a logical and natural catastrophe and disintegration. Internally Pakhtuns,Baluchis ,Sindhis and even Mahajirs and Seriakis do not consider themselves a part of Pakistan due to the absence of any cultural and historic bonds. The truth of the so called religious bond has already been exposed to the world as well as to the people of Pakistan more than once in the history (if it can be called one) of Pakistan.

Looking back to the history of subcontinent even the Hindu majority in India had never usurped the rights of other nationalities or ethnic groups or religious minorities by force so much so as the Pakistan Army has been doing during its three decades of autocratic rule on the basis of sheer power in Pakistan. The minorities in India today are much more secure and enjoy more human and civic rights than the Muslim minority nationalities in Pakistan.

Basically the state nomenclature of Pakistan is based on flaws with a history based on white lies and propaganda which favours the military and civil establishment (mostly owned by Punjabis) of Pakistan. Pakistan is currently neither a secular nor an Islamic state. The secular character is against the very inception of Pakistan which was founded on the basis of religion (atleast according to the official version).The religious basis of Pakistan is neither acceptable to the masses of Pakistan nor to the world community which is the only source of charity for a self respectless state like Pakistan.

There remains no justification of Pakistan anymore. Pakistan can not afford to fight for its sovereignty despite its tall claims. The people have no more sympathies for the Pakistan Army. After ruling Pakistan for three decades, Pakistan army has already brought Pakistan to the brink of total collapse. Army, which is considered the most powerful political party in Pakistan, literally owns the state by virtue of its power instead of serving the state as one of its institution. The same army has been responsible for the targeted killing and genocide of Pakhtuns and Baluchis.It is due to the political role of army in Pakistan's history that Pakistan is destined to disintegrate and get balkanized.

The following are the reasons which make it impossible for Pakistan to survive for long:

1) Pakistan is based on a fake ideology. Pakistan might be Islamic republic in papers but the whole state structure serves only the imperialist designs of Punjabi version of Islam which confines all Muslim brotherhood to ethnic Punjabis and is inhumanly indifferent when it comes to treating non Punjabi Muslims inside and outside Pakistan specially those in its neighbouring countries like Afghanistan.

2) Pakistan has been the basic cause of unrest in the region. It was Pakistan which initiated the wars fought with India.

3) Pakistan occupied Kashmir against the wishes of Kashmiris by supporting the rebellion in Kashmir.

4) Pakistan has nuclear teeth but also reactionary fundamentalists in Army and ISI in addition to religious and political parties which make the nuclear assets vulnerable. It is like a cat protecting milk.

5) The resources of Pakhtuns, Baluchis, Sindhis and Seriakis have been exploited for the last 60 years as a consequence of which there is an ever increasing contempt and revenge in their hearts against the Punjabi dominated Army and ISI.

6) Pakistan has been involved in selling nuclear technology to other countries hence accelerating the race for the proliferation in the region.

7) Pakistan is a haven for the state sponsored terrorists from all over the world.

8) Despite of being a federation, Pakistan is functioning as an autocratic state wherein the power is concentrated not in the hands of people's representatives but with the army and the intelligence agencies.

It is suggested, therefore, that Pakistan should follow the Yugoslavian model of resolving the issues between the various ethnicities with their consent and without much bloodshed otherwise Pakistan will loose its human and other resources too in addition to occupied land of Pakhtuns and Baluchis.This will mark an end to the exploitation by the ruling junta of the majority province Punjab in an amicable way so that atleast in the future the people of the remaining Pakistan which might consist of Punjab and Sind combined should live in peace and harmony with its neighbouring countries.

AFGHANISTAN

Political Stability of Afghanistan

Afghanistan holds the most important geopolitical position in Asia. It is due to its geo-political position that imperialist powers have always tried either to invade Afghanistan by using military means or tried to control it politically. While the political instability of Afghanistan's neighbours may not affect its stability but the political instability of Afghanistan certainly affects the stability of its neighbours.

In the 21st century the importance of Afghanistan has become visible and conspicuous and geopolitical history has proved for the first time that neglecting Afghanistan can not only have devastating effects for Asia but as 911 proved, it can influence global politics too. The world had to pay the price for their indifference to Afghanistan in the form of dividing the history into pre- 911 and post-911 eras.

If it is asked to summarize the mistake of the world community due to which the history of the world is said to be divided into pre-911 and post 911 eras, it is nothing except underestimating the geopolitical importance of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is also the central hub for the central Asian transit trade. Peace in Afghanistan is a guarantee for the economic growth and progress of all Central Asian and South Asian countries.

