Pak-Iran Relations in the Post-Imperial World

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Abstract

The continuing interaction between the peoples of Iran and Pakistan is centuries old. It has its roots in historical, cultural and lingual affinity. 'From the time of first sustained Muslim influences', states Howard Wriggins, 'the models for political structure and processes as well as religious inspiration and cultural influences came from Iran and not the Arab Middle East.'¹ The trajectory of Iran - Pakistan relations has been shared by not only the domestic and regional dynamics but also due to the impact of global correlation of forces. As the title indicates, this paper is an attempt to analyze the situation of Pakistan-Iran relations in the post-imperial world.

Background of the Issue

Before proceeding to the main discussion of this issue it would be appropriate to mention here the pertinent observation of Gearge Nethaniel Curzon who says: 'Turkestan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia, Persia to many these names breathe only a sense of utter remoteness or a memory of strange vicissitudes.... To me I confess, they are the pieces of a chessboard upon which is being played out a game for the domination of the world.'² Iran and Pakistan are thus located astride the two great energy routes of the world, i.e., The Persian Gulf - Caspian Sea, and Makran Coast, sea lanes of Arabian Sea connected with Indian Ocean. As reflected above, this study charts the evolution of Pakistan-Iran relations through several phases; the 1979 revolution, Iran-Iraq war, Afghan war, US intervention in Afghanistan, Khatami's civilizational, discourse, Iran-India-Pakistan gas pipeline project, Iran's nuclear stand off and the role of regional and global powers.

In the 19th century, the British defined Persian question in terms of the decline of imperial Iranian state and the management of that decline. The Iranian question facing the US in the 21st century is that of the birth of modern Iranian state and its reemergence as a regional power. The Iranian question in the context of Pakistan's interaction is about a relationship and its transformation. Thus, in this perspective, the underlying assumptions of critical theory³ with its

¹ Howard Wriggins, "Changing Power Relations between the Middle East and South", *Orbis* (Fall 1976): p. 787.

²George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, Vol. 1 (Frank Cass: London, 1966), pp. 3-4.

³ Jennifer Sterling Folker (ed.), *Making Sense of International Relations Theory*, (New Delhi: Via Publishers, 2007), p.158.

emphasis on discourse ethics⁴ seem to be more appropriate in the analysis of Pak-Iran relations.

It may be mentioned here that for the purpose of analysis of the situation, this paper particularly focuses on relationships between state power and interplay of power politics at systemic level.⁵ In addition, it also explores the impact of culture and other relevant issues affecting the whole setup of this region particularly at the level of inter societal systems in order to comprehend processes affecting foreign policy behavior of states.⁶ To promote prosperity and peace in this region the discourse ethics is 'founded on the image of a mosaic, its beauty is enhanced by its various parts, not being all of one color, shape or texture, but it has a definitive pattern which governs the order of the individual pieces, and it has a shared framework and a glue that keep the pieces together.⁷⁷

It is noteworthy that the relevance of Iran and Iranian events lies in the fact that barely a day goes by without an update appearing in print and electronic media about Tehran's nuclear program. As stated by Graham Allison the Pentagon official of Harvard University that an 'American Hiroshima' is inevitable if Iran pursues its policy of nuclearisation.⁸ In the same token, even more significant are Iran's natural resources. Of course, no one knows exactly the size of Iran's oil and gas resources. But, according to one estimate of Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, with additional reserves discovered in Khuzestan and South Pars gas field since 2000, Iran possesses 95 billion barrels of oil. Outsized by 260 billion barrels of Saudi Arabian proven oil reserves. Similarly 940 trillion cubic ft of gas reserves were aided by 2 new natural gas fields discovered in June 2004 at Balal and Lavan Island in the Persian Gulf. Tabnak a super giant

⁴ Andrew Linklater, "Achievements of Critical Theory" in S. Smith, K. Booth and M. Zalewski (eds.) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (New York Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), p. 286.

