



OPINION

**A JOURNAL OF THE
ARMED FORCES WAR COLLEGE**

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MESSAGE OF PATRON



According to Greek Philosopher, Heraclitus of Ephesus, there is nothing permanent except change. Today's world is transforming at an unprecedented pace. In this era of growing uncertainty, enormous challenges that confront us require mastering the skills of strategic thinking to navigate change effectively. The year long academic curriculum covering policy and strategy formulation with emphasis on national security and defence at Armed Forces War College provides an opportunity to course members to enhance their ability to think independently and sharpen their analytical skills. The intellectual pursuits include extensive research on global / regional and national security issues along with in-depth study of military strategy.

The premise of publication of OPINION is to benefit from the research work of the members presented in the shape of group/individual research papers, seminars and military history presentations. This being the 2nd edition of OPINION, I am sure will prove to be a repository of reference material for those in pursuit of excellence on matters of national importance and military significance. I am confident that with continued tradition of research and reflection, this journal will greatly assist the larger group of researchers and scholars. I acknowledge the efforts of the members of the course, faculty and the editorial board in publication of this journal. I extend my appreciation to ISSRA and FCS for their value addition.

Major General Hidayat Ur Rehman HI (M)
Commandant, Armed Forces War College
NDU, Islamabad

CHIEF EDITOR'S CORNER

I am extremely pleased to be a part of 2nd edition of 'AFWC e-Journal'. It is a collection of research work conducted by members of National Security and War Course (NSWC) 2012-13. An endeavour has been made to present researched facts and opinions to enhance awareness about global and national security issues.

As per the format, the research work of the panels / individuals has been divided into four distinct parts. Part-I covers the global/regional issues; Part-II discusses the national security aspects, while the third part focuses on the military strategy. The last part highlights the views of individual writers on contemporary issues and challenges vis-à-vis needs of the domestic / global policy formulation.

I am grateful to all those involved in the production of this e-Journal. I hope it will be a constructive contribution towards NDU's vision of enhancing, nurturing and developing intellectual and professional capabilities in the field of national security studies.

Commodore Ayaz Ahmed Nasir SI (M)
Chief Editor OPINION
AFWC Journal

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PART – I

Global / Regional Issues

- Emerging Economies and their Growing Influence in Global Politics
- Global Maritime Security Challenges in 21st Century
- Politics of Asia Pacific and US Strategic Interests
- India's Balancing Act: Relations with the US, Russia and China

EMERGING ECONOMIES AND THEIR GROWING INFLUENCE IN GLOBAL POLITICS

Introduction

Considering their rising economies and increasing participation in global politics, BRICS countries are progressively achieving influence in the international affairs. Dealing with the role of these upcoming economic powers along with transforming worldwide institutions will become a critical issue for an effective global governance system.¹In general, an incremental approach with the mindset of supportive stake holders might serve BRICS better to change the current world order in a more amicable way.

Though, the BRICS countries are generally viewed as regional powers, their leadership is often challenged within the region or by powers of other regions.

Aim

To analyse future scenarios for global politico – economic, influence and role of emerging economies.

Historical Perspective of Global Politico Economic Influence

Assertions of economic and political influences at the global level have been exercised through cumulative effects of all elements of national power of a particular state or alliance of states. In this part, an effort has been made to establish a historical linkage of the power of various countries in the 19th and 20th centuries with which they influenced the behaviour of other countries. It is very interesting to note that various countries relied on different dimensions of power to exercise power. It is, therefore, fair to suggest that power or influence is relative, conditional and contextual.

WW II and Emergence of Bipolar World

At the news of the US entry in to the war, Winston Churchill openly rejoiced and with good reason. As he later explained it, ‘Hitler’s fate was sealed. Mussolini’ fate was sealed. As for the Japanese, they would be ground to powder. All the rest was merely the proper application of overwhelming power.

The key events of December 1941 entirely altered the balances; the Russian counter-attack at Moscow showed that it would not fall to Blitzkrieg Warfare; and the entry of Japan and the United States into what was now a global conflict brought together a ‘Grand Alliance’ of enormous industrial – productive staying power.²

The Power Struggle During the Cold War

As it turned out, a large part of the international politics over the following two decades was to concern itself with adjusting to the Soviet – American rivalry and then

with its partial rejection. In the beginning, the Cold War was centered upon remaking the boundaries of Europe. Russia's strategic and political position was most likely to be enhanced if it could create other Marxist – led states which looked to Moscow for guidance. Such considerations probably dominated the Soviet policy in the post – 1945 world.

A major element in the Cold War was the increasing arms race between the two blocs, alongwith the creation of supportive military alliances. In terms of monies spent, the trend was by no means an even one. The enormous surge in American defence expenditures reflected the costs of the Korean war and Washington's belief that it needed to rearm in a threatening world; the post – 1953 decline was Eisenhower's attempt to control the 'military – industrial complex' before it damaged both society and economy; the 1961 – 2 increases reflected the Berlin Wall and Cuban missile crises; and the post 1965 jump in spending showed the increasing American commitment in Southeast Asia.³

Demise of Cold War and Emergence of US as the Sole Super Power

Radical reforms in family law and education were introduced by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), a Communist group. Criticism from Islamic leaders eventually turned into an armed struggle. Soviet Union tried to back the PDPA for almost nine years against nationalist Islamic movement by Islamic warriors known as 'Mujahideen'. The Mujahideen were aided by the US, Iran, Saudi Arabia, China and Pakistan. Surface to air missiles of US tilted the balance in Mujahideen's favour; and the Soviets pulled out in 1989.⁴

Relations between the two super powers were renewed after the meeting between the US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in 1988.⁵ The two leaders decided to end the Cold War that created an opening for changes.⁶ The revolutions of 1989 in Eastern Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union was the result of the decision to end the Cold War.⁷

Reunification of Germany came into being in 1990, following the collapse of Communist regimes in the late 1980 and early 1990. While the Warsaw Pact collapsed, Germany remained member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This led the allies to convincingly claim that they won the Cold War. The basic sociopolitical differences between the Capitalist West with US in lead, and the Communist Eastern Block, represented by the Soviet Union, touched the peak after the end of World War II. The cold war which lasted for almost five decades impacted the entire world.⁸

CONTEMPORARY TRENDS, ROLE OF ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER AND GLOBAL POWER CALCULUS

In this part, an endeavour has been made to identify contemporary trends, role of elements of national power in enabling the Rising Economies, or otherwise, to assert influence at the Global level. BRICS, EU, ASEAN and the USA are focused for analysis. There are other countries such as Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia, Singapore,

Philippines and Vietnam etc, whose economies are improving. However, these countries confront other issues and problems because of which they are either not willing or not able to play an international role of assertion. Therefore, these are not being mentioned here.

Mega Trends

- **World Order.** US being the most powerful country in the world continue to assert. However, the rising powers are emerging as new power centers.
- **Control of Energy / Natural Resources.** Major World players will continue to acquire access to and control of energy resources by exploring new reservoirs such as African natural resources, Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea. Indian Ocean region is also of added strategic importance due to trade corridors. Simultaneously, US is gradually shifting ***strategic focus to the Asia Pacific*** to safeguard her long term economic and energy interests.
- **Fissile Material/Nuclear Proliferation.** Non acceptability of possession of nuclear weapons by developing countries will receive further fillip, however, counter-proliferation initiatives are not likely to be successful in totality. ***US concerns over nuclear weapons'*** getting into the hands of terrorist organizations / violent non state actors, are likely to persist and will be used to coerce weaker states on this pretext.
- **Character and Pattern of Conflict.** The future conflict will be characterized by ***excessive reliance on use of technology***. Major threats are likely to be posed from within by the Violent Non-State Actors who will continue to be active with varying degrees. International environment will facilitate intervention of bigger powers through internal destabilization and use of kinetic and non kinetic application.
- **Globalization.** Globalization is likely to continue, spearheaded by information technology and therefore a wider awareness of human rights would minimize the traditional coercive powers of states vis-a-vis their citizens' thus giving rise to democratic values and aspirations. Besides, economic interdependence is a rising trend. Despite effects of globalization, Capitalist system of economy with US dollar being the dominant currency is likely to continue.
- **Political Changes in the Arab World.** The emerging political paradigm is changing the socio-political make-up of the Arab world. The phenomenon is still evolving.

- **Economics shaping the world.** The realities of the world clearly enumerate that the future of the world will be shaped by the countries or regions joining the core orbit. The shift to geo-economics renders the regional boundaries less relevant. Economy will dictate political stability. Traditional rivalries are being put on the back burner and economics is the main catalyst, leading the shift to multi polarity.
- **Regionalism.** Major regional forums include the the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), European Union (EU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Organization of Asia - Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) to count few of them. Regionalism appears to be growing rapidly. Regionalism in fact is a byproduct of globalization, yet, it enables member states to offers a collective response to the dimensions of globalization. Therefore, the political unanimity of thought against countries of a particular regional organization such as ASEAN, would not be easy to muster when seen in the backdrop of such coercion if applied against a country which is not part of any such regional dispensation.

GLOBAL POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF CONTEMPORARY POWERS

EU; Economic, Military and Political Influence

The EU is the most novel of the contemporary great powers because it is not a state. This political fact alone would exclude it from either a great power/ superpower. Although the EU does meet the criteria for designation as great power, its political limitations do lie at the centre of its potential to become a superpower. Owing to its material ability, the EU is considered to be the leading candidate for elevation to superpower status.

The central issue is about the political cohesion of the EU and its willingness to sustain a coherent and robust foreign and defence policy. Although cooperation on foreign, and up to a point, defence policy is well institutionalized, progress towards integrated policy has been slow and patchy.

Concept of BRICS; Economic, Military and Political Influence

As per the statistics of 2013, the BRICS countries comprising around 3 billion people, with a combined nominal GDP of US\$ 14.9 trillion and an estimated US\$4 trillion in combined foreign reserves.⁹ The President of the People's Republic of China, Hu Jintao, described the BRICS as protectors and advocators of developing world and a force for global stability. However, the analysis reveals potential divisions and weaknesses in the group, such as India and China's dispute over territorial issues, the inability of the BRICS to establish a World Bank-analogue development agency, decelerating growth rates and disagreement between the group members over UN Security Council reforms.¹⁰

Brazil

Brazil's economic rise was based on four policies that continue to play an important role; focus on availability of infrastructure necessary to sustain a diverse, developed and expanding economy, a commitment to promoting social justice, reducing poverty and inequality to ensure that maximum citizens could participate and contribute to economic growth, ease of doing business, and the effort to introduce reforms for enhancing working efficiency of the domestic institutions.

Russia

Russia is considered to be the least likely competitor for attaining back her super power status. It is rather following a path which could relegate her status to a regional power to fall in the ranks of India and Brazil. In order to regain the status of superpower, Russia needs to show an incredible economic and political recovery from the downfall that followed breaking up of the Soviet Union.¹¹ As Freedman (1999) argues, Russia's problem is the huge disparity between its status needs and its economic and military weakness. Other than nuclear weapons, the massive military legacy from the Soviet Union has considerably declined. Aside from its nuclear arsenal and its huge geographical size, Russia does not really have the quantifiable capability to sustain even its superpower status. Russia has no chance of achieving recognition by its peers and thus face a long disjuncture between her perception as a global power and the largely charitable basis on which it currently holds great power status.¹²

India

After independence in 1947, India as a semi-socialist state continued to struggle with poverty. Post 1991 economic crisis saw India moving towards a market-based system and her economic rise started. India's GDP has been growing at an average of 5% to 6% per year for the last twenty years, and at an average 7.4% clip from 2001 to 2011.¹³ This was coupled with higher average incomes, increased life expectancy and improved education system. Goldman Sachs predicts that India's economy will overtake France and Italy by 2020 and move ahead of Japan by 2035.¹⁴

China

Since the economic downturn took the shine off Japan as a challenger, talk in Washington has focused on China as the leading candidate for 'peer competitor'. This fits into a more longstanding post Cold War view that, if challenges to the US are to come, they will almost certainly come from Asia (Friedberg 1993). China's progress and rise qualifies it as the most capable country to challenge the status of US as a superpower. In terms of capability, it has a fast growing and modernizing economy. Although in terms of technological and organizational ability, the country is less developed in many ways, China has been successful both in mastering the technology for nuclear weapons and manned space launches and in presenting an image of itself as making sustained progress in economic development.¹⁵

South Africa

With regards to the African continent, South Africa is the most promising economy, progressing ahead of Egypt and Nigeria and is considered to be the super power of the Continent. South Africa is endowed with abundant natural resources and the country has a strong financial, legal, communications and transport sectors.¹⁶ Since the demise of apartheid and elections held in 1994, South Africa has progressed rapidly on the economic front. While the economy grew so did the requirement for development of the necessary infrastructure which led to high demand for materials such as machinery, steel, and electrical goods. Today, manufacturing contributes 15% of GDP, and is an important employer and key source of exports.¹⁷

ASEAN¹⁸

Strangely, ASEAN's rise to the global eminence came about after the ASEAN countries opened themselves up for trade. Thus, ASEAN' uniqueness became possible because individual ASEAN countries effectively integrated the succession with rest of the world, and in doing so, created the collective success of ASEAN community. As the ASEAN countries continue to open up to international trade and welcome foreign investments, the challenges to cope up with the demands of globalization continue to force them to look inwards. Big power games and the uncertainties from their interplay can force the ASEAN member states to disengage from global challenges and instead start to focus on the regional and internal opportunities.

America's Lasting Strengths

The first crucial asset of America is her overall economic strength. America is still the world's largest economy by a good margin. Only the economically united European region slightly surpasses the United States, but even so the Western European model exhibits higher structural unemployment and lower rates of growth. More significant for future trends is the fact that the United States, despite Asia's rapid economic growth, has maintained for several decades its major share of the world's GDP.¹⁹ Its 2010 GDP of over \$14 trillion accounted for just around 25% of global output, while its closest competitor, China, made up over 9% of global output with a close to \$6 trillion GDP.²⁰

Technological and innovative expertise derived from an entrepreneurial atmosphere and strong institution of higher education is the second major asset. The United States is ranked by the World Economic Forum as having the fourth most competitive economy in the world behind Switzerland, Sweden and Singapore.²¹

The third advantage is America's relatively strong demographic base. America's large population at 318 million is an inherent source of global clout. According to the UN, by 2050 the United States will have a population of 403 million, 21.6% of it above the age of sixty-five. Fourth, unlike some major powers, America has the benefit of a secure, resource rich, strategically advantageous and very large geographic base for a population that is nationally cohesive and not beset by any significant ethnic separatism.²² America's fifth asset is its strong attachment with basic values i.e human

rights, personal freedom, economic opportunity etc that are generally endorsed by its population and that over the years have enhanced the country's global clout.²³

Future Scenarios for Politico – Economic Influence and Role of Emerging Economies

Next we look at the possible future scenarios and make a fair assessment as to who will attain the world leadership in the next few decades. This forecasting is based on the present indicators. Will the world be leaderless in future? Will it have one leader or will it have more than one leader? In case of more than one leader, will they be antagonist or will they be friendly and cooperative? All this will have profound influences on the entire world.²⁴

In today's world, the shift is towards Asia and the Western economies are losing against the rise of emerging economic powers. The new international system is being developed on the basis of interests. The new system appears to be shaping up multiple centers of power based on regional cooperation and mix of cultures. The western model will be one of competing conceptions of domestic and international order.²⁵

Future Scenarios

Scenario 1—Two Liberal and Democratic Superpowers: the US and the EU

- **Cooperative Arrangements.** The transition from one up to two superpowers should always be a fraught process, but if there is any set of conditions under which this expectation would not be met, it is this one. The US and the EU have both intertwined identities and longstanding friendly relations which are deeply institutionalized. Although it is easy to imagine sharp differences between the US and the EU on issues ranging from the Middle East through the environment, to trade and human rights, it is extremely difficult to imagine those becoming enemies.²⁶
- **Antagonist Approach.** Against this more liberal interpretation stand the specific arguments of Kupchan, Huntington and Kagan pointing in the opposite direction towards the erosion of the North Atlantic community, and the growth of a perception in Europe and elsewhere that the US has become more of a unilateralist 'rogue colossus' with an uncongenial agenda. Indeed, a shift of perceptions along these lines might also be a necessary condition for stimulating the EU into abandoning its civilian power character and getting serious about constructing a robust common foreign and defence policy.²⁷ If one follows this logic, it leads to scenario in which two liberal democratic superpowers live in a (neo) realist social structure of enemies and rivals.²⁸

Scenario 2 – Two Superpowers, One Liberal Capitalist, One Authoritarian Capitalist: the US and China

A US - China scenario most obviously raises the prospect. Would a two – superpower system composed of the US and China simply replay the Cold War, or would it be something quite different? The answer(s) to this question depend(s) on the degree of ideological difference and disharmony between the US and China.²⁹ On the assumption that the US retains its present form of political economy, most of the possible variation in this equation lies with China, whose possibilities for development seem much more open than those of the US. The expectation is that the US would resist the loss of its sole superpower status, and the evidence to date is that the US would not take kindly to the rise of any Asian superpower. The US' strategic rebalancing in Pacific Region points to that intent. An additional complication is Taiwan, which could become a spoiler in US – China relations even under relatively benign conditions of Chinese development. Two super power world based on the US and China would not come close to having the potential for condominium inherent in the identity kinship of a US – EU two superpower world. Almost certainly the transition from one to two superpowers would be a tense affair.

Scenario 3 – Three Superpowers, Some Ideological Harmony, Some Disharmony: the US, the EU and China

For this scenario, the sequence of who arrived at superpower status, and when, could have substantial implications for how the transition process unfolded. If the EU came into an established US – China system its elevation might well be welcomed by the US and resisted by China. If China came into an established US-EU system, both might resist its rise. If China and the EU came more or less simultaneously into a single superpower system dominated by the US, then the US would be less able to resist a rise in the number of superpowers than it would if facing only a single candidate.

Scenario 4 – How Might a Zero Superpower Structure Come About?

A polarity of one superpower and several great powers looks the most likely for the next few years, but it is not chiseled in stone. While it is hard to envisage the number of superpowers rising quickly, it is perhaps easier to imagine the number of superpowers dropping to zero. There are two roots to this end, one material and one social. The material route is a simple extension of the declinist, imperial overstretch arguments from the early 1990s and follows the model of Britain's relative decline as Germany, the US, France, Russia and Japan built up industrial economies. In this scenario, the US steadily loses relative economic, military and ideological power to the rest of the world, particularly Asia and Europe and to great powers (especially China). At some point in time its share of the global GDP becomes too small to enable it to sustain its sole superpower roles. The social route to the US losing its superpower status is about the loss of its ability to lead.

Conclusions from Mega Trends and Elements of National Power of Rising and Global Powers

- **USA.** Technological base and uncontested military power will continue to enable USA to influence the world scene. There is no significant empirical evidence that its tax payers are disillusioned with the US foreign policies or military expenditure. The vibrant and dynamic US institutional structures adapt rapidly to ensure continuation of the status quo of present power calculus. In the political arena, it is likely to resort to alliances with other power centers to include important countries in the Pacific Region to accrue political mileage. A fair degree of visibility exists on how the US is likely to use interstate differences between various regions such as ASEAN or South Asia to advance her interests against China. The high level visits to Vietnam, Indonesia and existing strength of relations with Philippines point to the broad contours of US policies.
- **China.** The rise of China to an extent of it replacing the US clout is not likely to be witnessed without a conflict. The real character of any such conflict is difficult to predict. Historical evidence does not point to peaceful rise or downfall of any super power. Therefore the present US competition with China may gradually transform to political, economic and diplomatic rivalry. Such a conflict may shape up on the lines of Cold War tensions between US and the former USSR. Chinese economic influence is likely to further grow in future alongside some political reforms and more liberalization of its economy. It is assumed that China's future growth is also linked to liberalization of its political culture and more human freedom. China's influence in Africa will be more pronounced in the coming years. However, it is not likely to flex its military muscles until the world accepts its economic hegemony. SCO is likely to transform into a more meaningful and productive power bloc. What is more important here to note is whether China is willing to play a super power role in its current state of progress. What seems more probable is that China will avoid involvement in any contentious global political issue and instead it will continue to focus on economic uplift.
- **India.** India's position is hazy, but it is rising rapidly in the hierarchy of international states, however India's current inherent social fault lines are a constant and continuous drag thereby confronting it with more uncertainties. Nonetheless, the international focus on India makes it a strong contender for a more meaningful role in world politics in the coming decades. It assumes added significance not only from perspective of its economic might but also its size, location, population and military strength. Besides, her historical rivalry with China suits US and the West. It is therefore plausible to suggest that if for no other reason, India's political elevation at the global level is a reality to counter balance China in the Indian Ocean Region.

- **Russia.** Russia has problems of its own ranging from economy to secessionist movements. Therefore, it is not likely to achieve enhanced role in world affairs any time soon. However, the current trends of mending fences with China and the use of SCO platform may enable Russia to play a more meaningful role at the global level. Together and in synergy with china, could even challenge US dominance on some global issues. CARs would remain under Russian influence.
- **BRICS.** Currently, there are no signs of BRICS forming a political alliance to assert more influence. This is partly due to differences between member states such as China and India, and partly due to their distant locations. Therefore, a meaningful alliance in the political domains is not likely to be witnessed any time soon. However, their more robust economic cooperation is almost certain.
- **European Union.** EU's principle springboard into the international arena is economic, both diplomatic and military spheres remaining the prerogative of member states, largely dependent on US' assurances for their security. A united EU will continue to assert political influences around the globe in line with US positions, notwithstanding minor differences of opinions by member states such as Germany and France.
- **ASEAN.** ASEAN and Asia Pacific countries are likely to remain under overall US political influence in individual capacity, yet they are likely to boost their trade and commercial ties with China. These countries would prefer to balance their relations both with the US and China.
- **Soft Power Influences.** Soft power influences enjoyed by USA, EU and India are great force multipliers and directly impinge upon the greater acceptability thresholds of countries like Russia and China at the global scene in the context of prevailing mega trends.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to provide a vision for how the balance of international power and the international relations will be organized in the years to come focusing on the possible political and economic rise of large developing countries. It has argued that there are clear indications both in terms of economics and politics that countries such as China, India, Brazil and others are gradually transforming the shape of the international political economy, and that their prospects for continuing to do so remain great despite risks to their growth path, there is less probability of any drastic changes in the existing power equilibrium in the near future. The paper explored their ability to take on new roles in global politics, while keeping in mind some potential stumbling blocks such as the environment and resource capacity, domestic peace and the stability of the international financial system. Additionally, it has explored the particular role of China in international politics in the coming years, and has outlined four potential scenarios of

future world order. The future world will certainly look very different than it does today and it may not look at all like what has been outlined here.

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Endnotes

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GLOBAL MARITIME SECURITY CHALLENGES IN 21ST CENTURY

Introduction

The world's security outlook continues to be in a state of flux as a result of global war on terrorism, unrelenting globalization and unabated quest for access & control of resources rich areas. Post disintegration of USSR and dismantling of communist bloc in 1991, it was predicted that within the framework of an integrated global economy, a new era anchored in hope of a lasting peace and stability would be ushered. It was believed that new world order managed by liberal democratic institutions and based on principles of free market¹ would instead be hinged on peace, tranquility and policy of accommodation. The fall outs of watershed events of 9/11 are defining criteria for the new security paradigm, which has plunged the world to stormy waters. The global recession of 2008-09 (third in past two decades), played havoc causing economic downturn and consequential fall of the global growth rate below the IMF 3%² benchmark. The 21st century is being dubbed as Asian Century due robust economic performance of some of the native countries despite reduction in global per capita output growth due aforesaid economic recession. Maritime Security can be defined as the state in which maritime practices, assets, territorial integrity and coastal peace and order are guarded, conserved and enhanced. US naval operation concept define goals of maritime security operations as those including ensuring freedom of navigation, flow of commerce and security of ocean resources as well as protecting the maritime sphere from various threats, terrorism, drug trafficking and other forms of transnational crime, piracy, environmental destruction and illegal seaborne immigration.³

Owing to geo-economic significance, Indian Ocean has attracted the global and emerging military and economic powers, especially USA, China, Japan and India. This economic significance is principally on account of oil & gas reserves, which per estimation is 57% & 36% respectively. Around 1000 ships transit the expanse of Indian Ocean annually, 40% of this sea trade is accounted for by the Strait of Malacca. Nearly 40% of global oil trade passes through the Strait of Hormuz and more than 11 Million barrel of oil pass through the Malacca and Singapore straits. However, the changing security environment has resulted in transformation of maritime rules of business especially due to its inherent world wide connectivity. In this context, the spiraling demand for energy from 'energy demand heartland' of Asia has led to an enhanced sensitivity to the security of SLOCs and chokepoints of the region. India, an emerging economy, too heavily depends on the Gulf Oil to continue fuel its economic engine and meet increase demand for supply to sustain the current economic growth. Driving strength from sustained economic growth, a globalized, confident and self assured India figures out prominently in the geo-strategic and politico-economic calculus of the world, has become more vigorous in pursuit of regional dominance and intended global role.

Aim

To analyse global maritime security challenges posed by asymmetric threats relating to maritime criminal activities.

Strategic Maritime Environment

The international community's hope to achieve global stability after the demise of post cold war remain obscure, principally on account of transnational security challenges or grey area phenomena. Accordingly, threat definition, classification and spectrum of conflict have become far more vague, unclear and diffuse,⁴ and owing to its vast and largely unregulated nature, the maritime dominion is predominantly conducive to these types of threat contingencies.

The sea expanse amounting to 139,768,200 square miles roughly equates 2.42 times⁵ the surface area of the planet. Most of this milieu consists of a high sea that lies beyond the any one state's jurisdiction and the constituent area is by definition anarchic.

Regional Maritime Environment

Referring to the significance of Oceans, Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher said that, "Five keys lock up the world; Dover, Gibraltar, Suez, Singapore and the Cape of Good Hope." Of the five keys listed by the Admiral, three are on the rim of Indian Ocean, highlighting strategic importance of this Ocean. This at the backdrop, salient aspects in the regional context are enumerated below:

General

Indian Ocean, occupies approximately 20% of the earth's surface is the 3rd largest ocean in the world, covering a total area of 73.56 million square miles.⁶ It is bounded by African coast and Arabian Peninsula to the west and northwest, by Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, Indonesia and Australia to the east respectively, by Indian subcontinent to the north and to the south by the oceanic margin with the southern ocean at latitude 60°S, the northern limit of the area covered by the original Antarctic Treaty (1959).⁷ The western limit of Indian Ocean is separated from the Atlantic Ocean in two places, at the Suez Canal and at the meridian running south from Cape Agulhas in South Africa. At its easternmost limit, the Indian Ocean touches Pacific Ocean at 147°E meridian, running south from South East Cape on Tasmania to 60°S latitude. The northernmost limit of the Indian Ocean is the Iranian port of Bandar Imam Khomeini in the Persian Gulf. In addition, the Indian Ocean comprises numerous regional seas and sea areas i.e. the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea, the Andaman Sea, the Gulf of Oman, the Great Australian Bight, the Gulf of Aden, the Gulf of Mannar, the Laccadive Sea, the Mozambique Channel, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea.

Voyage across the Indian Ocean and passage from its waters into neighboring seas is not only constrained but also facilitated by chokepoints. The seven key chokepoints in the IOR are the Lombok strait, Sunda Strait, the Straits of Malacca, the Strait of Hormuz, the Suez Canal, the Bab-el-Mandeb and Mozambique Channel. The IOR is populated by some 2.49 billion people, consisting 35.7% of the world's population in 2010. By 2030, this population is likely to increase by more than 27%, adding another 689 million people. Yet with a collective gross domestic product in purchasing

power parity (GDP-PPP) of \$10,131 (US) billion, the IOR represented only 10.3% of world GDP-PPP in 2010.⁸

Politico-Economic Context

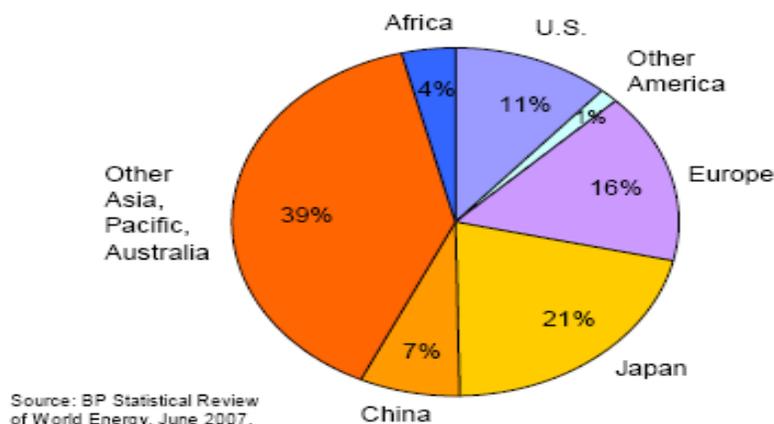
Today, the IOR has attained the centre stage of world geo-politics. Propelled by the world's continuing dependence on Persian Gulf hydrocarbon resources, the growing significance of the Indian Ocean's chokepoints and SLOCs as well as the chaotic regional socio-political environment (including America's ongoing military operations in Afghanistan), the region is increasingly considered an area of vital geo-strategic significance.

Approximately oil imports from the Gulf region include, US 30%, China 41%, Europe 35%, Australia 66% and Japan 86%. The value of energy is extensive to the 'demand heartland' i.e. India, China and Japan.

The Strait of Hormuz account for a daily total of 17 million barrels of crude oil. Nearly 17,500 tankers and 7,300 cargo ships pass through the Arabian Gulf each year.⁹ International SLOCs are lifeline for both oil exporting and importing states including India, which provides Pakistan a strategic leverage.

Middle East supplies about 30% of World's oil requirements, whereas it has 66% of world's proven oil reserves. Considering the increase in demand, energy supply from the Gulf and consequently its importance is bound to enhance in days to come. An overview of major oil importers along with their percentage of oil dependency is given below:¹⁰

Figure 4 MID-EAST OIL EXPORT DESTINATIONS 2006



Military Context

From military standpoint, during the cold war strategic ocean theaters centered largely on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Naval missions included, ensuring sea lines of communication, deploying ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs) to key patrol areas,

using attack submarines and major surface warships to identify & track opposing units and deploying exercising amphibious groups.

The IOR and current US security concerns, especially in light of the respective geo-political rises of China and India, remain of considerable strategic importance to the US. US forces operating under the umbrella of CENTCOM are engaged in several IOR theaters of varying intensities and priorities. It could be argued that the continuous and robust US military presence in the region is more vital than it has ever been. As a reflection of the reality of the situation the US now finds itself in regarding Indian Ocean, author Robert Kaplan (in Monsoon):

The Indian Ocean and future of American power) explains the US position in the region as one, “where the rivalry between the United States and China interlocks with the regional rivalry between China and India, and also with America’s fight against Islamic terrorism in the Middle East, which includes America’s attempt to contain Iran.”

As US policymakers and senior military officials continuously ponder decisions concerning the scale and composition of force structures required in the IOR to support operations in and around Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia, several complicating strategic and operational-level factors mentioned below are evolving:-

- The naval expansion and deployment programs of India and China.
- The persistent challenge presented by Iranian intransigence, its facilitation of arms trafficking and increasing naval activity.
- Concerns over long-term base security in Bahrain as a result of political turbulence.
- Potential for the deepening intersection between Al Shabaab in Somalia and AQ-AP in Yemen.
- Possibility for a full-scale civil war or insurgency in Yemen.
- Decline of naval forces being deployed by both extra-regional and regional navies as a result of respective governments spending cuts.
- Continued weakness of regional maritime forces, current lack of a multilateral instrument, regime or treaty to evolve a collective maritime security capacity to address extant threats in particular piracy and vessel hijacking.

National Maritime Environment

Pakistan is a bona-fide maritime nation with an important geo-strategic location in proximity of the Gulf. A few compulsions and challenges in national maritime domain are described below:-

Compulsions

- Pakistan is strategically located at the confluence of Central and South Asia, offering connection to landlocked CARs to energy hungry South Asian countries and beyond via warm waters of Arabian Sea. Likewise, it shares a long border with energy affluent Iran.
- It is blessed with an over 900 KM long coastline, which though is uninhibited, undeveloped and sparsely populated has the potential to turn around economy.
- As per UNCLOS 1982, it enjoys exclusive exploration rights in Exclusive Economic Zone of 200 NM and Continental Shelf upto 350 NM.
- Over 90% of trade and nearly 100% of Pakistan's oil imports is transported via sea, making maritime sector the bedrock of national economy.¹¹
- Close proximity to strategically vital Strait of Hormuz, the lifeline of world's energy needs, offer Pakistan strategic leeway.¹²
- For leading and emerging economies of the world, energy security has emerged as a vital interest. Any disturbance to oil shipment in the Straits of Hormuz will send ripples in the economies of USA, Japan, EU and rest of the world. According to estimation, a sporadic act of saboteur on oil pipeline in remote oil producing country like Nigeria will push international oil prices up by US\$ 4 per barrel. Such is the fragility of international oil prices.
- The oceanic potential of offshore hydrocarbons and usable mineral deposits is immense. These include oil, crusts, iron, manganese nodules, gas and gas hydrates, with the latter having all the trappings of evolving into a very useful source of clean energy. Preliminary scientific indicators point to the presence of large deposits of gas hydrates off the coast of Balochistan.
- Karachi being the only major port and hub of industrial activities is an established economic engine of Pakistan. Unexplored coastline offers a number of other natural harbors.