It is prime time for the major players of the world politics to think seriously about Afghanistan and devise a wise a strategy for its stability in order to ensure the stability of Asia and hence the rest of the world.

The following are the important factors for a stable Afghanistan:

1. The Formation of Strong National institutions:

The formation of a national army which has representation from all the ethnic groups based on merit from different regions of Afghanistan should be the first priority of the Afghan government as security is of pivotal importance to Afghanistan due to its geo strategic location. Afghanistan has been the route of all foreign invasions in the history. It was due to weak security of the country in the form of a disciplined, organised and institutionalized army that the country was destabilized by the imperialist powers. In order to conduct free, fair and transparent elections, the election commission has to be Independent. In this transitional period Afghanistan should try to build strong institutions so that its system can not be hijacked by any third party in the future. For the dream of democracy to come true considering the tribal social structure of Afghanistan the policy makers should consciously make efforts for industrialisation. Strong institutions are the product of democracy which in turn is a product of Industrialisation. For Industrialisation, the focus should be on research and development, technical education and vocational training. Education should be industry-based and industry-oriented otherwise the product of the academia would become liability instead of becoming assets for the nation.

2. National Government based on Proportional Representation:

The provinces should elect their representatives to the Loya Jirga which in turn should elect the president. The representatives should be elected on the basis of proportional ethnic representation in which all ethnic groups should be given representation based on their population. National government will pave the way for a stable Afghanistan which otherwise is prone to ethnic and tribal feuds and clashes due to the vested interests of the world community in general and neighbours of Afghanistan in particular. The technology of e-governance will help in establishing the credibility of the Afghan government in the eyes of world community as well as native Afghans.

3. Prevention of Foreign Intervention and Infiltration:

The intervention and infiltration of foreign elements has to be prevented and stopped by the UN forces. World community has to put pressure on the neighbouring countries specially Pakistan to ensure the prevention of political influence. The government of Afghanistan should provide proofs of cross border infiltration to the world media in order to pressurize all those countries involved in pursuing the policy of strategic depth and pursuing their national interest at the cost bloodshed in Afghanistan.

4. Economic Aid for the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation:

The world community has to provide continuous economic aid to Afghanistan for its reconstruction and rehabilitation. The aid should be invested in infrastructure and institution building to give relief to the war struck Afghan nation and pave the way for the promotion of mutual understanding between various political groups and parties.

5. Repatriation of Afghans to Afghanistan:

Over 3 million plus Afghan refugees are living as refugees in Pakistan and Iran. It is suggested that these refugees relocate to their original motherland in order to contribute in the construction and establishment of Afghanistan .The educated lot in different western countries should also go back to their land and invest in the future of Afghanistan. The only face saving role left for UN after failing to bring peace to Afghanistan is to help refugees settle in their homeland.

The Dream of "Loy Afghanistan"

Afghans have distinct ethnic physical features and are friendly, sociable, hospitable, curious, dignified and egalitarian people. Pashto – which is regarded as centuries old language by the linguists - is the predominant language in the Afghan land. The current Afghanistan and FATA, PATA, FANA, NWFP, Attock, Mianwali and Pakhtun-belt of Baluchistan having 45 percent of Pashtun population in 11 districts of Baluchistan is the historical land of Afghans.

Pakhtuns have been the true followers of monotheistic religions like Judaism and Islam among the revealed religions of history and despite of being exploited by the religious clergy in the name of religion they have stuck to the abstract ideals of monotheism, truth, social justice and respect for the institution of prophethood due to its revolutionary voice against socio-politico-economic injustice and oppression.

Afghans have always appreciated the reformative and humanitarian role of true religious scholars so much so that the concept of "Jumaat" in Pashto which symbolises the space-time-realisation of abstract realities has become a part and parcel of Pashtun culture. It is due to this regard that Afghan history has produced personalities like Rehman baba, Hameed baba, Abdur Raheem Popalzai, Saadullah Khan (Sartor Fakeer), Fakir Ippi, Pir Rokhan etc. These personalities are known for embodying the true spirit of religion which was introduced to the Indians of the subcontinent by Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his poetry.

Due to the geo-political importance of the historical Afghan land as a gateway to south Asia all the imperialist powers whether they were Greeks, Mongols, Mughals or British tried to invade and conquer the Afghan land due to which Afghan land has since been compelled to portray the picture of battlefield between the imperialist forces and retaliatory and resilient Afghans. The result was instability in the Afghan land and in turn political turmoil in Asia.