⁵ G. John Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition", *Foreign Affairs*, 81 no.5 (2002): 46. It is noteworthy that at global level, significant changes take place when the number of great powers in reduced. Thus structural changes affect state behavior. Also see, John J. Mearshiemez, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), p. 386. In the Post-Cold War era, structural change resulted in American 'unilateral interventionism' with an unprecedented show of power.

⁶ Lubna A. Ali, "Ideology and Pragmatism in South-West Asia: A Case Study of Iran", *Regional Studies* XXV No.4 (Autumn 2007): 35 – 50.

⁷ Amitai Etzioni, *Security First for a Muscular Moral Foreign Policy* (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 2007), p. 189.

⁸ Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, (New York: Times Books, 2004).

gas field containing 15.7 trillion cubic ft. of gas was only discovered in 2000.⁹ The significance of Iran is further established in the context of:

Exclusive resources of minerals and metals including copper, gold and uranium as well as the demographies necessary for industrial growth, with a population estimated at seventy five million. To these material advantages must be added a rich and cohesive cultural inheritance whose influence far exceeds the boundaries of the modern Iranian state.¹⁰

The combination of material conditions and the nature of Iran-US hostility is a key factor that allows regime in Tehran to challenge US global hegemony. In the Post-Cold War era, the vision of nuclear catastrophe, terrorist violence and drug trafficking are the major concerns of the United States.11 With American Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), the strategic significance of Pakistan gained prominence. Iran, likewise is the linchpin state of the region with 615 miles of Gulf coastline. A major concern for Tehran is Pakistan's strategic partnership with US in the post 9/11 war against terrorism. Conversely for Pakistan it is Iran's economic and strategic transactions with the adversary India. How Pakistan and Iran try consistently to invoke ancient relations to legitimize convergence of their national interests is the key question of this paper.

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework of this study is based on 'realist' assumptions and realist critique as well as the impact of variables in foreign policy making choices. Viewed from realist perspective international structure creates anarchy. Realism thus defines the concept of interest in terms of power and 'infuses' rational order into the subject matter of politics.¹² Neorealism emerged in the 1970's as a response to the challenges of interdependence theory and partly as a corrective to traditional realism's neglect of economic forces. Thus, significant changes take place when the number of great powers is reduced. While we

⁹ Roger Howard, *Iran Oil: The New Middle East Challenge to America, London*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), p. 6.

¹⁰ Ali M. Ansari, *Confronting Iran: The failure of American Foreign Policy and the Roots of Mistrust* (London: Hurst Co, 2006), p.1.

¹¹ John J. Mearshiemer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), p. 386.

¹² Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 6th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1985), p.3.

understand that states compete not only for survival and security but in advantage to each other as well.¹³

In the Post-Cold War era, structural change in the aftermath of 9/11 resulted in American 'unilateral interventionism' with an unprecedented show of power.¹⁴ The implication of this theoretical framework is based on the fact that Pakistan is a nuclear weapons state. With plenty of homegrown terrorists, it faces serious challenges to its security. On the other hand, Iran is determined to achieve its nuclear ambitions. Once again international security is threatened by events in South and South-West Asia. So in these circumstances, is there any possibility of an 'alternative path of historical development?' In fact, this situation necessitates discourse ethics, with its main focus on the study of linguistics. It also emphasizes the need for a global ethic of responsibility for poorer members of world society.

It is noteworthy that alongside realist agendas, there are moral universal principles that states have incorporated as objectives of their foreign policy. Similarly there are new concepts being institutionalized, i.e.:

- i) international protection of human rights;
- ii) economic conditions of poorer members of world society; and,
- iii) universal heritage of mankind.¹⁵

The significance of this theoretical framework for the present paper lies in exploring relationship between state power, culture and moral development. To take into account the impact of inter-societal processes, critical theory aims to explore tendencies within existing political realities. These could be effectively used to channel the countervailing discourses that are immanent within the systemic constraints.¹⁶ Thus, 'with the focus on study language and linguistics... that social reality is created through discourse.'¹⁷ This is with objective to 'identify the sources of potentially far-reaching change so that human subjects can grasp the possibility of alternative path of historical

¹³ Kenneth N. Waltz, "Structural Realism after the Cold War", *International Security*, 25, *no.1* (2002): p. 5.