Challenges. The challenges at national level which may morph in to threats are dubbed as Traditional and Non-Traditional:-

- **Traditional**

- The traditional threat emanates from India while the threat from ERF depends on our relevance to them.
- In Indian context, the likelihood of war exists in the maritime domain due unresolved issue of Sir Creek or consequent to Mumbai like terrorist incident, actual or stage managed. Threat may manifest in form of single, bi or tri-service application under Pro-active Strategy. Close proximity of IAF/IN basis allows it to mount sustained air and missile strikes against our vital maritime infrastructure. Further, likelihood of severance of our South Eastern SLOCs also exists.
- To achieve blue water navy status and ultimately attain a global power position in realization of its aspirations, the Indian inducted a nuclear powered submarine from Russia, embarked on indigenously building nuclear submarine, obtained a large number of capable frigates and destroyers as well as acquire aircraft carriers for force projection far and wide. This massive build up made it essential for Pakistan to critically view its maritime obligation/compulsions.
- War in Afghanistan has transformed NAS into a hotbed of maritime operations. Furthermore, US economic progress and security concerns have been linked with the developments in Indian Ocean as enunciated in US Strategic Guidance 2012. Accordingly, India's status has been elevated to that of a long term strategic partner serving "*as a regional anchor*" in the region. This increased US leaning towards India in our southern backyard has made Pakistan wary of their semi-hostile overtures.
- ERF presence in NAS provide a semblance of stability also, however, contiguous deployment of such a large force is a matter of concern too. The likelihood of ERF turning hostile cannot be ruled out if its interests are threatened at sea. Likewise, respectable exit from Afghanistan is in US interest and its responsible exit is in Pakistan's interest.

- **Non-Traditional**

- Asymmetric challenges of maritime terrorism like piracy, narcotics, arms and human trafficking remain uncontrolled in the region which further complicates the security matrix.

- Assertive Somali pirates have made waters off the East coast of Africa and Gulf of Aden highly vulnerable to attacks and hostage of ships' crew for ransom.
- A frightening threat to ships and maritime infrastructure emanates from maritime terrorism. Glaring attacks on French super tanker LIMBURG, Japanese tanker M Star and USS COLE are some of the examples of maritime terrorism.
- Drug trafficking remain a serious challenge to maritime security. Afghanistan produces over 9% of world's opium and besides land routes, transports it through the Hash Highway, the famous drug route for narcotic trade, which lies in North Arabian Sea leading to Europe and North America.
- Human Smuggling/Trafficking has also emerged as a lucrative business across the globe. The phenomenon is more pronounced in this region due to prevalent poverty.

Unfortunately despite importance, the maritime sector has not received the attention it deserves principally on account of continental mindset since the birth of Pakistan. While the regional nations' maritime sectors are thriving, ours is generally lagging particularly the shipping industry and naval force structure. It will indeed be quite a challenge in the maritime sphere to secure our rightful place in the comity of maritime nations. The response to emerging maritime challenges generally suffers from the lack of popular support/ understanding of maritime issues at the national level and scarce resources often resulting in relegation of maritime needs.

Global Maritime Security Challenges

While global maritime threats emerge mainly from interstate conflicts and asymmetric from state and non-state actors, there are numerous challenges in maritime domain which shape the environment at sea. The challenges can be broadly categorized under criminal maritime activity. Organized crime networks at sea can cause huge economic losses while also disturbing lawful maritime order so essential for global economies.

Maritime terrorism and piracy are two explicit threats that have been mainly highlighted. Following two definitions will be used for the purpose of analysis hereafter:-

- "Piracy is an act of boarding or attempting to board any ship with the apparent intent to commit theft or any other crime and with the apparent intent or capability to use force in furtherance of that act."¹³
- "Maritime terrorism refers to terrorist activities and acts within the maritime environment, using or against vessels or fixed platforms at sea or

in port, or against any one of their passengers or personnel, against coastal facilities or settlements, including tourist resorts, port areas and port towns or cities."¹⁴

Piracy- Setting the Context

Piracy is as old as the shipping and trade itself. However, two decades ago it turned into a main global dilemma and has emerged in areas such as Malacca Strait, South China Sea, West Africa, South America and off Somalia. To set the context, different types of piracy occur in international waters:-

- Attacks mounted against ships at harbor at the low end of anchorage (referred to as Cat 3 - less significant). This type of piracy has exploited the relatively relaxed security procedures employed at many ports around the world. Their purpose is typically portable high-value personal items and to seize cash with an average haul of approximately US \$5,000–15,000.¹⁵
- A more grave demonstration of piracy is the robbery and rummage through vessels on the high seas or in territorial waters (referred to as Cat 2 - moderately significant).
- At the high end of the spectrum (referred to as Cat 1 - very significant) are attacks involving outright theft of ships and later on their usage for illegal trading.

Emergence of Piracy in Contemporary Era

In past few years, there were about 45-55 ships of approximately 28 countries operating in Indian Ocean on account of counter-piracy operations. EU's counter-piracy task force EUNAVFOR, Standing Naval Maritime Group (SNMG) 1 & 2 and Combined Task Force 151 are the three dedicated counter-piracy coalition task forces that remain in piracy infested area. Considering vitality of the area vis-à-vis limited resources, majority of the naval assets of these groups are positioned off the eastern Somali coast in the Internationally Recognized Transit Corridor (IRTC). This allowed concentration of forces in inhospitable waters. Nevertheless, the areas affected by Somali piracy include Gulf of Aden, parts of Arabian Sea, Gulf of Oman and the southern Red Sea. Notwithstanding, some of the major factors that have contributed to the rising trends of piracy in contemporary era are appended below:-

- **First** and foremost has been the phenomenal increase in commercial maritime traffic.
- **Second** is the heavy use of narrow and congested maritime chokepoints by seaborne commercial traffic in areas of endemic maritime criminal or non state activity, including Panama canals, Straits of Hormuz, Malacca Straits, the Suez and Bab-el-Mandab.

- **Third** factor is considered more relevant to Southeast Asia due to lasting effects of the Asian financial crisis (AFC).
- **Fourth**, difficulties with maritime surveillance have been significantly heightened post 9/11 due concomitant pressure on countries to invest in land based homeland security systems albeit expensive.
- **Fifth**, moderate coastal and port-side defense have played an important role in helping low-level piratical activity, especially harbor thefts of goods from ships at anchor.
- **Sixth**, dysfunctional systems of national criminal justice and extensive corruption have encouraged official complicity in high-level pirate rings.
- **Finally**, the small arms proliferation has provided terrorists, pirates and other criminals with improved ways and means to function on a more complicated and damaging level.

Terrorist Threat in the Maritime Domain

Conventionally, the world's oceans have not been the central locus of terrorist activity. Of all international happenings over the last 30 years, only 2% has constituted attacks on maritime targets and assets.¹⁶ The reason for this small number can be traced in the fact that operation out at sea requires access to a suitable assault and transport vehicles, peculiar mariners skill, capability to operate and sustain operations from a remote non land based environment.

Since the first half of last decade, when Al-Qaeda was still a threat from the point of view of attack and advanced planning, in Indian Ocean there has been insignificant or little maritime terrorist activity. The little maritime capability that Al-Qaeda supposedly possessed was neutralized to a greater extent by its weaknesses on land through persistent application of force. In the maritime domain, it is generally agreed that Al-Qaeda capability to mount attacks on ships is either diminished or it will have to rely on associates to mount an operations of high complexity, considering their existing capability and effectiveness in Yemen and their intention to attack international targets. In this regard, it is pertinent to mention that Said al-Shihri, AQ-AP's deputy commander in February 2010 publically declared closing the Bab-el-Mandeb (BAM) and bringing it under the fortification of Islam. There were, however, no sign of how this extraordinary ambitious aim might be realized, but it could not be accomplished without directly attacking the vessel transiting. Notwithstanding the foregoing, as such there is no substantive sign to entail that AQ-AP has the capability to attack vessels at port, anchor or at sea.

Arms Trafficking

Unlike nuclear, biological and chemical weaponry, there are no global treaties restricting conventional weapon transfers and hence the world is awash with small arms. Uncalled-for violence against civilians is fuelled by the trade in small arms resulting in killing of thousands of people each year. An illegal small arm trafficking is a serious challenge to global security and all states have to respond collectively to deny sea medium for such trade.

Drugs Trafficking

A significant contributor to maritime terrorism is drugs and arms trafficking. According to estimates the production and trade in narcotics is one of the world's largest and most financially lucrative industries. Sea provides a relatively safe medium for smuggling of drugs, arms and people.

Illegal Fishing and Exploitation of Sea Resources

In recent years, declining marine resources and increasing competition to exploit sea resources has resulted in a number of violent confrontations as some of the world's fishers resort to unlawful activity. One of the challenges that shall remain for the maritime forces will be to protect national sea resources from illegal exploitation by the others. Already Pakistan is ill-equipped to exploit her sea wealth and lacks the infrastructure to even survey the potential existing in our EEZ. Our sea wealth will be under extreme pressures from illegitimate exploitation as the rest of world eyes our untapped resources especially if we are unable to protect our rights.

Environmental Challenges

Deliberate acts that result in environmental calamities can have corresponding negative effects on economic viability and political stability of a region. Nations in the 21st century will be under increasing pressure to ensure that sea environment is protected. Immense pollution of the oceans, either caused by individuals or terrorists could result in considerable damage to ecosystems and challenge the national and economic security of nations that depend on them.

Maritime Threats and Future Outlook

Increasing threats in the regional seas in the form of territorial disputes, piracy and global environmental pressures on coastal and marine resources causes substantial governance challenges to maritime policymakers, particularly around the IOR. These security threats impact the leading strategic and commercial spaces of the world i.e. Persian Gulf and the northern Indian Ocean rim, serving as world's crucial source of crude oil and critical sector of the globe's East-West-East trading belt respectively.

Unlike conventional military circumstances in which adversary and theaters of dispute are clearly known, these global non-military threats require more than purely

military actions to be defeated. Extraordinary improvements in international commercial logistics and remarkable advances in telecommunications have combined to increase both effects and scope of terrorist activities. Whereas globally the chances of naval conflict is remote, in context of Pakistan the threat of a low intensity conflict or short and intense war of limited duration under a nuclear overhang involving naval forces, cannot be ruled out. Therefore, in any future security calculation Indian military threat in conventional and non conventional realm must figure high in the maritime domain as well.

Asymmetric Threat

The world in recent years has witnessed emergence of asymmetric threat. The danger to today's society from asymmetric threat defines this as a threat which though appear to be tactical in character, can entail outcome of strategic in scale. Discounting International Laws & Regulations and using unlawful methods such as terrorism, suicide attacks and weapons of mass destruction, the perpetrators while in quest of an asymmetric benefit do not adhere to common set of values or rules. Negatively exploiting the advantages of interconnected world, multinational criminal syndicate have widen their scope and scale of activities ranging from drug, human and arm smuggling to human trafficking and money laundering, often masking other activities such as trans-national terrorism.

Future Outlook - Strategic Context

The perceived strategic environment of the next 15 years will be characterized by increasing interdependence, instability, volatility and rapid change. Intercontinental issues such as ethno-religious anxieties, demographic shifts, greater than before quest for all types of resources, climate change and terrorism will provide the potential for crisis and confrontation leading to conflicts. The growing struggle for food, raw material and energy due rapid growth in population and corresponding imbalances in demographics in littorals have the potential to pose threat to stability, security and prosperity at national, regional and global planes. Irregular activities will continue to exacerbate the problems of failing or failed states as well as challenge and affect international peace and stability. As a result of complex, interrelated range of trans-national problems, uneven transition to a multi-polar political landscape, and likelihood of inter-state conflict will remain and may even witness an upsurge.

Repositioning of major powers will notice the US hegemonic status in competition particularly at sea with China and India, a resource rich and increasingly assertive Russia, a more confident Japan and regional aspirants like South Africa and Brazil. The states that embrace capitalism and globalization while retaining non-democratic or totalitarian forms of government may also confront states under democracy. Growing oceanic competition and increasing littoral complexity, mentioned below, will be the two main themes out to 2025 that will dominate the maritime scene:¹⁷

- **Littoral Complexity.** The majority of world's population and human activity are already contained in littoral regions of the world. The next 15

years are expected to witness a sizeable rise in population settlement in littorals and higher scale of urbanization as well as a considerable increase of power generators, aqua culture artificial structures and energy farms. Port facilities, oil & gas pipelines are also expected to increase in complexity and footprint. Heavily populated and developed littoral regions will also be impacted by the effects of extreme weather consequences of climate change and other natural events.

- **Oceanic Competition.** The Polar Regions, deep oceans and high seas are expected to become areas of enlarged competition as improved accessibility, advanced technology and resource pressure encourage more intensive exploitation by states and commercial interests. Competition will centre on extraction of oil & gas, deep sea mining and fishing but may probably broaden to right of passage and transportation.

In Regional Context, looking out over next 15 year, it is clear that the IOR will become an increasingly important and complex maritime space from a geo-strategic perspective in several key respects, characterized both by continued naval involvement from long established actors and the steadily increasing naval task group (s) and expeditionary force presence from rising Asian powers. Aside from the continued strategic relevance of well-known and long-acknowledged chokepoints, vital terminals, ports and primary sea lines of communication, certain maritime areas and littorals will emerge and develop into important strategic foci:¹⁸

- East African coast, comprising the Mozambique Channel, Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia, and the Seychelles will develop commensurately with the expansion of offshore oil & gas exploration and development. Development of major petroleum terminal & hub port at Lamu, Kenya and a planned LNG liquefaction and export facility in Mozambique, will further raise the geostrategic profile of this region.
- The mid section of the Red Sea will grow in strategic importance as the refining capacity at Yanbu on Saudi Arabia's Red Sea coast is greatly increased and as Saudi Aramco increases the transmission capacity of the East-West Crude Oil Pipeline (Petro line) from Abqaiq to Yanbu to offset risks associated with security vulnerabilities in the Strait of Hormuz.
- The northern Gulf of Oman and Omani littoral between Fujairah and Mina al Fahal will increase in strategic relevance once the UAE's Habshan-Fujairah oil export pipeline comes on stream. This may result in other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) exporters wanting to export through an eventually expanded-capacity line to reduce their dependence on Strait of Hormuz.
- Bay of Bengal region's rising importance is linked to the evolution of India's offshore petroleum activity, expansion of Myanmar's Shale gas

production and Chinese investment in pipelines and deep-water port facilities in Myanmar.

- As China's energy importing requirements and widespread commercial investments in the IOR expand, so too will its deployment of naval and expeditionary forces to monitor and protect those interests. This will be made possible by the substantial increases in its blue water naval power projection capabilities, which will likely, centered on organic airpower and long range logistical support capabilities.

Implications for Pakistan

From the preceding discussions, it is obvious that 21st century poses new and more exacting challenges to the world in general and Pakistan in particular. The new threats and challenges have far reaching implications on security, economic, diplomatic, political, legal, human resource and environmental domains. Some of the major implications are enumerated below:-

- **Security.** The threats and challenges at sea pose a direct risk to our national security with potential of undermining our sovereignty:-
 - The ever widening force differential between Pakistan and Indian navies would make a selective use of force at sea more probable. This is a distinct possibility in the prevalent/emerging geostrategic environment and peculiarity of sea medium which lends itself for the same. The flexible/graduated response we seek in the conventional realm in case of a conflict would fast erode if the maritime balance of power is not maintained at a reasonable level.
 - Pakistan has a long coastline to defend with sparse infrastructure thus making it doubly difficult to defend and patrol. As off shore infrastructure begins to take shape along with new infrastructure ashore, the need for seaward defence would increase manifold. A direct result of the new installations is that they provide opportunity for terror related actions and saboteurs attacks.
 - Terrorists pose a significant threat to sea trade and ships in ports and harbours because of Pakistan's dependence on sea trade and strategic effects it could create. Pakistan would need to make her ports and harbours safe and deny extremist sea as a medium for terrorist activities.
 - Criminal activities at sea, in particular drug trafficking from Makran coast, are a major concern of the region and world. The reported link to narco-terrorism is fraught with risk

since this kind of activity evokes international response which could be of varied degree.

- If Pakistan is unable to engage meaningfully with major players and Extra Regional Forces operating in Indian Ocean, India is likely to fill the vacuum which can dent our interests.
- **Economic.** Perhaps the biggest implication of 21st century's maritime challenges is on national economy and if they are not tackled properly the following may ensue:-
 - Energy security is the number one issue as a secure and uninterrupted flow of POL/Gas is essential to fuel the economic engine. Energy security is indeed all about keeping sea lanes safe and secure from all kinds of threats and criminal activities.
 - Neutral shipping may stop carrying Pakistan's trade if our ports are considered unsafe or non-conforming to various maritime regimes. The port of Aden is yet to fully recover from the negative fallout of USS COLE incident.
 - A negative press reporting about Pakistani ports is enough to raise freight and insurance charges thus adversely affecting import and exports.
 - A disruption in sea trade directly affects the entire economy as many industries depend on imported material.
 - Even non adherence to environmental regulations can be detrimental to our economy for e.g. many ports in the world do not allow single hulled tankers for fear of oil leakages. As the world moves towards greener protocols, there will be no choice but to follow suit.
 - Sea is an immense source of wealth and our own Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is believed to be a reservoir of oil and minerals not to mention abundant fish. We must, therefore be able to exploit this wealth with complete independence.
 - Maritime sectors which lag behind in modern technology would lose business just like airports which do not offer efficient services are often neglected.
- **Political.** Pakistan has a political influence within the region as a key maritime player. Pakistan extends this leverage through bilateral and

multi lateral collaboration with regional nations and by maintaining presence in the area. Pakistan has historic ties with nearly all the Gulf navies which are under a constant challenge from India. Pakistan must, therefore continue to develop to maintain the current status in the comity of nations.

- **Environmental.** Environmental concerns will be a significant issue thus adherence to environmental standards and regulations will be a pre-requisite to do business with outside world.
- **Manpower Development.** Maritime environment will be a complex, technical, legal, security and economic affair. As a sequel, a highly trained human resource will be needed to not only conduct day to day affairs but also to devise maritime policies/strategies.
- **Maritime Control Regimes Implementation.** A number of discriminatory and often unilateral declared regimes are likely to impinge upon sovereignty. Pakistan will have to withstand pressure to secure its interests.

The creation and maintaining security at sea is crucial both for dangers like terrorism, weapons & drug smuggling, human trafficking and other criminal activities and naturally during conflicts as well. Defeating the irregular threats enhances national security, ensures stability and secures freedom of navigation for the benefit of all. Unfortunately response to emerging challenges suffers from lack of popular support and understanding maritime issues at the national level along with scarce resources often resulting in relegation of maritime needs.

Conclusion

The economic well-being of the world as indeed of Pakistan depends greatly upon the trade and commerce that pass through the oceans; maritime security therefore has to be a top priority in 21st century too. Maritime security is mandatory to ensure freedom of the seas, assist freedom of navigation and commerce. All nations have a mutual interest in achieving two corresponding objectives i.e. to facilitate the vibrant maritime commerce that underpins economic security and to protect against ocean related terrorist, hostile, criminal and dangerous acts. Since all nations benefit from this collective security, all nations must share in the responsibility for maintaining maritime security by countering the threats in this domain being faced in 21st century. Maritime security is best achieved by blending public and private maritime security activities on global, regional and national scales through an integrated effort that addresses all maritime threats.

Pakistan as a nation stand at cross roads with multifarious challenges ahead, which span across economic, social, political and indeed security spectrums. In context of national security, the threat to land borders from traditional foe under nuclear overhang appears to have receded but asymmetric threat and 5th generation warfare

from within/ across has assumed astronomical proportions. The emerging threats and challenges need to be understood and fathomed, particularly in the complex maritime arena as Pakistan's economic future and prosperity are intrinsically linked to sea just like most other maritime nations in the world. The sea holds the promise and nation's dependence on sea is likely to grow rapidly in the 21st century. We need to devise integrated and coherent strategies to face up to the challenges.

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POLITICS OF ASIA PACIFIC AND US STRATEGIC INTERESTS

Introduction

In the global politics, Asia Pacific is confronted with many challenges. It's a region in which the United States, China and Japan relate directly to one another. The United States is still a dominant power in the region, since post 1945 period, whereas, on an ambitious plan of economic modernization since late 1970s, China has grown steadily stronger. Are China and the United States on a collision course? Is US new Asia Pacific as a "pivot" or "rebalancing" is to contain China? or can they cooperate to bring permanent peace not only in the region but in the world? Where does Japan, the world's second largest economic power, fit in this frame? Japan has maintained its alliance with the United States, while also developing a more independent direction; but it does not wish to see the region dominated by China. Throughout Asia Pacific, one can also observe the expanding presence of regional and global organizations.

Presently, once again Asia Pacific has gained primacy in Global Geo-Political calculus; U.S has increased its strategic engagement in the Asia-Pacific on a premise that an increasingly assertive China might pose a challenge to the regional and subsequently world order.¹ The Obama Administration mentioned 'pivoting' US national security efforts towards Asia; however, subsequently the US official avoided this terminology.² Instead, they highlighted 'rebalance to the Asia- Pacific'. US position on Scarborough Shoal, being contested by both China and Philippines, was that it wished to see restraint and diplomatic resolution, a strategic signal to both the Philippines and China. The US is, however, less clear regarding how it would respond to an escalating crisis in the South China Sea between the Philippines and China, while the US and the Philippines are engaged through a bilateral Mutual Defence Treaty dating from 1952, it was unclear if the treaty applied in the event of conflict over features that Manila claimed in the South China Sea (particularly as the treaty pre-dated these claims). United States seemed determined to enhance the capabilities of the Philippine Armed Forces. In April 2012 tentative agreement was reached on the supply of military equipment including second hand F-16 combat aircraft and an additional frigate sized ship from the United States, in exchange for use of Philippines air bases. In another major breakthrough, one intriguing possibility does exist that Washington might also develop security relations with a reforming Myanmar.

Presently the region is confronted with enormous Challenges; the foremost is the China's claims to the Spratly Islands which may have far-reaching consequences. To bolster their claims, countries in the region have scrambled to occupy as many of the features as possible. Currently, Beijing controls the entire Paracels and fifteen reefs and shoals within the Spratlys, all the other disputed features are controlled by other claimants. In the last several years, the number of incidents between maritime forces has increased dramatically and has included tense standoffs between Philippines and China at Scarborough Reef in April 2012.³ This led to more assertive stance by Philippines, China and Vietnam on this issue, threatening regional stability and providing a space to US to shift its focus to the Asia Pacific who is already preparing

grounds to play a dominant role and achieve its strategic objectives set forth for the region.

Aim

To evaluate the shift in US policies towards Asia Pacific for strategic rebalance to the region through regional diplomatic/military alliances, especially at a time when China is emerging as an economic power and flexing its muscle in the South China Sea.

FACTORS INFLUENCING POLICIES IN THE REGION

Confrontation between US and China

International relations in Asia Pacific witnessed direct confrontation between America and China during Korean War (1950–1953). With UN authorization, US forces with the support from other countries had come for the assistance of South Korea. China felt threatened and entered the war. Moreover, subsequently sending of the US Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan, the People Republic of China (PRC) saw US protection of Taiwan as unwarranted interference in the Chinese civil war. The PRC became the main focus of the US containment strategy in Asia Pacific and from the Chinese perspective the United States was attempting “encirclement” of China. In the 1960s, the emergence of the Vietnam War also highlighted the Sino-US confrontation. Both the USSR and China were seen as supporting the Vietnamese communists; it was believed that the defeat of South Vietnam would mean an extension of Chinese power. There was an important element of “power politics” in this conflict and each country competed for influence in different regions of the world.

Sino - US Rapprochement

During the 1970s and 1980s, the most significant development in international relations was the emergence of the Sino-US rapprochement. The Nixon administration sought to achieve improved relations with both the communist powers i.e. China and the USSR, thereby improving US leverage. President Richard Nixon visited China in 1972⁴ and signed Shanghai Communiqué. The United States recognized the “One China” principle, also conveyed its interest in a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue, these developments finally led to the establishment of formal diplomatic relations in 1979 between the two countries. US recognition of the Republic of China (Taiwan) ended and the mutual security treaty was also terminated, although the US continued arms sales through the Taiwan Relations Act (1979). Apart from the changes in the US-China-Taiwan relationship, it also ended polarization in the region and added scope for regional countries to develop relations with both China and the US and to pursue more independent policies.

Japan’s Concern on Sino - US Rapprochement

The greater fluidity in international relations in Asia Pacific following the Sino-US rapprochement had implications for Japan. Japan was also active in the Group of 7 (world’s major economic powers) and expanded its links with Southeast Asia. In Asia

Pacific the major developments relating to the end of the Cold War concerned the Soviet Union. However, Soviet-US relations clearly changed at the global level but there were also implications in the North Pacific. Tensions relating to the opposing military deployments of the United States and the USSR in this region did ease at this time. While understanding the historical background helps to put recent developments in the international politics of Asia Pacific into context, it is constructive now to be aware of some of the key features of the polities of the region.

Regional Political/ Economic Dynamics of Asia Pacific

Political System. Asia Pacific encompasses a broad range of political systems, United States and Japan have liberal democratic political systems; China has an authoritarian political system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Western powers such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have liberal democratic principles. A number of states in both Northeast and Southeast Asia are based on democratic principles whereas Brunei is ruled by a Sultanate. The Russian Federation has moved toward democratization since the demise of Soviet Union, but also retains some authoritarian features. Apart from China, there are communist-oriented authoritarian governments in North Korea, Vietnam, and Laos while there have been moves toward reform in Myanmar.

Economic Interest in the Region. In terms of economic systems, most Asia Pacific countries are broadly capitalist. The two major economic powers of Asia Pacific are the Japan and United States; having the largest and the third largest GDPs respectively.⁵ Both the countries have advanced industrial economies, whereas China is an emerging economic power, with a significant private sector. In Northeast Asia, South Korea and Taiwan, two of the “newly industrializing countries” (NICs) are close to the Japanese model. Australia and Canada are closer to the United States in approach. In Southeast Asia, Singapore has the most advanced economy. Prior to the Asian economic crisis of 1997, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia experienced significant economic growth through the development of their manufacturing sectors. North Korea has experienced significant economic decline.⁶ Recently, US is pursuing economic and trade agenda more aggressively to project himself as an economic leader in the region. A three pronged approach has been adopted by US to ensure successful engagement with the regional countries, which is as under:

- To secure ratification of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between U.S-Korea.
- To achieve landmark progress on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TTP) negotiations.
- To make the APEC more effective.

Asia Pacific in 21st Century. Recent trends appear to indicate that the Asia-Pacific will become the centre of attention in the 21st century. Whether the 21st century remains “American” or becomes “Pacific” is a matter of debate, but one can still argue in

defence of the broader “Asia-Pacific century.” The rise of China to superpower status and security role of the United States is likely to be a central focus of the world. The regional security is not by simply looking at what states do in Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, or East Asia as a whole but it also depends on the activities of great powers inside and outside East Asia and relations among powerful states, especially China, Japan, Russia, and the United States. North Korea and Myanmar continue to be considered the main cause for insecurity and instability in the region and remain alien to the region’s prosperity. The most critical issues which the world facing today, are the nuclear proliferation, unresolved territorial disputes, military competition, violent extremism and financial crises. The increasing demand of natural resources coupled with emergence of transnational threats viz US long terms objective in the region, it has become essential for US to work with allies to face these challenges. US has made a framework so as to ensure its identity as a Pacific Power as mentioned below:-

- Modernize and deepen alliances with Japan, Australia, Philippines, Thailand and the Republic of Korea.
- Broaden engagement with important countries like Indonesia, Singapore,
- Malaysia, Vietnam, Mongolia, New Zealand and India.
- With China, develop stable, comprehensive and predictable relationship.
- Engage and invest in the region’s promising multilateral architecture.
- Pursue trade and economy strategy more aggressively. ⁷

United States is working to support the region’s own endeavours to promote democracy, freedom of religion, expression and protect human rights. US is also advocating and trying hard for the restoration of democracies in countries like Fiji, and Myanmar. In number of areas, the region offers the US numerous opportunities, including growing markets for economic interests and forming new strategic partnerships. US also consider Australia; a strategic anchor for regional stability is playing an important role in maintaining global security.

US –India Relations. To exert more pressure on China, the US is strengthening China’s neighbours and proactively engaging regional countries. India being a growing international player, US is engaging India on a wide array of regional issues and consider it a counter weight to China and also see these relations would help to pursue its policies in the region. Due to the fact, it is absolutely necessary that India-Pakistan relations should be normalize and India pulls out its armed forces from Kashmir and shifts her focus to China. The US had already stopped Pakistan from insurgency in Kashmir so that India can be in politically stable position. Along with these steps, the US is also strengthening India both economically and militarily, manifestation of same is the agreement on civil nuclear technology, opening of US markets to Indian products are some other examples.

US Approach Towards China in Asia Pacific. An important constituent of US efforts in the Asia Pacific is the approach towards China. Through this approach, US is looking for a constructive and comprehensive engagement with China. As ex Secretary Clinton said, “ the U.S.- China relationship is at a critical juncture; how we manage the relationship today with its elements of both competition and cooperation will have a large impact on the future of the region”.⁸ Over the last couple of years, US and China have taken some constructive measure to steer in a positive direction, to translate words into action through diplomacy. Keeping in view the prospects of future US – China relation and US interest in the region, US would continue to push china for further action on North Korea for violation of UN Security Council Resolutions. With regards to Iran, US may press China for more tightly enforced sanctions. On the economic front, US will continue to demand China for lowering trade barriers, visible progress on economic issues, which includes trade and investment and full implementation of commitments it made during visit of Chinese President to US.

South China Sea – A Contentious Issue. Many of the regional countries are contesting and have some sense of enmity toward China due to territorial rows and China’s stance of the energy-rich South China Sea. Many countries including Vietnam and Philippines have looked towards US for assistance in resolving and supporting them over the escalating situations. In the recent past, China has become more assertive over its maritime disputes in South China Sea with Philippines, Japan, Vietnam and others.⁹ In a major development, recently China has announced a new policy for 2013, empowering Chinese warships to stop, search or simply force back ships belong to any other country, from entering the claimed waters. China has also increased the size and frequency of Chinese naval deployments in the disputed areas. All these factors are heightening the risk of confrontation especially with Japan.

Sensing the gravity of emerging situation, the US is increasing its strategic engagement in the Asia-Pacific as assertive China poses a serious challenge to the regional order and to address its allies and partners dependence on its security assistance. China has persistently upgraded its military potential including its progressively sophisticated missile technology. Particularly, it has focused on increasing “asymmetric” capabilities for warfare in all domains that can counterbalance America’s military dominance. The by-product of the capabilities is what the U.S. calls the A2AD (“anti-access/area-denial”) strategy aimed at averting any adversary from entering its military operational area or limit the enemy’s freedom of action within the specified area. For China, securing an unhindered, stable supply of energy and resources is of supreme importance to ensure continuity in economic growth and thus strengthen public support for the political leadership. It has engaged in developing safer, shorter and more cost-effective maritime and overland trade routes by strengthening relations with Indian Ocean states including Myanmar and Pakistan through provisioning of economic assistance and other support programs.

US STRATEGIC INTEREST IN ASIA PACIFIC

US Asia Pacific Policy of “Pivot” or “Rebalancing”

It is becoming more evident from US shift in policy towards Asia Pacific that the rebalance is now top priority for the Pentagon. In November, President Barack Obama made his first foreign trip (first ever by any serving US president) following his re-election, to Myanmar with a view to encouraging further political and economic reforms. He also visited Thailand and Cambodia, which held the ASEAN chair, underscored US willingness to support ASEAN's centrality in Asian regional multilateralism.¹⁰ The Pentagon's Defence Strategic Guidance document in January 2012 highlighted 'pivoting' US national security efforts towards Asia, seen as an increasingly important focus of US strategic and economic interests. However, within months, US Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta when he spoke at the IISS Shangri-La dialogue in Singapore in June was avoiding this terminology, which did not highlight the strong sense of long-term commitment that Washington wished to convey. Instead, they spoke of a 'rebalance' to the Asia-Pacific. According to Panetta, “as part of this rebalancing effort we are strengthening our presence in Southeast Asia and in the Indian Ocean region”.¹¹ Despite all, to ensure its commitment in the Asia Pacific, US is further enhancing its presence with placing of 2500 US marines and supporting aviation units in Australia, the US has deepened its strategic cooperation with Thailand, capability enhancements of the Philippines, to improve its 'maritime presence'; deploying littoral combat ships (LCS) in Singapore. US navy ships making additional port calls even at the former Subic Bay, conducting more joint exercises, established a National Coast Watch Centre and has also supplied additional military equipment, intended to enhance the Philippines' awareness of threats to its maritime interests. US has also enhanced security partnerships with countries of South East Asia namely Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam along with New Zealand and most notably with India.

US rebalance or Containment of China?

Despite US denial, it is widely understood that the US rebalance is a reaction to China's growing power, confidence and assertiveness in a part of the world that it assesses to be strategically important. Indeed, most Southeast Asian states are benefited from China's economic expansion, particularly after the Free Trade Area agreement between ASEAN – China in 2010.¹² However, geopolitical implications of assertiveness by China's in the South China sea is raising concern to Southeast Asian and rebalance is seen more positively by few regional players. Countries like Philippines are getting nervous due lack of an external defence capability as maritime tensions with China has escalated, particularly after a naval stand-off began over the disputed Scarborough Shoal in April 2012, Manila has agreed with the US to reinforce substantially their bilateral defence relations, which had languished after the closure of major military bases in the country in 1992. Although, Philippines government is supporting the US rebalance due her own pressing security requirements, both are bound by their bilateral Mutual Defence Treaty dating from 1952, but it is unclear whether the treaty applies in the event of conflict that Manila claims in the South China

Sea and how the United States would respond to escalating crisis between China and the Philippines.¹³ It is widely perceived that treaty would not apply, while the US will be more interested in securing greater access to Philippine airfields on a longer-term basis, which of course will have reluctance in Manila to accede to any such arrangements.

US Approach Towards Regional Key Actors

In light of Asia-oriented policy, the US has been strengthening its treaty alliances with regional countries. The US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton said in November 2011, “As the war in Iraq winds down and America begins to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan, the United States stands at a pivot point. In the next 10 years, we need to be smart and systematic about where we invest time and energy, so that we put ourselves in the best position to sustain our leadership, secure our interests, and advance our values”.¹⁴ Presently one of the vital tasks of US statecraft in the next decade will, therefore, be proactive engagement in the Asia-Pacific region through diplomatic, economic and in a substantially increased investment.

