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‘NDU Journal’ is an annual publication of National Defence University, the premier institution of security and strategic studies. The subject journal is a unique publication of the country which primarily deals with the national security issues of Pakistan. The journal has its own standing among the students, researchers, experts, policy makers and intelligentsia. It has been enlisted by International Political Science Abstracts, USA, Bibliography of Asian Studies USA and Ulrichs Periodicals Directory. Keeping the flag high, all the articles appearing in the journal are selected after a rigorous scrutiny and blind peer review at home and abroad. It is the testimony of quality of contents of the journal that **Higher Education Commission of Pakistan** has upgraded the subject journal into ‘Y’ category.

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Ser	Name	Signature
1.	Dr. Tughral Yamin	
2.	Zahid Latif Mirza	
3.	Dr. Iram Khalid	
4.	Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan	
5.	Muhammad Umar Abbasi	
6.	Zia Ul Haque Shamsi	
7.	Dr. Shabana Fayyaz	
8.	Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar & Dr. Naheed S. Goraya	
9.	Hassan Jalil	
10.	Muhammad Rafique	

EDITOR'S NOTE

Having been up-graded to 'Y' category by Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan, this is the second issue. Endeavours have been made to ensure rich and high quality contents. All the articles in the current issue have been double reviewed by national and international referees. Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) is committedly engaged in the pursuit of research and analysis on domestic, regional and global issues including security matters, with a view to creating a synergy in the efforts of renowned scholars and security analysts. The gist of all the articles is presented below for the consumption of readers.

Appeasement, apologies and reconciliation are pacific means used by nations to pursue their foreign policy objectives. Dr Tughral Yamin's article 'Apology as a Foreign Policy Tool' examines a country's propensity to express its regrets to other nations, in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives.

Since independence, Pakistan's largest province, Balochistan having geo-strategic importance and plentiful natural resources inducing a coastal line, has remained plagued with unrest and disturbance. Zahid Latif Mirza in his article, 'Balochistan – Past, Present and Future' argues that Pakistan's future is linked with prosperous Balochistan.

Dr. Iram Khalid has conducted a study of four Pak-India crises. She argues that a nuclear power should act in such a way that lacks no theoretical, rational, and favorable aspect, while making a decision.

Dr Raja Muhammad Khan in his article 'Negotiations with TTP: An Analysis of Counter Terrorism Strategy' analyzes the government's dialogue process with TTP. The author argues that the employment of unconventional methods is inevitable in order to defeat an unconventional opponent.

Hassan Jalil in his article ‘Islamic Concept of Morality as Notion of War Fighting Concept’ examines the concepts of morality in modern armies. The author presents an Islamic concept of morality which is unique in nature.

Muhammd Umar Abbasi in his article ‘The Future of Oil & Natural Gas Politics in Central Asia: A Statistical Analysis’ opines that the prospects of democratization in the region are bleak as the powerful states support autocratic regimes for their energy related interests.

Sun Tzu is regarded the beacon of knowledge in policy making, strategy, war and politics. Zia ul Haque Shamsi’s article argues that politico-military leadership of Pakistan has ignored Sun Tzu’s precepts during planning and execution of the Kargil conflict.

Dr. Shabana Fayyaz in her article ‘Women’s Role in Moderating Extremism in Pakistan’ stresses the vitality of women’s critical role as agents of peace in crafting and instituting a pro-active counter extremism policy.

Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar and Dr. Naheed S. Goraya in their article ‘Challenges in Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline’ discuss that the project must be implemented in order to solve Pakistan’s energy problems.

Muhammad Rafique has conducted content analysis to gauge the US image in pre and post Abbottabad operation scenarios. The results of the study reveal that US image has been transformed from bad to worse as a result of Abbottabad operation.

As an editor, I feel confident that the publication of journal will enrich the pursuit of academic research. I hope this publication will satisfy the needs of pre-eminence in the research arena, reflecting an insight into world of excellence.

Happy Reading!

_____ **The Editor**

APOLOGY AS A FOREIGN POLICY TOOL

Dr. Tughral Yamin

Abstract

Appeasement, apologies and reconciliation are pacific means used by nations to pursue their foreign policy objectives. It is an expedient way to mend, repair and improve relations. The manner of an apology is dependent on the nation's strategic makeup. The aggrieved party may not always be happy with what it receives as official regrets. Sometimes countries demand apologies to assuage their national pride. When 24 Pakistani troops were killed in a bombing raid at a remote border outpost on the Pak-Afghan border, Pakistan retaliated by blocking the NATO Ground Lines of Communication (GLOC), pending an apology. It took Pakistan many months to articulate the demand it considered necessary to reset relationship with Americans. The demand for an apology remained the key point in their agenda. The Americans waited patiently and rerouted their supplies through the longer and more circuitous Northern Distribution Network (NDN). After having received the Pakistani list of demands, the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said sorry on behalf of her government. The supplies were reopened without raising the transit fees. The entire episode was illustrative of an aggrieved junior partner in an asymmetric relationship trying to extract an apology from a stronger party and then settling for whatever came its way as a word of sympathy to close down an unfortunate chapter in their uneasy relationship. This paper examines a country's propensity to express its regrets to other nations, in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives.

Introduction

English poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744) said: "To err is human, to forgive divine." Mercy and forgiveness are godly attributes but ordinary mortals readily seek revenge by demanding "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."¹ This

trait is reflected in international affairs as well. The tendency to seek revenge, show restraint or apologise depends on a nation's short- and long-term foreign policy objectives. In case there is a history of animosity, an apology becomes the first pre-requisite to pave the way for establishing mutually beneficial and cordial relationships. The act of contrition needs an appropriate expression of regret and it must reflect genuine remorse. Psychologists conceptualise apology "as a process that consists of one or more of three components: affect, affirmation, and action." Whether an apology is "*good enough*" is dependent "on the severity of the consequences of the wrong, the level of responsibility attributed to the wrongdoer, and the perceived wrongfulness of the behaviour."²

Apologies in most cases are symbolic but countries want these nonetheless to assuage their national pride. There is a long list of demands for official apologies. Indians want the British to apologise for the *Jillianwala Bagh* massacre of 1919. The British acknowledge the incident but are quite unwilling to offer a formal apology.³ The Chinese have demanded apologies from the US over the bombing of their embassy in Belgrade,⁴ and the aerial collision between an American surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter accosting it, off the coast of Guam.⁵ In Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina Wajid has tried those accused of collaborating with the Pakistani forces in 1971 for war crimes and has served them harsh sentences.⁶ She also wants an apology from Pakistan before she could consider visiting it.⁷ Afghan President Hamid Karzai wants an apology from the US before he agrees to the terms of their pull out from his country.⁸

Pakistan was recently faced with need to demand an apology. On November 27, 2011, 24 of its soldiers were killed in a pre-dawn NATO air raid on the isolated border post of Salala in Mohmand Agency of the Federally Administered Area (FATA).⁹ Pakistan, a non-NATO military ally could either ignore it as an isolated and inadvertent accident or suitably react to it. The Pakistani Government studied its options and did what they considered was the least that they could ask for.

They demanded the immediate evacuation of the US drones from Shamsi air base in Balochistan and blocked the NATO GLOC pending an apology. Then, perhaps for the first time in their short parliamentary history, the Pakistani lawmakers put their heads together to redefine their relations with the US. It took them many months to articulate what they thought was necessary to reset the terms of their affiliation with the Americans. The demand for an apology remained the key point in their agenda. The Americans waited patiently for the Pakistanis to get their act together. Meanwhile they rerouted their supplies through the longer and more circuitous Northern Distribution Network (NDN) – A decision that cost the US government, a whopping 100 million dollars a month.¹⁰ After receiving the Pakistani list of demands, Secretary of State Clinton offered an anodyne sorry on the behalf of her government.¹¹ The Pakistani government emotionally and physically spent after the long drawn standoff, reopened the supply line without raising the transit fees or haggling any further.

This paper attempts to construct a relationship between a nation's tendency to apologise and its national character. The purpose is to find out if Pakistan had any chances in obtaining a meaningful apology by answering the following questions: What motivates a nation to tender an apology? Does the willingness to say sorry stem from its national ethos? And is there a place for an apology in a nation's strategic culture?

The Place of an Apology in International Relations

Nations demand an apology, when they feel offended by the acts of other nations, groups and people. These infringements range from minor breaches of diplomatic protocol and airspace violations to serious human rights abuses like massacres, genocides and pogroms. A nation's umbrage is expressed in various forms. Sometimes a formal protest note or demarche is issued by summoning a country's envoy to the foreign office. At other times, the issue is raised at the ministerial or head of state level. To express national anger on a subject, public and international opinion is built

through media debates, op-ed pieces and public statements. Sometimes nations defer to the wishes of the complainant and apologise, at other times they don't. There are no internationally recognised strictures obliging countries to apologise. At times saying sorry can be easy but very often there can be severe resistance from within. An apology can be a means to healing old wounds and beginning a process of reconciliation, and in some cases, it is the only politically correct thing to do. The country making an admission of past wrong actually atones for the sins of the fathers.¹² It takes courage to say sorry and to admit one's mistakes and is clearly a difficult step to take. After the bold decision is taken to formally repent, it is diplomatically tendered as a well thought out plan. The manner of delivery and the timing of an apology are carefully choreographed to earn the earnest goodwill of the aggrieved party.

Official apologies have been made for historical slights. Some of these intra and interstate confessions have been recorded as case studies.¹³ Apologies have also been made for the sake of internal harmony. The Australian government has apologised to the aborigines.¹⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) have been used to remove internal misgivings in countries like South Africa,¹⁵ and Sri Lanka.¹⁶ A case has also been made for "creating an international process of Truth, Justice, Reparation, and Reconciliation (TJRR) for confronting human rights violations with the participation of the United States as a responsible actor."¹⁷ This suggestion has not gained any traction at any international forum so far.

The nations losing wars tend to apologise to regain their place within the comity of nations. Such acts of contrition do not save the losers from facing the wrath of the victors in terms of severe fiscal penalties, territorial seizures and criminal proceedings against the wartime leadership. In modern history, the terms of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles were particularly harsh. Germany was virtually asked to renounce its existence.¹⁸ It lost 13 per cent of its territory and 10 per cent of its population. It had to pay reparations, which were boosted to unnatural terms.¹⁹ Germany lost again in the

Second World War. It surrendered unconditionally on May 7, 1945.²⁰ After the German capitulation the victorious powers – the USA, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France – divided Germany into four occupation zones.²¹ Under the terms of the Potsdam conference held on August 2, 1945, the heads of states and governments of the allied nations decreed harsh measures against Germany including: “total disarmament and demilitarisation, destruction of war potential, destruction of national Socialism, decentralisation of the economy and reconstruction of the political life on a democratic basis.” There was to be no central government till further notice.²² Territories to the east of the River Oder were given to Poland and all of North East Prussia was handed over to the USSR.²³ Leaders of Nazi Germany were tried and sentenced for war crimes at Nuremberg trials.²⁴ Rudolf Hess, Hitler’s deputy, who had tried to make private peace with Britain, early in the war, remained a prisoner in Spandau till he committed suicide in 1987 at the age of 94.²⁵ The Nazis were collectively blamed for the Jewish Holocaust,²⁶ and a huge Israeli dragnet was launched to track down Nazi fugitives from all over the world.²⁷

To wash away this national stain the West German Government paid billions of Deutschemarks to the state of Israel and individual Jewish survivors.²⁸ Multiple official apologies were offered. A repentant Chancellor Willy Brandt literally fell on his knees in front of a Holocaust memorial in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1970 in a symbolic gesture now known as the Warschauer Kniefall.²⁹ Another person to go “down on his knees to beg forgiveness” was the Serb President Tomislav Nikolic. He, however, stopped short of admitting that the killing of 80000 Muslims in 1995 in Srebrenica was genocide.³⁰

In Asia, the Second World War came to a cataclysmic end when the Americans dropped the nuclear bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Fighting a losing battle, the Japanese Government set aside national pride and opposition from within the military to surrender.³¹ The widely accepted US narrative holds that the dropping of the nuclear

bombs prevented the killing of thousands of servicemen, who could have died in a physical invasion of Japan.³² An alternative plot suggests the bomb that the Japanese were in any case on the verge of surrender,³³ and the bomb was dropped for two unrelated purposes i.e. speed up the process of Japanese defeat to keep the Russians from sharing the spoils of victory and to test the nuclear device.³⁴ After the War, the Japanese did not demand an apology. They were in no position to do so. The Americans compensated them by sponsoring their rebuilding process and provided them a nuclear umbrella against external aggression. At the people level, there was sympathy and displays of solidarity with Japan e.g. on August 6, 2012 Clifton Truman Daniel, a grandson of Harry Truman, the US president who had ordered the nuclear strike against Japan, attended the 67th anniversary of the event, in Hiroshima peace park near the epicentre of the 1945 blast. Daniel declined to comment on his grandfather's decision to drop the bomb but expressed the desire that nuclear weapons should never be used again.³⁵

