

Part III: Questions

1. "How independent is the ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) [of the military regime]?"

Answer: Civilian governments never had a handle on it, but military governments do. It is convenient for the military to say it is not in control of it.

2. "If the military is in control of militant groups, how was the recent attack on the Indian army personnel and families in Jammu possible? Surely this is of no advantage for Musharraf."

Answer: Musharraf is in control of the military. It is unclear whether the attackers are rogue elements within the ISI. In any case, none of the militant groups would like to completely sever their links with the military.

The Pakistani military is not cracking down on them. Those responsible for the murder of Wall Street Journal Reporter Daniel Pearl and others are not controlled by Musharraf, but the Pakistani military has been providing support for militant groups in Kashmir. Operating in Kashmir requires a level of logistical support that militant groups cannot provide on their own. As well, terrorist incidents in Pakistan do not threaten the Musharraf government. Musharraf is not a force for stability at all; he is neither thinking of Western interests nor broader Pakistani interests.

3. "If we are supporting faith-based schooling in the West, why have madrassas in Pakistan come under attack by Western analysts? And further, I'd like to comment, that nothing is going to change without bringing the Kashmir issue to the fore."

Answer: There needs to be greater knowledge of the opinions of the Kashmiris themselves. Kashmiri groups have been characterized by factional in-fighting and ineffective organization. It is in the interest of both India and Pakistan to listen to Kashmiri voices.

On *madrassas*, I do not support faith-based education. *Madrassas* provide useful services, but some are bases for jihadi extremist activity. It is key to develop a policy to identify extremist groups. We also need to support efforts to create a secular education system in Pakistan, and dry up funding for extremist *madrassas*. To a great extent, the funding for *madrassas* is coming from Saudi Arabia. As part of globalization, Saudi money is diminishing the uniqueness of the area. Saudi *Wahabism* is pushing out local forms of Islam and supporting militant activity.

4. "One of the myths out there is that Kashmir is essential to Pakistan's national identity. What can be done to dispel it?"

Answer: It is indeed a myth that the Pakistani public would not support a U-turn on Kashmir policy. I was recently in Pakistan on "Kashmir Solidarity Day" which was largely "government noise." The Kashmir myth is useful for the Pakistani military. The Pakistani army is still deeply humiliated by its military defeat in the 1971 war with India. As well, nearly 2 million Bengalis were massacred by the Pakistani army during this war. Hence, the humiliation resulting from this event will make a policy shift on the Kashmir issue problematic. Certainly, any solution [to the Kashmir issue] will require some serious compromises on the Indian side. However, the Indian middle class is now expecting the government to deliver economic success and this may prompt