The most vital factor in Afghan nationalism is Pukhtunwali or Afghaniyat which is in the blood of every Afghan. It is the centuries old socio-ethical code of Afghan societal nomenclature. It is the cultural tradition of Afghan society which defines itself in the individual and collective behaviour pattern of Afghans. This code of ethics has evolved over centuries through nomadic, tribal, agrarian and now in the contemporary industrial and information age. It is even visible in those Pashtuns who have been living in Punjab, Sindh and some states of India and no more know or speak Pashto language. They still unconsciously practice the socio-ethical code of Pukhtunwali in their social relations and collective affairs.

There is no doubt that with the passage of time Pakhtuns living in Pakistan and India are getting affected due to indianisation and state controlled-propaganda-based education system in Pakistan which is suitable to produce good and submissive servants for the colonial legacy prevalent in Pakistan and India but it is alo a fact that despite of geo-political division of Afghans, the intrinsic and inborn love for freedom, retaliation against injustice and No to dictation present in the Afghan nature can get triggered any time which can rejuvenate the freedom loving instinct in the Pakhtuns. Consequently they would get attracted to their

common nucleus of Afghanland - a poor but proud land which has passed the test of time in the most critical moments of its existence even when it was sandwiched between the super powers of the past namely the Persian ,Russian, Mongol and Indian empires.

The contemporary Afghanistan is the remenisance of the glorious Durrani Dynasty of Ahmed Shah baba – the empire which was second in size only to the Ottoman Empire. It can still serve as a source of inspiration for the Pakhtuns to re-attain their past glory in the form of a bright future after getting over the gloomy present in which they are being used to kill their fellow Afghan brothers, to safeguard their non-Afghan enemies, to serve a geographical territory which is destined to change again due to the unjust, brutal and anti-Pashtun policies of the ruling junta and lack of sincere efforts to give due rights to the people of all nationalities.

Afghans possess a national language spoken by the majority, common religion practiced by the majority, thousands of years old glorious past, resilient and freedom loving nature and Pukhtunwali/Afghaniyat as their socio-ethical code of life. Pashtuns of Pakistan are wasting their energies to venerate and defend fake political figures, fabricated parties, fascist movements, dying institutions and adhoc constitution despite of the fact that they constitute an integral part of Afghan nation - a nation which is concentrated in Afghanistan, a power to reckon with in Pakistan and visibly present in India.

Under the current political circumstances it seems difficult if not impossible but history is witness to the fact that despite reverence and contrary to one's wishes geographical boundaries keep on changing. The current inhabitants of Pakistan except Pakhtuns were all Indians before 1947 and they became Pakistanis overnight. The current Bengalis were all Pakistanis before the formation of Bangla Desh but now they are Bengalis. The experiment of dividing countries and lands on the basis of religion has proved wrong times and again and has lost its meaning in the contemporary world.

This is the age of Nationalism. States are being created and disintegrated based on the idea of Nationalism. Language, Land, Ethnicity and social code of ethics are defining new nation states though factors like religion, economy, natural resources, geo-strategic position and interests of the super powers are also important especially in strengthening and weakening of a nation.

It might sound like a dream but it will be difficult for the "lar aw bar" Afghans (meaning Afghans across the Durand line) to remain divided for long as the forces of history will ultimately combine them into a common land so that the region is segmented into its natural and historic nations after which peace and stability of Asia in general and south Asia in particular will be ensured. This unification of "lar aw bar" Afghans will turn out to be the formation of Loy Afghanistan comprising of its lost Pakhtun land (currently under the geographical jurisdiction of Pakistan) and based on the tenets of Pukhtunwali – the centuries old socio-moral code of Afghans.

The Inevitable Unity of Afghans

The history of Pakhtuns shows that they were never defeated by ordinary military means. They fought every invading and imperialist force and compelled them to realise that Pakhtuns were a power to reckon with. The imperialist and exploitative forces realised this fact and always resorted to the strategy of divide and rule. In order to execute their strategy the imperialist forces used various techniques to subjugate Pakhtuns e.g. dividing them into separate political units, sowing the seeds of sectarianism in their land, bribing them wit lucrative and attractive titles. The same forces used Pakhtuns to fight their anti-imperialist enemy by exaggerating the natural capabilities, inborn courage and intrinsic bravery of Pakhtuns.