A Nation's Strategic Culture

It would be instructive to find out what influences a nation's tendency to apologise. In this regard we need to understand a nation's strategic culture. This term was developed by American strategic scholars during the Cold War to describe Soviet behaviour in a nuclear environment. Later, its usage was extended to explain other nation's actions. A host of indicators were studied to construct the architecture of a nation's strategic culture. According to Colin S. Gray, the leading exponent of this theory, a nation's strategic culture flows from its geography and resources, history and experience, and society and political structure.³⁶ A nation's historical narrative in many ways defines its international behaviour. Each international actor perceives a place for itself on the world stage and tries its best to live up to its self-image. This self-importance is reinforced by a country's history and geography. A nation's geo-strategic location not only adds to its significance but also its decision making process in a number of ways i.e. territorial claims can increase the

propensity for interstate conflict and military operations in a given region.³⁷

Gray defined strategic culture as “modes of thought and action” based on “perception of the national historical experience, from aspirations for responsible behaviour in national terms.”³⁸ Iain Johnston, another scholar defined a nation’s strategic culture as “an ideational milieu which limits behaviour choices.” These choices emerge from a set of commonly held assumptions, prejudices and preferences. These influences shape the thought process of the policymakers within their social, organisational and political environment.³⁹ The national aims and objectives, grand strategies and military doctrines are a product of a nation’s strategic culture. Strategic culture is a collection of symbols and expressions reflected in the strategic language used to enunciate a country’s military policies and foreign relation options. It explains why actions and ideas sometimes seem to be at odds with what would be considered as rational choice for a state. Iain Johnston believes that factor of rationality should not be rejected out of hand in perceiving a strategic choice because:

Strategic culture is compatible with notions of limited rationality (where strategic culture simplifies reality), with process rationality (where strategic culture defines ranked preferences or narrows options) and with adaptive rationality (where historical choices, analogies, metaphors, and precedents are invoked to guide choice).⁴⁰

There is no universal model to assess the rationality or irrationality of a state. The history and experiences of each state point to political choices that they are likely to follow. Iain Johnston has dwelt at length the nexus between a state’s culture and its preferred strategy:

Different states have different predominant strategic preferences that are rooted in the early or formative experiences of the state, and are influenced to some

degree, by the philosophical, political, cultural and cognitive characteristics of the state and its elites.⁴¹

Jack Snyder was of the view that theory of Soviet behavioural forecasts based strictly on rational actor paradigm and game theoretical modelling was wrong. He argued that each country had its own way to interpret, analyse and react to international events. He defined strategic culture as 'the sum of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behaviour that members of a national strategic community share with regard to nuclear strategy.'⁴² Ken Booth echoed Snyder's sentiments by using historical examples to demonstrate that culture can have certain distorting effects in the study and practise of strategy, which consequently leads to mistakes when it comes to an analysis through the international relations prism.⁴³ Snyder and Booth's basic argument was that the strategic culture of a country or nation should not be based on archetypical images or clichés rather it should be reflective of its central ethos and value system.

US Strategic Culture

Like any other nation, the US strategic culture has its roots in its history, geography and its self-image. America's ascendance in global affairs spans two centuries. It emerged as one of the two superpowers in a bipolar world at the end of the World War-II. It became the sole superpower after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The American belief in its 'manifest destiny' became an inspiration for the expansion of the US across the North American continent in the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ An early proponent of this concept was President John Quincy Adams.⁴⁵ Adams believed that his country was destined to expand from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Ocean. This concept was widely interpreted to include the eventual absorption of all North America: Canada, Mexico, Cuba and Central America, and was used to validate territorial acquisitions. This expansion was considered not only good, but also obvious (manifest) and certain (destiny).⁴⁶ This thought was illustrated clearly in the Monroe Doctrine. On

December 2, 1823 President James Monroe declared that further efforts by European nations to colonize land or interfere with states in North or South America would be viewed as acts of aggression requiring US intervention.⁴⁷ On balance the US government promised not to interfere in the existing European colonies nor meddle in the internal concerns of European countries but neither would they tolerate involvement in their affairs.⁴⁸

After the end of the World War-II, the US automatically stepped into the vacuum created by the erosion of European colonial powers. After half a century of intense Cold War, it emerged as the sole superpower after the Soviet Union imploded due to an imperial overstretch and poor fiscal policies.⁴⁹ The fall of the USSR was celebrated as the superiority of the western capitalist system. The 21st century was described as the American century during which the US was to emerge as the most powerful nation on earth.⁵⁰

An aura of invincibility is reflected in American pop culture, most notably the superhuman qualities of the Hollywood good guys,⁵¹ and the comic book superheroes.⁵² The Americans as a nation are imbued with a high sense of self-righteousness and morality. Their leaders use religious overtones to justify their zeal to protect the American way of life and the western civilisation.⁵³ This sense of moral superiority has grown over the years. It is in this spirit that they have felt compelled to destroy demonic figures like Hitler, Sadam Hussein and Osama bin Laden. During the Cold War, the US claimed the leadership of the *Free World*,⁵⁴ against the Soviet *Evil Empire*.⁵⁵ In their campaign against the dark forces of Terror, they demanded from the world at large that “you’re either with us, or against us.” The implied consequence of not joining them was to lose favour and be deemed an enemy.⁵⁶ This attitude qualified as a prime example of Manichaeism struggle between good and evil, light and darkness.⁵⁷ The Americans as a nation can be moved to believe that they represent the forces of good and that their war against the evil forces is justified. Axiomatically they can do no wrong and therefore are not morally bound to offer any

apologies. This streak was particularly evident in the aftermath of 9/11.

This is not to say that US foreign policy makers are not open to sensible advice and that they will always exercise the military option instead of diplomacy as a tool to resolve conflicts. The realization has dawned in Washington that it cannot always have its way and that there are limits to its national power. 'It decision to conform to international norms and pressures was most evident recently in the case of Syria'. In the first week of September 2013, the US forces were all set to attack Damascus for the use of chemical weapons against its own people but then it took the Russian bait of resorting to diplomacy by going to the UN to force the Syrian government to accede to the Chemical Weapon Convention (CWC).⁵⁸

Pakistan's Case

The Pakistani case merits careful examination. It needs to be determined why this puny and pliant state opted, to go on a pliable collision course with mighty USA. The relations between Pakistan and the US had been deteriorating over the past decade. *Prima facie* they were frontline allies but a trust deficit had crept into their relationship. Pakistani felt aggrieved because its air and ground space was being routinely violated by the NATO and ISAF forces in Afghanistan. The unilateral incursion to kill Osama bin Laden on Pakistani territory on May 2, 2011 was considered a clear violation of national sovereignty and therefore illegal.⁵⁹ More painful than this one time landing of US boots on ground had been the collateral killing of innocent civilians in the CIA operated Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) attacks in FATA.⁶⁰ Drone strikes have become increasingly unpopular in Pakistan. These sentiments have received a fillip because the UN does not endorse the drone strikes and the Amnesty International has published a report against it.⁶¹ There has been domestic condemnation of the illegality of the drone attacks within the US as well.⁶²

Over the past years Pakistan has been regularly losing military and paramilitary personnel manning forward posts along the border in cross border air raids, artillery and mortar shelling and ground attacks. Eleven FC soldiers and ten civilians were killed in an air raid in Mohmand Agency in June 2008. An Army Major was among the dead. On September 30, 2010, NATO gunships attacked a security post in Kurram Agency, killing three soldiers and injuring three others. It was for the first time after this incident that Pakistani authorities blocked the Torkham border supply route for US and allied troops in Afghanistan.⁶³ The route was reopened after the US regretted the incident.⁶⁴ In February 2011, a soldier was killed and seven others sustained injuries when NATO and Afghan forces fired mortar shells at the Bangidar security check-post in North Waziristan Agency. In the last week of April 2011, three Pakistani soldiers were killed and over a dozen people, including security personnel and local tribesmen, sustained injuries in cross-border shelling between Afghan and Pakistani security forces near South Waziristan. In May 2011, two NATO helicopters entered North Waziristan Agency in hot pursuit of alleged terrorists. In the last week of August 2011, around 300 men crossed into Pakistan from Afghan territory and stormed seven security checkpoints along the Durand Line killing dozens of Pakistani security personnel.⁶⁵ The death of two dozen soldiers in Salala late in 2011 was the final straw that broke the back of Pak-US relationship.⁶⁶ Pakistan asked the Americans to close down their UAV operations and leave Shamsi airbase in Balochistan, and blocked NATO supply lines through Chaman and Torkhum, pending an apology.⁶⁷ The Government of Pakistan also decided to stay away from the Bonn conference on Afghanistan.⁶⁸

Pakistan refused to become part of the joint inquiry and rejected the US contention that the attack was in self defence. Instead, it blamed the US/ISAF forces for not coordinating their operations with their Pakistani counterparts.⁶⁹ The military public relations department's press release issued with the approval of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC) noted that the inquiry conducted by Brigadier General Stephen Clark did not affix specific responsibility and

highlighted the fact that a parallel inquiry conducted by Brigadier General Jorgensen considered Pakistan military in an adversarial role and not part of the friendly forces.⁷⁰

The political leadership carried out an extended parliamentary debate. As a result of which the Parliamentary Committee on National Security (PCNS) came up with 14 suggestions to redefine the relationship with the US.⁷¹ On April 12, 2012 the parliament approved the PCNS proposals.⁷² It called for an immediate cessation of American drone strikes and an apology for the killing of Pakistani soldiers was central to these demands.⁷³ Pakistan also demanded an increase in the transit fees, which the Americans termed as price gouging.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the movement of supplies through the much longer and more expensive NDN began to have its effects. On July 2, 2012, nearly seven months after the incident US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that the US was sorry for the losses suffered by Pakistani military in the Salala check post attack and announced that the Pakistan would henceforth be reopening the vital NATO supply routes to Afghanistan.⁷⁵ It is important to note that the apology was offered by the Secretary of State. In an election year it was considered unwise for the President to dole out apologies. The limited quota of apologies had been spent in saying sorry to the Afghans for the desecration the holy Quran,⁷⁶ and for defiling their corpses.⁷⁷ In case of Pakistan more ignominy was heaped upon President Zardari, when President Obama ignored him at the May 2012 NATO Chicago summit on Afghanistan.⁷⁸ The Americans refused to revise or indeed enhance the transit fees. The Pakistanis did not press the issue and an MOU was signed between the representatives of the two governments on July 30, 2012 to regularise the arrangements for NATO supplies, which till then had been done on a verbal understanding. The document drafted in the light of the UN charter prohibited the supply of ammunition but permitted the transit of weapons for the Afghan National Army.⁷⁹

Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn from this extended storm in the diplomatic tea cup? One thing that emerges quite clearly from this episode is that no nation irrespective of its size, power potential, stated foreign policy posture or strategic culture is under any compulsion to offer another nation a word of sympathy or sorrow; unless it stands to gain something by doing so. A natural corollary of this argument is that no nation, no matter how strongly it may feel about a certain perceived injustice, should be under any illusion that it can receive a genuine apology. Another thing that becomes quite evident from this incident is that the nature of apology is dependent upon the intensity of hurt and anger displayed by the other side and its capacity to react. If the aggrieved party can be satisfied with a perfunctory word of regret, then that is exactly how far the other state party would go.

Analysed in this backdrop, let's see what were the expectations from each side. And how each party dealt its diplomatic cards to achieve its desired ends? Pakistan felt that it had been wronged by a strategic military partner. It wanted to redeem the honour of the men it had lost in an incident, which it felt was clearly the result of some heartless and apathetic behaviour. It also wanted to leverage this incident to seek better terms and conditions to reopen the NATO and better if not equal partnership with the US. The Americans were in no hurry. They gave the Pakistanis the rope. They knew that their stamina to hold their ground was limited and that they were heavily dependent on the aid that they were doling out to this weak and impoverished nation. Pakistan could go the distance by holding out for seven months was something they had not imagined. A face saving exit for both parties was a lukewarm regret followed by the reopening of the blocked roads.

It is important to understand that although USA is still the most powerful nation on earth, it can say sorry, when it feels that it serves their purpose. It has offered apologies to the Afghans a number of times i.e. in the case of the burning of

the Quran and drone strikes against civilians. These apologies have not always come directly from the White House but have been handed down by high level emissaries.⁸⁰ Like any other great nation there are limits to its military, diplomatic and economic power. Two long running wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have cost it dearly in terms of blood and treasure. It may have killed Osama bin Laden and weakened the forces of terrorism but Al Qaeda and its affiliates are still out there. Russia is showing significant diplomatic muscle and China is projecting military and economic power regionally and globally. Clearly, the US would like to extend its dominant position in the world and would use the full spectrum of its power potential, including its repertoire of coercive and persuasive diplomacy towards this end. On the flip side, it has enough political resilience to offer regrets if that would help achieve its limited or long term foreign policy objectives.