In early 2012, Thailand hosted supposedly the world's largest multinational military exercise including Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore and South Korea involving 9,000 US personnel. Although Singapore is not a US ally, but its defence and security relations with Washington, under a Strategic Framework Agreement, are in many ways closer than those of the Philippines and Thailand. Singapore has shown willingness to US for naval deployments in Singapore and allowed four ships (LCS) may be operating by 2017, while Singapore is ready to provide facilities to the US Navy but its refusal to be drawn into an alliance underlines the reality that it might remain neutral in case of US–China conflict.

Vietnam like most of the regional countries has been even more cautious in their responses to the core security aspects of the US rebalance. Vietnam is a 'front-line state' in the South China Sea, where it dispute with China over the Spratly Islands, Paracels and other features, and even fought a major war with China in 1979.¹⁵ Despite bitterly fought Second Indochina War with the US, Hanoi obviously welcomes revived US interest in Southeast Asia to hold back China's assertiveness but not at the cost of its relations with Beijing.¹⁶

Future Outlook of Asia Pacific

Economic, political and military initiatives to enhance American presence and influence in the Asia Pacific region, combined with assertive Chinese behaviour and advances across a range of military capabilities, intensified strategic competition between Washington and Beijing. Frequent US – China communication and consultation helped alleviate concerns and damp down suspicions, but the risk of drift toward strategic rivalry persisted. US - China relations remain steady preserving a stable bilateral relationship, managing differences and advancing cooperation were objectives shared by Chinese and US senior leadership over the past year. But when Obama received the Dalai Lama at the White House, Beijing blamed the US of interfering in China's internal affair and would damage bilateral relations, and even

quietly postponed a relatively insignificant planned visit to China by a State Department's special adviser.¹⁷ However, the relations were repaired when in August 2011; US Vice President Joe Biden made an official 6 days visit to China. Ties between the US and Chinese militaries had been on a positive trajectory with a successful visit by Admiral Mike Mullen to China in July 2011, the first by a US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in four years. Chinese President Xi Jinping's visit to the United States proceeded as planned in February 2012, provided an opportunity to incoming leader to gain better grasp of relationship between China and the US.

Apprehensions of Regional Countries - US Rebalancing Policy

US officials underscored that the rebalancing of US strategy towards Asia was not aimed at containing or strategically encircling China. Rather, US policy initiatives were presented as a long-overdue reweighting of American attention to protect and advance American interests, exploit opportunities and reassure its allies and friends of American commitments and staying power in the region, especially as the US prepared to make radical cuts in its defence budget.¹⁸ But assertions by the US president and members of his cabinet that the United States welcomed China's rise and hoped to expand cooperation with China failed to assuage Chinese worries. US concerns mounted about China's expanding capabilities in cyber, space, nuclear and conventional weapons. US also consider China's development of an anti-ship ballistic missile (DF-21D) intended to put US aircraft carriers at risk. In March 2012, China announced an increase of 11.2% in military spending.¹⁹ China on the world stage challenges to regional and global security from mid-2011 to mid-2012 put China in the spotlight and tested whether Beijing would contribute positively to the resolution of international problems as its economic clout expanded.

To correct the perception of an assertive attitude, China endeavours now is to engage the regional and international players proactively. In autumn 2011, China encouraged a US–North Korean deal that held out promise to pave the way for the resumption of the Six-Party Talks aimed at denuclearisation of North Korea. China tries to ease out relations with neighbours after a period of rising tensions with the Philippines and Vietnam over competing claims in the South China Sea, Beijing returned to a posture of restraint and reassurance toward its Southeast Asian neighbours. Over the year to mid-2012, Beijing took additional steps to improve its tarnished image and reduce neighbouring countries' incentives to enhance cooperation with the United States to counterbalance Chinese power.

During a visit to China by Philippine Foreign Secretary Albert del Rosario in July 2011, both sides agreed on further deliberation on maritime disputes which affect the broader cooperative relationship. This understanding was reaffirmed in a joint statement released in September when Philippine President Benigno Aquino visited China. Chinese State Councillor also visited Vietnam in September 2011 in an effort to lower friction and improves relations. The following month, during a visit to China by Vietnamese party leader Nguyen Phu Trong, an accord was signed setting basic principles to guide the settlement of maritime issues. Xi Jinping further strengthened Sino-Vietnamese bilateral ties during his visit to Hanoi in December. China's trade with

and investment in Southeast Asia continued to grow at a double-digit annual pace. At the China–ASEAN meeting in November 2011, Wen announced a \$ 476 million China–ASEAN maritime cooperation fund and pledged another \$ 10 billion in loans for ASEAN in addition to \$ 15 billion in loans pledged two years earlier, despite the political tensions, the Sino-Japanese economic relationship flourished and the bilateral trade reached a record \$ 344.9 billion. ²⁰

Regardless of all efforts and positive developments and gestures by regional countries, low-level disputes between China and other South China Sea claimants disturb the security mosaic of the regional environment. US rebalancing efforts to contain China's increasing assertiveness in Asia Pacific has attained serious attention of the world community. It is generally perceived that the presence of US foothold, in Afghanistan is to disturb China's western trade and energy routes and now US pivot strategy in Asia Pacific is to contain China from contesting uni-polarity. The same was manifested when Hillary Clinton even made a sudden tour of Myanmar, a country which was not on US radars for many decades, considering the fact that Myanmar shares long border with China.

Conclusion

Policymakers throughout Southeast Asia and the wider Asia-Pacific are deeply conscious and concerned about the implications for their countries' foreign and security policy orientations of the changing regional distribution of power, particularly in terms of China's growing power and assertiveness. At the same time, though, remaining on good terms with Beijing is important for their economic health, and most Southeast Asian states have been unwilling to endanger their trade and investment links with China.

Regional governments are also apprehensive and doubting over the permanence of America's role and rhetoric of the US rebalance, have seen and witnessed a series of outside powers come and go. They recognise that, as the US reduces its forces in Europe and withdraws from Afghanistan, the Asia-Pacific will naturally be the main defence focus for America. But they also know that Washington's longer-term regional commitment could become hostage to fiscal realities and to changes of administration. In these circumstances, most of the Asian pacific states are keeping their strategic options open.

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INDIA'S BALANCING ACT: RELATIONS WITH THE US, RUSSIA AND CHINA

Introduction

In the contemporary world, the optimal way India can take advantage of the co-relation of forces involves three strong interlocking vectors – its respective partnerships with the United States, China and Russia.¹ This emerging system of balance of power can be envisaged as one in which each country tries to be the balancer, promoting its own interests by building relations with India, even as it engages in selective collaboration with the other countries on an issue-by-issue basis.²

Although in 1961, India was one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement, during the Cold War era India went on to develop friendship with USSR. After the end of Cold War and breakdown of the Soviet Union, India revisited her foreign policy in a unipolar world, and developed close relations with EU and USA.³

However, India is faced with the impasse of how to promote its interests within the order merging in Asia, characterized by the rise of China and increasing US focus and its rebalance in east Asia.

This situation will have a significant effect on Pakistan, which is a part of the strategic four-sided relationship in South Asia comprising China, India and the United States.

Aim

To analyze the degree of association India has with the US, Russia and China, and evaluate effects on geo-strategic and economic well being of Pakistan.

INDIA– USA RELATIONS

Historical Background

During the Cold War era, in America's view, India aligned with Soviet Union, however, in the late 1970s, Indo-US relations improved considerably during the term of Jimmy Carter as US President. When India did not support USA during 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Indo-US relations once again got strained.⁴ After the cold war, the new market oriented approach of India made it a valuable partner for America.⁵ Clinton's visit in year 2000 is considered as a landmark in Indo-US relations, paving the way for a continuous political dialogue between the two nations. In year 2005' G. W. Bush went ahead with the Indo-US nuclear deal enabling India to receive nuclear assistance even though India had not signed the Non Proliferation Treaty.⁶

Areas of Cooperation

In June 2010, US-India Strategic Dialogue was reinitiated under President Bush.⁷ In 2005, the United States and India entered a ten-year defence framework agreement, with an aim to expand bilateral security cooperation. After Israel and Russia, US is one of the top three military suppliers to India.⁸ US have invested heavily in telecommunications, power generation, roads, ports petroleum exploration and processing, and mining industries. The bilateral trade between the two countries has tripled from 2004 to 2008 and is still growing.⁹ The civil nuclear energy cooperation agreement with the United States was finalized in 2008. An agreement was signed between Westinghouse Electric Co. and the Nuclear Power Company of India Ltd. in June 2012, leading to the preparation of nuclear power plant sites in Western India.¹⁰ India's bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council was supported by President Barack Obama in November 2010.

Hurdles in the Relations

Under Washington's pressure Indian government was forced to cut oil imports from Iran by about 10 – 15%. India has also struggled to pay Iran under US financial sanctions.¹¹

INDIA AND CHINA

Burden of History

After the occupation of Tibet by Mao's People's Liberation Army since 1950, mutual relations between the world's two most populous nations were undermined by suspicions, distrust, conflict containment and rivalry. The two countries have faced each other in major military conflicts i.e 1962 Sino-Indian War, 1967 Chola incident and the 1987 Sino-Indian skirmish. However, since 1998, a number of measures to strengthen trade, political and military ties have been taken by both countries.

Indo-China Cooperation

The first major effort made to finish the stalemate between the two countries was the Indo-China strategic Economic Dialogue held in 2011. Year 2012 was an eventful year for India - China bilateral defence cooperation. The Chinese defence minister visited India and the high level and academic defence exchanges took place. In 1994, India became China's largest trading partner replacing Pakistan in South Asia, and in 2003 China displaced Japan as India's largest trading partner in East Asia. In general, India exports its raw material to China and imports cheap machinery from China for its industry. Trade flows have risen rapidly, from a paltry \$350 million in 1993 to \$70 billion in 2012, and could surpass \$100 billion by year 2015.¹²

Areas of Concern

Procurement of energy resources is an area where, with lack of absence of a sensible understanding, there could be a destructive competition between two countries. The two countries have failed to resolve their long-standing border issues which has never been formally demarcated. Both countries undertake patrols in disputed areas, which each view as their territory. The two nations have steadily built-up military infrastructure along border areas. Additionally, Chinese are concerned about Indian activities in disputed South China Sea.¹³ India on the other side is worried about the Chinese Naval presence and activities in the Indian Ocean.¹⁴ In the last decade, China has progressively strengthened high-tech military setup in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) along the Indian border triggering an Indian military hardware acquisition program.¹⁵ India also remains concerned and suspicious about China's strong strategic relations with Pakistan.

INDIA AND RUSSIA

History

Over the years since 1950, India and the USSR developed strategic relationship. After the fall of USSR and end of the Cold War, India went on to develop trade and defence relations with the West, however, maintained close relations with Russia as successor.

Cooperation

Today, India and Russia are engaged in joint research and development in the field of defence promoting joint training, inter-service contacts, and participation of the two militaries in joint exercises. India is the second largest market for the Russian defense industry. Energy sector has been identified as an emerging area for mutual cooperation. Russia has helped the civilian nuclear industry in India. In 2010, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin reaffirming his decades-old ties announced 16 Nuclear reactors to be built in India.¹⁶ These reactors will increase the production of nuclear energy from 4,780 MW to 63,000 MW by 2032.¹⁷ Both countries support each other on matters of mutual interest. At the BRICS, G-20 and SCO, India has observer status and Russia supports Indian bid for full membership.¹⁸ In recent years economy, has grown in importance with both countries setting a target for \$20 billion in bilateral trade by 2015.¹⁹ Russia's over the years has extended unconditional support to India on her stance on the issue of Kashmir and the problems being faced by India on account of this dispute. The two countries have also closely collaborated in the key sector of Space technology.

Thorny Issues

In the recent past, Russia has faced stiff competition on a number of defence deals from Western countries. India is competing and trying to match China that is modernizing its own military at some pace. The kind of weapons that Russia has traditionally offered—cheap and fairly simple—are no longer quite suiting Indian needs. India needs to have a much bigger trade volume with Russia than the abysmally low \$10 billion annually.²⁰ Indian Parliament approved the Civil Liability for Nuclear Damage Act in 2010 and it has become a thorny issue between the two countries with Moscow seeking certain amendments in the liability clause.²¹

INDIA'S BALANCING ACT

India – USA

The US has planned to increase its presence and partnership in Southern Indian Ocean region extending from the Western Pacific and East Asia wherein bulk of US naval forces would be deployed. The US is projecting India as the central player in American regional strategy.²² In a close defense cooperation, there is an opportunity for India to advance on the technology gap and benefit from the growing strategic relationship with the US. However, the US 'rebalancing strategy' is likely to impact the balance of power in Asia and an open endorsement of the US strategy could also be detrimental to her relations with China.²³

India – China

The rate of growth of Chinese power suggests that it is seeking to push out the United States altogether and reducing India and Japan to acquiescent status. Indian Pragmatists hold that China is likely to be a restrained power focused on managing, if not resolving conflicts. Indian Hyper-realists argue that China will never be territorially satiated and contend that New Delhi has to adopt a strategy of engagement with containment. India's pro-China lobby supports China absolutely in view to end the US hegemony.

India-Russia

The relationship with Russia serves a crucial purpose for India in balancing its partnership with the US and China.²⁴ A close Russian-Chinese entente makes it incumbent on India to continue to consolidate its ties with Russia. Russia's emerging partnership with the advanced economy of US is to be welcomed by India. India has an opportunity to seek fresh synergies with Russia in areas of strategic convergence in Eurasia and Eurasian power projects. Russia has been opposed to any kind of sanctions on Iran and this suits India as well. As Russia is seeking an active role in the Pacific Rim, India can explore ways to strengthen connectivity with Russia's Far-East.

Challenges to Indian Balancing Act

India needs to enhance economic relationship with China, while simultaneously developing close economic ties with the US. Furthermore, it has to balance these initiatives with already close strategic relationships with Russia and Central Asia.²⁵ In the race for energy resources, Russian would try to keep a grip on the flow of Caspian Sea oil from Central Asia. US and China are thrusting themselves into the region on the back of proposed oil pipelines which would bypass Russia.²⁶ Thus, India is an equal competitor with US, China and Russia in the global race to acquire new and substantial sources of energy. In terms of military cooperation, the drawing of India into a US axis and away from a Russian would naturally offend Russia. This would also increase the fear in China that it is being 'surrounded'. Continued US interest in Pakistan, in the wake of Pakistan's role in the ongoing war on terror, is worrying for India. China's support for Pakistan in the event of conflict with India is a serious impediment in the Sino-Indian relationship. India has gone out of its way to remind the US that it will pursue an independent policy vis-à-vis Iran.²⁷

The Spectrum of Strategies²⁸

- **Trust No One.** India can assume that other states are unreliable and will only operate to further their own interests. ***However, the chances are that it will find itself left behind or out-manoeuvred.***
- **Taking Sides.** India has an option to work with China and Russia to limit the role of the US in the region. India may also opt to join hands with US to contain China and Russia.
- **Mutual Cooperation.** Globally the best way forward may be for all of the countries to cooperate to maintain stability and prosperity in the region and beyond. However, ***each country has its own strategy and aims for the future, which they will not bend or sacrifice for the benefit of India or any other country.***
- **The Hedging Option.** The regional and global landscapes being in flux, US, China and Russia are hedging their bets and India should follow their lead.
- **The Hedging Strategy.** Hedging constitutes a set of strategies aimed at avoiding or planning for contingencies in a situation in which states cannot decide on more straightforward alternatives such as balancing, band wagoning, or neutrality. Instead, they cultivate a middle position that forestalls or avoids having to choose one side at the obvious expense of another. It involves pursuance of policies that combine engagement and integration mechanisms.²⁹

Mutual hedging allows countries to maintain mutually beneficial economic relations with each other while addressing uncertainty and growing security concerns. It is a delicate balancing act that, to be effective and sustainable requires careful management of accumulating stresses in the relation and the domestic politics in each country.³⁰ Given the relative disadvantages of the other strategies and how they are ineffective to achieve India's objectives, the hedging strategy continues to be the most appropriate for India.³¹ In the coming decades, India will have to devote much attention to the creation and maintenance of an optimal India-China-USA triangle.³² India can choose to derive benefits from US concerns about China, this generates certain expectations in the US as well. Therefore, India needs to decide how far it is willing to go to deepen the relationship with the US. However, Sino-Indian interaction is increasing especially in the economic realm and India does not desire to provoke China. Indian policymakers will have to integrate their hedging strategy with India's interests across the geographical and functional spectrums, while at the same time anticipating how American and Chinese might do the same.

IMPLICATIONS / RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR PAKISTAN

The strategic environment in Pakistan is evolving at a frantic pace and there are multiple scenarios that could unfold. Is Pakistan re-assessing the multifarious threats it faces and repositioning itself accordingly? Is it choosing its enemies anew? A number of such issues related to India's balancing act and their direct / indirect impact on Pakistan have been highlighted in this part of the paper.

Pakistan's Contextual Relevance to India's Balancing Act

- **Geo-Political Position of Pakistan.** Pakistan's geo-strategic location places it as a central state connecting East, Centre and West Asia. Pakistan's foreign policy is increasingly focusing on regionalism. In the present regional situation, regionalism can only triumph if there is a common purpose and trust amongst local players.³³ Alongwith a renewed focus on developing regional trade and energy corridors, China, Russia, Pakistan and India promoting mutual respect for sovereignty and national integrity of states and showing intolerance for external intervention in regional disputes.³⁴
- **The Quest for Energy.** The world is in flux and is gradually moving to multipolar world order. This evolving world order is evident by the quest for securing energy resources extending from Iran to the Pacific Ocean. It has been termed as "the Liquid War"

and it is being fought for the control of Eurasia. “The New Great Game” is centered on the regional energy politics playing in Central Asian region. Along with United States and Russia — new regional players including China and India have also surfaced. Pakistan is directly involved in the New Great Game.³⁵ Owing to Pakistan’s geo-political and geo-economic significance with respect to South, West and Central Asia it emerges as an energy corridor for regional states. However, instability in Afghanistan, conflict with India and tension due Iranian nuclear program has so far hampered the development of such an energy corridor. The establishment of the Gwadar Port in 2006 was the initial step towards becoming a Trade and Energy Corridor (TEC) for China, which would potentially port Persian Gulf oil overland through Pakistan to China, thus connecting the Middle East to Xinjiang, China. In a time period of 20 years, Gwadar port is expected to generate an estimated amount of \$60 billion from transit fees.³⁶

- **Pak-China Relationship.** Since the first time Pakistani and Chinese leaders extended bilateral cooperation in support of each other’s security needs at Bandung Conference in 1955, Pakistan holds a special position in China’s foreign policy construct. China has become Pakistan’s largest defense supplier, with joint development projects ranging from fighter jets for PAF to guided missile frigates for Pak Navy. On the economic side, China is biggest trade partner of Pakistan and both countries have signed Free Trade Agreement. The two sides are committed to achieving a trade target of \$15 billion by 2015. All economic aid from China comes with no political strings attached as compared to the aid it receives from the United States, which often comes with strings attached, even as Chinese assistance is nowhere near what the United States has given to Pakistan.³⁷
- **Pak-US Relations.** As Pakistan looks for regional connectivity and enhancement, there is an obvious tension between the regional approaches adopted by Pakistan with that of the US. Until now US was trying to resolve the Afghan issue on its own and Pakistan was seen through the prism of Afghanistan, but lately Pakistan is asserting that it has important role to play in Afghan reconciliation process being a neighbour of Afghanistan. Recently, Pakistan has taken few strategic decisions which may have some implications—first was to sign ***Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project on 11 March 2013 and the second was handing over the port of Gwadar to a Chinese government owned firm on 18 February 2013.*** The US has consistently opposed and pressurized Pakistan to not proceed with the IP project along with threat of sanctions. On the other hand, Pakistan has deep rooted suspicions about the US-Indian security cooperation as it tilts the conventional

force balance in favour of India. Pakistan has now become only a tactical partner of US, while India has emerged as her strategic partner.³⁸ US support to India's quest for permanent seat in UNSC has also affected Pakistan's interests vis-à-vis outstanding conflicts with India. After becoming a permanent member in UNSC, India shall be able to exploit Pakistan's interests through the veto power and any hope for future settlement of Kashmir issue would dwindle.

- **Pak-Russia Relations.** Russia has publically supported Pakistan's desire of joining SCO as a full member, and stated Pakistan as an important Muslim country in South Asian region. Prime Minister of Russia also offered to help Pakistan in expansion of Karachi steel mill and providing technical support for Guddu and Muzaffargarh power plants. In an unparalleled exchange between Russia and Pakistan, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov visited Islamabad in October 2012. In exchange for the first time, Pakistan's Army Chief General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani visited Russia for promoting defence cooperation. Russia and Pakistan support each other on the issues of Afghanistan, regional stability and counter-narcotics efforts. The growing military and diplomatic relations between Russia and Pakistan could help build pressure on external players to leave the regional security to the regional stakeholder.³⁹ Russia-Pakistan relationship appears to have potential for improvement in future, leaving behind the differences of the past.

Pakistan's Response Options

In wake of the prevailing regional situation, following are some response options available to Pakistan:-

- **Enhanced Cooperation with China.** China remains Pakistan's closest friend and strategic ally as proven on number of occasions. China is no longer simply a regional power that has to cater to Pakistan's interests alone and it also sees Pakistan through the prism of her global interests.⁴⁰ Pakistan should build on economic relations with China by promoting trade and technical collaboration. The already existing friendly relations between Pakistan and China should be translated to development of an economic corridor through Gwadar port and in renewed support for civilian nuclear energy projects.
- **Safeguards against Nuclear Proliferation.** Pakistan in order to secure a civil nuclear deal has to gain international confidence as regards a responsible nuclear state committed against spread of nuclear weapons and illegal trade in fissile material. Pakistan

should simultaneously project hypocrite acts taken by non-proliferation regimes to facilitate India on international forums.⁴¹

- **Reassessment of Foreign Policy.** Emphasis on fostering and diversifying relations with Russia, EU and other Muslim countries is of great significance. Basis of all relations must be for the betterment of economy and laying a foundation for strong and viable security. Pakistan foreign policy should be geared to muster international support against Indian hegemonic regional designs. An effort should be made to improve the country's image and rally support to get the same exceptions, which have been granted to India by the United States, without signing NPT. A case in point is Pakistan's growing energy crises.
- **Quest for Energy Resources.** The strategic location provides Pakistan a chance of becoming an energy transit country and "energy corridor" to Asia and even to global markets. The IP and TAPI gas pipeline projects will not only help in overcoming critical energy shortages but they can also prove to be a geopolitical game changer.⁴² It is important that Pakistan should coordinate its actions with India, China, US, Russia, Afghanistan and Central Asian States like Uzbekistan and Tajikistan for mutual benefits. Transit revenues and industrialized projects accompanying the realization of pipeline projects will help improve the declining economy of Pakistan.
- **Exploring New Avenues of Economic Cooperation.** In the present era, the real war is being fought on the economic front. In order to survive in the current environment, characterized by the India-US-China-Russia nexus, Pakistan needs to develop a strong economy. It is necessary for Pakistan to boost bilateral and regional cooperation in trade and create conditions that are FDI-attractive. Efforts should be made to tap financial hubs like South East Asia, Economic Cooperation Organization and Shanghai Cooperation Organization.
- **Hedging with India.** There is a dire need for Pakistan and India to mend their relations and follow a strategy towards long-term cooperation. This does not in any way imply that Pakistan should forgive and forget key concerns like the Kashmir conflict and the water distribution crisis. Pakistan has an option to formulate a hedging strategy, pursuing opportunities for mutual benefit while at the same time maintaining its stance on critical issues of difference. The success of such a strategy lies in the delicate balance between cooperation and opposition: cooperating without total surrender, but remaining steadfast on matters of concern without having to resort to an all out war. Pakistan and India are a very long way from

becoming trusting allies; in the mean time nothing is stopping the two neighbours from grasping opportunities for mutual benefit and development.

Conclusion

In this paper, an endeavour has been made to analyse Indian relations with USA, Russia and China, highlighting the strategic and economic power struggle that is underplay in the regional and global theatre. Thereafter, different available courses have been discussed from an Indian perspective, wherein she desires a hegemonic status through retaining balance of power in her favour. In the spectrum of available strategies, the option of hedging differences and maximizing advantages from the three big powers (considered), seems to be the best possible course of action for India in mid to long term.

As regards Pakistan, the impact of this balancing act has been briefly analysed in the last part. Like India, Pakistan has varied and complex ties with the considered big powers. The precarious relation Pakistan has with its Eastern neighbour signifies the need for Pakistan to have a stable and solid strategy to survive and flourish in the balancing act that involves the considered countries. As discussed in the Indian perspective, a hedging policy should preferably be followed by Pakistan as well. Taking advantage of opportunities needs to be deliberately balanced with safeguard of national interests and national security; only then can Pakistan accrue the stability and strength to rise as a notable stakeholder in the strategic and economic dynamics of the region and the world.

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PART – II

National Security

- **Global Geopolitical Scenarios in Short, Medium and Long Terms – Implications for Pakistan**
- **Indo-US Ties in Afghanistan; Myths, Realities and Implications for Pakistan**
- **Religious Extremists' Narrative in Pakistan**
- **Balochistan; A War of Narratives**
- **Civil-military Relations; A Case Study (2008-12)**

GLOBAL GEOPOLITICAL SCENARIOS IN SHORT, MEDIUM AND LONG TERMS- IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Introduction

After the demise of Soviet Union, and the end of Cold War the world witnessed elimination of traditional balance of power. The changes in the Eastern Europe verified the partial realization of this American dream and they became more assertive in international relations to jettison multi-polarity and marginalize the authority of international organizations like United Nations. The era of superpower hegemony had dawned.¹ In the post-9/11 scenario, the greater United States unilateralism has also profoundly changed the international security system. Most crucial and the most problematic aspect of American unilateralism, however, is its frequent projection and use of military force. This doctrine is all-pervasive and sets a course of aggressive and unilateral exercise of United States' power all over the world in the political, economic and military dimensions.²

The vacuum created after demise of Soviet Union was filled by the threat of terrorism. Many hoped there would be peace after Cold War, it only made nuclear war less likely but increased the number of wars in today's world and led to a proportionate rise in civilian casualties as witnessed in Afghanistan, Iraq and earlier in Balkans.³ The turbulent geopolitical and strategic environment not only poses multidimensional threats and challenges but also provide a window of opportunity for nations like Pakistan to redefine its status in the comity of nations.

Aim

To carryout future projection of current trends and drivers in world politics, with a view to predict likely geopolitical scenarios in short/mid and long term, highlighting implications and recommending policy guidelines for Pakistan.

Drivers for Change

The drivers shape up plausible trends and dominate the events that give rise to different scenarios. Globally recognized drivers,⁴ which directly or indirectly influence the world politics, are geographic, economic, military, sociological, science & technology, demographic, political, environmental impact, natural resources and community. It may, however, be noted that the entire range of drivers listed above may not have identical influence on the plausible scenarios in a definite set of environment. Hence, most influential drivers in the prevalent environment flowing out of the categories listed above are as under:-

- Cooperative security.
- Shared economic interests and interdependencies.
- Vulnerability of nation states to global economic meltdown.
- Menace of terrorism cutting across communities and societies.
- Potential for increased conflicts- intrastate to interstate.
- Scope of wider regional instability.

- Consequence of new technologies.
- Quest for social welfare.

Trends - Changing the World

An endless number of trends could be listed while envisioning future global scenarios but all may not have identical impact on future course of the world. Therefore, trends having a significant impact on the changing world patterns and scenarios have been categorized as “Mega Trends” while remaining have been grouped together under the heading of “Subsidiary Trends”.

Mega Global Trends

Individual Emancipation. Individual empowerment will increase substantially owing to:-

- Poverty reduction.
- Expanding middle class.
- Increase in education and reduction in the gender gap.
- Dominant role of communication technologies.
- Improvement in health sector.
- Conflicting ideological landscape.

Decentralization of Global Power Hub. As against hegemony of a nation, networks and coalitions are becoming more powerful in a multi-polar world. It is expected that by 2030 this decentralization of power will have a dramatic impact. Asia is expected to surpass Europe and North America combined in terms of population size, global power, GDP, military spending and most of all technology.

Demographic Changes. World’s 60% population will live in urbanized areas; migration will increase. In 2030, when the growing global population is likely to reach somewhere close to 8.3 billion people (up from 7.1 billion in 2012), four demographic trends will fundamentally shape, most countries’ economic/political dynamics and relations among states. These trends are:-

- Becoming irrelevant for West and developing states.
- Significant but shrinking number of youthful societies and countries.
- Migration, becoming a cross-border issue.
- Growing urbanization, spurring economic growth while placing new strains on food and water resources.

Increased Demand for Water, Food & Energy. Due to increase in global population, demand for food, water and energy will grow substantially. Solving problems related to one commodity will be connected to supply and demand for the others. Deficiency in food, water, and energy together with climate change is likely to have far-reaching effects on global development in the decades to come. Global

population will also have a negative effect on these resources, especially expanding middle class and swelling urban populations.

Subsidiary Trends

- **New Alignments.** Earlier International System was state-centric.⁵ Distinction between national and international domains has become increasingly blurred and the internal-external relationship has become more and more amorphous. Therefore, nations of the world continue to align themselves in new pattern of international political and economic order.⁶ A multi-polar world that emphasizes economic ideology is thus prospering having multinational economic organizations. Globalization has "de-territorialized" social relations.⁷
- **Economic Interdependence.** World's nations are increasingly becoming interdependent in a new global pattern of political, economic and cultural arrangements which will evolve gradually into a world economy that will generate greater wealth for most of the nations. Resulting redistribution of world's wealth will especially benefit the transitioning industrial countries. Intense competition for scarce natural resources needed by all the modernized countries will keep the cost of these resources high. Without economic aid from IFIs and charitable organizations, many poor countries will face the scupper of internal upheaval, bankruptcy or even a complete collapse. The destiny of these countries will lay more in elimination of war and strife than it will in the unavailability of food as source of famine and extinction.
- **Developing Linkage between Environment and International Relations.**⁸ The environmental issues have moved from the margins to an increasingly central place on the international agenda. Climate change because of its all-embracing nature and its roots in essential human activities, poses an enormous challenge for international cooperation.⁹ 1997 Koyoto Protocol to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change was a major stride¹⁰ in this direction followed by 2009 Copenhagen Conference. Climate change is now perceived to be at least the equal of any other issue and arguably the most important faced by the humankind.¹¹
- **Nuclear Proliferation and Control Measures.** The nature of nuclear weapons would continue to transform military and political relationships with the global diffusion of nuclear and ballistic missile technology, thus more actors would be in position to acquire a nuclear capability and deliver it over longer distances.¹² This would continue to happen despite non-proliferation and focus on measures that raise the cost of nuclear acquisition, develop standards of nuclear/missile behavior and create the conditions allowing for reductions in nuclear stockpiles.¹³

- **Regional Cooperation in Global Context.** Regionalism is an important aspect of the process of globalization and development in one region feeds into developments in others.¹⁴ Within the global trend of regionalism, there are important differences in the types of organization that are being set up, ranging from rather loose and non-binding agreements to the complex institutional architecture set up by the European Union, depending on the scope and depth with which members are seeking to address issues of transnational governance.¹⁵
- **Human Security.** The concept of human security has been influenced by four developments; rejection of economic growth as the main indicator of development and the accompanying notion of human development as empowerment of people, rising incidence of internal conflicts, impact of globalization in spreading transnational dangers such as terrorism or pandemics and emphasis on human rights and humanitarian intervention.¹⁶ For the utility and scope of human security, there is increasing acceptance that the traditional notion of security, focusing on state sovereignty, will no longer suffice and the emerging trend calls for international community to develop new responses to ensure the protection of people from transnational dangers in an era of globalization.¹⁷
- **Changing International Order.** States now share a host of responsibilities with both intergovernmental organizations and a multiplicity of non-governmental and transnational actors. This does not, however mean that international order has become redundant. Identity of states is undergoing considerable change, moving towards globalized states.
- **Geo-political Scenarios in Short/Mid and Long Term.** Geo-political changes continue to take place, which play an important role in defining the world of tomorrow. The trends highlighted earlier, will essentially transform our world in one way or the other. These trends would point to a changed world but the world may transform in radically different ways. For this reason, prediction of future is an impossible feat but still an endeavor can be made to establish a framework for thinking about plausible futures. Although the idea of future carries a naturally associated resistance of accepting such ideas, yet it provides a possible direction regardless of its least probability. John Maynard Keynes, 1937, the famous British economist said“. . . the idea of the future being different from the present is so repugnant to our conventional modes of thought and behavior that we, or at least most of us, offer a great resistance to acting on it in practice”.¹⁸

Short/Mid Term Scenarios

- **Multi-Polar World.** In this scenario, no single state will be so powerful so as to elevate itself to hegemonic status. Indeed, a multi-polar world is considered the historical norm. Two or more contenders either compete for or share global domination, as none is able to impose its will upon the others. Security competition will be expected to follow as various regional power blocks or secondary powers struggle will take advantage of a weakened hegemon to improve upon their relative power position.¹⁹ These may be structured through politico – economic blocs. In multi-polar arrangement world will be divided into competing politico-economic blocs on regional lines.²⁰ The concept entails division of world into a number of political zones, with each zone having a regional power which will play the role of regional hegemon and exploit resources of that region. However, Western analysis of world trade and investment patterns does not support the concept of emerging economic blocs, let alone regional political integration (with the exception of the European Union) as it undermines their global status.

- **Hierarchical World**
 - **Renewed American Hegemony.** This scenario revolves around US as a dominant power after an economic turnaround supported by energy revolution and cutting edge technology, sound fiscal policies and the comparative weakness of many potential players. This scenario sees US as dominant power in the times to come while also acknowledging its waning political influence and rise of China.

