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MESSAGE OF PATRON



The evolving global security environment is though complex and challenging also offers opportunities to those who position themselves correctly. Correct strategic positioning is invariably a result of conceptual clarity obtained through objective research and analysis. To this end, Armed Forces War College (AFWC) at the National Defence University promotes knowledge through enhanced research and analysis in the field of national security.

This edition of OPINION e-journal comprises research work undertaken by the course members of National Security and War Course (NSWC) 2013-14. The selected articles are of general interest to a wide range of researchers, scholars and policy makers. We expect the journal to promote scholarly knowledge by inspiring discussions and information sharing with regards to comprehensive national security.

I would like to acknowledge the commitment and hard work of the entire team of OPINION on publication of its 4th edition. I hope the ideas shared would contribute towards creating awareness on the security matters highlighting need to promote peace and stability.

Major General Muhammad Naeem Ashraf
Commandant, Armed Forces War College
National Defence University, Islamabad

CHIEF EDITOR'S CORNER

We feel great pleasure in presenting the 4th edition of our AFWC "**Opinion**" e-journal, the first publication of this year's biannual issue. Deliberate efforts have been made by all concerned to maintain the high standard set forth by the University in bringing the well researched work by the panels of NSWC 2013-14 mainly comprising research work of individuals / panels on key issues.

For our new readers, OPINION journal is a publication of Pakistan's premier institution National Defence University Islamabad. The magazine is a collection of selected researched work of the panels /individuals. The Journal is broadly divided into four sections i.e. Global / Regional issues, National Security, Military Strategy and views of individual writers on contemporary issues.

I strongly believe that readers will feel a professional analytical approach and find new ideas in this edition as well. This edition will definitely be NDU's another leap for intellectual and professional development.

**Midhat Shahzad
Chief Editor OPINION
AFWC Journal**

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PART – I

Global / Regional Issues

- **US National Security Strategy-2010 – Interests in South and West Asia**
- **Pakistan – Russia Relations and Future Prospects**
- **US - India Strategic Alliance and Pakistan's Security Concerns**

US NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY-2010 INTERESTS IN SOUTH AND WEST ASIA

Air Commodore Muhammad Zahoor Faisal

Abstract

The 9/11 incident altered the complexion of international politics and brought a paradigm shift in the US National Security Strategy. The Obama National Security Strategy of 2010 emphasizes on a multi-facet security plan orchestrated around a democratic world free of tyranny and terror, open market economy, diversified energy resources and defence against WMD. While the new US Security Strategy has impacted the world at large, its dynamics are unfolding in South and West Asia region also. Despite the planned US draw down in 2014, its objectives and motives in this region are less likely to fade away.

US security concerns emanate from Al-Qaeda and its associated terrorist components present in Afghanistan, allegedly in Pakistan and from the likely development of nuclear weapon in states like Iran. Ever since US military presence in this region for war on terror, Pakistan has been facing serious internal security challenges. Some consider it as a side-shoot of War on Terror whereas others perceive it as a measured US effort to destabilize Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan needs to guard its national interests and keep all options open. Pakistan must eliminate terrorism in own interest and also ensure that no terrorist groups operate from its soil.

Introduction

In today's world, the term 'security' has considerably broader context and applications that embrace economic, social, environmental and global subjects. US NSS-2010 is an all-inclusive security outline that provides important guidelines on various subjects of national security and serves as a 'Communiqué of Intent' to the world. In the prelude to NSS-2010 paper, Obama envisions "a world in which America is stronger, more secure and able to overcome US challenges while appealing to the aspirations of people around the world".

In the NSS, US attaches lot of importance to South and West Asia where it has several known interests and challenges. Issues such as WOT in Afghanistan, extremism and terrorism in Pakistan, nuclear stand-off with Iran, the chess game involving the Central Asian resources and rising influence of China and Russia have direct connotations for US security.

The US presence in the region for WOT has also brought chaos and anarchy to Pakistan. Few see this as an offshoot of WOT while few others see it as a deliberate US attempt to destabilize Pakistan. There are inferences to suggest that US, even after drawdown in 2014, may be interested to use Afghanistan as a forward base to continue to check Islamic extremism and terrorism in Afghanistan and Pakistan keep the Pakistani and Iranian nuclear program under close surveillance and exert influence in the Central Asian states for energy security as well as containment of Russia and China. US presence or influence in South and West Asia could have multiple objectives and motives. While few of these objectives could be in pursuit of

addressing genuine security concerns, there could be few others that are purely aimed at furthering the hegemonic agenda of US. To study the core concepts of US National Security Strategy-2010 and analyse broad US interests related to important states of South and West Asia with special emphasis on Pakistan.

Background to US Security Strategy

In 1950, President Harry Truman institutionalised the presentation of national security objectives to the US Congress and this tradition continued afterwards. These doctrines principally branded the US foreign policy. The Truman Doctrine was based on deterrence for containment of USSR expansion which was then continued by most US Presidents as a way of guarding American interests. The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957, Kennedy Doctrine of 1961 and President Nixon Policy of 1969, all directed deterrence through partnerships against communism. The Carter Doctrine of 1980 prepared in the backdrop of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, committed use of force in defence of US interests in Persian (Arabian) Gulf. The 9/11 changed the nature of global politics and obliged a fundamental review of the previous security policies which were more focused on deterrence. The new security strategy called ‘Bush Doctrine’ was documented for the first time in 2002¹, consequently re-examined in 2006² and it saw ending policy of deterrence in favour of pre-emption.

Overview of National Security Strategy (NSS)-2010

The Obama government released its first ‘NSS’ on 27 May, 2010, which reveals the strategic policy and primacies for the Obama Administration. While it is a vital document reflecting the government security priorities and direction, it is “not a blueprint for action but means to convey the President’s principles and priorities”.³ The document is spread over fifty two pages with four sections, mainly covers, overview of National Security Strategy, Strategic Approach, Advancing our Interests and finally Conclusion. It inaugurates with defining ends i.e. achieving US enduring interests of security, prosperity, tenets and international order. It then explains methods and actions the US government will employ to achieve those ends. The chores identified in NSS-2010 for the US government are:-

- Promoting just and viable World Order.
- Dislocate, disassemble’ eliminate Al-Qaeda and violent extremists.
- Reverse the spread of Nuclear and Biological Weapons and secure nuclear materials.
- Capitalize on the capacity of strong and capable allies.
- Attain balanced and maintainable growth.
- Sponsor Human Rights and democracy abroad.
- Safeguard durable coalitions.
- Building Cooperation with other 21st Century Centres of Influence.

Promoting a Just and Sustainable World Order

The document while eluding use of debated word 'New World Order' emphasises on revamping the international institutes and strengthening their authority against non-compliant states. It mentions use of sanctions, isolation and even force to generate results. The 'world order' seems to suggest political changes at the global canvass. Iraq and Afghanistan during Bush and Libya under Obama point at the contours of this perceived 'Order'. Similar opinion can possibly be assumed about war in Syria except that Russian reaction and firmness became an obstruction. There is no issue in solidification of international organizations as long as these do not overstep national sovereignty.

Promote Democracy and Human Rights Abroad

The document says that US "supports the expansion of democracy and human rights abroad because government that respect these values are more just, peaceful, and legitimate." While backing for democracy from a leading power is understandable but then why so open opposition to the democratically elected governments of Palestine and Egypt and if democracy is such an emphasising factor then why so warm support to the kingdoms in Middle East and all the authoritarian regimes of Pakistan? Could it be for "free market" and "democracy" concept go side by side? Therefore, there are reasons to believe that US national interests supersede its urge for democracy and that US could use this argument to interfere in countries having difficulties / issues to align with the US interests.

Disrupt, Dismantle, Defeat Al-Qaeda and Violent Extremists

The National Security Strategy- 2010 reveals firm resolve to defend US against threat from Al-Qaeda. It states, "The United States is waging a global campaign against Al-Qaeda and its terrorist affiliates." Afghanistan and Pakistan are mentioned to be the epicentre of Al-Qaeda in the NSS document. In order to weaken Taliban and deny space to Al-Qaeda, a three prong approach has been proposed i.e. targeting the insurgents, securing key population areas and training Afghan forces; Second, improving governance and third, to strengthen relations with Pakistan improving its capacity to overcome terror related challenges. While, declaring Pakistan as epicentre of extremism is worrisome, the US desire of strengthening Pakistan's capacity to fight out terrorism is not likely to go well with India as this may entail 'military assistance' as well.

In the context of US security, it is important to mention that the US homeland territory was last attacked in 1812 until the incident of 9/11 broke this sense of invincibility. US claims that Al-Qaeda network targeted the United States long before it targeted Al-Qaeda and that terrorist attacks are not the offshoot of Iraq or Palestinian issue.

Reverse the spread of Nuclear and Biological Weapons and Secure Nuclear Resources

As per US NSS 2010, the possibilities of nuclear threat to US in a terrorist attack have increased since end of the cold war. The terrorists are resolute to make an access to the nuclear weapon as black markets are also involved in dealing nuclear

secrets and supplies. Above all the nuclear proliferation needs to be controlled as it could lead to a nuclear exchange. Therefore, it is in the US interest to see a reversal of nuclear spread. The US efforts in this direction are aligned at pursuing ratification of the CTBT and in seeking an end to the production of fissile materials. The NSS also mentions that US would make all possible efforts to desist Iran and North Korea from increasing / possessing nuclear weapons. If both countries disregard the worldwide obligations, then their isolation would be further increased.

The threat of chemical and biological weapons to the US especially from non-state actors seems to have grounds, if considered neutrally. There have been 52 threats or actual incidents involving use of chemical or biological ingredients between 1968 and 2006.⁴ The one-ton bomb exploded at world trade centre by Ramsi Yousaf in 1993 is said to have also contained cyanide which got burnt in the explosion and did not evaporate to cause catastrophe.⁵ In 2007, in Iraq, there have been 12 cases of use of chlorine gas against US forces in suicide attacks.⁶ It is appropriate to indicate that alleged accidental proliferation of nuclear material such as uranium have taken place in India and Russia as well.⁷ The US has serious concerns with the nuclear programmes of countries like Pakistan, Iran and North Korea whereas it has a fair degree of tolerance towards similar programmes of India and Israel.

Building Cooperation with other 21st Century Centres of Influence

US NSS-2010 states that "the United States is part of a dynamic international environment, in which different nations are exerting greater influence, and advancing US interests would require expanding spheres of cooperation around the world". It highlights emergence of new power blocks and 'Centres of Influence'. In this regard the document emphasizes three countries and states that "US relations with China, India, and Russia will be critical to building broader cooperation on areas of mutual interest." It admits rise of Russia as a strong voice and enhanced global role for China and India.

Invest in the Capacity of Strong and Capable Partners

The NSS discusses states, which have been unable to achieve internal security and could not provide for meeting fundamental needs of their citizens. Such states create and generate challenges at global level, because lack of such conditions nurture extremism that could directly threaten the security of American people. Therefore, such states must be assisted to strengthen their security in addressing such common challenges. The NSS then precisely highlights Iraq and Afghanistan where, there is a necessity to provide assistance in security, economic and governance related issues.

The NSS document has not touched upon the rise of a serious question asked from US, that who brought anarchy, instability and poverty in Iraq and Afghanistan. The wars in these countries have not resulted in bringing peace and prosperity. The extremism and terrorism in these regions has not reduced. Likewise, the size of ERF in Afghanistan is disproportionate to tackle Al Qaeda and a large number of countries still have serious reservations about invasion of Iraq.

Ensuring Strong Alliances

The NSS-2010 describes 'Alliances' as 'Force Multipliers' and emphasizes that transnational harmonized action transmits more impact than discrete action. The document pledges to defend Allies and also to benefit from collective security. In this regard, good relations between US and foreign militaries are considered essential. The document stresses relation with NATO that is envisaged to "strengthen our (US) collective ability to promote security, deter vital threats and defend our people." In Asia, alliances with South Korea, Japan, Philippines, Australia, and Thailand have been underlined as critical for peace and stability in the region, whereas promotion of democracy in Eastern European countries with help of EU has also been stressed.

Even predominant powers like US require allies to further its strategic objectives. This is considered to be a genuine foreign policy objective pursued by all countries for security as well as economic considerations. Countries forming alliances would face challenges to strike a balance between its own and international alliances' interests. US interest of sponsoring democracy in Eastern Europe with EU is a healthy sign but Russian interests in Eastern Europe especially with countries like Ukraine, Georgia would need to be taken into consideration else friction and polarization may expand. The US alliance with Japan and Korea would likely see a challenge, if situation in South China Sea worsen.

Balanced and Viable Growth

US was quick to respond to the economic crash of 2008, though economic recovery was predictably slow. It was not until 2013 that budget deficit fell below \$1 trillion as a slowly recovering economy and higher tax rates boosted receipts to a record level.⁸ Understandably, there seems to be greater realization in US to address the debt issue.

The NSS-2010 states significance of economic prosperity for US. It lays stress on the necessity to prevent re-emergence of global slowdown. It emphasises on reforming the US monetary system and reassures citizens to save more and reduce the long-term budget deficit. The document recognizes the benefit of engagement with G-20 especially in the context of pursuing governance reform at the IMF and World Bank.

Relevance of US Security Concepts with South and West Asia

Keeping in view the prevailing international environment, mentioning Afghanistan and Pakistan with reference to extremism and terrorism is understandable. Likewise, South and West Asia region is relevant to some of the US economic and security core concerns, which are as under:-

- US Rebalancing to Asia Pacific.
- Control Chinese economic and military influences and its supremacy in Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean.
- Containment of Russian influence on CARs.

- Growing militancy and radicalism in Afghanistan and Pakistan. (2nd ME)
- Nuclear ambitions of Iran and possible fall out for Israel and Middle East.
- Role of India as strategic partner.
- Energy security and diversification through Central Asian natural resources and safeguarding energy corridors.

Views about Important Players in US National Security Strategy – 2010 Afghanistan

The document says, “In Afghanistan, we must deny Al-Qaeda a safe haven, deny Taliban the ability to overthrow the government, strengthen the capacity of Afghanistan’s security forces and government so that they can take lead responsibility for Afghanistan’s future”.

Even a large section of US academician and intellectuals have shown reservation about success in Afghanistan, invasion of Iraq while the Afghan war was still going on, the withdrawal from Iraq and the durations of Afghan war. Some even argue that the US policy has further added to extremism and radicalization. Keeping in mind the US interests as highlighted above and the US stated policy objective, ‘To sustain world leadership role’ for as long as possible, the US policy in the region and particularly Afghanistan indicates some consistencies and associated interests.

Post US Drawdown and likely Situation

- US would maintain military presence in Afghanistan after 2014, albeit with reduced strength.
- Drawdown without any eloquent dialogue with political factions’ would likely lead to a disorder in Afghanistan.
- Afghanistan’s war-ridden economy will be unable to sustain due to reduced international focus.
- An annual budget of USD 3.5 Bn is estimated for Afghan National Security forces.⁹ In absence of such assistance, the development and sustenance of the force would pose serious challenge.
- Cross border movement of militants would likely increase between Afghanistan and Pakistan with its fall-outs for both countries.
- The drone strikes in Pakistan tribal belt are likely to continue; though its frequency is likely to decrease.

Russia

The importance of Russia to US has been acknowledged in successive National Security Strategies. National Security Strategy-2006 says “by reason of geography and power, Russia has great influence not only in Europe but also in many other regions of vital interest to US”. National Security Strategy-2010 also recognizes

resurgence of Russia as a ‘strong voice’ and expresses desire to deepen cooperation in trade and investment. US seek greater cooperation from Russia in defying violent extremism, particularly in Afghanistan. It also seeks to ratify a landmark “New START Treaty” with Russia to limit deployed nuclear warheads. The NSS-2010 also comments on US support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Russia’s neighbours. US and Russia have a common interest against religious terrorism and radicalism.

Russia – US interests

US and Russia can affect each other’s vital interests, therefore, both remain relevant to each other. US pursuance of ‘Freedom’, ‘Human Rights’ and ‘New World Order’ are sources of concern and worry for the Russians. Russians also consider that “Leadership is a part of the national DNA of Americans”.¹⁰ Russia considers that US and its allies undertake deliberate actions to isolate Russia from its potential allies, economic partners and desired influence in the region. These apprehensions saw its manifestation in Iraq, Libya, Syria and Iran.

Central Asia

The NSS-2010, largely discuss Asia and mainly South-East Asia, but specific interests in Central Asia have not been listed in detail. It is however, assessed that US may likely have following interests in Central Asia:-

- Counterterrorism drive in Afghanistan.
- Development / diversification of energy resources and supply routes.
- Drug trafficking.
- Non-proliferation.

The interests of global and regional powers in energy rich Central Asia is likely putting the wheels of the old ‘Great Game’ of 19th century in motion, ‘New’ being addition’ of 21st century. The new game has more performers and the effects of this game have world-wide implications. In this New Great Game, United States, Russia and possibly China are the key players; whereas, Turkey, India, Iran and Pakistan may have economic and strategic interests.

In support of the global war on terror, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan gave bases to US while Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan granted over-flight rights.¹¹ Many States facilitated transportation of US and NATO supplies to Afghanistan through ‘Northern Distribution Network’. The Central Asian States also recognize that it is in their interest to seek broadening of pipelines towards Europe. This desire goes in line with US aspiration for an easy access to US firms in energy exploration, refining and marketing. US also desire to shrink Russian and Iranian energy domination in the oil market.

At the same time, Russia and China also appears to have forged a common cause to prevent US influence in this region. Thus CARs seem to return to an age of great powers clash of interests. Russia is looking to enhance its political and military influence in the region by building bases in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.¹² China on the

other hand is chalking out its own plans for safeguarding energy and economic interests in Central Asia through bilateral agreements.

Iran

The NSS-2010 does present unambiguous US stance that Iran had presented challenges and threats to the security of the region, reinforced terrorism, tracked illicit nuclear programme, endangered neighbours and undermined peace between Israel and Palestine. It states the desire to see a positive transformation in Iranian policy. It calls for presenting a choice to Iran to either accept international commitments on its nuclear programme or face isolation through 'Multiple Means'.

From the NSS document, the possible inference drawn would be that Iran is a strategically important country, yet it contradicts US interests in many ways. Iran has links and influence over so many countries which have relevance to the US national security concerns; such as Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon. Besides, Iran is the only country that presents credible threat to the state of Israel, whose relevance to the US needs no amplification. Interestingly, Iran influence despite imposition of sanctions has relatively increased in the region.

Iran played important role in assisting US by providing intelligence to fight the Taliban and is also likely to help in post draw down political situation if so desired by the later. Incidentally, by removing the Taliban from power in Afghanistan and installing a Shiite government in Iraq, the US has increased the relative power of Iran in the region. Iran also enjoys good relations with Russia and remains interested to supply gas to Western Europe.¹³

In US view, Iran is following double game in Afghanistan. The Americans believe that on one hand it facilitating US government in the Afghan development program on the other it is believed to be in contact with forces fighting against US. Iran seeks to enhance influence in Persian speaking non-Pashtuns and is against the indefinite presence of US in Afghanistan. It had provided materiel support to selected groups of Taliban and other militants in Afghanistan.¹⁴ Iran also opened Taliban office in Zahidan in 2012 allegedly to facilitate Iranian role in political reconciliation in Afghanistan.¹⁵

The US had kept broad international economic pressure on Iran against its nuclear programme. US acknowledge Iran's right to peaceful use of nuclear energy, although it is difficult to exactly interpret this statement. US sanctions have indeed harmed Iran economically and the election of a relatively moderate President Hassan Rouhani, perhaps reflect public desire for an amicable solution to the nuclear issue. It is difficult to predict the outcome of ongoing negotiations between Iran and US led European countries.

China

The NSS-2010 desires deep and effective relations with rising Centres of Influence. In this regard NSS specifically mentions China, Russia, India and calls for a comprehensive relationship with these countries particularly China. US has often expressed desire to see China taking more responsible role towards global issues such as economic recession, nuclear proliferation and climate change. Concurrently

it also expresses caution over rising Chinese military potential and at making necessary adjustments in order to guard her interests. The document calls for lessening in tensions between China and Taiwan. US concern over China human rights violations remain a challenge between the two countries.

Chinese new security concept inclines on the five principles; equality, respect for each other's sovereignty, non-interference, non-aggression and peaceful co-existence. At present China opposes intervention in other states without the UN backing. Both countries have main differences over Taiwan, Tibet, Syria, Asia Pacific and Central Asia. China's sensitivities include Taiwan, relations with Tibet, territorial issues with Japan in the East China Sea and settlement of South China Sea maritime claims/ boundaries. Chinese policy makers in 2010 declared South China Sea as, "core interest". US is a strong proponent of protection of global commons particular freedom of Navigation (FoN) at high seas and south China sea. China is seriously concerned over US policy of 'rebalancing to Asia-Pacific' and takes it as part of overall containment efforts by the US. The American presence in Central Asia is considered by China as an infringement on Chinese sphere of influence. China is amongst the largest consumers of energy in the world and according to an estimate, its oil imports would increase by more than 500% by 2030 at an estimated 11 billion barrels a day.¹⁶ Given China's growing interests in Central Asian hydrocarbon reserves, China would be uneasy with an arrangement where United States would be in dominant position to interfere with Chinese energy supplies. Both countries also have differences over Korean issues. China, while trying to convince North Korea to control challenging acts, opposes the US military presence in the Korean Peninsula, as China considers this as an attempt to deter China. In June 2011, Russia-China issued a joint statement that said, "The two countries pledged support for each other on a wide range of issues, including Russia's security challenges from the United States and Europe as well as US pressure on China in the Asia-Pacific regions".¹⁷

India

As stated earlier, India is being considered as 'Key Centre' of influence. The document states that, "The United States and India are building a strategic partnership. We seek a broad-based relationship in which India contributes to global counter-terrorism efforts, non-proliferation and helps promote poverty-reduction, education, health and sustainable agriculture. US would seek to work with India to promote stability in South Asia and elsewhere in the world".

India is viewed as a growing economic-military power with shared strategic interests. US does not view India only as a major player in stability of South Asia but also relevant to US for containment of China and an important player in the 'Rebalance to Asia'. The rebalance is a military strategy cum politico-economic engagement in Asia which China believes is about preventing her from gaining dominance in Asia. US backs the Indian desire for the permanent UNSC seat when President Obama in 2010 said, "I look forward to a reformed UN Security Council that includes India as a permanent member".¹⁸ The rising strategic connection can also be sensed in increasing number of Joint exercises between the two countries. The Indo-US nuclear deal has added a new dimension to this relationship. The warmth in relations has also touched the Chinese sensitivities whereby China believe that India alongside Japan and Australia would be used to contain China.

Pakistan

It seems that the US NSS -2010 sees Pakistan and Afghanistan through one prism and makes no distinction between them on terrorism; rather calling both to be epicentre of terrorism. US believes that Al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan and Pakistan remains a credible threat to US interests and therefore, it must be dismantled and defeated. The NSS further spells out that US will “foster a relationship with Pakistan founded upon mutual interests and mutual respect”. It also says that, US will provide considerable support and cooperation in wide-ranging areas.

The main concerns between two countries are:-

- Many Pakistanis believe that prior to 9/11; the situation in FATA and KPK was relatively manageable. It was US, which is said to have coerced Pakistan to support and join WOT that resulted in instability inside Pakistan.
- US look at Pakistan from the lenses of only Afghanistan and terrorism. US has never been a reliable partner, especially in times of crises and violates Pakistan sovereignty through drone strikes giving rise to Anti US sentiments and mistrust.
- US deal India and Pakistan differently. It exerts pressure on Pakistan on issues of concern to India. It is felt that US exert little or no pressure on India on issues of concern to Pakistan.
- Despite so many sacrifices both in men and materials by Pakistan, the US still demands “Do More” and believes that Pakistan is not sincere in fight against Al-Qaeda and Taliban.
- US also remain apprehensive about the security of nuclear capability falling into non-state actors’ hands.
- Although US has never openly opposed Pakistan growing strategic relations with China, however, given the rise of ‘near peer competitor’ it would understandably be apprehensive about Pak- China relations.

Pakistan must be cognizant of the role of external forces that may use extremist forces to attack the vulnerabilities or strengths of Pakistan to achieve their objectives, which could be:-

- To exploit the situation in Baluchistan.
- Discredit and degrade Pakistan armed forces
- To dilute Islamic and ideological character of the nation and spread hopelessness and desperation especially through effective and powerful media campaigns.

Unlike India and Israel, Pakistan’s nuclear programme has remained a source of concern for US and its allies from multiple perspectives. In recent times, there has been a shift in concerns from proliferation to safety and security. The overall common concerns include the following:-

- A radical regime may take power in Pakistan and thereby control over nuclear weapons.¹⁹
- While nuclear weapons are currently under firm command and control; technology could be sold off by insiders.²⁰
- The terrorists could attack and seize noteworthy nuclear components dangerous to international security.