Pakistan is a minor player on the international chessboard. Realistically speaking, US is under no obligation to say sorry to it. Its geostrategic position does provide Pakistan a regional context. As long as the US has to move its supplies to Afghanistan through its communication network, it will deploy all its diplomatic skills to keep it under its wings. There are, however, other characteristics that can keep Pakistan relevant i.e. it is one of the most populous Islamic countries in the world and it possesses nuclear weapons. All this combined will continue to provide it space in American foreign policy. However, to assume that the US will beg forgiveness for infringements on its sovereignty is pure naivety. To be taken seriously in the international arena, Pakistan has to adopt long-term policies to improve its economy, the state of law and order and the quality of its population. As long as it remains mired in poverty, economic chaos and internal disorder external powers will play upon its weaknesses and get away with it without saying sorry.

Author

The author is Associate Dean Centre for International Peace and Stability, National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad.

Notes

- ¹ Exodus Chapter 21 Verse 24, *King James Bible* (Cambridge Edition, 1611).
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BALUCHISTAN – PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

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Abstract

Since independence Pakistan's largest province having geo-strategic importance and unlimited natural resources inducing a coastal line has remained plagued with unrest and disturbances. Decades of serious political and administrative neglect has aggravated the whole issue. Pakistan's future and its leap forward towards prosperity is linked with Baluchistan. For Pakistanis, Baluchistan and its current situation and how it is handled is vital to understand. A simplistic view of addressing the problem, which has too many dimensions and fault lines could be fatal. Only an indepth understanding of its past and present can give the contours of 'way forward'. A holistic approach encompassing Federal and Provincial governments can take the Baluchistan out of current imbroglio. The current well balanced political dispersion of Baluchistan has given a rare opportunity. It can be a real catalyst of change, provided the nation is serious to address this long simmering issue. This paper provides an insight into the complexities of most deprived province and will make a good reading.

Introduction

Baluchistan with 44%¹ of the land mass and 5%² of Pakistan's population is passing through an ever growing volatile situation, where gradual degeneration is taking place in all facets of public life. Repeated policy failures since creation of Pakistan have created deep seated multi-dimensional problems having serious security implications for the country. The reasons of the present crisis are not well known to the people of Pakistan and lack of wholesome comprehension at national level, coupled with least resolve has compounded the problem. There is a dire need to tackle the present imbroglio in a synergetic manner to address the issue in totality.

Scope

In this connection, this paper aims to review Balochistan issue in the context of historical perspective, nature of repeated unrests, prevailing environment, last government's policy initiatives including their outcome, present political landscape and suggests a way forward.

Historical Perspective

Pre-partition, this region was governed by the British. They strengthened the institution of nawabs / sardars while keeping the masses in the state of extreme deprivation. The whole system was so articulated to facilitate their management of Balochistan by exploiting the tribal system through few individuals having their vested interest.

The issue of Balochistan, started emerging when the future of Kalat State was decided by referendum in Shahi Jirga in June 1947,³ in favour of Pakistan and Shahzada Karim Khan, brother of Khan of Kalat reacted violently against the accession and rebelled to Afghanistan in March 1948.⁴ Establishment of One Unit, inept handling of tribal leaders in post Nawab Nauroz Khan situation and political expediencies of early 70s created deep rooted issues, where people were the ultimate victims and resultantly alienated. Deep scars of the past have seriously impacted the psyche of a common Baloch and therefore the whole provincial issue has to be seen in that context.

Eruption of Disturbances and Unrests

Balochistan has witnessed five successive insurgencies and unrests since 1947. Poor handling, coupled with non-institutionalized approach by successive governments is the main drivers of unrest. The current situation is far more complex, as the ongoing unrest in the province is aided and abetted by the international players, which should also be seen in the context of Afghanistan situation. For better

understanding, it is pertinent to scan the nature of successive insurgencies and unrests.

The first insurgency erupted in March 1948 by Prince Karim⁵ (younger brother of Khan of Kalat), who defected to Afghanistan along with a *lashkar* and conducted anti state activities to address the issue of State of Kalat as an independent state. Geographically, it was confined to the Jhalawan area of Balochistan. It lasted for few months only.

Late fifties witnessed the eruption of second insurgency.⁶ It primarily stemmed from the establishment of One Unit. Commonly known as Jhalawan disturbance, the insurgency was confined to the districts of Kalat, Khuzdar and Kohlu. It terminated temporarily in March 1960 after declaration of general amnesty and surrender of Sardar Nauroz Khan. Poor handling of Sardar Nauroz Khan⁷ and his family by the government laid the seeds of lack of trust in Balochi people towards the Federation of Pakistan.

The uneasy peace lasted for a brief period and the decade of sixties again found Balochistan gripped into the third insurgency.⁸ Its causes revolved around removal and arrest of tribal chieftans, Nawab Akbar Bugti, Khair Bakhsh Marri, Atta Ullah Mengal and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo on the charges of supporting Sardar Nauroz Khan. Geographically, the area engulfed by the insurgency included Districts of Kalat, Khuzdar, Kohlu and Dera Bugti. Dissolution of One Unit and general amnesty, again gave Balochistan a brief spell of peace with the formation of Baloch Government in 1972.

The state's inability to find lasting solution to the provincial problems, took Balochistan into its fourth insurgency in 1973 which lasted for four years.⁹ It started after the removal of National Awami Party's (NAP) Government of Atta Ullah Mengal by Mr Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in February 1973 and encompassed general areas of Kharan, Sibi, Dera Bugti, Khuzdar and Kohlu. This insurgency could have lasted longer but the declaration of general amnesty by General Zia ul Haq

normalized the situation but without addressing the root causes.

Commencing in 2005, today the unfortunate province is confronting fifth cycle of unrest which is now entering into its eighth year. The simmering issues of Balochistan got its spark from the unrest in Dera Bugti/Sui on conflict of locals with Pakistan Petroleum Limited (PPL), which created misunderstandings between Federal Government and Nawab Akbar Bugti. The situation further aggravated after the development of Gwadar Port, without addressing the concerns of locals coupled with disappearance of Nawab Akbar Bugti from the provincial landscape in 2007. The spatial dimensions of current disturbances now covers vast spaces of Baloch and Brahvi areas with distinct shade of mental subversion of masses having roots in lower and middle class with educated youth joining hands. So far a coherent policy and requisite political initiatives at different tiers to address the issue through a wholesome approach have not emerged on the national scene.

What Does the Successive Disturbances and Unrests Imply?

After independence, the Government could not comprehend the complex dynamics of Balochistan and tried to resolve the issues through reactive measures which lacked a long term vision. Resultantly, the disturbances grew in quantum and space, engulfing entire Baloch/Brahvi dominated areas from its traditional base of Dera Bugti, Kohlu, Sarawan and Jhalawan. The neglect of over last sixty years is now emerging in the form of deepening fault- lines with significantly fractured society. Destroyed societal fabric will poses serious challenges for a way forward without a wholesome response.

The political leadership of the province which emerged after successive disturbances was a classical product of political expediencies and did not reflect the will of the people as well as true representation of society. Continuous policy

failures since 1950's have created state/non-state stake holders who are thriving on ever deteriorating situation in the province.

The tribal system, despite being a reality has invariably been either undermined or misused by the political elites. Short term gains through this faulty policy, has further strengthen the stranglehold of tribal leaders. Resultantly today, tribal system has become more strong than it was in 1947.

No wholesome policy was ever formulated by the successive governments at federal and provincial level to address the issue in totality with its focus on the masses in post disturbance periods. Political structure of the province is greatly influenced by groups having vested interests thus no developments have taken place in social and other sectors. Fruits of Eighteenth Amendment and National Finance Commission (NFC) Award have been lost in the black hole of corruption and other governance related issues.

Prevailing Environment of the Province

Balochistan occupies a strategic location in the regional context with a long coast line having Gwadar Port and sharing of 1160 km border with Afghanistan.¹⁰ It dominates the sea lines of communication which are vital for free flow of 40% of world's oil¹¹ and can also serve as a strategic corridor for Central Asian Republics. Its huge land mass gifted with a wide variety of natural resources offers opportunities and challenges. In the regional context, regional and extra regional powers have converging and diverging interests.

Its ethnic landscape is characterized by Baloch, Pashtoons and Brahvis.¹² Tribal system is fully intact mostly due to vested interests. The tribal leaders are aware that their survival lies in maintaining strong control over poor/deprived masses and weak writ of the government. Ignorance and intra-province conflict suits their interests. They control the destiny

of common people and hence jealously guard their traditions/culture for furthering their personal agendas.

Political dynamic of the province has remained uncertain. Politics in Balochistan generally revolve around pro and anti federation elements wherein nawabs and sardars have acted as good tools for political expediencies for short term solutions, but having long term serious consequences. Mainstream political parties have less influence in interior Balochistan and remain dependent on tribal hierarchy for their political ambitions. The present political dispersion has two distinct shades i.e in Baloch and Brahvi Areas, middle class leadership has emerged which can be an excellent catalyst for change of political dynamic in Balochistan. Similarly in Pashtun area, the representatives of the people can address most of the problems by virtue of their stance on various provincial issues including terrorism.

The tribal system thrives on poverty, illiteracy and backwardness of people and is averse to all such policy initiatives which lead to empowerment of people. The issues of Balochistan become more complex when the internal deteriorating security environment is exploited by regional and extra regional powers, state and non state actors who exploit the weak political and governance structure of the province for patronage for all facets of their anti state and anti social activities.

The complexity of Balochistan problems are also exacerbated due to the porous and harsh nature of terrain. There are numerous divided tribes and villages along the border with several frequented and unfrequented routes thus facilitating illegal movement across the border. It has a negative impact on security situation of the province. Till today, Balochistan continues to house approximately 345,100 (20.3%) of Afghan refugees.¹³ Large refugee camps particularly close to the border are ideal hideouts and breeding grounds for terrorists and militant organizations. No elaborate mechanism exists to monitor their activities in a cohesive manner at provincial level. These refugees are not

keen to go back due to law and order situation in Afghanistan and better economic opportunities inside Pakistan. Their presence has seriously complicated the security environment in Balochistan.

Inferences Drawn from Prevailing Environment of Balochistan

The socio-cultural spectrum characterized by tribal system does not let positive influences to permeate into its folds. Resultantly, main stream political parties have not been able to develop in-roads in the interior parts of province. Due to poor governance, lack of government writ; the tribal system continues to be the practicable mechanism. Political parties still rely on tribal chieftains for accomplishment of their political agenda. Since tribal system is a reality and cannot be whisked away. How it has to be exploited/utilized for empowering the masses and at the same time weakening the stranglehold of sardars is the *key question*, which needs to be strategized.

The existing administrative mechanisms of the province does not represent a common man, is inept, having rampant corruption. It is therefore part of the problem and not part of the solution.

Its strategic location,¹⁴ enormous amount of natural resources and internal conflict provides an ideal opportunity for exploitation by inimical forces. Separatist tendencies in the province now have trans-frontier linkages. In the regional context, it is Pakistan's soft belly, vulnerable to exploitation by global powers.

Prevailing situation in the province provide vast spaces for terrorist organizations which keep transiting from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and cross border movement from Afghanistan. Similarly the inhospitable terrain of Pak-Afghan border has facilitated inflow of arms and ammunition and illegal immigrants thus adding new dimensions to this complex issue. Afghan refugee camps continue to contribute

negatively towards the fragile security situation of Balochistan.

Disillusionment of youth led by the middle class educated leadership of militant organizations is now injecting loss of hope in sizeable population—a serious challenge indeed. Finally the nature of present unrest has changed radically with its expansion from traditional Marri, Bugti and Mengal areas. Today the spatial dimensions of challenging the state have expanded, compounded by mental subversion which needs to be comprehended for its serious and far reaching implications.

Review of Government’s Policy Initiatives in the Past

Unfortunately despite successive unrests no government has learnt from the history of Balochistan. Instead of adopting a wholesome approach, the issue was taken lightly as a law and order situation at best and hence dealt mainly with purely reactive measures. Severity of the situation has always been half heartedly appreciated in the past and some political initiatives were taken by the previous regimes with least positive results.

Government constituted two parliamentary committees in September 2004. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed’s Committee was mandated to assess the overall situation of Balochistan for making suitable recommendations.¹⁵ Senator Wasim Sajjad led the other committee to suggest policy measures “to promote inter-provincial harmony and protect rights of provinces with a view to strengthen the Federation”.¹⁶ Recommendations formulated by these committees were comprehensive and encompassed all major concerns of Balochistan. Unfortunately, these recommendations were never implemented - a classical example of policy failure. Remoteness of Balochistan and lack of ability to comprehend the erupting crises lay at the foundation of ongoing unrest in Balochistan.

