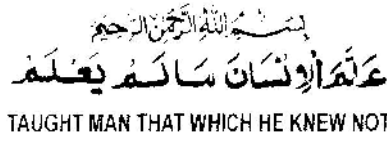


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عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا كَمْ يَعْلَمُ
TAUGHT MAN THAT WHICH HE KNEW NOT

NATIONAL STRATEGY PAPER
NON-KINETIC CHALLENGES
TO THE STATE OF PAKISTAN



NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD



**Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA)
NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD**

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**NATIONAL STRATEGY PAPER
NON-KINETIC CHALLENGES TO THE STATE
OF PAKISTAN**



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**National Defence University, Islamabad
February 2012**

FOREWORD

The modern world is characterized by explosion of knowledge, information and rapid advancements in almost all facets of human life. Military art and science are no exception to this ever growing transformation and expansion. The centuries old conventional jargons and doctrines in the domain of warfare are replaced with new concepts and techniques. Non-Kinetic challenges to the states are more pronounced than Kinetic ones in today's world. Whereas, the overall power potential of nations is still determined by conventional military yardsticks, it is the Non-Kineticism which is more seriously explored now a days by nations and societies to advance their interests. This study, conducted by a panel of participants of National Security & War Course 2011/2012, was presented to the Prime Minister of Pakistan at NDU. It logically deliberates upon the various challenges posed by the Non-kinetic applications to Pakistan. Non-Kineticism as a paradigm is basically a multi-pronged strategy that utilizes economic retardation, political instability, exacerbating internal fissures, coupled with the disruptive capabilities, visible in the form of mind control sciences, extremely low frequency weapons and HAARP theory, as potent tools to overpower the intended target. The mere idea that these facets are used as tools, speaks volumes about the grave nature of threat that the non-kinetic phenomenon poses to the state of Pakistan. The study aptly points out to an incontrovertible fact that internal fault lines within a state make it vulnerable to threats emanating from outside. A fragile economy, abysmal record on governance, aggravated by weakened resolve of the members of the society, lead practically to sure entropy, if the issues are not addressed in time.

Thus, the study focuses on the implications of the enormous challenges that Pakistan is confronted with. In modern statecraft, the simmering exigency created by this state of affairs demands a resolute response from our people against a hydra-headed enemy. I commend the efforts of all members of the panel and Sponsor DS that they were able to come up with this study, despite the paucity of time. I am sure, this study will open up new vistas of knowledge in the days to come.

Lieutenant General
Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq
President NDU

PREFACE

In the twenty first century, the use of military or kinetic options for advancing states' policies is becoming less attractive, as the war is not only too costly, but it is also potentially too catastrophic. Consequently, the non-kinetic dimensions of the statecraft i.e. Information, Cybernetics, Diplomacy and Economics have gained ascendancy and prominence in shaping the global security narratives. Given the complexities of the prevailing security milieu, correct understanding of the kinetic and non-kinetic dimensions of the threat paradigm, particularly the intricacies of non-kinetic warfare is extremely important to evolve a wholesome response against multitude of threats which impinge upon national security.

The paper on 'Non-kinetic Challenges to the State of Pakistan' is a pioneer research effort at NDU, on the subject which hitherto remained less understood and often under-rated. The paper analyzes the non-kinetic threats to the national security in all relevant domains in the context of prevailing and projected global, regional and domestic environment. It explains the notion of 'Non-kineticism' and has also propounded its own definition of the concept. Based on the conclusions drawn from the salient case studies conducted in this field, the paper attempts to offer understanding about the diverse domains and tools of Non-Kinetic overtures and presents an overview of methods of applicability thereof.

In the nutshell, the panel has endeavoured to develop a wholesome perspective on the subject, looking into the conceptual contours, the threat challenges and the ways/means of non-kinetic overtures/applications against Pakistan. The paper also offers workable recommendations pertaining to the suggested strategic response in the non kinetic domain.

Commodore Arshad Mahmood Khan
Directing Staff
A Division, NDU

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NON-KINETIC CHALLENGES TO THE STATE OF PAKISTAN

“To win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill.”

Sun Tzu

Introduction

There has been a paradigm shift in the nature of conflict and pattern of statecraft in the post World War-II period, primarily due to; active role of supranational organizations (e.g. United Nations) advent of nuclear weapons, revolution in military affairs, rapid advancement and spread of information technologies and effects of globalization, which have diluted the concept of international borders. The 21st Century has brought about two great power shifts; first a dilution of the state's power through power diffusion from states towards non-state actors (NSAs) and second, the emergence of geo-economics, as the defining medium of state relationships. These transformations have made use of military or kinetic options for advancing states' policies less attractive, as not only the war is too costly, but it is also too difficult to be limited and is potentially too damaging – even to the victor. Consequently, the non-kinetic dimensions of statecraft i.e. Information, Diplomacy and Economics have gained ascendancy and prominence in shaping the global security narratives.

Historically, the Cold War Model is the most sustained and successful application of non-kinetic domains where dissolution of USSR, a super power, was brought about through application of non-kinetic means i.e. informational and psychological warfare including media onslaught, arms race resulting in economic overstretch, diplomatic coercion, gradual isolation and finally the Afghan Proxy War. During the entire Cold War period, the two principal rivals never came to fight each other directly, however, they remained in a perpetual state of conflict through non-kinetic applications. Learning from Soviet disintegration, the Chinese not only evolved quickly the market economies but also adapted to the concept of a 'Non-Conflicting State', in order to make economic pursuits as their prime national objective.

Since our independence, Pakistan has remained in a state of perpetual conflict with its arch rival India. Until 28 May 1998, the main threats to Pakistan were primarily in the kinetic domain and so were our responses. However, after the overt nuclearization of South Asia, the threat paradigm has been further compounded to involve host of kinetic as well as non-kinetic challenges not only from India but also from other hostile or potentially hostile actors. Our unresolved domestic issues and socio-political fault lines add to our vulnerabilities, which can be subject to exploitation by internal and external actors alike. Therefore, we need to be cognizant of the fact that, owing to globalization and greater inter-dependence, the threat mosaic has changed and acquired a new form. Now, information, cyber and media are new tools of influence along side other traditional means. Thus, a wholesome view of evolving threat paradigm is extremely imperative. However, until recent past, our primary focus has been on kinetic threats, whereas, awareness about how non-kinetic challenges are impinging upon our national security is slowly being realized. It goes without saying that with strong standing armed forces and credible nuclear deterrence, Pakistan possesses a formidable response in the kinetic domain. But we also need to bring non-kinetic dimension of the threat under sharper focus. This will help us evolve prudent policies and workable strategies to formulate befitting response against multitude of complex external as well as internal challenges, which confront us today. In Pakistan's case, there are many drivers for this shift, however, the main reasons are Pakistan's nuclear capability and current regional conflicts. In the face of growing global acceptance of India as a regional leader, Indo-US and Indo-Israel nexus and growing asymmetry between India and Pakistan, strategic re-appraisal of our security calculus particularly in the non-kinetic domain is extremely important, which would be analyzed further in later part of the paper.

It is noteworthy that the non-kinetic domain is not a new phenomenon perse, as it bears similarities and overlaps with other terminologies like direct and indirect strategies, traditional and non-traditional threats, lethal or non-lethal operations and 4th and 5th generation warfare. However, the study reveals that a description through kinetic and non-kinetic dimensions is more apt and addresses the complete spectrum in a wholesome manner. Through this study an endeavour has been made to develop a definite perspective on the

subject and offer workable policy response options to mitigate potential threats and ever increasing challenges to the state of Pakistan.

Aim

To analyze non-kinetic challenges to the state of Pakistan and suggest suitable response options. The study would attempt to address the following fundamental questions:-

- What are Non-Kinetic Challenges? Are they all together the new phenomena that we are not familiar to or did we fail to appreciate them in time?
- What could be the various domains of applicability of Non-Kinetic Challenges? Is Pakistan already embroiled in various forms of Non-kinetic applications or it is something that we are now gradually being subjected to?
- How a suitably calibrated response mechanism can be constructed for ensuring that our leadership is appropriately equipped to handle the threats being generated within non-kinetic domains?

Scope

The study has been organised in the following parts:-

- Conceptual Contours of Non-Kinetic Challenges.
- Non-Kinetic Applications against Pakistan.
- Recommendations.

PART I
CONCEPTUAL CONTOURS OF NON-KINETIC
APPLICATIONS

Strategic Context

Today global construct at state level is somewhat anarchic in nature with no overarching or defining paradigm, therefore, a state of perpetual conflict exists. Such conflicts are primarily in the psychological rather than physical domain, where ends are being achieved through the use of informational, diplomatic, economic, ideological and technological means and the military prong is either in a support role as deterrence or its application remains selective and effect based. With advancement in the information technologies and growing globalization, it is now possible to generate desired effects through non-lethal components of **DIME (Diplomacy, Information, Military & Economics) Matrix**, hence, use of lethal military means is either discouraged or kept at a relatively lower priority due to its destructive nature and high cost, even to the victor. Consequently, a definite transition of national priorities about attaining a fine balance between **Geo-politics and Geo-economics**, with the latter being at the forefront of national policies has taken place. This transformation is neither unique nor new, rather it was ubiquitous and has only become more pronounced in the strategic context, because means of application have grown significantly. Salient aspects affecting the strategic context are:-

- 'Dynamics of Globalization' have not only intensified inter-state competition; it has also reduced space for manifestation of kinetic threats. Conflict has now moved discernibly into the ideological, informational and cyber domains. Defeats are now being gauged through internal implosion rather than physical destruction.
- Resource wars are the new defining phenomena with nation states striving for greater access to available resources, especially in view of scarcity and fast depletion thereof. Pressure of rapidly growing populations is further exacerbating the situation.
- Inability of governments to constantly deliver in economically challenging times, failure especially in case of borderline to

failing states is itself an invitation to conflict (internal or external). Intervention through R2P / 'Responsibility to Protect' is a new trend in this direction.

- Supra-national or aligned states now bind economies, policies and regions and influence other states, hence, non-relevance to their agenda is now a convincing threat scenario.
- Nations are being exploited through non-kinetic leverages in various domains, by adversarial states and by NSAs, International Financial Institutions (IFIs), international media, publishing houses, think tanks (intellectual and writing fora), human right issues, child and labor laws, trade agreements like GATT, WTO and IAEA etc.

Notion of Non-Kineticism

This transformation into the psychological domain from physical domain with the primacy of informational, diplomatic, economic, ideological and technological means is basically non-kineticism. The term, however, has no established definition and its interpretation differs from actor to actor. USAF ascribes to it only the Information / Cyber domains, while the Chinese see it as an overarching concept of the indirect strategy or non-traditional warfare, squarely grouping it with Smart Power. A further explanation of it lies within the Irregular Warfare context, as has been attributed to by the US Army, where it is referred to describe the full range of Psychological Operations, conducted to shape the environment in support of Kinetic Operations. The study panel has endeavoured to define this notion for a more wholesome understanding.