Pakistan, after Dr Qadeer episode, has managed to satisfy the world at large on the proliferation of nuclear assets. A strong organizational set up and a number of important initiatives such as strengthened export control laws, improved personnel and material security and international nuclear security cooperation programs have improved the security situation in recent years. Lt. Gen (Retd) Khalid Kidwai said that there were 800 incidents a year internationally involving the illegal transportation of illicit radioactive materials. "None of them are in Pakistan".²¹ While a military threat to Pakistan's nuclear assets stands low, Pakistan must remain cognizant that any significant political instability or anarchy, that could be purposefully orchestrated, could give chance to US to approach UN Security council with concerns for Pakistan's nuclear assets. Hence these assets must be jealously guarded at all times against all security scenarios.

Conclusions

In light of the stated US National Security Strategy 2010 and its perceived geo-political objectives in this region, following conclusions are made:-

- The prevailing situation is likely to take longer than expected if US does not review its interventionist policy and craft its foreign policy objectives in light of universally accepted principles of justice and equality.
- The countries which have stakes in the Central Asian energy reservoirs should evolve an amicable, political and legal framework to benefit equally from these resources taking into account the various sensitivities of different stake holders, but more importantly the host countries.
- All genuine concerns of US regarding nuclear security and proliferation needs to be amicably addressed. US handling of Pakistan and India on nuclear issues need balancing and fairness.
- Pakistan may make following decisions in national interest:-
 - Eliminate all kind of terrorists' movements from within or outside its borders.
 - Improve writ of government in FATA/ Balochistan. Religious exploitation and intolerance must be addressed on priority.
 - NACTA should be immediately implemented and NSP be framed with clear policy guidelines and objectives for a national

response. Short term strategy should aim at eliminating terrorist and in medium term FATA should be brought in mainstream Pakistan.

- Pakistan should strengthen its laws and legal system for speedy disposal of terrorism related cases.

South and Central Asian region seems to be most relevant to core security and economic concerns of United States. Like other dominant powers of the past US is pursuing grand strategic objectives in South and South-west Asia aimed at strong economy, security and global dominance. The plausible US objectives are defeat of terrorism, control of energy resources and routes, sustenance of global leadership role and prevention of nuclear proliferation. Keeping these objectives in mind the US is likely to maintain its military presence in the region particularly Afghanistan at least in short to medium term.

The post-9/11 world has opened a new era of challenges to Pakistan. The major escalation in challenges was witnessed after Abbottabad incident and Salala attack. Pakistan also faces dilemma of keeping economic-military disparity with India to minimum level for maintaining security balance in the region. Pakistan's economy is linked to internal security situation which has been marred by terrorism and extremism. A nuclear state with some elements having extreme religious tendencies would find it difficult to gain global acceptability particularly from West/US. Pakistan, being a developing country specifically needs to focus on its national security that would depend upon political stability, economic viability and internal defence.

Endnotes

- ¹ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss/2002/nss.pdf>
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PAKISTAN – RUSSIA RELATIONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

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Abstract

Pakistan and Russia have an interesting history of diplomatic relations. Rather than having a bilateral outlook, the relations have been shaped under the influence of Pakistan – US ties and regional situation in South Asia. The paper is based on a review of historical data and various developments in the recent past which are becoming the enablers for rapprochement between the two countries. Having explored the driving factors, mutual interests, convergences, constraints and opportunities, an effort has been made to identify the areas of cooperation. It is evident that that the evolving environment presents opportunities to both countries for chalking out a new chapter in their relations. While Russia is taking new initiatives in the region and beyond as evident by the prevalent crisis in Ukraine and new alliances are being sought by Pakistan within the region particularly in post 2014 environment in Afghanistan. Any efforts to improve Pakistan – Russia mutual relations, would demand both the countries to strike a delicate balance in their relations with other major Global and regional players respectively.

Introduction

For decades, despite being geographically closer, Russia and Pakistan have had indifferent relationship owing to the “East-West confrontation.” Pakistan’s increasing military and economic assistance by United States and differences (ideological / territorial) with India who forged close ties with USSR were the main hurdles in Pak-Russia ties. Pakistan’s inclination towards United States after signing of SEATO and CENTO was one of the consequences which propelled Russia to establish strategic relations with India. Thereafter, although, relations between two countries saw periods of enhanced mutual cooperation as evident from Russia’s setting up of only Steel Mill in Pakistan, but Russia’s overt support to India during 1971 Indo – Pak war reinforced Pakistan’s mistrust towards USSR. Furthermore, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 compelled Pakistan support Afghan Jihad with US backing and funding resulting in strained relations two countries.

Russia is re-asserting itself at the global stage and has started to play its role as a counter weight to politico-economic policies of the West. Pakistan is also looking for new avenues of opportunities. For the mutual benefit of both countries, it is vital to improve their relations. This is possible if both countries develop a relationship based on mutually beneficial cooperation. Pakistan and Russia will have to strike a delicate balance with their symbiotic allies i.e. US and India respectively. Thus, there is a need to carry out a study to take stock of the ongoing relations in order to assist in ascertaining the future course of action for forging closer ties between the two countries. To carry out a study of the different phases of Pakistan-Russia relations with special focus on the dynamics of the current development affecting the political, economic and military relations between the two countries with a view to recommending way forward that may facilitate in improving bilateral relationship.

Pakistan -Russia Relations 1947 – 1960

This phase of Pakistan-Russia relations was shadowed by indifference, which subsequently turned into adversarial relations:-

Soviet Perception of Indo-Pak Independence. Pakistan emerged on the world map in 1947 at the onset of cold war. Moscow was not very forthcoming to the idea of the partition, as Soviet Union under hardliner Joseph Stalin did not welcome the partition of British India and it did not approve of the act.¹ He eyed the sub-continent independence struggle with unease and suspicion.² Pakistan was also inclined towards the west for the reason of language, religion and leadership bias towards west.

USSR Ties with India and Pakistan

Ties with India: Despite initial prejudiced view of Stalin towards India and Pakistan, Indo-Soviet relations molded around precepts of defense, economic and commerce. This was aided primarily by an unsuccessful sojourn of the Indian leadership to Washington in 1949. In 1951, a contract was signed to supply India with 100,000 tons of Soviet wheat in exchange for Indian exports of traditional commodities.³

Ties with Pakistan: Pakistan established diplomatic relations with Russia on 1st May, 1948 through the agreement concluded in New York. Shortly USSR and Pakistani embassies started functioning.⁴ Despite Soviet invitation, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan opted to visit USA over USSR, firstly due to its dire need for economic support and secondly to stabilize the military imbalance. Particularly after signing of SEATO and CENTO in 1954 and 1955, Kremlin did not perceive Pakistan's inclination towards United States well.⁵ These relations further deteriorated when a U2 American reconnaissance aircraft flying from a Badaber Base (Peshawar) on a spy mission for the US was shot down by the USSR.⁶

Pak – USSR Relations 1960-71

This period was marked by ephemeral economic collaboration, with oscillating trust. The Indo-China War of 1962 became a water shed event for South Asia. India gained pre-eminence with the west, where it was given material support. A rebalancing was thus necessitated by Pakistan to redefine its relations with other regional actors.

A significant development in 1965 was the visit of Pakistani Leadership to Moscow. A visit that took 18 years to come and it paved the way for multiple agreements on commerce, and culture.

When Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 broke out, the Soviets supported India. Yet, following termination of hostilities⁷ hosting of Tashkent Conference in January 1966 by Soviet Union was a land mark in the history of Soviet policy, towards Indo-Pak and more so for Pakistan.⁸ Post Tashkent agreement, Soviet efforts to further relations with Pakistan took impetus. USSR provided US \$176 million while overall trade reached a level of US \$ 326 million, as against US \$ 3.7 million ten years

earlier.⁹ In 1971, Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation¹⁰ with India and extended diplomatic and military support to both India and Mukti Bahni.

In addition to support rendered on diplomatic front, Soviet Union physically influenced Indo-Pak war of 1971 by sending warships comprising destroyers, cruisers and nuclear submarines equipped with nuclear tipped missiles from its far eastern port of Vladivostok to Indian Ocean on 13th December.¹¹

Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and Disintegration of USSR (1978 – 1990)

Soviet incursion into Afghanistan in December 1979 set in motion, major destabilization in the region. It affected all; Central Asia, South Asia, China and US.¹²

Consequent to USSR's military incursion of Afghanistan, relations between USSR and Pakistan touched the lowest. Influenced with the perceived idea of USSR expansion to gain access to warm waters, Pakistan got deeply involved in the war to look after its own security interests.¹³

Pakistan - Russia Relations 1990 – 2000

In the wake of communist collapse, Russian-Pakistan relations improved gradually. Some of the significant events include:-

In 1989, Soviet ambassador to Pakistan offered help in installation of a nuclear power plant in Pakistan; however, after US intervention the plan was put into cold storage.¹⁴

Russian leadership of the time did make efforts to further the relations. Their efforts bore fruit, when Pakistan's Federal Minister on Economy visited Russia in November 1992. In December 1992, Russia reciprocated. Both sides deliberated, a draft agreement for cooperation in the political, economic, commercial, scientific, technical and cultural fields.¹⁵

Taking the process of improvement further, in December 1994, Russian President Boris Yeltsin invited Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to Russia¹⁶ but no headway could be made as Pakistan recognized Taliban government in Afghanistan.

The next important land mark was visit by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Moscow in April 1999 after nearly 25 years. Russia termed it as a new juncture in the relations of two countries, wherein creation of a commission for inter-governmental trade and economics was signed.¹⁷

In February 1999, Russia welcomed Lahore Declaration between Pak and India but strongly criticized Pak for Kargil episode of 1999.

On 19 April 2001, as a result of state visit of Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexander Losyukov to Pakistan, both countries agreed to collaborate in economic development and to work towards peace and prosperity in the region.¹⁸ Same year Russia launched Pakistan's second satellite Badr-B, from Baikonur Cosmodrome in Kazakhstan.

The Recent Transformation

At present, the relations between Pakistan and Russia are improving. Both countries are in the process of developing a working relationship based on common interests. Moreover, both are vying for greater bilateral cooperation in the backdrop of convergence on vital regional and international issues.¹⁹

Major Breakthroughs

Recent events which highlight various measures undertaken by both the countries to improve the relations are:-

Formulation of Joint Working Group

President Musharraf visited Russian Federation in 2002 which led to institutionalization of relations. Various Joint working Groups were established which covered subjects such as Counter-Terrorism and Strategic Stability along with an Inter-governmental Joint Commission. Five sessions of these Joint Working Groups have been held with the last one organized in Islamabad on 28 January, 2014.²⁰

Visit of Russian Prime Minister

Mutual relations between both the countries were further boosted after Russian Prime Minister; Mikhail Fradkov's visited Pakistan in 2007 which was first visit of a Russian Prime Minister in 38 years. During the visit, he held in-depth discussions with President Pervez Musharraf and Prime Minister; with emphasis on advancing economic cooperation.²¹

Thaw in Diplomatic/Defence Ties

Various events which signify improved Pak–Russia relations include:-

General Ashfaq Pervaiz Kayani, former Chief of Army Staff of Pakistan, visited Russia in 2012. Postponement of an earlier planned visit to Inter-Governmental Commission on Military-Technical Cooperation in India by the Defence Minister of Russia, signifies the importance Russia gave to General Kiyani's visit. This visit revitalized the defence cooperation between Russia and Pakistan.

Russia also formally presented to give technical as well as financial help for construction of Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline.

Russian Foreign Minister, Sergey Lavrov visited Pakistan in October 2012 where he expressed Russia's support to Pakistan's stance on drone attacks.²²

Russia also condemned the coalition attacks on the Salala Post. A public statement was issued in support of Pakistan's stance on the issue.

First Strategic Dialogue

Pakistan - Russia first strategic dialogue was held on 31st August 2013. The dialogue laid the foundation of framework and parameters for improving the ties between both countries. Both countries agreed for maintaining and increasing diplomatic ties at all levels and enhancing coordination for forging a consensus on regional and international issues, increasing trade and investment and cooperation in the field of energy and power generation.²³

Economic Convergence

Trade between Russia and Pakistan has been increasing continuously. Mutual trade volume in 1980 was US \$ 95 million only and increased to US \$ 231 million in 2010/11.²⁴ Details of bilateral trade are as under:-

Year	Exports (Million)	Imports (Million)	Total	Balance
2005-06	52.42	459.20	511.62	406.78
2006-07	83.39	275.86	359.25	-192.47
2007-08	98.62	101.12	199.74	-2.5
2008-09	114.87	376.91	491.78	-262.04
2009-10	139.989	42.83	182.81	+97.16
2010-11	206.58	25.22	231.18	+181.36

(Pakistani exports to Russia include cotton yarn & woven fabrics, rice, edible fruits & nuts, leather & leather manufactured goods and sports goods)

In 2010, both countries setup, a Russian – Pakistan Inter-Governmental Commission on Trade and Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation for collaboration in science, technology and education.²⁵

In 2011, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani met Mr. Vladimir Putin during 10th Heads of Government meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization²⁶ and deliberated on the matters of mutual interest.

Russia at present is also in the process of financing a major energy project, CASA-1000, which would transmit power generated in Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan to Pakistan.²⁷

Analysis – Future Prospects of Pak-Russia Relations

Constraints & Opportunities to the Development of Pak Russia Relations Constraints

Although emerging geo-political environment favour enhanced ties between Pakistan-Russia, yet it is necessary to ascertain salient aspects / divergences which needs consideration in further fostering the bilateral relations in order to arrive at pertinent conclusions:-

India

Kashmir along with other unresolved disputes, still continue to blemish prospects of improvement in Pakistan-India ties. They also envy each's relations with strategic powers of the world.

Changing Political Landscape

Despite development of strategic ties between India and US, the steadfast friendship between India and Russia is robust. Their geopolitical ties were further strengthened when in 2011 they elevated their friendship to the level of "Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership".²⁸

Pre 9/11, Russia and India were both particularly anxious about Taliban regime in Afghanistan and had set up a working group between their foreign ministries to discuss Afghanistan.²⁹

Russia is supportive of Indian efforts to become a permanent member of United Nation Security Council (UNSC), and a member of SCO. To quote President Putin's remarks made during his visit to India in 2010, "India is our candidate number one in terms of enlarging the geographical representation of the Security Council".³⁰

Trade and Economic Cooperation. Trade between India and Russia is on the rise. By 2013, the trade between both the countries had reached US \$ 11.133 billion. Russian exports to India counted to US \$ 6.1 billion in 2011 along with imports of US \$ 2.8 billion from India to Russia.³¹ The two-way investment between the two countries stands at approximately US \$ 7.8 billion. Both countries aim to boost mutual trade and achieving a target of US \$ 20 billion by 2015.

Defence Ties. India's substantial purchases of Russian military equipment, include 1000 Main Battle Tanks T-90, two nuclear powered submarines, retrofitted Admiral Gorshkov aircraft carrier renamed as INS Vikramaditya, upgradation of fighters and helicopters, 6 x transport aircraft; being modified to fit Israeli Phalcon radars. Apart from this, there have been agreements signed for joint production of BRAHMOS cruise missile, a 5th generation fighter programme, Sukhoi Su-30MKI programme, and Ilyushin/HAL Tactical Transport Aircraft which would need modernization, upgrading and replacement.³²

Energy Sector. Both countries have been cooperating in energy sector. It encompasses joint exploration of oil and gas, provision of 2 x nuclear power plants of 1000 MW each at Kudankulam. Moreover, partnership in outer space for peaceful purposes, which can also be used for development of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

US

In the recent past, US-India relations, have gradually transformed into a strategic one. The US strategic partnership with India, and the Indo – US Nuclear Agreement are relevant in this regard.

Keeping in view, Pakistan's relevance in Afghanistan end state and US interest in securing Pakistan's support in seeking Afghan solution, US may not want Pakistan's close relations with Russia. Russian President's support for Pakistan's SCO membership is viewed with suspicion in the US.³³

In addition, as the war in Afghanistan has entered the critical phase, it is in the interest of US to keep Pakistan away from Russian influence which is likely to offset US influence on Pakistan.³⁴

Opportunities

Pakistan and Russia may like to explore and capitalize upon host of existing opportunities to their benefit:-

Geo- Strategic

US is trying to increase its influence in Russia's neighbourhood. Same is being witnessed during on-going conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The occupation of Crimea by Russia has created a complex situation for US which has forced it to rethink about the situation in Europe.

Proposed energy corridor including Pakistan, Afghanistan and CARs can be better implemented with backing of Russia.

China can facilitate improvement in Pak-Russia relations as it wields close bilateral relations with both the countries.

Economy and Trade

Russia is one of the fastest growing economy in the G8. Averaging 7% annually, since 2003. Russia wishes to play large political and economic role in the world and particularly in Asia. Pakistan is likely to remain relevant for the Russians in the times to come because of geo-strategic location.

Pakistan exports to Russia account for only 0.06% of Russia's total imports while Russian export to Pakistan is only 0.99% of Pakistan total imports.³⁵ There is great potential for Pakistan textiles sector to increase their exports (US \$ 47 Million)³⁶ to Russia which is the third largest Textiles importing country in the world. A bilateral free trade agreement is required to give more ingress to Pakistan's textile sector in the Russian markets.³⁷

Energy Sector. To bolster growth of Pakistani industry, Russia has expressed great interest in providing assistance. Memorandums of Understanding following the visit of a high-powered delegation to Islamabad in 2012/13 for investment in various Pakistani projects³⁸:-

Funding and technical expertise to develop trans-regional rail links with Iran and other countries in Central Asia.

Implementation of CASA – 1000 project. This will allow electricity diffusion from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Technical and financial assistance to Pakistan to develop Thar Coal Project which is an immensely viable project.³⁹

Defence Ties. Defence relations amongst the two countries have been limited except for a helicopter deal in 1969 during President Yahya's regime.⁴⁰ A comprehensive boost is expected in this cooperation following Pakistan Army Chief and Pakistan Air Chief's, visits to Moscow and Russian Military Chief Col-Gen Alexander Postnikov's visit to Pakistan last year.⁴¹ Though from the outset a high level defence and military cooperation between two countries will be a far objective, Russian interest of defence sales to support its economy, provides opportunity for expanding defence ties by Pakistan.

Convergences in Afghanistan

Russia is of the opinion that there is no solution to Afghan imbroglio till the time Pakistan is not involved in a constructive manner by all the parties.⁴²

Both nations oppose the Indian stance⁴³ on US permanent military bases in Afghanistan. Role of Pakistan in period of post-US drawdown, in Russian perspective is through maintaining a broader regional imperative. Giving space to each other to cater for their respective interests thus reflective of viability of their relationship.

Counter Terrorism. Terrorism has been an area of concern for both countries. Russia has been particularly concerned about inflow of terrorists from Afghan border into Russia and CARs with alleged foot prints coming from Tribal areas of Pakistan (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan etc). In post US drawdown by end 2014, both countries need to develop mutual trust and cooperation not only in the field of intelligence sharing but also can help each other benefitting from exchange of Counter terrorism expertise.

SCO Membership. Stronger ties with Russia may help Pakistan in gaining membership of SCO. Lessening in distrust is evident through the Russian support received by Pakistan as an observer in SCO. Russian President's, public endorsement through his statement is significant, in which he said "Pakistan is a very important partner in South Asia and the Muslim world for Russia".⁴⁴

Commonality of Views. Both countries have convergence on views on several issues of critical importance being confronted by the modern world⁴⁵ such as:-

- The concept of multilateralism.
- Accepting the authority of UN in all international disputes.
- No to unilateralism and all such efforts to affect changes in the International system by application of force unilaterally without approval of UNSC.
- Counter terrorism.
- Taking measures which bring about meaningful nuclear non-proliferation.

Recommendations

Keeping in view the detailed analysis of various hurdles in forging strong Pak-Russia ties and opportunities, concrete measures based on a multi prong approach should be chosen to develop and then sustain these. Some of the suggested steps in this regard are as under:-

Political and Diplomatic Front

Diversification of Foreign Policy. Pakistan should diversify its foreign policy by making efforts for building trust to usher a new era of bilateral improved relations with Russia.

Strategic Consensus with Russia. While evolving a strategic consensus with Russia on the issues of counter-terrorism, evolving East- West energy corridors and nuclear non-proliferation, Pakistan can work for an effective role in Post 2014 Afghanistan policy and peace and stability in South Asia.

Cognizant of significance of rail-road transport corridor from Tajikistan to Pakistan, through the Wakhan sector and its linking up with Karakoram highway, Pakistan and Russia should work to expedite and materialize the option at priority.

Defence Ties. Diversification of critical dependencies of Pakistan is essential through developing defense ties with Russia. Following is suggested in this regard:-

Phase -1 (Short term)

- ✓ To understand bilateral necessities and compulsions, both countries to boost exchange of military delegations.
- ✓ Form Joint Commission on Defence Cooperation and hold annual meetings to identify areas pertaining to training, joint exercises, defence procurement and mutual cooperation.
- ✓ Exchange of Armed Forces students, covering wide ranging spheres of training.

Phase -2 (Medium Term)

- ✓ Joint exercises.
- ✓ Acquisition of military hardware.
- ✓ Up-gradation of Heavy Mechanical Complex Taxila and Pakistan Machine Tool Factory Karachi thus enhancing its capacity.

Cooperation in Counter Terrorism

Both countries should share each other's experiences of counter terrorism through initiatives like seminars, sharing of literature and joint training in specialized counter terrorism fields.

In order to further refine anti-terrorism efforts both countries should consider establishment of joint intelligence sharing mechanism at appropriate level.

Trade and Economy

Increase people to people connectivity. Create space for boosting and facilitate regular Private, Commercial and Trade Programs.

Establishment of commercial counselor appointment in Russia, to exchange valuable information, trade delegations of both the countries and coordinate trade exhibitions for enhancement of trade.

Pakistan should seek Russian assistance for the improvement of its railway focusing on development of exiting infrastructures including Railways bogies, tracks expansion and locomotives.⁴⁶ Connecting Gwadar to Russia and Central Asian States through rail link is the need of time.

Energy Sector. Russia has already shown interest in Thar coal power project, exploration of gas. Thus, Pakistan should try to draw Russian businesses to invest in Thar Coal project, gas exploration and gas /oil pipelines.

Education Ties

Establishment of Study Centers in Pakistan and Russia. To encourage greater intellectual partnerships and enhance understanding of the country, establishment of a Russian Study Centre in Pakistan and a Pakistan Study Centre in Russia, must be done.

Searching Education Avenues in Russia. Russia has equally competitive environment for scientific education. Hence, while sending our students to western countries we should simultaneously develop cooperation with Russia in scientific education sector as Russia is geographically closer to Pakistan and the cost of education is relatively affordable.

Cultural Links

Media Linkages. Both the countries have a strong state sponsored media. It may be possible to carry out an exchange of various program segments like News, cultural shows, dramas etc to increase awareness about each other's thinking and culture.

People to People Contact. There is no denying the fact that enhanced people to people contact in different fields like economics, politics and especially culture would help in transforming the relations between both the countries.

Conclusion

Pakistan-Russian relations are the story of relations of missed opportunities and mistrust during various stages. The changing geo-strategic situation has provided an opportunity to work together at regional and international forums. The way forward is to have maintainable and long-term bilateral relationship where both countries have huge potential to enhance mutual cooperation. Need is for Pakistan to adopt a pragmatic and robust foreign policy which endeavors to not only develop closer relations with Russia but with all countries of the World.

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US - INDIA STRATEGIC ALLIANCE AND PAKISTAN'S SECURITY CONCERNS

Lieutenant Colonel Qaisar Suleman

Abstract

The growing Indo US strategic ties are likely to be further augmented over the coming years with increasing reliance of US on India as a regional strategic watchdog accompanied by adverse effects on the regional stability in general and Pakistan's interests in particular. The potential spoilers in such a scenario include, but are not limited to, domestic Indian left wing resistance to closer ties with US, a more assertive China, Pakistan and Afghanistan situation, US relationship with Iran and a perception of weakening US influence. Accordingly, this research expects to explore the nature and driving factors for emerging strategic alliance between India and the US while examining the extent of this alliance and its implications for Pakistan in order to offer policy guidelines and options for Government of Pakistan. Moreover, as this study aims to present a wholesome picture of the entire issue; it will, thus, serve as an aid to those professionals who want to explore the future prospects of US-India relationship and challenges which may emerge.