Aghaz-e-Haqooq Balochistan: A very well thought-out initiative ever taken by the past government is Aghaz-e-

Haqooq Balochistan.¹⁷ Ironically, due to lack of sincere efforts including political will, it has least impact on the people of Balochistan.

18th Amendment and NFC Award:¹⁸ It has provided enormous capacity to Balochistan, with a net increase of Rs 83 billion.¹⁹ Similarly greater provincial autonomy has not been aptly managed for addressing the grievances of the masses by the provincial leadership.

Failure of Past Policy Initiatives – A Re-Appraisal

Other than Aghaz-e-Haqooq Balochistan package, no significant policy was ever devised which could claim to be in-line with the aspirations of the people. Serious governance issues, enormous corruption in Provincial machinery, lack of resolve to address the real issues confronted by the people have resulted in unsuccessful implementation of this excellent package. 18th Amendment/NFC Award, though has been widely appreciated, but the administrative structures of the province have neither the capacity, nor sincerity and resolve to capitalize on the enormous benefits. Unfortunately these weaknesses are further widening the already existing fault-lines. The disillusionment of people of Balochistan is gradually increasing with serious repercussions for the security of Pakistan.

Balochistan – An Overall Brief Reappraisal

Since independence, a critical look at past and present unrests amply indicates a classical policy failure, where federation and the provincial political and administrative structures have failed to grasp the complexity of the whole issue. Finding short term solutions by all successive federal and provincial governments has alienated the masses. Resultantly unrest has grown now encompassing vast spaces of Baloch and Brahvi areas. Mental subversion of the youth and their taking up of arms in some parts of province has seriously eroded the social fabric of the Province. Deep vested interest of political elites, some tribal leaders and non state

actors have significantly eroded the resolve to stem the tide in positive direction.

As a State, if issues confronted by Balochistan are not handled appropriately with total resolve and clarity, the situation can aggravate further, with long term negative implications for Pakistan. As a whole, Balochistan has negative social and security indicator, requiring the wholesome review.

Way Forward

Provincial political landscape today has all the ingredients of giving hope to the people of Balochistan. With a leadership which reflects the aspirations of a common Baloch no well seated in the corridors of power, if aptly utilize the levers of power and state and provincial institutions, with any biases, the nation can pin all their hopes. It can be a catalyst of positive change. History has once again given the opportunity to turn the tide. Some plausible thoughts are discussed as under:

- The tribal character, ethnic composition, vast natural resources, history of unrest and serious governance issues demands concerted and dedicated efforts at national and provincial level. The policy and strategy for handling Balochistan should have four thrust lines as under:
 - Political initiative focusing on broad base reconciliation bringing all stake holders on negotiation table. Selective application should be avoided. A high powered body with a balanced composition duly authorized for all encompassing negotiations by the federal and provincial governments *needs to be constituted at priority*. Historical apprehensions make proud Baloch very sensitive and thus they doubt sincerity of various political initiatives.

- Aghaz-e-Haqooq Balochistan, 18 Amendment and NFC Award have totally failed to deliver, primarily because of very serious governance issues. A *solid, fool proof mechanism needs to be developed* to address governance related issues of Balochistan.
- Balochistan issue has been aggravated due to absolute absence of good governance. Without working out a policy by federal and provincial governments for *posting of competent, efficient and honest officers de-linked from political expediencies in provincial machinery*, no initiative will ever succeed.
- Armed struggle by some Baloch elements, at its root is now characterized by loss of hope and loss of trust in federation to address their concerns as citizens of Pakistan stemming from disillusionment and also perceived sense of deprivation. Revival of this hope is the key to moving forward. Mental subversion of Baloch needs re-addressal by devising an imaginative and credible policy, which is strategized with sincerity and credibility.
- Supporting guidelines should include:
 - Tendency of labelling Baloch in general as anti state should be avoided and all separatist elements should be brought into the main stream. ‘Rhetoric only’ will never pay. Actionable measures needs to be initiated at priority.
 - Develop fool proof institutionalize mechanisms at federal and provincial levels for socio-economic developments for bridging the gap between sardars and the masses thus providing conducive environment to heal the simmering feedings of deprivation.
 - Equal and balanced representation of ethnic groups in administrative setups at national and provincial level. No ethnic group should be neglected due to its peaceful nature.

- Holding of census to crystallize the actual demographic profile of the province, which can ensure balanced policies in various spheres of governance and politics. It is a very serious issue, which at present may look ordinary but may lead to serious ethnic conflict in future.
- Repatriation of Afghan refugees needs to be tackled vigorously as it is contributing negatively toward the security canvas of the province.
- Need to develop effective mechanisms for border control, restricting free cross border movement which presently contributes to law and order situation in the Province.
- Appropriate measures need to be put in place to check the inflow of funding to non state actors and separatists elements.
- Nexus between various militant groups operating in Balochistan should be broken. Lack of national policy on terrorism is a major contributory factor towards security situation which is fully exploited by terrorist and other groups with vested interest.

Parting Shot

Balochistan is passing through turmoil, due to its geo-strategic importance, tribal dynamics, successive policy failures, beneficiaries of the prevalent situation and non-state actors. Since the independence, unfortunately due to narrow vision of national security, Balochistan is gradually sinking into a quagmire with serious and long lasting implications for Pakistan. The nation should rise to the occasion. Despite all the internal and external threats, the situation can still be managed, provided the nation has competency, sincerity and honesty to address these challenges. It can be done, provided there is a will. The current political dispersion in Balochistan is well balanced and reflects the aspiration of people. An all out support can change the internal dynamics of Balochistan in the positive direction.

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MANAGEMENT OF PAKISTAN INDIA CONFLICTS: AN APPLICATION OF CRISIS DECISION-MAKING

Dr. Iram Khalid

Abstract

Crisis is a volatile situation replete with multiple threats. Pakistan, like other states has faced several such crises. Interestingly, most of the said situations were with India. This research envisages a study of four crises, these include the crisis evolving out of the minority issue of 1950, the Brasstacks crisis of 1986-87, the crisis due to the nuclear tests in 1998, and the Kargil crisis of 1999. This study may also be of vital importance to help assess and analyze these crisis situations, in both general and Indian orchestrated crises. Furthermore, this takes into cognizance variables such as the role of military leadership, media, communal organizations, state policies, and foreign powers etc. The detailed study in the theoretical frame-work of 'crisis' and 'crisis decision making', has established the fact that it is essential for a nuclear power, when pitched against an opponent, to behave in such a compact way that lacks no theoretical, rational, and favorable aspect of any issue, while making a decision. It is important to avoid mixed signals and future confusion to avoid any mistake.

Introduction

Countries with history of conflict and continuing tension are susceptible to facing problems in the course of their bilateral relations. Sometimes, they try to manage a problematic bilateral situation and are successful. While occasionally, they face a predicament which is characterized by hostile posturing and end up in an uncompromising and unyielding stance leading to a deadlock. The situation prolongs, receives extensive media coverage, and consequently becomes public concern. This heralds the beginning of a crisis which has the potential to escalate. It assumes menacing proportions, especially when stakes are

pitched between two nuclear armed rivals. The term “crisis” is used so frequently and for such varied scenarios that it is fraught with a wide variety of meanings. Even in foreign policy research and diplomatic history regarding crisis, diversity is more evident than uniformity.¹

Two major theories explain the meaning of crisis. First is the systematic perspective in which “crisis represents a significant change in the quality or intensity of interactions among nations.” The second is the decision-making perspective which focuses on human participation rather, than a system output. According to this perspective, a situation is a crisis when it is so defined by those who are responsible for coping with it.²

Charles Hermann explains, “A crisis is a situation characterized by surprise, a high threat to values, and short decision time”.³ From the perspective of a single state, a crisis is a situation with three necessary and sufficient conditions deriving from a change in its external or internal environment: firstly, a threat to basic values; secondly, a simultaneous or subsequent high probability of engagement in military hostilities, and thirdly, an awareness of the availability of a finite time for response to the external value threat.⁴ The crisis actors are states whose decision-makers perceive the above mentioned three conditions of a crisis. These three perceived conditions are considered to be interrelated and mutually reinforcing. According to the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, crisis is a loose term in search of a commonly agreed scholarly meaning. Similarly, procedural definitions identify events that occur in any sort of crisis.⁵

Richard Lebow identifies three different types of crises based on their capacity for management. They are justification of hostility crisis, spin off crisis, and brinkmanship crisis. The justification for war is deemed necessary to secure domestic and international support. In this case, the state initiating the conflict is determined to escalate hostility; therefore, unless

the initiator is deprived of the justification, there is very little hope for the management of crisis before a war erupts.

According to this categorization, the second type is the spin off crisis, an example of which is the American attack on Grenada. This type of crisis facilitates the interests of the initiator. Lebow's third type is the brinkmanship crisis. In this situation, the initiators expect the adversary to back down instead of putting up a fight. War is not intended but the threat of force is used to achieve specific political objectives. The outcome may not be as predictable as in the cases of the other two types, which can be seen in the case of Turks in Cyprus in 1974 and the Chinese in 1996 against Taiwan. In this case, crisis management determines the resolution or otherwise. From all of the above mentioned types, the third appears likely to respond to management.⁶

J. Philips Rogers has identified two types of crisis.⁷ In the first type, the policy makers believe that the adversary is almost exclusively aggressive in its objectives. His second category of crisis is based on the attitude of the policy makers, who give more importance to political content, and are classified as hawks. They believe that in a crisis situation, it is difficult to determine whether the objectives of an adversary are primarily offensive or have other dimensions. In addition, an adversary's objectives are influenced by situational context e.g. in 1964, Vietnamese Commandos attacked a US electronic intelligence destroyer. The policy makers and Congress allowed President Johnson to take any action, even to use armed forces to protect American interest in the Gulf of Tonkin.⁸

Crisis Situations and Policy Makers

In crisis situations, policy makers develop an understanding of the nature and degree of threat to their country's interests, an estimate of the way the adversary views the situation, and a determination of the consequences of probable courses of action designed to secure their objectives.⁹ These are images of an adversary, beliefs about the dynamics

of crisis escalation, the best ways to control it, and bargaining rules for crisis management on terms consistent with their country's interests.¹⁰

Elements Determining Crisis Attitudes of Decision-Makers

Crisis situations present extraordinary conditions needing prompt decisions. Decision-makers exhibit some typical forms of attitudes under such circumstances. There are some rudiments which would determine the attitudes of decision-makers in crisis situations. These fundamental elements include the enemy strategy, the problems pertaining to information, perceptions, and intentions.

Enemy Strategy

Enemy Strategy may vary according to the nature and impact of the elements of power which are at the disposal of the enemy. In the late 60's and 70's, the US opted for a strategy to have control over the Indian Ocean, which is known not only for its natural resources but also for its importance in world trade. The former USSR anticipated this American strategy and a crisis developed between the two over the control of the Indian Ocean.¹¹

Problems of Information

Information plays a decisive role in crisis decision-making and hence it is very important to ensure maximum possible credibility. Still, the policy makers face problems related to information that affect their attitudes. These problems consist of the following:¹²

- Information overloading,
- Information deficit (lack of first hand information on specific aspects of a decision),
- Contradictory information, which necessitates weighing the relative merits of contradictory reports regarding the same event.¹³

Crisis Attitudes

Based on a review of diplomatic interactions in crisis situations the following general forms of crisis attitudes may be reflected in the behavior of the decision-makers.¹⁴ One such occasion is when the British Prime Minister adopted telephonic diplomacy to solve the Falkland issue and decided to use force against Argentina after consultation with President Reagan.