➤ **Definition of Non-Kineticism**

It ascribes non-kineticism to the 'use of informational, psychological, diplomatic, economic, social and technological tools of the statecraft to achieve national interests and objectives by either acquiescing or impairing national will of the adversary'.

➤ **How Non Kineticism Works**

- Non-Kineticism aims at persuading, coercing, shaping and impairing the national will of a target state, through exploitation or deepening or precipitating already existing 'Fault Lines / Instabilities'. However, all internal problems

or fissures are not due to the non-kinetic or external factors, as they merely exploit it and, at times, accentuate the existing ones to convert these into vulnerabilities.

- Intent, activity and effects lie primarily within the psychological domain. However, some kinetic tools may also be used to augment the same. Therefore, it must be emphasized that non-kineticism does not mean the absence of violence or no use of kinetic means, rather the effects are primarily to be achieved without physical occupation of lands or destruction of target enemy through kinetic tools only.

Vulnerability Quotient

Fault lines exploited by the hostile actors generally exist within a target state, however, these may even be created through well planned narratives, hence, it is more a function of internal factors than the external ones (an attack from within / working inside out). Failing or weak states are more prone to such exploitations than prosperous / progressive ones. It is imperative at this stage to draw a comparison between attributes of strong, weak and failing states:-

- **Nation's Prosperity Index.** This index divides states into three categories :-
 - **Prosperous States.** These states have reduced their internal fault lines to minimal and, hence, have good capacity to sustain shocks.
 - **Borderline / Weak States.** These states have open fault lines basically due to serious gaps in socio-political, ethno-ideological and governance structure, hence, are open to exploitation.
 - **Failing States.** These are anarchic in nature and, therefore, beyond short term recovering.
- **Prosperity Index for Categorizing States.** Pakistan, unfortunately, ranks 107 / 110 on Legatum Prosperity Index 2011.
- Through compilation from a diverse range of prosperity assessments, the study panel has developed a prosperity matrix, which places the states in various categories and, thereby, indicating the situation of Pakistan in a realistic manner.

Prosperity Criteria	Prosperous	Borderline	Failing	Pakistan
Governance	Good	Average	Poor	Average
Rule of Law	Good	Average	Absent	Average
Economic Growth	Good	Average	Negative	Average
Democracy	Well Established	Just Functional	Missing	Just Functional
State Security	Good	Weak	No	Weak
Military	Good	Average	Poor	Good
National Cohesion	Strong	Divisive	Poor	Divisive
Health	Good	Average	Poor	Average
Population	Well Managed	Poorly Managed	Exploding	Poorly Managed
Personnel Freedom	Available	Contested	Poor to Absent	Available
National Resources	Well Managed	Poorly Managed	Not in state control	Poorly Managed
Smart Power	Effectively Projected	Hardly Projected	Missing	Hardly Projected

➤ **Major Conclusions**

- Poor internal indicators are the chief causes of low prosperity level in nation states and these become exploitable fault lines, which can be turned into serious vulnerabilities through non-kinetic applications.
- Systemic and institutional failures, especially poor governance or institutional weaknesses exacerbate these vulnerabilities which, if aggravated, can have serious consequences for viability of a state.
- Such weaknesses, in turn, allow exponential rise in non-state actor activity, which on its own or in combination with external actors further intensify these vulnerabilities.
- This weakening is contagious and has a cascading / domino effect on all elements of national power.
- Recovery models also exist, where states like Indonesia, Malaysia and Turkey, have turned around their situation through implementation of prudent policies within the

institutional framework. An overview of the Malaysian, Indonesian and Turkish recovery models is attached at Appendix-I.

Trinity of Non Kineticism

Notion of non-kineticism in the prevalent environment can be understood by comprehending the trinity of non-kinetic application, in comparison with that of kinetic operations. In the classical matrix of Ends, Ways and Means, comparison between Kinetic and Non-kinetic domains is discussed as under:-

- **Ends.** For both kinetic and non-kinetic applications, the end state is victory through achievement of national aim / objective but defined differently as:
 - **Kinetic.** Paralyzing the state through physical degradation or destruction of adversary's military and economic strength.
 - **Non-Kinetic.** Psychological collapse of the state achieved through impairment of will of both the leadership and nation.
- **Ways.** As end state differs, hence, ways also differ. They are:-
 - **Kinetic.** Concepts, doctrines, plans, designs, and techniques leading to application of military / kinetic power.
 - **Non-Kinetic.** Smart / soft power, cybernetics, diplomacy, economic / trade wars, legal amputations, 4th or 5th Generation Wars, Intelligence Operations / media wars, proxies, WHAM, creative chaos, HAARP, ELF, mind control applications & disaster capitalism are a few to mention.
- **Means.** All ways require means for application; these could be:-
 - **Kinetic.** Land, air and sea power.
 - **Non-Kinetic.** Information, technology, culture, ideology, media, movies, pacts, legal barriers, financial and military aid, effect based operations, espionage and intelligence apparatus.
 - **Primary Means.** Information, cybernetics & psychological tools.

- **Secondary Means.** All the other means discussed in preceding paragraph.
- Space is a common domain which is gaining ascendancy within both kinetic and non-kinetic applications.
- **Non-Kinetic Tools.** To further elucidate the concept and the tools which are used to implement the ends, ways and means paradigm are:
 - Military itself, though its role will now be to complement the non-kinetic domains.
 - Diplomats, diasporas, traders, economists, bankers, politicians, NSAs, TNCs, MNCs, NGOs & international organisations (UN, EU, ICJ, World Bank etc).

Domains of Non-Kinetic Challenges

These are:-

- Information Operations.
- Media Wars.
- Cyber Warfare.
- Diplomacy.
- Soft & Smart Power.
- 4th or 5th Generation Warfare.
- Sub-Conventional Warfare.
- Proxies.
- Espionage and Intelligence Operations.
- Effect-Based Operations.

Information & Media Operations

Power of information and media is undeniable in today's world, as nothing can escape its glare. Thus, public messaging has now become the prime means for initiating and, thereafter, application of non-kinetic means. Narratives and counter narratives are today's accepted norms of statecraft with the aim of moulding attitudes, behaviours and decisions of target audience, through multi-media tools in order to further own interests.

- **Salient Applications**
 - USSR bashing during Cold War, especially projecting KGB as an evil set-up through movies and news reels.

Similarities, now a days, with present ISI bashing can be clearly drawn.

- 9 /11 was a classic example; which psychologically promoted US cause and moulded behaviours in a particular direction.
- Portraying Indian nuclear explosion as ‘Smiling Buddha’, while branding Pakistan’s nuclear program as ‘a threat to world safety’ bespeaks of same selective application.
- Live telecast of attack on Indian Parliament in 2001 and Mumbai Bombings were used to help shape regional as well as global opinion against Pakistan.
- Taliban have also proved themselves as the most efficient users of these tools, by projecting their cause as more righteous than others.
- International credit rating companies and IFIs effectively influence government policies world over.

Cyber Warfare

Attacks in this domain can disable official websites and networks, disrupt or disable essential services, steal or alter classified data and cripple financial systems & electricity grids, among other possibilities.

A few examples of this kind of warfare are:-

- Attack on Iranian Natanz nuclear enrichment facility by Stuxnet virus.
- Indian and Pakistan hackers defacing and hacking each other’s websites.
- There is even talk of US predator drones’ command & control systems becoming a victim of cyber warfare.
- Russia and China employ armies of cyber experts for hacking, while raising of a US Cyber Command and declaration by US to consider a cyber attack as an act of war, speaks volumes of its current and future importance.

Diplomacy

In the 21st Century, diplomacy has eclipsed military as the most important instrument of statecraft, as it alone can now impair the will of an adversary to a level of extracting willingness, without resorting to kinetic actions.

- **Application.** Its application is across the spectrum and is used in various forms. A few examples are:-
 - Alliance diplomacy – building of coalitions for the two Iraq wars.
 - Political diplomacy – support for rebellion in Libya by UK & France can be, with sufficient confidence, branded in this category.
 - Military diplomacy – mutual military training programs and exchange visits to build long term relations.
 - Economic diplomacy - UN sanctions against Iran & North Korea.
 - Military and financial assistance programs by world powers.

Soft Power

It is the ability to use others through co-option and attraction and its currencies are values, culture, policies and institutions.

- Projection of American way of life over last six decades is a classic example of its manifestation. US, through its financial and military aid packages, student enrolment programmes, Fulbright scholarships, continues to attract world's best brains, while through Hollywood it projects the abundance and good American way of life.
- 'Soft Power' has now been further refined and transformed into 'Smart Power' which is the use of both hard & soft power in various permutations to supplement each other and extract maximum benefits.

4th/ 5th Generation Warfare, Sub-Conventional Warfare & Proxies

These are kinetic application tools of Smart Power which, while remaining under full blown military / kinetic applications, work to convince enemy's political decision makers that their strategic goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefits. Numerous world wide applications can be witnessed e.g.

- Division of Sudan is a recent, pertinent and well known example.
- The situation in Balochistan, FATA & Karachi points to similar nature.

New Theories

To enhance the effectiveness of Non-Kinetic applications, certain specific theories have been propounded, which aim at drawing benefits out of chaos and disorganization. Discernible manifestations are visible in present times. Salient ones are:-

- **Creative Chaos Theory.** According to this theory, the existing chaos is either exacerbated or chaos is deliberately created to force major changes in the state structures. Libya and Arab Spring are examples. Pakistan needs to draw lessons from these situations, as similar applications are within the realm of possibility.
- **Shock Doctrine/ Disaster Capitalism.** This theory asserts that states deliberately profit from public disorientation, following man-made or natural disasters. Contracting the oilfields in Iraq to Western Oil Companies is a clear manifestation of these machinations.

Disruptive Technologies

Science and technology is also arming states with new technologies, with which they can cause extensive damages within the natural and human domains.

- **HAARP Theory.** It proposes tampering of ionosphere & geo-physical domain for purposeful military and civilian application. Visible signs of its manifestation exist in terms of weather and geo-physical manipulations.
- **Mind Control Sciences.** This theory revolves around making a deliberate attempt to manage public's perception on a subject through sensitization. Although in its early stages of development, it is a potent threat for the future.
- **Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) & Directed Energy Weapons**
ELF uses radio waves as a weapon to create incapacity and disruption without resorting to destruction, whereas, 'Directed Energy' weapons are the newest in the range of destructive weapons but with tremendous potential and range of utility. Applications in this domain are presently experimental in nature but fast reaching operational status.

Case Study: Non-Kinetic Applications

A few historic applications of non-kineticism have been studied and placed at Appendix-2, however, the summary of a case study of disintegration of USSR is as under:-

- **Cold War – Disintegration of USSR.** The disintegration of the USSR is the most pertinent example of sustained and result-oriented application of non-kineticism. In reality, a conflict between two competing ideologies i.e. capitalism and socialism was fought globally, with numerous applications of non-kineticism, mainly within economic, information, proxy wars and diplomacy domains. The usual battle grounds were neutral states, newly independent nations in Africa, Asia and even in space. Eventually the contest was won by victory of ideas achieved through ideological ascendancy, cultural dominance and economic superiority. Embroiling USSR into arms race, phoney star war initiative, use of print and screen media and finally the Afghan Proxy War are a few domains of non-kinetic applications, where economic and diplomatic overstretch were achieved, which ultimately led to disintegration.
- **Deduction.** Russia remained focused on building kinetic capabilities and failed to appreciate the changing dynamics of the conflict. This could be due to many reasons, however, the primary and over-riding factor was the failure at strategic level in threat assessment and lack of comprehensive understanding of the changing environment. Additionally, a rigid and hierarchic structure did not allow objective feedback on issues of national importance. Therefore, in essence, USSR disintegrated due to lack of understanding of Comprehensive National Security paradigm to guard against multi-dimensional threats.