Introduction

In line with ‘New World Order’ strategy of USA, India is being viewed by the strategist as a potential ally in the Asia Pacific Region. With enormous demographic bulge, with rising economy, increased nuclear and conventional forces levels, and the stable political system, in the view of Capitol Hill, could be a tool of stability in the region. “While India has been getting away with its nuclear program and worst kinds of abuses in the occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan has had to bear the brunt of not only economic and military sanctions, but has been under tremendous pressure by the United States to control religious extremists and militant activities from its territory”. Economic and nuclear collaboration along with 10 year defence cooperation for joint exercises and arms sale are few strands of strategic cooperation between two countries. This strategic partnership has actually disturbed the balance of power in South Asia. Where an economically and militarily weak Pakistan confronted by both internal and external challenges “is likely to face serious implications in the days to come”.¹

Historical Perspective of India – US Relations

Pre Sino-Indian War of 1962

“Economic relations between the two countries provided an interesting contrast to their political relations. American investment in India was substantial compared to that by other countries”.² “A contentious aspect of economic relations was that with very few exceptions, the US declined to invest in or assist Indian heavy industry”.³ This could be “perceived as an attempt to prevent India from achieving self sufficiency in this

sector as well as to ensure a market for US products. For this, as well as the supply of military equipment, India turned to the Soviet Union".⁴

Post Indo – China War of 1962

"In the aftermath of the 1962 India–China border conflict, India requested, and received, military assistance not only from the Soviet Union but also from the US and Britain. Although much has been made of this gesture by the later two countries, circumstances soon allowed the reduction of this commitment. There are two points worth mentioning in this context. Firstly, only a small amount of 'emergency' assistance was actually committed. There was no offer of long term military aid. Secondly, the US–UK offer was conditional to successful resolution of the Kashmir dispute in which India was expected to make substantial concessions".⁵ Additionally the US military aid was to be used against China only. "Brought about with the help of Pakistan, the establishment of US–China relations resulted in what was a convergence of US–Pakistan–China interests, a move that could not but be perceived by India to be threatening. The crisis in East Pakistan (later Bangladesh) that led to a war in 1971 resulted in the first step towards what would emerge as an Indo-centric power structure in South Asia. India decided to defy the US and its' 'tilt' towards Pakistan and signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union, thereby assuring India of material and diplomatic support in case of a war with Pakistan which, by then, seemed inevitable".⁶

Post Indo – Pakistan War of 1971

The nuclear tests of 1974 demonstrated Indian potential and importance in the region that was realized by the US. India also realized the importance of its relation with China and started working towards rapprochement with USA. Despite sanctions after 1974 nuclear explosion, India continued getting nuclear fuel from USA. With the advent of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in 1987, India also faced embargoes on missile related technology." In 1992–94 the United States allowed India to buy a cryogenic rocket engine from Russia but blocked the transfer of related technology. In 1986 the US agreed to supply a number of General Electric F–404 engines and avionics for India's Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) then under development (it still is). Later, the US also agreed to sell a Cray XMP–14 supercomputer, the first such sale to a country outside the western alliance.

Post Cold War Era

"In the 1990s, especially after India's declared policy of economic liberalization, it came to be viewed as an attractive market for US business. Despite the lack of an overall policy framework, security cooperation also increased during this period. During the Gulf War, the Indian Government granted refueling rights to US military aircraft en route from the Pacific to the Middle East".⁷ In 1996 and 1997, the Indian and US navies held joint exercises (the Malabar series) in the Indian Ocean.⁸

Impact of 9/11 Incident

Bush administration enhanced cooperation post 9/11 by waiving off all nuclear related sanctions on India and Pakistan as well. These included those under the Glenn Amendment which bars licences for items on the US Munitions list and prohibits defence sales under Foreign Military Sales and Foreign Military Financing.⁹

2005 Strategic Agreements

“We need to examine the 2005 strategic agreements signed in June and July. On June 28, the US and India signed a 10-year Defence Pact and on July 18, the two countries signed a Nuclear Agreement”.¹⁰ Impact of strategic alliance between India and US on Pakistan is mainly due to missile defence system, questioning the nuclear deterrence of Pakistan in the region and undermining the south and East Asia stability. “This instability is further heightened by another component of the Indo-US defence agreement - that of activating the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) in this region with India becoming a partner. The PSI is part of the US notion of 'coalitions of the willing' which is seen by some to be under prevailing international law - in this case the Law of the Sea - by attributing to members of the coalition the right to stop traffic on the high seas and in international airspace on a mere hint of suspicion of transportation of WMD material or components”.¹¹ It also included Advance Weapons Technology Transfer along with joint R&D in military domain.

Indo – US Nuclear Agreement

“Moving on to the Indo-US nuclear agreement, it clearly undermines the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) on a number of counts. First, it contravenes the commitment by nuclear weapon states not to transfer nuclear technology and materials to states not signatory to the NPT. The US has agreed to supply nuclear technology to India. All that India is required to do is to separate its civil nuclear facilities from its weapons' facilities and put the former under IAEA safeguards. Second, the NPT only recognises the five nuclear weapon states that tested before 1967”.¹² Yet the US deal was unofficial approval of India being a nuclear state.

Economic/Information Technology Cooperation

“As part of a programme to accelerate economic modernization, India is seeking US assistance to develop its commercial satellite and space launch capabilities”.¹³ While cooperating with India to improve economy, provide opportunities to US businesses but how much sensitive knowledge US is willing to share is not clear.

Present Status

Indo – US strategic cooperation has progressed rapidly in short time, but India needs clarity in its perceived role that it would aspire to play and whether that is the role US also wants or consider adequate.

Major Facets of Cooperation between India and USA

Indo – US partnership may change the power dynamics in Asia and act as rebalancing in Asia pacific region. The US has high hopes for these relations in long term for their role in the region while asserting her influence in the world to maintain a feasible order. However it remain to be seen as to how much India is willing to cooperate and to what extent.

Economic Cooperation and Information Technology Sector

The strategic partnership with India in the region also sees Indian ability to act as economic anchor in the Indian Ocean region to serve the economic interests of US. Indian economy is on its way to long term competition that has stimulated innovation, improved quality, technological progress and long term growth.

Nuclear Cooperation

The nuclear tests of India and Pakistan have added a complex dimension to the regional security calculus; however US does not see India as part of the challenge or any security threat. “Much of the US nuclear agenda for South Asia in the following years involves efforts by India and Pakistan to intensify bilateral contacts and confidence building measures on many issues including Kashmir. The US perceive that failure to restore trust and move towards reconciliation could lead to escalation, even nuclear exchange in South Asia. The pace of the Indo-US dialogues to date suggests that their relationship has acquired a greater convergence on a number of economic, political and military concerns which will form the agenda of long term co-operation between the two countries, and may even surmount the hurdles created by the Indian nuclear and missile programme”.¹⁴

Indo – US Glide Path Agreement

Indo – US Glide Path is a recent phenomenon. It envisages “strategic Indo – US cooperation in the field of nuclear, space dual use technologies and BMD programme”.¹⁵ The agreement will be implemented in three phases as under:-

Phase 1. Removal of sanctions from Indian Space Research organisation (ISRO), will also allow sale of materials to the non nuclear portion of Indian nuclear programme.

Phase 2. In the context of expansion of the dialogue on nuclear safety, US would likely permit direct cooperation, production, marketing and operation of Indian and US commercial satellites.

Phase 3. Removal of unilateral control of hi – tech exports to all Indian end user, would generate discussions on further cooperation in missile defence.

Likely Irritants and Divergences in Indo – US Relations

US Relations with Pakistan

The US relations with Pakistan and its position on the Kashmir is another issue of concern to India. Historically, the USA has regarded Kashmir as a dispute between India and Pakistan, to be settled through peaceful means and negotiations.

Russo-Indian Strategic Relations

The historic Russo-Indian strategic relationship that has been reaffirmed during President Putin's recent visit to India is likely to be a source of concern which it would like to offset as far as possible.

Indo – Iranian Relations

The fast growing relations between Iran and India are expected to experience difficulties due to the Indo-Israeli and Indo-US nexus. The US presence in Afghanistan and accusations by USA against Iran about her nuclear programme are matters of concern for Iran. This would also have a knock-on effect on Indo-Iranian relations.

Indian Desire to Balance Relations between USA and China

Given its historic cautious approach, India is unlikely to play as US proxy against China. It will try to balance its relations with both China as well as USA. The weight of bilateral trade between India and China, which has grown to the tune of US\$ 100 Billion, may serve as a pointer.

Indian role in US rebalancing in Asia

“Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta underscored India’s prominence in America’s new defence strategy during his visit to India: “Defence cooperation with India is a linchpin in this strategy. India is one of the largest and most dynamic countries in the region and the world, with one of the most capable militaries”.¹⁶ Without question, U.S.-India military engagement represents an important new dimension in the overall relationship. This was demonstrated during the combined maritime humanitarian and disaster relief operations conducted by the two countries at the time of the 2004 tsunami. Since then, and with the added impetus of the landmark 2005 New Framework for Def Coop, mil-to-mil ties have evolved to the point where, today, “India engages in more mil exs with the U.S than with any other country”—with more to come. “Vice Admiral Gerald Beaman, comd of the U.S. Third Fleet”, recently said that the exponentially growing “U.S.-India maritime exs will be vital to stability and security in the region’s sea lanes.”

Future Conflict in Defining Spheres of Influence vis-à-vis Indian Strategic Culture

Many in India argue and cast doubts if anyone has a clear idea what “strategic relationship” actually mean (especially since New Delhi seems to find no incompatibility in having “strategic relationship” with Beijing and Moscow as well). Moreover, the term “terrorism” largely remains imprecise without agreed upon definition and the US and Indian definitions overlap only partially. There are too many possibilities for the kind of disagreement, familiar from the past that can lead to difference albeit in manageable limits. Furthermore, this security superstructure would greatly be influenced by the attitude of the governments in the two countries.¹⁷

Future of Indo – US Relations

Likely Future Internal Political Situation in India and US and its Impact on Mutual Relations

While the United States has been careful not to characterize its defense ties with India as aimed at balancing China, the converse is also relevant —that is, whether India views the United States as a balancer against China. India would ideally like to be the single dominant power in the IOR, yet it knows it may not, given the long-standing U.S. presence in the region. For India, it is strategically advantageous to have close security ties with Washington and work more closely rather than trading a solo path. Thus, the Indian desire to form a partnership with the United States to hedge against China must be balanced against its desire to maintain a working relationship with it.

Future of Relations vis-à-vis Indian Strategic Objectives

India’s major strategic “priority has been and shall continue to be the socio economic development of its billion people”.¹⁸ Its democratic system must address the domestic agenda first and fulfill its peoples’ immediate needs and aspirations. “The central goal in relations with other countries is to address potential adversarial relations through political and diplomatic efforts and to rely on cooperative engagement as the primary instrument of strategy”.¹⁹ However, that does not mean that India will compromise on its national interests, political autonomy, or territorial integrity. Thus, the primary effort rests on “trying to shape the security environment toward cooperative peace rather than plan on the basis of inevitable armed conflict”.²⁰ “The belief that there exists a long-term strategic convergence between the two countries is widespread”.²¹ US support for India’s position during the 1999 Kargil conflict, and the hugely publicised visit of President Clinton in 2000, dramatically increased the appeal of the United States, even within traditionally anti-American sections of Indian society.

The Policy Shift 2012

The “US economy and security are inextricably linked to developments in the arc extending from the Western Pacific and East Asia into the Indian Ocean region and South Asia, creating a mix of evolving challenges and opportunities”²² holds the

document. It also explicitly elevates India to be a long term strategic partner whom the US will support “to serve as a ‘regional anchor’ and provider of security in the broader Indian Ocean region”.²³ The underlying US strategy in this region remains the maintenance of balance of power.²⁴ However, the focus on India and the strain in relations between the US and Pakistan could well mean a closer and more dynamic strategic relationship between China and Pakistan.²⁵

Preserving Dominance

The US Marine Corps Vision and Strategy 2025 document concludes that the Indian Ocean and its adjacent waters will be a central theatre of global conflict and competition this century.²⁶ The US Quadrennial Defence Review 2010, draws round the Indian Ocean as providing important SLOCs that are integral for the “global commerce, international energy security, and regional stability”.²⁷ “The document also maintains that the US has an interest in keeping the Indian Ocean region stable and ensuring its open access to all”.²⁸

Future Regional Scenario and Role of Indo-US Relations

Ever since US military action in Iraq, the debate on unilateralism versus multi-lateralism has also intensified. There is increasing realization in the world, including in the United States, that there is no alternative to multi-literalism to prevent conflicts or for conflict resolution. The indo – US militaries have potential for regional and global cooperation.

Analysis and Implications for Pakistan

US Interests in Pakistan and Possibility of Maintaining Good Relations with both India and Pakistan

Washington’s engagement with Pakistan vis-à-vis India goes in India’s favor as American assistance to India will likely expand. India’s economic and technological base may see translating into military power. This will aggravate the problem of uneven growth in conventional and nuclear capabilities of India and Pakistan. Despite its constructive engagement with Beijing, the West has not overcome its traditional mistrust of China. Any future US efforts to strengthen India to balance the rising power of China will invariably have effects on Pakistan. Broadening relations might increase US influence in Delhi but it would also enhance Indian influence in Washington. The state relations are largely governed by the national interests. The current phase of US-Pakistan relations will endure as long as they shared common objectives and the US need for a supportive Pakistan during her fight against international terrorism. In case of decreasing level of the US interest in the region there could be a gradual shift in the policy with further inclination towards India. This may further harden Indian attitude towards Pakistan. The nature of US policies bearing on Indo-Pak relations, particularly Kashmir and any significant disregard by the USA of Pakistan’s legitimate defence requirements will be detrimental to Pakistan-USA relation. The current US Security Doctrine enunciated in the National Security Strategy Paper, has some serious

implications for Pakistan. While India is seen as a strategic partner and an upcoming global power, the US relationship with Pakistan is seen primarily in the context of Pakistan having joined the US-led war on terrorism: *'With Pakistan, our bilateral relations have been bolstered by Pakistan's choice to join the war on terror and move toward building a more open and tolerant society.'*²⁹ So the relationship with Pakistan is conditional – and traditionally has been coercive one on the part of the US. "The strategic relationship between the US and India may cause further misalignment in the strategic interests of Pakistan with US and possibly US-Indo interests vis-à-vis Pakistan – including on the issue of Kashmir".³⁰

Diplomatic Issues

On the sidelines of the US led war against terrorism India has been waging a diplomatic war against Pakistan on the premise that Pakistan was not acceptable as a member of the international coalition for reason of promoting and sponsoring terrorism. The bomb blast at the Srinagar Assembly was linked to the 9/11 as was the attack on the Indian Parliament later. The buildup of armed forces along the border was a step in the same direction aimed at coercing Pakistan to regress from its Kashmir Policy, or at least to lower to a certain degree Pakistan's perceived level of resistance.

Effects on China

China's ambition to be a world power impinges upon US global dominance and interests. The Chinese, aware of the US high commercial stake in an expanding Chinese market may be able to sustain the American pressures, by playing the China market card. China, other than Pakistan, is one of the two countries affected most by the Indo-US nexus and may want to associate more closely with Russia as well as Pakistan to counter American designs. The maritime co-operation between India and the USA has far reaching implications for China, given the new Indian base in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and her intent of maintaining naval presence in the South China Sea. "Despite the priority accorded to fighting terrorism, the present US government is expected to continue with the policy of strategic containment of China that would be pursued side by side with economic engagement. The military presence of the USA in Afghanistan and Central Asia cannot but arouse concerns in Beijing about long-term US goals on its western periphery".³¹ Maintaining the right balance in its relationship with China and the USA, would be tight rope walk for Pakistan.

Kashmir Issue

India would endeavor to utilize US support to pressurize Pakistan to regress on Kashmir issue. Pakistan is fighting VNSA's throughout the country and its western border with Afghanistan that might affect the Kashmir cause. Acknowledging Kashmir requiring international attention, the USA seems hesitant to broker peace.

Negative Effects on Pakistani Interests in Afghanistan

“Instead of an interest-driven policy, Indian presence in Afghanistan is to counterweight Pakistani influence in the region. India is increasingly being looked upon as a friend, while Pakistan’s image has suffered”.³² India is making all-out efforts to foment sub-nationalism in Baluchistan. Within the parameters of her grand strategy India’s natural orientation seeks to employ contemporary Afghanistan as a stringboard for fomenting terrorist activity and instability in the FATA belt on Pak-Afghan Border. India is engaged in imparting “training to Afghan police, Afghan National Army, parliamentary training to Afghan officials, judicial training, helping to develop media, information and broadcasting. Undoubtedly, India is stoking the separatist fervors in our Tribal Region and in Baluchistan. If not curtailed, this increasing Indian influence can have serious implications for Pakistan”.³³

Military Imbalance

On the face of it, the US’ approach towards South Asia and China appears to be based on maintaining the balance of power but in reality it would go beyond the balance, thereby lending power advantage to the US. Defence agreement between the US and India is a start point, which may help the US to undermine or at least slow down china rise. However, in case of Pakistan, it would tilt the conventional military balance in favour of India. “Equally US-India nuclear agreement, once implemented, would enable India to make quantitative and qualitative improvement in its nuclear arsenal”.³⁴

Nuclear Deterrence and Missile Shield

The USA seems to have realized the complications of complete elimination of nuclear weapons in South Asia. The US expects to achieve non- proliferation of nuclear technology to other states and in the short term is to contain further development of such capabilities and, in the meantime, work “for a regional solution to the problem of nuclear proliferation in South Asia. This does not mean that US would not, given the opportunity, try to exercise greater influence over Pakistan’s strategic assets”.³⁵

Major Conclusions:-

The development of a strategic India-US military relationship would also express India’s rising continental Asian status as a great power with interests and capabilities across the continent instead of being seen as merely a regional leader”.

China and India’s long-term strategic interests do not converge; therefore, a rapprochement between them is unlikely. It, however, suits American interests if it can avert greater cooperation between China and India.

India will have to establish a delicate balance in its relations with Russia and the USA.

Pakistan has emerged relevant to the USA on three accounts. One, being a nuclear power the USA wants her to be a stable country; secondly, Pakistan provides easy access to the rich Central Asian Republics while third and most important its fight against terrorism.

Pakistan would come under US pressure on Kashmir issue due American long term interests in India.

An India with a growing powerful economy and the American support will be able to increase manifold its already massive military might.

Pakistan will have to relook its deterrence strategy against present Indian modernisation of defence arrangement in conventional and strategic domain.

US' endorsement to support India for permanent seat in UNSC has intrusive implications for Pakistan's interests on number of outstanding conflicts with India.

The Indo-US strategic partnership and their close ties are now a reality that Pakistan and the world are reconciled to. This, however, does not imply that it is a zero-sum game. Pakistan has its own importance due to its geostrategic position linking South with Central and West Asia, as a nuclear power and a state that can play a key role in the stability of Afghanistan.

Policy Options for Pakistan

Foreign Policy

"The foreign policy of a state cannot be static even as some of its underlying concerns and norms have an enduring value. The 9/11 attacks offered only a short term fillip to US - Pakistan relations in the form of lifting of sanctions and the influx of military and economic aid. A spate of events in the past two years and clash of disparate interests in Afghanistan have led Pakistan's Parliamentary Committee for National Security (PCNS) to table revised guidelines on terms of engagement with the United States. One may call such a step as too little too late".³⁶ Some of the important facets of foreign policy which need focus are suggested:-

Proactive Foreign Policy

Pakistan cannot afford a reactive foreign policy and rather should follow a proactive foreign policy to benefit from the changing international and regional environment.

Avoidance of India-Centric Policy

With the scope for interaction with other countries expanding and various forms of emerging co-operation, our foreign policy should cease to be frenzied with the Indian threat. While security should remain a basic determinant, emphasis is accorded to

fostering economic development and co-operation with other countries, essentially the USA.

Need for Regional Alliances

Whereas, maximization of internal strengths must remain the primary goal regardless of any other policy, an ‘Alliance Strategy’ will be more prudent choice for Pakistan. Under the prevailing environment a formal political and military alliance with China can effectively address our insecurity syndrome.

There is a substantial scope for an economic alliance. ECO could be used as a basis for such an alliance, and expanded subsequently.

It is within the broad parameters of the emerging US strategic policy that Pakistan needs to frame its external policy options – be they within the bilateral context with India / USA or the regional context.

Iran Policy

“For Iran, which is now moving towards a proactive security policy in the Gulf region, Pakistan’s co-operative military linkages with the Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia offer an in-built structural framework to build a co-operative strategic relationship”.³⁷

Fresh Afghan Policy

There is need to further strengthen our existing relations with US administration by making realistic adjustments in our interests with US and Afghanistan, so that any apprehension planted by the hostile forces may not result in US wrath against Pakistan. At the same time, we need to improve our bilateral relations with the new Afghan Government.

Middle East Policy

Our relation with Middle East should be business oriented rather religion centric.

Emphasis on Economic Issues

Pakistan must define its relation with USA by focusing on economic issues; alongside continue to pursue pragmatic wholesome policy with china, Russia and CARs.

Preservation of Strategic Assets

“No outside power should have any access to any part of Pakistan’s nuclear facilities. While accepting the limits of the Pakistan-US relationship, we need to be alert of the threat to our nuclear capabilities. Without adopting confrontational approach with the USA we must define the limits of our cooperation and enunciate our own national strategic compulsions”.³⁸

Kashmir Policy

Continues support of Kashmiri people over long term and its intensity may vary as per environment. The emphasis should be solution based on wishes of Kashmiris. Exterior maneuver needs to be mounted to create favorable space in international community that will come handy at the time of addressing this issue.

UN Monitoring in IHK

India has successfully linked the Kashmiri struggle to cross-border terrorism. We need to counter this effectively by distinguishing between terrorism and freedom struggles, something that the UN also recognize, and we must make diplomatic and political efforts aimed at making India accept deployment of more international observers on the LOC as well as in IHK.

Improving the Country's Image

A consistent effort to separate GSAVE from freedom struggle in Kashmir needs to be pursued. To promote this aspect Pakistan has to be proactive in managing its own perception in the world through practical action on ground.

Vibrant Pak-American Community

The Pakistani-American community of 0.7 million in USA should be sensitized to play a greater political role. The role of Pakistan Embassies abroad needs to be seriously re-examined and projects undertaken to enhance their capability to play a positive role in this sphere.

Conclusion

The US would not ignore Pakistan under the current environment but it would prefer to promote India as tool of its aspiration in the south Asian region. Although India might not be willing to play the US surrogate, yet it would attract the US for its role in the region. With the USA now more concerned with access to economically viable markets, the emphasis is on extracting maximum mercantile advantages rather than any serious concern for resolving contentious issues in the region. The convergence of US and Indian interests and shared perceptions on various issues has resulted in regular high level consultations between the two governments, close cooperation in defence, space, nuclear and high technology, and a substantially enhanced Indo-US economic cooperation. “The development of a strategic India-US military relationship would also express India's rising continental Asian status as a great power with interests and capabilities across the continent instead of being seen as merely a regional leader”.³⁹ In the changed international environments, Pakistan needs to develop strong bilateral relations with US so as to counter growing Indian influence on the minds of US Administration.

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PART – II

National Security

- **Pakistan's Energy Security Challenges**

PAKISTAN'S ENERGY SECURITY CHALLENGES

**Mr. Zahoor, Lt Col Akhlaq, Lt Col Basharat
and Capt Ziyad Naseer, KSA**

Abstract

Since the last 6 to 7 years, Pakistan has been facing a serious energy crisis. This has impacted the whole nation while adversely affecting the economy. The crisis though of a recent nature, has its roots in flawed government policies in the 1990's. Poor energy mix, with heavy reliance on imported fuel has made power generation unproductive. Previous Power Policies have primarily addressed the problem in an adhoc manner, while the core issue still remains. Non-development of efficient and cost effective hydro-power projects has been one of the major hurdles. Mismanagement, corruption, theft and circular debt are few of the key challenges. Current government faces a grim situation with the growing public unrest. Impact of the crisis can be felt across the spectrum of society and merits a prompt and bold decision making. Many of the challenges can be addressed through prudent short, medium and long term measures. These however, need to be backed by a national resolve and an unflinching Political will.

Introduction

Pakistan is undergoing serious energy crises. This is not only slowing the pace of economic activity but is also a source of public unrest. Key industries have lost their capacity utilization by nearly about 50 percent. Interruptions and forced closures of gas, has adversely affected the fertilizer industry. Bureaucratic overlap, partly implemented reforms and under investment can be rightly associated with the crisis. Lack of comprehensive package of solutions by the government has not allowed stemming of the problem. The key requirement is a greater political will. The present energy crisis is a wake-up call for our planners. Pakistan can no longer afford to remain complacent with the present arrangement and there is a need to adopt and pursue new innovative ideas and means to fulfill our energy requirements.

In order to realize the problem of energy shortage in its entirety there is need to capitalize on expansion of conventional energy. Also address the possibility of exploring other sources of energy so as to face the future challenges. To analyse existing energy crises and future energy requirements vis-à-vis availability of resources with a view to address energy security challenges of Pakistan.

Energy Security – The Concept

Energy is defined as “the power derived from utilization of physical or chemical resources to provide light and to work machines”. There are two types of sources of energy, primary sources like furnace oil, gas and coal etc while the secondary sources includes electricity and heat etc. Secondary sources are produced through transformation of primary sources.

The term ‘Energy Security’ was coined during 1950s. Since then, the concept has evolved and matured. Energy as defined by International Energy Agency is “Uninterrupted availability of energy sources at an affordable price.” The European Commission defines it as “A condition in which a nation and all or most of its citizens

and businesses have access to sufficient energy resources at reasonable prices free from serious risk of major disruption”.

In nutshell, Energy Security for a country implies:-

- Certainty in availability of energy sources.
- Affordability.
- Dependence on diverse sources of energy.
- Sustainability in terms of environmental implications and resource availability.
- Resilience to absorb shocks and disruptions.