¹⁴ G. Gohn Ikenberry, "America's Imperial Ambition", *Foreign Affairs* 81 no.5 (2002): p. 46.

¹⁵ Hedley Bull, *Intervention in World Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984). See also, Hedley Bull & Adam Watson, *The Expansion of International Society*, {Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984}. Martin Wight, Gabrielle Wight and Brian Potter (eds.), *International Theory: The Three Traditions* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991).

¹⁶ Andrew Linklater, *Critical Theory and World Politics* (Routhledge: Oxford & New York, 2007), pp. 45-47.

¹⁷ Jennifer Sterling Folker (ed.) "Post Modernism and Critical Theory Approaches", *Making Sense of International Relations Theory* (New Delhi: Viva Publishes, 2007), p. 158.

development which can be explored through collective political action.¹⁸ It presupposes a discursive field that exists across international societies with the dominant theme of essential unity of human race. Therefore, the critical theory variant as proposed by Habermas entail what is called universal pragmatics or discourse ethics.

With reference to the issue under discussion, the significance of critical theory emerges from analysis of Fred Halliday, a Professor at London School of Economics. He has mentioned 'flourishing of Iranian secular culture in the US diaspora and the influence of Iranian literature and language in Afghanistan and Central Asia.' He further elaborates that it is part of the process of reconciling greater integration of states at the economic, social and political level, and is based on acknowledging diversity. He concludes that 'the most widely read poet in the United States today is an Iranian, Jamal al-Din Rumi.'¹⁹

A Triangular Relationship of America, Iran and Pakistan

Iran and Pakistan are located at cross-currents of events. They share a trifunctional border. It connects Pakistan's NWFP and its largest province Balochistan as well as Makran Coast in Sindh with Afghanistan's Helmund Province and Seistan on the Iranian side of Balochistan. There exist historical complexity of ethnic, tribal and socio-political composition of people and centuries of cross-border interactions among them. Both Iran and Pakistan have trouble in controlling drug trafficking and illicit arms trade that goes on among the non-state actors and groups in this region. Iran and Pakistan agreed on extradition measures (under the Extradition Treaty of 1960), joint patrolling, cross-border movement and issues of drug trafficking. A Five Point agreement was concluded between Pakistan and Iran through the joint efforts of Pak-Iran Special Committee to Check Cross-Border Terrorism.²⁰

On 28 May 2009, Jundollah carried out deadly suicide bombing inside Masjide Ameer ul Momenin in Zahedan, Siestan, killing 25 people. The three Pakistanis who confessed that they supplied explosives were publically hanged in Zahedan on 30 May 09. There were demonstrations against Iranian execution in Quetta. On 18 October, 2009, a suicide bomber killed 49 people in a conference hall in Iranian city Sarbaz, Siestan. Jundollah claimed the responsibility of killing top commander of the elite Revolutionary Guards of the

¹⁸ Juger Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Fred Halliday, Foreward in Ali Mohammadi, ed. *Iran Encountering Globalisation* (New York: Routhledge, 2003), p. xv.

²⁰ The Nation, 14 Sept., 2000.

Province Geneneral Mohammad Zadeh and Nour Ali Shoushtri, the deputy head of the Guards ground forces.²¹

Jundollah (the soldiers of God) are Pakistan based anti-Shia militant outfit. This group has the support of TTP (Tehrike Taliban Pakistan) and the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ), and badly undermines Iran-Pakistan relations. In his telephonic conversation with his Pakistani counterpart Asif Ali Zardari, Iranian President Ahmadinejad conveyed that Abdul Malik Rigi, the Chief of Jundollah operated from Pakistan. After the extradition of Abdul Hamid Rigi, the brother of Jundollah Chief to Iran on 15 June 2008 Jundollah's anti-Iran activities increased. Simultaneously, the high profile target of Jundollah in Karachi was Lt. Gen. Ahsan Saleem Stavat, the former Corp Commander of Karachi. On 10 June, 2004 who narrowly escaped but 11 people were killed when his convoy was ambushed near the Clifton Bridge. On 10 October 2009, when heart of Pakistan GHQ was attacked, Pakistan could not equally prevent it while the reporting had already been conveyed. In the aftermath of Karachi attempt, police apprehended a group of Jundollah terrorists headed by an Arab Musab Aruchi, who turned out to be a nephew of Khalid Sheikh the alleged mastermind of 9/11. This all complexity further points towards collaboration of efforts to root out terrorism.