Non Kineticism vis-à-vis National Security – Conclusions

As the conflict within the non-kinetic domain is perpetual, un-interrupted and usually covert and deceptive, hence, the need for an efficient and well articulated National Security Management System, with simultaneous ability to assimilate, analyze, initiate and bench mark

implementation goals within all domains (kinetic & non-kinetic) is imperative. Based on the preceding discussion and its correlation with the prevailing and perceived environment cited at Appendix-3, following conclusions emerge which help assimilate and address non-kinetic challenges and, thus, merit attention:-

- In view of prohibitive cost of kinetic conflict, strategic parity and revolution in information and technological domains, application of non-kinetic means are and will remain a favoured mode of pursuing national aims and objectives in future.
- Non-Kinetic applications will gain primacy and will be orchestrated either singly or collectively, frequently and at times even as a deception i.e. in collusion with allies and like minded actors. These will chiefly be directed towards exploitation / intensification of internal instabilities / fault lines of target nations.
- Impairment of national will and resolve will be the main objective and, in this pursuit, information and media domains will be the primary means of application.
- Applications in cybernetic domain will intensify and help manifest future threats and ever improving technology will enhance its efficacy and lethality.
- Kinetic domain will still remain relevant as ultimate expression of national resolve and simultaneously strengthen application of non-kinetic means.
- Weaker, internally fragile and poorly governed states are most vulnerable to exploitation.
- Addressing the exploitable fault lines (governance, societal, political, systemic and ideological) offers safeguards against hostile non-kinetic overtures. To this end efficient governance is the prime remedy.

PART-II

NON-KINETIC APPLICATIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN

Pakistan, a resilient and capable nation of 180 million people, faces numerous internal as well as external challenges. Deteriorating law and order situation, the phenomenal extremism/terrorism with its diverse forms and manifestations, economic down slide and energy crisis represent complex internal challenges. Notwithstanding, the colossal sacrifices rendered by Pakistan, both in men and material, during Global Campaign Against Terrorism (GCOT) since 2001, trust deficit with US, growing power differential with India, complex relationship with Afghanistan and international image are major external challenges.

Major Determinants of Non-Kinetic Applications

Once analysed in retrospective, the challenges to the state of Pakistan have grown over the years. Historically, three factors have shaped our security calculus:-

- Unresolved Kashmir dispute.
- Nuclearization of South Asia.
- Developments after 9/11, particularly regional situation and the likely end game in Afghanistan.

However, from the perspective of non-kineticism major shift occurred after Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, as Pakistan's importance declined and our nuclear program came under international spotlight. During this era, in early 1990s, economic and military sanctions were applied against Pakistan and concurrently diplomatic coercion and media onslaughts were launched. Non-kinetic applications against Pakistan gained further prominence after our overt nuclearization and post 9/11 developments. The focus of non-kinetic applications by all hostile actors now is on our internal fault lines, which are being accentuated to convert these into vulnerabilities. While detailed analysis of non-kinetic applications against Pakistan by different actors would be discussed later, salient manifestations in the post-nuclearization period are as under:-

- Independence movement in Kashmir is being equated with

- terrorism.
- Pakistan is being clubbed with terrorism as part of the problem and most importantly Pakistan's nuclear program is being projected as a common global concern. Fears of dirty bomb are being resonated by casting doubts about the safety of Pakistani Nukes.
 - Proliferation and legal frameworks are being used to coerce Pakistan diplomatically.
 - Overt and covert trade and technology embargos are being orchestrated to impede Pakistan's economic progress and defence needs.
 - Yesterday's Mujahedeen have become terrorists and Pakistan has been clubbed with war ravaged Afghanistan, hence, the Af-Pak jargon coined.
 - India is being promoted as a regional leader and as a counterweight to China. Pakistan is being pursued to sideline major issues and improve relations with India.
 - Using intelligence and cyber prong, India is supporting proxies and trying to promote societal unrest by capitalizing on our internal fissures and sectarian/ethnic fault lines.
 - Afghanistan continues to support Indo-US nexus and is potentially becoming an inimical state.
 - With reduced space for conventional military adventurism, a relatively new phenomenon of NSAs has shaped our security paradigm which is being exploited by external players for non-kinetic applications.

Strategic Appraisal of Pakistan's Security Environment

In order to develop a wider understanding of the paradigm of non-kineticism, there is a need to review our strengths and weaknesses or existing fault lines.

- **Strengths / Opportunities**
 - Geo-strategic location and relevance for regional/global agendas.
 - An awakening civil society.
 - An independent and assertive judiciary.
 - An essentially working democratic structure with optimism in its functionality.

- An elaborate security apparatus with credible conventional and unconventional deterrence capabilities.
 - A well-developed infrastructure and an industrious human resource.
 - Economic potential and abundant natural resources awaiting realization.
- **Fault Lines**
- Socio-Political**
- National will and cohesion
 - Declining economy and its negative impact on masses.
 - Overly personalized political discourse.
 - Radicalization / extremism and sub-nationalism.
 - Inter-institution disharmony (legislative- judicial and executive).
 - Religious, social, economic and ethnic divide and deteriorating human security situation.
 - Social injustice, corruption and weak accountability.
- **Policy Domain**
- Absence of National Security Policy.
 - Absence of a well defined National Security Management System.

Reasons for Existence of Fault Lines – Historical Perspective

Historically, the cardinal decisions which may be regarded as contributory factors leading to the existence of our fault lines are as under:-

- Passing of Objective Resolution with built in flaws which became pronounced over the years into extremism and radicalism.
- Abrogation of 1956 Constitution by General Ayub Khan through 1958 martial law.
- Initiation of Indo – Pak War in 1965.
- Mishandling of the situation in East Pakistan in March 1971 leading to the dismemberment of Pakistan through 1971 War.
- Nationalization of industries by Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto.

- Accommodation of religious parties initially by Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and subsequently by General Zia leading to radicalization.
- Decision to allow Pakistan's territory to be used unchecked as a base for global jihadi outfits.
- General Musharraf's acceptance of US demands for support in Global Campaign of Terror.

Continuum of Non-Kinetic Applications against Pakistan

Historically, the identified weaknesses and fissures have been exploited or challenged through non-kinetic applications. These range within various domains and have chiefly been applied by four major players i.e. US, India, Afghanistan and Non-State Actors, while minor applications by other actors also exist. These will be discussed within the ends, ways and means paradigms; however, to have a recent perspective, only salient applications post 9/11 would be discussed.

US Applications

Though a long term ally, **US** has remained engaged with us to pursue her policy objectives, through out six decades of our national history, the relations have remained transactional with varying policy objectives or ends:-

- **Ends / Policy Objectives**
 - **From 1950s - 1970s.** To be an ally against communism and facilitate outreach to China.
 - **During 1980s.** To serve as a partner against USSR in Afghan Jihad.
 - **During 1990s.** To force Pakistan to roll back her nuclear programme, through diplomatic pressure / sanction.
 - **2001 Onwards.** To render support on GCOT and freeze nuclear program.
- **Ways & Means.** To achieve these ends, US has employed variety of ways within the non-kinetic domain. These are:-
 - **Information Domain.** The ways include dissemination of incriminating narratives to coerce our national will and cohesion, while means include media tools like TV, public messaging, talk shows and coercive statements, primarily

public messaging and media diplomacy. Some US narratives used recently against Pakistan to shape our perceptions for continuation of non-kinetic applications are:-

- Pakistan is part of the problem.
- Maligning ISI and Army.
- An unreliable ally. Playing double game in Afghanistan.
- Unpredictable and dangerous nuclear power. AQ Khan network, Islamic terrorists, safety concerns.
- Unwilling or unable. Doubting sincerity.

▪ **Diplomatic Domain**

- Ways include strategic alliances like SEATO, CENTO and now Non-NATO Ally, partnerships in Afghan Jihad and now in GWOT for building convergence, while post 9/11 statements like ‘we will bomb you to stone age’, Af-Pak Strategy, citing incompetence or complicity during post 2nd May 2011 incident, on-going assertions by US Ambassador Munter against Iran Pakistan India (IPI) pipeline deal are examples of active diplomatic coercion.
- Means include military and financial aid packages to acquiesce maximum willingness and support.

▪ **Economic Domain**

- Ways include promoting ‘Dependence on aid’ through which US ensures its leverages with us. This is the central and recurring theme of all our periods. US conveniently employed legal rubric and its democratic maze to keep our economic concessions to the minimum.
- **Means include**
 - Using International Financial Institutions for leverage.
 - Withholding and delay in provision of coalition support fund.
 - Stoppage of \$700 Million aid.
 - Application of Symington and Pressler Amendments in 1970s & 1990s.
 - Withholding of our already paid amount for F-16 aircrafts.
 - ‘Built in legal barriers’ within the Kerry Luger Bill.

- **Miscellaneous applications** include:-
 - Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) through Humanitarian Operations as seen during Earthquake of 2005 and floods of 2010.
 - Espionage operations through covert operatives and contractors working in the country like Raymond Davis.
 - Effect Based Operations like OBL Incident and Mohmand Attack on 26/11, challenging our sovereignty and maintaining pressure for coercive diplomacy.

Indian Applications

India is our neighbour and regional competitor and is the most active state against Pakistan and visibly after nuclearization their emphasis has shifted to non-kineticism. Salient Indian policy objectives and ends vis-à-vis Pakistan within the non-kinetic domains are:-

- **Ends / Policy Objectives**
 - Degradation of ideology and loss of identity (creating doubt about ‘two nation theory’).
 - Weaken Pakistan politically and economically for compliance or regression on major issues.
 - Keep our armed forces embroiled through engagement in FATA.
 - Weaken inner front through ‘Creative Chaos’.
- **Ways & Means.** The ways employed by India to achieve its ends vis-à-vis Pakistan largely include information, media, diplomacy and smart power domains. The means employed in each domain are:-
 - **Exterior Manoeuvre.** Thrust in this domain has been through:-
 - Diplomatic onslaught to isolate and malign Pakistan in post 9/11 environment.
 - Exploitation of Mumbai incident to freeze composite dialogue as a pressure tactics.
 - Utilization of Indian Diaspora for effective international lobbying.