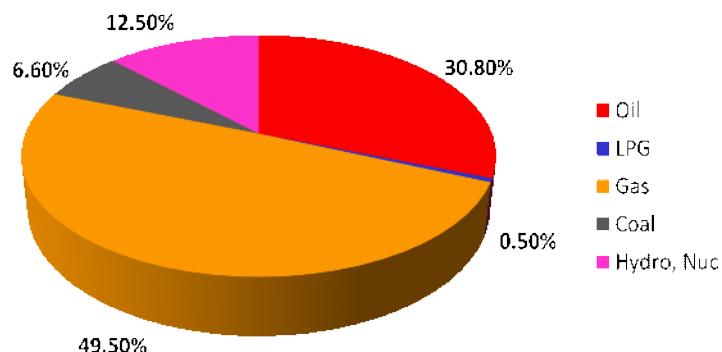
Demand Supply Calculus

Energy Supply

Energy supply has been a serious challenge for Pakistan over past several years. During 2012-13, total energy supply has been 64.7 Million Tonnes of Oil Equivalent¹ (MTOE) while the total energy demand has been nearly 80 Million Tonnes of Oil Equivalent. Thus there is a gap of approximately 15 MTOE. Worst still the demand is rising at an average of 3.17% per year while the supply is increasing at an average rate of 1.8%.

Share of Various Sources in Energy Supply

Share of various sources of Energy supply is as below:-



Oil 30.80%, LPG 0.50%, Gas 49.50%, Coal 6.60% and Hydro, Nuc 12.50%

Source: Pakistan Energy Year Book 2013.

Share of oil, gas and LPG is 81 % of entire energy supply. This includes the oil and gas consumed for generation of electricity, as well. Contribution of coal as primary source of energy is just 6.6 % which is far less than world average of 30%. Whereas share of hydel and nuclear power in the form of electricity is 12.5%.

Of total available energy, 33 % primary energy sources are based on imports with an import bill of approximately US \$ 14.5 Bn.

Consumption of Energy in different Sectors

The sector wise energy consumption is as under:-

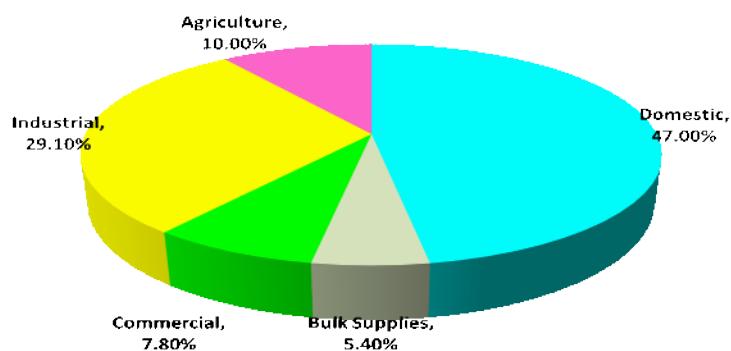
- **Domestic Sector.** About 16% of total energy is domestically consumed. While the demand is rising at an average growth rate of approximately 6 %.
- **Commercial Sector.** About 2.5 % of the total energy is consumed in commercial sector. Within commercial sector, consumption of Natural gas is 60%, LPG is 10% and while electricity is 30%.
- **Transport Sector.** This sector consumes about 20% (12.71 MTOE) of the energy.
- **Industrial Sector.** The consumption of this sector is 22% (14.28 MTOE) of the energy is consumed in this sector.

Total Installed Capacity

Total installed capacity is 22812 MW. 15289 MW of the installed capacity is designed on Thermal Sources. Thus thermal sources constitute 67% of total.

Consumption Pattern of Electricity

Out of the total generated electricity 47 % was consumed in households, although 30% of the households are still without electricity. Industrial sector consumed 29.1 % which was less than its demand. Similarly consumptions in other sectors were less than the demand. A significant share of electricity is wasted in system losses. Total losses vary from 22 – 23 %. Maximum losses occur in domestic sector.



Agri 10.00%, Domestic 47.00%, Bulk 5.40%, Commercial 7.80 & Industrial 29.10%.

Source: Pakistan Energy Year Book 2013.

Contemporary Energy Models and Trends

Electricity Mix²

Comparative data of different countries including Japan, S. Korea and Asian Tiger Economies has been studied to identify trends and ascertain Pakistan's energy situation vis-à-vis these countries. In electricity mix, oil and gas share in case of Japan is 64%, India is 10%, S. Korea is 34%, Malaysia 54% and Indonesia is 50% while in case of Pakistan it is 60%. Moreover, coal which is a comparatively cheaper source of energy has least contribution in electricity generation in case of Pakistan; its share is just 0.1% while in other cases it varies from 19 to 59 per cent.

	Gas	Oil	Coal	Hydro	Nuclear	RE/Others
Percentage						
Japan	48	16	25	5	2	9
India	9	1	59	16	2	13
S. Korea	25	9	30	8	25	3
Malaysia	51	3	35	10		1
Indonesia	18	32	19	2		29
Pakistan	20	40	0.1	34	5	0.9

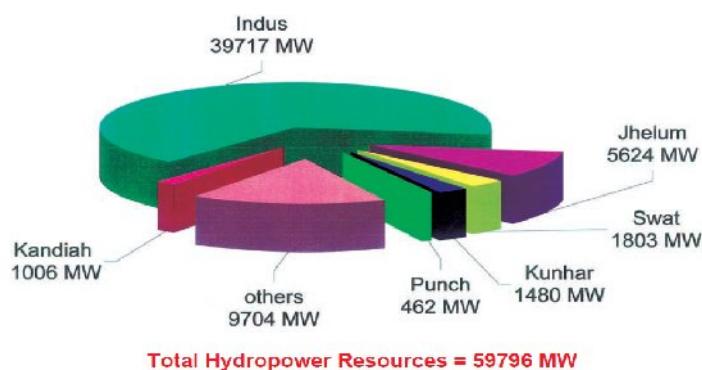
Oil Consumption / Import and Export

All countries are net importers of oil except Malaysia which is a net exporter. Malaysia exports 54 Million Barrels per year. Pakistan's percentage of imported oil is highest after Japan and S. Korea. However, the use of oil in electricity generation is highest in case of Pakistan, as highlighted earlier. S. Korea exports 431 million tons of refined petroleum products every year.

Energy Potential of Pakistan

Hydropower Potential

- The hydropower potential in Pakistan is about 60000 MW.³ Almost all of this potential lies in the mountainous and semi-mountainous areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Gilgit-Baltistan, Punjab and Azad Jammu & Kashmir.
- Power potential of different rivers is as below:-



- River Indus has maximum potential i.e. up to 40000 MW.
- Currently Pakistan is generating about 6720 MW which is only 11.2 percent of the total potential.
- However, certain projects are already, under progress for generating 4773 MW while the plans have been made and ready for another 24000 MW whose implementation is pending due to availability of funds.

Challenges

Challenges facing hydropower potential:-

- As per Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, glaciers in Himalayas are receding. The recession in glaciers will increase river flows and cause floods during monsoon. The reduction in glaciers will be quite substantial by 2050, thus negatively impacting the hydropower potential.
- The 33 x Indian projects on western rivers and 12 Afghan projects on Kabul River will reduce the hydropower potential by about 10%. Details are given in the following section.
- Long development time.
- Cost intensive at the development stage.
- Difficult logistics due to rugged terrain and fragile communication infrastructure.
- Sedimentation causes gradual reduction in the generation capacity – though the process is slow.

Coal Resources

- Discovery of 175.5 Billion Tonnes of coal in Thar has made Pakistan one of the richest countries in coal resources. Total coal reserves in Pakistan amount to 186 Billion Tonnes.⁴
- Comparison with other Countries
- The comparison⁵ of Thar coal with other international mines is given below. Thar coal has best heating value, however, its stripping ratio is not very favourable. The coal is suitable for liquefaction and gasification:-

	Stripping Ratio (M3:T)	Heating Value (MJ/Kg)
Thar	6.6 :1	11.6
Kosovo	1 :1	7.8
Germany (Rhenish)	4.9 :1	8.9
Germany (Hambach)	6.3 :1	10.5
Hungary	9 :1	7.1
Greece	10:1	5.02

Challenges

- Coal found in entire Pakistan is of low quality particularly Thar coal. The quality of Thar coal is Lignite with low carbon and high moisture contents.
- Accessibility to the technology for coal extraction is cost intensive.
- Low initiative for investment from FDI.
- Lack of infrastructure.
- Financial constraints.

Renewable Sources of Energy

- Wind Energy. Pakistan has a total of 346000 MW⁷ of wind electricity potential. Gharo-Keti Bandar wind corridor alone has a potential of 50,000 MW. Pakistan has offered incentive for generation of electricity through private investment. Seven different companies have been issued licenses for generation of 1200 MW while another twenty one feasibility studies are underway in different parts of the country.
- Solar Energy. Pakistan is also blessed with enormous solar energy potential which can meet total requirements of the electricity of the entire country. Twenty four private companies are in the process of installing projects for generation of 800 MW.⁹
- Apart from above, there is potential of generating electricity from biomass/solid waste, bagasse (sugar mills).

Nuclear Energy

Pakistan is already utilizing nuclear energy for electricity generation. There are three nuclear power plants working with a total generation capacity of 750 MW. Moreover, four projects including two at Chashma (330MW each) and two at Karachi (1100 MW each) are at various stages of implementation. Apart from this, there are plans for installation of at least seven nuclear power plants (1100 MW) to enhance the nuclear energy capacity upto 8900 MW¹⁰ by 2030.

Oil and Gas Potential in Pakistan¹¹

Total recoverable oil reserves in the country are 371 million barrels while the total recoverable gas reserves are 24.741 Tn Cu Ft. These reserves are not sufficient to meet current and future requirements. These reserves will exhaust by 2030. However, exploration efforts are continuing. A total of 841 exploratory wells were drilled for oil and gas exploration during preceding year. The success rate is 32% while the world average is 40%.

Shale Resources in Pakistan

- Pakistan has vast potential of shale oil and gas. It is distributed throughout the upper Indus, lower Indus, Balochistan and offshore basin. Recoverable

shale gas reserves are approximately 200 TCF₁₂ while the approximate quantity of shale oil is 9 Billion Barrels.

- It is estimated that shale gas can meet Pakistan's gas related energy requirements for 66 years while shale oil can meet the oil requirements for 56 years.

Challenges

- Presently, Pakistan does not have access to the high-end technologies. It will take considerable time before Pakistan builds its own capacity to start exploiting shale oil and gas. Pakistan though has already taken a step through an agreement with a US based company 'Advanced Engineering Associates International' (AEAI) for conduct of strategic study to assess the actual reserves of Shale oil and gas in Pakistan.
- Exploitation of shale oil and gas has following adverse effects on the environment.
 - Degradation of land which would need rehabilitation incurring enormous costs. The extraction of oil and gas causes structural damages to the layers of the earth crust.
 - Degradation of underground water.
 - Processing of shale oil results in huge wastes materials whose disposal is extremely difficult. For example extraction of one tonne of shale oil results in 3.1 ton of creation of coke material.

Important Conclusions

Pakistan's overall energy demand is consistently rising due to increase in population and growth in various sectors of national economy, therefore, a wholesome and futuristic approach is needed to address the existing crises and to meet the emerging challenges.

Contemporary trends in the energy development include extensive use of coal, biogas/waste and renewable sources of energy while reducing the dependence on oil and gas in the overall energy mix.

In Pakistan's energy mix, share of oil is highest while that of coal is least as compared to Japan, South Korea, India, Malaysia and Indonesia – thus an expensive energy mix.

Pakistan has enormous potential in coal, hydropower, renewable energy and shale resources which if exploited will cater for long term energy security.

Nuclear energy constitutes a comparatively cheaper source; therefore, Pakistan should continue to develop this sector of energy.

Existing Energy Crises – A Critical Analysis

General

Pakistan's energy sector crisis has gripped the political landscape of the country for the last few years. The crises is draining off upto 2 % from annual GDP according to the Ministry of Finance.

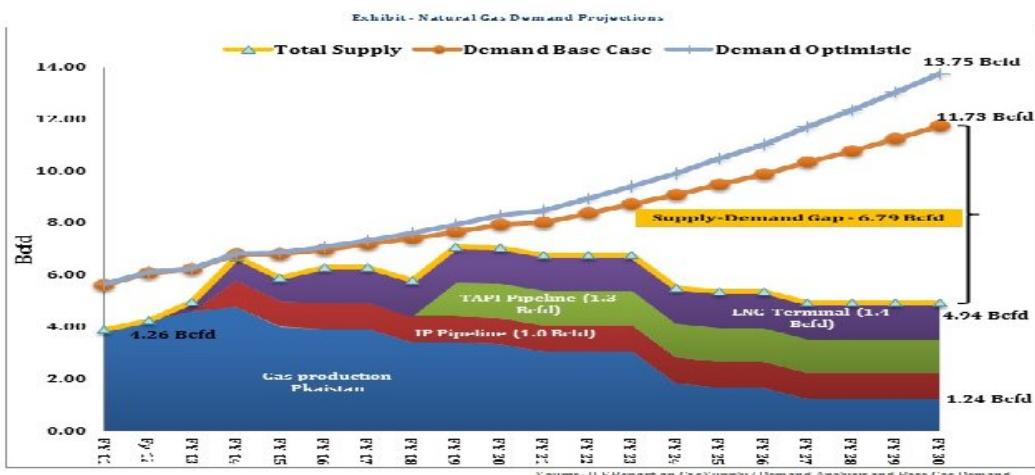
Natural Gas Shortages - Problem Areas

Depletions of Indigenous Gas Reserves

Pakistan consumes all the indigenously produced gas whereas the development of new gas fields is slow. Thus, Pakistan's limited supplies are running out fast. The country's two largest natural gas fields are expected to run dry by 2022, according to the Ex Minister of Petroleum, Asim Hussain, stated on Feb 23, 2013 <http://www.thenew.com.pk/article-89421-sui-Dr-Asim>.

Demand Supply Imbalance

Incessant demand of gas for domestic, power and transport sectors has disturbed the demand – supply equation. As per Pakistan Gas Supply-Demand Study conducted by ILF Consulting Engineers, over the next 17 years gas demand is projected to stand at 11.73 Bcf/d, while domestic supplies are expected to reach the level of 4.94 Bcf/d resulting in a huge shortfall of about 6.79 Bcf/d by FY 2030¹³:



Source: www.isgs.pk

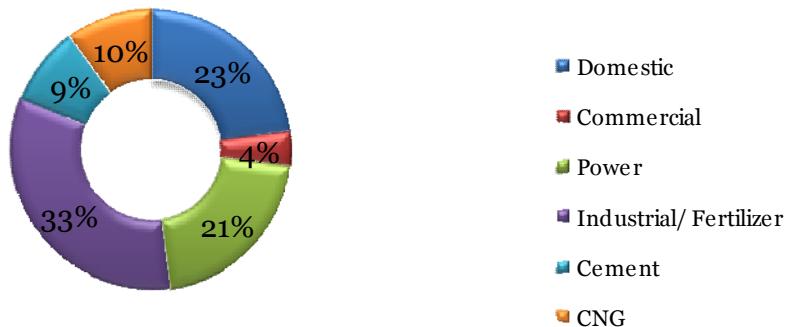
Project Oriented Approach

While adopting a project oriented approach rather than goal-oriented approach, the energy issues have been dealt with, on adhoc basis. Nearly a decade ago, use of compressed natural gas or CNG, in private vehicles was promoted by the government. It was intended to reduce the resources the government spent on buying oil internationally and instead rely on Pakistan's domestic natural gas reserves perhaps without realizing the futuristic affects as per the International Association of Natural Gas Vehicles.¹⁴

Priority of Usage of Gas

Though the priority of usage of gas is correct, a large component of available gas is being consumed by CNG sector and domestic consumers, which constrains the availability of gas for the productive sectors like industry and power, which is a source of concern.

Details/ Priority of Gas Usage



Domestic 23%, Commercial 4%, Power 21%, Industrial/Fertilizer 33%, Cement 9% & CNG 10%.

Source: Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources, GoP, Brief by Secy P&NR dated 19 Oct 2013.

Analysis of Power Sector Crises Origins of the Crises

Though in 2007 the initial effects of the looming crisis were felt but it was policy decisions taken two decades ago where the issue has its roots in.

Conceptual Flaws of Policies (Policy – Performance Gap)

Power projects installed as per Power Policy 1994¹⁵ were based either on furnace oil or on gas. This was already fast depleting and, thereby, sowed the seeds for a highly expensive and unsustainable fuel generation mix.

Pakistan Energy Mix (Hydel Vs Thermal)¹⁶

Year	Hydel	Thermal
1994-95	50%	50%
1997-98	41%	59%
1999-00	35%	65%
2000-01	30%	70%
2002-03	35%	65%
2005-06	38%	62%
2009-10	32%	68%
2012-13	34%	66%

Source: www.stateofPakistan.org

Guaranteed payment of capacity charges to IPPs was done, even when the government did not use the power generated by these, IPPs.

The 1998 Power Policy¹⁷ tried to rectify some of these; however, 2002 Power Policy¹⁸ restored much of the incentives earlier available in the 1994 policy, i.e. choice of fuel and technology was again left to the investor.

National Power Policy 2013

The policy¹⁹ aims to address the current as well as the future needs of the country. It lays down the roadmap for transforming the currently ‘energy starved’ country to ‘energy exporting’ country with power surplus after five i.e. by 2018. The policy vision is as under:-

“Pakistan will develop the most efficient and consumer centric power generation, transmission, and distribution system that meets the needs of its population and boosts its economy in a sustainable and affordable manner”

Key Objectives

To overcome its challenges and achieve the long-term vision of the power sector, the Government of Pakistan has set the following objectives:-

- Reduction of pilferage and inefficiencies in generation, transmission and distribution system.
- Generation of cost effective electricity to meet future demand.
- Promote energy efficiency and conservation.
- Eliminate supply gap by 2017.
- To cut production costs, hydel resources and local fuels like coal to be promoted. Coal based generation of 5000-10000 MW in next 2-5 years to replace expensive fuel.

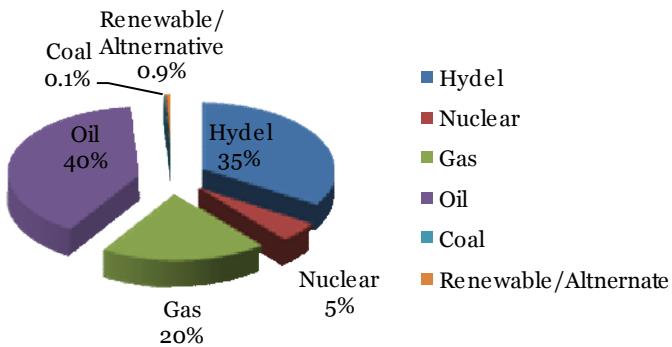
Critical Inadequacies

The New policy too, has retained the same set of generous incentives. These are in terms of contract period, tariff structure and exemption from taxes and duties.

Current Issues

Adverse Energy Mix

Energy mix for power generation is an area where flawed policies allowed IPPs to produce electricity using expensive means of production, i.e. petroleum fuels based generation. Existing energy mix being used for production of electricity is given below, which shows over-reliance on the use of oil (furnace oil / diesel) and gas.



Source:<http://tribune.com.pk/story/532404/energy-power-generation-capacity-expected-to-jump-46-by-2018/>

Imported oil of almost \$ 14.5 billion worth of oil is imported each year for Pakistan's electricity generation. Share of oil in electricity generation can be seen from the following table:-

Comparison of Electricity Generation by Source				
<i>2012/2013</i>	Gas	Oil	Coal	Hydel, Nuclear or Import
<i>India</i>	9.2%	0.8%	71%	19.0%
<i>Bangladesh</i>	73.0%	20.4%	3.4%	3.2%
<i>Pakistan</i>	29.0	35.0%	0.1	35.7%

Source: Economic Survey of India, Bangladesh and HDIP

Cost Implications

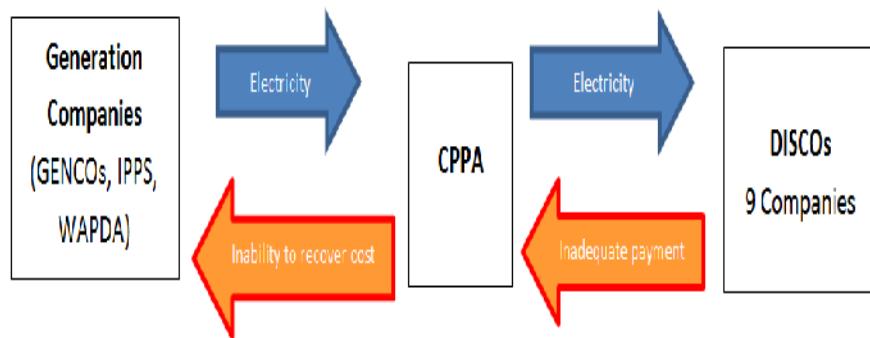
Power generation from imported furnace oil is significantly more expensive than from hydro sources – approximately Rs. 19.35 per unit of oil power generation, compared to hydro generation, which costs about Rs. 1.54 per unit.²⁰

Circular Debt

With the oil prices sky rocketing in 2006-07, the issue of circular debt emerged. With the increased oil prices, the tariff was frozen at the time by the government and it did not pass the effect to the consumers.

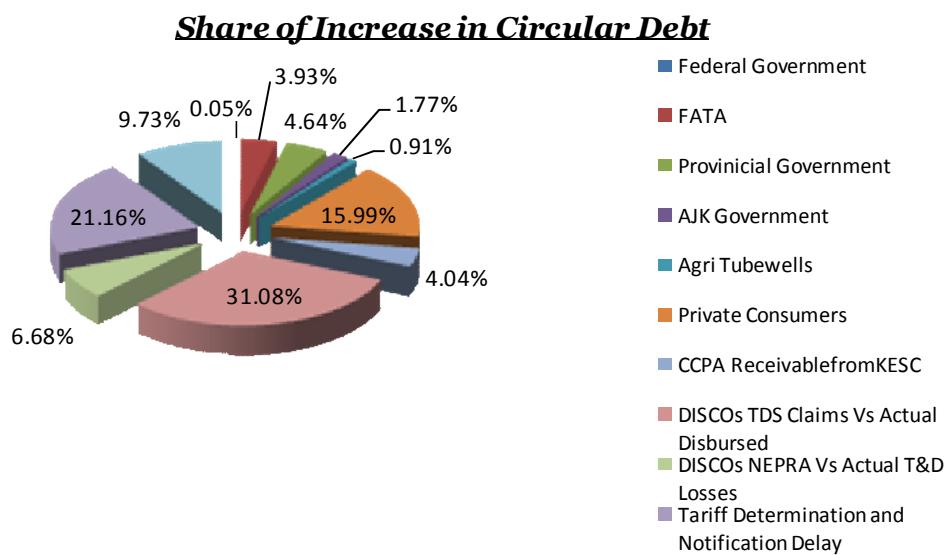
Distribution Companies (DISCOs) do not reflect the true cost and affect their ability to pay CPPA which in turn hinders the payments to Generation Companies (GENCOs) and IPPs. Therefore, inability of DISCOs to make payments allows a trickledown effect on all in the supply chain. Ultimately reducing the amount of electricity generated.

Central Power Purchasing Agency



Though, the current Government paid Rs 480 billion, however, due to lack of any structural reforms, the debt has again risen to Rs 300 billion in May 2014.²¹

The share of increase in circular debt is as under:-



Source: PEPCO, DISCOs Performance Stats Report 2012, data from MoWP, USAID PDP analysis.

Insufficient Power Generation Capacity

Barring the 3,377 MW added since 08-09, no sizeable capacity in the power sector has been added in the last 10 years.

Transmission and Distribution Losses

Inefficient power transmission and distribution system of the country is currently recording losses of 23-25% due to mismanagement, poor infrastructure and theft of electricity. It is costing an additional 2.70 rupees per unit over and above the cost of generation due to the tax payers.

Transmission Distribution Losses

DISCO	Transmission Losses (%)	Distribution Losses (%)	PKR (Billion)
LESCO	6.6%	13.02	2.35
GEPCO		11	0.36
FESCO		10.8	0.6
IESCO		11.5	3.6
MEPCO		16.8	0.28
PESCO+TESCO		34.5	16.17
HESCO		31.8	7.47
QESCO		21.5	11.2
Total WAPDA		24	-
KESCO	5.1%	29.0	59
Expected	Total: 7-8%		90 Approx

Source: ICCI Electricity Report; National Transmission & Dispatch Company Ltd, WAPDA.

Institutional Compartmentation

Energy sector is still being dealt by various ministries and organizations with visible disconnects of central planning and vision.

With no reference to the planning considerations of Ministry of P&NR, National Power Policy 2013 has been issued by Ministry of Water and Power.

Slow Awakening to Alternative/ Renewable Energy (ARE)

In its bid to diversify its energy mix, the government, has been slow to give due attention for fast track development of Alternative / Renewable Energy (ARE) resources in the country.

Projected Hydel Challenges

The role of regional politics too cannot be denied in aggravating Pakistan's water woes as Pakistan is ranked 4th on a list of higher percentage of water originating from outside of the territory.²²

India Builds Dams; Pakistan Floods

In violation of the Indus Water Treaty of 1960, India is trying to control its share of water by building dams. *Kishanganga Dam adversely affects the generation capacity of Pakistan's 969MW Jhelum hydroelectric project by about 13%; allowing India to produce nearly 300MW of power.*²³

The U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations released a recent report²⁴ that observes:-

“While studies show that no single dam along the waters controlled by the IWT will affect Pakistan’s access to water, the cumulative effect of these projects could give India the ability to store enough water to limit the supply to Pakistan at crucial moments in the growing season.”