IPI Gas Pipeline Project

In terms of political and economic systems, the societies in both Iran and Pakistan are going through crucial phases of a critical transformation. Solution to most of their domestic problems depends upon peace in the regional environment and growth in economic activity among the neighbors. Since early 1990's tensions between Washington and Islamabad has been growing over plans to build a pipeline that could move large quantities of Iranian natural gas into Pakistan.

Pakistan is eager for the project because it would provide an estimated 600 million dollars a year in transit fees. It involves laying of 2670 km long pipeline of 48 inch diameter. It would connect Asaluyed gas field in Southern Iran to the proposed energy hub of Pakistan, i.e., Multan. By 2010 could allow Indians to import around 2 billion cubic ft. of Iranian natural gas everyday.²² Pakistan's interest in Iranian natural gas is basically due to growing gap between increasing demand and diminishing supply. According to estimates presented at the OGDC Conference (Pakistan's Oil and Gas Development Corporation)

²¹ *The News International*, 19 October 2009. Amin Mir's Report on 20 October 2009, p. 12.

²² Dawn, "US objects to gas pipeline", 28 July 2005. *Pak-Iran Relations*, IPRI FACT FILE, 1-x, No.7 (July 2007): 33. Also see, Roger Howard, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

held at Islamabad in 2004, 'Pakistan's shortfall by 2010 would be 0.2 billion cubic feet per day (bcfd) going up to 1.4 bcfd by 2015 and 2.7 bdfd by 2020.²³

On 10 June 2005, the project was discussed at length by Pakistani foreign minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri and the then Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice. She pointed out that even if the US administration dropped its opposition there would be other powerful groups in Congress and the media to inflict serious dents on Pak-US relations. Rather TAP or Iran's Afghan pipeline for Pakistan from Turkmenistan was proposed.²⁴

Iran, China and the United States

Since 2007, China has emerged as the number one buyer of Iranian natural gas. According to a recent study, the economic expansion of China has accounted for one-third global growth in the demand of oil.²⁵ Chinese ambassador to Tehran Sun Bi told Tehran television in 2002 that China 'supports a multi-polar world, is critical of Israeli killings and believes that the peace in the Middle East will not be achieved without the materialization of the rights of Palestinians, including withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories.' Iranian leaders, since then have consistently sought the historical roots of Iran-China relations dating back 2,000 years ago in the famous Silk Road when their fore-fathers began friendly exchanges.²⁶

Ahmadinejad and New-conservatives in Iran

With the ascendance to power of Iranian hard-line president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran-US conflict entered a new phase. He has been referred to as a 'real' phenomena in modern Iranian politics. For winning back power, he has made first: a recourse to social justice and the welfare of the poor. Reza's(AS) love program {fund collected in the name of eighth Shi'ite Imam Ali bin Musa al Reza(AS) revered by all Iranians}, is one example of offering financial assistance to jobless youth in Iran. Secondly, he has increasingly emphasized the question of hag (truth) versus batil (falsehood) in religious matters.²⁷

Iranian retaliatory posture emerges from huge oil and gas reserves. It is coupled with a global increase in demand of energy resources. Thirdly, the

²³ Navid Hamid of Asian Development Bank at the Pakistan Oil and Gas Corporation Conference at Islamabad, 2004.

²⁴ Roger Howard, *op.cit*, pp. 83, 113.

²⁵ John W. Garner, China and Iran: Ancient Partners in a Post – Imperial World. {Washington: University of Washington Press, 2007}. ²⁶ "China Reform Monitor", 442 *American Foreign Policy Council,* 22 April 2002. VOA,

²⁴ July 2005.