- In most cases, suspicion is directed towards opponents, their intentions, and the motives underlying their actions. Intentions and actions of friendly states that are not in conflict are largely predictable. Suspicion may also generate a pessimistic speculation concerning the intentions of the other side. Peace gestures may therefore be rejected as tricks.
- Issue escalation is another attitude common to decision-makers operating in a crisis or conflict.¹⁵ As an issue in a crisis becomes imbued with ideology or symbolic importance, compromise may become difficult to achieve because government officials and the public will regard any withdrawal from a symbolic stance as a sacrifice of some great principles.
- A feeling of urgency due to limited availability of time for making critical decisions and the consequent belief that unless decisions and actions are taken rapidly, disastrous consequences ensuing from the enemy's hostile actions may result.¹⁶
- Under the feeling of urgency and the uncertainties surrounding the enemy's motives and actions, policy makers perceive fewer alternative courses of action open to themselves than to the enemy.¹⁷
- Policy makers perceive crisis as a turning point in the relationship between parties. A corollary is the common opinion that a war will somehow solve the problems between the conflicting parties.¹⁸
- In a crisis, perceptions of threat are more significant than perceptions of the opponent's relative capabilities. If a government perceives great threat to fundamental

values then it will resist with armed forces, even if the enemy's military actions are perceived as slight.¹⁹

Structure of a crisis

During different stages of the life-cycle of a crisis, the situation is marked by some or all of the following elements.²⁰

- A crisis is marked by high risks. In most cases, a party might unintentionally raise the risk to crisis levels because it fails to apprehend the broader consequences of its actions
- The second element which is visible in a crisis situation is limited time for deliberations concerning a decision. As the crisis intensifies, each of the constituent elements also experiences increased intensity. Risks increase, resulting in enhanced uncertainty. Options become increasingly polarized creating a feeling that there is insufficient time for effective deliberations. All this contributes to an ever growing hostility. Limited time, uncertainties, difficult value trade-offs, and a sense of constricting possibilities exacerbate the hostility felt and expected. This also shows that the crisis has either been ignored or proper planning for crisis management has not been done.²¹

Possible Outcomes of International Crises

Here, it is pertinent to identify and explain different outcomes of crises. It is also important to note that these outcomes are self explanatory in the sense that they show how they were achieved.²² K. J. Holsti, in his work on international politics, has identified the following possible outcomes of international crises, avoidance, Submission or Deterrence, Compromise, Award.

Decision-making

In the context of crisis, decision-making is simply the act of making a choice from amongst the available alternatives in

order to cope with an uncertain situation. The decision-making approach towards the understanding of international politics is not new. Centuries ago, the Greek historian Thucydides, in his book “The Peloponnesian War,” indicated the factors that helped leaders in the Greek City-States to make decisions about the issues of war and peace. He was, thus, an early student of decision-making.

This is the process in which problems are identified, alternative policy options are worked out, suitable policy options are selected, and the same are then pursued.²³ Decision-making focuses on the individuals engaged in the foreign policy making process and specifically on the part which deals with choosing from amongst the various modes of action. It also explains the nature of the process of decision-making, the factors which influence this process, and the different decisions that are taken.

It also tells us that the best decisions are the rational decisions. In simple terms, rational behavior is a purposive behavior that focuses on actions and their outcomes. Rationality helps develop a sense of relating means to ends. It works on the assumption that an individual is capable of determining a relationship among possible alternatives. Another view of rationality is that it is doing what one believes is one's best interest. This means that rationality is a matter of an individual's personal perception.²⁴

Crisis Decision-Making

Crises are perilous because they have the potential to transform into all out wars. Hazards are exceptionally high, especially when a crisis precipitates between nuclear armed rivals. The main focus of this research is to examine the circumstantial effects of crises on decision-making. This can facilitate swift and critical thinking and decisive action, which in turn can help to gain a competitive edge in managing a crisis.²⁵

In a crisis situation, decision-makers need to comprehend the nature and degree of threat to national interests. They should also have an appraisal of how the adversary views the situation and an assessment of the possible consequences of various policy options designed to secure national objectives. Such complex situations require difficult judgments to be made with less than perfect information and severe time constraints. Commenting on crisis decision-making, Henry Kissinger once said, “..... only rarely does a coherent picture emerge; in a sense, coherence must be imposed in the events by the decision-makers.”²⁶

A crisis threatens the high priority goals of a decision-making unit, marked by a limited response time, has an element of surprise for the members of a decision-making unit, and carries a risk of war.²⁷ From above, it is clear that in crisis situations, decision-makers are operating under conditions of intense pressure. The pressure, generating features of a crisis situation, have been observed in most crises, like the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Berlin blockade, the Sino-Soviet border clash, the Formosa Straits Crisis in the 1950's, and the Taiwan Straits Crisis in 1997 and 1999.²⁸ These crisis situations are also important because none of these transformed into large scale open military hostilities and all were successfully managed. In comparison, many crises in the global south have escalated into an all out war.

Crisis characteristics like misperception, insufficient information, or a simple error of judgment can lead to decisions which can diminish, rather than enhance the chances of management of conflict. It is very difficult to study and analyze the whole range of problems associated with crisis decision-making in different political systems due to a lack of reliable information. However, it is possible to analyze the commonly associated problems which hamper effective decision-making.²⁹ The areas of analysis consist of description, perception, and derivation of results, which still remains a matter of perspective. Therefore crisis decision-making carries with it positive as well as negative impacts.

Stress, domestic pressures, and group thinking renders the job of decision-makers difficult. In the United States, possible alternatives are assessed to determine the costs and benefits of decisions. The allies can help them by extending reliable information because successful management of a crisis also depends on effective communication and understanding of signals between the adversaries.³⁰

Crisis decision-making has been described in terms of four theories. These theories include:³¹

- Organizational Response Model,
- Hostile Interaction Model,
- Cost Calculation Model, and
- Individual Stress Model.

Pakistan-India Relations and Crisis Decision-Making

During the last 65 years of their existence, Pakistan and India, the two South Asian nuclear powers, which are also neighbors, have passed through a bitter experience of four wars and a host of protracted conflicts and intense crises. Even during peacetime, foreign policy decision-making has been a difficult proposition for the system of each of the two countries. In this regard, stress arising from prevailing perceptions and the limited availability of time, have also played their role. As far as Pakistan is concerned, the tradition of a lack of political consolidation leading to an unstable democratic system creates room for individuals rather than representative institutions to take decisions in crisis situations. The Pakistani decision-making process tends to be highly centralized and personalized in the office of chief executive.³² In Pakistan, military supremacy has also remained a critical factor. “Although its influence has oscillated from 1947 to 1958, it exercised indirect political influence and from 1958 to 1971 direct political control, in the post 1971 period the military reverted to indirect influence until July 1977 when it, once again, took over control of the government through popular public consent.”³³ After independence, the military leadership became dominant in all

decision-making processes especially regarding national security.³⁴ Defense decision-making and foreign policy security matters pertaining to Indo-Pak relations, nuclear issue and Kashmir have been a prerogative of the military.³⁵ An overview of some crisis between Pakistan and India can contribute towards the better understanding of the present study. The table given below shows the conflictual history between Pakistan and India. The present study focuses on an analysis of different crises between Pakistan and India.

Table: Conflicts in South Asia

Date and Name of Crisis	Proximate Origin	Resolution	Consequences
1947-48 First Kashmir war	Pakistan-supported raiders enter Jammu and Kashmir	None; semi-permanent division of the state; international mediation efforts ineffective	Still in dispute
1948 Indian incorporation of Hyderabad	Hyderabad state appeared to be seeking independent status	Indian army invasion of Hyderabad	Absorption into Indian Union (now in Andhra Pradesh)
1960 Indian military occupation of Goa	Alleged Goa pro-Indian revolt, but use of force instigated by domestic elements, political pressures on Nehru	Incorporation of Goa	Goa first a Union territory, now a separate state within Indian Union
1962 India-China war	Massive Chinese response to Indian probing along disputed borders	Major Indian military defeat in east, standstill in west, Chinese withdrawal from some, but not all claimed territory	Led to unsuccessful US-UK effort to resolve Kashmir; India-China border and territory disputes remain, but

			several agreements reached recently
April 1965	Dispute over Rann of Kutch reaches a crisis	Resolved several years later by International Court of Justice	Led to subsequent India-Pakistan war
September 1965 India-Pakistan war	Initiated by Pakistan in an attempt to contain growing Indian power, internationalize Kashmir dispute	Military standstill, US-British pressure to stop fighting, followed by failed Soviet mediation effort	Independent state of Bangladesh has normal relations with India, and now with Pakistan
1984-present Siachen Glacier dispute	Probably Indian belief that Pakistan was attempting to control the glacier, reminiscent of 1959-61 conflict with China	Unresolved, but escalation limited by human and material cost and secondary strategic importance of territory	Symbolic importance of not yielding for both sides prevents a settlement, technical means of verifying pullback becoming available
1984, 1985 Suspicion of Indian attack on Kahuta	Threat raised with Americans by Pakistanis	Indian denial, no strong evidence of preparation for an attack	Led to some CBM agreements
1986 Suspicion of Soviet attack on Kahuta	Threat raised with Americans by Pakistanis	Denied by Soviet Union	Resolved at pre-crisis stage
1987 Brasstacks	Massive Indian military maneuver escalated into full-fledged crisis; no military action	India reoriented provocative military exercise; United States reassured both sides there was nothing to be alarmed about	Nuclear program accelerated in India and Pakistan; no resolution of India-Pakistan tensions, but some minor CBMs agreed to.
1990 Multifaceted	Combination of domestic	Mutual realization that	Led to establishment of

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Kashmir Conflict	political weakness in both India and Pakistan; Kashmir uprising, support by Pakistan for Kashmir separatists; compound crisis complicated by nuclear alarm.	no significant military activity likely; U.S. intervention and reassurance to both sides.	important military CBMs regarding pre-notification of military exercise and preventing airspace violations.
1993 Mounting Tension	Multiple blasts in Bombay; accusations of Pakistani culpability; subsequent atrocities in Kashmir	Pakistan denied role in Bombay and Kashmir episodes.	None; repeated terrorist attacks in India in subsequent years, but cross-border movement apparently tapered off after 2002 crisis.
1998 Nuclear Tests	Major diplomatic crisis after India Pakistan tested nuclear devices and set themselves forth to be nuclear weapons states; no evidence of any threat of attack.	Both countries sanctioned and begin extended series of negotiations with the United States about their adherence to precepts of global nonproliferation regime.	Sanctions relaxed by Clinton; most of them lifted by Bush.
1999 Kargil Mini-War	Pakistan-sponsored jihadis and regular units occupy territory on the Indian side of the LOC; border crisis, with strategic	War fought from May to July but limited to Kargil sector; American pressure on Pakistan to withdraw back to own territory behind LOC.	LOC begins to assume permanent status.

	undertones; gross Pakistan miscalculation of India response.		
2001-02 Border confrontation	Indian buildup armed forces after terrorist attacks; direct pressure on Pakistan, indirect pressure on United States to force Pakistan to stop/reduce support for jihadis and terrorists.	Lasted ten months; resolved by American pressure on Pakistan to reduce cross- border terrorist attacks and Pakistani assurances.	Major effort to start a new peace process initiated by Prime Minister Vajpayee in April 2003; continued by Congress-led coalition since 2004-05.

Nature of Decisions

External/Internal Constrains

The decision-makers work under certain limitations following the routine pattern of decision-making as they weigh and choose from amongst various foreign policy alternatives. Their choices are further curtailed because of a fragmented assessment of the consequences of each option. This happens even in a political system where, owing to constitutionalism, standard procedures of foreign policy decision-making are followed. Another plausible reason is the change of preferences due to the eruption of a crisis. Reduction of stress and emerging safe become top priority concerns. This induces changes in the process of decision-making which becomes increasingly complex especially when states have to deal with divergent and mixed leadership—political and military, as in the case of Pakistan—in order to cope with a situation. South Asia, with its strategic worth, is considered different due to the presence of one major country, India, having problems with all its neighbors. The other country, Pakistan in spite of a weak political system, refuses to yield to Indian efforts for

regional hegemony. Its crisis decision-making process thus remains crucial, but it hardly ever works under the recognized national leadership. Even though on many occasions, crisis response options were finalized in consultation with the United States.

Indian Factor

Since independence, India remains the primary source of concern for the Pakistani decision-making elite. Finding suitable alternatives to deal with a situation involving India has thus been their major worry. This attitude had its roots in the bitter historical experience of the sub-continent partition. Pakistan has been a major hurdle in the fulfillment of India's regional ambitions. The defense policy of Pakistan is closely tied to that of India striving to maintain conventional military balance. While the decision to follow India and become a declared nuclear power not only represents a sense of insecurity vis-à-vis India, but also an effort to check Indian ambitions of gaining a position of influence in the hierarchy of nations.

Security Issues

In the case of Pakistan, the international strategic environment and security threats assigned the military an important role and with it the instable political system also facilitated the military to become an important factor in decision-making.³⁶ Pakistan had seven Prime Ministers and eight cabinets during 1947-58. However, there was one Pakistani C-in-C of the Army, Muhammad Ayub Khan, who was appointed for a four year term on 17 January, 1959. In June 1958, his tenure was extended for two more years, up to January, 1961.³⁷ Procedural anomalies like these further strengthened the role of military in the power structure of Pakistan. Even the foreign office functioning was permeated by military influence. In many of the vital decisions affecting Pakistan's foreign policy, the involvement of its foreign Ministers and Foreign Office was minimal.³⁸ During Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime, General Zia-ul-Haq, General Nasir Ullah

Babar and General Tikka Khan were the main actors of Pakistan's Afghan policy. Then, under General Zia, the Afghan policy was run by General Fazl-e-Haq and General Akhtar Abdur Rehman, while General Arif and General Ayub were running the issues related to India and United States.