The above explains the massive floods in Pakistan over the previous years, where over 20 million people suffered according to the United Nations.

Pakistan Afghanistan Water Issue

Islamabad Institute of Policy Studies claimed that India's offer of assistance is aimed at increasing India's influence over Afghanistan while at the same time decreasing Pakistan's water supply. However, In January 2013, an internal World Bank funded study found that the six main projects planned in the Kabul basin would only reduce water flow into Pakistan by 3 percent.²⁵ **But this study did not change the attitudes of Afghan officials towards dialogue and cooperation. This raises questions about the political motivations behind the nature of Afghanistan interactions with India over the past decade.**

Hydel power is the cheapest source of energy and is of immense importance to Pakistan. At present Pakistan feels no challenge on water shortage for power generation. Dismal situation is due to own mismanagement and by not undertaking mega hydel projects. However, Pakistan is required to carefully ascertain the ongoing hydro politics in the region to have guaranteed water share of Kabul and Western Rivers.

Key Conclusions

After an analytical review of the causes of the energy crises in Pakistan, key conclusions are:-

- While also feeding power plants, Pakistan's gas supplies can't support fertilizer companies, other businesses that rely on the gas as fuel and CNG demand.
- Government by abdication of the responsibility and by neglecting to add to the public sector generation or upgrading its existing thermal power stations, has aggravated the crises. With only around 51% contribution by the Public sector to country's power generation; its contribution and share in power generation needs to be enhanced.
- Adverse change in energy mix with pronounced shift from hydro to thermal generation needs appraisal. Pakistan has been forced to produce electricity with dependence on such expensive fuel and at rates that are neither affordable to the nation.
- Lack of integrated energy planning and demand forecasting and absence of central and focused entity responsible for the whole spectrum of energy sector needs response.

- To improve the performance of energy sector entities and keep circular debt in check, there is a requirement to initiate power sector reforms to address inefficient power transmission and distribution system.
- With global focus on development of renewable and alternate sectors, these sectors are becoming viable and need to be identified as possibly the major power sources for the future.

Recommendations / Way Forward

End Objectives of Suggested Way Forward

After we have carried out a detailed study of energy security situation and analysis of the existing energy crises including the current government policies in the preceding parts, following end objectives emerged out for proposed way forward.

- Addressing Existing Power Shortage.
- Cost Effective Energy Mix (Reducing Dependence on Costlier Fuel).
- Efficient Energy Management System.
- Tapping of Alternate/ Renewable/ Regional resources.

Keeping the end objectives in sight, the panel has formulated short, medium and long term measures to address the energy security challenges.

Short Term Measures

Setting Up of National Energy Authority (NEA)

In order to enable integrated planning and to remove the existing disconnects between Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources and Ministry of Water and Power, it is suggested that a statutory body above, “The National Energy Authority (NEA)” be set up above these ministries with following tasks and objectives:-

- The NEA would be an autonomous and focal entity with a Chairman and 12 Board members, (6 private sector professionals and 6 energy sector experts, MDs etc from the Public Sector/GOP)
- The NEA would prepare an Integrated and Comprehensive National Energy Policy (NEP) for the Short, Medium and Long Term based on robust projections on a scientific basis.
- The NEA would also identify, plan and pursue implementation of Energy Sector Infrastructure augmentation/expansion through PEPCO, SSGC, and SNGPL etc.

Initiate Power Sector Reforms

In order to improve the performance of energy sector entities, to keep circular debt in check and to minimize line/system losses, there is a requirement to initiate power sector reforms including:-

- Privatization of Distribution Companies (DISCOs).
- Improving Transmission System through replacement of old feeders for improved electricity flows, starting from LESCO, GEPCO and FESCO which the dominant consumers are being industrial regions.
- Renegotiate with IPPs to include fuel efficiency clauses including setting up efficient oil – fired power plants and also fix upper limit on generation cost.

Initiate Energy Conservation Program

- Use of CNG in commercial vehicles and private vehicles above 1000CC should be gradually and progressively eliminated. New CNG connections should only be given after materializing the new/ regional prospects.
- Grant of new gas connections to domestic consumers may be granted on the basis of technical feasibility rather than political expediency.
- Foster culture of energy conservation through education and media campaign. ‘Conserve to Consume’ be introduced as the promotional theme.
- Conservation efforts should include all sectors including Government, industrial, commercial, domestic sectors and societal groups.
- Use of energy efficient appliances.

Realizing Regional Prospects

There are multiple options available for the use of regional resources, the two most viable and readily available ones need to be developed on priority in the short term, as given below:-

- Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline project should be completed as soon as possible.
- Speedy implementation of CASA-1000 project.
- Pakistan should be developing additional LNG terminals to match the gap between the availability and handling capacity at the port.

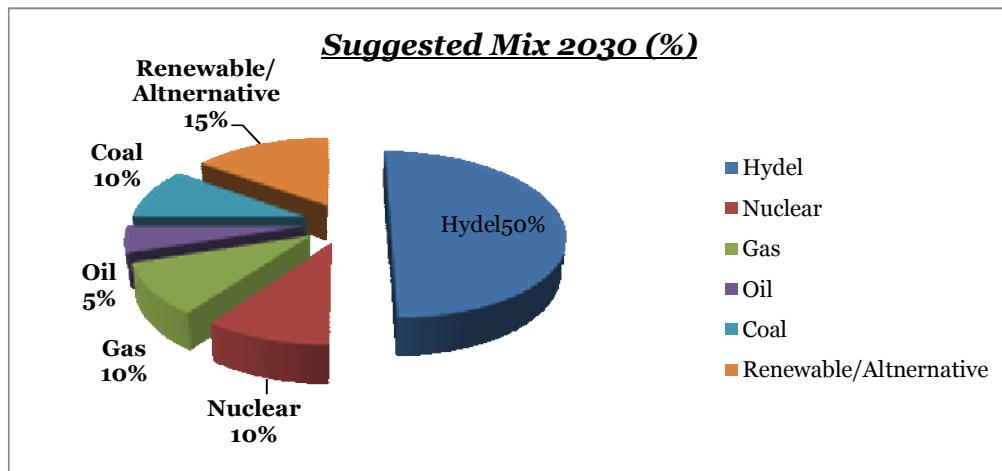
Development of Alternative/ Renewable/ Unconventional Sources

- Pakistan should offer tax concessions and guaranteed buying of electricity to the private sector for development of wind and solar energy while following Brazilian model. Moreover small power projects may be encouraged for quick results.
- Biogas, sugarcane bagasse and solid waste should also be exploited through decentralized generation by private sectors in order to meet industrial and localized requirements.

Medium/ Long Term Measures

Addressing the Adverse Energy Mix

The suggested energy mix for 2030 is also shown, which is achievable if developmental policies are run under long term vision with continuous review for incorporating the emerging trends.



Development of Shale Oil and Gas

Pakistan has already taken a step through an agreement with a US based company ‘Advanced Engineering Associates International’ (AEAI) for conduct of strategic study to assess the actual reserves of Shale oil and gas in Pakistan. Pakistan should attract multinational incorporations for exploiting the shale resources in the long term.

Conclusion

Energy map of Pakistan forms a mosaic of threats and opportunities for the future. The discovered and available hydel power generation potentials and oil / gas reserves alone are potent enough to meet the needs of the country for next 20-30 years. Energy prospects in waiting are Coal and Shale gas potential in the Indus Basin, which have immense capacity to meet the future needs of the country. These sources stand backed up with the potentials in the renewable sector, especially Wind and Solar sector which also offer promising opportunities for Pakistan. *However, to overcome the existing energy challenges of Pakistan, time to act is now.*

Endnotes

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 - ³ WAPDA (www.wapda.gov.pk)
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 - ⁷ Ministry of Water and Power, Alternate Energy Development Board (www.aedb.org/wind.htm accessed on 20 Jul 2014).
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 - ⁹ www.aedb.org/solar.htm accessed on 18 Aug 2014
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 - ¹⁹ “CCI approves National Power Policy 2013”, The Dawn, 1 Aug 2013.
 - ²⁰ Briefing by Zia Ur Rehman GM (S.D) NTDC at WAPDA office Lahore on 3 October 8, 2014
 - ²¹ <http://www.primeinstitute.org/blog/circular-debt-from-where-it-all-started>
 - ²² http://spearheadresearch.org/SR_CMS/index.php/specialreports/spearhead-special-report-pakistans-water-crisis
 - ²³ Report by Grant Atkins; Dams over troubled waters for Pakistan and India
 - ²⁴ Available via <http://www.fdsfs.gpo.gov>
 - ²⁵ Report by Vincet Thomas; Why A Pak-Afghan Water-sharing Accord is Needed

PART – III

Military Strategy

- **Indian Quest for Permanent Membership of UNSC – Implications for Pakistan**
- **21st Century Conflict: Fighting in a Meta City**

INDIAN QUEST FOR PERMANENT MEMBERSHIP OF UNSC – IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

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Abstract

The issue of the expansion of the UNSC has been on the table for almost two decades. Indian claim for the seat has also been pursued for almost the same period of time. However, would India be able to get the seat or not remains a matter of study, investigation and rational interaction till it reaches, either way, to an end state. The very dynamics of the path that India may take towards achieving this benchmark as part of her ambition towards greater power status, as such, will have implications for the region and Pakistan in particular. The main hurdle in India gaining the permanent membership of the UNSC may not lie in how India pursues the membership. The main impediment may be in the domain of the structure of the UNSC and the working parameters as laid down in the UN Charter. The legal framework of UN Charter almost makes it impossible to be amended. Any change in the UNSC structure can only be brought about through amendment of the UN Charter itself. On the other hand while the permanent five (P5) and the member states of the UN agree that the UNSC has to be reformed, there is a fundamental disagreement as to what will be the structure of these reforms. The vesting of Veto powers to any new members, if at all permanently added to the UNSC, is also a hurdle in the UN reform. In the study, the basic reform agenda and the stance of the P5 and the various proposals have been discussed to see the feasibility of any such reform which may pave the way for India to gain the permanent seat at the UN. Thereafter, the paper has been developed to study the basis and analysis of the Indian claim leading to the implications for the region at large and Pakistan in particular. Lastly some conclusions have been drawn based on the above and recommendations are proffered.

Introduction

India has been pursuing a permanent seat at United Nation's Security Council with the mutual support of other aspirants. It has been pursuing its quest to receive diplomatic recognition from the permanent members, but no worthwhile progress on practical implementation has been seen within the UNSC reform agenda. India's claim for permanent seat at UNSC has been based on the national power potential, influence of foreign policy, its commitment to the United Nations (UN) and the belief in democratic functioning of global organisations.¹ India's quest for the permanent seat gained momentum with the demands of reforms in the UN immediately after the Cold War era.

Soon after the cold war, the UN was seen as a world body controlled by the sole superpower. The member states demanded UN reforms to make it more democratic and representative. Japan and Germany, in the post-World War II in 1945 were not included in the permanent five (P5), but presently are big donors of the UN and major economic powers of the world. These nations also made claims for the permanent seat in any future reform of the UNSC.

At the UN, although the member states have reached a consensus to bring changes in UN system and the Security Council, the nature of the reforms and

expansion of UNSC have been plagued by disagreements, mistrust and representational issues. Hypothetically, even if a consensus is reached on key issues the procedural and legal matters are likely to take several years towards any practical manifestation of the reform. As far as India is concerned, specifically considering the nature of pending unresolved issues with its neighbours, a permanent seat for India at UNSC will have serious implications for the entire region. Pakistan as a member of the UN would desire to benefit from the reform at the UNSC; but reforms placing India as a permanent member of UNSC would immensely curtail Pakistan's political and diplomatic liberty of action in global and regional order due to the enduring rivalry between the two states. To study the possibility of India's quest for a permanent seat in UNSC, challenges faced in this regard and implications for Pakistan with a view to suggest recommendations for Pakistan.

Motives for Major Power Status

India's foreign policy, which was shaped and articulated in early years of its independence, has undergone revolutionary changes during the last two decades. After disintegration of USSR as a countervailing force against the United States and China, India seems to have taken little time to shift the focus of its foreign policy to accommodate the emerging ground realities. This involved reshaping of its policies towards EU and US, modifying its approach towards its neighbours, joining the alliances of South Eastern countries and readjusting its Middle East policy.²

India formally made claim to a permanent UNSC seat on 25 Sep 94 based on economic development, population and size of the country and its standing in the region.³ India proclaims that its standing for the permanent seat is based on unquestionable arguments. It argues that, it is a nation of over one billion-population, the biggest and the most alive democratic country with credible nuclear capabilities. It also claims to have earned a privileged record due to its active participation in UN Peace keeping force operating in numerous conflict- torn zones. Although debatable, to reinforce its case for the slot, India even claims that it has never attacked any other country in its 5000-years' history, it has fought wars only in self-defence after its independence.⁴ India considers itself as a prime candidate for the permanent seat in the UNSC, and if the UN is restructured, India will be a cornerstone of the new UN.

Analysis of Indian Claim

The Indian standpoint needs to be analysed based on its strengths and weaknesses. India contends that being the world's largest parliamentary democracy and having a population of more than one billion people; it merits the P-5 status in UNSC. However, if the mere size of population is the criteria, permanent members like France and Britain lag behind many countries in this regard. As far the democracy in India is concerned, despite various odds such as poor human rights record, subjugation of minorities, religious intolerance and maltreatment of low caste Hindu citizens, India has been able to convince the West about its adherence to the democratic norms.

Indian economy though made substantial progress in the last decade or so, has not been able to display vibrancy. Its economic indicators are no way near the economies of Germany and Japan, the other two major contenders of the seat at

UNSC. Increase in the size of the middle class and skilled work force however, indicative of improved economic outlook, the poverty level in the country is stagnant.⁵

Military might of India has grown enormously in the recent past. Consequently, at present it is considered to be the 4th largest military force in the world. The naval expansions are aimed at building Blue-waters navy, which is able to contribute to the increased regional influence, for which India is aspiring. Acquisition of nuclear weapons and an elaborate missile programme has further accentuated Indian military strength.

While advocating its case for the higher role in the UN, India also forcefully reminds the world of its contribution to UN cause in terms of supporting its programmes particularly the peacekeeping operations. As regards the financial contribution, India's share is negligible as compared to the second and third largest contributors of the UN, which is Japan and Germany. In terms of providing troops for UN sponsored operations India is included in the top three largest contributor (numbers including military and police) along with Bangladesh and Pakistan.⁶

On the other hand India has poor record of honouring the UN resolutions on Kashmir. It has flouted the UN Security Council and still perpetrating massive human rights violations in Indian held Kashmir. India should fulfil UN obligations to hold a free and fair plebiscite under the aegis of the UN to merit consideration of its aspirations. Its long standoff with Pakistan on Kashmir dispute is the serious cause of security concern in the region.

After the nuclear tests in May 98, India has severely impacted the security environment of the region. Its persistent defiance to the non-proliferation regimes is seen as irresponsible behaviour on its part. Security Council is under obligation not to reward India for having nuclearized the South Asian region.

Growing religious intolerance, subjugation of minorities and discriminative handling of its people are some of the glaring characteristics of Indian society. Desecration of Golden Temple and Babri mosque and maltreatment of Muslims in Gujarat and other states are but few examples, which negate the Indian claims as a free, secular and democratic society.

The Amendment of the UN Charter

To affect a change in the membership of the UNSC requires a modification of the UN Charter. The Charter under articles 108 and 109 (Chapter XVIII) lays down the procedure for the purpose. This can take two forms Amendment Procedure (Article 108) or Review Procedure (Article 109). Following points need consideration in this regard:-

- Legitimately, there is no difference between the two processes as far as revising the charter is concerned. Every amendment must be enforced through two third majority of the votes of the General Assembly, which should further be endorsed by two third of the UNSC members including the five permanent members at the Review Conference.

- P5 members do not possess any right of veto in adoption of the General Assembly or Review Conference decision.
- However, the permanent members must ratify the decision in their national parliaments failing which the amendment or decision is not adopted.
- According to Resolution 53/30 of 23 November 1998 passed by the General Assembly, the 2/3rd majority for approving a resolution on amending the provisions governing the SC refers to 2/3rd of the UN members and not 2/3rd of members present and voting.⁷
- Despite being required by Article 109 the Review Conference was never held which was supposed to be part of the General Assembly agenda ten years after the United Nations' Charter was ratified.
- Articles 108 and 109 do not restrict the amendment/review to the Charter and do not take position on the "substantive reform of the SC" which may entail an "increase in the permanent or non-permanent members or change in the veto system".⁸

Feasibility of the UNSC Reforms

With the increased membership of the UN there have been concerns by the member states that there is absence of democracy, insufficient representation on geographical basis; lack of justice for global governance and reduced representation as compared with the increasing power of the world body. Whereas, the main argument against the expansion of the UNSC or its reform is that a lean but well organised UNSC is likely to function better than an expanded council to reduce the consultation process within the UNSC. It can be concluded that reasons in favour of a UNSC reform are much more convincing than those against it. However, the possibility or feasibility of reform is highly questionable. The reform by acts of the UN Charter includes the SC members and their right of veto. Procedural reforms are executed through normal working procedures without the requirement of amending the Charter. As Jacobs Silas Lund indicated, "allowing things to remain as they are may be a much more realistic option than one might assume".⁹ He opines that the G4 countries are also convinced that a non-expansion option may be the logical result of the current negotiation on the issue within the UN. The subject of reforms with new members with Veto powers is also not gaining acceptance within the P5. The final conclusion is that "some of the P5 countries are more than happy to see reform moving at near-zero-velocity speed".¹⁰ The final decision on the outcome of the reforms depends upon the five permanent member countries. The Security Council has changed very little since its inception in 1945. The only reform of the UNSC was in 1965 which was possible after ratification of two-third majority, including the P5 despite rejection right on Charter amendments. The modification brought about increase of the non-permanent members from six to ten.

An Agenda for Peace

Boutros-Ghali the then Secretary-General initiated a reform debate on the UN Security Council in 1992. He issued "An Agenda for peace" which sought restructuring the configuration and procedures of the UN. Meanwhile, Germany and

Japan initiated their demand for a permanent seat based on being the 2nd and 3rd largest contributors to UN. Brazil and India started asking for a permanent seat as these countries saw themselves as influential in their regions. The "Group of Four" formed called as the G4. However, these were opposed by their regional rivals to becoming permanent members; that too with a veto power. The G4 favoured expansion in the non-permanent seats with members elected on regional basis. This resulted in Italy, Spain, Argentina, Canada, Mexico, South Korea and Pakistan forming an interest group, known as the "Coffee Club" and later "Uniting for Consensus". The African Group also demand two permanent seats basing on historical injustices and that a large part of the UNSC agenda is within the African continent. These two seats were meant for African countries chosen by the African Union.

General Assembly Task Force on Security Council Reform

For a more equitable representation and increase in the membership of UNSC, a report delivered by the General Assembly Task Force on Security Council Reform recommended two models as under:-

- Plan A suggests:-
 - Making six new permanent members.
 - Three additional new non-permanent members.
 - Total of 24 seats in the council.
- Plan B includes:-
 - Creating eight new seats in a new class of members, that serves for 4 years.
 - A non-permanent seat.
 - Total 24 UNSC members
- Argentina, Italy, Canada, Colombia and Pakistan proffered "Uniting for Consensus" proposal, which was supported by China. The main points were:-
 - Maintaining 5 permanent members
 - Increasing the figure of non-permanent members to 20.

The Veto Issue

Another major problem within the UN is the UNSC 'power of veto', established by Chapter IV of the UN Charter. By wielding their veto power, any of the Permanent Five members can prevent adoption of any current resolution which they do not support. The power of veto is seen as an impediment by the other members in the functioning of the UNSC. Veto affords the P5 great influence within the UNSC as a whole. Any reform of the veto will be very difficult as the P5 can even Veto the reform on Veto itself under Articles 108 and 109 of the UN Charter.

Stance of Major Powers and UNSC Reform Proposals

US

Some of the important matters as viewed by the US for UNSC expansion and aspiring nations are:-

- The legitimacy of the UNSC as currently constituted is clear: it emanates from the UN Charter. As long as the charter remains in force and un-amended, the existing UNSC structure is legitimate.
- The hurdle to UNSC permanent membership must remain high, and aspirant countries should demonstrate an ability to broker and deliver global solutions to transnational threats.
- By spearheading reform that gives emerging nations a stake in the current order, the US can increase global political support for or at least acquiescence to existing arrangements and leverage the contributions of capable states willing to provide a larger share of global engagements.
- US advocates that by only adding the G4 countries as permanent members without giving them the veto power the reform can be achieved. The resulting UNSC of 19 would give US at least two dependable partners; Germany and Japan, probably Brazil and India based on the issue at hand.
- The United States tracks its national objectives through a wide range of multidimensional bodies but the UN is distinctive inconvening power, technical capacity and perceived legitimacy. These strengths are not easily or consistently replicated in other formats, be they military alliances, regional organizations, consultative forums, or ad hoc coalitions. The UNSC serves as the preeminent decision and law-making body on matters of international peace and security where the US retains preeminent influence to gain political backing and legal authority for multilateral initiatives that advance US objectives and interests.

Russia

The UNSC reform is not a priority of Russia. Russia is likely to abstain from initiating any reform, especially if it alters the Veto powers. Presently, Russia is largely seen as non-persuasive enough to dictate something within its interest. However, Russia will not ignore its interest as well. Russia is still an influential player in the world politics that yield substantial power. Russia views veto as essential for the current working of the UN as without it the P5 may just refuse to participate or provide vital financial resources. Russia though believes expansion of the UNSC but does not endorse giving Veto powers to the new permanent members. Russia is also interested towards improving the UNSC working methods to achieve greater transparency.

China

Status quo suits China's interest as it enjoys veto power. In an official statement to the United Nations Working Group on Security Council of Reform in 1998, Ambassador ShenGoufang crystallized the position of China¹¹ as follows:-

- The veto was initiated with the lessons from the League of Nations in hindsight and was considered necessary thus "the mechanism of veto has both historical and practical rationality."
- Reforms would have to be "acceptable and effective" to make the UNSC more democratic and inclusive in its working methods for more transparency through the Council's relationship with the General Assembly and the vast number of Member States, so that decisions and actions taken by the Council will be able to reflect the will of the overwhelming majority of Member States."
- China advocates caution to exercise Veto.

United Kingdom (UK) and France

UK and France maintain similar ideas on reform of the UNSC. Both these countries favour the reforms including enlargement and working methods. They favour the permanent membership of the G4 and Africa. Both countries agree towards considering a methodology which may include a new category of seats as follows:-

- A longer term than that of the current elected members.
- Terms would be renewable.
- At the end of tenure, it could be decided to turn these into permanent membership.
- France is most enthusiastic about enlargement, followed by the UK. This public stance may be motivated by the growing vulnerability of their own permanent seats, given perceptions that Europe is overrepresented among the P5.

G4

The G4 has called for new permanent seats assigned by choosing among the economically strong and influential countries within the global community. In its 2005 official proposal the G4 members proposed their candidature based on these two criteria together with an unspecified African country. The biggest supporter of the G4 proposal is India. Indian official stance revolves around:-

- The need for a "genuine reform" rejecting attempts at cosmetic changes to the Security Council based on the idea of "genuine reform".
- A genuine reform can only be achieved through an expansion of both permanent and non-permanent members in UNSC.

- India proposes “new national permanent members”, particularly countries representing Asia and Latin America.
- According to India, the core issue is that UNSC after reform must reflect current realities of the world affairs and address the under-representation of developing countries.
- India maintains that if G4 proposal is adopted, the new members would, according to article 27 of the UN Charter, automatically enjoy veto rights.

African Group

The UNSC reform is important for AU as it is crucial for peace and security within the African continent. The AU favours expansion in both permanent and non-permanent seats, which should include two permanent seats and five non-permanent seats for Africa against the non-existence of representation of Africa and Latin America in the permanent seats. In part, this is in contrasts with the G4 proposal of allocating one non-permanent seat to AU. The AU is not likely to agree to the G4 proposal. According to the Ezulwini Consensus, which was adopted by the AU Foreign Ministers as Africa's common position on UN reform, the AU has agreed that “Africa's goal is to be fully represented in all the decision - making organs of the UN, particularly in the Security Council, which is the principal decision-making organ in matters relating to international peace and security”. At the moment three African countries - Egypt, South Africa and Nigeria - are the likely contenders for Africa's permanent seats.

Uniting For Consensus (UfC)

UfC a group of approximately 40 members led by Italy, Pakistan, South Korea and Colombia. These states oppose G4 proposal as it curtails their international political relevance. UfC proposes an enlargement of the number of non-permanent members from ten to twenty. On April 20, 2009, Colombia and Italy proposed a new model of reform for creation of a new category of non-permanent seats elected for duration of 3 to 5 years without the possibility of re-elections in the next term.