Anoushiravan Ehteshami and Majoob Zweiri, Iran and the Rice of its Neoconservatives (London & New York: I. B Tauris & Co., 2007), p. 150.

rising price of oil from \$33 per barrel in 2004 to \$70 in August, the next year provides Tehran with diplomatic opportunities. Iran uses bargaining power against US in three important aspects:

- America refuses to deal with Iran since the hostages crises in November i) 1979. None of the states have a comparable strength of hostility towards Iran other than Israel. Thus all other American allies in Europe and elsewhere have economic and commercial contracts with Iran. It undermines Washington's ties with its allies.
- Iran on the basis of its energy sources has developed links with ii) America's rivals in the region like China. Russia and even Japan.
- With huge profits obtained due to its sale of gas and oil, Iran has for iii) example offered Russian firms to develop its outdated energy infrastructure.
- iv) Ahmadinejad's challenging pronouncements against the holocaust and the state of Israel, like his speech in UN General Assembly in February 2005 about 'wiping Israel off the map.'28

Iran-US Nuclear Controversv

At the center of controversy is Iran's centrifuge plant at Natanz 250 km away from Tehran. Iran signed Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968. In December 2003, Iran also signed additional protocol of the NPT allowing snap inspections of its nuclear facilities. Article 4 of the NPT grants non-nuclear states the right to produce fuel for nuclear energy. The controversy emerges because the same fuel could be used for producing nuclear weapons. In June 2003, IAEA in its report after inspection of Natanz and heavy water plant at Arak stated Iran's failure to comply with NPT.²⁹

Some particles of highly enriched uranium were discovered at an Iranian technical university which were traced to Dr. Qadeer's networks. In 2004, Iran agreed to suspend all uranium enrichment as a deal with Europe's 3 i.e. UK. Germany and France. Under pressure from US the EU-3 backed out. Thus in 2005, Iran renewed the enrichment process at Isfahan plant. In March 2006, Iran's case was referred to the Security Council.³⁰

Iran in a 21 page response suggested that it was prepared to talk but would not accept suspension as a pre-condition. In 2009, the discovery of an additional

²⁸ BBC News at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle-east/4382594.stm, 27 Oct. 2005. Jim Ruttenberg and Helene Cooper, "President Spars Over Irans Aims and US Power", New York Times, 20 September 2006, A1.

²⁹ Scott D. Sagan, "How to keep the Bomb from Iran", Foreign Affairs, Vol. 85 No.5 (September-October. 2006), p. 47.

Ray Takeyh, "Time for Détente with Iran", Foreign Affairs, (March/April 2007), p. 7.

nuclear facility in the mountains of Qum has created suspicion in the Iran-US nuclear row. Iran's allegations of involvement of US and Great Britain in the riots that erupted in Tehran at the end of Iranian presidential elections in July 2009 further aggravated the conflict.

The US objective to finance the opposition groups in Iran to bring about regime change has earlier been highlighted. However, this does not guarantee the abandonment of Iran's nuclear program at all.³¹ Consequently, instead of threatening regime change or attacking Iran, it is necessary to architecture a foreign policy that conforms to international law and universally binding moral principles.³²

Review and Reflections

The central argument of this paper was to combine pragmatism with morality. Such acts are as a rule, much more effective and less costly than those without the backing of this 'soft' power.³³ Inter-societal harmony re-establishes cultural plurality to generate discursive space for accommodation and acceptance of mutuality of interests. This is to appreciate diversity. The preceding discussion reflects that both Iran and Pakistan may well cooperate to root out terrorism, their commitment to a core of shared values, security concerns, drug trafficking, energy issues and elimination of poverty. The year 2007 was declared by UNESCO as the year of Rumi and United Nations declared 2008 the year of Alliance of Civilisations.³⁴

Since the Islamic revolution in 1979, there had been many ups and downs in Iran-Pakistan relations. These instable relations were nurtured in addition to sectarian violence by the Taliban phenomena. The ouster of which removed a major irritant between Iran and Pakistan. There still persist differences of perception in some key areas. For example, over the deployment of multinational forces in Afghanistan, Iran wants the force under the umbrella of the United Nations, but Pakistan is ready to accept one even if it is out of the United Nations. With the success of operation Rahe Haq in Swat and Buner and the initiation of Rah-e-Nijat in Waziristan armed forces of Pakistan have given supreme sacrifices.