The present defense decision-making process dates back to 1947 and has its roots in pre-independence colonial India. This system was brought about when Lord Kitchener was made Commander-in-Chief and the sole military adviser in 1902.³⁹ This arrangement, with a powerful commander-in-chief of three services, continued after independence. In theory, the control of policy planning and execution lay with the then newly formed Cabinet Committee for Defense (DCC). The extended membership remained ineffective because of the lack of knowledge of military affairs on the part of civilian decision-makers. A new system was introduced through a policy paper in 1973. Provisions were made to make this structure the part of the constitution. Article 243 (1) of the 1973 constitution entrusted the responsibility for national defense to the head of the government and the chairperson of the cabinet committee for defense, who also holds the office of Prime Minister.

Efforts toward the Constitutional Mechanism

As a matter of fact, in 1973, the government of Pakistan finalized a policy paper. Under the provisions of this policy paper, a proper process of defense related decision-making was introduced. This process was later institutionalized with the establishment of the Defense Coordination Committee (DCC) of the Cabinet. This committee was empowered to discuss all defense and security related matters with the Chief Executive. Thereafter, many constitutional structures and processes were modified in 1985, owing mainly to the incorporation of the 8th Amendment to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan.

Analysis of decision making during crisis

A study of bilateral relations shows that tensions between Pakistan and India started to surface right from independence. They developed tensions initially on the issue of Kashmir, in 1948, and later on the refugees' issue.

Minority Issue

The Indian leadership was facing difficulties on the Kashmir issue and under the prevailing circumstances, and they were looking for some way out. The initial stages of the 1950 minority crisis deliberately created a wrong impression of Pakistan's policy on minority settlements. According to Indian media reports and leadership statements, Pakistan would not accept minorities as citizens. This raised tensions between the two countries to a point that a crisis precipitated and Pakistan was blamed. The situation escalated due to a large number of killings, looting, and threatening statements of the Indian leadership. At one stage during the course of this crisis, the Indian Prime Minister was under such intense pressure that he offered to resign from his office to appease the hardliners. The Indian Government was trying its best to convince the world of its innocence and portraying Pakistan as a religious and communal state responsible for the crisis. In fact, the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru had handled the situation in a successful manner, giving an impression to the international community that India was interested in the final settlement of the communal minority's issue, for which he purposely allowed international pressure to build. The intention behind his efforts was to make the international community see Kashmir from the same perspective. A settlement of this issue would permanently deny Pakistan all international support and concomitantly defuse all its efforts to insist on a settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with UN resolutions. Mr. Nehru wanted to use Bengal to achieve an agreement on the minorities issue and later use that agreement as a solution to the Kashmir issue, thereby robbing Pakistan of all international support. Suspicion of each other was an obvious and crucial factor throughout the

crisis. Through the 1950 crisis, non-filtered media information had created a sense of insecurity in the minorities of both states, highlighting the critical role of information during the course of a crisis. Indirect international involvement was also evident from the initial stages of the crisis till eventual de-escalation, having both positive and negative impacts. In the negative sense, the British economic initiative of September 1949 served as an incentive. This can also be interpreted as a British connivance to help promote Nehru's objectives, whereas the American and Western involvement to help de-escalation was certainly a positive step. De-escalation was the goal of both parties however, it could not have defused without international involvement. Although this crisis was diffused successfully, the relations between the two states continued to experience increasing tensions, culminating into the war of 1965. This shows that both the states failed to relinquish their neurotic hostilities for each other. The events of 1971 were the worst experiences endured by Pakistan, during which the decision-makers of Pakistan had failed miserably to manage the situation and save the day for their country. Similarly, the decision of the Indian government to conduct nuclear explosions in 1974 disturbed the delicate balance of power within the region. In spite of all these apparently compulsive developments, some internal and external factors appear to have played an effective role in salvaging the relationship between the two states. The role of the intelligence agencies appears to have gained an increased relevance during the 1980's. Similarly, the presence of Soviet forces in a neighboring state with hostile intensions, the Sikh insurgency in India, and Sindh factor in Pakistan had evoked doubts about each other intensions.

Brasstacks Crisis

Another crisis situation brewed between Pakistan and India during 1986-87, with the information of Indian military build-up in close proximity to the Pakistani border. The emerging volatile situation had all the potential for escalation, especially due to the use of live ammunition in close proximity to the Pakistani border. India had also failed to share

information with Pakistan concerning the nature and scope of its large scale military maneuvers. Pakistani leadership eventually took the step to activate diplomatic channels by involving the American and the British governments with the hope of de-escalating tensions. After intense diplomatic efforts, a deal was negotiated between the leaders of the two countries, achieving the desired objective. Yet again the crisis highlighted the endemic nature of suspicion and hostility in the relationship between the two countries. During the course of the crisis, elements of stress, threat, and misperception were quite visible. Although India had absolutely denied the role and efforts of external forces in de-escalation, the external forces had definitely played a vital role.

In this case, the individual stress model technique was adopted in managing the crisis. At the initial stages of this crisis, Pakistan was at the receiving end. Perception of threat increased in the minds of decision-makers on both states due to a lack of communication between the two DGMO's. Indian Army Chief General Sunderji's role as the key factor behind the plan, during the planning and implementation phases, was surely a contributing factor towards the crisis. However, the entire situation headed towards unintended results, which confirmed that the element of uncertainty plays a decisive role in the escalation of a crisis. In formulating its response, Pakistan was entirely dependent on information that was collected and provided by the intelligence agencies. The situation became more tangible when the troops on both sides mobilized during 22nd and 24th of January, 1987. Some analysts had the view that, at this stage nuclear ambiguity played an active role in managing this crisis. Although some political groups were not prepared to accept the adoption of an analytical approach, the fact remains that frequent meetings were conducted to discuss the situation during the entire crisis. Exchange of threatening statements from both sides had built up stress on the decision-makers of both sides. Many factors like element of surprise, short time period, threat perception, information, and lack of communication, made the task of decision-makers much more difficult for both sides.

Nuclear Issue

The year 1998 was destined to witness another major multi-dimensional crisis between Pakistan and India. Again, the main area of concern was the security threat faced by Pakistan due to the Indian nuclear tests in May of 1998. A high level meeting of Pakistani officials belonging to the DCC (the Cabinet members, scientists, Foreign Office, and the three services chiefs) reached a consensus to level the Indian score. The most remarkable factor behind this decision was the operationalization of the theory of balancing terror. During the course of the crisis, diplomatic assistance had been offered by the American government, but the Pakistani officials ignored the American offer. India was mainly responsible for the Pakistani response because it initiated this action based on the Hostile Interaction Model and the Pakistani decision-makers reacted on basis of the same model after consulting all the related organizations. This crisis confirmed that the two states have usually held certain doubts and misperceptions about each other capabilities and intentions, and these factors have very often influenced perceptions concerning security related threats.

The Kargil Crisis

The Kargil crisis of 1999 is another crisis situation that has been studied for this research. The crisis precipitated when a group of Kashmiri freedom fighters took control of strategic heights in the Kargil-Drass sector on the Line of Control (LoC) on its Indian side. This move was embarrassing for the Indian Army in the sense that it had failed to detect the movement of freedom fighters and Pakistan Army early enough to preventive measures. Moreover, it created serious security problems for the Indian Army by threatening the supply route of their forces deployed beyond Kargil in Indian occupied Kashmir. Initially, the Indian Army failed to dislodge these forces from their positions but finally the international community, led by the Americans, came to their rescue with threats of dire consequences for Pakistan. In terms of crisis decision-making in Pakistan, for this particular case, it is

worth mentioning that the Pakistani decision-making was shrouded in secrecy, and there is concrete evidence to prove that the security related decision-making process was completely inaccessible, while Indian leadership appeared more than willing to share all information with media, world leaders, and other friendly countries. In Pakistan, even today, no one is prepared to take any responsibility for the Kargil episode. This probably is due to the fact that the campaign was a disaster and that it severely damaged Pakistan's national cause on Kashmir, as well as the cause of Kashmiri freedom fighters. On the other hand, in India, a Kargil commission was to determine responsibility for the lapses in Kargil, and hand out punishments for those responsible. Another very important feature of this crisis was the media campaign in favor of India. In this regard, Indian media was amply supported by news channels like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and American channels like the Cable News Network (CNN) and Fox News. In the face of this favorable projection of the Indian case, Pakistan felt a dire need for more channels. In fact, this propaganda campaign by the media helped India to gather vital support essential for securing the withdrawal of forces. To some extent, it is due to this reason that in Pakistan, one can notice a mushroom growth of cable news and talk show channels in the aftermath of the Kargil crisis.

Transformation of the issues in 1950, 1986, 1987, 1998, and 1999 into crises are important aspects of this research. The division of the sub-continent was an effort to solve the identity issue. Further this issue has historical, political, cultural, religious, and international reasons, all of which are well proven. Both governments tried to resolve the issue but widespread killing of minorities in 1950 made the situation even worse. At the same time, threatening statements of Indian leaders and the preparation for intervention in Pakistan by the Indian Army further increased the intensity of the crisis. The crisis of 1986-87 (emanating from Indian border exercises) had a different nature on the basis of two aspects. First, as already mentioned, live ammunition was to be used in these exercises, and secondly, Pakistan was not

taken into confidence about the details of these exercises by the Indian government. These exercises were held in close proximity to the border of Pakistan's Sindh province, which was a matter of deep concern for Pakistan in view of the restive internal conditions of that province. The Indian point of view was that these exercises were just a routine matter, but when Pakistan, in response, ordered its army to be deployed near the Indian border, the matter rapidly escalated into a crisis. In addition, the ambitious plan of the Indian Army Chief General Sunderji had provoked a tense situation within the region. The lack of communication between the political leadership and military officials of the two countries had also substantially contributed in augmenting the tension.

Likewise, in May 1998, India took a political decision to conduct nuclear tests. The situation became tense for Pakistan, owing to the threatening statements by the Indian leadership coupled with the bitter memories of past Indian hostility. It had also disturbed the delicate balance of power in the region, further complicating the security problems of Pakistan.

Pakistan faced a crucial situation during the Kargil crisis of 1999 due to a lack of communication between the top leadership of the two countries. Inconsistencies in the attitude of Pakistani decision-makers remained obvious throughout the course of the crisis. The long conflicting and conventional legacy played a vital role in the socialization process of the leadership of both countries. The longstanding unresolved conflicts further hardened the emotions of leaders and the general public. Leaders of both countries have knowledge about each others' capabilities, the facts and figures regarding national power, role of the leadership, military balance, and the emotions of the masses. The root cause of the whole situation lies in the confusion about the intentions of each other. On the basis of the perception, intentions were misperceived during Brasstacks and Kargil crises.

Information related to problems plays a vital and critical role in crisis escalation. In the discussed crises, the major

sources of information were the intelligence agencies, which were considered reliable sources. In this context, a lack of information and the excess of information were both problematic. The two main factors: absence of mechanism and lack of filtered reliable information; became the chief causes of complication in the process of decision-making.

An assessment

A minute and keen study of all crises produces the following rational findings regarding the emergence, escalation, resolution or non-resolution of a crisis in a due time period.

- The 1950 crisis was triggered off by the British initiative. The 1986-87 crisis was the outcome of Indian initiatives. Similarly, India was responsible for the nuclear crisis of 1998, although it offered a golden opportunity to Pakistan to become a declared nuclear power. The 1999 Kargil crisis was a consequence of tactical action by Pakistan, capturing strategic heights around Kargil. However, it is worth mentioning that India had breached the LoC more than 20 times after 1971, in comparison to Pakistan's 5 violations. The international community remained silent when Indian forces captured Siachen in 1984 and India was allowed to retain its presence there only because it had breached the LoC at a place which remained unmarked after 1971.
- The 1950 minority crisis had all the potential to transform into an all out war. However, both Pakistan and India lacked a willingness to go to war and they exhibited a keenness to resolve the crisis peacefully. The 1986-87 Brasstacks crisis again, had the potential to develop into a war. In this case, General Sunderji's defective planning and General Zia's deft handling of the resources at his disposal averted a war. The 1998 issue also possessed the potential for war, as revealed by the rhetorical statements by the Indian leadership. However, after the nuclear explosions, India was

already under immense international pressure and any military adventure against Pakistan would have labeled India as an aggressor, which would have further complicated the situation for India. After a discouraging response Pakistan took full advantage of Indian limitations and gave time to the international community to take meaningful and punitive actions against India. Pakistan finally decided to go ahead with its nuclear tests. It is worth mentioning here that Indian belligerence after the nuclear tests of May 1998 came to a rather abrupt end after the Pakistani response. In fact, the tone and content of all leadership statements became rather conciliatory. Similarly, the Kargil crisis also had every potential for transforming into a conflict between the two countries. In this case, war was averted due to Pakistan's potential for a nuclear retaliation.