Due to the lack of education and political consciousness, Pakhtuns fell prey to these traps and could not rise as a nation. The repercussion of this division and disintegration soon showed its ugly face to Pakhtun.The were divided into various vague political entities like NWFP, British Baluchistan, FATA and consequently lost connection with their homeland - Afghanistan. While Afghans suffered due to the strategic and vital geopolitical situation of Afghanistan at the hands of its neighbours and also due to international conspiracies, the fellow brethren of Afghans in Pakistan faced identity crises in the nascent state and former Afghan colony as a result of political isolation. The old enemies of Pakhtuns pretended themselves as Muslim brothers of Pakhtuns within the boundaries of Pakistan and started exploiting the resources of the Pakhtun Land. Serving their vested interest, the ex-clerks of the British Empire maintained the status quo and used the system in every respect to suck the blood of Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations in Pakistan to made them a backward and powerless nation.Pakhtuns ,on the contrary ,naively considered Pakistan to be their homeland and their ex enemies to be their Muslim brothers. It was with the passage of time when Pakhtuns found out the bitter reality and realised their mistake but by that time they had lost Swat, Northern areas, FATA, some areas of Punjab and the Pakhtun areas of Baluchistan to the power elite of Pakistan. The worst thing which happened to them was that they forgot their history and considered the enemies of their ancestors as their heroes.

With Pakistan moving to its natural and inevitable disaster and catastrophic fate, the enemies of Pakhtuns realised that Pakhtuns should be eliminated from the canvas of Pakistan using religion as a tool. Consequently the exploiter class consisting of civil and military beaureocracy inculcated and engrained religion into the very roots of Pakhtuns and used their historic land not only to safeguard Pakistan for their vested interests but also demonised Pakhtuns to the international community and used the international community to justify their massacre every where.

Pakhtuns were used at the altar of Pakistan’s interests in Afghan war by General Chaudhry Zia ul Haq.Similarly in the early nineties Pakhtuns were used against their fellow Afghan brethren in the name of Taliban to take over the reign of Afghan govt and to topple the govt of Afghan nationalist Dr Najib as well as to kill Ahmed Shah Masood.Afghanistan was treated as the fifth province of Pakistan in the higher echelons of Pakistani power elite during the presidency of Ghulam

Ishaq who even allocated a separate fund for the same purpose. Pakhtun genocide was planned in Karachi during the Musharraf regime with the help of the terrorist organisation called MQM, who were backed by Musharraf during his regime. At the same time Pakhtuns were ruthlessly killed in FATA and various parts of Pakhtunkhwa.There annihilation of Pakhtuns reached it climax due to the preplanned drama in Swat where an ISI backed puppet Mullah Fazlullah used to deliver his fanatic speeches to the people of Swat from an army station. The militants and the military - two faces of the same coin are playing with the lives of innocent Pakhtuns across the imaginary Durand line. The Pakistani military kill them after labelling them as terrorist and train them as Taliban. They get aid from the US to equip itself against Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations in Pakistan and train them as Taliban against ISAF and NATO forces in Afghanistan and against Indian security forces in Kashmir using the state controlled biased media to project their activities to the world at the same time.

The political leadership of Pakhtuns should unveil the truth that Talibanisation is the technique of Pakistani forces to conquer the Pakhtun land with the help of fake religious authority and refrain Pakhtuns from their freedom struggle as well as use them against any foreign intervention which might turn out to be a blessing in disguise for Pakhtuns and other oppressed nations of Pakistan. The political leadership should also tell the world about the anti human and hypocritical policy of Pakistani power elite viz civil and military beaureocracy against Pakhtuns according to which they project Pakhtuns as terrorist and at the same time train them as Taliban to play with the fate of the Pakhtun nation.

Taliban is the terrorist wing of ISI and other agencies of Pakistani power elite. The Pakistani power elite want to keep the reigns of power in their hands and want to snatch even the right to live from the people of Pakhtun land â€“ a land which is destined to get freedom from the clutches of tyranny and injustice in the near future. The west of Indus shall witness the rejuvenating music of flute which laments the separation of its organic part as a result of which it will soon be united to its motherland as encapsulated in his verse by the sage of Persia:

Bishno az nay cho hikayat me kunad
Az Judaae ha Shikayat me kunad

In defence of Afghanistan - the sacred land of Pakhtuns

This is time in Pakhtun history where the prophetic verse of Ahmed Shah Baba is depicting the true contemporary picture of Afghans across the Durand line.