- **Information Domain.** As part of the well thought out strategy, Indian mass media, information and IT experts have made inroads into the international media power houses. Capitalizing on its progress in the IT field, Indian domestic media, film industry and substantial international outreach, India is actively propagating anti-Pakistan themes. Some of these themes are as follows:-
 - Pakistan as an ‘Epicenter of Terrorism’.
 - Involvement of ISI and Army to support Taliban and Haqqani network.
 - Now the message ‘Forget Kashmir – let us do businesses.’
 - While major means is Infotainment, where India capitalizes it for projection of definite media themes / objectives.
- **Soft Power Domain.** Concurrently with harsh exterior manoeuvre, India also endeavours to change perceptions through projection of its soft image. Various ways and means include:-
 - Media onslaught and cultural invasion to soften perceptions and enhance acceptability.
 - ‘Aman Ki Aasha’, to propagate soft image within the middle and lower middle classes.
 - Banning Pakistani channels not aligned with India perspectives.
 - Increasing acceptability of cultural similarities with India.
- **Economic Domain.** Indians rely on their enhanced international clout as an economic power house to keep Pakistan economically unbalanced. Means employed include:-
 - Blocking Pakistan in EU for grant of special quotas.
 - Manipulation of Indus Water Treaty.
 - Blocking of Pakistan’s request for membership of ASEAN.
 - Increased influence in Afghanistan to ensure that Pakistan either remains out of the loop or is substantially marginalized.

Afghan Applications

More recently, some applications vis-à-vis Afghanistan also exist. These are aimed at achieving major policy objectives or ends like:-

- **Ends / Policy Objectives**
 - Containing Pakistan's influence.
 - Maligning Pashtuns as Taliban to secure political space.
 - Promoting cross border terrorism.
- **Ways & Means.** Afghans are new comers to this game and have limited leverages vis-à-vis US and India. The ways and means employed by them are:-
 - Information 'Duplicity in Policy' giving slogans like 'We are brothers' while simultaneously accusing about harboring 'Quetta Shura' and Burhanuddin Rabbani's murder.
 - Use of Proxies :-
 - Allow refuge and bases to Tehrik-e-Taliban and Baloch dissidents.
 - Afghan National Army incursions into Pakistan.
 - Harboring dissident elements.
- **Economic Domain.**
 - **Ways include.** Misuse of ATTA and non-willingness to effectively control cross border movement.
 - **Means include.** Allowing rampant smuggling.

Miscellaneous Applications

Besides above mentioned countries, miscellaneous other applications also exist which may or may not be directly attributable to a country.

- In **Cyber domain** Pakistan has being subjected to cyber-attacks and will continue to be prone to such threats. A cyber-attack at critical time on our nuclear facility, data networks, telecommunication hubs and electricity grid may be a worst case scenario.
- **Harbouring dissident leaderships** – MQM, BNA etc in UK other Western capitals is another way of fostering dissident agenda within Pakistan.

- **Cultural/Ideological Alliances.** India and the West have a converging affinity which is manifesting itself in other domains such as the Indo-US nuclear deal, largely facilitated by the Indian Diaspora in the US.
- In the **Legal domain** the environment is shaped by exploiting through
 - International human rights organizations.
 - Transparency International.
 - Child labour laws.
 - Individual freedom and liberties.
 - Human trafficking.
- **Non-State Actors.** Post 9/11 have also engaged Pakistan in non-kinetic domains. Like:-
 - **AL-Qaeda & TTP** branding Pakistani Government as infidels for supporting US War in Afghanistan. Salient of Al-Qaeda and TTP non-kinetic applications are:-
 - Claim that the fight against Pakistan Army is a Jihad.
 - Use of Madaris to exploit poverty and lack of governmental control to transform youth.
 - Using **'Chaos as Strategy'** to induce fear and undertake recruitment. Additionally, this is used to undermine the credibility of the state.
 - Use of illicitly earned money for recruitment and running of madaris.
 - **Religious Welfare Trusts** exploit capacity gaps in Governance in providing social services, especially within the largely poor and uneducated segments for:-
 - Expanding religious and sectarian divide.
 - Local NGOs & charity organizations with links to banned outfits such as Jamatud Dawa, a front organization of LeT are apt examples.
 - **Foreign NGOs** promoting Western and, at times, anti-state influences and also indulging in specific data and intelligence gathering for external players. This may also be a reflection of distrust on government or state.

Future Threat Matrix

Based on past experiences, existing weaknesses, vulnerabilities and fault lines, non-kinetic applications against Pakistan are likely to continue. Therefore, the future threat challenges will be as follows:-

EXTERNAL THREATS		INTERNAL THREATS	
Externally Abetted	Internally Abetted	Externally Abetted	Internally Abetted
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politico-Diplomatic Coercion • Economic Coercion • Creative Chaos • Inter-Institutional Divide • Poor Internal Security • Sectarianism • Ethnic Divide 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proxies • Sectarianism • Socio-Ethnic Fault Lines • Militancy • Gang Wars • Karachi, Baluchistan, FATA 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extremism • Radicalism • Sectarianism • Political Instability • Lack of Economic Growth • Social Injustice • Corruption • Lack of Institutional Coordination • Turf wars

Manifestation of Non-Kinetic Challenges against Pakistan
Applications may be focussed at:-

- Creating chaos or compounding existing situation in Baluchistan, FATA and Karachi through exploitation of socio-political fault lines. A case study for conflict resolution in Baluchistan is placed at Appendix-4.
- Enhanced information/cyber-attacks, espionage and effects based sub-conventional and asymmetric operations against sensitive/vital areas.

- Capitalizing on HAARP and mind control sciences for creating chaos and managing perceptions.
- Diplomatic coercion/encirclement will continue to contain our growth in the economic, technological and military fields.
- Through collaborative application of non-kinetic overtures, Pakistan may be kept under constant pressure to make it regress from its stance with regard to Kashmir, nuclear capability and Afghan end game.

Response Paradigm

To mitigate these threats, our existing national security management structures have visible deficiencies like:-

- Defence Committee of the Cabinet oversees defence matters only and does not cater for non-kinetic challenges.
- Existing Parliamentary Committees on Defence and National Security are agenda-based committees and lack suitable formulation, implementation and execution mechanisms.

Therefore, no centralised national security mechanism exists in Pakistan, while overlapping management is undertaken by a host of institutions and agencies, which does not allow for a synergized response. Major pitfalls pertaining to Pakistan's Existing National Security Management arrangements include:-

- Inability to develop a consensus based national security management system which could be proactive and well equipped to respond to kinetic and non-kinetic challenges simultaneously by anticipating emerging challenges/threats and plan responses, hence, a reactive decision making.
- Absence of a central/umbrella structure or office to plan, coordinate, synergize and develop the capacity for National Security.
- Inability to adapt the existing mechanism and resources for handling non-kinetic challenges to national security.
- Gaps in governance and multicity in control & management of institutions and policies.
- No clear delineation, affixing responsibility for execution of national security policy, hence, non-coherent strategies.

- Lack of capacity to lead and provide requisite direction for managing national security issues.
- Non-availability of a well-structured national security management system which can anticipate and respond to threats to national security.
- Lack of a National Security Policy to provide guidelines for comprehensive national security or even optimize the existing national security management structures.
- Lack of focus on Human Resource development and necessary reforms in the education, social, health, legal and political sectors, thus, negative implications of youth-bulge.

Response Strategy

First and foremost requirement is for developing a coherent national security management system, which is able to anticipate challenges and develop a coherent response mechanism (defensive mechanisms).

- **Defensive Strategy**
 - Establish a national security management system capable of anticipating challenges and generating a coherent response.
 - Undertake measures to eradicate own internal weaknesses / instabilities, especially economic vulnerabilities to both enhance national will and cohesion and improve own bargaining capacity.
 - Endeavour to reduce sectarian, ethnic and social divide.
 - Synergize LEAs through capacity building and enhanced coordination.
 - Synergy in information mediums and use own information prong to project counter narrative to negate hostile narratives and also build positive perceptions in support of national diplomacy.
- **Offensive Strategy**
 - Build relevance with global stakeholders to improve own strategic leverages.
 - Float substantive counter narratives to put adversarial actors into a response mode. Analyze exploitable weaknesses/fault lines of hostile/adversarial states and keep strategies ready to deter and counter attack, if needed.

- Capacity building in the information/cyber domain and creation of a pool of talented practitioners/experts (Cyber Security Unit) for exploitation of this vital domain for Pakistan's national interests.

Major Conclusions

After taking a stock of Pakistan's situation, its internal issues, instabilities and the threat challenges, the study concludes following:-

- Absence of a well-defined National Security Management System and inability to generate National Security Policy are the primary reasons for lack of suitable response against non-kinetic challenges.
- Additionally, our internal fault lines, if allowed to simmer, will continue to present exploitable opportunities to our adversaries.
- Pakistan's principal stand vis-à-vis Afghan end game, nuclear capability and unresolved Kashmir dispute will continue to be the main reasons for multi-dimensional non-kinetic applications against Pakistan.
- Future applications may include information exploitation, cyber-attacks, espionage and effects based sub-conventional and asymmetric operations against sensitive/vital areas.
- HAARP and mind control sciences may be the future domains of applications for creating chaos and managing perceptions.

PART-III RECOMMENDATIONS

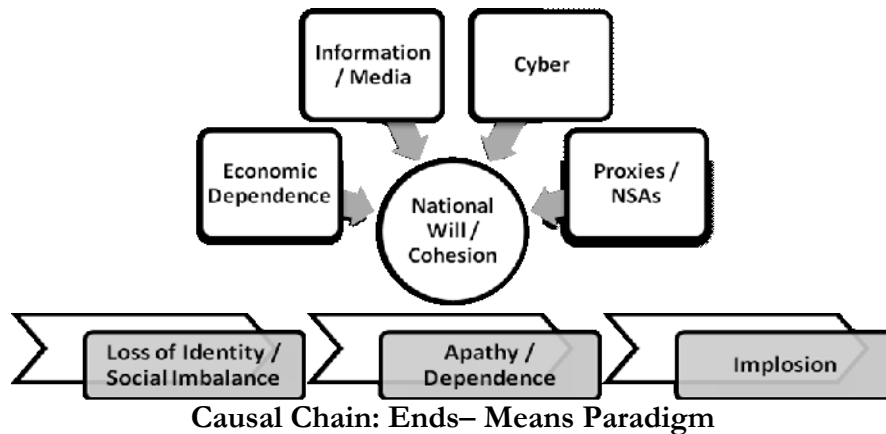
Analytical Recapitulation of Security Milieu

Owing to our promising geo-strategic location, an undeniable role in the Afghan end game and our relevance in the South Asian and Central Asian context, Pakistan remains an important regional player and will continue to draw global as well as regional attention. However, we need to be mindful of the fact that due to the on-going regional conflict(s) and global concerns about nuclear proliferation, terrorism, extremism and radicalism, Pakistan today faces a broader array of challenges and its threat paradigm has expanded in kinetic as well as non-kinetic domains. Adroit employment of non-kinetic tools by the Indians, US, Afghanistan, supra-national entities and Non-State Actors (NSAs) has helped them exploit our internal fault lines and capitalize on international concerns. Resultantly, our moral high ground with respect to the Kashmir freedom struggle has been smeared by the persistent Indian narrative linking LeT and other Jihadi outfits with terrorism. Similarly our sacrifices and contribution of last more than one decade remain un-acknowledged/unsung and have been overrun by other concerns/issues. In the post 2 May milieu, India has been able to carve greater convergences with respect to Pakistan's image as an epicenter of terrorism, consequently our diplomatic space has been further constrained. The panel is of the view that the synergetic applications of vicious non-kinetic onslaught by India, US and the West is aimed at accentuating our internal fissures and converting our internal fault lines into vulnerabilities, which if not addressed properly, may ultimately lead to a precarious situation.