- In all the above mentioned four cases, it is very important to note that each had the potential for transforming into a war but on all the four occasions, the two countries exhibited a keen inclination for peace.
- 1950 created a greater threat for Pakistan than for India. Same was the case in 1986-87, and again in 1998, while the Kargil crisis was presumably less threatening for Pakistan, due to its nuclear retaliation capabilities.
- The 1950 crisis was rather complex, as far as the Indian objectives were concerned. Minority's crisis was brewed to finalize an agreement with Pakistan which was intended to convey a message to the world that India had resolved the minorities issue with Pakistan and with it, the Kashmir dispute. In this connection, the initial British role appears to be of crucial importance for India. During the 1986-87 Brasstacks crisis, India's moves were initially meant to divide Pakistan. They were also intended to teach Pakistan a lesson, after its alleged involvement in the Sikh insurgency in East Punjab. The 1998 nuclear crisis was intended to ensure Indian supremacy in the region. Another Indian objective may also have been to check whether Pakistan

had nuclear capability. Pakistan's objectives in the Kargil crisis of 1999 are a matter of speculation. One motivation may have been to avenge the Indian occupation of Siachen as well as to check any further Indian advances in the area.

Crisis Decision-Making

Here are some concrete factors which cause a crisis situation and influence the process of decision-making.

- Throughout the four crises that have been discussed here, there appeared to be air or suspicion between the two countries.
- Decision-makers were mostly dependent on information which was made available to them by the agencies.
- Lack of concrete and credible information made the element of misperception a key factor during the crises mentioned.
- The elements of stress, threat, and limited time were also present there during the four crises. Yet, Pakistani leadership was able to take appropriate decisions during the crisis of 1950 as well as in 1986-87. In 1998, the decision to carry out nuclear tests was taken without stress, but during the same crisis, the decision to freeze all foreign exchange accounts held by Pakistani banks reflects stress on the decision-makers.
- Indirect international involvement and mediation is very clear during all the case studies. In 1950, British involvement was helping the Indian cause. In 1998, the international community's response to Indian tests was perhaps strong enough to deter Pakistan from carrying out its own nuclear tests. Yet, the response was weak, coupled with a lack of concrete security guarantees for Pakistan against India, ignoring of the Indian initiatives, and scaring Pakistan into submission. Again, during the Kargil crisis of 1999, United States, Britain, and the West came to the rescue of India. Their

threats actually caused the withdrawal of the forces from strategic heights in and around Kargil.

Suggestions

In the light of the above mentioned findings of this research, the following suggestions can prove to be useful (in the case of any) to effectively deal with the eruption of any future crisis:

- There is a critical need to constantly monitor Indian moves, whether important or apparently unimportant. The revival of the in house think tank in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, receiving due consideration for its suggestions, would be extremely useful.
- A proper policy paper should be adopted, such as the one in 1973 which clearly defines the process of decision-making, especially in matters pertaining to security. This can help in determining the responsibility of actors in any future security related decision-making.
- In all dealings, Pakistan should strictly follow the national interest criteria during the decision-making process. This is also significant because, on more than one occasion, during a crisis, the international community has come to the rescue of India, at the cost of Pakistan's national interest.
- Under prevailing circumstances in the International arena, Pakistan should avoid ending up on the wrong side of international law.

Conclusion

The facts and figures presented establish that not only at the time of crisis, but also in routine matters, both states have always nurtured doubts, misperceptions, and reservations about each other intentions. During crises, the role of personalities in both states has shown a tendency towards increased centralization in the decision-making process. Moreover, these personalities have never been willing to

reconsider their decisions. Still, the fact remains that the efforts made by the decision-makers achieved some degree of success in managing the crises. Hostile situations, accompanied by an uncompromising and unyielding stance, may create a crisis between states at different levels. This can assume serious proportions if such situations arise between nuclear armed rivals. In the future, to avoid such situations decision-makers in Pakistan must depend on related institutions in order to enhance coordination and harmony in the system.

Author

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NEGOTIATIONS WITH TTP: AN ANALYSIS OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGY

Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan

Abstract

The art of negotiation has always been an integral part of statesmanship. Only failure of negotiations has led to the use of hard military power against adversary or those non state actors who challenge the writ of the state. Statesmanship demands exploration and exploitation of all possible options for resolving the issues through the use of soft power; dialogue and redressing the grievances, should there be any. This is also significant in the context that even after the use of hard power, issues are finally resolved through dialogue and talks. The rationale of this paper is to analyze how far the dialogue process will be workable in the counter terrorism strategy of Pakistan, especially against the major terrorist group; Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). While dialogue is a desirable process, there has to be an eagerness of the concerned parties before undertaking this exercise. In the absence of such willingness and acceptance of the writ of state from the non state actor (TTP), the Government will have to restore the writ of state by making use of all means at its disposal. Direct military action or use of hard power has its place in the battlefield; however, when fighting an insurgency, as advocated in this article, the employment of unconventional methods in order to defeat an unconventional opponent is inevitable.

Introduction

Negotiating with insurgents is an essential first step to defeat them or to reach a mutual agreement that leads to perpetual peace in society. Success of such negotiations is considered to be the height of statesmanship. These talks are to be convened even as insurgents shoot at the state's soldiers, and in turn, are shot at. But it is to be understood that direct military action or use of hard power action has its place on the

battlefield; however, when fighting an insurgency, which is an unconventional method of warfare or irregular warfare, the employment of unconventional methods is most appropriate. The key unconventional method available with statesmen is negotiations.¹ There might be many critics writing against the soft tactic of negotiating with insurgents but neither can any war be fought for eternity, nor is it as ineffective as is commonly considered. History has demonstrated that firepower has proven to be ineffective to defeat an insurgency in most cases.

Interestingly, a major military power like USA has been looking to negotiate with insurgents in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2006. The negotiations and talks go hand in hand, sometimes going on simultaneously, and not being opted alternatively. The outcomes are very uncertain. Sometimes, the advantages outweigh costs while in other cases, the insurgents consider the offer of talks as weakness on part of the state and try to increase the frequency and intensity of their attacks.

It is difficult to initiate talks with insurgents like TTP as they believe in hitting before talking and is radically opposed to the opinions of others. The government of Pakistan should not hope to defeat TTP outright; the decision to begin talks should be intertwined with the awareness that there would be no immediate outcome. Such an eventuality requires political and bureaucratic patience.

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan has dealt with eleven domestic insurgencies since its emancipation, ranging from ethno-separatist to politico-religious.² The insurgencies have been of varying intensities and in different forms. In all cases, except the Indian backed Bengali separatist insurgency in 1971, Pakistan was able to counter all violent threats to its integrity and writ of state. Albeit it's persistent efforts the dissident voices could not be completely rooted out. Consequently, simmering issues have continued to exist in one form or the other, resurrecting time and again. These continual but successive waves of violence have lately

transformed into waves of extremism and terrorism threatening to destabilize Pakistan domestically and disrupt its political stability and economic growth. The efforts of the state to curb extremist tendencies has resulted in wastage of many valuable years and resources of the state, which otherwise could have been of great help in the economic development and political stability of the country.³

Most eminent among contemporary security challenges to Pakistan is an extended period of domestic disruption that began to take root shortly after the United States and its coalition partners invaded Afghanistan in 2001.⁴ Being a US ally, Pakistan Army entered the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) for the first time in 2003. In its attempt of flush out the foreign terrorists that had entered into its territory from Afghanistan, Pak Army had to physically fight them and their local sympathizers. There remained tactical fights for combating the terrorist outfits by security forces from 2003 to 2008. Nevertheless, from 2009 onwards, Pakistan Army severely reacted with full force against the terrorists infested areas of Swat-Malakand, South Waziristan Agency and other terrorist hit agencies of FATA. Since then, no major military operation has been launched. As a result of these operations, many TTP terrorists fled to Afghanistan and are continuing their terrorist acts in the bordering areas of Pakistan. Due to a host of reasons the most significant development in the past few years has been the dissemination of TTP militants all over Pakistan, instead of being concentrated in FATA. Now they are undertaking their terrorists' activities all over Pakistan, with Karachi being another hub of this banned outfit adding to the fact that there are certain Pashtun belts and outskirts of Karachi where they get poured into society. Government of Pakistan has made many attempts to convince the TTP leadership for initiating peace talks as a mean to end their vandalism in the name of Islam. Unfortunately, the TTP leadership has not reconciled of its undesired activities and in the process thousands of people have lost their lives, besides immense material and financial losses.

Many scholars are against the talks with terrorists for the simple reasons that in this way, their terrorist activities get legitimacy and it would set a wrong precedence for any political gain. Indeed, “Democracies must never give in to violence, and terrorists must never be rewarded for using it.”⁵ On the other hand it was also a difficult decision for the government of Pakistan to negotiate with the terrorist groups against which it has spent years demonizing them for their misdeeds and having tried hard to create popular support for fighting against them. The state of Pakistan also does not want its offer to be viewed as ‘soft’ by its own people and governmental machinery. Talking to the group which has claimed responsibility for the killings of thousands, might not be easily digestible. In addition to this, the TTP may simply use the lull in fighting to rearm and regroup, becoming even more deadly.

An Account of Human Losses by TTP Terrorists

The gravity of ground situation is evident from following table showing year wise human loss in Pakistan at the hands of terrorism. Until January 2014 there have been 50631 casualties⁶ in the terrorist attacks in various parts of Pakistan. A Year wise record of these terrorist attacks and casualties are as follow:⁷

Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2014

	Civilians	Security Force Personnel	Terrorists/ Insurgents	Total
2003	140	24	25	189
2004	435	184	244	863
2005	430	81	137	648
2006	608	325	538	1471
2007	1522	597	1479	3598
2008	2155	654	3906	6715
2009	2324	991	8389	11704
2010	1796	469	5170	7435

2011	2738	765	2800	6303
2012	3007	732	2472	6211
2013	3001	676	1702	5379
2014	58	26	31	115
Total*	18214	5524	26893	50631

As is evident from above mentioned data of human losses, Pakistan is a direct victim of terrorism ever since the start of this campaign in 2001. According to the estimates given to Supreme Court of Pakistan by Ministry of Defence, from 2001 to 2008, the total deaths were 24,000 (both civilian and military). From 2008 onwards, there was addition of another 26,600 killings.⁸ In last five years, “there have been 235 suicide hits, 9,257 rocket attacks and 4,256 bomb explosions, in various parts of Pakistan.⁹ It is worth mentioning that, in last three years, over 200 members of tribal peace committees and Lashkars, including volunteers and chieftains, were killed besides wounding 275 in targeted attacks. As per this confidential report, “1,030 schools and colleges were destroyed by TTP terrorists in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa from 2009 to 2013.”¹⁰ Unfortunately, there have been direct and indirect colluding of Afghan Government, its spying network and spying agencies of some other countries having their presence in that country, which are actively operating in the bordering areas of Chitral, Dir, Swat and tribal regions of Bajur and Mohmand. The leadership of TTP (especially Swat chapter) has its hideouts in the neighboring Afghan districts from where they launch attacks on Pakistan.¹¹ Even the new Chief of TTP, Mullah Fazlullah is hiding in Nuristan, ever since 2010.¹² Besides human losses, the economy of Pakistan has badly suffered during the war on terror. As per rough estimates, the economic losses have reached to over \$100 billion in last twelve years. It is worth mentioning that, Pakistan could receive only \$15 billion in these 12 long years, including \$10 billion in the shape of Coalition Support Fund (CSF).¹³

The Offer for Dialogue and TTP's Response

In the All Parties Conference (APC), held on September 9, 2013, the Government was mandated to conduct negotiations with the TTP for the end of militancy and to give peace a chance. As per the APC resolution, "Peace, tranquility, stability and a tolerant and harmonious society are essential prerequisites for revival of the growth process for rapid socio-economic development. In the APC in September, 2011, it was declared that "Give peace a chance" would be the guiding principle henceforth and that dialogue must be initiated to negotiate peace with our own people in the Tribal Areas. The APCs in February 2013 reiterated that attaining peace through dialogue should be the first priority. The resolutions passed in the joint sittings of Parliament mentioned above contained similar recommendations, emphasizing the imperative need to review our national security strategy, in the context of an independent foreign policy, with focus on peace and reconciliation, and to attach the highest priority to dialogue.¹⁴

All efforts of reconciliation and peace went in vain, when despite the offer for talks by the government of Pakistan, on September 15, 2013; TTP attacked the convoy of Major General Sanaullah, General Officer Commanding Malakand, killing him along with Lieutenant Colonel Touseef and Sepoy Irfan. The attack was launched at Upper Dir area through improvised Explosive Device (IED).¹⁵ One does not take it as very encouraging first response of the talks offer by TTP. Moreover the TTP spokesperson was quick and bold in accepting the responsibility. Besides this, approximately 7500 officers and men have embraced Shahadats among whom General Sanaullah was the 4th general officer of Pak Army, who died in the militant's attack since the start of the campaign against terror.¹⁶ The TTP has been actively involved in irrational killings and blunt vandalism, evident from their attacks on Pakistani forces and civilians over the years. On September 22, 2013, the historic All Saints Church in Peshawar was attacked by terrorists through twin suicide attacks, killing over 90 individuals of Christian community,

who were busy in Sunday Prayers.¹⁷ On October 16, 2013, TTP killed Law Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Mr. Israrullah Gandapur on the eve of Eid-ul-Azha at his residence in a suicide attack.¹⁸ The TTP continued relentlessly to target high profile persons in order to get increased attention and coverage. TTP also killed Choudhary Aslam, SP CID Karachi. He was the most efficient police officer, who met many successes against this terrorist outfit.¹⁹ On January 19, 2014, over two dozen security personnel were killed²⁰ in a TTP attack in Bannu Garrison. A day later, on January 20, 2014, TTP terrorists killed another 16 individuals mostly security personnel in Rawalpindi near a Military hospital.²¹ Besides, there have been many more attacks on civilian and military personnel by TTP, killing hundreds of persons since September 9, 2013.