 - **Emergence of China as New Global Power.** As per this scenario, in case American power declines, China is likely to establish domination. A number of indicators reveal that relative and even absolute American decline at a fast pace, however it is unlikely that the United States sinks fast enough. US decline in political influence may be witnessed earlier.

 - **Pan Atlantic Concert/ Alliance.** Already close US and EU communities join together to form a concert. It is beyond the level of mere alliance to a more integrated security concept of global management through a single western-orientated, capitalist, democratic, hegemonic bloc. This may be called as "Atlantic Community" of Western Europe and North America. These states already enjoy a considerable degree of cultural, economic and political integration. Atlantic hegemonic core will drive and direct Pan-

Continental Concert by promoting a global consensus in all three power arenas – politics, economics and security issues.

- **Less Hierarchical World.**²¹ America declines while no other powerful nation is ready to take over as Global Power. No regional, political or economic alliance shaped up to control the reins of world as a global hegemon but there will be regional hegemons. According to Brzezinski, this will have ominous implications for several aspects of world affairs:²²
 - It will herald a global scramble for influence, which could provoke global tensions, particularly within Asia, as an overt conflict between China and India.
 - Several militarily weaker states like Japan and South Korea currently relying on America for guarantee of their security will become more vulnerable to their powerful neighbors resulting in a “wide-ranging drift characterized by the survival of the strongest”.
 - In a less hierarchical world order, exploitation of natural resources, acquisition of nuclear weapons and environmental degradations may become more common.

Long Term Scenarios

- **Globalization Gone Worse.** Considering that the present wave of globalization is not the first but is the third in the history and all earlier waves of globalization somehow or the other did not favor its very proponents, the future of globalization seems uncertain unless it is all inclusive and with shared global interest. This will be a scenario in which the US and Europe pursue globalization mainly through WTO to protect their interests while simultaneously increasing their reach through a variety of non-state actors thus aiming to maintain present global political & economic order. While the unrest increases in developing countries due to unequal distribution of resources, developed countries provide economic and trade incentives for joining global initiatives at their terms thereby indirectly infringing upon the sovereignty of developing nations. This by itself will lead to further unrest, thereby putting governments in developing countries under duress, which then might be seen as global insurgency against the emerging global order. In this scenario inequalities within countries and between rich and poor states dominate. The inability of gulf countries to diversify their economy, while their population continues to increase, result in decline of per capita income. Lack of societal integration will be reflected at the global level. More number of countries would fail to progress due to lack of required financial aid from international donor agencies. Thus world economy will grow at an increasingly moderate pace, but world will get less secure owing to

political and social causes, thus dividing it very sharply into 'Haves and Have Nots'.

- **Geopolitical Integration.** In contemporary geopolitical scenario, if a conflict breaks out in Middle East, South Asia and South China Sea, efforts will be made by US, EU, Russia and China to intervene and mediate peace. In this scenario if USA, Russia and China decide to cooperate, thereby improving bilateral relations, enhancing collaboration on global challenges. Only strong political leadership can bring about this sea change that overlooks domestic politics and strengthens international cooperation. As a result, economic growth will improve along with cooperation on critical issues like security and climate change. In this scenario, both the emerging and advanced economies grow faster.
- **Asian Rise.** In this scenario, economies in USA & Europe stagnate despite best efforts aimed at their re-invigoration. A stalemate also exists at global political level and leading global powers including US remain resistant to change. Unilateralism increases in global politics and international institutions like UN lose its credibility. Developed countries then seek new markets and businesses transfer to rising Asian countries, thus resulting into growing economies of China, India & selected ASEAN countries. Simultaneously, China and India increase their presence in Africa, CARs & Indian Ocean to ensure uninterrupted supply of required energy and natural resources. As a result of sustained economic growth, global center of gravity shifts to Asia which is contested by USA through increase of military presence in South China Sea and Indian Ocean. China continues to pursue policy of non-confrontation and in time threatens global leadership of USA in the economic domain besides increasing its political influence considerably. Conflict in South Asia and Korean Peninsula, although will have potential of sabotaging this scenario, but will be frozen at present levels by the emerging powers, even to the discontentment of some players.

Implications for Pakistan

Short / Midterm Scenarios - Implications. In short/midterm the continuation of a Hierarchical World is most likely with some imprints of multi-polar trends and a least likely environment for Less Hierarchical World.

Major players like, US, China, EU, Brazil, Russia and India are likely to adopt a mix of strategies to ensure favorable position in the future global trade and economy, and also ensure political leverage on prevailing regional and global security issues.

Pakistan's internal issues of security, economic viability, growing extremism and her role in settlement of Afghanistan (post 2014) would shape the implications at the short and midterm levels. Major implications which may emerge are:-

- **US**
 - **Concerns**
 - Economic volatility and instability in Pakistan, risking a regional conflict.
 - Growing extremism, affecting US interests in Afghanistan.
 - Anti US public opinion and loss of influence in Pakistan.
 - Pak - Iran growing economic ties.
 - Safety of nuclear assets and possibility of nuclear terrorism.
 - **Interests**
 - Exploit Pakistan's potential influence for a favorable settlement of Post - 2014 Afghanistan.
 - Cooperation in rebuilding of economy, strengthening democracy and capacity building to fight homegrown terrorism and extremism.
 - Rebuilding lost trust with both political and military leadership.
 - Harness a favorable public opinion towards US.
 - **Implications**
 - US cooperation is vital for revival of economy and dealing with terrorism being exported from Afghanistan. However, the cooperation may impinge indirectly over other national interests.
 - US coercion through curtailing assistance, imposing sanctions may have grave consequences for an already fragile economy.
 - Refusal to concede a cooperative stance may further tilt US towards India, especially in Post - 2014 Afghanistan, with negative implications for critical issues of Kashmir, water sharing, terrorism and strategic stability of South Asia.
 - Develop greater diplomatic pressures from closest allies like China and Saudi Arabia.

- **CHINA**

- **Concerns/ Interests**

- Political instability and fragile economy.
- Islamic extremism and its spill over in Xinjiang Province.
- Chinese sensitivity on US presence in Afghanistan and US tilt towards India.
- Pakistan's potential to serve as a Chinese trade and energy corridor.
- Pakistan's viability as a counter weight to India, militarily.

- **Implications**

- Chinese support in the fields of social and economic development is likely to maintain the course.
- China will show progress and investment towards developing infrastructure required for energy / trade corridor status.
- In an eventuality of a global pressure on Pakistan backed by US, ignited on a terrorism pretext, China may not come forcefully to rescue Pakistan, however, may resist complete diplomatic isolation.
- China will provide maximum support in Afghanistan reconciliation process; however, dynamics of support must not mislead Pakistan, as China may have a compromising stance with US.

- **INDIA**

- **Interests**

- International recognition of Indian aspirations of global role in geopolitics.
- Maintain/sustain economic growth to achieve desired economic and military strength at regional / global arena.
- Furtherance in Indo-US Strategic Partnership while preserving a non-aligned status.

- Progress on managing Sino-Indian border disputes and widening the economic cooperation with China.
- Develop influence in Afghanistan, especially in Post - 2014 scenario in order to afford a friendly, dependent Afghanistan.
- Maintain strategic relationship with Russia to facilitate engagement of CARs.
- Pressurize/malign Pakistan on issues of terrorism, extremism and nuclear proliferation.
- Influence nations in regional neighborhood to promote acceptability as regional power.
- Strengthen relations with Muslim World / OIC.
- Develop trade and energy corridor through Iran with Afghanistan and CARs to counter balance Chinese efforts of trade and energy corridor via Pakistan.

➤ **Implications**

- Political, diplomatic and economic standing of India will limit Pakistan's political and diplomatic leverage in the region / world.
- Indo-US strategic partnership will further tilt balance of power in India's favor and constrict diplomatic space for Pakistan.
- India's role in rebuilding of Afghanistan and her influence, with US support, on Afghan Govt and ANA, may limit Pakistan's leverage in Afghan affairs.
- Although, India enjoys greater pol-economic and diplomatic leverage with Russia / CARs, however, her balancing act in view of Indo-US strategic partnership has afforded Pakistan limited space for developing relations with Russia and CARs.
- In an event of terrorist incident in India, greater pol-diplomatic pressure will be exerted on Pakistan, assisting India to malign Pakistan Armed Forces in particular and nation in general.
- India's economic importance is steadily being gained and capitalized in Gulf States / OIC, which may limit Pakistan's politico-diplomatic space within Muslim World.

- **IRAN**
 - IP pipelines and import of electricity from Iran would become another irritant in Pak-US relations.
 - Iran choices in Afghanistan may not align with Pakistan's Afghan policy thus developing bilateral irritants.
 - Development of Gwadar and trade / energy Corridor via Pakistan will make Iran tilt further towards India.
 - Balochistan situation and issues related to Jundullah.
 - Economic interests will not allow Iran to support Pakistan at the cost of alienating India.

- **RUSSIA**
 - Being sensitive to Indo – US relations and influence of this nexus in Afghanistan, Russia has shown interest in Pakistan and will invest in economic and trade development of Pakistan.
 - Mutual interest / common grounds on the settlement of Afghan issue.
 - Thaw in China-Russia relations is likely to address Russian concerns in the development of trade / energy corridor via Pakistan linking CARs with Gwadar / Indian Ocean.

- **Afghanistan**
 - Afghanistan will maintain close relations with Pakistan with economic cooperation taking front seat and military cooperation the back seat.
 - Owing to the US and Indian influence, Afghanistan will maintain irritant issues of cross border terrorism, drugs smuggling and Durand Line, alive to afford leverage in relations with Pakistan.
 - Afghan Transit Trade along with influence over Afghan Taliban, mainly Pushtuns, will afford maximum leverage to Pakistan in Afghan affairs.

Long Term Scenarios – Implications

Within the predicted long term geopolitical scenarios, geopolitical integration would be most favourable for stressed out developing countries like Pakistan. However, with pragmatic policies and strong international partnerships, an environment can be afforded to focus on economic development without undue security threats and unjustified marginalization in global economy. Since, China is likely to play a major role in collaboration with US, Pakistan is likely to achieve greater space for economic development. However, pressures will also mount to improve bilateral relations with India where compromises will have to be made to satisfy global community and warding off any chances of military / nuclear conflict.

Due to diverted focus of major powers, in the scenarios of Globalization Gone Worse, there will be greater room for regional powers to use all possible options in order to dominate politics, economy and security of respective regions. India may have opportunities to use her economic and military might for making Pakistan a pliant regional state. Major Powers while looking inwards or being hostage to non state players of the World will become more sensitive to nuclear proliferation and terrorism.

Recommendations

Irrespective of the aspirations, our policy and strategy must be cognizant of our limitations and must not be at tangent to the global trends and drivers. The recommendations set-forth a realistic paradigm for Pakistan in the emerging geopolitics of the World.

Look Inward

Pakistan's concerns and implications emerge from some fundamentals and hence be given highest priority at the policy matrix. These are:-

- Good governance with improved accountability.
- Economic revival on war footings.
- Achieve political stability through pragmatism and magnanimity.
- Develop consensus on Internal Security policy, especially dealing with TTP, religious / sectarian extremism and sub-nationalist movements.
- Build an image of progressively moderate and economically viable state.

Regional and Global Policy

- **Relations with India.** Move beyond CBMs, develop understanding and progress on contentious bilateral issues like Kashmir, address legitimate concerns of each other and improve trade.

- **Afghan Policy.** Develop a balanced and realistic Afghan Policy while avoiding India centricity and in-secure mindset. An Afghan settlement, which addresses concerns of global and regional players, will be more conducive for our security and economic policies.
- **Trade Corridor.** Improve internal stability to facilitate trade link of China/India and CARs/West Asia.
- **Balanced Relations.** Although difficult, however maintain balance in relations as far as possible between US and China and between Saudi Arabia and Iran, so as to harness maximum support and avoiding frictions.
- **Re-Claim Diplomatic Space.** Through stable politics, viable economy and balanced diplomatic aspirations re-claim the diplomatic space in SAARC and OIC.
- **Relations with US.** Opportunities do exist and can be exploited through finding common grounds to develop understanding and mutual trust on Afghanistan. Our expectations should be realistic and cooperation well considered.

Conclusion

An endeavor has been made in this paper to project current trends and drivers in world politics and to predict likely geo-political scenarios in short, mid and long term, highlighting implications and recommending policy guidelines for Pakistan. These will help to rationalize our objectives and pursue them accordingly, both internally as well as externally. A balanced and moderate approach is essential to stay in the main stream of today's world. Our policies should avoid confrontation; encourage integration in World Economic and Political Forums with primary focus on securing the well-being of our people with dignity.

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INDO-US TIES IN AFGHANISTAN MYTHS, REALITIES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

“We will be there. Success in Afghanistan depends on ensuring that others are there, too. That certainly includes India”.¹

Hillary Clinton

Introduction

The United States plans to end its mission in Afghanistan in 2014. The US–Afghanistan Strategic Partnership Agreement envisions potential presence of US troops beyond that date, though details are yet to be finalised. In the likely security vacuum beyond 2014, a replay of civil war or at least wide spread instability remains a clear and present danger.² As the board for “The New Great Game”³ is being laid, strategic convergences and compulsions have pushed India and US closer to each other. Developments of the past decade or so have been unprecedented and are likely to have far reaching impact. As US and India move to strengthen their strategic partnership, Afghanistan certainly figures out prominently as an area of mutual interest. India is keen to influence developments in Afghanistan to ensure its political space⁴ and is advancing its geopolitical, security and economic interests, most of which affect Pakistan.

From the US perspective, as its focus shifts to other global concerns, it is interested in an increased Indian role in Afghanistan. Furthermore, as India increasingly aspires to be a dominant regional actor, its contributions will help reduce the level of US involvement and resources diverted for the region. Supporting a more robust role for New Delhi⁵, which would contribute to Afghanistan’s security, stability, and economic development, seems a surer strategy for both countering terrorism and stabilizing Afghanistan.

If history is a guide, it is obvious that Pakistan has hardly any insulation from Afghanistan. Instability and even stability in Afghanistan radiate varying effects for Pakistan. In the contemporary context, most worrisome for Pakistan is that despite being a frontline ally in US led Global Struggle Against Violent Extremism (GSAVE); Pakistan is being subjected to non-kinetic warfare through Afghanistan.⁶ In a society like ours, where a segment survives on conspiracy theories, the situation provides ideal breeding ground to myths and suspicions. It is in this context that this paper will analyse the interplay of interests of various stake holders in Afghanistan before analysing implications for Pakistan and suggesting the way forward.

Aim

To carryout strategic appraisal of Indo-US ties in Afghanistan with a view to separating myths from realities, identifying implications for Pakistan and suggesting way forward.

INDO-US STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

History

Despite being one of the pioneers and founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement of 1961, ⁷ India developed strategic relationship with Soviet Union during the Cold War precluding chances of closer ties with the United States.⁸ After the disintegration of Soviet Union, India developed closer ties with the West. The zenith of Indo-US relations was seen when three consecutive presidents of US visited India. To quote from Henry Kissinger, *"The world faces four major problems — terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, movement of the centre of gravity from Atlantic region to Asia and impact of a globalised economy on the world order. US and India have compatible, indeed overlapping, vital national interests in all four areas"*.⁹ Indo-US ties can be grouped in three prime fields, economy, military relations and diplomacy:-

- **Economic.** From a modest \$ 5.6 billion in 1990, the bilateral trade has increased 62 billion US \$ in 2012.¹⁰ US is India's largest investment partner, with a direct investment of \$ US 9 billion.¹¹ Indian markets in the words of President Obama created 'more than 50,000 jobs' in the US.
- **Military.** India conducts more joint exercises with the United States than any other country. In addition, India has bought more than \$8 billion in US military equipment.¹²

Diplomacy and Power Politics

- **India's Role as Counter-Weight to China.** India has emerged as a regional power and is being equipped as counter weight to China in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). This strategy hinges on the presumption that China would continue to grow. The solution to managing the rise of Chinese power could not consist of limiting it by cutting off China's economic relations with other states. Instead, the challenge would have to be handled by supporting the growth of other nations along China's periphery in recompense.¹³
- **Indian Role in Afghanistan.** With commonalities in interest, US and India are addressing the Afghan problem. Afghan security forces are being trained by Indian military and plans on taking a more active role in capacity building of Afghan Security Forces and Governmental institutions.¹⁴

Barriers

To quote from Ashley Tellis, "for the US, which has just recovered from India's Nonalignment 1.0, Nonalignment 2.0 is a strategic nightmare".¹⁵ There are many important barriers that limit progress in the relationship. Firstly, inability of India to

make demanded concessions to facilitate US investors despite Indo-US Civil nuclear agreement is seen as a major impediment in future or Indo-US relations. Secondly, inability of US companies to win medium multi-role combat aircraft (MMRCA) fighter deal in May 2011, despite lobbying at the highest levels, is widely perceived as a significant setback for US–India relations. The deal was expected as a quid pro quo for the 2008 US–India nuclear deal; something US went out of the way to lax rules and make exceptions with high diplomatic stakes. Thirdly, in the aftermath of Indian decision to opt for Rafael, US moved Security Council Resolution on universalizing the NPT, in language reminiscent of the era of non-proliferation. Needless to say it was not well received by India. And finally, while the US expects India to move along a shared global agenda, India prefers to retain its “nonaligned” spirit.

Conclusions

India needs US in actualization of its big power dream as much as US needs India to retain its control on global politics, thus making them ‘Natural Allies’. Expectations on both sides are high, while concessions seem hard to come by. Progress will be needed particularly from the Indian side on three major aspects, loosening of protectionist policies, granting impunity to energy sector investors and nuclear non-proliferation. A dispassionate analysis suggests that despite slow-down, Indo-US relations are likely to stay on course due to common interests. Also, Indo-US ties are unlikely to be restricted in scope and hence all regional issues including Afghanistan are likely to see more cooperation between both countries.

THE ENIGMA CALLED AFGHANISTAN AND INTERESTS OF STAKE HOLDERS

Afghanistan’s Strategic Culture

A nation's strategic culture flows from its geography, history, social, economic and political order. Although not immutable, it tends to evolve slowly. Afghanistan’s strategic culture needs to be viewed in the same context.

Geography

Referred to as “Heart of Asia”, by poet philosopher Allama Mohammad Iqbal, Afghanistan has a unique geographic location at the cross roads of South and Central Asia and East and West Asia. Afghanistan shares 5529 km long borders with six countries. The longest border of 2611 kms, is with Pakistan in the South and East¹⁶. In the north, Afghanistan has geographical interface with fertile valleys of Central Asia, while in the south lies the rich Indus Basin. Bounded by two lands of abundance, Afghanistan itself was and is land of scarcity. The geographic position nurtured a culture of hunting (taking whatever that can be, through power), community bonds and taking opportunities (ends justify means), with basic law of ‘survival of the fittest’ ruling supreme.

History¹⁷

Being at the centre stage of 'Great Game', Afghanistan has been a contested place both in recent and medieval history. Sponsors financed proxies, proxies parented warlords and militias, sprinklings of religion as a motivating force where suited, can also be found in Afghan history. Afghanistan's multi-ethnic tribal society and has "historically consisted of weak central governments". Inter group rivalries and power struggles have been omnipresent.

Contemporary Political and Economic Order

The contemporary political and economic order in Afghanistan is not very different from historic trends. The central government is weak; proxies fed war and narco-lords including Taliban reign territories, and socio-economic conditions are poor. While people of Afghanistan may like to see a genuine improvement in socio-economic conditions and stability, status quo suits the war lords.¹⁸ Therefore, while the powerful pursue a particular line, it may be at tangent with best interests of people of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan's Interests. The interest of Afghanistan as laid down in the constitution and derived from address of President Hamid Karzai to the Loya Jirga on 16 November 2011¹⁹ are:-

- Territorial integrity of Afghanistan.
- Peace and stability implying reconciliation and accommodation. This however may not suit the warlords' class, who'd rather prefer to remain relevant.
- Massive and sustained capital inflow to support and run the government.
- Support for capacity building of people and institutions.
- Sovereignty.
- Afghanistan is wary of the possibility of becoming a proxy battle ground and with the exception of warlords, would be interested in avoiding it.
- Revival of Afghan nationalism and values.

Appraisal of Emerging Situation Including Post 2014 Environment

As the 2014 drawdown inches closer, anxieties are running high in the region about the future of Afghanistan and the situation remains vague and unpredictable due to two prime reasons. Firstly, security would be transferred to Afghan forces ahead of schedule while US forces staying would take the back seat. It seems that too many hopes

are being pinned on ASNF, which are still far from being in worthwhile shape to take control. Secondly, despite efforts, peace negotiations with Taliban have not been able to make adequate progress. Both factors put together, mean that security situation in Afghanistan is likely to remain volatile and as discussed in the previous parts, Pakistan has hardly any insulation from instability in Afghanistan.

PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN – HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

Brief History of Pak-Afghan Relations²⁰

Post-independence, Pak-Afghan relations remained tense due to Afghanistan's refusal to the state of Pakistan support to the Baloch and Pashtun nationalists. However, despite tensions, King Zahir Shah gave specific assurance to Pakistan during the 1965 war. The Soviet Invasion, served to bury the Pashtunistan Issue; however millions of Afghan refugees and thousands of militants were left at Pakistan's door steps. Post-Soviet Withdrawal, the Taliban appeared on the scene and captured much of Afghanistan with Pakistan's assistance. This was the stage when Afghanistan turned into a hub of international terrorists. It was also during this period that the notion of 'Pakistan's strategic depth in Afghanistan' surfaced; a notion which was to have grave consequences for the future course of events and relations between two countries.

Contemporary Relations

Post 9/11, the government in Afghanistan comprising primarily pre-Taliban Northern Alliance remained anti-Pakistan with pro-Indian influence looming large. Afghanistan accuses Pakistan of backing Taliban, while militants based in Afghanistan continue to threaten daily life in Pakistan. Pakistan still houses more than 2.5 million Afghans while 50,000 cross over daily in pursuit of livelihood. While about 70,000 Pakistanis are working in many fields in rebuilding Afghanistan²¹. However, despite well-honed links, Pakistan is viewed with distrust and jealous suspicions as was highlighted by President Hamid Karzai at the Loya Jirga on 16 November 2011, *"It was all due to the Afghan Jihad that Pakistan became a nuclear power and progressed, the United States and its Intelligence Agency came in and armed Pakistan with weapons, supplied Pakistan with all facilities and equipments, providing this country with power, industries and capacity. Everywhere was built whilst Afghanistan was stepped upon. This all worsened by the arrival of the Taliban, our isolation deepened, our educational institutions were closed, and our history came under attack".²²*

Pakistan's Interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan's main interests in Afghanistan at the present juncture:-

- Restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan.
- Friendly government in Afghanistan.
- Repatriation of Afghan Refugees.

- Elimination of terrorism and extremism emanating from Afghanistan.
- Security of markets and energy interests in and through Afghanistan.
- Resolution of bilateral issues peacefully.

INDO-AFGHAN RELATIONS – HISTORIC AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

Historical Context.²³ Pakistan centric policies brought the otherwise historically, linguistically, ethnically, culturally and religiously different countries closer to each other. Afghanistan's refusal to recognize Pakistan and claim over erstwhile NWFP went well with India. India and *Afghanistan* signed their first friendship agreement in 1950 and relations remained warm through the cold war. Baloch insurgencies and Pashtunistan issue enjoyed covert Indian support through 60s and 70s. 1979 Soviet invasion put India in a 'catch 22' situation. India could not side with any of the Mujahideen groups being a strategic ally of the Soviet Union. Resultantly, investment of decades was considered lost. In the civil war and Taliban era, India was able to cultivate friendships in Northern Alliance.

Contemporary Period. The desperately needed opportunity was provided to India by 9/11 and events that followed. India move in swiftly to exploit the strategic advantage and finally signed strategic partnership agreement with Afghanistan in 2011.²⁴ India with an investment of 2 billion US \$ is fifth largest contributor in Afghanistan.²⁵

Socio-Economic Sector. Currently, around 7000 Afghan students study in India, while 1000 annual scholarships are also offered.²⁶ Investments in other sectors include high visibility micro socio-economic projects particularly in provinces bordering Pakistan, health, power, water and broadcasting and telecommunication Sectors. Indian road construction Project of Road Zaranj-Dilaram (218 KMs) will connect the Afghan Ring Road project to Iran's Chabahar Port.²⁷ The overland option through Iran to the port of Chabahar is shorter than the one currently available through Pakistan.

Military Cooperation. India agreed to assist and equip Afghan security forces under the Indo-Afghan Strategic Partnership Agreement. Under the programme, in addition to training of officer, hundreds of Afghan soldiers are being trained at The Commando School in Belgaum, The Counter-insurgency and Jungle Warfare (CIJW) School in Mizoram, and The High Altitude Warfare School in Sonamarg, Kashmir. President Karzai also placed 'a wish list' for equipment during his recent visit to India.

Durability of Indian Efforts. The future uncertainties have already begun to derail India's commitments to Afghanistan. No new projects have been started for the last two years, while work on a number of existing projects has stalled due to the

prevailing insecurity in Afghanistan²⁸ including Salma Dam which was supposed to be completed two years back is not yet ready.

Indian Interests in Afghanistan. Raja Mohan, a doyen of Indian security analysis, explains in comparable terms that India's grand strategy, *"Divides the world into three concentric circles. In the first, which encompasses the immediate neighbourhood, India has sought primacy and a veto over the actions of outside powers. In the second, which encompasses the so-called extended neighbourhood stretching across Asia ..., India has sought to balance the influence of other powers and prevent them from undercutting its interests"*.²⁹ Within this framework, Afghanistan has a special status, due to its potential against Pakistan. Indian interests in Afghanistan as can be deduced from Indian strategic thought and actions in Afghanistan are:-

- Regain its influence in Kabul to the level that existed prior to the 1979 Soviet invasion.
- Help strengthen and bring to power the pro India factions, while also ensuring that Taliban's participation in political process is kept to the minimum.
- Eliminate India oriented terrorism emanating from Afghanistan.
- Enhance liberty against Pakistan through political space in Afghanistan.
- Minimize "Afghan dependence on Pakistan".
- Capture share in Afghan mining industry.
- Capture markets, resources and leverage over energy sources.

Conclusions

- Afghan strategic culture is characterized by limited long-term vision; interests based strategic flexibility, momentary survival war/narcotic economy and battles for turfs.
- In post 2014 scenario, political space in Afghanistan will depend on investments. Given the interests, India will acquire political space in Afghanistan. Durability of political space however will require sustained investment. Whatever space is available can be used against Pakistan.
- The mutual trust deficit between Pakistan and Afghanistan remains an overhang despite reasonable diplomatic and economic overtures.

- Capacity notwithstanding, historic context and multifarious linkages preclude direct military threat from Afghanistan enforcing commitment of Pakistani forces in short to mid-term.

INTERESTS OF OTHER STAKE HOLDERS IN AFGHANISTAN

US Interests in Afghanistan. According to White House Website, as of now, “*The US interest in the Afghanistan is; preventing Afghanistan from being a ‘safe haven’ from which Al Qaeda or other extremists can organize attacks on the US homeland*”. Besides the stated US interests, a few unstated US interests can be ‘reverse engineered’ from US strategic thought and actions in the region:-

- A peaceful and honourable exit from Afghanistan with a notion of victory. Significant weakening of Al Qaeda network in Afghanistan provides for such a notion, however, strategy and force structure to check resurgence remains undecided.
- Through long term presence in the region, retain the ability to counter Russian / Chinese influence.
- Enhance strategic reach for all options against Iran, while also checking her influence in Afghanistan.
- Maintain influence over energy resources of CARs.

Russian Interests. Russia desires to have:-

- A peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan.
- A moderate government with links in former Soviet colonies.
- Prevent resurgence of radical Islamist groups.
- Acquire traditional leverage over CARs and Afghanistan.
- Keep energy corridors out of US / West influence.
- Check narcotics trafficking.

Chinese Interests. Chinese interests in Afghanistan include:-

- A stable and peaceful neighbourhood.
- Check extremism that poses a threat to her Western provinces.
- Secure markets, energy and mineral interests.

- Revival of tradition Silk Routes through Afghanistan.

Iranian Interests

- Protection of Shia population in Afghanistan.
- A peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan.
- Early withdrawal of ERF from the region.
- Return of refugees and control of narcotics trafficking.

Convergence of All Stake Holders

- **Peaceful and Stable Afghanistan.** Conflict leading to possible implosion will seriously disturb security paradigm of the region. Therefore, all stake holders, particularly immediate neighbours, seem unanimous on peaceful and stable Afghanistan.
- **Presence of NATO Forces.** It is generally agreed that NATO forces have been a source of stability inside Afghanistan.
- China and India have been depending heavily on the security offered by international forces for investments.
- Russia, CARs and Iran understand the adverse effects of a radical dispensation in Kabul.
- Pakistan has also expressed similar views from time to time.

Indian vis-à-vis US Interests in Afghanistan

American geopolitical interests in Afghanistan and Central Asia confluence well with India to serve broader US policy objectives in the region. Converging and diverging interests between both the countries are:-

- **Converging Interests**
 - Ensuring that Afghanistan does not become breeding ground of terrorism again threatening both US and India.
 - US expects India to invest in infrastructure in Afghanistan, India also wants the same, albeit for different reasons.
 - Rebuilding of Afghanistan – whoever can contribute but more so India because of its rising stature.

- New silk route vision ie flow of energy into Indian market from CARs and backward flow of Indian goods and culture into Afghanistan.
- Training of ANSF though for different reasons.
- **Diverging Interests**
 - **Modus -Operandi for Stability.** US realises political clout of the Taliban, and has moved towards providing political space to reconcilable Taliban, while India believes that there is no such class. There has been some softening of Indian stance on the issue, but overall India remains wary of Taliban role.
 - **Pakistan's Role.** While US has realised Pakistan's role and clout in Afghanistan, Indian interests focus on minimising Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan.
 - **Economic Cooperation with Iran.** US has been voicing concerns about increased Indian effort of linking Afghanistan through Iran thus bringing into regional cooperation, a country US seeks to isolate.

Pakistan's vis-à-vis US Interests in Afghanistan

While Pakistan's interests converge with US on stability of the region, there are divergences as well:-

- **Converging Interests**
 - US objectives to have relatively peaceful and stable Afghanistan resonate well with Pakistan, as it has the greatest stake in the stability of Afghanistan.
 - US and Pakistan both understand that while selective use of force may be unavoidable, long term stability in Afghanistan lies only in political settlement.
 - Pakistan and US both would want to completely eliminate Al-Qaeda network from Afghanistan and degrade its potential.
 - Refugee camps inside Pakistan are considered to be breeding terrorism and drug trafficking. Pakistan and US both share the common interest to settle the refugees issue once and for all.

- **Diverging Interests**

- Indian Involvement in Afghanistan. US views India as a stabilising factor in Afghanistan for economic and other reasons. Pakistan views India in Afghanistan as a quintessential security and economic threat.
- Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). While capacity building of ANSF is important, size, demography and training especially Indians has security implications for Pakistan, which believes that Afghanistan neither needs nor can afford such a big army.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Afghanistan – Prevalent Myths vis-à-vis Realities

Myth. 14 Indian consulates in Afghanistan are creating instability in Pakistan.

- **Reality.** There are four not fourteen Indian consulates in Afghanistan in addition to embassy in Kabul, out of which two are close to Pakistani Border; however their involvement in spreading anarchy in Pakistan is no hidden secret. The same is understood by US as well. Chuck Hagel, now US defence secretary, said in a speech in 2011, “India has always used assistance to Afghanistan as a ‘second front’ in its confrontation with Pakistan.” “India”, he said further, “has over the years financed problems for Pakistan on that side of the border. And you can carry that into many dimensions.” Then the question that why doesn’t the US dissuade India from spreading anarchy in Pakistan? Possible explanation is that some issues are intrinsic to Indian presence and for as long as India contributes in rebuilding Afghanistan and; the instability in Pakistan remains under manageable control, US is willing to look the other way in pursuance of the grander design.

Myth. After US drawdown, India will be the main guarantor of peace in Afghanistan wherein, Pakistan will have little influence.

- **Reality.** Firstly, it is not possible for any one country to guarantee peace in Afghanistan; and India certainly does not have the capacity to do it alone even if its wants to. Secondly, as is obvious from history, while there could be some lean periods Pakistani influence in Afghanistan because of ethnic, cultural and historic links cannot be eliminated.

Myth. Pakistan is being deliberately kept out of reconstruction process in Afghanistan.

- **Reality.** Not true. Pakistan is contributing in whatever way it can to in reconstruction of Afghanistan. Notwithstanding capacity, Pakistan has pledged projects worth 330 million US \$ in Afghanistan in education,

vocational training, health, infrastructure and other fields. Pakistan is also Afghanistan's largest trading partner and has signed an improved free transit trade agreement with Afghanistan. Moreover, approximately, 70,000 Pakistanis are contributing in rebuilding in Afghanistan including bankers, IT experts, teachers, construction teams, skilled and unskilled labours etc.

Myth. If 'new silk route' materializes, India will attain a position to dent Pakistan's economy and domestic industry.

- **Reality.** Partially correct. However, as and when such arrangements materialize, it is for Pakistan to ensure protection of its interests in legal and implementation domains.

Myth. India in connivance with likeminded government in Afghanistan will wage a two front war against Pakistan.

- **Reality.** ANSF in their current form are incapable of forcing commitment of Pakistani regular forces on the border. Therefore, while non-kinetic war against Pakistan may continue with varying intensity, a full-fledged two front war is not visualised in the foreseeable future due to historical and other contexts.

Myth . India has a large military footprint in Afghanistan.

- **Reality.** Indian military presence is in the form of nearly 500 soldiers of Indian Tibetan Border Police, employed on security of Indian establishments. Some doctors and engineers working on respective projects are also present. Beyond that, so far India has refused to take on even training duties in Afghanistan.