Given the complex threat paradigm and occasional tension between various organs of the state, Pakistan needs to adopt a comprehensive approach to national security, wherein, along with the continuing focus on traditional kinetic threats, the Non-Kinetic Challenges are also brought under spotlight. To this end, availability of an efficient **National Security Management System (NSMS)** for ensuring Comprehensive National Security (CNS) is considered imperative. Comprehensive National Security (CNS) is basically a theoretical framework which relates primarily to the '**DEFENCE OF NATION AND ITS PEOPLE**'. Traditionally, the concept of

National Security had been related to territorial integrity, therefore, only the measures against kinetic threats have been considered. However, as explained earlier, looking beyond physical sense in non-kineticism is the order of the day. Input and advice from NSMS will assist our leadership to balance the end, ways and means paradigm, while viewing the problem in a wholesome manner.

However, it must be emphasized here that not all the problems within Pakistan should be attributed to external factors alone. As stated earlier, there are internal factors as well as externally aided and induced factors; and both expose fault lines which can be exploited to have effects in functional, systemic and psychological domains. The eventual objective of Non-Kinetic application could be wide ranging from short term goals to seeking a compromise on vital national interests. This is done in extreme scenario by undermining the social fabric or will of the nation, which can be as following model:-



The figure illustrates how National will and cohesion are the prime targets, being attacked through various non-kinetic applications. Erosion of national will may consequently lead to unstable inner front, undermining the ability of the leadership leading to apathy or dependence, violent dissent and finally implosion.

Strategic Response

Since non-kinetic threats can be targeted across all the domains as discussed earlier, the response has to be equally broad in all domains

i.e. ideological, Institutional, Social, Political, Diplomatic, Information, Economic and Legal. It is heartening to note that some unprecedented constitutional land marks have been achieved by the democratic government in this regard. However, these have been overshadowed by institutional weaknesses, governance and corruption related issues. There is a need to adopt a more top down course for 'Whole of the Nation Approach' to forge an 'alliance between the state and the people'. In this connection, public and private institutions have important roles to play with defined goals and responsibilities. In the panel's reckoning, the strategic response lies in the institutional domain and the putting in place the institutional mechanisms could prove to be the primary driver of change for Comprehensive National Security. This would lead to better governance and inter-agency relations, improved bureaucratic capacity, better policy making, efficient implementation, reduced corruption, respect for individual and property rights, improved law and order and state credibility. However, salient contributory factors must also remain in sight and duly considered to solve the problem in a wholesome manner to avert and mitigate future threats. Accordingly, the study will present its recommendations in two domains:-

- Institutional/Functional Domain–Primary Recommendation.
- Contributory Factors (External / Internal enablers of Fault Lines).

The end goal being that our leadership is:-

- Provided with well-considered and pragmatic policy options and not merely departmental options developed in isolation and haste.
- Have an overarching civilian dominated institutionalized set-up, which can draw onto all governmental institutions, to plan, strategize, build and standardize implementation.

Models of National Security Management Systems

Based on the analyses of contemporary models of National Security Management Systems of US, UK, Turkey, India and Israel, salient features of which are placed as Appendix-5, following conclusions have been drawn:-

- All countries have working national security management systems which function, over and above other established

governmental institutions, to assess and respond to kinetic and non-kinetic challenges.

- All models have predominantly civilian structures with military representatives as co-opted members, except Turkey.

It is worth mentioning here that other global models of National Security Management systems of UK, USA, Turkey, India & China have also been studied by the authors who have arrived at Two important assertions as listed below:-

- First, all countries have a functional national security management system established in addition to routine governmental institutions.
- Second, all the models except for Turkey & China have either exclusively or predominantly civilian structures. However, all the models include or consult military representatives for institutional input.

Recommendations

In the panel's view, the strategic response lies in the institutional domain and, therefore, an institutional mechanism needs to be put in place for further strengthening the existing national security management system. Accordingly, this study will present its recommendations covering four important aspects. Additionally, salient aspects of a case study on Baluchistan with recommended solutions would also be highlighted (details in **Appendix-4**):-

- Formulation of Comprehensive National Security Policy (CNSP) document.
- Strengthening our National Security Management System.
- Reinforcing our Information & Cyber Domain.
- Focus on Human Resource Management/Security.

Formulation of Comprehensive National Security Policy (CNSP) Document

The foremost step to reinforce our response is to have a carefully tailored Comprehensive National Security Policy (CNSP) Document, which should stipulate guidelines to various organs of the state. Specific recommendations in this regard are:-

- It should be an executive responsibility to furnish a Comprehensive National Security Policy (CNSP) Document and present the same to the parliament for approval.
- Necessary set-up needs to be reinforced within the executive to formulate CNSP for the Prime Minister and ensure its implementation.
- A biennial review of CNSP must be undertaken subsequently.

Strengthening our National Security Management System

As our existing National Security Management System leaves much to be desired, hence, in order to strengthen it, following steps are recommended:-

- In addition to its existing focus on defence, the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC) may be entrusted to oversee all matters of Comprehensive National Security.
- Establish the office and secretariat of the National Security Advisor, under the Prime Minister.
- Role of think tanks, strategic practitioners and intelligentsia may be institutionalized through National Security Advisor for incessant and in-depth review of comprehensive national security situation.
- Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Finance and Interior to work in league with the National Security Advisor Secretariat to synergize national response in the kinetic and non-kinetic domains.
- As intelligence is an important tool for countering non-kinetic applications, hence, it needs to be fused through the National Security Advisor Secretariat to build a comprehensive national intelligence picture.

Information Domain

Since the primary expanse of non-kinetic threats lies within the informational/cyber domain, hence, its response should also be generated within the same domain. In this regard following is recommended:-

- Pakistan needs a comprehensive Information Policy involving cooperation and synergy amongst all stake-holders (Public and

Private). Cyber, media, intelligence, IT, academia and diplomatic quarters need to be harmonized.

- A Cyber Security Unit needs to be created on a priority basis as a nucleus for exploitation of information and cyber domain.
- Skillful exploitation of the weaknesses/fault lines of hostile/adversarial states should be carried out, to put them into a reactive mode.
- Projection of counter narratives should be ensured to negate hostile narratives to build positive perceptions.

Human Security

In order to counter non-kinetic challenges, human security remains to be of paramount importance. In this regard, areas that need to be focused upon are:-

- **Economy.** As economy is the engine of growth and stability; its stabilization will create positive effects in all other domains and mitigate threats to national security. Thus, the strengthening of economy should remain a foremost priority.
- **Governance.** Improving governance will bring synergy in our efforts to curb non-kinetic applications against us and this can be achieved by democratic institutions, built from the grass roots level. Alleviation of legitimate grievances of alienated segments of our society, particularly Baloch sub-nationalist factions, should be our national priority.
- **Education.** Education is another driver of change. Curriculum should be devised to create awareness about non-kinetic challenges.

Case Study Baluchistan

Specific recommendations on Baluchistan are as under:-

- The implementation of the 7th NFC Award, the Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package, and the 18th Constitutional Amendment may be ensured in letter and spirit. Focused and objective attention may be paid to the capacity/resource buildings of law enforcement agencies, release or production in the courts of all illegally detained or missing persons,

improving vigilance on Balochistan's borders with Afghanistan and Iran, and providing employment and livelihood opportunities to the Balochs.

- Foreign Governments, particularly US, UK, Afghanistan and India, may be engaged to stop the assistance being provided to the Baloch dissidents/insurgents.
- Balochi locals may be integrated in all developmental/mineral exploration projects to provide them livelihood and build their stakes in the captioned projects.
- Special package may be allocated for building of communication, industrial, education and administrative infrastructure in the province. Building of a few new urban centres may also be considered.
- The *Balochistan Government* should work out a comprehensive road map for developmental projects in the province and prioritize sectors such as education, health, fisheries, livestock and mining. It should also address the concerns of development agencies by ensuring security and transparency in financial matters.
- *Political parties* should engage Baloch nationalist parties and leaders in deliberations to evolve a consensus on how violence and insecurity can be reduced in Balochistan.
- **Economic Reforms.** The following is recommended for economic reforms by the Provincial as well as Federal Governments:-
 - Development of socio-economic sectors to provide job opportunities to unemployed youths of Balochistan.
 - Issue of small scale loans to farmers and provision of good quality seeds and fertilizers on subsidized rates.
 - Establishment of agro-based industry through public-private partnership (including Livestock, Dairy, & Fisheries industry).
 - Establishment of free industrial zones by the Federal Government, in line with the Marble City established at Hub.
 - Building and reinforcing the already existing mineral infrastructure and providing conducive environments for the private investors, the Government must announce more incentives for foreign investors with greater share for the province.

- **Capacity Building.** Following areas merit immediate attention:-
 - Quota of Baloch students along with scholarship in other provinces should be enhanced.
 - Large number of ‘Technical Training Institutes’ be established for development of local human resources.
 - Baloch students should be given special vacancies with scholarship in Medical and Technical colleges of the country on relaxed merit.
 - Enhanced induction of Baloch youths in civil services and Armed Forces on relaxed criteria.
- **Social and Administrative Reforms**
 - **Social Developmental Projects.** Following should also be considered:-
 - Free education compatible with other parts of the country, for all the inhabitants of Balochistan till intermediate level especially in rural areas may be considered.
 - Establishment of long awaited Institute of Cardiology in Balochistan to address their grievances about it.
 - Establishment of more Basic Health Units with requisite staff/ medicines.
 - **Law Enforcing Agencies (LEAs).** Following measures are suggested for implementation:-
 - Induction of better quality manpower with adequate education standards.
 - Establishment of more training institutions for imparting quality training.
 - Procurement of latest weapons and equipment for the LEAs.
 - **Isolation of Anti-State Elements.** The activities of the miscreants and of those sponsoring them need to be crushed for creating the overall conducive environment in the Province. In this regard, efforts should be made to freeze their assets, prevent their financing and prevent recruitment, by creating awareness and ensuring effective border control to check the cross border movement of terrorists and their supplies.

Final Conclusion

We need to remain cognizant of the fact that, given the challenging external and volatile internal situation, Pakistan will continue to confront non-kinetic challenges along with kinetic threats. Hence, we have made an endeavour to contribute by defining and building understanding of notion of non-kineticism and draw the attention of readers/policy-makers towards the changing nature of conflict. We have also brought into focus myriad of non-kinetic challenges as well as strategies operating against Pakistan. Similarly, we have suggested as to how we can put our house in order. In doing so, we have indicated the dire need of an institutional mechanism to address the Comprehensive National Security imperatives and some contributory factors, which merit attention. The end goal is to 'build a progressive, more secure and resilient Pakistan, based on Quaid's Vision. How visionary he was to advise us, as early as in 1940s:

“You may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves.”