Indian Stance

As per the official website of India's Permanent Mission to UN, any package for restructuring of the Security Council should be broad-based with adequate presence of developing countries. The main points of the Indian stance are:-

- India favours expansion of permanent UNSC seats based on agreed criteria.
- India does not favour a pre-determined selection by election.
- It favours an inclusive approach based on expansion of both permanent and non-permanent UNSC members.
- Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh addressing the UN General Assembly on 28 September 2013 emphasized, “The UN Security Council must be reformed and restructured to reflect current political

realities. More developing countries should be included as both permanent and non-permanent members. It is only such a plan of action that will enable the UN to meet the twin tests of legitimacy and efficacy".¹²

Pakistan's Stance

Pakistan as a member state seeks a more democratic, effective and credible UN through a comprehensive reform of the UNSC. Pakistan believes that UNSC should not be based on the intentions of power politics. Pakistan as part of the Uniting for Consensus (UfC) group advocates a reform of the UNSC based on consensus among the UN members. Pakistan's stance covers:-

- Pakistan maintains that UNSC reform should make it "representative, democratic, effective, legitimate and accountable" to the members.
- Pakistan supports comprehensive reform of the UNSC including five key areas:-
 - Categories of membership.
 - The question of veto.
 - Size & working methods.
 - Regional representation.
 - Relationship between the UNSC and the GA.
- Pakistan is against addition of permanent members and opposes G-4 proposal of regional permanent seats and unequal status.
- On-going reform proposals have not received the required two third majority of support in the GA.
- Support of the P-5 for ratification of Charter amendment to effect UNSC reform is not assured.

Regional Implications of the Indian Quest

For this study the region has been taken as the immediate neighbourhood of India to include Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and China. There are challenges for India in both India's domestic and regional perspective which it has to handle to smoother its case for permanent seat. India's Asian diplomacy will have to address a number of issues as under:-

- Determine its relationship with the US (India is on a very fast track to build strategic partnership with USA)
- India must balance its policy so that China does not see India as a threat or a rival in the UNSC.
- India will have to resolve issues with its smaller neighbours with a policy of non-interference.

- Pakistan is the only South Asian state that contests India's regional dominance. Pakistan is deeply embedded in Indian strategic thinking. Historical, strategic, ideological and domestic reasons all play a role in India's obsession with Pakistan and Pakistan's concern with India. India will have to at least take Pakistan on board especially with regard to Kashmir dispute to get any kind of support for the seat.

Opposition to India

The problems are many folds which India has to overcome. These are:-

- The process of UNGA voting unless India gets a two third vote (128 yes votes out of 192) it cannot come to the ratification stage of the present permanent members. The UfC is one of the major groupings without the support of which a resolution in favour of India in UNGA may not get through.
- Although USA has supported India's stance it has not linked it with reforms of the UNSC. Unless the whole package of the reforms is passed, US may not support a single member i.e. India becoming a member. As far whole package is concerned, it will take considerable time to negotiate through it, as accommodating all the stack holders is not an easy task.
- China's support is also subject to equitable expansion of the UNSC and representation of all 'the developing countries'. China's position to Japan is no more a secret. It means that one G has to be dropped out of the G4. Under such circumstances support to G4 may not be forthcoming from the US as it has instantly announced the support of Japan in 2005. Ultimately there has to be negotiations between USA, China, India and Japan besides other negotiations between various countries. Can India de-link itself from the G4 club and move its own case remains questionable.
- With respect to India US support is not as clear as compared to many other countries. Rather than advance a particular proposal, US officials have offered broad statements in support of a limited expansion of both permanent and non-permanent members within five parameters. These statements include:-
 - Enlargement cannot diminish the UNSC's effectiveness or efficiency - any proposal to expand permanent membership must name specific countries (ruling out so-called framework proposals)
 - Candidates for permanent membership must be judged on their ability to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security- there should be no changes to the current veto structure and expansion proposals must accommodate charter requirements for ratification, including approval by two third of the US Senate.
- India has a problem with almost all of its neighbours including China, in one way or the other. Although recently India has ventured towards

improving relations with the smaller neighbours but still is unable to harness their whole hearted support on the issues. China and India have cautious relations on a number of fronts, including disputed borders in the Himalayan Mountains. China has recently stepped up its claims to the north-eastern Indian border state of Arunachal Pradesh. The pending UN resolutions on Kashmir are specially bone of contention for India.

Implications for Pakistan

Pakistan will have serious geo-political and diplomatic challenges to counter and then to live with, if India makes it to the big table seat. The case in point can best be explained with the help of Pakistan's efforts to be member of certain regional organization like Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC). The IOR-ARC is firmly based on the principle of open regionalism, as encouraged by the WTO.¹³ But India has always exploited the very nature of the "consensus rule" of all members to admit new members and made sure that Pakistan doesn't become its member in spite of the fact that out of its total 18 member 17 have no problem in admitting Pakistan's membership. Second example is working of the SAARC. It is generally believed that this regional forum has been made hostage by the India. Indian ambition to become a superpower of the region by bringing the other regional countries under its control and behaving like an imperialist power has hampered even the development of SAARC towards economic integration like the EU.¹⁴ India always tries that any proceedings which have a little benefit for Pakistan are not materialized. Many a time it has been seen that the hosting of its summit has been sabotaged by India.

- A country with such feelings towards Pakistan once given the big role and seat at the UNSC will manipulate its hegemonic designs. India will be at liberty to bargain with the world countries to harness the support against Pakistan on any issue at any regional or international forum. It will be very difficult for Pakistan to get any support out of UN in general and from UNSC in particular. In simple words, with India sitting in UN having permanent seat in UNSC with veto power, it would be unlikely that Pakistan would get any worthwhile UN assistance.
- Pakistan has its many outstanding issues with India, including the core issue of Kashmir. The fate of existing UN resolution on Kashmir is understandable once India becomes member of UNSC. Pakistan will be virtually at the mercy of India. Many countries would cooperate with India as they would in return expect its support for their issues in UNSC.
- Pakistan is an important country for the world community and its significance has increased in prevailing GWOT. Pakistanis as a nation want to live in peace and tranquillity with the world. US President during his visit to India in Nov 2010, where he supported the Indian stance of UNSC membership, also remarked about Pakistan "an enormous country" and said Pakistan was a strategically important country not only for the US but also for the entire world.¹⁵

Major Conclusions

President Barack Obama during his visit to India in 2010, announced support for India's permanent seat of UNSC. After Obama's UNSC offer, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, William Burns, said in New Delhi that "the road to the council's reform would be arduous. This is bound to be a very difficult process and it's bound to take a significant amount of time".

The UN reform bids are replete with regional suspicions, geopolitical complications and a complex power calculus. Michael Doyle, a former UN official is quoted saying "reform is not going to be easy, for both practical and political reasons". He further adds that there are "extensive and demanding processes of reforming the UN club. Many countries, in particular some of the original permanent members, don't want to dilute their power in this way, it takes not only avoiding any veto by one of the council's permanent members, but a two-thirds vote by the full council and approval of the General Assembly, that alone is a considerable barto be cleared, but perhaps, even more daunting are the political hurdles".¹⁶

Some of the pertinent conclusions which can be drawn based upon the above discussion are as under: -

- As the GA resolutions are nonbinding on the members and the UNSC resolutions are binding; the UNSC will remain the prime arena for power politics within the UN.
- The reform procedures of the UNSC is not very simple thus not likely to materialize in the foreseeable future.
- Support for a particular country by any of the P5 means a huge political space in the international political system for the country being supported but is likely to remain event based and may not be guaranteed in case the UNSC reform is voted for.
- The aspirant will continue to exploit and harness the support of the big powers whereas big powers are likely to continue use this tool of their potential support to obtain many strategic advantages.
- There is no likelihood of consensus emerging in the near future on the issue of any one country as regional representative including the AU.
- With passing time, numbers of the countries will keep increasing asking for this auspicious seat, various alliances even may emerge to counter a demand or put a new one.
- Present P5 are not united on the issue of inclusion of any one country in the UNSC.
- Opposition to most aspirants of the G4 is more from the region itself where other countries of the region see their interests being undermined by inclusion of a country.
- There has been no significant change either for or against in the number of countries supporting the UfC stance.

- Bigger powers are using expansion of UNSC as political means to strengthen their relations with aspirants.
- Odd ground realities like poverty, poor human rights record, subjugation of minorities, religious intolerance, caste discrimination disrespect to UN resolutions, conflicting interests of P-5 and G-4 and complicated UN charter amendment system, India is not likely to get permanent seat in UNSC.

Recommendations

Support for Written Negotiation Draft

Presently the written draft for negotiation revolves around five key issues of negotiations on Council reforms. Many countries have objection to most of the points. Pakistan must exploit the current situation and develop further cooperation with the countries having major opposition to the five areas and similarity share common view with Pakistan. These five areas include:-

- Categories of membership.
- Question of the veto.
- Regional representation.
- Size of an enlarged Security Council and Working Methods.
- Relationship between the Council and the General Assembly.

Indian Violations of UN Resolutions

Pakistan must project Indian violation of human rights in Kashmir and non-implementation of resolution on Kashmir. India has a very poor record of human rights, may it be Babri Mosque or incidents in Gujrat. Pakistan must project to the world that India is in defiance of implementing the resolutions of UNSC, for whose membership it is striving. UN resolutions have indeed demanded for the grant of right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir, the fundamental right of every individual guaranteed under chapter-1 of UN charter.

Convincing US

Pakistan's diplomacy has a biggest challenge in this regard to convince the US about Pakistan's security interests while supporting the India's case. Pakistan needs to communicate its concerns to US in clear and unambiguous diplomatic channels that supporting India without solving bilateral issues would amount to a destabilizing South Asia in presence of two rival nuclear states.

China's Support

Amongst the P5, China has not openly supported India's inclusion into UNSC. However, China has hinted at the negotiation for the same. China's opposition on inclusion of Japan is very clear. The growing economic ties of China and India are bringing both closer. India would try to exploit its economic relationship for support

of China. If China agrees, India would overcome the last hurdle in P5 as all other have almost consented. Thus Pakistan has to work very closely with China not to give India any clean chit on this account.

Strengthening UfC

Pakistan has been the leading country in forming this forum where many countries of the world have joined. The present strength of this forum is around 40 which need to be increased by strong and effective lobbying at the UN. This group will have a major role to play in the UNGA as unless the resolution is passed by 2/3 majority it cannot be put forward for UNSC ratification by all the P5. If Pakistan is able to muster sufficient support in UNGA through this group then the stage of P5 will not arrive and secondly P5 will have sufficient reason to deny India the seat. Therefore, Pakistan must enhance its relevance and influence in UNGA.

India's Credentials

There seems to be a sort of unexplainable pressure on the Obama administration to set a criterion based selection procedure for the expansion of UNSC. By shifting the acrimonious debate from claims of entitlement toward a conditions-based, evolutionary process, the United States can avoid reform schemes contrary to its interests. It can also ensure a reform that demands that aspirants accept the responsibilities not just the privileges of power. Advocating for this agenda, the United States takes the moral high ground which could pay diplomatic dividends, whether enlargement occurs or not and works toward an expansion that improves, rather than reduces, the long-term effectiveness of the UNSC".¹⁷ Pakistan has to put this question whether India has those credentials to become a member. Following can be exploited in this regard:

- At global level, Indian membership would cause anxiety and sense of contest for gaining the status of permanent membership of UNSC.
- If democracy is the real base for this slot, then there are over 50 states¹⁸ which have been following successive democratic governments, all respecting the UN charter and with a cleaner record of human rights than India. They all should be afforded a chance for this seat.
- If nuclear status becomes the base for such an eminence, why Pakistan be deprived from it? Otherwise, Pakistan enjoys a unique status in the Muslim world, being the only Muslim country with nuclear status and a major military power. Pakistan should also be given a chance on the basis of these credentials.

Parliamentary Committee

A special committee in the National Assembly should be formed under the Foreign Standing Committee, whose task should be formulating comprehensive response after getting necessary input from all relevant tiers of government including media, think tanks and bureaucracy. The members of this committee should visit all the friendly countries, Islamic Countries and also convince the P5 regarding the nature of reforms. The committee should have a permanent representative at the UN who should have sole task of expanding the existing UfC group.

Conclusion

India is exploiting its position as world's largest democracy with more than 1.237 billion people, fast-growing economy, the world's fifth largest navy and a huge standing army with major role in international peacekeeping. In 1945, permanent UNSC membership was primarily justified by political-military power, including a capacity to prevent and, if necessary, conduct and win interstate war, but now it is a changed world with different barometer to be permanent member of UNSC. The US support for India and Japanese membership for UNSC is greatly considered as an effort to contain China at the regional level, before it becomes a competitor for United States in the global politics. Since India and Japan have traditional differences with China, therefore, US is exploiting the opportunity. These strategic partners might have calculated this move, but if implemented, would cause rift and instability both regionally as well as globally, which US and the world must consider. The ground realities in the shape of disputes, internal odds and regional imbalance in future as a result of granting permanent seat to India in UNSC have to be thoroughly analysed by the global players (P-5).

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21st CENTURY CONFLICT: FIGHTING IN A META CITY

Colonel Dennis Malone, Australia

Abstract

While much of the world's soldiers, diplomats and aid providers have been grappling with the techniques to defeat an insurgency in the relatively remote and rural regions of the world, the terrorist, militant and insurgent have entered the cities. Within these increasingly sprawling urban areas, combatants will have access to unprecedented levels of connectivity within their organisation and also with the global community. Urban security and Internet based mobile communications are going to be closely interlinked in the future. Instead of mega cities, we need to approach the future security environment in terms of meta cities that are based not only on their physical but intellectual infrastructure. The current paradigm for counterinsurgency conflict, developed from over a decade of fighting in predominately remote and rural environment, is rapidly being surpassed by global events. The emerging trends described in this paper are posing a different future environment from what the two million soldiers who have served in the last decade of conflict have experienced. As western military forces return to garrison locations and adopt a garrison posture in preparation for future conflict, they need to carefully consider where and how the conflicts of the 21st Century will be decided. Trends indicate that the future will not resemble the past. As outlined by David Kilcullen, "The future is hybrid and irregular conflict combining elements of crime, urban unrest, insurgency, terrorism, and state-sponsored asymmetric warfare – more Mumbai, Mogadishu, and Tivoli Gardens – and we had better start preparing for it.

Introduction

"I was caught out, I lost sight of the need to keep learning – I had failed to realise my enemy did not have a free and creative mind...nor was he going to think like me."

Rupert Smith, 2005¹

While much of the Western world's soldiers, diplomats and aid providers have been grappling with the techniques to defeat an insurgency in the relatively remote and rural regions of the world, the terrorist, militant and insurgent have entered the cities.² In April 2014, as US security forces are drawing down from Afghanistan and returning to home garrisons, nearly 3000 Brazilian troops and 2000 police are preparing to enter one of the world's thirty mega cities in one of the largest contemporary urban security operations. Tanks, helicopters and armoured personnel carriers are being deployed into one of Rio de Janeiro's most dangerous shanty regions to tackle powerful militants who have gained control over large areas of the city.³ The multidimensional security operation includes airspace above the city being closed indefinitely, impacting on international approach and departure routes. Similarly, the security operation is being waged in the cyber domain. The nation's intelligence services have been constantly monitoring social media sites, which are the favoured tool to organize protests and coordinate militancy across the vast urban area.

The loosely associated international network of activists and activists known as 'Anonymous' have called for public protests against the Brazilian Government in defiance of the security operation through their largely followed Twitter and Face book websites. 'Anonymous', through its web based media, has been coordinating increasingly violent demonstrations in Brazil during the last year, and has planned thirty six simultaneous protests across the country under the slogan 'bring your gas mask'.⁴ This operation in the sprawling slums of one of the world's massive mega cities is a window into the future of 21st Century warfare. Urban security and the Internet, telecommunications, and information technology are going to be closely interlinked in the future. Instead of mega cities, we need to think in terms of *Meta cities* that are organised on the basis of their intellectual infrastructure.⁵ Securing a safe city of the future will require a new approach from previous and current methods. Security forces will need to ensure the ability to not just physically protect citizens but to also be active, influential and dominant across the cyber domain.

Non-state militant forces establishing control and anti-government influence in the world's mega cities continues the contemporary trend of a transition to a crowded and connected future security environment. Throughout the last century the world experienced violent large-scale wars or low-intensity urban struggles in Seoul (1950), Algiers (1954-62), Hue (1968), Prague (1968), Northern Ireland (1968-1998), South Africa (1948-90), Israel-Palestine (1948-) and elsewhere combined with struggles within the imperial urban centers of the North over the 'right of the city'.⁶ Urban conflicts continue, and are expected to expand into the future as a higher number of people are living in larger cities in the low-income areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Within these urban areas, non-state combatants will have unprecedented levels of connectivity, both within their organisation and also with the broader regional and global community. The current paradigm for counterinsurgency conflict, based on over a decade of fighting in remote and isolated predominately rural environments (such as encountered in rural Afghanistan) is rapidly being surpassed by events. As outlined by David Kilcullen, "The future is hybrid and irregular conflict combining elements of crime, urban unrest, insurgency, terrorism, and state-sponsored asymmetric warfare – more Mumbai, Mogadishu, and Tivoli Gardens – and we had better start preparing for it".⁷

This paper considers how warfare is re-entering the world's cities and how technology, particularly communications technology, has changed the dynamics within our urban centres. This development follows the Cold War era of military preparation and planning concerned nuclear exchanges between superpowers or massed tank engagements across European rural plains, followed by the last decade of predominately rural counterinsurgency conflict in Iraq and Afghanistan, typically avoiding cities and congested regions. The paper will further discuss the global trends which are shaping the future environment and which allow us to think about future warfare critically and creatively. These emerging trends are posing a different conflict environment from what we have previously experienced. Likewise, the application of military force to defeat these threats aren't as direct as we have previously envisaged or have built our doctrine and training continuums to address. Indeed current military counterinsurgency theory

and doctrine, focused on fighting insurgencies in predominately rural regions of Afghanistan and Iraq, are likely to be counterproductive in dealing with the future challenges.⁸

Looking beyond the Afghanistan experience – transitioning from ‘the war’ to preparing for ‘a war’

"Thank God, the war is over. We can get back to real soldiering".⁹

One of the fundamental responsibilities of any Government is to protect and defend its citizens and national interests.¹⁰ To achieve this effectively, within finite resources, Governments must make strategic level judgments concerning the risks and opportunities of the emerging global environment. These risks and opportunities will lead to key decisions about military posture, operational capacity, force structure, capacity and budgetary requirements. The United States Chief of Army Staff, General Ray Odinero, acknowledged in January 2014 that the most powerful Army in the world was at “a very important inflection point”.¹¹ It’s over a decade since the terrorist attacks of September 2001 and many war veterans have returned home, to garrison duty. Most Western militaries are now undergoing manning reductions, and budget cuts as they face the so-called ‘peace dividend’ and the implications of respective government priorities shifting from supporting the Iraq and Afghan wars. The United States Army is reducing from a post September 2011 peak of 570, 000 troops to a possible low of 420, 000.¹² The British Army is reducing from 102,000 to 82,000,¹³ and the majority of middle size European Union countries have introduced 10-15 percent cuts in their Defence spending.¹⁴

The future conflicts armed forces will be required to fight are not neatly predictable. The 2001 *United States Quadrennial Defense Review* stated that ‘we can be clear about trends, but uncertain about events.¹⁵ That is to say that precisely what contingencies armed forces should be structuring, equipping and training for cannot be accurately outlined. The only thing certain about war – the weapons with which it is fought and the tactics adapted to the weapons – is change. Ironically, in the post Afghanistan era, when the specific threat to a nation is ill defined and the national resources are scarce, military planners and strategists must be at the top of their game.¹⁶ As many nations adopt future force design options based on anticipated future capability requirements rather than specific threats, an understanding of the character of future battlefields it is necessary to enlighten the debate. This approach is necessary because it forces a process that is not solely about new technology. New weapons and better platforms are always important, but military (and broader interagency) organizations also adapt and improve by modifying structures, training approaches and doctrine.

The contingent posture – what does the future we are preparing for look like?

“It just isn’t that kind of world now”¹⁷

General Anthony Zinni (United States Marine Corps), 2001
“The future is here. It’s just not evenly distributed yet.”

William Gibson, 1948

Attempts to understand address and prepare for change are not a recent phenomenon for military forces around the world. There is an array of literature throughout the past century that seeks to enhance our understanding of future events and posture accordingly. For example, in the year 1900, Ivan Bloch's Modern Weapons and Modern War argued “the last two decades of the 19th Century have witnessed immense changes equal to revolutions...fundamental change has taken place in the very elements which take part in war and from which its course depends”.¹⁸ Over a century ago, based on the environment of that specific era and the introduction of relatively rapid firing magazine rifles and the improved accuracy of the breech loading cannon, Bloch correctly identified the emerging trends shaping the future and the resultant impossibility of decisive conflict between continental adversaries. He aptly described conflict that would involve a no-man's land and predicted long and indecisive warfare taking the character of siege operations. Like many futurists, Bloch's intent was not to fix a specific date or antagonist of future war. Rather, his focus was to use a detailed analysis of technology, economic relationships and political trends to describe the nature of future conflict rather than predicting a precise event.

Just as Bloch did at the beginning of the 20th Century, we strive today to understand what the future conflicts of the 21st Century will be – and prepare accordingly. The consideration of the future conflict environment undertaken in this paper will adhere to a number of assumptions. Firstly, there is no ‘silver bullet’¹⁹ solution to predicting the future. There will be no supremely powerful technologically or biologically based advancement that resolves the world's demands and challenges assumed within this paper. Incremental advances in technology will continue, albeit at an ever-accelerating degree. Secondly, there will be no global war such as the world wars included as a factor within the consideration of this paper. The current international norms and treaties are assumed to remain in place. Finally, there will be no ‘black swan’²⁰ event considered as part of the analysis. Although the consequences of a black swan occurring, such as a global pandemic or another ‘9/11’ terrorist attack in the environments described in this paper would significantly exacerbate the discussed challenges to future governments and security forces. Rather than specific predictions, this paper offers a series of projections based on emerging trends, from a broad range of sources. These trends will influence the character of future conflict and frame the future environment within which future security forces will be expected to operate successfully.²¹

The military assessments made by Australia and the United Kingdom have been reinforced cross academia. Notably, both David Kilcullen and Laurence Smith's independent analysis has resulted in similar findings, particularly in trends driving future conflict towards urban conflict in a technologically connected environment.

Military forces have always had to overcome complexity and uncertainty. That will not change, however the future environment is presenting new challenges at a pace never previously encountered. The emerging trends outlined above cannot be ignored. The unprecedented connectivity between individuals and groups continues to grow exponentially. What was a local incident, easily contained in the 20th Century will be a global event, simultaneously fed directly into individual's computers across the world in the 21st Century. Advanced weaponry and smart phones, used by a small group of determined individuals, can now achieve effects once only possible by well trained and equipped government forces. Increases in population and a shift from rural to urban environments will mix adversary and civilian together and complicate discrimination between the two. The future battlefield will involve a comparatively broad group of stakeholders, military and non-military – state and non-state. The United Nations and many other non-governmental organisations, criminal groups, local civilian inhabitants, businessmen, police, government entities and the military will co-exist in the same conflict zone, same suburb, and same street. The modern battlefield environment, the diversity of actors crowded into close proximity, and the implications of technical based connectivity must be understood and addressed as we plan for future operations around the world.

War returns to the city –the future is urban

“The city [is] not just the site, but the very medium of warfare – a flexible, almost liquid medium that is forever contingent and in flux”²²

Eyal Weizman, 2005

It took almost ten thousand years before one billion people lived in a city (from 8000 BC to 1960); it will take only fifteen years for the world's urban population to grow from three billion to four.²³ We have commenced what some commentators define as the 'urban century' – with an unprecedented 1.4 million people migrating into an urban environment every week.²⁴ In 1950, approximately 30 percent of global population (2.5 billion) was settled in urban environments. The United States National Intelligence Council assess that this will almost certainly rise to 60 percent (4.9 billion of the world's projected 8.3 billion) by 2030.²⁵ Demographers expect the urban populace to grow more quickly where the percentage of population growth is highest, particularly sub Saharan Africa and Asia.²⁶ China and India will face the highest increase in urban growth over the next two decades, increasing by approximately 500 million people by 2030. A further 26 percent of the urban growth over the next two decades is anticipated from nine countries, being: Pakistan, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mexico, Indonesia, Brazil, Bangladesh and the United States.²⁷ By 2050, approximately 75% of the world's population will be urbanised. David Kilcullen writes that the world's cities are about to be flooded by a human tide that will force them to absorb – in just one

generation – the same population growth that occurred across the entire planet in all of recorded history up to 1960.²⁸

Further to the unprecedented trend of global urbanisation, it is becoming clear that a high proportion of the urban transition is occurring in a single large city within a state. For example in 1995, 40 percent of the metropolitan population in Latin America lived in a single city. Akin demographics are true for Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁹ World's largest cities, and demonstrates clearly the rapid rise in urbanisation since 1950 – the world demographic has transformed from just two cities of over 10 million inhabitants in 1950 to 12 cities of over 20 million inhabitants in 2013, as part of a broader total of 30 mega-cities.