Implications of Indo-US Ties in Afghanistan

- A destabilized nuclear Pakistan is not in US interests.
- US expects India to rise above 'petty' regional issues and focus on larger perspective; that in simple terms means delink from disputes and focus on cooperation. India however, prefers to follow independent policy.
- Therefore, we can safely conclude that conspiracy theories and myths surrounding Indo-US ties in Afghanistan being focused on Pakistan are generally not well founded.
- However, Indian political space and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan are viewed with suspicion in Pakistan; and given the historic context, the

suspicions are not out of place. However, the implications of Indian influence in Afghanistan are real and given in succeeding paragraphs.

Short Term Implications

- Spreading of narratives and hate literature to develop general public opinion against Pakistan particularly in urban areas.
- Retain ability to feed anti-state militants from space available in Afghanistan, working to commit Pakistani forces on IS duties.
- Squeeze Pakistani space to execute reconstruction projects.
- Delay/ disrupt repatriation of Afghan refugees.
- Promote use of Chabahar port as alternate route gradually limiting the use of traditional routes through Pakistan, working towards a broader goal of redefining the social and economic order.

Long Term Implications

- By having strategic partnership with Afghanistan on security cooperation, attain capability to engage Pakistan negatively and wage a protracted non-kinetic war with long term security and economic implications for Pakistan.
- As Afghan students continue to be educated in India; a generation bred on anti-Pakistanism, enters practical life, it could have far reaching implications.
- In furtherance of strategic partnership with Iran, may succeed in diverting trade from CARs and Afghanistan after development of requisite communication infrastructure.
- Air conflict over rights to use water of Rivers Kabul and Kunar through construction of hydel-projects. However, Pashtunistan issue is unlikely to re-surface in the foreseeable future. While Durand line issue may appear from time to time though with little consequence.

Way Forward

As the drawdown and its side-effects unfold, it is not the end-game; the new great game in fact is only emerging. Pakistan has every right to protect its legitimate interests in Afghanistan. Pakistan can neither afford to withdraw nor follow a confrontationist policy. While investment could be a game changer in Afghanistan, Pakistan does not

have surpluses. Then there is the all-important issue an aura of negativity surrounding our image:-

- **Build National Opinion.** Domestic audience normally prescribes to conspiracy theorists and pro-jihad factions and remains divided, leaving limited space for a cohesive national direction. Through a proactive policy, Pakistan needs to create awareness amongst all segments of society with respect to GSAVE.
- **Promote Counter Narratives.** Despite making tremendous sacrifices, Pakistan is portrayed as the perpetrator in Afghanistan. The sweetly wrapped hate narratives leave deep imprints particularly on inexperienced and evolving minds. Pakistan must produce imaginative and sellable counter narratives in Afghanistan.
- **Reach Out to All Parties.** Pakistan must not be seen as favouring any one group or party and while adhering to diplomatic norms, must reach out to all stake holders simultaneously. In this context our current stance and policy seems to be on the right path. Furthermore, we should endeavour to build relationship as under:-
- **People to People.** Invest in transforming the relationship which has been more synonymous to Afghan Pashtuns.
- **Institution to Institution.** Develop and transform relations between various institutions like Armed Forces, intelligence sharing, LEAs, Parliament, bureaucracy and media etc.
- **Government to Government.** Raise political and economic stakes through enhanced political engagements and economic interdependencies.
- **Formalize Border Crossing Arrangements.** Currently, the Pak-Afghan border is a thoroughfare. Around 50000 Afghan nationals cross over every day, having social, economic and security implications. Border crossing arrangements with Afghanistan must be formalized and easement rights renegotiated to address mutual security concerns. For goodwill, we should facilitate Afghans visiting for education and health.
- **Afghan Refugees.** Efforts must be made to limit freedom of movement of Afghans and registration of their businesses. Lobby for gradual repatriation in coordination with UNHCR and IOM, while coordinating with government of Afghanistan for sustainable repatriation.
- **Investments in Selected Sectors.** While Pakistan's share of 330 million US \$ in Afghan reconstruction effort is enormous, considering our own economic condition; it is not enough. In this regard, Pakistan must

carefully choose to invest in communication infra-structure particularly in southern and eastern Afghanistan to mitigate diversion of transit trade through other routes; and participate in Afghanistan's capacity building efforts through investment of human capital.

- **Afghan Free Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA).** Infrastructural developments have opened new avenues for landlocked Afghanistan; and much to our disliking we face competition even though not stiff as yet. Therefore, taking into account our national interests, we must pre-empt revision of APTTA from time to time. Secondly, implementation of clauses related to prevention of smuggling is below par. We must take also ensure that APTTA is not misused to undermine our national interests.
- **Indo – Afghan Strategic Agreement.** Afghan government needs to be made cognizant of Pakistan's legitimate security concerns vis-à-vis Indo – Afghan Strategic Agreement. In this context, while alluding to the sovereign right of Afghanistan to pursue her national interests, Pakistan must maintain of policy of non-interference and neutrality towards Afghanistan. At the same time, securing Pakistan's legitimate security interests should be priority policy issue in any post 2014 settlement in Afghanistan. Pakistan must continue to work with United States and Afghanistan to ensure that enhanced Indian involvement in Afghanistan does not impinge negatively on Pakistan's security and economic interests.
- **Maintain Positive Relevance.** While pursuing our national interests, Pakistan needs to maintain her positive relevance to the world in general and to the US in particular and play a positive role in ensuring a peaceful transition in Afghanistan.
- **Promote Regional Alliances.** Regionalism tends to dilute disputes. Pakistan should actively participate in economic and security cooperation initiatives, in line with our national interests.
- **New Silk Route.** Pakistan must move forward to accrue maximum benefits out of the New Silk Route Vision.

Conclusion

As the drawdown approaches, the situation in Afghanistan is likely to become more volatile. Like all the regional countries, future shape of Afghanistan concerns Pakistan as well. Afghanistan needs massive investment in reconstruction of its infrastructure and institutions. US is encouraging India to take participate befittingly in consonance with its rising stature. Indian strategic thought alludes similar ideas, but for Indian reasons, which orbit more around attainment of political space. A space that

could be used against our interests in many ways. Pakistan while abiding by policy of non-interference must protect its national interest in Afghanistan.

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RELIGIOUS EXTREMISTS' NARRATIVE IN PAKISTAN

Introduction

Religious extremism does not originate suddenly and haphazardly. It must indeed have causes and motivation. It is governed by the law of cause and effect. Terrorism has underlying social and cultural failures rampant in the state. There is, however, little understanding and conformity on who practices and what constitutes extremism. In order to counter terrorism and formulate effective policies one must first understand as to what extremism is and who manifests terrorism. This paper endeavors to examine some basic questions as follows:

- Do we implicitly support extremism in our society in the name of honour or religion?
- Have we taken extremism and the consequent loss of life as fate accomplished?
- Have we not tarnished the true picture of Islam?
- Was this Islam the basis of foundation of Pakistan?
- Have we not made Pakistan a difficult place to live in?
- Does present extremism stem from the teachings of Islam or it's a politically motivated manifestation?
- Are we an extremist society?
- Does Islam advocate intolerance, violence, prejudice and discrimination?

Aim

To examine the causes and motives of religious extremism and its narrative with a view to suggest a counter narrative and propagation strategy for Pakistan.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Conceptual Framework

Extremism. Extremism is a quality or state of being extreme, especially advocacy of extreme political measures. It can also be described as a, "political theory savouring immoderate, uncompromising policies". Extremism is closely associated with terrorism, as the rise of extremism can also lead to increase in terrorist agendas. Renowned psychologist, Laird Wilcox identifies 21 alleged traits of a "political extremist", ranging from behavior like "a tendency to character assassination", over hateful behavior like "name calling and labeling", to general character traits like "a tendency to view opponents and critics as essentially evil", "a tendency to substitute intimidation for argument" or "groupthink". Economist Ronald Wintrobe argues that many extremist movements, even though having completely different ideologies share a common set of characteristics. As an example, he lists the following common characteristics between "Jewish fundamentalists" and "the Hamas":

- Both sides are against any compromise with each other.
- Both are interested in entire land of Palestine.

- Both sides are confident on stated position.
- Both promote and use violence to achieve ends.
- Both are nationalistic and intolerant to of opposition within groups.
- Both demonize each other; therefore, members of Hamas are viewed by the Israeli fundamentalists, and sometimes Israeli fundamentalists as viewed by Hamas.

Religious Extremism

All mainstream religions of the world preach love of fellow human beings as well as peace. How do terrorists hijack religion for their own purposes? Juergensmeyer explains, “Since religious language is about the tension between order and disorder, it is frequently about violence”.¹ As Hoffman explains, “For the religious terrorist, violence is first and foremost a sacramental act or divine duty. Terrorism thus assumes a transcendental dimension and its perpetrators are consequently undeterred by political, moral or practical constraints”.²

Terrorism

It is important to note that any discussion on religious extremism will remain incomplete without discussing terrorism, which forms the manifestation of extremism. While extremism is the thought, terrorism is the act. Alex Schmid and Albert Jongmanin in their work on political terrorism analyzed numerous definitions of terrorism to decipher key elements and commonalities. The five elements with 40% frequency found were; ***political fear or terror; violence and force, anticipated reactions, threat and psychological effects***. Therefore general understanding of terrorism means an act in which violence or force is used or threatened; it is principally a political act; it is used to cause fear or terror to achieve psychological effects and reactions.³ A few common threads which run through all manifestations of extremism are:⁴

- Most of these wars are anti-foreign, because all humans are territorial.
- Oppressive regimes are a major cause behind these wars.
- These start either with one or a very few men rallying around an ideology or political agenda. The state or an occupier when starts using violence this nucleus gathers mass and turns into a movement.
- Terrorism is often the first phase of this kind of war followed by abolishing the writ of government, insurgency and guerrilla warfare.
- Mostly, when such movements succeed these transition into political parties and on failure turn to obscurity – only for surfacing again.
- Such conflicts are often long drawn and have no military solution.

- The collateral damage often becomes a source of recruitment.
- Historically, military forces have had terrorists' leadership as prime objective and their ideology is not targeted in the initial stages.
- Two more definitions must be understood for a clear comprehension of the subject at hand and these are:-
- **Fundamentalism.** The term "Fundamentalist" drawn from 1909 publication "The Fundamentals: A testimony to the truth" proposed five beliefs for those opposed to the Modernist movement.
- **Narratives.** A written or spoken account of associated events; a story, part of a literary work, as different from dialogue, the practice or art of telling stories, traditions of oral narrative, a representation of a particular situation or process in such a way as to reflect or conform to an overarching set of aims or values.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE

While the history is full of events of violence perpetrated in the name of religion, here only three examples have been taken to convey the viewpoint.

The Christian Crusades: 1095-1291

The First Crusade. In the speech given by the Pope at the Council of Clermont in France in 27 Nov 1095, where he combined the ideas of waging war against infidels with that of making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The summary of the Pope's speech is given below:-

"The noble race of Franks must come to aid their fellow Christians in the East. The infidel Turks are advancing into the heart of Eastern Christendom; Christians are being oppressed and attacked; churches and holy places are being defiled. Jerusalem is groaning under the Saracen yoke. The Holy Sepulcher is in Moslem hands and has been turned into a mosque. Pilgrims are harassed and even prevented from access to the Holy Land. The West must march to the defense of the East. All should go, rich and poor alike. The Franks must stop their internal wars and squabbles. Let them go instead against the infidel and fight a righteous war. God himself will lead them, for they will be doing His work. There will be absolution and remission of sins for all who die in the service of Christ. Here they are poor and miserable sinners; there they will be rich and happy. Let none hesitate; they must march next summer. God wills it".

A Secret Cult of Murder. In India during the 13th to 19th centuries, the Thuggee cult existed among believers of goddess Kali. They would usually strangle travelers with noose called a *phansilater rob* and lastly ritually mutilate and bury them.

Over 20,000 cults were murdered secretly in a year. It was broken up by British officials. Thuggees waged a religious campaign of terror for centuries.

Cult Case: Mysticism and Rebellion in Uganda.⁵ Josef Kony, nephew of Alice Lakwena, formed a Holy Spirit Mobile Force in the Lord's Resistance Army. Kony blended Christianity, Islam, and witchcraft and made a weird spiritual foundation for his movement. Kony publically announced that he would overthrow the government, seize power, purify people and rule as per the teachings of biblical Ten Commandments. From its beginning, the Lord's Resistance Army was extremely brutal and waged terrorist campaigns against the Acholi people it claimed to champion. The campaign ruined villages and towns, killed thousands, expelled thousands more from the land, abducted children, and committed mass rape and banditry. The Lord's Resistance Army having bases in southern Sudan proved extremely difficult for the Ugandan government to defeat.

RISE OF EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN

It is of importance to note that extremism in Pakistan is not a sudden or singular phenomenon. It is spread over our history and one could find such tendencies on part of the government as well as people with varying degrees and intensities. It is equally important to take stock of such reasons for crafting a counter narrative and fill the vacuum in which such tendencies were nourished by default or by intent.

Idea of Pakistan as a State in the Quaid's Thoughts (Evolution)

Jinnah's idea of Pakistan was politically progressive, constitutionally secular, and of a tolerant nation. In his address on 11 August 1947, before the Constituent Assembly, Jinnah said, *"You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state. Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the state".*

Major General Iskander Mirza the first President, summed up the domestic situation of Pakistan during the early days, in his 1400 word announcement issued on 7th October 1957 wherein he stated, *"For the last two years I have been watching a ruthless struggle for power, corruption and shameful exploitation of simple, honest, patriotic and industrious masses the lack of decorum and the use of Islam for political ends. Adventurers and exploiters have flourished to the detriment of the masses and are getting richer by their nefarious practices. My appraisal of internal situation has led me to believe that a vast majority of people no longer have any confidence in the present system of government and are getting more and more disillusioned and disappointed and are becoming dangerously resentful of the manner in which they*

have been exploited".⁶ This disillusionment and exploitation by leaders and state continues to haunt us, even today.

The Decade of 50-60's. US gained trust of President Ayub Khan in 1950s but Pakistani diplomacy and polity completely lost its integrity. Foreign policy of Pakistan lacked initiative. It was the story of American kite.⁷ Pakistan made it implicit and opposed the communism soon after it allied with the US on her dictation. President Ayub Khan stressed during his address at Dacca University on 21 January 1960 and said, "*To modern slavery of communism there was only one answer and that answer was to be found in Islam*".⁸ When Pakistani economy was in muddle and US was unwilling to help Pakistan in July 1961, President Ayub Khan recommended to the US that if they did not give aid to Pakistan it will unavoidably lead towards communism. Communism term was used as a threat, to get genuinely needed aid and at home to pacify religious clergy. President Ayub's frequent endeavors, looking for legitimacy relied on religious sentiments. It resulted in strengthening the fundamentalists and blurred the vision of Pakistan's modernity.

Post 1971. Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his Party replaced the previous government with a populist political ideology of "Islamic socialism". He discovered that all institutions were attracted to ideals of Muslim power and authority as developed and grown by Martial Law in collusion with the West. To an extent, he could not do much to initiate any effort towards their reorganization. Despite his efforts to represent the practicability of new terminology of Islamic socialism, people suspected his oratory and in 1977, he lost elections against conservative Pakistan National Alliance. Pakistan landed in deep crisis which resulted in return of Martial Law under General Zia Ul Haq.⁹

The Soviet Afghan War. The US led Jihad against the Soviets in Afghanistan in December 1979, provided the basis for an extremist religious infrastructure that served the US strategic interests on one hand and on the other provided an opportunity to other Islamic countries, resultantly fuelled the Saudi-Iran rivalry. Pakistani-style jihadist Islam was born during General Zia's time, generating the whole generation of militants.¹⁰ First Afghanistan and later Pakistan became the home of this radicalism and which started searching for new targets in the region and beyond. The national purpose succumbed to delusions, emotions, and obsession for dangerous causes.¹¹ This led to polarization of society. After 30 or more years, fragmentation has intensified with backfiring of Jihad, in the whole country.

Post Soviet Afghan War. During 1990s, Pakistan's politicians played outbidding each other in their pledge to Islam and support for the Army's aspirations¹. Islam became important populist identity for Pakistan's identity. Both political and populist Islam focused on anti Americanism and started beating the global Islamic revivalism rhythm. This national vision led to a weak institutional construct that aligned with the sectarian and ethno-linguistic, nourishing instability in Pakistan. Institutions started to crumble and became attached to power, the rule of law and social stability were degraded by the forces of extremism. The state lacked political resolve, moral authority, effective and capable Law Enforcing Agencies. Jihadi organizations publicly

sought donations on the streets of Pakistan. There was no system of financial accountability and all sorts of law violations were ignored in the name of jihad and its members accorded the status of heroes, with official patronage. Pakistan was becoming ungovernable under the democrats, eventually replaced by another man in uniform.

The Aftermath of 9/11. Unpopular America re-engaged with Pakistan after 9/11. This time, the US fought an unpopular war to begin with and became more so as it started to maintain an authoritarian ruler. Most Pakistanis view that Musharraf's support to Washington debilitated the country, especially it undermined Pakistan's stability through suicide attacks, challenging its sovereignty, and threatened its integrity by encouraging religious based nationalism in provinces.¹² At the end of Musharraf's rule, most of Pakistanis were confused and developed their understanding through the prism of religion and the rift between Islam and the West. This exposed them to radical propaganda and paralyzed their will to fight against extremism.

Last Five Years. Last five years of democratic dispensation witnessed a mix of our responses to the forces of extremism. We saw successful operations in Swat and FATA on one hand while on the other a sharp rise in sectarian extremism in big cities like Karachi. The dividends of democracy got diluted due to poor governance and political expediencies, leaving the common people even more confused.

The Precipitating Factors. After a brief account of the genesis of extremism under various governments with varying degrees and intensities, some precipitating factors have remained constant irritants throughout our history. These have been in the domains of politics, governance, education, social and economic developments etc. These are:-

Political Factors

- **Pakistan's Foreign Policy Compulsions and Rise of Terrorism.** Pakistan's post-9/11 foreign policy on the global radar screen has been its new identity as the religious extremism and terrorism, and a country with a culture of violence and sectarianism. Pakistan's evils have been further complicated by the American presence in Afghanistan, growing Indo-US nexus, India's rise in the region and her growing influence in Afghanistan.¹³ Due to these complex realities our leaders favoured proxies to curtail certain threats which led to nurturing of extremists.
- **Pakistan's Strategic Culture.** During the 1950s and 1960s, Pakistan provided crucial support against communism in the Cold War struggle. It acted as a "frontline state", to drive out the Soviets from Afghanistan during the 1980s. After these periods, the US-Pakistani relationship nosedived under the pretext of changed international conditions and diverging strategic interests.¹⁴ One could say that Pakistan was born insecure since its independence.¹⁵

- **The Kashmir Dispute.** Over the years owing to thousand of casualties suffered by Kashmiris, Kashmir Dispute has become an unstable, emotionally charged and a nuclear flashpoint.¹⁶ The issue has been one stand alone factor in spread of Jihadi mindset and extremism. Traditional rivalry with India has an emotive and extreme content. The question is not whether its right or wrong on our part, but the reality is if we were not neighbors with India, perhaps such extreme anger may not have been part of our national psyche.
- **Stability on Pakistan's Western Borders.** Fluctuating relations with Afghanistan created problems for Pakistan's foreign policy and its internal security. Since the beginning, Afghanistan did not recognize the newly independent Pakistan and continues to challenge the legitimacy of "Durand Line" even today. Pakistani leaders preferred "friendly" relations with Afghanistan – whether they were the warlords of the 1980s or the Taliban of the 1990s.¹⁷ Needless to mention that these fears have led to influx of extremism and terrorism from our Western Borders.
- **Sub-Nationalism and Balochistan.** Our state apparatus has not been able to truly understand the dynamics of sub-nationalism, particularly when it comes to dealing with Balochistan. More than once, state has used military against these tribes / sub – nationals. Unfortunately, the decision for such use of military instrument against own people has neither been institutionalized nor based on consensus.

Socio-Economic Factors

- **Underperformance in Education.** Given the current population growth rate Pakistan will add another 100 million people in the next 25 years, with majority of less than 18 years of age.¹⁸ Unless the education system adapt to this situation, these young people may become easy prey for radical organizations.
- **Madrassas – A Bonus or a Liability.** During General Zia's rule (1979-1982), 151 new madrassas were opened, however during the next five years, 1,000 of them were established.¹⁹ International patrons funded these madrassas, provided arms and distributed religious literature that was used freely in Pakistani madrassas.²⁰ Funding and support from the Gulf countries also came in and fuelled sectarian conflict between Sunnis and Shi'ites. Had our madrassas not followed a myopic and strictly sectarian education, perhaps it could have turned into a dividend.
- **Poverty, Youth Bulge, Un-employment.** The economic difficulties and abundant unemployed youth has become a ready force for extremist's recruitment.

- **Inequitable Distribution of Resources.** Successive governments in Pakistan have not been able to ensure equitable distribution of national resource. This has led to an air of frustration due to persistent feeling of neglect.
- **Sectarian Divide.** Sectarianism in Pakistan has taken a violent form, which has worsened during last two decades. Although sectarianism in the Pakistan is normally referred to the conflict between the Sunni and Shia traditions, however this description is misleading - the divide within Sunnis being equally wide, making the sectarian landscape in Pakistan much more complex.²¹

EXTREMISTS' NARRATIVE, COUNTER NARRATIVE AND PROPAGATION STRATEGY

Characteristics of Extremists' Narrative

Andrew Heywood defines ideology as a coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for organized political action, intended to protect, amend or defeat the existing system of power. Narratives have following features:

- Present in the form of a “world view” an account of existing order.
- Forward a model of a preferred future, a vision of the “good society.”
- Explain how political change can be realised.
- Ideologies tend to clarify wrong things in the world and recognize where the liability for the presented problems lies.
- Extremists degrade and curse their enemies. Extremist beliefs promote mistrust. Aggression is justified to stop and destroy the enemy. This feature also explains the predisposition to conspire.

Extremists' Narrative

- **Al-Qaeda.** The Narrative declares the West is waging war against Islam. Al Qaeda clinched this ideology and tried to threaten others to achieve their strategic end state of re-establishing the Caliphate over the Islamic world. A Salafi jihad ideology seeks to rid Islam of outside influence through Jihad. US will be defeated in Afghanistan as USSR was defeated.
- **TTP.** Its narrative is constructed around more or less the same argument of West versus the Islam. However, their efforts are more focused inside Pakistan. They project the enforcement of Sharia as their ultimate objective and consider the Pakistani constitution un-Islamic, the

government, armed forces and intelligence agencies as surrogates of the US. TTP, thus declares 'Jihad' against the state of Pakistan. Pakistan Army will be defeated in Pakistan as US has been defeated in Afghanistan.

- **Sectarian Outfits.**²² The slogan of sectarian outfits is that my brand of Islam is the only correct version of Islam and others are infidels therefore killing them is justified to promote and spread our version of Islam.

Counter Extremist Models

Some counter extremist models which were studied for the purpose of drawing pertinent lessons, include American control of Philippines Insurrection of pre-World War II, French Campaign in Algeria (1954-1962), El Salvador (1980 – 1992) and Columbia (1963 – present). These counter extremism campaigns had a different context and cannot be totally replicated in our environment, yet their similarities have brought forth some conclusions, which are:-

- Severe military actions to break the myth of extremists are essential to set the stage for eventual phases.
- Creation of local armed militias to offset the paucity of regular troops and enabling the locals to protect themselves against extremist violence.
- Separating the extremists from local population, confined to a specific zone or area for targeted operations against them.
- Allocation of lands and other monetary benefits to those siding with the government and its forces.
- Winning hearts and minds of the population through developmental works and community uplift.
- Political legitimacy to military actions and holding of elections in the disturbed areas.
- Sealing and securing the borders to stop external support.
- Breaking ideological cohesion of violent extremists by effective projection of insurgents' involvement in drug trade and criminal activities for personal gains.
- Uni-directional flow of information from the conflict zone.
- Disregard to international opinion shaped by human rights groups and media with vested interests.

- Targeting the leadership.

Proposing the Counter Narrative

Premise. Proposing a counter narrative to the established extremist narrative is a complex phenomenon. Prima facie, it appears to be a process of constructing a written concept, which can be subsequently executed. On the contrary, it must take us back to the causes and unless the causes are addressed, the phenomenon of extremism will continue to haunt our future generations. Therefore, a comprehensive package is to be formulated which addresses each individual cause. It is here that the result of redressal of each cause will give us cumulative effects as a counter narrative. Pakistan faces extraordinary situation that calls for extraordinary measures, to reverse not only the tide of extremism and terrorism but to transform the ailing social framework. The remedial measures are required to be instituted in the entire spectrum of statecraft and primarily have to be long term. The purpose of such a review should not only be stemming the flurry of terrorism but to evolve a long term political and social culture which prevents formulation of policies which pave the way to extremism and public sentiments' direct clash with the state.

The Counter Narrative Statement. To progressively eliminate extremism from Pakistani society, with a view to institutionalizing broad based, socially acceptable, religiously correct, administratively prudent and legally sustainable reforms affecting the life of Pakistani citizens based on nationhood irrespective of political, religious and ethnic affiliations. Envisioned end state is a tolerant and progressive Pakistan where religious difference of opinion is accepted and sufficient space is available for all sects, ethnicities and religions to peacefully co-exist.

Components of Proposed Counter Narrative. The counter narrative has to be adopted and executed at the national level being a national effort and thus must enjoy a broad based consensus. Any narrative cannot succeed in vacuum; therefore, a starting point needs to be initiated to create a conducive environment to develop incentive and stakes of all stakeholders. To this end, the components of counter narrative are:-

- **Reconciliation.** It must be realized that state cannot continue fighting its own people for infinite period of time. The logical outcome, sooner or later, will call for reconciliation. It is a shared human experience that for any conciliatory effort to work it has to be based on acceptance of truth and wrongs committed by parties to the dispute. The South African model of reconciliation bears testimony to this fact.
- **Political Dialogue.** The dialogue process should be open to media and public scrutiny. What we must remember is that if we fail to talk to those who are fighting the writ of government, our enemies will talk to them.

- **Developmental Activities.** The economic measure being undertaken, mainly construction of roads, basic health units and schools are not at all sufficient to win the hearts and minds. It requires massive investment. It is recommended that federal government should prioritize all mega developmental projects for next five years. The resources from these projects may be diverted to FATA and Balochistan only, for development of civic infrastructure, on war footing.
- **Revisiting the Ideology.** The state should initiate a public debate on Pakistan's ideology. The debate should be conducted at various forums starting from educational institutions, political parties, bar associations, press clubs etc to provincial and federal parliaments. The objective should be to determine whether the basis of our ideology was in the current form of Islam or it was embedded in a welfare Islamic democratic state. Subjects like nationalism and what is its place in the mainstream social order. Provision of justice to common people, equitable distribution of resources etc be strategized through such dialogues and made mandatory for all institutions to follow.
- **A Permanent No to the Non State Actors and their Sponsors.** We should permanently abandon the policy of sustaining non state actors trained and motivated in the name of Jihad and religion. Where it is absolutely necessary to respond to a proxy through proxy, the cadre to undertake it should be recruited / motivated through economic measures and themes focused on nationalism. Likewise, the state should evolve procedures to ensure that no financial aid is provided to any sect or madrassa in Pakistan by any foreign country.
- **Policy for Use of Military Force against Own People.** One cannot deny the possibility of use of force against certain incorrigible elements, in future as well. Such a use of force, however, has to be legitimate and in accordance with the will of people and be enshrined in the law of land. The constitution review committee should evaluate the possibility of including a clause governing decision for use of army against own people. The procedure should be that unless all provincial assemblies, parliament and senate pass a majority resolution authorizing use of force, no president or prime minister should have the power to make such authorization. Democracy and its continuation reflect the will of the people.
- **Responses to Sectarianism.** Despite the intricacy to tackle sectarian violence per se, the focus should be on setting up the institutional forms

for counter sectarianism through effective measures. Improving the effectiveness of the court system in handling the sectarian cases is crucial – currently the level of convictions is very low.

- **Responses to Underperformance in Education.** The registration of all madrassas should be made part of the policy. As suggested by a former Finance Minister of Pakistan, “*A commission should be formed to issue certificates of registration to the teaching institutions indicating what kind of curriculum is taught in addition to the core syllabus. No school should be allowed to hire teachers unless they have been appropriately certified by the Commission, no matter what kind of curriculum it teaches*”. Modernization madrassas should be frozen for 3 reasons:-
 - This would make the madrassa system more attractive.
 - Modernizing the madrassa would provide them the opportunity to spread their ideological message and would run contrary to objective of de-politicization.
 - The success of madrassa modernization would not essentially lead to control of the political discourse.

Future of Pak-US Relation. Intrusive debate on Pak – US relationship has traditionally been a persistent commitment of our intellectuals / intelligentsia. The pro US groups usually try to accredit the least trusted notion that, “***a stable Pakistan is in line with long term US interest***”. Conversely, the ardent followers of history do not find any convincing evidence in support of the notion. Needless to mention that section of society which is against the notion continues to be more populous and is by and large anti US. We need a serious and meaningful introspection with regard to our future relations with the US. We may not be enemies but we certainly need to define the limits of our friendship so as to guard our national interests.

Propagation Strategy. The central theme of the propagation strategy should be ‘Actions speak louder than words’. The above mentioned steps should be seen transparently by the masses. Transparency, objectivity and nobility of intent would propagate the objectives. To this end media is emerging to play a pivotal role. Information and media has always played a vital role in determining the opinions. The growth of TV channels, radio, print and cyber speak of the power and diversity of the media. It today wields enough power and can play a key role in determining the ultimate fate of any process by influencing the public opinion. Hence media is reckoned with as an important instrument of statecraft and a strong political force which is by far the most effective tool for realization of politico-military objectives.

Conclusion

The geopolitical environment created inside Pakistan since our inception eventually gave rise to militancy with an aim to ultimately transform Pakistan into a theocratic religious state even at the cost of using violence an idea divergent to the conception of Pakistan. However, the authority militants exerted was out of proportion to a level of support they received from society.

Pakistanis have been traditionally tolerant of other sects and religions. Widespread economic and political wrong doings have overwhelmed Pakistan since independence and have partly contributed to extremist tendencies; therefore most analysts agree that the way forward to combat militancy lies in socio-economic well being of the society and just democracy.

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BALUCHISTAN – A WAR OF NARRATIVES

Introduction

Conflicts and issues the world over are predicated not only on realities but on perceptions too. This has been an all-pervasive factor since older times. With the onset of media-blitz, perceptions tend to take lead role in resolving or exacerbating issues. Balochistan imbroglio has been simmering since the creation of Pakistan and has been on the horizon in one form or the other with varying degrees of violence. However, it is hard to discern whether the unrest is a making of mere perceptions or is thoroughly ground as a reality.

Even though sub-nationalist tendency in Balochistan is not an unfounded notion and has haunted the state for decades; the imbroglio can be ameliorated by building a counter-narrative and closely follow it up by tangible actions like good governance, socio-economic uplift and political emancipation of the province.

Aim

To analyse the dynamics of Balochistan from the perspective of war of narratives with a view to recommending a holistic way forward.

GEO-STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF BALUCHISTAN

“A well-thought-out story doesn't need to resemble real life. Life itself tries with all its might to resemble a well-crafted story.”

—Isac Babel

Perception Management – A Theoretical View

In the contemporary environment, cognitive domain is becoming increasingly important than physical spheres. Building and changing perceptions with a purpose is perception management (*PM*). The US Joint Doctrine defines *PM* as “*actions to convey or deny selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, ultimately resulting in foreign behaviours and official actions favourable to the originator's objectives*”.¹

Perceptions are managed to achieve desired end state, by influencing emotions, objective reasoning and intelligence estimates of the targeted audience. Objectives vary from seeking support of an individual to breaking the will of a nation. Perceptions are managed in various domains with media emerging as the predominant tool.

Recently, there has been a clear shift in use of non-kinetic options as a tool of statecraft to achieve desired objectives. Societies and states with unstable domestic environment, weak governance and exploitable leaders are increasingly becoming target of hostile *PM* campaigns and resultant outcomes.

Narratives

Narratives are defined as:-

- “Symbolic stories that shape the surface events and give direction to our life. These shadowy influences can materialize in the moment of social challenge – like calls to greater efforts and sacrifice, or acceptance of a course of action that many would be ordinarily reluctant to adopt.”
- A narrative is “a persuasive story that weaves events into an intelligible whole” (Vinson & McDonnell).
- *“Attempted justification of a cause and the attempt to secure support for it, through the medium of a persuasive story is called a ‘narrative’.”*

Geo-Strategic Importance

Geographical Realities. Balochistan is a victim of the tyranny of geography. This largest province of Pakistan, with 350,000 sq km of land, is mountainous / semi desert arid land. It is a sparsely populated land bordering Afghanistan and Iran. Much of it is a high barren plateau 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea level. To the south, lies one of the most inhospitable deserts in the world, the Makran, which nearly defeated Alexander the Great when he marched through it on his way home. There is scanty rainfall throughout. There are no rivers, only seasonal rainy nullahs. Water has been so scarce that contours of land capable of holding scanty rain decided limits of tribes’ pastoral rights. Agriculture is sparse and dependent upon infrequent rains and *karez*s.

Impact of Geography. There have been no towns in Balochistan, only small villages and nomadic life, till the British came in 1878 and decided to establish a military base at Quetta. Even the Muslim Arab Army sent to conquer eastern areas of Iran in 750 AD, returned from Panjgur considering the region as ‘wasteland, not worth anything’. The root cause of poverty, illiteracy and backwardness of old Balochistan is steeped in centuries of living on non-productive lands. With the absence of water, they were forced to live a nomadic pastoral life, literally landlocked.² Presently its strategic location, long coastline at the mouth of the Gulf and its oil, gas and mineral resources has attracted the importance it currently enjoys.