RECOVERY MODELS INDONESIA, MALAYSIA AND TURKEY

Recovery Model for Nations

In the recent past many countries have faced economic instability, however, resilient nations have rebounded through prudent policies and institutional approach to recovery and strong leadership. Three pertinent examples are briefly discussed here:-

- **Malaysia.** Malaysia struggled economically during the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis and applied several valuable lessons to its economic management strategies that contributed to the economy's resilience to the 2008-2009 global financial crisis. After contracting 1.7% in 2009, Malaysia's GDP grew 7.2% in 2010. Its Economic growth is a result of its success in exploiting:-
 - Its strategic position in the form of its border with the Strait of Malacca which is an important international shipping crossroad, which promotes the country's international trade.
 - Its rich natural resources ensure sound developments in agriculture, forestry and mining.
- **Indonesia.** The Asian financial crisis of 1997 altered the region's economic landscape. Foreign investors dumped assets and investments, leaving Indonesia the most affected in the region. Indonesia has since then recovered by recapitalizing its banking sector, improving oversight of capital markets, and taking steps to stimulate growth and investment, particularly in infrastructure. Indonesia's improving growth prospects and sound macro-economic policies envisage, as expressed by many analysts, that it will become the newest member of the 'BRIC'.
- **Turkey.** Starting with the 1990s, Turkey experienced a boom-bust growth model which suffered from chronic macro-economic instability - culminating in the 2000/2001 economic crisis. That crisis, at last, induced Turkey to revamp its political and democratic institutions and economic structures. Macro-

economic stabilization, bold structural reforms and faster economic catching-up followed during 2002-2007. Having slid to the brink of debt default, Turkey managed to slash its pile of public debts in the space of just a few years, from around 74% of GDP in 2001 to 40% of GDP in 2008. Fiscal consolidation and structural reforms made it a leading example of reform-driven growth acceleration.

APPLICATION OF NON-KINETIC DOMAIN DURING COLD WAR – A CASE STUDY

It would be appropriate now to analyse the whole notion of non-kineticism through a case study. The most pertinent would be the fall of erstwhile Soviet Union during the Cold War. USA initiated its anti-communist policy in 1947 and with it initiated the Cold War. This period saw a direct and sustained application of non-kinetic means, including economic, information, proxy wars and diplomacy at all places, i.e., in neutral states, in newly independent nations in Africa, Asia and even in outer space.

Economic Domain

Economic coercion was the chief contributor towards Soviet Union's demise. Its application commenced immediately after the WW II, when USA wanted to encourage free trade throughout the world, whereas, Soviet Union fearing that trade with the west would erode the strength of its authoritarian regime chose to adopt closed economic integration. These differences led to an economic warfare between the two and ultimately the economic isolation of Soviet Union.

➤ **The Marshal Plan**

- USA saw economic prosperity of Europe as the most effective barrier against the communism and hence initiated a \$ 13 Billion economic reconstruction plan for Europe, which the USSR refused to contribute.
- Soviet Union also forbade her allies to accept the Marshall Aid and instead offered financial aid to them under the Molotov Plan.

➤ **Trade Embargos and Sanctions.** During Cold War, US has used economic sanctions and embargos against a number of countries which aligned themselves with the Soviet Union or did not acquiesce to US geo- strategic desires in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

➤ **Reagan Doctrine**

- Through Reagan Doctrine US implemented a final push for Soviet Unions' collapse. The salient aspects of this Doctrine were:-

- Decrease Soviet access to high technology and diminish its resources, including depressing the value of commodities on the world market.
- Increase American defence expenditures to strengthen the U.S. negotiating position.
- Embroil USSR in arms race and force them to devote more of their economic resources to defence.
- Reagan started a massive re-armament, based on high-technology, aimed at making a whole generation of Soviet weaponry obsolete. The defence upgradation would include Navy with 600 ship, new Army divisions, tanks, planes, and missiles.
- In 1983, United States announced its intention to develop the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), a ballistic-missile-defence system based in outer space.
- To match US efforts, Soviets increased their defence budget by over 45%, while additional money was spent on bolstering nervous third world communist dictators.
- In the 1980s, Reagan persuaded Saudi Arabia to tripple their oil production, cutting prices by 50%. Resultantly oil prices fell from 66 \$ a barrel in 1980 to 20 \$ a barrel in 1986, delivering a heavy blow to Soviet economy, whose 60% revenues were oil generated.
- Concurrently, USA overtly supported all anti-communist struggles world over, inflicting massive damage to Soviet economy through military debacles in Afghanistan, Angola and Central America.
- In less than five years of Reagan' regime, the economic vulnerabilities of USSR became acute and ultimately led to implosion from within and Soviet Union's ultimate collapse.

Information Operations

John F. Kennedy said “No matter how big the lie; repeat it often enough and the masses will regard it as the truth.”

- US effectively employed propaganda to promote its attraction and subdue the communism and also funded programmes with the following objectives:-

- To reciprocate the Soviet propaganda against US in Europe.
- To develop better understanding about US among Soviet public.
- To promote own liberal idealism and horrors of Communism.
- To influence internal trends for positive reforms.
- Establishment of Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty and the Voice of America.
- Use of common media modes for transmitting propaganda messages, including news and government reports, books, leaflets and posters, Hollywood movies, radio and television programmes.
- Key business, advertising, and media figures played leading roles in shaping and disseminating the propaganda message of the US as the abundant society.

Exchange Programmes

- These programs were directly targeted at Soviet ideology and projected the theme of abundance and freedom vis-à-vis that of scarcity and toil of the Soviet Union.
- US International Visitor Leadership Programs and Fulbright scholarships helped shape perceptions.

Espionage

- Both adversaries' indulged in an incessant cycle of espionage to remain fore-warned as well as undermine each other. Soviets acquisition of designs for nuclear program as well as US information on Cuban Missile Crisis was built through espionage.
- Interestingly espionage was conducted in all domains of information i.e. political, geographical, economic, industrial and military.

Proxies

Actively conducted throughout the cold war, the most significant was containment of USSR in Afghanistan, using Pakistan as a proxy. Details of other important proxies are:-

Country	Time	Western Block	Communist Block	Outcome
Greek Civil War	1946 to 1949	Democratic Army of Greece (DSE)	The Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS).	Western Allies won
Korean War	1948-1953	South Korea	North Korea	Two countries divided by 38 th Parallel
Vietnam War	1955 - 1975.	United States	North Vietnam	US lost
Afghan War	1979-1989	Mujahedeen/Pakistan	Soviet Union	US left the country in Civil War
Yom Kippur War.	1973	Israel	Coalition of Arab states	Israel
Cuban Revolution	1962	Various means	Cuban Govt	Cuba

Diplomacy

➤ Diplomacy of Western Integration

- Truman doctrine provided the initial structure through effective diplomacy to fight communism at all fronts with non-kinetic means i.e. Marshal Plan etc.
- Thereafter, formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); formulated with dual aim of discouraging communist aggression and also keeping peace amongst former enemies in Western Europe became the next great feat of diplomacy.

Internal Fault Lines

Soviet Union was militarily a formidable opponent for not only US abut also for the complete Western Europe. Armed to the teeth it

had favourable conventional asymmetry and unconventional parity and for a while even ascendancy in outer space. However, US was a smarter adversary which instead of fighting Soviet Union's strengths kinetically, worked through its weaknesses, using non kinetic applications to 'not only open the can but also spill its beans' so as to disintegrate the state itself. These weaknesses were all internal and were a product of the corrupt and inefficient communist governance system. Some salient socio-economic fault lines were:-

- Problems inherent with communist system (Capitalism vs. Socialism).
- Authoritarian regime with unfair resource dispensation.
- Economic limitations.
- Centralised, rigid & un-delivering state systems.
- Technology gap.
- Slow oil production and stagnant agricultural productivity.
- Internal social non-cohesion.
- Above all colossal internal debts and hyper-inflation. At the time of collapse it hovered around 100%.

Conclusions-USSR's Disintegration

This Panel opines that the following were the main reasons for Soviet Union's collapse:-

- Nuclear parity made USA adopt non-kinetic domain as the medium of confrontation.
- Soviet Union's weak internal institutions and poor governmental management were exploited by USA through sustained diplomatic, economic and informational coercion.
- Economic coercion exacerbated due to poor internal management and became the chief factor for collapse.
- Information operations softened Soviet minds about western ideals and values, resulting in an internal ideological shift.
- Proxies and espionage were used as important elements of non-kinetic applications.
- Soviet Union lacked a central forum to recognise its weaknesses and bring about comprehensive changes to sustain the external onslaught. This was not a very difficult proposition to implement, given its vast resources, however, failure led to implosion.

REVIEW OF THE PREVAILING ENVIRONMENT

Global Environment with Primary Focus on Afghanistan

- In the wake of US draw-down in 2014 from Afghanistan, Pakistan should remain relevant to international community for peace and stability in the region.
- US primacy on the world stage is likely to continue in the medium term, despite the signs of multi-polarity, hence, a need is felt to find common grounds despite differences on multiple issues.
- Growing suspicions between Pakistan and the US, and the recent strikes on Pakistani posts in Mohmand Agency present an opportunity to draw clear lines for engagement with the US and NATO.
- Global Campaign on Terror (GCOT) is likely to continue in the foreseeable future exerting pressure on Pakistan's economy and socio-economic landscape.
- China and Russia are averse to prolonged US presence in the region, however, they are avoiding overt confrontation and have adopted the 'wait and see' policy with the hope of eventual US withdrawal from Afghanistan.
- EU, UK, India, Australia and other leading Asian countries (Japan, Indonesia and South Korea) are joining hands with the US for its 'Contain China' policy overtures.
- Pakistan, due to its geo-strategic importance, will continue to face the ramifications.
- China, Turkey and EU would continue to cooperate with Pakistan in the foreseeable future.
- Given the international aversion to conflicts and war, the space for kinetic prong has become limited substantially, if not fully. Hence, states will resort to using non-kinetic means using all resources, including diplomatic and economic coercion to further their policy objectives.
- Presence of ERF in Afghanistan and recent breaches of trust call for enhancement of defense capability on western borders.

Regional Environment with Primary Focus on Indo-Pak Rivalry

- India, while being engaged in the dialogue process, will continue to pose direct military threat to Pakistan and try to coerce it through external manoeuvres and proxies.
- Indo-US strategic alliance has emboldened India to continue coercing Pakistan towards a compliance mode. Specific endeavors will largely configure around :-
 - Drawing Pakistan into an arms race both within conventional and un-conventional domains.
 - Continuing to exploit Pakistan's instabilities and keep affecting its internal security.
 - Expanding cooperation with Afghanistan to keep it negatively inclined towards Pakistan.
 - Continuing to impact negatively on Pakistan's international image by projecting it as an epicenter of terrorism, an irresponsible nuclear state and religiously extremist society at odds with global values and ideals.
- Pakistan's status as a corridor for energy resources of Central Asia is dependent upon Afghanistan's stability.
- Chinese support being pivotal to Pakistan's defence policy warrants a need to have better military, economic and energy linkages.