Although the rapidly changing urban demography gains only sporadic attention in global media or broader academia, western militaries have been coming to terms with the understanding that by 2020 over 60 percent of the world will live in cities, increasing to 75 percent by 2040.³⁰ In 2005 General Rupert Smith argued that conventional war no longer exists and that the entire concept of war had changed.³¹ General Rupert Smith described the new type of conflict facing the world as 'war among the people'. The new paradigm of war among the people does not necessarily include coherent armies or secluded battlefields. Rather it is described as the 'the reality in which the people in the streets and houses and fields - all the people, anywhere – are the battlefield. As the planet urbanises and political conditions continue to shift, conflict will follow suit.

The security challenges of a 21st century urbanised world

"In 1998, at the same time that urban geographers were writing that cities are places where identities form, social capital is built, and new forms of collective action emerge, the U.S. Marine Corps explained the phenomenon a bit differently: 'cities historically are the places where radical ideas ferment, dissenters find allies and discontented groups find media attention' thereby making cities 'a likely source of conflict in the future'.³²

Gan Golan, 2005

The ongoing evolution of mega-cities as a dominating trend of the global demography will shape the future of humanity.³³ Saskia Sassen outlines that cities are yet again becoming a locus of inconsistency because of the changing economic, political and spatial role of the city.³⁴ Although the relatively egalitarian cities in Western Europe are considered as a stable and secure environment, cities in other regions of the world are increasingly characterized by inequality, high levels of crime, and intensifying militarization.³⁵ The challenges confronting modern military forces in so-called feral mega cities include density of population, media saturation, limits of using armed force among civilians, compressed operations and a multiplicity of environmental factors.³⁶ These factors are effectively undermining the state's control on hostility and will constantly challenge the ability of traditional security forces to ensure the security of its citizens. The urbanization of socially polarized populations with increased access to

modern weapons is further exacerbated by the growing scarcity of many essential resources.

The ‘Australia in the Asian Century’ White Paper highlights some of the challenges facing the developing world due to rapid urbanization. The Australian Government assesses that Asia will need to expend US\$8 trillion out to the year 2020 to ensure adequate new urban infrastructure.³⁷ The Paper further asserts that the expanding population in Asia will continue to increase the demand for food to be supplied to urban population centres. The future global food demand is predicted to increase by 35 percent up to 2025. The rapidly urbanizing Chinese and Indian populations will consume almost 60 per cent of the global food increase.³⁸ Competition for food in increasingly sprawling urban populations will challenge national governments to meet the basic needs of their populations and is likely to result in incidents of heightened tension, crime, violence and unrest.

The world's future struggles will be contested within and over urban strategic sites. Conflict, especially irregular or hybrid conflict, within sprawling mega cities will challenge the historical paradigm of wars within nations and wars between nations. 21st Century urban warfare will be conducted in an environment where civilians in the traditional context do not exist. The entire city population will be increasingly rendered as combatants (real or perceived). Long-standing military/civilian relationships, policies and doctrine will be increasingly unhelpful and redundant.³⁹

Wiki Warfare – Fighting in a Connected City

*“This platform enables individuals, groups, companies, and universities anywhere in the world to collaborate – for the purposes of innovation, production, education, research, entertainment, and, alas war-making – like no platform ever before. This platform now operates without regard to geography, distance, time, and in the near future, even languages...people in more places now have the power to connect, compete, collaborate and, unfortunately, destroy - than ever before”.*⁴⁰

Thomas L Friedman, 2005

Intertwined with the urbanisation trend is the rise in unprecedented levels of connectivity, both within cities and between cities. Information technology, including web applications, is enabling tremendous worldwide social change. This change is broadly reflected across the world’s employment processes and in private and public institutional management processes. Institutional hierarchies are flattening and lower levels of organizational structures being empowered and receiving greater autonomy. Likewise, this rapid increase in information sharing is fundamentally altering the way in which information is shared in the world’s conflict zones. In particular, militants now have unprecedented access to knowledge and information sharing capacity from leveraging these technologies. This phenomena is referred to by some commentators as the *democratization of technology* in which the 21st century militant (state or non-state) can rapidly obtain, understand, and share information faster than the traditional layers of command and control can collect, assimilate, analyse and disseminate information as orders, guidance, or media releases.⁴¹

21st Century information technology magnifies the capability of the modern militant, from anywhere in the world. A technically aware antagonist may extend his authority and make the most of his integrity by incessantly flaunting tactical successes out of proportion to their genuine physical capability. Many theorists believe that in modern conflict it is the information dimension where the central competition exists; best captured by General Rupert Smith's analogy of rival military commanders as film producers, contending with each other for the best narrative and imagery in an effort to sway the masses. Rather than the traditional physical 'Clause within' duel, the future conflict is characterized as a dispute between producers with stories. Conflict and fatalities are no longer the overriding character of war; it's an exchange of carefully choreographed images and stories intended to construct a desired impact of the population.⁴² Rather than just the physical consequences of battle, the psychological impact must also be considered as an essential element of success. As Kilcullen noted, *in the [21st century] battlefield, popular perceptions and rumour are more important than a hundred tanks.*⁴³

The emerging role of social media in 21st century conflict

"If you want to liberate [a people] give them the internet"

Wael Ghonim, Egyptian Activist

Social media platforms consider newspapers and TV stations, to be outdated content-centric production strategies. When they were initially launched, Face book and You Tube were hailed as the saviours of human connectedness. In 2010 Mark Zuckerberg announced Face book's goal to "make the world more connected and transparent" and to "make everything social"⁴⁴ - not just relationships, but all human interaction, communication, and information exchange. Social networks are specifically designed to empower citizens as never previously experienced.

Social media influences public view and worldwide support. It allows for rapid distribution of 'news' through extensive messaging, and empowers the individual to spread information globally. Information has always been a weapon, as described previously, but now its convenience and usability is at an unprecedented level and continuing to evolve.⁴⁵ Beyond the mobilization effect, the widespread and real time connectivity provides military scale coordination capability to the general population. Government authorities and non-state entities are playing the same game of remote warfare on a level playing field.⁴⁶

While it must be acknowledged that social networks don't overthrow governments – people do, the technology available in the future security environment provides an unprecedented speed of communication and coordination agility. Social media, including You Tube, Twitter and Facebook offered the world a real time portal for experiencing the turmoil and upheaval in these respective conflicts. The flood of data and video streamed out of these conflicts offered unprecedented awareness, inspirational effects and support to non-state militants.⁴⁷ Academics contend that during the Arab Spring "the internet, mobile phones and social media such as Face book

and Twitter made the difference this time. Using these technologies, people interested in democracy could build extensive networks, create social capital, and organize political action with a speed and on a scale never seen before. Thanks to these technologies, virtual networks materialized in the streets. Digital media became the tool that allowed social movements to achieve once-unachievable goals".⁴⁸ Social media offers significant benefits in the form of recruitment, mobilization and as a medium for conducting strategic communication and psychological operations.

In the technologically connected future environment, strategists, security personnel and policymakers have to recognize the media (including social media), not as an opponent, but as means to widen influence or de-legitimize the insurgent. The so-called battle space in the future needs to include the cognitive terrain of conflict and "manoeuvre" not only in the minds of our enemies, but, also those of allies, friends, and neutrals. Contests in the twenty-first century are essentially wars of ideas and images punctuated with vicious deeds and current theories and practices do not adequately address the ever-evolving cyberspace dimension the future security environment.

Future security forces must understand not only the technology, but also the culture that supports its employment. The social media's "global explosion in chaotic connectivity"⁴⁹ allows those harbouring antiestablishment or militant beliefs to feel they are not alone. Connectivity provides inspiration, motivation and momentum. In environments where political and law and order structures have broken down, the internet helps fill the authority vacuum by enabling antiauthoritarian actors to communicate with others and share and build ideas. Metz states that while the challenge for the twentieth century militant was to conquer the 'deference to authority among the peasantry', the future militant will operate in a social environment where the population believes the state has an obligation to them.⁵⁰ This is an important shift as it means that there will be a pre-existing propensity for antiauthoritarian action within 21st Century (urban) populations. This propensity provides an opportunity that can be exploited, organized and 'operationalised' by militants. Importantly, it should be recognized that previous notions of countering insurgency or anti-state behavior will not be successful in many future conflict environments because the authority of the state is constantly questioned, traditional notions of countering militancy through reinforcing the legitimacy of the state are likely to be obsolete.⁵¹

As indicated in this Paper's introduction, the Taliban and Al Qaeda are now moving into urban environments and recruiting technologically educated university graduates. Urban, technologically savvy militants enabled through internet enabled mobile communications devices, digital cameras and global positioning system devices and webcams are increasingly being encountered and indicative of future threats to be encountered in the world's cities.⁵² The phenomena of the Internet and social media cannot be denied to the world's population, and therefore government's and security forces must learn how to adroitly manage and influence it. Metz argues that due to the connected nature of 21st Century warfare, the notion of 'victory' over a militant organisation will be as meaningless as the defeat of a contemporary criminal gang. As one criminal organization is targeted and subdued, it remerges elsewhere.⁵³ The challenge for western militaries and broader security forces is to continue to devise

concepts and doctrine to train leaders who are capable of understanding and countering these emerging 21st Century threats. Certainly, the current approach to defeating predominately rural based and technologically isolated militancy and insurgency is unsuitable to respond to future operational environments.

Conclusion

"The world is not becoming an even, equitable place, but a sphere of deepening fissures, some of which may prove unbridgeable. At a time when even the rich states of Europe are falling two generations behind the United States militarily, and when global economic competition is far fiercer than at the height of the Industrial Revolution, fragile states will not be able to support their unwieldy cities with hope, or jobs, or infrastructure. Look to those cities for conflicts".⁵⁴

Ralph Peters, 2000

Over a century ago, future war theorist Ivan Bloch stated the elements competing in a potential war will be all the ethical and intellectual resources of nations, all the forces of modern civilization, all the technical improvements, feelings, characters, minds and wills – the collective fruit of the culture of the civilized world'.⁵⁵ Later in the 20th century Sir John Hackett added to Bloch's theory when he wrote of the decline of national authority. Hackett stated that in the 'telecommuting age' we will encounter far more 'citizen's of the world' and that in future conflict, instead of [only] professional soldiers, will appear whole peoples with all their peculiar failings and virtues'.⁵⁶ Although neither Bloch nor Hackett could have been expected to envisage the particular security environment challenges of the 21st century, they did understand that the character of conflict would evolve beyond a discreet battlefield and incorporate all elements of a connected society. Further they understood the importance of the non-tangible characteristics of conflict - the feelings, minds and wills of the population. This so-called 'battle of ideas' will be central to 21st Century warfare.

The emerging trends described are posing a different future environment from what the two million soldiers who have served in the last decade of conflict have experienced. Their fighting has been diffuse, fought away from population centres in rugged and remote regions amid isolated communities where outsiders are rarely able to understand or interact effectively with tribal based communities defined by centuries of tradition and culture unique to themselves. But this is changing. As most Western militaries return to home garrisons and adopt a contingent posture they need to carefully consider where the next wars of the 21st Century will be decided. Trends indicate the future will not resemble the past. While continuing to draw upon our contemporary hard earned war fighting principles, we need to revise and reflect current methodologies to meet the realities of the contemporary environment – the highly connected, urban dwelling, militant. As Keith Dickson, a US military theorist of urban warfare outlines that;

"For Western military forces, asymmetric warfare in urban areas will be the greatest challenge of this century . . . the city will be the strategic high ground - whoever controls it will dictate the course of future global events.⁵⁷

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PART – IV

Views

- **Global Strategic Threats to International Peace & Security Post Cold War Era**

GLOBAL STRATEGIC THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE & SECURITY POST COLD WAR ERA

Air Cdre Zulfiqar Ahmed Qureshi

Abstract

*Since time immemorial, the concept of security has remained relational and coherent in an international system where threats were posed to states and empires either in uni-polar, bi-polar or multi-polar international system with low level of inter-dependency. However, in the twenty-first century post-modern era of economical globalization and political liberalization, a reshaped international uni-polar system has emerged with possible fragmentation in near future. When combined with information age, the altered definition of security has axiological shift from age old traditional security due to the emergence of multiple people-centric global strategic threats with thematic linkages to highly dependent, networked globalized humanity. States no longer have deployable power to ensure security of the state. The current global conflict either in Samuel P Huntington's term is, 'Clash of Civilization' or more realistically between those with and those without access to world resources and pattern of consumptions. Population burden has eroded much of developing state's capability to cope with their basic human needs and has put extreme stress on the environment exposing world to unprecedented natural disasters with human death tolls in high numbers. The use of terrorism as a tool by the radical groups for achieving their political goals combined with the emergence of other international players or non-state actors (MNCs, TNC, IGOs, NGOs), gave rise to new conceptions of international security to incorporate, *inter alia*, different actors (such as human, environmental or societal security). This paper demonstrates that even the new security definitions are plagued by their own challenges and difficulties. An orchestration of new global governance system ascertaining global security threats to International Peace and Security is paramount. This research in this regard is timely and merit absolute attention at the highest level for articulating a frame work and policy responses at all tiers for sustainable global peace. The semantics would remain important throughout in this paper as it would help both the critics as well the proponents to draw their own perspectives.*

Introduction

One of the key and intellectually intriguing questions has remained the field of research to understand why man makes war? The philosophical and psychological explanation of human behavior which leads to a conflict situation remains till-date the main inquiry. The peace and tranquility at all levels of human society depends upon the security from perceived threats. *Global Strategic Threats (GSTs)* refers to those threats which destabilize the international tranquility, peace and *Security*, primarily to mankind and to the environment that breeds human being. The threat emanates due to tussle between the *predator nations*, groups or actors to use their sphere of influence

and threaten the entire world with conquest and *control of resources*. This threat has risen very rapidly and radically in the last thirty years or so (*post Cold War era till date*). The expected security from perceived threats has resulted into ‘unsolvable debates about its meaning and application’.¹ There was a great debate on the concept of security during the 1980s and 1990s. However, since 1991, security has become a hot and contested concept and so are the threats. The debate also arose on the type of threats deserving governmental, regional or international responses as Buzan and Weaver cite security as always a result of political social discourse.² Historically, the concept of security from perceived threats suffers from epistemological and ontological differences and difficult to reconcile.

The present global environment in which challenges, opportunities and threats are interlaced, exists at the same times and develop illogically, against this backdrop of turmoil, and uncertainty, we need to define and identify the nature of the strategic threats in its totality to reevaluate and restructure our security perspective. The final outcome may possibly help us in formulating a global governance or administrative model if feasible.

Brief Context and Overview of the GSTs

Security has become multidimensional because over the last three decades, individual human’s welfare is fast becoming the cornerstone of policy-making than it was fifty years ago. This has happened probably due to rising *trends* which shape our future and are characterized by staggering number of variables. The UK’s Ministry of Defence³ Development, Concept & Doctrine Centre believes that the future will appear as a consequence of long-wave themes⁴ and issues that connect the past, the present and the future. This study also explains well the concept of extreme events as ‘*strategic shock*’ (similar to 9/11 or global pandemic like AID or SARS, natural catastrophes like Tsunamis etc) that could pose risk to global system with very high level of uncertainty. The American (sole superpower of uni-polar world) attitude after 9/11 is a case in point. The extensive research and logical explanations however, fail to explain the single most important trend or prioritized list of trends which may help in policy responses at national, international or global level. It would be pertinent to seek and identify, examine and correlate recent patterns especially due to information era that can suggest broad-based future possibilities and potential outcomes, whose risks, effects and extremes are necessary to mitigate or avoid at all interconnected tiers of global peace and security.

The traditional issues and threats are generally local or at best of regional level created by the states themselves whereas, the non-traditional threats are posed by non-state actors in more widespread fashion. In fact, both the categories overlap and some threats and problems are so common that they are viewed as global threats, for example global pandemics, climate change and WMD proliferation are so extreme that they have serious global implications. Some of the other serious issues like mass population displacement due natural disasters/civil wars and various other humanitarian crises are also cited as global threats. Other important aspects of international security like transnational crimes, terrorism, (weapons, human and drug) trafficking and

environmental disasters started to gain importance. The current information era is of fusion of culture, religion, nationalism, activism and social inequality, increasing the rich-poor divide causing new conflicting ideologies to evolve continuously which is helping radicals (groups, actors and non-state actors) present in all the spheres of human life to use violence to achieve their illegitimate as well as legitimate political objectives. Today, the agents of globalization include national / supranational or state or non-state actors. How do they interact and behave? On what basis they cooperate for win-win solution? Or is it a zero-sum security era? How will it be enforced? For one thing is sure; the answer lies with us; provided we understand the *change*. The appraisal of the post Cold War strategic environment portray the prevailing doctrine as *human centric* with the ultimate concerns about the security of people and humans not to be viewed from military perspective but through the prisms of political, social, economical and environmental aspects as well. The absence of global organizations to ensure effective and equitable ‘global commons’ availability to all human beings is the critical ‘GAP’ and the need of the hour is to fill this without further delay.

Conceptual Definition of Security

The traditional IR theory defines security considering the state at the heart of the theory. This narrow definition was essentially because of the supremacy of Realism dominated era where the (Westphalian) state was the most sovereign entity. As the security was the objective of the state⁵ (nation and state being enclosed in a common boundary), so it was called National Security. Each state had its National Security falling within the pattern of International Security. The international security was merely conflict between states rather than within them. Most of us would agree that post Cold War environment had a different pattern of international security. The rise of threats to state has been internal rather than external. Thus, ripple back effect also influenced the national security of all states. We have to draw a clear distinction ‘before and after 1990’ structure of international security to understand its mechanics at all tiers. The post 9/11 era further accentuates international security as the most misunderstood concept. It would be prudent to go deep into the concept of security which has undergone paradigm shifts in its definition and manifestation.

No intellectual concurrence on the elusive and vague concept of security. Despite wide range of theories of security published in the last seven decades, not a single universally acknowledged definition of security has been formed. Even today the concept of security is as contested as ever. There are two established conventional approaches in security studies; Realism and Liberalism. Classical realists such as Hans Morgenthau and Reinhold Niebuhr fail to explain or describe security in clear terms. Arnold Wolfers explained the term security⁶ as: “*security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked*”. The *value* being the security of *what*. The Liberal German philosopher Immanuel Kant⁷ viewed security as spill-over effect of economic integration. In international politics, the traditional definition of security given by Ken Booth⁸ was the safeguard of the territorial integrity and core values of states in opposition to foreign coercion. But Booth himself has a much deeper definition to the term security, saying that⁹: “*Security in world politics is an instrumental value*

that enables people(s) some opportunity to choose how to live. It is a means by which individuals and collectivities can invent and reinvent different ideas about being human".

Barry Buzan¹⁰ and his Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) peers define security as a “*speech act*”, “where a securitizing actor designates a threat to a specified reference object and declares an existential threat implying a right to use extraordinary means to fend it off”. The last definition gave rise to a new term *securitization* of issues and values. Securitization is akin to threat exaggeration leading to needless overreaction. The American have to face the hardship of over-exaggerating Al-Qaeda threat in multiple forms like, reduced civil freedom and core values, increased taxes and most of all homeland peace. The rest of the world continues to share these sufferings.

Today, realism essentially remains an important theory to many. Another concept in realism is that of *pluralism* in international politics¹¹ which meant much more than a quest of economic and military power and there are many different actors in the world and that states aren't the only one. This leads towards a widening of security concept. On the other hand Liberalism is also strong but nation-states are still powerful and most of the states are not allowing economic prosperity to reach all the masses and stake holders. The things can change quickly in this globalized era and applying Copenhagen School definition of securitization may give rise to dangerous consequences. Such diversified definitions of security though from highly repute has ensured the concept of security to evolve immensely over a period of time.

Traditional Concept of Security

Security, from a classical or traditional perspective is considered a state subject whereas domestic security may or may not figure out on the state agenda but external threats almost always would be the part of national security. Rather, sovereignty of a state is considered the single most important deciding factor in the consolidation of international system. This importance has given rise to the use by the state all means including coercive means to defend their autonomies which is also clearly mentioned in UN Charter¹², which includes security as its main purpose or the organ in-charge of it inside the limits of international system. The possibility of an icon more powerful than a state was immediately ruled out. The irony is that the opening remark¹³ of UN Charter talks about international peace and security being the utmost responsibility of its member states.

Post-Modern Concept of Security

The idea of *globalization* has become the most popular cliché of *post-Cold War* time. Globalization concept thrives on the *economic forces* of capitalism and technology causing states to disappear (makes UN somewhat irrelevant) with devolution of power to economic and technological forces with little control over their territories or other state subjects like agriculture, environment or security, among many others. The

concept therefore defined a new *global order*. Security was no longer seen as national issue thus making the previous international system obsolete. This was primarily from globalization point of view where national borders and state had eroded causing their sovereignty to decline. There was a very high level of *economic interdependence* making *War* a very *troublesome* situation, because protecting or defending any domestic system would immediately be discarded by the international community. This was perfectly in line with the liberal standards of the New World Order (NWO). A new concept was emerging from Cold War perspective of a militarily strong enemy to a post-Cold War perspective of an elusive and diffused enemy with the military factor fading and multiple threats emerging not to be linked to state-actors or any particular territory. The UN¹⁴ is a state-centric organization designed to respond to the issues of state-centric world. The real institutions of global governance commensurate with the complexity of ensuing problems are currently missing.

Transnational Character of International System

Globalization presents an interactive micro-macro phenomenon. While some changes are at macro level making humans to learn and pressurize the groupings to stick together, some originate at macro level instigating clashes between opposing forces at two levels, among the pulls of the earlier period and enticement of the prospect, and the proclivity between the centralizing and decentralizing forces among and within the nations. According to Rosenau¹⁵ "*Turbulence is a product of interactions among micro and macro actors and comes into being when numerous micro actions culminate in macro outcomes that lie outside the system's normal functioning. Thus, turbulence in world politics is to be found not in individuals or groups, but in their interactions.*" Such interactions extend beyond national boundaries and make state-to-state relations meaningless and make the notion of 'international politics' obsolete and brings in global politics with global consequences. Rosenau¹⁶ further explains that due to globalization forces, the transnational character of international system has branded five forces which the nation states are increasingly strained to respond in world politics namely, *Transnational Organizations* (NGOs), *Transnational Politics* such as ethnic conflicts and *Transnational Events* such as the publication of a Salman Rushdie's novel (Satanic Verses) can severely shock range of nations and countries though separated distantly by geography, but infused together by internet or cable networks such as Aljazeera and CNN. *Transnational Communities* can expand on a religion or lifestyle and strongly held belief systems which may confront the authority, influence and integrity of the nation states. *Transnational Structures* which include banks, financial transactions or new and emerging technologies (internet, 3/4 G) present innovative context of actions and provoke crises from one corner of the world to another corner over large distances. All these developments indicate towards decentralization as today's common man on the street is no longer manipulate-able and is well aware of world affairs.

According to the Article 2 of UN Charter, organizations are barred from involvement in activities falling within the scopes of domestic jurisdiction of states. But today's multinational corporations and organizations often possess more power than many states. Today, power dictates the interaction and relationship in the new-new world order therefore, nonviable states or weak states often fall prey to these

organizations and now we see a new power centre emerging in the shape of NSAs and institutions. These NSAs have become extremely powerful in the prevailing international system. This trans-nationalism has given new strategic context to decision making procedure of today's governments across the globe.

Human Security

In fact, now we have a *post-modern* perspective of understanding security as a human security meaning thereby that the individual security has precedence over state's security. In this regard, the armed conflicts within the states, civil wars, ethnic / religious based conflicts were proliferating in search for greater political rights and objectives. These wars gave rise to bloody trend of contemporary conflict with increased vulnerability of civilians sometime to the extent of calling them ethnic cleansing or mass genocides. These also resulted in mass migrations within the states and also inter-state as well where other states were called as complicit bystanders watching and enjoying these cruel scenarios. Kofi Annan's famous saying "*If humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica - to gross and systematic violations of human rights that offend every precept of our humanity*"¹⁷ became the part of every academician / speakers opening remarks at most of the world security forums. Thus a military intervention with a supra-majority of members' states was construed a moral, ethical and political clout to be labeled as legal even without the Security Council endorsement.¹⁸ This was the beginning of *intervention era* (unilateral as well as multilateral) spearheaded by super or big powers. A debate at the United Nation Development Fund program (UNDP) brought the concept of human security to prominence. A fresh concept of human security was introduced in 1994¹⁹ which associate security with citizens rather than territories, with growth and development rather than arms. It scrutinizes both the national and the global concerns of human security. The report highlights seven aspects of human security: *Food security, Economic security, Personal Security, Health security, Community Security, Environmental security and Political security*. Six serious threats to human security were also identified: *unchecked population explosion, disparity in economic conditions, migration pressures, environmental degradation, drug-trafficking and international terrorism*. Because of commonality of these threats to all, they were cited as global concerns applicable to people everywhere on the surface of earth. The components of these threats are interdependent as the threat to human security is not confined to state boundaries (*threats have transnationalized*). Now the threat is *people-centric* and is easier to mitigate only with early interventions whereas UN is state-centric²⁰ organization and cannot ensure human centric issues commensurate with the ensuing human (people)-centric issues.