Resource Rich Province. Balochistan is rich in its mineral wealth. About 37% of total area of the Province has been geologically surveyed so far. It holds large quantities of coal, gold, copper, silver, platinum, aluminium and uranium. These natural resource potentials though not fully discovered and mapped are estimated to be over hundred billion dollars’ worth.³

These resources are major attraction for global and regional countries. In *Afghanistan’s Shadow*, author Selig Harrison says, “*If it were not for the strategic location of Balochistan and the rich potential of oil, uranium, and other resources, it would be difficult to imagine anyone fighting over this bleak, desolate, and forbidding*

land".⁴ In the present era, the foreign policies and national interests are based on strategic economic interests and energy security.

Balochistan's Demographic Profile and its Dynamics

Balochistan has a unique demographic structure comprising a cosmopolitan mixture of many ethnic and linguistic cultures. Social structure and details of these ethnic factions are:-

- **Social Structure.** Baloch society is feudal and tribal which revolves around the institution of Sardar. They maintain independent status and are averse to outside influence. Tribal disputes are common and normally they cannot enter each other's areas.
- **Tribes.** The population of Balochistan is sub divided into various tribes and sub tribes. They maintain independent status and are allergic to outside influence while maintaining complete loyalty to Sardars. The ethnic elements inhabiting Balochistan are Pathan, Brahuis and Baloch.
- **Political Influence.** Province is ethnically divided in Pashtoon and Baloch zones. Out of 30 districts, 12 districts are dominated by Pathans while in 18 districts the Baloch population is in majority. Balochistan has never had strong and stable political government. Any charismatic leader from one zone or group may never be acceptable to the other group thus unanimous leadership of the province has been elusive.
- **Sardar System.** According to traditional tribal system, Sardar was considered as the elder brother of his tribe and was chosen keeping in view his character. Sir Sandeman, British political agent in Balochistan changed the nature of the Baloch Sardars from elder brother to controller and collector. They became the owner of total tribal lands and kept the tribe deprived.
- **Population.** Balochistan's population is sparse i.e. a mere 6.6 million. The density of persons per square kilometre comes to 19. The percentage with reference to overall population of Pakistan comes to 5.11.⁵ As per 1988 census, Baloch comprised 55% and Pashtoons 40% of the population.
- **Religious Beliefs.** Majority of the people are Sunnis. There are small number of Ismailis and Zikris in Makran Division and sizeable Hazara population with Shia faith in Quetta.

Interest of Regional and Global Players

Balochistan has always been centre of attraction for most global and regional players. Be it Cold War era and GWOT, almost all the leading intelligence agencies have been found operating in one way or the other here. Interests of key players are:-

- **US**
 - Balochistan guards the strategic trade link to the Gulf and Caspian Region which has immense value for US for its future energy needs. Its interest therefore lies in getting access to the oil and gas resources from the Middle East and Central Asian States and controlling the energy resources of the region.⁶
 - In presence of an defiant Iran, competitive Russia and economically threatening China, US could ill-afford a weakened posture in warm waters linking CARs to rest of the world. US is concerned about growing Chinese presence in the region especially Gwadar.
 - The ultimate end-state which the US is looking at with regards to Balochistan appears to be a perpetually unstable and chaotic piece of land with sufficient autonomy where US can enjoy its control and significance of both Iran and Pakistan.
 - To that end, 'Greater Balochistan' theory can also be played by exploiting the notion of Seestan Balochistan and creating a separate state out of Iran and Pakistan on demographic lines. Similarly, HR violations can also be made an excuse for intervention in Balochistan.
- **India.** A peaceful and secure Balochistan is not in India's interests. Indian mid-term goals in Balochistan appear to be paying back Kashmir and keeping Pakistan busy on its internal front. Concerned for its energy security, India considers Chinese presence in IOR as a threat.
- **Afghanistan.** Historically Afghanistan has never accepted Durand Line and lays claim over Pashtun areas of Pakistan both in KP and Balochistan. The legacy continues and as a result, Afghanistan has been the base of almost all insurgencies.
- **China.** The Province has strategic importance for China because 60% of Chinese oil passes through the Strait of Hormuz. It provides the shortest link to main trade highway from Xinxiang province, due to which China has invested heavily in Gwadar Port.
- **Russia.** Russian interests in Balochistan are not new. It helped create BLA in 80s and is still intimately supporting the terrorist organization to payback its defeat in Afghanistan.⁷
- **Iran.** Iran considers Gwadar port as a rival to its Chahbahar and therefore can be involved in perpetuating violence in Balochistan. Weary of anti-shia drive in Balochistan especially Quetta it may desire to keep the disturbances at slow simmer to pursue her economic benefits. Iran would also not wants an independent Balochistan.

- **Gulf States.** Some of the Gulf States especially UAE also do not want Gwadar Port to flourish because of its proximity to Gulf Sea ports as it would emerge as a natural competitor.

After developing a theoretical baseline and developing an insight into the global and regional players' interests; we need to see the PM with regards to Pakistan which, since its inception has been target of hostile PM campaigns. Leading strategic narrative which has been fomented by international and regional actors in connivance with domestic players facilitated by domestic enabling environment appears as, *"Frustrated by decades of neglect and excesses by the federation; the space for ethnic Baloch in their own province is being methodically reduced through an elaborate plan basically master-minded by the all-powerful army which is an authority unto itself and has been involved in extra-judicial killings of innocent Balochs and HR violations by its intelligence agencies is a norm. Baloch have always been wronged in their dealing with the leadership in the centre. Historically, their legitimate demand for political and economic autonomy has always been procrastinated by false promises and subsequently suppressed by force. Baloch nationalists cannot help but conclude that they will never get justice from the State of Pakistan and therefore Baloch dominated areas must secede in order to get their due share. To that end, the Baloch must seek help in all sorts from the international community which is morally bound to stop HR violations committed by the state."*

CONTENDING NARRATIVES – SEPARATING MYTH FROM REALITY

Balochistan's historical perspective; tribal character, fragmented political landscape and growing sense of socio-economic deprivation give three important dimensions to the Balochistan issue: ***grievances, aspirations*** and ***perceptions***. Grievances are a major component of the problem since independence. Then are aspirations of those who belong to the Balochistan. The third dimension is the perceptions: the perceptions of the Baloch, Brahui, Pashtuns, Afghans, and other ethnic groups.

Genesis of the Problem

- **Historical Context:-**
 - **British Balochistan.**⁸ In the 19th century and at the beginning of 20th century, Baloch tribes demonstrated their hatred against unjust partition through revolts against British and Persian rule.
 - **Pre-Independence Scenario.** During 1933, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd, a prominent national leader of Balochistan, showed his opposition to division of Balochistan by publishing the first map of Greater Balochistan. In 1934, Magsi, the head of the Baloch national movement, suggested an armed struggle for the liberation and unification of Balochistan.

- **Independence.** On 29 June 1947, the Shahi Jirga of the British Balochistan, along with the elected members of the Quetta Municipality unanimously passed a resolution for the accession of Balochistan to the State of Pakistan. Khan of Kalat acceded his territory to join Pakistan after a series of meetings with the Quaid. However, Shahzada Karim Khan, brother of Khan of Kalat reacted violently against the accession and rebelled to Afghanistan in March 1948.
- **Post-Independence.** After independence, Balochistan remained different from other provinces due to strong tribal character and domination of non-Baloch masses in economic activities and government departments. Balochs opposed the 'One Unit Policy' since its inception. It was considered as fundamentally against the agreement that was concluded with the Quaid at the time of accession of Balochistan to Pakistan. ⁹
- **Insurgencies.** Foreseeing the eventual departure of the British, some Baloch leaders wanted to advance their claim for independence but joined Pakistan happily due to logical reasons and geo-political affinity with rest of Pakistan. However, difference of opinion continued. This weaker link was exploited by certain powers, which led to the first armed insurgency in 1948 by Khan's brother, Abdul Karim Khan. Since then some Baloch leaders have retaliated three times - in 1958, 1963-69, and again in 1973-77. Therefore, the situation in Balochistan remains characterized by intermittent disturbances, with long periods of insurgencies. The dynamics of the Province have always remained complex. Inept handling coupled with non-institutionalized approach by successive governments has spurred and inflamed the insurgency and has resulted in the current security environment.

- **Current Unrest**

- The current unrest started in 2004 from Dera Bugti / Sui on conflict of locals with PPL, which developed mistrust between the federal government and Nawab Akbar Bugti. The situation further aggravated after the development of Gwadar Port and death of NAB. Since then, it has spiralled and is not confined to the traditional areas of previous insurgencies. Its major present effect is the mental subversion of masses through the self-exiled leadership having combination of middle class and nawabs / sardars. Foreign elements especially our traditional enemies are sparing no opportunity to exacerbate the already complex situation. Though a few initiatives have been taken by the government, however the problem appears to be far from over.

- There are clear and discernible signs of ‘foreign abetment as well as sponsorship’. While addressing one of the sessions during National Workshop on Balochistan at NDU on 17th July, then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Raja Pervez Ashraf, said that, the turbulence in Balochistan was though ‘foreign abetted’, however, the Government of Pakistan would assert its sovereign right to deal with the internal problems as per our own national interests.

- **Elections – 2013**

- Elections-2013 can be considered as a watershed in the political history of Balochistan. Despite covert and overt threats from terrorist organizations and general scepticism about the viability of democratic system in tribal society; turnout was impressive with 40% in Baloch areas and over 50% in Pushtun areas. The feted decision of Nawab Akhter Mengal to take part in the electoral process is another positive sign, even though he has reservations about the transparency of the elections.
- Election of Dr. Abdul Malik; who is neither a tribal chieftain nor a member of ruling families, as a consensus candidate of all political parties is a correct beginning. Priorities spelt out by him and his initial messages are being widely accepted. The most notable being the expression of belief to continue the struggle within Pakistan.
- 15th June occurrences have, however, been a huge blow to the nationalist Govt in Balochistan. Incidents at symbolic Ziarat Residency, Bolan Medical Complex and Women University was a clear message by the terrorists to undermine the state authority. The timings of these attacks are such that just when there were promising indicators emanating from the restive province, these series of attacks in a single day have jolted the confidence of the entire nation in the permanent resolution of Balochistan issue.

Balochistan – Contending Narratives

- **Pre-Partition Era**

- **Realities**

- Formation of ‘Quetta Division’ after amalgamation of ‘Confederation of Balochistan States’ and adjoining areas from Sindh and Afghanistan created a feeling of alienation since ethnic Baloch areas were backward whereas Pashtun areas (Afghanistan) and Sindhi areas were comparatively affluent.

- Being strategically more important viz-a-viz Russian threat; “British Balochistan’ was governed more efficiently by the British as compared to ‘Confederation of Balochistan States’. British governed the area through the respective nawabs / sardars which not only gave fillip to the all-pervasive feudal system but added to the misery of common man.

➤ **Perceptions**

- Multiple factors like inhospitable terrain, lesser British interest in Baloch dominated areas and the traditional Baloch creed of being autonomous led to the development of a sense of deprivation. A feeling only to be substantiated at the time of partition once the reins of administration were passed to indigenous leaders who more or less followed the same policies.
- Ethnic Baloch have historically been against the division of Balochistan. Use of Balochistan and present day KP as a buffer against the Russian Empire created a sense of being used.

• **Post-Partition Era**

➤ **First Insurgency – 1948**

- **Realities.** Soon after partition, the apprehensions of Khan of Kalat were though promised to be addressed, but the concessions which formed the basis of him joining Pakistan were not granted to him. This set the foundation-stone of first insurgency led by brother of Khan of Kalat in 1948.
- **Perceptions.** The way this insurgency was crushed and apparently brought to a logical end by imprisoning Prince Karim (younger brother of Khan of Kalat) sowed the seed of mistrust between the state and the people of Balochistan. A faulty lesson in the mind of the government forces was also driven home that political and communal demands can be crushed through force, a lesson the state has been trying to unlearn since then.

➤ **Second Insurgency – 1955 to 1958**

- **Realities.** Announcement of One-Unit in 1954 was another blow. On the other hand, in its infancy, the nation needed cohesion and the kind of autonomy Khan of Kalat desired was hard to comprehend, let alone implement it. The movement was entirely home-grown with no foreign abetment and the

demands were of rights, privileges and concessions in line with the injunctions of deal between the late Quaid and Khan of Kalat.

- **Perceptions.** Baloch nationalists' perception was further substantiated that the state of Pakistan wants a firm grip over its entire land and that the concept of federation appears elusive in the foreseeable future. Mistrust further grew once the government failed to comply with its own amnesty pledge and executed Sardar Nauroz Khan's son and nephew. Conversely; for a nascent state whose existence was at stake from its eastern neighbour, grant of autonomous rule was a difficult proposition. In the larger interest of the things, the state considered its legitimate right to use violence against dissident elements to bring normalcy in the area by silencing the voice of dissent and rebellion once and for all.

➤ **Third Insurgency – 1963 to 1969**

- **Realities.** This insurgency started once the government decided to act against tribal leaders who had abetted Sardar Nauroz Khan in his insurgency of 1955. Despite an amnesty announced earlier, the insurgency was re-ignited in 1967 after the government decided to curtail the powers of all-powerful sardars and nawabs. However, the government finally had to annul the declaration of One-Unit in 1969 after which the insurgency came to an end.
- **Perceptions.** Even though the government granted amnesty, it could not afford mini states to be run within the state of Pakistan. Hence it was decided to curtail the powers of feudal forces. Baloch thought was predicated on sense of deprivation and acute trust-deficit with the government of Pakistan to frequently usurp the autonomous rights of provinces especially Balochistan. As a result, though the insurgency was controlled, the Baloch sense of deprivation kept simmering till the formation of Baloch Nationalist Government in 1972.

➤ **Fourth Insurgency – 1973 to 1977**

- **Realities.** It was initiated in 1973 and lasted till 1977. This insurgency started after the removal of NAP Government of Atta Ullah Mengal by Mr Z A Bhutto in February 1973. The arrest of Baloch leadership gave fillip to this insurgency. It remained in the districts of Kharan, Sibi, Dera Bugti, Khuzdar and Kohlu. This insurgency could have lasted longer but the

ouster of Prime Minister Z A Bhutto and declaration of general amnesty by General Zia Ul Haq normalized the situation.

- **Perception.** Ethnic Baloch lay claim on border towns of Shikarpur and Jacobabad as part of Balochistan and consider Sindhis as the major beneficiaries of Baloch rights. PM Z A Bhutto's policy on ruthlessly crushing the insurgency was linked to the historic rivalry between Baloch and Sindhis. Iran's unstinted support also undermined the notion of greater Balochistan.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Perception Management

Of all the factors that bedevil the Balochistan situation; perceptions seem to have taken over the realities. A foreign crafted and locally abetted narrative has solidified so much that to an outsider, Balochistan appears to be war-torn province where the life has literally come to a grinding halt and there is total anarchy there. While the reality is that other than a few Baloch dominated districts, life continues as usual. It is therefore important that alongside practical steps required to ameliorate the problem, building the correct counter narrative is of immense importance.

Building a Counter Narrative. Crafting a counter-narrative is need of the day. The cardinals of which are:-

- Balochistan problem is neither wide-spread in terms of area, nor broad-based. Out of a total of 18 Baloch districts, insurgency-like-situation is restricted to 4 districts which too are intermittent. With regards to its popularity, the movement is restricted to some feudal leaders and their followers and has not permeated into a common Baloch. Dr Allah Nazar factor has yet to gain popular support.
- Demands of a common Baloch are that of autonomy, political emancipation and economic revival. Secessionist tendency has never been on the agenda of a common Baloch. It is nothing but the brain-child of international and regional players who are pursuing it for their ulterior motives. Presence of hostile intelligence agencies is undeniable fact which is actively involved in anti-state activities.
- All EoNP are geared up to resolve the Balochistan issue in the most amicable manner and there is no covert plan to usurp the rich mineral resources of the province by any other province or ethnic entity.
- The newly elected Government is a nationalist Government which can best handle Balochistan's woes. The government is led by an ethnic Baloch who has pledged to work in harmony with the state machinery of Pakistan.

- Burning of Ziarat Residency should be exploited as a water-shed used to galvanize the support of all segments of the society against sub-nationalism. This is a challenge which should be converted into an opportunity.

Information Operations

All EoNP will have to be galvanized to conduct a quintessential Information Operations regime at the strategic plane. This would call for a Whole-of-Government approach for enduring results. Military or other LEAs alone can achieve short-lived objectives having super-facial value only.

Media

- A well thought-out media strategy as part of National Policy for Balochistan needs to be evolved and pursued with commitment. Ministry of Information should establish a “Balochistan Cell” for correct perception-management.
- In an effort to sensationalize their respective news, our nascent media ends up glorifying VNSAs involved in anti-state activities and heinous crimes. The media no matter how independent it might be; should still work under a framework. To that end, the existing regulatory framework of PEMRA must be implemented in letter and spirit.
- While it must bring realities to the fore; it must also highlight the efforts which the government has made towards amelioration of Balochistan problem. Similarly, sacrifices of the law enforcement agencies must also be appropriately highlighted.
- The media must highlight that secessionist tendency is a recent phenomenon. The notion of deprivation has been mainly hijacked by hostile intelligence agencies and morphed into a secessionist movement duly abetted by disgruntled leaders.
- It should be highlighted that all chief ministers of Balochistan were ethnic Balochs who failed to deliver since they were all feudal lords and only concentrated the vast resources in their respective constituencies and that too for building militias.
- Armed Forces and FC welfare projects even though they are well-meaning, must be governed and regulated by the civil government only to be monitored at higher level by the military.

Addressing Realities

- **National Policy on Balochistan Issue**

➤ **Conceptual Framework**

- Dialogue and reconciliation to be the corner-stone of internal security strategy.
- Kinetic means should be employed as a last resort. The requirement of establishing writ of the state must not be overplayed.
- People-centric approach be adopted by assimilating all segments of the society in national mainstream.

➤ **Applying the Conflict Resolution Model.** Adoption of Thomas –Kilman Model for conflict resolution is suggested. Cardinals of this model are:

- **Competing.** The Competing option means taking a wholly uncooperative and assertive approach to resolving the conflict. At the moment, both sides seem to be adopting this position i.e. not to budge from the principal position. The results are obvious.
- **Accommodating.** The Accommodating option means taking a wholly unassertive and co-operative approach. This might take the form of selfless generosity or charity.
- **Avoiding.** The Avoiding option means taking an unassertive and uncooperative approach to the conflict and not dealing with it. Avoiding might take the form of diplomatically sidestepping or postponing an issue.
- **Compromising.** The Compromising option is at the centre of the model because it is both assertive and co-operative but only to some extent. Both sides get something but not everything. It might mean some give and take, or seeking a quick solution in the middle ground.
- **Collaborating.** The Collaborating option means willing to believe that when two parties are at loggerheads, it is possible for both sides to come out with what they want. It is considered that both sides need to take the position of Collaboration to arrive at a workable solution.

➤ **Political Autonomy**

- Allocation of seats in National Assembly for Balochistan be increased from 17 to 22. As a one-time measure, this quota of seats may be based on area rather than population for Balochistan. Other provinces especially Punjab should sacrifice its share, as it draws maximum criticism from Baloch nationals.
- With the new political government in place, an All-Parties conference may be called to address the issue through all-inclusive political process. No amnesty be granted to any criminal involved in crimes against LEAs and the state. Establishment of the writ of the state should however be done in a graduated manner.
- The process of reconciliation is principally unconditional. To set the base that the government will only talk to those who cede to the constitution of Pakistan is a non-starter in itself. We must bring the estranged leaders to the table and show strategic patience for vital national interests.
- Political reforms, along with economic reforms should be introduced in the province to give people a sense of participation. Provincial assembly should be entrusted and empowered to take decisions independently on provincial issues.

Local Stakes in Mega Projects. Locals of area should be the first beneficiary of any natural resource. Chamalang is a success story which can be emulated for implementation in other projects. Similarly, provincial legislation must be mandatory to exercise control of Balochistan's minerals wherein contracts may only be allotted transparently after approval of the provincial law makers.

Gwadar. The project must be pursued and developed at priority.

Quota Issue. Army's example of relaxing standard quotas for recruitment of Balochi youth be emulated by other federal departments.

Social Sector Development. The government will have to invest heavily in education sector and infra-structure development. Basic seeds of any insurgency-like-situation are sown in sense of deprivation. Government therefore has to take extraordinary measures to work in Public Sector Development (PSDP).

Contours of the Strategy. The strategy to be built on the acronym, 'SECURE' which denotes:-

S	-	Sovereignty
E	-	Enduring
C	-	Coherent
U	-	Unified
R	-	Reconcile
E	-	Economic

Manifestation of Proposed Strategy

- **Short Term (1 - 2 Years)**

- Reconciliation and dialogue with all dissident elements irrespective of their stance on the issue.
- “B” Areas to continue till such time recognition for their conversion into “A” areas grows from within. Capacity building of levies and khassadars would therefore have to be done.
- Kinetic means be sparingly used against hardcore criminals.
- Zero tolerance to sectarian strife. Militant wings of sectarian forces be ruthlessly crushed. Respective clergy be engaged for promoting inter-sect harmony.
- Trickle-down effects of economic initiatives be ensured.

- **Mid Term (3 - 5 Years)**

- Uniform administrative structure for entire province i.e. conversion of “B” areas into “A” areas.
- Role of FC in maintenance of law and order be gradually reduced. FC effort be directed more towards border-control.
- Build capacity of provincial institutions including LEAs to improve governance so as to dispel the perception of neglect and interference.

- **Long Term (beyond 5 Years)**

- Provincial political leadership should assume the lead role in resolving tribal disputes. It should be empowered to form part of the solution rather than part of the problem which it presently is.
- Emancipation of the masses through a democratic process.
- Consolidation.
- The state must operate from a higher moral pedestal. There should be zero-tolerance to high-handedness by any LEA. This however calls for robust legislation to deal with terrorism and anti-state activities, so as to obviate any chances of excesses by the LEAs.
- Whole-of-Nation approach should ideally be adopted. But this is a long-drawn procedure. Therefore, till such time consensus at national level is not achieved on contentious issues, at least all segments of government machinery must work hand-in-glove.

Conclusion

Balochistan is dear to us, not because of its rich resources but because it is part of Pakistan. Furthermore, the state is responsible to ensure well-being and security of people. While the present turbulent times can be partially attributed to external factors; it is mainly the state which has not been able to deliver. The state's approach towards Balochistan imbroglio has generally been rudderless. As the adage goes, "***no one plans to fail; it's just that some fail to plan***", we need to eliminate the dissatisfaction and resentment spreading over decades, through reassuring compassion and self-control. Apathy must give way to empathy, and our actions need to speak louder than words.

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Endnotes

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CIVIL – MILITARY RELATIONS - A CASE STUDY (2008 – 2012)

The civil-military relations in Pakistan have a chequered history. The military's desire to exert influence in state affairs has generally been perceived as a rider clause throughout while in power or outside. However, since 9/11 this role has undergone a paradigm change wherein state security has assumed new heights. What we have today is a kind of hybrid model of civil-military relationship. The relationship is a bargaining one; it depends on the issue and context requiring constant review.

Pakistan needs to ensure rule of law, good governance and socio-economic equity. These norms have to be respected by civilians as well as military. We need to shun the notion that civil and military are permanent adversaries in Pakistan. However, at the same time there can be no substitute to balance the relations to run the state affairs in a desired manner. Therefore, ordering of civil – military relations forms the foundation of nation's security framework.

The challenge that confronts the civil-military hierarchy indubitably is the attainment of an optimum-balance between the functional imperative of the military to protect the society and its societal imperative to protect its values, ideologies and the institutions. The above balance is indeed the holy grail of the ideal civil-military equation. Currently, the military is back in the barracks and elected representatives have the reasonable space to pursue their agenda in political engagement. This is a healthy trend which needs to progress towards maturity.

Aim

To analyze the civil-military relations from 2008-2012, with a view to drawing a way forward.

Historical Scan

On June 14, 1948, Quaid-e-Azam while addressing the Army Staff College, Quetta, said *"I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high-ranking officers I discovered that they did not know the implications of the oath taken by the troops of Pakistan...I want you to remember...that the executive authority flows from the head of the Government of Pakistan, who is the governor general and, therefore, any command or order that may come to you cannot come without the sanction of the executive head. This is the legal position."*

These words of the Quaid had the ring of authority, as always, and should be the starting point of any history of civil-military relations. In Pakistan, military intervened overtly on four occasions; October 1958, March 1969, July 1977 and October 1999, justifying its action on the ground of instability in the country. In retrospect there were peculiar reasons why civil-military relations in Pakistan could not develop in a normal way.

In the first place, there was no interaction between the political leadership and the future leaders of the Pakistan Army before independence due to British imperial

culture. Second, an unwise administrative decision kept the civil and military leadership separated by 900 kms till 1960 with capital (Karachi) and the Army headquarters (Rawalpindi). This factor perpetuated the feeling of being strangers that was inherited at the time of independence. Third, in the 1950s and later, the Pakistan Army became an important ally of the US in the Cold War. Army was, and still is, more important to the US than the political leadership. Fourth, the army had, and still has, a well-organised modern structure, a culture of discipline and well-established institutions, but politics in Pakistan has been rather chaotic and marked by indiscipline and opportunism with few exceptions.

1999 to 2007 – Highlights

- **Foreign Policy Issues.** In the initial years of President Musharraf rule, Pak did not have normal relations with USA, Europe and its neighbours. However, 9/11 changed the fate of his foreign policy when Pakistan joined the GWOT. Yet, the then govt failed to pursue the core interests of the country effectively through foreign policy.
- **Abrogation of Constitution.** Constitution was initially suspended on 24 December 99 and later amended through 17th amendment.¹ Article 58 (2) (b) of the constitution was invoked through which the President regained the power to dissolve the National Assembly² and balance of power tilted.
- **Devolution of Power.** General Pervez Musharraf introduced the federally promulgated Local Government Ordinance (LGO) in 2003. Despite certain positives features, major criticism against this system includes:-
 - It placed civil bureaucracy and administrative structures under the elected representative, i.e. Nazim.³
 - It considerably weakened the provincial bureaucracy by reassigning a large proportion of their functions to elected local governments and by abolishing the office of the Deputy Commissioner.⁴
 - The Police Ordinance 2002 curtailed the power of police in district to a significant level.
 - In the process of devolving powers, the feudal again made inroads to power which distorted the essence of the process.
- **Establishment of National Security Council (NSC).** NSC was established in 2002 as a forum on national security and was misconstrued as a symbol of military supremacy over the civilian affairs.⁵

- **Creation of National Accountability Bureau (NAB).** NAB was established in April 1999. In the beginning, NAB played vital role in checking corruption, however following objections raised serious questions about the impartiality of the NAB:-
 - Mostly staffed by serving and retired armed forces personnel.
 - Military and judiciary enjoyed utmost immunity.
 - Pre-dominantly directed against the politicians.
 - NAB played a vital role in cobbling together the ruling Democracy, headed by Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-e-Azam) [PML (Q)], who in turn escaped the accountability.

- **Military – Bureaucracy Relationship.** Although historically allies, but the drastic changes brought by military regime in the structure and functions of bureaucracy were strongly resented by them. Appointment of military officers in civil departments also caused dissatisfaction amongst civil servants.

- **Handling of Judiciary.** Historically judiciary has remained subservient to military which continued during the initial period of military regime. However when, on 3 Nov 2007, emergency was proclaimed, the judiciary was asked to take fresh oath under a new PCO, which was refused by the judiciary including Chief Justice (CJ). It resulted in their dismissal, giving birth to severe judicial crisis in the country.

- **National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO).** The NRO was *promulgated* on 5 Oct, 2007 with the aim to promote positive political environment in the country. The proclamation of general amnesty through NRO was criticized all across the society besides fuelling political polarization. Later in 2012, the Supreme Court declared the NRO unconstitutional.

- **Red Mosque (Lal Masjid) Incident.** ‘Operation Silence’ against Lal Masjid in the capital city in 2007, figured high in turning the tide of terrorism as Pakistan witnessed a rapid surge in violent extremism thereafter. Once Operation Silence was called off, the Pak-Taliban appeared to have emerged as a ferocious force in Pakistan.

- **Killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti.** Nawab Akbar Bugti’s killing in a military operation in August 2006 raised many issues including increased internal political disorder, recrudescence of nationalist sentiment and the acts of sabotage in Balochistan. The incident also provided an opportunity to India to further fuel the destabilization in Balochistan, which continues unabated.

The Democratic Period of 2008 to 2012. The salient features of this period will be discussed as positives and negatives:-

- **Positives**

- **Reversion of Military Officers from Civil Departments.** After taking over the command of the Army on 28 Nov 2007, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani ordered immediate reversion of military officers from civilian departments which was received positively across the country.
- **Military Operations.** Military's role in counter terrorism operations has been applauded across the country. Military received desired political ownership in its counter terrorism campaign which was clearly visible during operations in Swat and FATA.
- **Killing of OBL by US – Unified Stance.** In grave violation of Pakistan's territorial sovereignty, on 2 May , 2011, the US carried out a surprise operation in Abbottabad killing Osama Bin Laden without informing Pakistan exhibiting lack of trust and scant regard for an ally's sensitivity. This act was later projected in the western media to cast aspersions on Pakistan military and its intelligence agencies competence, even insinuating their complicity in hiding the Al Qaeda Chief. However, civil and military leadership both presented a unified stance and unequivocally condemned the US operation besides emphasizing the unacceptability of such an action in future.
- **Military's Role in 2010 Floods.** In 2010, Pakistan was struck by devastating floods. Military was among the first to respond, helping 850,000 people to escape to safety. According to National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) officials, Pakistan's Armed Forces spent nearly 25% of their annual budget on the flood response.

- **Negatives**

- **ISI Control Fiasco.** Soon after the civilian government established itself in 2008, it took a sudden decision on 26 July, to put the ISI and IB under the Ministry of Interior (MoI). As columnist Ms. Nasim Zehra described it: *“The matter was not discussed in any Cabinet meeting, it was not put before the Parliament or any Parliamentary or Senate Committee and none of the coalition partners were consulted. Similarly, the justification to alter the reporting line was not discussed with the Ministry of Defence or the three services chiefs or the Chairman Joints Chief of*

Staff Committee who are directly involved in the operations and the output of the ISI.” Consequently, Army’s opposition forced the government to put the notification in “abeyance.” The incident illustrated the government’s lack of understanding of the nature, role and functioning of such organizations.

- **Kerry – Lugar Bill and Military’s Reaction.** The Kerry Lugar Bill with an amount of US \$ 7.5 billion in non-military aid for a period of five year was aimed at countering widespread anti-American sentiments in Pakistan. However, this support was made conditional on Pakistan military being subordinate to its elected government. Govt decided to accept the terms and conditions without the concurrence of the Army. It created another stir when it was strongly opposed by the Army.
- **Abolition of NSC.** The traditional civil-military distrust was again exhibited when the government took the decision to abolish the NSC in Nov 2008. Without going into the utility of such an institute, government’s hasty decision has created a void in institutional decision making and a meaningful consultative mechanism on matters of national security.
- **Salala Incident and Pakistan’s Response.** The Salala Incident of 26 Nov 2011, in which 26 soldiers embraced shahadat shocked Pakistanis and aroused strong anti-US sentiment. Pakistan responded strongly by closing the NATO GLOCs, vacation of Shamsi Airbase, boycotting the Bonn Conference and severing military to military relations. Despite this, the then government miscalculated grossly when it decided to exploit the strategic environment for domestic political advantage as when the stage was set for the US to apologize, govt deferred it to a later time. A costly error of judgment and poor understanding of the international strategic environment indeed created uneasiness in the military hierarchy.
- **Memogate Scandal.** In November 2011, ‘**Memogate Scandal**’ surfaced publicizing an anonymous secret memorandum. It was allegedly written by the Pakistani Ambassador to the US, Mr Hussain Haqqani, addressed to the US government stating that the civilian government feared a military coup in the aftermath of the Osama Bin Laden killing. It appealed for US support to prevent such an outcome. Government denied any linkage to this memo. ‘**Memogate Scandal**’ pushed the civil-military relations to a breaking-point. Despite no outcome, the incident created bad taste between military and the government for some time.

- **Role of Media.** Starting from killing of Journalist Saleem Shehzad, MILBUS, a book by Ms. Ayesha Siddiqua, Army's performance in Balochistan, National Logistic Cell (NLC) and missing persons case etc., Army faced the brunt of media onslaught. Alongside clarifying its position Army resorted to multiple briefings for Media personals and in-camera briefings for Parliamentarians on security issues and operations by military in FATA and Swat which was an unprecedented act.
- **National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA).** As the battle against domestic terrorism grew in size and intensity, the idea of the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) was born in 2008. However, the bill was passed only in Mar this yr (2013) i.e., after a lapse of 5 years, due to tussle within the ruling party for its control hence negatively impacting a matter of national importance which required action.

Case Studies – Brief Overview. The narrative of often uneasy civil-military relationship is not peculiar to Pakistan. Many countries have had to contend with the tenuous aspects of power dynamics that entails civil-military relations. This part will therefore examine civil-military relations in two countries namely, India and Nigeria.

India

In the Indian political framework, control of the military is rarely seen as a problem. The country's is routinely acknowledged for its military's non interference role in state affairs. A study claims that, 'The Indian military, despite growth in its geostrategic importance, increased technological and organizational sophistication and use in internal security operations, stands firmly subordinate to civilian leaders of all parties and ideologies.'⁶ However, existence of National Security Council facilitates running the civil-military relations harmoniously.

It needs to be noted that while the military has not openly intervened in formal politics, it exerts its influence in certain areas of policy. It has managed it by defining sphere of its 'operational expertise' and cautioned politicians to remain well clear. This has been supported by a skewed narrative of civil-military interaction in past conflicts – one that remains influential well beyond military circles. Jawaharlal Nehru played a key role in establishing the norm of civilian supremacy in the Republic wherein his views were influenced by destructive effects of militarism in Japan and Europe. He, therefore, exercised caution in carving civil-military relations.