Conclusions from Internal Environment

- **Political.** The state of internal security remains the primary serious concern due to:-
 - Weak political institutions are a result of prolonged political instability.
 - Lack of transparency, nepotism and accountability has resulted in poor governance.
 - Economic melt-down has given rise to unemployment, law and order situation and erosion of state authority.
 - Pakistan is continually at war against terrorism in FATA since 2001 and has suffered huge losses in men and material and is believed to be the epicenter of global terrorism by the world community.
 - Sectarian violence continues to simmer with potential to seriously dent social harmony.

- Balochistan has already seen four insurgencies. More than 3000 armed guerrillas under different groups including Balochistan Liberation Army are believed to be active in the region. Their collaboration with external actors poses grave threat to the security of Pakistan.
 - Instability and poor law and order situation in Karachi due to complex ethno-political and sectarian strife is extremely detrimental to the security and economic development of the country.
- **Persistent Socio-Economic State of Decline**
- Uncontrolled population growth is a major security threat for Pakistan.
 - Poor economic growth and reduced industrial activity over the last few years has increased the vulnerabilities of the nation.
 - Due to high inflation and low economic opportunities, there has been a sharp rise in incidence of poverty, which is believed to have risen from 22% in 2005-06 to more than 41% in 2011.
 - Pakistan's governance structure has remained abysmal.
 - Lack of effective accountability and rampant corruption is severely cracking the foundation of remaining state institutions.
 - Dispensation of speedy justice remains elusive to the common man despite free judiciary at the top.
 - Negligence of the health and education sectors.

CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN BALOCHISTAN

Introduction

The Balochistan conflict has almost all attributes of a complex conflict system rather than a simple two-party conflict and the ultimate outcome of this conflict has been a gradual increase in insecurity and violence in Balochistan since the start of current phase of Baloch insurgency in 2005. The role of Baloch nationalist insurgents in mutilating the security landscape of the province, notwithstanding other worrisome aspects, is prominent in the widening scope of targets hit by religious extremists including Taliban and sectarian outfits. The table below shows the terrorist attacks and fatalities thereof:-

TERRORIST ATTACKS IN BALOCHISTAN (2007-2010)

Year	No of Attacks	Killed		Injured	
		Civ	Security Forces Pers	Civ	Security Forces Pers
2010	531	270	97	590	165
2009	792	275	111	824	246
2008	632	197	99	549	258
2007	536	190	34	467	97

Balochistan, covering almost 43.6% of the country's land mass, has deep-rooted tribal structure, traditions and political eccentricity and at the same time, has vast potential for development and economic progress. Stricken by poor governance, lawlessness, poverty, tribal rivalry, lack of political will and sense of deprivation; the province has also seen an upsurge of extremist **activities** of militants and sub-nationalists sponsored by the foreign countries' intelligence agencies. Blessed with rich minerals and hydrocarbon resources, mostly untapped, Balochistan has always remained a turf for conspiracies hatched by internal and external forces. Hence, its true potential was never exploited. Uncertain internal security situation has marred the limited initiatives taken by the Government in attracting foreign investment in exploration and research fields. Military actions in quelling the conspiracies and improving law and order situation in

the province were always portrayed by insurgents and sub-nationalists as anti Baloch drives to their advantage, to support their anti-state themes and aggravating feelings of deprivation and resentment.

Historical Perspective

In 1971, a revolt against the Federal Government was maliciously launched in Balochistan, demanding an **independent** state. Amongst the prominent leaders of the movement were; Khair Baksh Marri, Sheroo alias Tiger Marri and Ataullah Khan Mengal. The revolt was triggered off under the plea of discrimination against Baloch population in affairs, such as, education facilities, recruitment in Armed Forces, Government institutions and lack of economic development etc. At that time, regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Governor Nawab Akbar Bugti ruthlessly crushed the revolt, using Army aid and Air Force. As a result, Khair Baksh Marri, Tiger Marri and their followers took shelter in Afghanistan, while Ataullah Khan Mengal went into political exile in the United Kingdom. Present uprising, the fourth one since the independence of Pakistan started in 2002. The standoff intensified since February 2005 and was brought to a manageable level by the end of 2007. The distinct periods of earlier insurrections were during 1958 - 62, 1963 - 69 and 1973 - 77, which each time ended due to the change in government and not due to some political redress, which is earnestly desired to settle the issue on a permanent basis. These conflicts are given below in the historical perspective:-

Insurgency	dates	Leaders
First Conflict	1948	Mir Ahmad Yar Khan
Second Conflict	1958-59	Nawab Nowroz Khan
Third Conflict	1963-69	Sher Mohammad Bijarani Marri
Fourth Conflict	1973-77	Nawab Khair Baksh Marri
Fifth Conflict	2004-to date	Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti and Mir Balach Marri

In 1897 the wave of unrest which passed down the frontier, made itself felt in Balochistan. A movement among the Sarawan chiefs, which might have had serious consequences, was averted by the arrest

and imprisonment of two of the ringleaders. In the same year an outbreak occurred in Makran, and British troops engaged the Makran rebels at Gokprosh in January 1898 and the ringleader with many of his followers were slain. Another outbreak occurred in Makran in 1901, which was also put down by British troops through the capture of Nodiz fort. Since 1947, this problem has led to, many such incidents along the border with extensive disruption of normal trade patterns. The most serious crisis lasted from September 1961 to June 1963, when diplomatic, trade, transit, and consular relations between the countries were suspended. Inspired in part by the Sardars [tribal chiefs] who fear loss of power if the province develops economically, the movement has at times threatened the integrity of the Pakistani state. Grievances harbored by the Baloch stem from their economic deprivation. Balochistan has economic resources which the successive federal governments have exploited without either due acknowledgement of Balochistan's contribution to the national economy or recompensing in monetary or financial terms. Natural gas deposits were found in the Sui area in 1953 and in Pirkoh in 1982. The natural gas deposits of Balochistan cater, in a very large measure, to the running of industries, factories, businesses and domestic usage in all of the provinces of Pakistan. The Baloch nationalists claim that the royalties received from these projects are next to negligible.

Current Conflict Situation

Balochistan shares borders with both Iran and Afghanistan. It remains notorious for cross-border smuggling and has more recently been infiltrated by former members of the Taliban and Al Qaida operatives. Armed battles between clans are frequent. Because the peace of the provincial police is limited, travelers wishing to visit the interior of Balochistan have to consult the province's Home Secretary. Advance permission from provincial authorities is required for travel into some areas. Local authorities have detained travelers who lack permission. Quetta, the provincial capital, has experienced serious ethnic violence that has led to gun battles in the streets and the imposition of curfews. The North West Frontier and Balochistan remain feudal holdouts. President Pervez Musharraf had to undertake delicate balancing to carry out operations against al-Qaeda in these areas. There was talk of rising secessionist feelings in Balochistan.

However, the current conflict crisis in Balochistan can be categorized as follows:-

- Sub- nationalist movement also termed as insurgency led by the Bugtis along with the Marri and the Mengal Sardars and their tribes. The basis of this conflict is more of controlling natural resources and having been sidelined in the political dispensation.
- The issue of the Taliban and Al Qaeda carrying out terrorist activities in the province.
- The sectarian conflict between Hazara's Shia community and the fundamentalist Sipah-e-Sahaba elements.
- The activities of the Balochistan Liberation Army for a secessionist movement.

All the above conflict related movements apparently work independently, however, there is certainly a linkage of external and internal **elements** that are responsible for engineering and exploiting the situation to create terror and law and order situation.

Conflict Management

The government has the political option of negotiating with the aggrieved Baloch but, at the same time, it cannot give a free hand to those who take law into their hands. If the government rules out the option of using force then it **has** to face a total loss of writ of state at a certain point in time. Historically, the use of force has remained the top priority of successive governments, particularly the military regimes. There have been only a few examples where the state used the political options to address the Baloch grievances; dialogue with the insurgents has never been an option. However, the incumbent government has tried to rely on political options. It has given concessions to Balochistan in the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award and has also announced a special 'rights' package for the province. Some clauses of the 18th Constitutional Amendment also envisage addressing the issues of Balochistan. Implementation of these measures would be of significance in the context of a prevailing sense of alienation and disempowerment among the Baloch. Another state response has come recently in the form of recruitment of Baloch youth in Pakistan Army. Political initiatives of the government have mainly tried to address the issues related to provincial and fiscal autonomy,

revenue collection and resource distribution, provinces' representation in federal institutions, and economic opportunities and development etc. Aghaz-Huqooq-i-Balochistan, a set of recommendations, or proposals, also includes recommendations related to pull back of army and the missing persons. The nationalist political parties have stated that the package will not be able to deliver its promises without the relevant constitutional amendments and release of all political prisoners. Generally, these political measures have received two types of responses: outright dismissal, and skepticism about implementation due to issues of law and order, governance, the civil bureaucracy's relations with democratic governments, Balochistan-centre rapport, and economic recession, etc.

Issues: Confusion exists about mandate, jurisdiction and roles of different security and law enforcement agencies in Balochistan. Though law and order is a provincial subject but, in case of Balochistan, it is under greater control of the federal government. Under present framework, police jurisdiction—which covers 5-6% areas of Balochistan, referred to as A areas—is within a radius of 5 kilometres from the police station in the headquarters of each district while rest of the areas—about 90% of Balochistan, referred to as B areas—fall under Levy's jurisdiction; however, the arrangements at times vary from district to district as well. The Levy Force is the poorest of all law enforcement agencies with regard to training, equipment and resources. The Police has also to rely on the FC, which is a federal subject, in case of untoward situations or emergency as it has neither the resources nor the powers to control the precarious situation.

Prevalent Dynamics

The prevalent **environment** is discussed in terms of two external and internal dynamics:-

- **External Dynamics.** There were and even still are clear signs and visible proofs of the involvement of foreign hands behind the ongoing unstable situation in Balochistan. The “Great Game” of the past is being re-enacted in Balochistan by the foreign countries because of their competing interests. What is visibly happening in Balochistan is only a part of the bigger picture. The Russians, Americans and primarily the Indians are

suspected to be the main players in the deadly game being played in Balochistan to serve their interests. Hence, it is pertinent to analyze the motives/interests of these global, regional and neighbouring players that impact the stability of Balochistan.