Pakhtane de tola laas sara yaw kandi
Che mo nun ghza her loree sha aw khwa da

We know that:

1) the religious cultists of Iran are interfering into the internal affairs of Afghanistan due to its sectarian stand in Politics.

2) the Punjabis of Pakistan are occupying a major part of Afghan land and they are dreaming to conquer the rest of Afghanistan to make it their fifth province and use Afghan blood at the altar of their dirty national politics.

3) the Yankees of US are using our land and people to safeguard their vested interests.

4) the Idolaters of India are planning to repeat the role of east Indian company on our soil.

5) the Materialists of Russia have not forgotten their retreat from our soil.

6) the Arabs of Middle East want to use our land and people as the guinea pigs for the restoration of their lost national glory.

But....we Afghans swear by the sword of Ahmed Shah baba, the "Nang" of Khushal baba, the retaliation of Mirwais Neka, the pride of Sher Shah and above all the sanctity of Pashto that we will never submit to the world. The world will never hear "Yes Sir" from us. We know why we are the bone of contention in the eyes of our neighbours and the imperialist forces.

We know that: Pakistan is using the policy of strategic depth to destabilise Afghanistan due to the relationship of Afghanistan with India and is using ISI-backed Taliban to carry out its operations.

We are aware that Pakistan wants to control Afghanistan via its secret agencies to make Afghanistan its fifth province and make itself strong in the region against India.

We know that Pakistan considers pro-India Afghanistan to be against its national interests that is why it is against ISI-Taliban in Afghanistan on diplomatic front but they back them invisibly.

It is a fact that NATO forces/ISAF despite their services for the stability have not won the hearts of Afghan people and are still doing ultra judicial collateral damages due to which they are loosing sympathies. They are projected by pro Taliban elements as invaders and not ISAF forces to stabilise Afghanistan especially.

This is also a fact that Afghans cannot trust US due to its imperialist policies in the past. We also sense that Al-Qaeda is there to realise the dreams of global Arab domination using their religion and our region. They want to hijack Afghanistan and then Pakistan to implement their version of Islam with the help of the ISI-backed Taliban despite of the fact that they are unable to implement the same in their own countries.

We know that Iran, despite being anti-imperialist ,is conscious about the export of sectarian version of religion to Afghanistan and is having apprehensions that Afghan soil will be used against US attack that is why it does not want to see a stable Afghanistan.

There is, however, light at the end of the tunnel for Afghans to make Afghanistan a modern, democratic, progressive, sovereign, prosperous and socio-politico-economically free state due to the following reasons.

1. The geo strategic position of Afghanistan is vital for the world peace.

2. Afghans have seen three decades of war and life of refuge which has made them conscious about their national identity and their friends and foes.

3. Time has taught Afghans to get united on the principle of unity in diversity forgetting their feuds, enmity and internal conflicts otherwise the imperialist powers want to invade it due to its strategic position.

4. The institutions of Afghanistan are getting stronger due to the continuity of democratic tradition under the compulsions of international pressure.

5. The govt of Afghanistan is wisely exploiting the current geo-political situation for the national interests of Afghanistan by having good relations with neighbours as well as the developing and developed world.

6. Afghan leadership is exploiting the contradictions of the contemporary politics for the national interest of Afghanistan to ensure the integrity, stability and progress of Afghanistan.

7. The electronic and print media of Afghanistan like Lemar, Shamshad, Tolu and other channels is bringing political consciousness in the masses by exposing the conspiracies against the govt and people of Afghanistan by its enemies. The Afghan media is reaching each nook and corner of Afghanistan making Afghans aware of the world affairs. This is the age of media whatever is projected in media makes and breaks opinions.

8. Afghanistan has already successfully framed a constitution which guarantees basic human rights to every Afghan citizen without any discrimination of ethnicity.

9. Afghanistan has denounced Nationalism based on Racism as it is not only unscientific but also harmful and impractical to the national integrity.

10. Afghanistan is fastly evolving from tribal to agrarian and industrial society with the help of the world community.

11. Afghans have sense of a nation with common religion, history, geographical features, culture and a sense of unity since 1747 when even the current Pakistan, some part of India, Iran and central Asia were part of Afghan empire.

12. Ahmed Shah baba is a model example of Afghan unity acceptable to all Afghans and respected by the Muslim world as well as neighbouring states.

Long live Afghans - the dwellers of the proud rugged mountains with high peaks which have trained its inhabitants to live with pride despite of poverty and to survive despite of being right in the middle of the Persian cultists, Indian idolaters, Pakistani hypocrites and Russian materialists.