Another area of disagreement is the route for the strategic access to the oil and gas rich but landlocked Central Asian States. Islamabad's dry port, and Karachi

³¹ Steven R. Weisman, "Rice is seeking \$85 million to Prod Changes in Iran", *New York Times*, 16 February, 2006, p. 14.

³² Anthony Lieven and John Hulsman, *Ethical Realism: A Vision for America's Role in the World* (Pantheon, 2006).

³³ Joseph Nye Jr., *Soft Power*. The Means to Success in World Politics, (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 7.

³⁴ "Alliance of Civilisation: Highlights of the High-Level Group Report", *Islamic Studies*. Vol. 46, No.2 (Summer 2007): 276 – 285. http://www.unaoc.org>.

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and Gwadar's seaports provide the shortest route while Tehran claims Bander Abbas and Chah Bahar to be the appropriate links for transmission to the outside world.

A key concern for Tehran is Pakistan's strategic partnership with US in the post 9/11 war against terrorism. Conversely, for Pakistan it is Iran's economic and strategic transactions with the adversary India. However, the overriding principle in this context is the shared threat perceptions to their national security.

Indo-Iran defense cooperation agreement signed in Tehran between the Indian Naval Chief and the Chairman of the Chief of Staff Committee, and the Iranian Minister of Defense and Logistics, Rear Admiral Ali Shamkhani conveys a commonality of Indo-Iranian geo-strategic perception. While Pakistan is a partner in the US-led, international coalition against terrorism in Afghanistan, Iran being declared as 'axis of evil' by the US president in January 2003.

With the removal of the Taliban, Pak-Iran tensions over Afghanistan have decreased yet the need remains for countries' interactive dialogue over Afghanistan. For example, Pakistani officials point to Iran's role in facilitating the introduction of the 'Indian factor' in Afghanistan through Indo-Iranian joint ventures for infrastructural development. Second the expansion of Indian consulate in Zahidan, a town bordering Iran and Pakistan is viewed with apprehension in Islamabad.

The crucial factor to build a relationship of friendship and tolerance is the commonality of geography and the continuing interaction between peoples who share common cultural heritage, history and language. To further cement the historical ties, it is imperative to understand each other's vital interests. The crucial factors that could promote shared perceptions and enhance cooperation could possible by:

- a) The establishment of academic exchange programs between universities and research institutions of Iran and Pakistan.
- b) Initiation of strategic dialogue between heads of concerned departments to address issues of national security territorial integrity, military defense, and a focus on regional and international challenges to both Iran and Pakistan.
- c) Pak-Iran joint economic ventures to promote strategic partnership. The on-going progress on Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline is a case in point.

In May 2007, during the course of 34th session of foreign ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Islamabad, Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Motakki stated that: 'In relations between Iran and

Pakistan, mutual interests are principally observed.³⁵ Pakistan being one of those countries with which Iran wants to expand ties in all fields.³⁶ Expansion of links could be a stepping stone for shared perception about each others vital interests. To live and let live be the motto among ancient neighbors. As stated by Seyyed Hossein Nasr: 'Jihad is therefore the inner battle to purify the soul of its imperfections, to empty the vessel of the soul of the purgent water of forgetfulness, negligence and the tendency of evil and to prepare it for the reception of the Divine Elixir of Remembrance, Light and Knowledge.'³⁷

³⁵ "Pakistan – Iran Relations", IPRI Fact file. Op.cit., p.44.

³⁶ IRNA, 16 May 2007.

³⁷ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Heart of Islam. Enduring Values for Humanity*, (New York: Haiper Sam Francisco, 2002), p.260.{Purgent water is generated when ground water monitoring is performed and contains elements before purifying protocols}.