Human Rights Regime

Human Rights have taken the centre stage in the wake of human insecurities in various parts of the world. Actually, human rights span over a wide range of political, civil, social and cultural aspects, but their content at the same time are not agreed globally. The developed west is the proponent and less developed east remains the opponent. The very basic idea of protecting human dignity is very noble as it addresses

human security aspects but exploitation by the stronger side to intervene at will has been seen as an act of coercion by the weaker. So there is some sort of universal agreement required on the accepted human rights. The focus of human rights in USA is different from focus in Asian or African states. If the values of human rights are acceptable to all then a more acceptable nomenclature like *international human rights* may be used. International Human Rights Observer (IHRO), a Pakistani non-governmental organization is just doing that. IHRO envisage a world in which “*every individual irrespective of his cast, religion or color enjoys international human rights norms and fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards in every part of the world.*” More participation from developed world would be earnestly required for this vision to materialize. The debate on these values of international human rights is an ongoing process.

Post-Modern Security Paradigm

It is essential to understand that there is more than one meaning of post-modernism in terms of the analysis of international relations. The contemporary age undeniably shows fragmentation (yet paradoxically interconnected too) and an increasing awareness of the relativity of beliefs and values. This state of affairs defines the post-modern condition. It contributes to the general anxiety, stress and confusion that many people nowadays experience. As Michael Sheehan²¹ interprets that “International relation is not about billiard ball states colliding in anarchy with speed of horses or sailing ships; it is about almost instantaneous flows of information, capital, ideas and the dramatically fast movement of trade, population, and advanced military technologies”. Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver define ‘*post-modern states*’ as those states which have moved on from Westphalian model and “*desecuritised much of the traditional agenda of threats*”.²² The post-modernist specifically link modernity with war. Post-modernity is viewed as a worldview in which progress²³ is the end towards which all effort is directed. The economic prosperity being the end objective, the wealthy West have created Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), Private Military Corporations (PMCs), Transnational Media Corporations (TMCs), Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs), crime syndicates and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) who function and operate beyond the actual control of the state. These non-state actors have made inroads into *weak states* with rich natural or human resource. The information technology has reduced the distances between the seller and the buyer. There are virtual transactions taking place worth billions of dollars all across. Even the weak and the poor states are able to buy on credit large goods, though they may not be able to payback later. Such states are falling deep into the trap of the hefty loans. Evidently, these non-state actors would thus, can very easily subdue such weak states. These *global economic factors* seriously intrude and creep deep into weak government decisions and undercut their ability to effectively control *domestic as well as external politics*. The biggest distraction for the government from genuine threats has been the elusive ‘*War on Terror*’ and recently coined GSAVE (Global Struggle Against Violent Extremism). Sometime, these issues do affect the developed states as a ripple back effect. Xavier Carim concludes that ‘*if state sovereignty has not actually ended, it is under severe challenge*.’²⁴ The post-modernist notion of acceptance to the pluralist

theoretical framework of international relations is problematic. It accedes to the idea of decaying national sovereignty and that states are becoming less and less capable of conducting their basic and traditional tasks. In fact the multidimensionality of security is complex now.

The *twenty-first century* is different in terms of distribution of power. China and India are the promising political and economic giants. According to the US government think tank NIC (National Intelligence Council) prediction, by 2025 China and India would have the world's second and fourth biggest economies respectively. Such trends in economic growth are paving the way for a multi-polar era in world politics. *BRICS*'s political economy controls now 45 percent of the humanity. According to Goldman Sachs and Deutsche Bank²⁵ report of 2010, the annual growth in combined national income of BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) surpassed the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy combined and by 2025 would be twice that of G-7 (the group of highly industrialized countries). European Union, though it lacks statehood but is asserting itself more and more. Now, the countries and regions have their own meta-narratives to pursue their ambitions aggressively. Ethics and morality have given way to brutality.

The post-modern era now attempts to remove the state as the primary actor of providing security, focusing more on *interdependency and trans-nationalization of NSAs*. The changing nature of war has revealed the requirement to understand the national security. *The culprits of 9/11 attack got trained in Afghanistan, radicalized in Germany and funded by Arabs*. The deaths were probably more than all the deaths at Pearl Harbor. So in the contemporary world, how do nation states perceive National Security? How does it affect Regional security? What is International Security? What really is Global? What is Global Security? How are they interlinked? We will dilate these terms before moving on to our core subject.

National Security in the Twenty-First Century

The concept of *national interest* is not new to the system of twenty first century. All actors in the international system have interests. Crafting national interest in the twenty first century has become the biggest *dilemma* of a nation. Though there is a incongruity over whether national interests are made purely for the purpose of advancing the power of an actor for achieving *greater security* for that actor²⁶ or whether interests could be based on values and ethics for doing *some good* to the international system. National Interests derive the national security. As discussed earlier, the world is in a constant state of flux. Promising economies, nascent democracies, weak and failed states, numerous conflicts and very common natural disasters cover the globe like web. Changes are occurring all across the globe at unprecedented speed due globalization. Innovative breakthroughs in technologies, shifting demographics and too frequent shocks (9/11, tsunamis, hurricanes etc) and revolutions in the global economy are reshaping the structures and hierarchies of business, societies and government. As Thomas Friedman stated that the world is becoming flat²⁷ meaning thereby the convergence of social, economic, political and technological forces all across the globe. Such level of interconnectivity in the world

would remain susceptible to uncertainty, shocks and disruption anywhere in the same system. At the time of writing the global economy looks fragile though seems to be recovering from meltdown at snail pace. A state faces multiple challenges to its security and needs to have a holistic approach which allows its departments, agencies and individuals to take a much wider viewpoint than normal. Barry Buzan argues strangely but correctly that the national security is often bought at the cost of human security, especially in the developing world under the dictators (Pol Pot in Cambodia, Eidi Amin in Uganda, Mobutu in erstwhile Zaire and Mugabe in Zimbabwe) or self style monarchies of Saudi Arabia, Oman or UAE.

Regional Security

There is a Chinese curse that '*May you live in interesting times*'. This curse seems to be borne out in the twenty-first century. We are living in an era of great upheaval where the *change* is only constant. Three most important forces driving such changes are *Globalization*, *Regionalism* and *Democratization*²⁸. While Globalization and Democratization would be discussed in the second chapter, Regional Security being closely linked to National security is considered prudently emphatic to be discussed at this stage.

Regionalism

The term *region* connotes physical contiguity.²⁹ Though proximity is important but not considered sufficient to describe the conditions for physical stipulation of region. Based on the criteria of Evans and Newnham³⁰ definition, region is "homogeneity at the social, economic and political level". As one cannot integrate peaches and mangoes, similarly regional integration would need to be an integration of like-minded entities.

Snapshot of Regional Securities

The security order in *South Asia* largely depends on fostering democratic governance and strengthening secular forces to facilitate economic integration among South Asian states globally and regionally. Constructive engagement of Big Powers especially USA remains critical to Pakistan for its fragile democracy and reconciliation between Pakistan and India. The Indo-US shared concerns have given rise to new strategic partnership which is considered detrimental to China as well as Russian interest in the region. The region however remains a nuclear flashpoint, though economically poor but with great opportunities and on top priority list of US foreign policy agenda. The Asian financial crises did not affected China, but Japan, Malaysia and other *Southeast Asian* countries. Though Southeast Asian regional economic cooperation is important, but terrorism, religious extremism, the increasing gap between the poor and rich and inter ethnic relations present a wholesome spectrum of non-traditional security issues. The *Middle East* security arrangement is largely dependent on external guarantees. The resolution of main conflicts like Palestine issue and other territorial and identity issues in the region remains the stumbling block in having peace in the region. The *Africa* is feared by all because of question arising in

everybody's mind: what if Africa fails? *Russia* is trying hard to reassert itself in gaining the influence in the region. The *European Union*, (EU) though lack statehood with limited military capabilities, has shown remarkable success in integrating like-minded countries of mainland, Mediterranean and Nordic areas. It still needs to become more effective external actor. The US hegemony prevails in EU and there exists some serious trans-Atlantic differences on international issues. In the *Latin America* region, except Cuba, US see no enemy except some changing transnational issues. The countries of the southern cone (Argentina and Brazil) challenge both the neo-liberal hegemony and US trading hegemonies in the region, and the US security policies. The key role of the US in the definition of regional security issues also calls into question the neat dividing line between the North American and the South American regional security complexes that Buzan and Weaver operates with.

International Security

The emergence of global economic systems, global culture and global communication have created wide net of social connection & relationship which rise above state borders and include people all over the globe. Supporters of the global society school now recognize that globalization is irregular and ambiguous process. The demise of Cold War has resulted in increased global awareness and range of social movements resulting in fragmentation of nation-state. The decline in the interstate wars and the predominance in intrastate conflicts and armed non-state actors have given rise to distinctive form of violent conflict called *new wars*. These wars were witnessed in erstwhile communist states, especially the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The same effects were however also felt in Western democratic societies and key institutions for example the monarchy, the churches, and the family under increasing pressure. The consequence of this statehood fracture has been a paradigm shift from conflict between the major powers to new forms of insecurity triggered due to ethnic, nationalistic and religious oppositions within states and across the boundaries as well. This has also been reflected in brutal wars in Bosnia, Russia, Rwanda Yemen and Kosovo and more recently in Syria. It is only possible to understand these new wars in the context of globalization. Such conflicts pose a critical problem for the international community who remains confused whether to intervene in a sovereign state's domestic affairs to uphold minority rights and individual human rights. What is needed is a new politics of global responsibility, design to address issues of poverty, global inequality, minority rights, democracy and environmental stress. Thinking in such globalist, rather than national or international terms, would lead to acquiring capabilities to cater for the risks to security which infects the world community at present. Such a globalist thinker would be considered as "*Utopian Realist*".³¹

Perceptive Global Security Aspects

What really do we mean by Global? In what context its manifestation is different from International, Multinational or Transnational? A commonly accepted logic explains the difference in that anything is Global when it is inbuilt or intrinsic or common to all the countries like environmental issues, energy needs or food supply chain. Anything else would be international or multinational when it is present in more

than one to two foreign countries like business, travel and ideology or trade links. If something foreign is allowed to flourish then it becomes transnational. Global studies is not restricted to these private or state owned entities or businesses, rather a more comprehensive discipline aimed at securing a global perspective on entire planet affairs pursued by human beings for their continuing prosperity, freedom, social justice and humanly conducive living environment. The most underpinning, common and fundamental aspect of all aforementioned human requirement is the security. Thus, Global Security is an appropriate name for the field which I must say at this stage that naming it is very easy however, establishing it is more demanding and challenging.

After The end of Cold War, US saw terrorism as its next elusive enemy making the international system hyper-complex and intertwined for every state or regime to chase and pursue their security needs. This was apparent now that *isolationist* approach was giving its way to some sort of *collectivist* approach which may be a multilateral *responsibility to protect* concept which was needed to replace the outdated and outmoded notion of security as protection. It also became apparent that people were now exposed to more and large range of imperils and threats including transnational crimes, terrorism, environmental pollutions, natural disasters due un-natural human activities and other problems having global implications demanding further re-conceptualization of security. At the outset, global security issue is global in scope and touches each and every human on the planet. It is therefore considered essential that the scholarly search for the meaning of *security* in the contemporary world would be finical, empirical and *holistic* rather than anarchistic conception of protection. It can be assumed safely that it is a *bottom-up* approach. The *Austin Peay Institute for Global Security Studies*³² defines the global security as "*the field involves the study of transnational issues with global implications that can only be solved by collaborative effort*" (emphasis added). The different types of securities identified were critical as well as conventional security including national and homeland security, economic security, environmental security, population movement, energy security, infectious disease threats, gender and age, international law, nuclear/biological/chemical weapon security, terrorism and insurgency, transnational crime, intra-state conflict, and American global power. In the global context, people, goods and services move freely and regularly. This causes a competition for their prices, access and wealth but one of the most important and significant competition is of *culture* which helps us to cling to beliefs and traditions which keep us compact as one body for our celebrations, identity and emotional attachments. This is often regarded as more superstitious than right. Thus in this scenario freedom and not security becomes critical in cultural conflict situations. The globalization process has increased the chances of peace and order it does for amity, equity and justice. This at times forces states, nations, actors to pursue unfettered aspirations which often results in anomie. Therefore something substantive is needed to allay the *fear* of losing freedom or being wiped out or others getting ahead. In the same context, security of everything is untenable and futile leading to a phenomenon of *too much security*. I intend to venture into the cut-across matrix of my own to ascertain security issues (applying bottom up approach), linking and grouping them into major *global threats* or *GSTs*.

Threats, Security and Responsibility Matrix

Security, when applied to humans in a bottom up approach show a *continuum*. Threats to Global Peace need articulation of framework that reflects key security values of individual, societal, state and international responsibilities arrayed in truncated fashion. The table³³ (see Figure) on the next page shows the threats to individual, national, international community and global security with corresponding responsibilities [Some threats (personal & national and mainly national & international) overlap]. The missing actor of responsibility is *Global* to various threats that have been compartmentalized into *Economic, Socio-political and Military Strategic Threats*. The stability of global peace & security is *complex*. Harnessing this complexity depends on mitigating risks and threats originating from Global Issues through innovative concept of *global governance*.

		SECURITY					
		NATIONAL SECURITY			GLOBAL SECURITY		
		PERSONAL SECURITY			INTERNATIONAL SECURITY		
T H R E A T	Economic Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic Security Job/product / consumer Safety Water Safety Health (Food etc) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food Water Security Health 	Water Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Water Safety Food Security Energy Security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Environmental Degradation Water Scarcity Global Poverty Equitable Global Commons Religious Extremism Global Pandemics International Injustice WMD Proliferation 	
	Socio-Political Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crime Safety Disasters Personal Safety Physical Safety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organised Crime Strategic Shocks Genocide Against Minorities Identity Theft 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Terrorism Sovereignty Governance Human Rights Justice Rule of Law Social Security Genocide Domestic Extremism Ethnic & Cultural Security Societal Security Political Security CBRNE attack 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pandemic Terrorism & other Crimes International Human Security Marine Security Trade Security Cyber Security Ethnic Cleansing 		
	Military Threats			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wars, Armed conflict Border Security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transnational Crimes Inter-State Conflicts 		
		Individual	Societal/Community	State / National Government	International	Global	
RESPONSIBILITY							

Threat Mitigation through “Global Governance”

Considering global threats to international security, which include *socio-political, economic and military aspects* which can influence the development of conflict worldwide. It will be a fallacy for the developed world to feel secure with a lavish lifestyle within the boundaries of their state because such lifestyle and attitude is not

tenable. The world resources are scarce and population is very large. The developed west has to do nasty things with the developing world to feed their masses. Developing world would remain engulfed in their petty domestic conflicts, offering multiple options to the regional or great powers to exploit their intra or inter-state issues to their own benefit. There may be inherently more GSTs than we think, but all that we know is that sharing the planet resources is the biggest problem facing the mankind. To see what are the common GSTs and the role of UN, World Bank, superpowers and great powers, we find one thing common and that is *failure* in mitigating global threats at all fronts. It would be prudent to filter and crystallize the *global commons* which are basically the shared things we all need and they can end up being abused through ruthless logic called as “*tragedy of the commons*” by Garret Hardin³⁴ in 1968 article.

Global Commons

During the medieval period, in a village, a common pastureland was used by all the herdsman of the village. If one herdsman wanted to increase one more sheep to graze, it had a price to pay and that was overgrazing of the common pastureland. The effect on other herdsman was minimal due to the addition of this single sheep but, what if all herdsmen wanted to add another sheep to their benefit. Obviously the common pastureland would be so overgrazed that the sheep raising for all would become impossible. The village community failed to recognize that each herdsman's individual interest was in conflict with the common interest. The community had failed to manage the commons from a communal standpoint. Similarly our planet also have some commons (Global Commons) that we as a humanity failed the same way as the villagers in the above referred example of the medieval past. The most important global commons are:-

- Food
- Water
- Energy, (Oil, Gas, etc)
- Environment
- Space
- Cyberspace etc

Global Commitments

Some of the social and economic issues are so grave that no less than the global commitment can solve them. They are the burden-sharing aspects of global commons and demands global camaraderie. A great deal of rationality has been used to identify these all the GSTs. For example, population control, though seems mammoth task, every individual who walks on the surface of earth can play a part only if he understands the consequence. Population is curse for India, whereas it remains strengths for China. In Latin America the situation is worsening while in Africa it is already worst whereas, Asia is at the tip of iceberg. The current global financial structure is grossly helpful to

the elite West. By 2020, the global elite countries would be 15 percent of the world population.³⁵ In LDCs, the fertility rate is high for the reason to have more working hands which in turn is the reason for increase in poverty. These are the countries which suffer from more natural disasters resulting in mass migrations and affecting the regional demography and at times becoming a source of pandemics and environmental degradation.

The arms control must be on the wider agenda of global governance paradigm and is not possible to be fulfilled at state or lower level. It should be on the basis of cooperative and sustainable development of the poor *South* (aka the poor east); otherwise the elite *North* (aka the elite west) would always go for limiting the military security of the South, while they continue to dominate the world economic and political system.

Global Governance Mold - International Vs Global Governance

Treaties / Conventions / Multilateral Organizations

Treaties and convention have a good margin to provide relief to a state or states or at best to the region. They are seldom useful for global issues. For example, Kyoto Protocol has 192 parties to it without having USA on the ratification list. The problem of these treaties and convention is from weak commitments or from lax or slow enforcement.³⁶ There was some progress in the internationalization of criminal laws as clearly seen when the two alleged Libyans were handed over to Netherland to be trialed under the Scottish law for the bombing of Flight 103 over the skies of Lockerbie in 1989 and the case of General Augusto Pinochet. Those global issues which require immediate and massive dealing are not covered at all by any treaties or conventions, for example an undertaking by the rich states in the 1970s to give 0.7 percent of their GDPs as aid have remained a distant dream. Some recent development have greatly reduced the efficacy and the ability of treaties to give speedy solutions, for example non compliance to the Kyoto Protocol due to the requirement of Congressional ratification and rejecting the biological convention which does not require congressional ratification.³⁷ Similarly G7 &, G20, SCO and other big Intergovernmental Conferences have also failed to provide strong response to global threats to the humanity.

Role of United Nation

Essentially, the UN system consisting of about forty agencies is in charge of three main policy objectives, namely *peace and security*, *development*, especially for developing countries, and *human rights*. UN was formed to provide a forum for negotiations between the sovereign nation-states on equality basis (on papers and not actually). This organization was formed immediately after the World War-2 by the winners that is USA, former USSR, Great Britain, France and China were given the permanent seat in the Security Council. The losers (Germany and Japan) were not allowed to join the UNSC. It is a sort of parliament consisting of nation-states with no real executive body and regulatory force. UN is a state-centric system but the development of these nation-states which was once one of the United Nations' core

businesses, has now been taken over by the Bretton Woods borne establishments, especially by the IMF and the World Bank. The development process has now virtually been taken over by these financial institutions. These institutions are funded and run by the elite West and are exploited to their fullest. These institutions have failed to respond to financial crises and many countries still suffer from bad loans, weak banking supervision, weak corporate governance and insufficiently developed securities market. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were the first true performance check of Global Governance.

World Government on EU Model

EU is a miracle, though lot remains to be achieved however, same formula on the formation of *world government* would be extremely delicate and difficult business. Despite a shared history, socio-political structure, the issue of legitimacy and citizen identity are some of the problems faced by EU. Imagine what the world government would face to implement some basic tenets? How would it feel to be known as 'global citizen' under a global government? But one thing is sure, successful current hierarchical government model is not likely to provide security from GSTs in near future.

Recommended Ethics of Global Governance

For the global governance to provide public service of the caliber that it takes care of the individual human rights in the fragmented society would be a tall order. But, a *global governance based on human rights regime³⁸* is likely to embrace wide spread success. Such governance model may not be able to exercise political authority but should create, exercise, implement and sustain public service through combination of state, non-state actors and other formal and informal forums. Such governance would be based on highly complex dynamics of political legitimacy, practical capacity and accountability.

Global Governance Model Based on Human Rights (Transnational) Regime

The international system is highly transnational now. Only transnational regime can provide solution to the problem as it surpasses the bureaucratic hierarchies of state. It offers people to people values even at remote locations. In almost all the religions of the world, human rights (transnational regime) have the top priority. The human rights are the glue which binds the religious and cultural diversity. One can have a belief in the sense that *human rights can become a civil religion* of the world respected by all and acceptable to all; as a model of governance! The object of promoting human rights as a *global ethic* is noble. As the religion unlike human rights has individual aspect, therefore, there would always remain friction on religion between the public and the private. The idea of civil religion would be analogous to religion, but would not serve the purpose of religion per se. Religion remains the individual's private affair. *The state should include practice of religion within the ambit of human rights.* The question of reconciling religious and state sovereignty is a tough call which must be addressed prudently. In fact if carefully crafted, the world religions can participate in any global

system and may offer valuable insight into the direction of globalization process.³⁹ But when finalized, the entire narrative of human rights should be acceptable to domestic audience in Somalia, in Ethiopia, from Morocco to Indonesia, from Island of Micronesia to a New Yorker and so on. Their values must be accepted universally by all ‘humans’ so that they can be renamed subsequently as *International Human Rights*. Consequently the International Human Right may become the *single organizing principle* of globalized society. In fact, national identity (citizenship) and international human rights can be merged together to form a *supranational world order*. This order would not relocate but disperse sovereignty.⁴⁰ It would muster all efforts to bring new methodical, logical and dependable responses to political and social issues which fall outside the capacities of states or even superpowers individually.⁴¹ It would be *summative global governance*⁴² order evolved from overall (regional, state/non-state, groups) world order. Following would strengthen and ensure legitimacy of such order:-

- Without morality, International human rights cannot be ensured and that even the best supranational order cannot be envisaged without global ethic.
- International human rights must address both, the mind and heart, men and women.
- Realization of peace, security and justice and the guarding of the planet earth depend on each and every men and women to act justly.

The viability of human rights regime as ‘global governance model’ would be tolerable not because of their universal acceptability in living together in a globalized society, but because they apply equally both to the *ends and the means* of any form of global governance. As per the standards of human rights, human lives cannot be sacrificed to individual interest, groups or state security or to any international nuance.

Poverty is mother of all GSTs

Human right regime approach would help make ‘free trade’ a *right* with some integration and balancing with other human rights. This would help all states / regions to exploit their domestic products in the free world with equal amount of opportunity, thus reducing poverty to large extent. Unilateral trade restrictions which are the tools of rich and big nations would be no more. However, we feel that special watch would be required on the use of human rights by powerful states / groups for their own interests. Such policy options can be implemented and watched by a *Global Dispute Settlement Body* (GDSB) overlooking overlapping jurisdictions in the globalized world. The legal decisions taken by GDSB would be apolitical and not tit-for-tat type. Thus only remaining in the realm of ‘*human rights regime*’ will the GDSB would fulfill its mandate.

Important linkages

The human rights are likely to condition the statehood ensuring state induced human right outrages to go minimal. *Human rights would be inviolable therefore;*

every single individual would count for the progress of state. State would also be responsible to come up to the expectations of the international community and the region. Thus power relationship between the *state and its citizens, state and the international community* and *citizens and the international community* would be conditioned with human rights overtones. These linkages do present some paradoxes, like human intervention. If the state fails to respect its citizen, should then the international community intervene on moral ground, breaking the non-interventionist principle of international law⁴³ or not? To avert large genocides and disruptions in human lives remains a *sine qua non* of any effective global governance model. This clearly defines a direct linkage between the national and international realms. Only *rationalism* in removing these paradoxes would yield globally acceptable results. A *democratic rule* would yield a stable state, because without democracy, human rights would be at the mercy of sovereign. Sovereign must serve the right of the people.⁴⁴ The international system is already moving slowly towards a democratic entitlement validated by the masses as seen in the case of Arab spring. Therefore it is suggested that *democracy* should also be on the *human rights agenda*. Finally we think that there is a stressful relationship between the masses and the states/rulers; between the states; between the national and the global; between masses and the global; between power and values; between rights and the responsibilities; between globalization from below and globalization from above. Human rights actually delimit the powers of individual, groups and the states. Each has a responsibility (political, institutional, economical, and cultural) with accountability to every other entity.

Conclusion

This study has barely skimmed the surface in its search for the global governance paradigm, a process which needs to be undertaken with immediate effect in the networked or regime based model. Network has an advantage of convening maximum stake-holders whereas, regime based ethics set level field for all the stake-holders. A hybrid Networked-Transnational Regime based global governance arrangement has the potential to offer best results in shortest possible time.

The GSTs are vast with ultimate toll on the mankind in the form of human lives or degradation of the planet. We desperately need a century of global peace. Human rights preferably in a networked global governance initiative have more acceptance as a normative expectation. By setting the limits on legitimate rights of individual, nation-states and the powerful countries and specifying the standards of human dignity, the *networked global governance based on human rights regime* (now may be called *Humane Global Governance*) is the most plausible and speedy option to ensure that we are not ungovernable, but this is not a guarantee against a failure. The opportunity is there, and as a final thought at this juncture, we need imaginations more than theories and we must act now before we reach a point of no return.

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