- **USA.** The interests of USA can be tabulated as follows:
 - USA is concerned with the growing Chinese involvement in various development projects in Balochistan including Gwadar Port and views it as a threat to its strategic interests in the region as well as in the Persian Gulf. Therefore, to safeguard her and to undermine Chinese' interests, she would like to see unstable Balochistan with continued deteriorated Law & Order problems.
 - USA is opposed to IPI gas pipeline and her presence in Balochistan is also a direct threat to Iran. Therefore, with continued unrest in Balochistan, US has the ability to create problems in Iranian province of Balochistan.
 - USA's continued allegations about senior Al Qaeda leadership hiding in Balochistan/Quetta and threat to undertake Drone attacks would further fuel the ongoing situation.
- **India.** The interests of India can be summarized in the ensuing paragraphs:-
 - Growing Chinese presence in Balochistan and construction/functioning of Gwadar Port (an economic & commercial hub) runs counter to Indian designs. Moreover, strategic location of Gwadar affords an opportunity to Pakistan Navy to effectively disrupt Indian SLOCs (trade routes) in any future conflict. Therefore, in order to safeguard her interests and pay back Pakistan for her earlier involvement in Kashmir, India would like to keep Balochistan simmering with conflict.
 - With her number of intelligence centres disguised as consulates present near Pak-Afghan border and in Iranian Zahidan, India has served opportunities for further sponsoring militant activities inside Pakistan.
- **Russia.** The interests of Russia are enumerated below:

- Russia would like to see that CARs remain dependent on her for export of energy, instead of following shortest route to the outside world through Balochistan via Arabian Sea. Therefore, unstable Balochistan through her covert interference is in Russia's interest.
- BLA was a brainchild of KGB. Russia would use its past connections with this entity to promote unrest in Balochistan and pay back Pakistan of its role in Afghan jihad.
- **Afghanistan.** The interests of Afghanistan in Balochistan need to be understood:-
 - Afghanistan in collaboration with India is making all out efforts to divert the attention of international community from internal Afghan weaknesses to Balochistan by alleging presence of the so called Al Qaeda and Taliban leaderships in Balochistan and making hue and cry that Terrorists enter Afghanistan from the tribal areas of Pakistan.
 - An increase in the number of US/NATO troops and subsequent operations inside Southern Afghanistan may lead to influx of more Afghan refugees inside Balochistan that may further destabilize the demographic balance and make repatriation of Afghan refugees further difficult.
- **Iran.** The interests of Iran are as follows:-
 - Iran has competing economic interests with Pakistan especially after the construction of Gawadar port. Growing US presence and its close ties with Pakistan are another cause of her concern. Therefore, an unstable Afghanistan and a turbulent Balochistan for the time being is in the interest of Iran. However, Iran is unlikely to support any effort for creation of an independent Balochistan.
 - Convergence of Indo-Iran interests in Afghanistan and turning a blind eye from activities of Indian Consulate in Zahidan are further undermining Pakistan's efforts for a stable Balochistan/ Afghanistan.
- **China.** The interests of China are as under:-
 - To safeguard her economic/energy security interests, China is likely to continue with its development

projects in Balochistan without confronting USA or Russia. As a time tested friend, it would provide full diplomatic, moral and material support to Pakistan.

- **Internal Dynamics.** Generally, over a period of time, the province has remained cash- starved and is largely dependent on federal grants with a very narrow resource base of its own. The recently announced Aghaz- e Haqooq -e Balochistan Package by the Government will alleviate to some extent the dilapidated condition of the province. Studying the prevailing environment, it seems obvious that external aggression against Pakistan is likely to continue, however, the greater threat emanates from our internal dynamics, inter-provincial disharmony, the nature of federation- province relations, poor governance and perceptions about lack of Govt.'s sincere will to address Balochistan issue expeditiously. Today, Balochistan stands at a crossroads of make and break and any neglect by the concerned quarters will be detrimental to the national integrity.

Challenges

The decision on the distribution of NFC award with the consensus of all provinces has addressed the decades -old demand of Balochistan as now it will receive larger share of federal financial taxes, however, there are some other issues that challenge, the peace and stability of the province:-

- **Sense of Deprivation.** The sense of deprivation, economic underdevelopment and negligence by past federal governments (true to a great extent) is exploited by the sub-nationalists/anti-state elements to malign government and gain the sympathies of Baloch masses. The tribal heads and the political leaders who remained at the helm of affairs however, disregard their own failures, corruptions, inefficiencies and insincere efforts for the betterment of the common people. They find refuge in putting the entire blame on the Federal Government.
- **Under Development.** Despite various financial packages that were allocated to the Province over the years, Balochistan as a whole is still the most neglected and under developed area after

FATA merely due to the negligence and insincere efforts of its elite who remained at the helm of affairs but could not contribute towards the uplift of the Province. The recently announced package of Aghaz –e Haqooq-e Balochistan by the Government might soften the feelings of hatred and resentment but again it remains at the mercy of the political will to implement it.

- **Continued Neglect by the Federal Government** Balochistan has continuously been neglected by the Federal Government. It has been governed through handpicked elements with least interest in the socio-economic uplift of the province. Appointment on key posts such as Chief Secretary and IG Police has been done arbitrarily from other provinces. This has further fueled the environment of mistrust between the province and the Center. No serious attempts have been made to boost the confidence of the Government and people of Balochistan.
- **Feudal Culture.** All the disturbances in the past including insurgency of the seventies were on the behest of some tribal Sardars. Some of these tribal leaders again are at the centre stage of unrest as they perceive that any development or openness in the Baloch society will be detrimental to the tribal system they head. Hence, threat to tribal system is one of the common apprehensions in the prevailing environment.
- **Exploitation by Foreign Actors.** The Province is strategically important due to its close proximity to the oil and gas resources of the Gulf and mineral resources in the province itself. Development of Gwadar Port with Chinese assistance has also enhanced the geo-political and economic importance of Balochistan and for that matter Pakistan. Competing interests of regional as well as extra- regional countries have direct linkage to our security. Moreover, India's increased cooperation with the highly corrupt and puppet government in Afghanistan and opening of consulates along Pak borders has enabled her to intensify the sabotage activities by providing financial support to the anti-state elements and Sardars. There are sufficient reasons to believe that the Indians have increased their contacts with the sub-nationalists to create unrest in Balochistan with a latent aim of disintegrating Balochistan from Pakistan. Indian Agency 'RAW' with material and moral

support of CIA and Mossad is also actively engaged in training dissident Balochi elements in Afghanistan.

- **Domestic Political Scene.** Political arena of Balochistan has always been uncertain. So far, in the entire provincial history, Balochistan has not witnessed even a single stable political government, which could address the genuine concerns of the society. Though the traditional tribal culture is taken as the major reason, however, the uncertainties are mostly attributed to the political dishonesty and corruption. The proportionately much larger number of ministers in the provincial cabinet out of a small total number of members in the Balochistan assembly is a manifestation of this fact.
- **Strategy Followed by the Past Governments.** The strategy to end violence in Balochistan based primarily on major economic development projects has failed to demonstrate tangible results for the Baloch populace. The efforts to develop Balochistan have been far more focused on “things or projects” i.e. ports, roads, dams etc than on “people”. Until this focus shifts and the Baloch people become more directly involved, development projects will continue to be viewed as tools of exploitation.
- **Issue of Control on Natural Resources and Royalty.** There exists a deep sense of deprivation amongst the people of Balochistan because the vast natural wealth of Balochistan, especially hydrocarbon is being consumed by the rest of the country, while most of the natives of the Province itself, have never benefitted from it. Similarly, as per their point of view, Balochistan’s gas is bought at Rs 27 per million cubic feet as compared to Rs 150-200 for Sindh and Rs 280 for Punjab. Moreover, a large amount of arrears up to Rs 600 Billion towards royalty are outstanding against the central government since long.
- **Social Sector Development.** In social sector also, Balochistan is much below the country average of socio-economic development. Its literacy rate is 26.6% as against national average of 47%. Only 20% of the population has access to clean drinking water as against 86% of the population of Pakistan. Approximately 47% of the population of Balochistan is living below poverty line.

- **Ferrari Camps (Liberation Army).** Sub-Nationalists have organized BLA on the lines of IRA and LTTE. Evidence of its Headquarters/branches, recruitment/training centers and terrorist activities suggest that the organization is being masterminded by foreign hands. The BLA internet website indulges in vicious propaganda against the Federation, Army and Punjab. The narration of fabricated grievances is a routine tactics to mislead and indoctrinate the educated Balochi Youth.
- **Afghan Refugees.** Balochistan hosts around 0.796 million Afghan refugees, the majority of whom lives in urban settlements alongside their Pakistani hosts. Out of them, approx. 0.45 million have Proofs of Registration (POR). These refugees add to the burden on the provincial economy as they form 12% of the total population of the province. Besides, some of them act as conduits to many illegal activities, like narcotics and weapons' smuggling etc., thus destabilizing the law and order situation in the Province.
- **Law and Order.** Balochistan has its own law and order matrix wherein tribal conflicts, poverty, weaker writ of the government, unabated smuggling, private possession of arms and availability of inaccessible safe havens produce an environment, where crimes are more frequent and acceptable than in other parts of the country. Weak political setup adds to further deterioration of the already fragile situation whereby lawlessness with bomb explosions, rocket attacks, roadblocks and violent protests have become a routine.
- **Conversion of 'B' Areas into 'A' Areas.** Although the process of conversion of 'B' areas into 'A' areas has been completed but it finds little acceptance amongst the Baloch leaders, in particular Mir Khair Bukhsh Marri and Attaullah Khan Mengal; who are not prepared to give up the privileged and effective position that they enjoy under the remnant of the Sandeman system. Citing the low crime rate in 'B' areas, the Provincial Government and local Sardars are demanding reversal to the old system. In view of the shortage of manpower and ineffectiveness of the Police, law and order situation in the Province is deteriorating.

➤ **Major Demands from the Locals**

- Enhancement in the job quota including more representation of Balochis in Armed Forces and Civil services.
- Dropping of proposal of building cantonments in Sui, Kohlu and Gwadar.
- Curtailment of role of FC, Coast Guard and intelligence agencies in the province.
- Cessation of Military Operations without compromising law and order in the province.
- According the leasing rights of exploration and exploitation of oil and gas to the provinces through amendments in the Constitution.

Recommendations

In the light of the above discussion, following specific recommendations are suggested:-

- As the present government has taken the initiative to withdraw **army** from two of the Balochistan districts, Kohlu and Sui in Dera Bugti, this process should continue until a minimum-level presence of army troops is ensured. Meanwhile the security forces and law enforcement agencies including FC, Police, Levies and Balochistan Constabulary should be trained, equipped and given enough resources to not only maintain law and order situation in the province but also counter insurgency.
- The **federal government** should ensure the implementation of the 7th NFC Award, the Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan package, and the 18th Constitutional Amendment, while at the same time boosting the capacity and resources of law enforcement agencies, releasing or producing in courts all the illegally detained and missing persons, improving vigilance on Balochistan's borders with Afghanistan and Iran, and providing employment and livelihood opportunities to the Baloch.
- The **Balochistan government** should work out a comprehensive roadmap for development projects in the province and prioritize sectors such as education, health, fisheries, livestock and mining. It should prepare and share with local and international development organizations detailed

proposals for such projects. It should also address the concerns of development agencies by ensuring security and transparency in financial matters.

- **Political parties** should engage Baloch nationalist parties and leaders in deliberations to evolve a consensus on how violence and insecurity can be reduced in Balochistan. They should also keep pressing the federal government to implement the political and constitutional measures it has announced for Balochistan.
- The **security forces** must ensure that their actions do not violate the law and that there are no extrajudicial killings, illegal detentions or forced disappearances.