However, areas of conflict between the civilian authorities and the military hierarchy exist. For instance, the Indian Army's institutional stance on the long standing dispute on Siachen Glacier with Pakistan had proved to be a major impediment in its eventual resolution. The problem exacerbated when the Indian Army opposed retreat. The then Army Chief, General J.J. Singh, publicly gave his views on few occasions.

Army's position was also conveyed through media leaks. The problem is believed to be still persisting between the political leadership and the military. A similar scenario played out in matters relating to internal security, when for instance the government decided to amend rather than scrap the controversial Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA).

Despite these disagreements, India has been able to achieve democratic consolidation. This was acquired through uninterrupted political process, holding mostly free and fair elections, regular cycle of political parties in power emerging from a wide and diverse range of political parties, a free and vibrant media, an apolitical and professional military and fiercely independent judiciary.⁷ Stephen P. Cohen argues that "the structure of the Indian civil-military relationship is fundamentally sound because - for most Indians - the legitimacy of the political system remains high".⁸ Even as India's military has grown in sophistication and geopolitical importance, propelled by nearly two decades of economic growth, it remains firmly under political control.⁹

Nigeria

Civil-military dynamics in Nigeria has been described by either a complete subjection of the military to civilian control or a subjection of the civilian authority to military control in what has been characterized as military-civil relations. In line with British traditions, at the time of independence, the military kept itself involved in military affairs only. However, its involvement in state affairs was purely advisory. The military coup of 1966 leading to the country's civil war was the beginning of the ascendancy of the military in the civil affairs of the state. Military rule, representing one extreme of the civil-military continuum persisted with intermittent short lived civil governments until 1999 when the present democratic dispensation came to power.

Within this period, contest for supremacy never surfaced: especially during the military regime, coup plotters were either summarily executed or sent to various terms of imprisonment. The relationship has been facilitated due to the existence of National Security Council (NSC). The only instance of military working to exert an influence in defence policy making occurred during the beginning of the current democratic dispensation. The then President, Olusegun Obasanjo, a retired army general and former military ruler, on assumption of office after nearly fifteen years of military rule tried to consolidate his position and keep the military in check. This involved the engagement of a US-based military training outfit to retrain and re-orientate the Nigerian military to work within the dictates of a civil government, a move that did not go down well with the top military hierarchy.

The move was interpreted as subordinating the military not to civilian authority, but a surreptitious move by the US in connivance with the Nigerian government, to control the Nigerian army and a prelude to the establishment of a military base in Nigeria. This disagreement was played out in the public arena, with civil society and the general public supporting different viewpoints. The public display of open disagreement and insubordination to the civil authority drew odium from some pro-democracy groups and politicians who questioned the loyalty of the military to the nascent democratic

government. The ensuing conflict culminated in the sacking of the heads of the three services by the president, in exercise of civilian control. The views of the civil authorities had prevailed. It has been argued that the strong leadership displayed by President Obasanjo was informed by his background as a retired very senior military officer, and that a president from a pure civilian background would have been hard pressed to take such decisive action against the top echelon of the military establishment. Whatever the argument, a strong and decisive leadership is imperative for establishing civilian control of the military.

Major Conclusions. Some of the major conclusions extracted from the above analysis are given below:-

- The civil-military relations are a product of a country's socio-political history, threat environment, strength of civilian political institutions and the ideological self image of the military.
- A weak political oversight raises the spectre of a disproportionate recourse to the use of military instrument in pursuit of political objectives.
- The presence of an institutional mechanism in the form of National Security Council in countries clearly underlines the importance of such a body to develop consensus based approach on matters of national security besides managing the civil-military relationship in a desired manner.
- The complex security threats of this era characterized by ideologically-driven insurgencies and terrorism call for an employment of political and military instruments in tandem. The notion of objective control, therefore, is dated when viewed in the context of present security milieu.
- The principal-agent interaction between the civilians and the military calls for a non-intrusive but effective civilian oversight of the military instrument. The present security threats call for a modified form of subjective control of the military by the civilian institutions, with a balanced fusion of both, in national security decision-making.
- In democracies that are beset with existential security threats, the strength of the political institutions and the ability of the society to absorb the military professionals in national economic mainstream on a regular basis acts as an insurance against direct military intervention.
- The ideological fervour of the military suitably burnished by an implacable wave of internal and external threats, however results in a disproportionate military influence in defence and foreign policies that continues to exact heavy diplomatic and economic costs.

Analysis

Civilian Supremacy. Seeing it in the context of Pakistan, it can be analyzed that unfortunately, the distinction between legitimate protection of military core interests and the military involvement in policymaking is not always clear. Policymakers need to differentiate between respect for the military as an institution, which is vital for a healthy civil-military relationship, and appeasement of the armed forces, which perpetuates the military's role as a policymaker. However, politicians must remain cognizant of their own political authority, which is possible only if civilian power is united and popular support base is strong.

Historical Burden Continues to Impact. Civil-military relationship is dynamic in nature. In case of Pakistan, civil-military relations are guided by historical background. The current situation is very important and we all should be proud of the fact that the last political government had electoral legitimacy which is likely to continue with the new government. The people look towards democratic government not just because it represents them but they also judge its performance. Faith and confidence in leadership also falters if it does not deliver. The same has been witnessed in the recent polls.

Political Stability. The continuity of the political processes is the main benchmark in achieving long awaited political stability in the country over prolonged period of time. Besides having positive impact on other national and external affairs, it will have a constructive impact on the civil-military relationship. The latest smooth political transition in the country is the step in this direction.

Military's Evolving Relations. Influence of the military in the political domain remains pervasive, although unnoticeable. It continues to influence the country's external and internal security policy. The relationship between the civilian government and the military is reminiscent of previous governments. The last government of Pakistan People's Party initially attempted to exert its supremacy over the military by making bold but less considered gestures, like the attempt to bring ISI under civilian control which did not work. It is considered that the political forces are not that powerful or even united to bring about a major change in the civil-military power dynamic in Pakistan in the short term.

Foreign Policy Influence. In regional policy formulation, it is generally perceived that military has a major role in decision making and implementation of security and geo-strategic policy of the country especially with regards to neighbouring countries of Afghanistan and India.

Multiple Power Centers. We all are conversant with the media term 'Troika'. This troika was often seen meeting during the period of last government on the matters of national importance, albeit informally. It clearly indicates the requirement of a forum for sharing views on matters of national importance and developing consensus thereof. The last decade has also seen a growth of multiple power centers' in the country including judiciary, media and civil society. Now it is not only the question of civil

versus military, but these power brokers have also started to exert themselves which is likely to grow manifold in times to come, necessitating certain realignments between all stake holders.

Judicial Activism viz Military's Position. All military takeovers in the past were sanctioned by a compliant judiciary. Today, however the Supreme Court, which is ready to “bury the doctrine of necessity” to justify military takeovers, is unlikely to sanction a military takeover. The increasingly popular electronic media also has made clear its position that military rule is not a viable option.

Military's Commitment on Internal Security Duties. The deteriorating law and order situation in the country since approximately last decade or so has resulted in heavy commitment of the military on internal security duties hence seriously impinging upon its conventional capability and capacity. The main reason for military's commitment is the inability of the LEAs due to capacity issues.

Way Forward

- **Short Term Measures**

- **Foreign Policy Formulation**

- Pakistan is located in the most volatile region; the regional situation is likely to persist in foreseeable future. With neighbours like India and unstable Afghanistan pose challenges for Pakistan. Under such prevailing strategic environment there is a need for all state institutions to work in harmony to tackle the national security challenges befittingly. In this respect, foreign policy formulation process must cater for an institutional input for an all-encompassing response at the national and international levels.
- The interests of the United States and other allies of Pakistan will be better addressed by enhancing their interaction and strengthening their relations with the political leadership of the country. In this regard, the political leadership will have to take the initiative and prove them worthy of this important duty.

- **Enactment of Institutional Structure**

- Notwithstanding the objections against NSC, there is a need to hold more public and parliamentary discussion on its re-establishment or even for further empowering the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC) as only through such constitutional structure, political and military leadership can respond to the national security threats. Lessons from other countries indicate that the military usually steps back when

regional conflict subsides or external threat reduces, mainly due to strong constitutional structure working at optimum level.

➤ **Enactment of National Media Policy**

- In Pakistan, a revolution in media has been witnessed during last decade. Besides its fruits, the unbridled use of media has caused certain serious issues especially with respect to the national security. There is a strong need of enacting the National Media Policy wherein the rules of engagement have to be clearly specified in order to avoid unnecessary media bashing on matters of national importance.

• **Mid to Long Term Measures**

- **Political Supremacy and Credibility.** In Pakistan Civilian supremacy is not absolute. It is a relative condition, defining the scope and intensity of the military's involvement in state affairs. The most serious challenge however to the equilibrium of civil military relations was found in the emerging democracies with a record of military interventions. Under such conditions, strong and altruistic political leadership supported by an assertive civil society, independent judiciary and stable political institutions is the antidote to military interventionism. The quality of leadership both civil and military would determine to a large extent the quality and character of civil-military relations in such polities. According to Peter Feaver, "it is the civilian leadership that bears the maximum onus of failure of civil-military relations due to its putative role as the final decision making authority." Hence there is a need for the political leadership to expand their knowledge and expertise in security sector to handle such issues befittingly.
- **Promotion of Democratic Culture and Constitutionalism.** Continuity of political process and smooth transition of political governments is likely to pay rich dividends in coming times. Tradition of constitutionalism need to be established wherein all stake institutions, including military, should operate within their constitutional domain maintaining healthy relationship between all organs of the state. Achieving political stability in Pakistan and strengthening democratic traditions would require all major political parties to be internally democratic and transparent.
- **Capacity building of Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs).** In order to relieve Army from IS duties; there is a dire need to embark upon the capacity building of LEAs which can also lend flexibility to the political leadership in tackling the internal security

issues aptly. Ministry of Interior as the lead agency should spearhead the capacity building process.

Conclusion

The path to democracy and greater civilian control of the security sector in Pakistan is not going to be easy, but it is worth the effort for the civilian government to better inform itself about security issues and lead in decision making, and for the military to give civilians space, even to make mistakes. All decisions at national level, especially those impinging upon the national security, should be made with consensus amongst all stake holders.

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Endnotes

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PART – III

Military Strategy

- Eastern Strategic Thought, with Focus on Sun Tzu – Relevance in the Contemporary World
- Intelligence Wars - Indirect Approach with Direct Strategy

EASTERN STRATEGIC THOUGHT – RELEVANCE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Introduction

Within the overall ambit of strategy, the term “Strategic thinking” is so commonly being applied that it risks losing its real meaning and significance. By and large, the expression is often misperceived and is used to indicate generalize thinking on strategy instead of specific thinking with certain characteristics applied to achieve success in an endeavour.

Strategic thinking is a mental process which is practical in nature and based upon the realities that give rise to the issues and conflicts in the world, war is meant to resolve. The students of strategy cannot ignore these forces. ***Thus, the history of strategic thought is a history not of pure but of applied reasons.***¹ In studies of a country’s strategic thinking, normally four factors draw the most attention: its leadership and ideology, its relative power, its relationship to world power and the degree to which other states bandwagon with it or balance against it.² Strategic thought will be irrelevant, if not accompanied by a sense of high nationalism.

The process of evolution of strategic thinking can be divided into four distinct eras of history, namely: the Ancient Era (1000 BC- 50 BC), the Medieval Era (550 AD-1400 AD), the Modern Era (1500 AD- 1945 AD) and the Contemporary Era (Post WW-II i.e. Cold War/ Post Cold War Period). While inquiring for the development of strategic thought through these eras, it can be clearly ascertained that the Eastern strategists did contribute predominantly in the period up to modern age until it was taken over by the post renaissance Western world with corresponding dearth of the same in the eastern world. Majority of the concepts that are now being applied for formulation of defence policy and military strategy were once new and viewed with reluctance. It was the work of visionaries and analysts that refined these concepts to be acceptable and adopted for formulation of strategy by the defence community. The process is never ending as strategic concepts continue to emerge; some are disregarded whereas a few manage to achieve acceptability after passing the tests of suitability and feasibility.

Aim

To analyze the evolution of eastern strategic thought, with focus on military aspects to highlight its relevance in the contemporary world

EVOLUTION OF STRATEGIC THOUGHT – CHINESE CONTRIBUTION

Sun Zi (Sun Tzu) and his Art of War (400 B.C.)

Sun Tzu described the art of war as principles for achieving victory based on indirect strategy; economy of means, stratagem, knowledge of the adversary, and psychological action, whereas tactics is merely employing forces to overthrow already confused enemy. ³ Sun Tzu educated:-

- **Five Essentials for Victory**⁴
 - Know when to fight and when not to fight.
 - Know how to deal with both superior and inferior forces.
 - Ensure that army is animated by the same spirit throughout all ranks.
 - Prepare yourself, waits to take the enemy unprepared.
 - Has military capacity and is not interfered with by the sovereign.

- **Governing Factors for War**⁵
 - The moral law of unconditional loyalty to the ruler.
 - The commander having qualities of wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage and strictness.
 - Method and discipline entailing marshalling of army in its organization, rank structure and the control of military expenditures.
 - Earth including distances; open ground and narrow passes; the chances of life and death.

- **Waging War**
 - **War Duration and Economy of Resources.** He favoured short and intense war and postulated:-
 - If a campaign is prolonged, the resources of the state will not be equal to the strain.
 - There is no example of a country having been benefited from protracted war.
 - Let your key objective be victory, not extended campaigns.

- **Motivation for War.** To attrite enemy, men must be roused to anger.⁶ But captured soldier must be kindly treated and kept.⁷

- **Attack by Stratagem**⁸
 - To fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting.

- Skilful leader subdue the enemy without any fighting.
- The best thing of all is to take the enemy's country whole and intact.
- **Direct and Indirect Maneouvers⁹**
 - In battle, there are more than two methods of attack – the direct and indirect; these two in combination give rise to an endless series of maneouvers.
- **Synergetic Effects**
 - An intelligent combatant looks to the effect of collective energy and does not require too much from individuals. When he utilizes combined energy, his fighting men become as it were like unto rolling logs or stones.
- **Weak vs Strong Points¹⁰**
 - Clever combatant imposes his will on the enemy, but does not allow the enemy's will to be imposed on him.
 - Appear at points which the enemy must hasten to defend.
 - Skilful is attack whose opponent does not know what to defend; and he is skilful in defence whose opponent does not know what to attack.
 - Though the enemy can be stronger in numbers, one can prevent him from fighting.
- **Maneouvring¹¹**
 - Mobility should only be undertaken if there is a real advantage.
 - Plans be dark and impenetrable as night and when you move, fall like a thunderbolt.
 - Soldier's spirit is keenest in the morning. Avoid an army when its spirit is keen, but attack when it is sluggish and inclined to return.
 - Do not swallow bait offered by the enemy. Do not interfere with an army that is returning home.
 - Set a fully equipped army on march in order to snatch an advantage, the chances are that you will be too late.

Know Your Enemy

Sun Tzu's saying, *"If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle"*,¹² amply highlights the importance of this essential aspect.

Use of Spies

He maintains that knowledge of enemy's dispositions can only be obtained from other men. He classifies them into local, inward, converted, doomed, and surviving spies. Spies cannot be usefully employed without certain intuitive sagacity. Enemy's spies – must be sought out, tempted with bribes, led away and comfortably housed.

Shang Yang (400 BC)

Shang Yang was a statesman of the western Chinese state of Qin, he believed in the need to control society strictly in order to avoid disorder. In his book, he describes the method of warfare, military defence, and making orders strict.¹³

The Marquis of Huai-Yin (Han Hsin)¹⁴

Simple Strategy. In the art of war, if you outnumber the enemy ten to one, you surround him, but if you outnumber him two to one, you engage him in battle.¹⁵

Conclusions

- **Notion of Victory.** By applying prudence and comparing own and enemy's strength, the victory can be known beforehand.
- **Considerations for War.** Before entering into war analyze loyalty, time, security, selection of objectives, economy, logistics, competence of commanders, bravery, enemy strengths and vulnerabilities.
- **War Duration.** It must be calculated carefully, not to exhaust soldiers/ resources.
- **Multi-Front War.** A state with multi-front during war is bound to have larger armies and remains defensive in nature.
- **Stratagem.** Avoid protracted war and break enemy's resistance without fighting in order to gain victory through stratagem.

- **War Fighting Strategy**
 - Avoid protracted war and stalemate.
 - Strengthen defences.
 - Never attack strength with weakness rather vice versa.
 - Carryout reconnaissance.
 - Use of propagandists.

Direct and Indirect Manoeuvres

- Combination of both direct and indirect methods will gain synergy. It can be achieved by weighing the alliances with neighbouring countries, weighing the advantages of manoeuvres, logistic tail, knowledge about terrain, distribution of forces, swift attacks and studying the environment.

Morale / Motivation

- The morale of the soldiers must be raised by arousing their anger against the enemy and by offering incentives.

Know Your Enemy

- Knowledge about enemy's organization of forces, plans, strengths and vulnerabilities, leadership, strategies, etc. will pay rich dividends.

ASIAN CONTRIBUTION IN DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY STRATEGIC THOUGHT

Kautilya (400 BC) - Strategic Thoughts / Concepts¹⁶

Strategy. It should be evolved after appreciating factors like territory, army, season, build up, likely loss / gain and finally the overall objective.

Peace Offer. The only time a king will make peace is when he finds himself in relative decline compared to his enemy.

Types and Techniques of Warfare

- **Prakash Yudha (Open War).** Fought during the day light hours from fixed positions at prefixed time, with superiority of strength and terrain and seasons are favourable.

- **Tusnim Yudha (Secret War).** War by propaganda, subversion and sabotage; in short psychological warfare of modern day.
- **Kuta Yudha (Undeclared War).** Akin to present day proxies.
- **Alliance.** Idea of developing an alliance is Kautilya's fifth method of foreign policy. "A king seeking an alliance must ensure that he finds a king more powerful than the neighbouring enemy".
- **Double Policy.** It means "*making peace with one and waging war with another*". Kautilya professes that "*an immediate neighbouring state is an enemy and a neighbour's neighbour, separated from oneself by the intervening enemy, is a friend*".¹⁷
- **Quality of Troops.** Contrary to the diversity of troops, an army whose soldiers belong to the same region, caste or profession is a mighty army; it shows bravery even under adverse conditions, with absolute loyalty.
- **Enthusiasm and Power.** Kautilya professed use of absolute power by the sheer force of his power overpowers another who is merely enthusiastic".

Art of Warfare Practiced by Mongols, Tatars and Mughals¹⁸

Historian like Ibn Al-Athir (1160-1233), John of Plano Carpino (1182-1252), Ata Malik Al-Juwani (1226-1283) etc. have recorded how they organized their armies, employed strategy and executed their war plans to subdue each other. However, Timurlane (1336-1405) and Zaheer Ud Din Babur (1483-1530) the first Mughal emperor who invaded subcontinent, manifested their strategic thoughts in the shape of following:-

- War should not be of long duration.
- Use of Advance Guard. The advance guard went close to enemy, hung upon its flanks, till main body appeared in sight following them.
- Selection of Objective. Forts and cities remained priority objectives.
- Intelligence gathering about enemy's movement and leadership.
- Pursuit of withdrawing enemy.
- Use of Terrorism. Several of the prisoners were put to death, to strike terror into the enemy.

Ho Chi Minh and Nguyen Giap (20th Century)

- **Strategic Concepts / Thoughts.**¹⁹ Ho Chi Minh and Giap constructed a similar strategy for liberation of Vietnam. Their model fashioned a military strategy based on the principle of protracted warfare utilizing guerrilla insurgency tactics to support the political end of unifying Vietnam under a Communist Regime. In 1950, Giap called for a three phased strategy of liberation:²⁰
 - **Phase 1.** Strategic defense, passive resistance.
 - **Phase 2.** Active resistance and counter-offensive preparation utilizing extensive guerrilla attacks with continued propaganda and subversion.
 - **Phase 3.** General counter-offensive designed to defeat the French Army.
- **Guerrilla Warfare.**²¹ As War is continuation of politics by other means, in guerrilla war, politics and violence are intertwined in which the participants are highly motivated, sometimes to a fanatical degree.
- **Defeat through 1000 Cuts.** Giap explained *“Our strategy was to maintain a long tiring battle, only a long war period could allow us to use our strong political cards, superimpose our disadvantage of lack of material and transform our weakness into strength. To maintain and increase our strengths was the principle that we adhered to, attacking only when success was guaranteed and avoiding battles which could cause us great damage”*.
- **People vis-à-vis Guérilla War.** Giap explained people’s war as, it's a war fought for the people by the people, whereas guerrilla warfare is simply a combat method. The people's war is simultaneously military, economic and political, and is what would call "synthesized."
- **Compatible Strategy.** In every war, a strategy comprise number of tactics that are considered to be of great strategic importance, so one must try to defeat those tactics. It was the same when the Americans tried to apply their "seek and destroy" tactic, we responded with our own particular tactic that was to make their objective unattainable and destroy them instead. We wanted them to fight, fight on unfamiliar territory.
- **Target ‘Will’ of the Enemy.** Contrary to the American policy to try and escalate²², goal in the '68 offensive was to force them to de-escalate, to break the American will to remain in the war. The war was brought to practically all the occupied towns, with the aim to show that it would be impossible for enemy to continue war.

- **Social Laws and War Aims.** There are always concrete and social laws which retain their value whether in peace or war. To win, one has to act according to these laws. If you do the opposite, you're being subjective and you're bound to lose.
- **Peace time training.**²³ To meet the requirements of modern war, the army must be trained to master modern technique, tactical use of arms, coordinated tactics and modern military science. Giap said, "The content of the training must be imbued with strategic guiding principles. The leading ideas must be based on the enemy's practical situation and on those of the battle-fronts.

CONCLUSIONS

Kautilya's Strategic Thoughts/Concepts

- Analyzing Kautilyan dictum of peace with equal or strong, after facing humiliating defeat in 1962, India made peace with China, because it understood that it cannot attain victory manifesting Kautilya's six fold foreign policy.
- Kautilya's Arthashastra forms the bed rock of organizational structure of Indian Army and it still continues to hold great relevance to its military aspects intertwined with its ethos and traditions and forms the basic fabric of its fine existence as a world's third largest army.
- The modern designations of combat team, combat group and combat command is based on the concept of a strong central force along with two wings which can manoeuvre and the importance of reserves.
- The Arthashastra is a unique treatise with a few parallels in the world. Very few authors have gone into such great detail about organizing and administering such large armies.
- Having ascertained power, place, time, profit and danger of loss of men and material, one can advance with full force.

Mongols and Tatars Thoughts. Following lessons can be gleaned through the study of their campaign plans:-

- Knowledge about enemy its, leadership / commanders, strengths / vulnerabilities is necessary to achieve victory.
- Advance guard is made to inflict casualties before fighting main forces.
- Chain of command of army should be maintained along with equality.

- War must not be fought in unfavourable circumstances.
- Surprise / deception are skillfully used to instill disorder within the enemy.
- Avoid protracted wars.

Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap. Some of their major conclusions are:-

- As political, diplomatic, and psychological factors played a crucial role in victory of Communist in Vietnam, it supports the notion of preferring negotiation and compromise.
- Strategy requires assistance of extensive organizational resources as it always seeks to realize the ideal of total mobilization and motivation.
- Strategy practiced in Vietnam was at once military, political, economic and diplomatic, although it was the military component which gained primacy.
- Economic and military capability of the enemy will never be great enough to defeat a people united in the struggle for their fundamental rights. Policies formulated in the interests of the people stand good for military in war, while those which are against the interest of the people will eventually fail.
- Defeats clearly are due to serious shortcomings of a military commander.

STRATEGIC THOUGHT– PERSIA / ARAB WORD

Ibn Iskandar (1020 – 1085 AD). ²⁴ A Persian strategist, who authored Qabus Namah (Mirror of the Prince), its forty-four chapters cover moral precepts and rules of conduct in warfare.

Al Rawandi (13th Century). Muhammad bin Ali Bin Soleyman Al Rawandi, was the historian of the Seljuks who wrote the Rahat Al Sadur. His thoughts focused on causes of morality in War, modern day's Notion of Victory. ²⁵

Nasir al Din Al Tulsi (1201-1274 AD) ²⁶. He was the Wazir of the Heligum Khan (Known as Halako Khan) who put an effective end to the Abbasid Caliphate with the conquest of Baghdad in 1258. His thoughts focused on war aims and battle field command.

Ibn Hudayl Al Andalusi (14th Century). ²⁷ He was a contemporary of Ibn Khaldun, who lived at the court of the Nasrid dynasty. He wrote the KitabTuhfat Al –

Anfus wa shir'ar Sukkhan Al – Andalus, a treatise on the Jihad, or “Holy war”. On general conduct in war, he talked of War initiation and exist strategy.

Mubarik Shah (1150-1224). Muhammad bin Mansur Mubarak Shah dedicated his Adab Al harb W Al Shuja'ah (rules of War and bravery), dealing with the art of government and war. He professed Islamic concept of waging war and categorized them into following:-

- War against the Infidels, a religious obligation.
- War by a section who seek hegemony and domination over other Muslims.
- War against the Kharejites. Those who rebel, cease to obey and lay claim to the kingdom and kingship.
- War against those who refuse to pay taxes due to the Sultan.
- War against bandits and pillagers who kill people.

Conclusions

War Fighting Concept. Plan each campaign; allocate forces to each sector with clear phases, lines and timings. Cohesion of regiments must be maintained. Articulation of command and force must be ensured.

Exit Strategy. While advocating war avoidance, the strategists of Arab world also talk of exit strategy.

War and Morality. Never commit excesses in war, avoid shedding **innocent** blood. Taking prisoners should be preferred over killing, a those excused could come your way.

Diplomatic Norms. Diplomacy should be employed as instrument of conflict resolution.

Use of Spies / Intelligence. All of the strategists placed heavy reliance on intelligence and use of spies. Before entering into conflict zone the commander must know the plan of adversary more than his own.

Qualities of Officers. The officers as commanders must passes qualities of judicious counsel, knowledge and capacity to use tactics of war; and be battle hardened.

COMPARISON - EASTERN AND WESTERN STRATEGIC THOUGHT

Eastern Versus Western Thought. Having seen the trajectory of strategic thought from antiquity to modern age, one can clearly discern the pattern as to how the

western strategic thought, slowly emerged and ultimately pushed the Eastern strategic thought to inertia and stagnation. In the West, politics and diplomacy create the place for war and again take over from where the war ends. The West sees the warfare into water tight compartments; the East harps upon taking a more holistic view hence both have different rules of the game. For example, Sun Tzu talks a great deal about knowing the terrain. In the Eastern philosophy, they advocate 'wait and see' game while the West demands quick victories based on cascading strategies. West relies upon technological superiority and force multipliers on the battlefield which seem to be failing in the face of unorthodox / unconventional strategies of Non-state Actors (NSAs).

Two persons in the western world who overshadow all others in strategic thinking and theory of war are Jomini through his main contributions; ***The Prince*** and ***The Summary of the Art of War***, while Clausewitz definitely attempted to reach the philosophical depths of the theory of war are a true reflection of western strategic thought. It is not likely that either Jomini or Clausewitz were ever introduced to Sun Tzu. Surprisingly, though, their writings contain a lot of what Sun Tzu had said over 2500 years ago as is evident from the comparative details given in ensuing paragraphs.

Influence. All the three strategic thinkers have had a profound influence on the course of military history and war:-

- Jomini's writings greatly influenced Napoleonic techniques which got translated into the military thought. As US Brigadier General JD Hittle has put it, "*It is said with good reason that many a civil war general went into battle with a sword in one hand and Jomini's Summary of The Art of War in the other*".²⁸
- Clausewitz's thoughts affected all the armies of the world. The object of Clausewitz' most illuminating influence has been the relationship of policy and war.
- Sun Tzu and Mao Tse Tung's military writings, reveal a paraphrasing of the concepts encapsulated in Sun Tzu's *Art of War*. His centuries old principles of physical warfare are now being applied by the Japanese in the economic war of today.

CONCEPTS

Concept of War

- For Sun Tzu, war is an important facet of human existence. He stated, "War is a matter of vital importance to the state; the province of life or death; the road to survival or ruin".²⁹
- For Jomini too, war forms a part of the existence of man; but instead of trying to find a meaning to war, he tried to discover the secrets behind the art of waging war.³⁰

- For Clausewitz, war and violence are corollary. Sun Tzu, on the contrary, advocated that victory in war should be gained in the shortest possible time with least possible cost of lives.

Relationship between Policy and War

- According to Sun Tzu, “No ruler should put forces in the field merely to gratify his own spleen; no general should fight simply out of pique”.
- Jomini, advocated that “It is to the advantage of the state to have armies commanded by the monarch”.³¹
- Clausewitz’ monumental contribution to the strategic theory is his insistence that “War is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse”.³² His assertion that war is only the instrument of policy was largely misunderstood and contrary to Sun Tzu’s much earlier expositions, the blind subordination of the military to the political resulted into blunders of Dunkirk during the Battle of France and in Operation Barbarossa.

Offense and Defence

- Sun Tzu, without stating which of the two is the stronger form of warfare, highlighted “Whether to attack or defend must be decided by circumstances”.³³
- Jomini, supported mobile warfare by stating “To bury an army in entrenchment is manifest folly and it is hoped we shall never see another instance of it”.³⁴
- Clausewitz repeatedly asserted that defence is the stronger form of warfare.

Surprise and Deception

- Clausewitz highlighted surprise as the foundation of all undertakings.
- Sun Tzu stated that all warfare is based on deception.
- Jomini emphasised surprise in terms of time and space

Concepts of Nation in Arms or Absolute War

- Sun Tzu comprehended the importance of the effect that the populace has on the execution of war.³⁵

- Jomini considered that a ‘Nation in Arms’ raised the morale of the fighting troops and brought victories like those of Napoleon.
- Clausewitz writes, “*In the theory of war as a whole, the foremost place (must be given) to the absolute form of war and that whoever wishes to learn something from theory should accustom himself and never lose sight of it*”.³⁶

Stratagem

It is the unique contributions of Sun Tzu to strategic thought as the western strategic thought, for a very long time, remained oblivious to the concept of stratagem. All Western military thought on the conduct of war revolves around unleashing and controlling of violence to gain victory over the adversary. Sun Tzu, adds, “*Therefore the skilful leader subdues the enemy’s troops without any fighting; he captures their cities without laying siege to them, he overthrows their kingdom without lengthy operations in the field. This is the method of attacking by stratagem*”.³⁷ The advocates and practitioners of absolute wars, in fact, could not comprehend the essence of stratagem and it remained the exclusive forte of eastern strategists.

Aim of War

Sun Tzu insisted that war should be declared only as a last resort and the ultimate aim of war is peace and not the destruction of an army or a country. On the contrary, the true aim of war has rarely been grasped by western strategists. Both Jomini and Clausewitz consider the destruction and the capture of territory to subdue the will of the adversary as the aim of war. None realised that the true aim of war is peace and not victory.

RELEVANCE OF EASTERN MILITARY STRATEGIC THOUGHT IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD

General

Having witnessed the devastation of nuclear holocaust in 1945, Western powers came to increasingly rely on preventive strategies, such as containment, deterrence and proxy wars than war fighting. States no longer considered conventional wars a viable option and inclined towards the use of other soft and smart powers to attain stipulated objectives. The overall struggle continues in phases, ‘war phase’ hands the struggle over to the next phase, i.e. ‘peacetime’ and vice versa. These are not merely two philosophies but approaches which have profoundly shaped the thinking of two distinctly different societies of war and warfare.

The Art of War

Despite the impact of technology, the ancient master Sun Tzu; shows how unchanging his principles are. Together with Confucius, Sun Tzu has influenced every field of life in East which is increasingly being adopted in West as well. He found his way

to the Hollywood movie in 1980s, 'Wall Street'. Its punch line is, "***if your enemy is superior, evade him; if angry, provoke him; if equally matched, fight him***".³⁸ Sun Tzu's philosophy is equally popular in the business world as well. He is often quoted to have said, that "the object is specific about winning; winning with less effort, within as less time and with as much return as possible". His theories are also being analyzed in the West to untangle the knots of asymmetric / 4th generation warfare being waged by NSAs in the arena of global terrorism, as well as grasp the intricacies of Chinese strategic thought.

Nature of War

Sun Tzu, advocates to fight only when one is sure of victory, and one can only be sure of victory if one has done calculations as stressed by Sun Tzu.³⁹ About 23 – 24 centuries later, bloodless victories of the elder Moltke's at Sedan in 1870, and fall of France in May-June 1940 exemplify Sun Tzu's teachings. Had the west heeded to the pronouncements of apostle of the East, the course and outcomes of two world wars would have been different. Sun Tzu's 'psychological collapse' was practically manifested by the strategy of Blitzkrieg in modern warfare. In the post World War II period, his philosophies have been successfully applied in Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, China and Middle East, whereas USA and USSR learnt bitter lessons in Afghanistan and Iraq for relegating Sun Tzu's teachings.

Application of Eastern Art of War in Recent History

East and West clashed in 40's in Pacific, in 50's in Korea, in 60's and 70's in Vietnam and 80's Afghanistan. In all these encounters, West was made to taste the flavour of wars of East which did not confine to the battlefield only. Multiple instruments – war, trade, politics, and diplomacy, all were applied in tandem in varying degrees of permutations and combinations as part of the same game directed under the same rule to achieve the envisaged ends.

War in the Pacific. In chapter 9 of Art of War, Sun Tzu wrote, "***When the enemy speaks in the humble tone, he continues his preparations and will advance***".⁴⁰ On the fateful day of December 7, 1941, while the Japanese diplomats were arriving in USA for yet another meeting on peace in the Pacific, their military had let hell loose upon Pearl Harbour at approximately the same hour. Japanese while capitalizing on one precept of Sun Tzu ended up violating his fundamental rule of "knowing the enemy".⁴¹ The attack acted as a catalyst in infuriating the Americans rather than demoralizing them and world saw the unleashing of ultimate terror on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Korean War. In 1950, General MacArthur landing on Inchon was in perfect conformity with Sun Tzu's assertion, "***to be certain to take what you attack, attack the place which enemy does not protect***".⁴² The American attack did not come as a complete surprise but in fact the North Koreans had disregarded the possibility of such a difficult landing. Subsequently, thousands of the countrymen of the

ancient master, in a classic repeat of the above rule, crossed over the frozen Yalu River at night into North Korea behind the American forces and routed them.

Vietnam War (1954-1973). Charismatic leader, General Giap along with Ho Chi Minh, was the architect of the victory over the French and the Americans. In January 1968, Viet Cong correctly exploited American psychological weaknesses in Tet offensive i.e. sensitivity of American public to casualties. That was a psychological turning point in the war which became decisive and ultimately marked the beginning of the defeat of American forces. Sun Tzu's identification that creation of chaos and disorder in the hearts and minds of people is very useful in conduct of battles did prove its relevance in Vietnam War. General Giap's assertion that "***we never had a purely military strategy, only an overall strategy involving economic, politics, diplomacy and military***"⁴³ amply highlighted the primacy and relevance of Eastern Strategic Thought. Divided public opinion and policy making, in spite of having qualitative and quantitative superiority, resulted in humiliating withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam by April 1975.

War in Afghanistan (1979-1989). The Soviets, in utter neglect of the past master's dictums, selected the wrong terrain to fight conventional battles against the people whom they did not bother to know well thus violated another fundamental principle of apostle of east. While replicating the Clausewitz's adherence to extreme violence, the Soviets underestimated the strength of their opponent who had correctly spotted the Soviet Achilles' heel and by waging a protracted struggle exponentially raised the cost of war to the ultimate exhaustion of the enemy. The slow but sure exhaustion led to the 'psychological collapse' of the Soviets which resulted into their withdrawal from Afghanistan and subsequent disintegration.

Eastern Strategic Thought vis-a-vis Theory of Deterrence

The insistence of Clausewitz on violence in war taken to utmost limits has led people to question its applicability in nuclear age. The inherent fear of mutual annihilation in nuclear war, seriously questions the sagacity of pushing violence to its extreme limits. Sun Tzu advocated victory by stratagem as the supreme act of generalship rather than victory through violence. This truly reflects the essence of doctrine of deterrence. In the nuclear age, the best way of waging war is to attack the enemy's mind so as to deny him the will to fight thus conquer him without a war, hence the advent of 5th Generation warfare.

Winning Without Fighting a Battle: The Battle Avoidance Theory

Sun Tzu's important concept of "***winning without fighting a battle***" provides valuable and practical options to the decision makers who have the control of soft-powers and hard-powers along with use all elements of national power to achieve nation's goals. The Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and the Taiwan Straits Missile Crisis in 1996 are pertinent examples supporting Sun Tzu's "winning without fighting a battle" idea. This precept of Sun Tzu is also in line with current favourite doctrine of effects-based operations. As asserted by Bernard Brodie as well, "the destructive potential of

modern weapon systems and possibility of mutual annihilation necessitate war avoidance as a preferred form of strategy”.

Attacking Enemy’s Strategy

Sun Tzu educated us how to best win an unavoidable war. His declaration that “***the best way to conquer the enemy is to attack his strategy***”⁴⁴ is as valid today as it was 2500 years ago. During the first Gulf war in 1991, to counter Saddam’s strategy of dragging Israel into war, US deployed Patriot missile units for protection of Israel from Iraqi ballistic missile attacks, and employed Special Forces to hunt down Iraqi Scud launching facilities. The success in Afghanistan remains elusive for the US due to their inability to target the strategy of Taliban who dragged the mightiest military machine into a protracted and diffused struggle of attrition warfare and nullified the vastly superior technology of the US / ISAF forces.

Conclusion

Sun Tzu as the main repository of Eastern Strategic Thought not only shaped the strategic thought in the East but has in fact shaped an approach towards warfare in Eastern and Western societies. To him Clausewitz style violence ridden war of destruction is *less desirable and second rate imperfect form of war* and he envisions that the essence of war is to achieve enemy’s psychological dislocation and make him ‘wax in your hand’. He believed in intellectual, moral and circumstantial elements of war as more important than the physical and cautioned kings and generals not to place reliance on sheer military power. On the practical side, he was equally rational and pragmatic.

Sun Tzu presented his theory of war thousands of years ago, but the same still serve as guiding principles for military strategists/thinkers. His in-depth analysis of warfare at all tiers provided guidance for methods to study warfare and winning all types of wars He provided exclusive perspectives on war, strategy, leadership and intelligence in simple terms. Applicability of his time-tested theories in today’s world makes him a key theorist for strategists of 21st century.

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INTELLIGENCE WARS – INDIRECT APPROACH WITH DIRECT STRATEGY

Introduction

Strategic intelligence, the evaluated informational product of intelligence bureaucracies, is an important element in foreign policy decision making, because, a government needs information for formulating and implementing a policy to further its national security interests and to deal with threats to those interests. Therefore, intelligence may be referred to as that component of the struggle between adversaries that deals primarily with information in the fields of economic competition, diplomatic manoeuvring or the threat or use of military force.

Aim

To highlight relevance of use of intelligence instrument as means to further foreign policy objectives, draw linkages and analyze post 9/11 era to draw relevant conclusions.

INTELLIGENCE WARS AND STATECRAFT

The Intelligence Process

Intelligence – Definition. Intelligence can be defined as ‘information relevant to a government’s formulation and implementing policy to further its national security interests and to deal with threats to those interests from actual or potential adversary’.¹ The term adversary is used here in a broad sense. In the most obvious and often most important case, this information has to do with military matters, but of course other types of secret information may be equally important – for example, information about another country’s diplomatic activities and intentions, as well as information about its intelligence activities. It is not a must that the adversary referred here will always be a rival country. For example a friendly government, with which one is negotiating a treaty, is in this sense an adversary in the context of the negotiation.

Intelligence Collection. Various kinds of intelligence—military, political, economic, social, environmental, and cultural—provide important information for policy decisions. While some intelligence is indeed collected through clandestine operations and known only at the highest levels of government, other intelligence consists of information that is widely available. There are five main ways of collecting intelligence that are often collectively referred to as "intelligence collection disciplines".²

- Human Intelligence.
- Imagery Intelligence.
- Signals Intelligence.
- Open-Source Intelligence.
- Signatures and Measurement Intelligence.

Intelligence Organizations. The term intelligence also refers to the various organizations that undertake these activities. Secrecy is the hallmark of these organizations with which intelligence activities are conducted. Since intelligence agencies are organized to enhance their capacity, they also may be given, along with their information obtaining or denying functions, the responsibility of undertaking secret activities to advance their government's foreign policy objectives more directly.

Relevance with Statecraft

The Ends, Ways and Means Paradigm. The anarchic nature of the international system, opacity of state motivations, and desire of states to increase relative power all cause decision-makers to search for an opportunity besides open war to compete for relative gains in power, prestige and influence. There exists a proportional relationship between the ends which states seek to achieve and the means by which they pursue them. When states believe that, either, their highest interests, their most cherished beliefs, or both, are at stake, it would be surprising if they limited themselves to official contacts and eschewed attempts to influence other side's decisions covertly. The proximate purposes of foreign policy, whether pursued covertly or not, are the same i.e., to effect the other side's decisions. But, *whereas overt acts speak to the other side's body politic, from outside, covert ones are meant to exercise influence from within the other side's body politic to exercise prerogatives which that body politic normally reserves for its own members.*³

Uncertainties in Statecraft. As Adam Smith observed over 200 years ago, on the great chess board of human society every single piece has a principle of motion of its own. This truth is not doubted by students of art, religion, philosophy and even history. Therefore diversity in human thought, behaviour and experience created uncertainties in statecraft defying all theories of rational behaviour. It is due to the same reason that in most societies today and indeed throughout world history, intelligence, secret political intrigue and espionage have been considered part and parcel of the foreign policy to cater for uncertainties in statecraft.

Clandestine Operations – the Veritable Extension of Policy. Activities like espionage, covert action and counterintelligence which are known as clandestine activities mainly constitute the perpetual struggle to further national interests by other and sometimes sinister means – arguably the indirect approach with direct strategy. Clandestine direct action, which in the intelligence lexicon is referred to as covert action, may be defined as 'an activity or event which generally occurs in the public domain with an identifiable instigator or sponsor, its covertness lies in the relationship between the latter and some hidden unacknowledged authority or source of assistance'.

The Spectrum of Activities. Covert actions may range from the mundane, such as covertly providing critical assistance to another government, to the dramatic, like overthrow of a hostile one. The spectrum of such secret activities may comprise assassinations, sabotage, propaganda, demolition and evacuation measures, support of anticommunist elements, economic warfare, subversion, including assistance to underground movements and guerrillas. Obviously these actions involve intervening in

a manner which infringes upon the host country's sovereignty. The need for discreet action necessitates intelligence agencies to sponsor drug cartels, weapon smugglers and organized crime syndicates. Some distinct spheres of such activities are as under:-

- Political activity.
- Economic activity.
- Propaganda.
- Coups.
- Paramilitary operations.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Espionage and Intelligence in Early Civilizations

Intelligence and espionage has been there since times immemorial and human beings started dividing themselves in distinct groups, cities and nations. Espionage was there when during the time of the Hittites and Israelites where spying was first related to diplomacy and religion; with Romans and Greeks during Trojan War and the wars for the expansion of Roman Empire, and Japan and the medieval Middle East in the shape of Ninjas and Assassins.

Suntzu's Emphasis on Intelligence

Sun Tzu wrote in the fifth century B.C. that it was due to foreknowledge that the wise prince and the able general were able to conquer where ever they went. Modern and ancient students both have devoted lot of time in studying Sun Tzu's Art of War. Sun Tzu writes in his book that it is actually the secret operations upon which the success of army relies in every move it makes. He very clearly states that intelligence is indispensable to success in every activity the state undertakes.⁴ He has suggested rationalization of various intelligence activities now known as foreign intelligence, counter-intelligence, and covert action.

Arthshastra and Intelligence Operations

It is an ancient Indian discourse on military strategy, economic policy and statecraft whose author is Chanakya (350–283 BC). Chanakya gave lot of importance to "Concealed War" which is synonymous to Psychological and Information Operations. At that time use of agents and infiltrators in enemy rank and file was considered as prerequisite for success in any operation. These secrets agents used to carry out surveillance on enemy territories, assassination of enemy leaders, sabotage and psychological warfare.

Under such headings as "Government based on Deceit" and "Battle of Intrigues", the final verses of chapter eleven of Arthashastra deal with the state intelligence operations as an important instrument of foreign policy.⁵ The spies deployed abroad, in addition to spying on king, should gather information on social elite and important government officials.

Statecraft in the Italian City States

The Prince is considered to be political treatise by the Italian historian, political theorist and diplomat Machiavelli. Machiavelli's primary concern in The Prince is the preservation of the ruler at the helm of a principedom. However in so doing, he could not avoid mentioning certain things that touch on foreign policy.

Machiavelli describes how a prince is to maintain his rule over a territory. One of the things that he advises a prince to do is ensure that no other dominant power settles at his borders. Machiavelli freed politics from slavery of theology. Until his time politics was considered to be a branch of theology. It was due to his contribution that statecraft became a free science depending only on reason. Machiavellianism therefore provides intellectual basis for modern intelligence wars – the pursuance of policy by any means possible.

Rise of the Nation State and Intelligence Agencies

Beginning in the 16th century, a wave of social, political and religious changes confronted Europe and gave rise to the modern nation-state. Intelligence gathering became an essential function of the state during this era. It was Espionage that helped rise and success of Tsarist Russia, Elizabethan England, revolutionary Germany and France, and America's Civil war. Secret service established by Tsar Ivan the Terrible in early 1500s is one of the reminiscences of that era.

During this era, though the intelligence services entrusted with espionage, intelligence and counter-intelligence in the current sense were not formally established but major European powers had developed networks of informants in neighbouring countries. Envoys and ambassadors also gathered intelligence, often using bribery. Finally Renseignements Généraux (RG – General Intelligence), the world's oldest formally established intelligence agency was established by Napoleon⁶ when he declared himself emperor of France in 1804.

Intelligence and Espionage during the World Wars

During the World Wars, techniques and technologies of espionage expanded in ways earlier civilizations could never have predicted. It was only possible with the new technologies to crack intricate codes during World Wars I and II. It was during this period that World's premiere intelligence agencies were established who still remain central to the world of espionage and covert operations. These include:-

- Great Britain's Secret Intelligence Service, MI6.
- Communist secret service, presently, the Russian secret service, KGB, which was formed in Russia in 1917.
- Japanese 'Military Police Corps'; The Kempeitai, which was a German-style secret police.

- Secret police of Nazi Germany, The Gestapo established in 1934.

There are numerous examples of covert activities in World War I. T. E. Lawrence's Bedouin army was prototypical of paramilitary resistance programs; and British black propaganda designed to shift world opinion against the "brutal Hun" had many of the qualities of modern psychological warfare.⁷ Some other renowned figures of the era include Sir Francis Walsingham, under whose guidance the intelligence services of Elizabethan England were raised and Mata Hari who gathered information for German and French intelligence services before World War I.

Nevertheless, it is World War II and the mobilization of all forms of national power that provided the foundation for the modern covert action organizations. Central role was played by covert operations in the strategy adopted by all major powers in World War II. Each theater of operations and battle front was dominated by espionage and sabotage operations. From deception at Normandy and Kursk to code-breaking of Magic and Ultra, from guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear areas in Europe, Africa and Asia, to counter-intelligence in Operation Double-Cross.⁸ Notwithstanding the historical perspective, when the devastation of two great wars wreaked havoc on the mankind, indirect approach established its relevance once and for all.

Classic Espionage in the Cold War Era

Although armistices were signed in 1945, the international conflict continued. The United States and the Soviets, who were allies during the war, became vicious adversaries. In its truest sense the Cold War was not an actual outright war which used military but more of a rivalry expressed through, strategic conventional force deployments, military coalitions, nuclear arms race, proxy wars, espionage, propaganda, and technological competition.⁹ It was about military posturing and the expansion of ideology on either side. In the post 2nd WW period America feared that the communist ideology would gain a foothold in the western hemisphere.

Ideological Battle Grounds

- In 1948, CIA helped the Italian Christian Democrats to win the general elections. In 1953, a CIA operation, overthrew Mohammad Mosaddeq, the elected leader of Iran. Then CIA paved the way for Shah Reza Pahlavi through a coup so that Iran could continue serving US interests.
- In 1954, CIA planned and executed another coup to remove Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, the legitimate ruler of Guatemala.
- In the 1960s, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) came under the influence of left-wing thinkers and was extensively supported by KGB. The IRA mounted armed campaign against the British".

- In Democratic Republic of Congo, when it got independence from Belgium in 1960, Colonel Mobutu seized power through a military coup with CIA backing.
- In Middle East, Soviets assisted Egypt against Israel in both wars by providing arms and economic assistance. Soviets also assisted communist South Yemen, nationalists in Iraq, Algeria and Yasser Arafat's PLO in Palestine.
- In Africa, KGB supported Ethiopian army to overthrow pro US Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974. In Somalia Soviets assisted Somali army in a bloodless coup in 1969, in creation of socialist Somali Democratic Republic.
- The final round of Cold War era intelligence wars was fought in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989, where CIA armed and financed Afghan Mujahedin branding it as Afghan Jihad.¹⁰

The Post Cold War Era

Consequent to President Gorbachov's Prestroika, by 1989, the complexion of US – Russia relations had changed. The KGB Chairman Kryuchkov, made a series of speeches calling for cooperation between the KGB and the CIA and other Western intelligence services in fighting terrorism: “One wing of terrorism is directed against the USA, and the other against the Soviet Union. We all have an interest in overcoming this most dreadful phenomenon of this century. If we take most decisive measures, we shall do away with this evil rather quickly” .¹¹

After the Cold War, environment changed drastically and scope for covert action got to an extent limited. Intelligence community had to re-establish its purpose in the post-cold war era in view of evolving nature of threat. It was during this time that intelligence agencies and allotment of funds and resources to these agencies came under criticism and scrutiny.

This resulted into cutbacks which had an adverse effect on the ability of these agencies. But that was not to last for long as terrorism was to become the new threat and covert action albeit under greater scrutiny by elected representatives was considered as the best suited means to counter it.¹²

INTELLIGENCE WARS IN POST 9/11 ERA

Counter Terrorism – the New Framework for Intelligence Wars

In the post cold war era, 9/11 gave a new life to intelligence agencies and counter terrorism formed the basis of new frame work for covert action. This time around the World was unipolar and US was in the lead. The threat now comprised terrorists, organised crime cartels of all sorts and drug runners.

The challenge was not only amorphous nature of threat due to globalization and advancement of technology but ideological leanings of some terrorist groups also added to obscurity. As direct military action against such NSAs remains extremely costly and in general sense less productive, covert action remained in the lead. The power of agencies to spy abroad and eavesdrop at home was dramatically increased by the modern technology. This called for changing working methods and priorities of intelligence agencies around the globe.

9/11 raised questions about the efficacy of the traditional intelligence system. Post analysis of 9/11 highlighted the need for a new way of anticipating surprises, by placing less emphasis on secret channels and relying more on open source information and creating expertise networks. The attacks of September 11th also profoundly affected the priorities for allocation of funds to intelligence agencies. Threat perception changed gradually from foreign military forces, to terrorism and organized crime. This recognition by major world powers focussed attention on areas around the world where governance vacuum and ideological leanings could incubate such threats in the future. Covert action thus re-established its relevance in the new intelligence paradigm.

There was also a lot of emphasis on greater cooperation between various intelligence agencies. Cooperation today is the most important dimension of intelligence operations.¹³ Cooperation in intelligence sharing needs to be understood in the current international environment, where terrorism is generally considered as a common threat. The imperative for intelligence cooperation can sometimes make strange international bedfellows, and can have profound implications for foreign policy, civil society and human rights.¹⁴

Intelligence Wars in the Regional Context

- **India.** India has used its intelligence agencies, not only as a covert forward base to achieve its goals and to implement its hegemonic policies in the region but for monitoring the activities of neighbouring States. Involvement of RAW in internal affairs of all the South Asian countries is an open secret; from Chakma Rebels to LTTE and Baloch insurgents, many militant groups enjoyed the support of RAW. Contacts with the political personalities, parties of neighbouring countries are being maintained by RAW. It was in the wake of 9/11 that RAW got the opportunity to increase its clandestine operations in Pakistan. In the garb of development activities in Afghanistan, RAW got leeway and developed strong relationship with KHAD, the Afghan intelligence agency. In the current context it is extensively involved in fomenting instability in Pakistan by fuelling militancy, particularly FATA and Balochistan in collaboration with Afghan intelligence agency.
- **Iran vs Israel.** Covert actions not only reduce the reaction by the enemy, but also by its allies. Especially in the case of Iran, whose conventional military power is severely limited relative to its neighbours. Iran's relationship with Hezbollah is well-established. For its part, Israel is also

responsible for assassinations of Iranian nuclear scientists and, in conjunction with the US, for the Stuxnet computer virus, designed to inhibit Iran's ability to proceed apace with the development of its nuclear program. Israel has deployed other means of achieving its objectives.¹⁵ In March 2012, The Sunday Times reported on Israeli intelligence missions into northern Iran from Iraqi Kurdistan, aimed at gathering information on nuclear facilities in Qom, Fordow, and Parchin.

- **Russia.** Russia finds covert action only practicable means to check its old rival. Russia has been linked to the sale of missile technology to Iran. The conflict in Georgia showed the effectiveness of Russian covert action to pave the way for wider political action. During the campaign of disruption, Russian intelligence was linked to the assassination of Georgia's Prime Minister as well as the police chief later tasked with investigating the killing. Russia is relying on intelligence to achieve similar influence in Central Asia as well. The creation in 2004 of the Regional Anti-terrorist Structure -- an intelligence-sharing forum within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization -- eased the transference of Russian power throughout the region.
- **Pakistan.** After the Indo-Pakistani War of 1947, *ISI* was raised as an independent intelligence service. It was tasked to enhance the sharing of military intelligence between the three services Army, Air Force and Navy. *ISI* saw her hey-day during the Afghan Jihad when together with CIA it played a central role in defeat of the erstwhile Soviet Union. The finely camouflaged assistance/patronage to militancy and insurgencies along the western border of Pakistan is a developing multifaceted intelligence war which has perhaps caused biggest internal and external security damages to Pakistan and continues to be the largest threat for the days and years to come. In the current context, *ISI* remains involved in countering the threat. It is, however, interesting to note how the international media's critique of *ISI* which saw its peak during the last couple of years has subsided due to convergence of interests.
- **US.** CIA remains the most active intelligence agency in the world today. US Director of National Intelligence made public the intelligence community's budget, at a staggering US \$53.9 billion in 2012. In Asia, CIA is extensively involved with current focus on Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Pacific Region for containment of China. In Africa especially "The Maghreb" and Horn of Africa draw most of the attention. As manifested in his Senate Intelligence Committee statement, Porter Goss described progress on non proliferation in Libya as a success story for US intelligence community. During the Libyan revolt beginning in February 2011, the US sent in CIA Special Activities Division paramilitary operatives and extensively supported the rebels. In the Middle East Syria remains the current focus of attn. Syrian rebels have been supplied with lot of weapons as was the case in Libya. Monitoring and control of Syrian scuds and

chemical weapon of the Asad regime remain the priority. In Yemen the CIA covert actions mostly confine to drone strikes. Total number of such strikes is estimated at 41 till December 2012. In Afghanistan CIA is focusing on safe exist of US/ISAF forces, stability of Afghan Government and continues to target militants through drones in the Pak – Afghan border region.

ANALYSIS AND MAJOR CONCLUSIONS

Global Competition for Power and Influence

Impact of the underway tectonic shift is less discussed -- 'rise of the rest' -- is a clandestine rivalry for influence and power. Now nations are resorting to secrecy and covert actions to attain their security goals. Paramilitary organizations and Intelligence agencies are becoming choice of weapons for countries looking for comparative advantage. There are many reasons for shift towards increasing reliance on covert action:-

- It becomes a natural option for nations forced by events to take action against their enemies.
- With the increase of cost in conventional warfare, 24-hour news and social media determines the international response.

Dynamics of Conflict

Direct military confrontation will be avoided by the Nation states and may adopt alternate means for attainment of their objectives. Criminal gangs and terrorists will remain troublesome and antagonistic. Global communications, financial and economic networks will continue to smudge the concept of national borders. Meanwhile, world economy and the corporate integration may be a source of international attention to financial setbacks of local nature and resource shortages.

Impact of Technology. Potential opponents will continue to have better access to advanced technologies. Following potential technologies offer high rewards for future intelligence:-

- Parallel processing and quantum computing have tremendous implications for cryptography, real-time translation, and transcription of intercepted communications.
- Nanotechnology offers new ways to get closer to targets. Undetected penetration of a terrorist camp, for example, enables both collection and attack. Potential applications include "labs on a chip" to provide long-term detection of biological, chemical, radiological, or other weapons of mass destruction.

- Maxwell's Rainbow—referring to the spectrum beyond the visual and electromagnetic bands—provides thermal, atomic, and other signatures. Properly used, it may be possible to look through camouflage and identify the function of underground facilities.

The Future of Intelligence Wars

Large scale military offensives seem to have given way to 4th and 5th generation of war. Nations around the world are transforming to meet the challenge by forming specialized groups that execute such missions. Intelligence agencies are increasingly resorting to information warfare or other non traditional attacks like exacerbating a country's inflation problem and undermining economy by flooding it with counterfeit money. Indirect approach in counter terrorism efforts relies on covert funding, espionage and psychological operation more than ever before – Intelligence Wars are live and kicking.

- **Information Operations.** In the middle of this revolution, information has now become a significant tool of power which is now one of the major elements of intelligence wars.¹⁶ The information tactic has two poles: technological, pertaining/referring to cyberspace affairs; and that of ideas, which involves the exploitation and expression of soft power. The technological sphere is closely linked to the means of disseminating the message thus resides in the operational sphere and the other pole, and the ideational sphere, appropriately fit into the strategic plane of information domain. With information quickly transforming into a prominent source of power, narrative based strategic communication pave way forward to shape the environment for application of other means of NKW.
- **Proxy Interventions.** The fact - that proxy interventions can be intensified, pacified, camouflaged and even brought to a logical conclusion as and how the strategic objectives of launching such proxy war/s are achieved – makes proxy wars preferable for leadership despite the moral low grounds attributed to this kind of warfare waged by intelligence agencies.
- **Drone Warfare.** Drones are the cutting edge technology of modern warfare. These highly accurate and destructive weapons are used for precision engagements around the globe. Although accurate, these weapons may engage wrong targets due to intelligence errors. CIA operates more than ten thousand drones. The CIA has been successful in convincing White House and Pentagon to divert funds to drones originally meant for new fighter aircraft.

How to Cope up with the Future

Cold War and post 9/11 eras have by far seen the most intense and longest operating intelligence wars. Somehow Pakistan has remained at the heart of affairs in both these critical time-bands, partly because of its geo-strategic significance and partly owing to its undeniable place in the power blocks integration/disintegration – politically, militarily and even economically. In order to cope up with the future we should concentrate on:-

- **National Harmony.** Non linearity of threat demands that Pakistan must hold its diverse cultural, ethnic, societal, religious, political and economic components in absolute unison and harmony. This inside-out overarching shield will serve as an ideological line of defence. This in essence means unity, the call for which should be revived. This achieved, existing proxies of hostile intelligence agencies will be thrown out of their strongholds as well as robust national deterrence will be developed against any future threats.
- **Strategic Communication Ability.** Pakistan must build a well crafted and thoroughly integrated Strategic Communication Combat Infrastructure. It should comprise of intelligence apparatus, communication forensic evidence collection, local / international media management against propaganda for upholding own national interests with the universal sense of righteousness and steadfastness.
- **Integration is the Key.** Integration is the guiding principle for the development and operation of all advanced intelligence systems. New techniques are developed by various agencies in their respective specialized areas. Limited available funds should to be spent where they will do the best.

Conclusion

Secrecy and covert action are not new ways of attaining foreign policy objectives, but are increasingly central tools for waging political, economic and military conflict in 21st century. Over the past decade, covert action has risen consistently in the Asia, Africa and Middle East. The globalization of information and relatively easy access to technologies offers opportunities to catch up in the intelligence wars, with the growing competition for economic supremacy and quest for natural resources have added to the mix of options nations may opt to utilize during covert action and achieve their objectives.

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PART – IV

Views

- **Offensive Deterrence in Non Kinetic Domain**

OFFENSIVE DETERRENCE IN NON KINETIC DOMAIN

Introduction

Information sovereignty, globalization, interdependence and technological advancements continue to impact global, regional and domestic security calculus. States' geographical boundaries are losing psychological relevance value as the societies embrace for interoperability to drive the common goals.¹ As geo-economics took over geo-politics, cheaper ways of domination have surfaced.

'Non-kinetic' (NK) trends bring to forth new ways and means in pursuance of aspirations and interests among states as well as non-state actors to seek compliance or cooperation. While NK operations have a physical component, the effects they impose are mainly **indirect** – functional, systematic, psychological or behavioural.

Its domain spans over diplomatic, economic, information operations, military diplomacy, intelligence operations, cultural invasion, media wars, propaganda, global narratives and cyber space. Global powers dominate through **'smart power projections'** and applications flowing from behavioural sciences for perception development and weakening wills to shape the environment.

'Deterrence, like any other strategy, is not the end goal of nation states. It is nothing more but a means to achieve more security, to protect you from threats and challenges coming from abroad'.² With NK primacy, the classical concept of **deterrence** has also been revamped. Managing inter-state relationships warrants **balanced interplay** of deterrence and interest. While kinetic deterrence restricts at combination of 'denial' (through conventional forces) and 'punishment' (through nuclear capabilities), **NK deterrence is multifaceted and complex**, ranging from reactive mode of defensive deterrence to more challenging offensive posture.

Aim. To establish contours of NK deterrence with focus on offensive component.

NK Challenges and Threats. Global institutions and IFIs favour developed world while putting unbearable pressures on lesser developed states struck in huge foreign debts.³

- Space for traditional diplomacy has also shrunk, where technological advancements and social media have replaced the personal skills.⁴
- Weak states find it difficult to compete with the developed world in free market.
- Loans and grants are manipulated as a blackmail tool. MNCs control governments' internal management policies.
- Deprivations, unjust wars and social injustice have sparked *reactive extremism especially in Muslim world*.

- Cultural and economic incentives in developed world instigate developing world's 'brain drain' and aggravated capacity differentials.⁵
- Traditional closed societies find it strenuous to preserve the traditional culture and ideologies.⁶ Fear of global isolation has *affected reforms in Russia, China and Gulf states*.
- Industrialization has also overwhelmed the agrarian sector in productivity competition,⁷ implying 'urban migrations' expanded to unmanageable dominions.⁸
- Nexus of transnational criminal organisation with militants challenge the law enforcement apparatus of the states.
- Global connectivity puts national security vulnerable to cyber-attacks and information leaks.
- Real time information flow is beyond states' control to censor or shape opinions.
- World media manipulates facts suiting the stakeholders and narratives set in place e.g. *fabricated claims about Iraqi WMDs, Pakistan's alleged non-cooperation in 'War on Terror', propaganda against Iran's nuclear program etc.*

Facets of NK Challenges

- States' sovereignty is faced with grim '*control dilemma*' both due to external influences on the state's policies and loss of internal control due to openness in social, economic and political activities.
- Depending upon 'cumulative power potential', a state may offer incentives for cooperation and compliance to other global centres of power or demonstrate disincentive of costlier conflict / competition, to the global challengers.
- Era of 'smart power' and 'information warfare' has demonstrated success of dominant narrative in geo-politics.
- Coalition building and economic sanctions are new weapons of choice in NK domain. These carry deterrence impact as well.
- Virtues of democracy, free expression, free market economy, business volume, propaganda power and human rights issued deter states from adopting certain (politico-military) postures.

Defensive NK Deterrence

- Reactive in context, it focuses on creating sustainable mechanism to not only neutralise the threat, but also create deflections.
- Hinged on inherent intangible strengths of the community/establishment including:-
 - Stress bearing capacity – protracted, multi-faceted
 - Defining values – religious, ethical, communal
 - National character – realism, optimism, cohesion, integrity, honesty
 - Social awareness – active civil society
 - Self pride – with sense of belonging to state, nation, community
 - General satisfaction – comprehending environment dictates
- Needs periodic review to garner response strategies for novel and redefined threat spectrum. May often suggest to abandon previous policy / directives for seeking innovation or trying alternatives.

Offensive NK Deterrence

- Rests on notion of superior resources available to not only overcome threats but also create an aura of influence to trigger yielding effects in opposing decision making circles.
- This facet of deterrence aims to reduce incentives and generates possible interest – based cooperative framework, whether out of free will or as a strategic compulsion e.g. demonstrated capabilities advocate the possibilities like ‘China’s opening salvo in a conflict with US unfolding in space and cyberspace. Worst-case scenario assessments conclude that such an attack might render US blind, deaf, and dumb almost exclusively through NK means’.⁹
- This type of deterrence relies on overt display of capacity to act or react (significantly or overwhelmingly, pre-emption or response). Needs tools like:-
 - Strategic communication
 - Offensive / hyper-active diplomacy

- Political / military coercion – force
- Mass propaganda – to shape perceptions,
- Cultural onslaught – targeting vulnerable youth
- Exploitable opportunities against stronger enemy may also exist because technological advancement and economic integration that reinforce notion of superiority in great powers also increase exposure to the risks e.g. cyber-mercenaries (hackers) capabilities continue haunting the sophisticated secure systems and keep increasing the cost of security or deters the powers to apply aspirations control.
- Strong intelligence and counter intelligence feeds this deterrence, enabling potential for forward planning, resistivity and confidence in choreographed application of all elements of national power to seek policy objectives.
- Mutual strategic vulnerability calls for mutual strategic restraint. Reality lies in middle approach whereby optimum relations based on mix of cooperation and competition, understanding and suspicion, partnership and rivalry may persist and contribute to international equilibrium and stability.

Factors Contributing towards Potent Offensive Deterrence in NK Domain

- Technical supremacy / superiority.
- Skilled human capital.
- Economic self reliance – supported by natural resource potential.
- National security narratives - revamped including ‘political, economic, societal, environmental, and military aspects’.¹⁰
- Flexible fiscal and internal policies which can absorb the offered opportunities e.g. Pakistan’s communication infrastructure should be developed and maintained as per international standards to sustain its viability as energy corridor for Russia and CARs.
- Cooperative alliances and joint ventures for collective economic security and enable sustainable security.
- Regional cooperation accepting some loss of states’ control over internal and external policies - SAARC has all potential to be reinvigorated, provided availability of assured disciplined Indian behaviour.

- Knowledge based society.
- Equitable economic opportunity.
- State's integration with global economy.
- Innovations, ideas and research based development.
- Military power, for guarding sovereignty and vital national interests
- Profitable geo-strategic location
- 'Precision agriculture, corporate farming, innovative entrepreneurship and mitigation of climatic changes.'¹¹
- Interoperability amongst state institutions

Conclusion

Potential challenges to National Security would have unprecedented complicity and application variety, warranting highly innovative and responsive national responses. 'Non kinetics' being the defined face of the threat mosaic implies development and maintenance of potent '**Non Kinetic – Deterrence**' regime in the overall construct of '**Comprehensive National Deterrence**'. It would take drive from intangible factors (like morale, values, aspirations, cohesion i.e. patriotism etc) feeding quantifiable synergy of '**all elements of national power**' (economy, social sector, media, diplomacy etc), keeping focus on trinity of '**national purpose, interests and objectives**'.

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