Analyzing the security situation in Pakistan, over the last one decade, one comes across the fright and terror being injected in social behaviors of people. The general perception that has engulfed the local people in a state of continuous fear in disturbed areas is that terrorists may knock at their doors, not once, but, twice a day and nothing seems safe from the sway of terrorists in Pakistan. The ongoing state of internal instability in Pakistani society, fashioned from the dangerous trends of extremism, social intolerance and radicalism have broken the social and national filament leading the country nowhere, but towards an uncertain and catastrophic future, which would have detrimental effects for international community in general, and the region in particular.

The policy makers and scholars are worried about the gravity of this situation in Pakistan. Scott Stewart of Strat for for instance sees no quick improvement in the situation and is of the view that “terrorism may not be subdued even for another decade”.²² The scholar takes lead from events of the past one decade; where there has been violation of some of the accords and ceasefires mostly by the militants. Whereas owing to a variety of reasons, the state of Pakistan has been accommodative towards these non-state actors, they however, took this gesture of the state as its weakness or inability. In

sum, there has been an increase in the terrorists' attacks in Pakistan since September 2013 dialogue offer by the Government.²³

Many governments in past have used declaration strategy to avoid counter effects of direct negotiation offers. This approach may seem less imposing, where officials grant interviews or otherwise encourage media reports conveying the message. For example, the French government of Charles de Gaulle made several recurrent offers to FLN (Front de Libe'ration Nationale) in Algeria, promising considerable concessions from the start of his return to power in 1958. Using declarations rather than direct negotiations offers governments a political advantage as they can claim they are condemning violence even as they hold out the possibility of talks. The declarations, of course, often are necessarily vague and are difficult to use for delicate discussions of any quid pro quo. Pakistani government should engage with TTP via declaration strategy following footsteps of France in Algeria.

Constraints in the Dialogue Strategy

As viewed by social scientists, extremism is a product of inequality, injustice and a range of discriminations. When all these ingredients get together they induce frustration, create an unconventional and a typical unconstructive mode of thinking. There is a linkage between terrorism and extremism. Terrorism is the ultimate form of extremism. The term extremism denoted extreme rigidity of one's belief and disdain for other religions. Nevertheless, in reality no divine religion really accepts or publicizes extremism as such. The Pakistani Taliban and all other terrorists, who take religious shelter, are indeed negating the basic ideology of Islam, which preaches peace, tolerance and tranquility among its followers. Islam respects the lives of all human beings; Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Indeed, Islam is a religion of humanity and declares that, "...whosoever kills a human being... it shall be as if he had killed all mankind, and he who saves the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind..."²⁴ TTP and other militants taking shelter of Islam are involved in

massive killing of Muslims; while they offer prayers in the mosques and perform other religious practices. Indeed, these terrorists perform all those acts, which are against the basic ideology of Islam. Can they declare themselves as Muslims or their terrorist campaign can be dubbed as Islamic militancy, as portrayed by western scholars? Indeed, religious scholars consider their acts as a defaming campaign or else a conspiracy against Islam and Muslims and their acts are brutal and inhuman.

Logic of killing innocent people and defying the writ of state, based on misguided and malevolent ideologues, the terrorists have to be combated by force. The inhuman activities of killing innocent people and attacking the national assets warrant strong military actions against them. However, except where necessary, military actions and use of the force have been the last option. Efforts have always been made by the state and its security forces to give peace a chance. It therefore seems more plausible to make use of soft power; the peace through negotiations and dialogue as a first step. However, if they endure for the accomplishment of their undesired demands, the state has to make use of hard power, the use of military force to combat them. However, making use of hard military power would not defeat the terrorism. To eliminate terrorism, one has to go into the causes and deconstruct the mindset and ideology that launches them into extremism and terrorism.²⁵ Apart from many external factors behind them, majority of the people being used by hard core terrorists are socially isolated, mainly owing to poverty and unemployment. They are neither conversant nor they respect international human rights or humanitarian laws; therefore, there are no rules of engagement for them.

Dynamics of Terrorism in Pakistan

Countering terrorism is one of the main operational tasks on agenda of Pakistani security apparatus. Though, there has been concentration of the jobless former Pakistani and foreign Mujahedeen (later turned militants) along the Pak-Afghan border, who fought against the former Soviet Union, but, they

never attacked Pakistani installations, its security apparatus or the Government. It was only after 9/11, once Pakistan decided to become part of global campaign against terrorism under U.S and tried to flush them out from Tribal areas of Pakistan, these non-state elements started organized attacks against the security forces of Pakistan. There have been many efforts for establishing peace and stability through dialogue between TTP and Government, but at the end no peace deal could ever succeed.

The most pertinent question that remains to be answered is that why has there been failure in reaching over a long-term peace through dialogue. One leading and most acknowledged viewpoint is that TTP comprises of obstinate elements, whose primary demand is that before sitting across the table for negotiations, Pakistan should stop supporting the U.S led ISAF in Afghanistan. Such a demand was considered unsubstantiated and not workable by the Government. Pakistan joined this coalition against global war on terror under a great compulsion, not at will; therefore, it is difficult to pullout itself from this international obligation, until it reaches to some conclusion. In September 2013, once the Government made an offer to TTP for a dialogue, the militant outfit set three pre-conditions for talks. The first demand was release of their arrested militants from various prisons. Second, pulling out of all security forces from the FATA and third, imposition of Shariah laws in the country. After initially welcoming the offer for talks, the spokesperson of TTP, Shahidullah Shahid, responded to the Government in the following words; “First of all, troops from the entire tribal area should go back to the barracks and then our prisoners should be released. The Pakistan government must take steps that can develop an atmosphere of trust and can remove the doubts and suspicion. We cannot move forward unless the government accepts these two demands.”²⁶None of these pre-conditions are indeed considered feasible by the Government of Pakistan. It sounds as if; this is an indirect way of rejection of peace talks. Surprisingly, this time TTP did not pose the precondition of pulling out of NATO and US troops, a big shift from its traditional stance.

There have been many peace deals between TTP and successive Governments, which means there are reasons other than this common perception too, which slabs the peace process from taking place. In this regard, the major conjecture amongst others has been that the United States, NATO and some of Pakistan's neighbours are the major hurdle in striking a peace deal between the Government of Pakistan and Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan. This perception is supported by a group of scholars, who envisage that, if TTP ends its terrorist attacks against the state of Pakistan and its security forces, then it (TTP) will launch its attack on US and NATO forces alongside the Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan, because both have same brutal and inhuman ideology. The view gets strengthen from the fact that U.S opposed all peace deals, between Pakistani Government and various militant groups (including TTP), right from 2004. According to a report titled, 'U.S warns Pakistan against signing a peace deal with TTP', President Obama has warned Pakistani civil and military authorities against striking a deal with TTP. The report also warned that, any deal with Pakistani Taliban at this stage "could invite the wrath of the US and might result in the suspension of military and economic assistance."²⁷ This harsh warning came amongst the rumours that, Pakistan is striking a secret deal with TTP, which offered dialogues with Government at about the same time. Perhaps, owing to US warnings, the Government of that time did not strike a deal with TTP. Later on, the frustrated TTP leadership also denounced the offer after the killing of one of its senior militant member Wali-ur-Rehman, in a CIA driven drone attack.

It is widely perceived that, Wali-ur-Rehman was in favor of dialogue with the Government and mandated so by this banned outfit to work out the methodology for talks with the Government. However, before the dialogue process could start practically, he got killed through a CIA driven drone attack. As indicative from the track record of US drone attacks, any TTP militant, who desired to broker a deal with the Government or military establishment was killed.²⁸ Killing of Hakimullah Mehsud in a drone attack on November 1, 2013 was such an incident.²⁹ According to Interior Ministry of Pakistan, he was

killed a day prior to the beginning of covert talks between TTP and the Government. By killing him, US sabotaged the likely peace process, which had the mandate of all political and religious parties of Pakistan.³⁰ It is worth mentioning that earlier, Pakistan requested US many a time for targeting Hakimullah Mehsud; the mass killer of the innocent people of Pakistan, its security forces personnel and attacker of the national installations. (Hakimullah Mehsud to personally supervise and kill the hostages, mainly from Pakistani security personnel, as evidenced from many videos). US never entertained the Pakistani request, but killed him once he was getting closer to making a deal with the Government of Pakistan. This is a unanimous view of the Interior Ministry, security forces, the people and independent opinion makers of Pakistan.

Earlier as revealed by 'Time Magazine' of October 30, 2008, all indicators are pointing that, US drones kill only those terrorists who operate against US and NATO forces in Afghanistan. US Indeed is least pushed about those, who operate against people of Pakistan. "The Americans are not interested in our bad guys."³¹ Baitullah Mehsud, the founder of the TTP was killed in a drone attack on August 5, 2009.³² It is widely considered that he was responsible for killing former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, besides being responsible for attacks on many military installations and killing of hundreds of soldiers and civilians. The dominant view is that his rival group; men of Qari Zainullah Mehsud (who was killed on the order of Baitullah Mehsud) gave wrong information to CIA about presence of anti-American Afghan Taliban commander, which prompted CIA to launch missile, thus erroneously killing its own agent.³³ Nevertheless, there is yet another view that, Baitullah Mehsud had outlived his utility for the US and he was killed as per plan. For the same reasons, US had fixed some head money for killing of Baitullah Mehsud. Earlier commander Nek Muhammad was also killed in a US missile attack in June 2004, after he brokered a deal with Pak Army for the ceasefire. He too was considered to be a very important agent of CIA, but retracted later and was killed consequently.

As far as the history of Pakistan's fighting against terrorism is concerned, the militants of TTP have proved deadly for the state of Pakistan, its masses, and armed forces. They have not fought against NATO and US forces in Afghanistan. Inside Pakistan, they have reached over and targeted the military installations of all three services. As evident, Pakistani security forces are combating terrorism of TTP and its allies as a continuous process since last one decade. TTP is a non-state actor, fighting against the well-trained and well-equipped Pakistan Army. Whereas, the Army and other security forces are facing budgetary constraints, there is no dearth of finances and sophisticated weaponry to the militants of TTP. The question arises, after all, who supports them with un-interrupted finances and most sophisticated weaponry. One logical conclusion is that anti-Pakistan forces are supporting the would like them to fight against the state of Pakistan while distracting them for the ongoing situation in Afghanistan, thereby destabilizing a nuclear Pakistan, and hence making a strong case, about the safety and security of its nuclear arsenals. Besides, as noted in the last few years, even Afghan militants have been goaded to launch regular and irregular attacks along the Pak-Afghan border, a matter of great concern for Pakistan.

Counter Terrorism Strategy: International Models

This is a reality that, today; Pakistan faces more threats from terrorism (internal threats) than the external military aggression. In order to deal with this threat, there are two broad international models. The first is the elimination of the terrorist group(s) to the last man, the way Sri Lankan Government forces fought against the LTTE; backed by regional and global actors. This protracted insurgency of the LTTE lasted for almost three decades (1980s-2009), killing thousands of innocent people. Besides, there have been social, political and economic impacts of this terrorism of LTTE.³⁴ The insurgency could only be controlled after the killing of Mr Prabhakaran, the founding father and leader of LTTE.³⁵ Today, there is peace in Sri Lanka with no possibility of resurgence of LTTE terrorism. Pakistan Army and

Government has supported this South Asian island country, whereas, the terrorist group LTTE was fully supported by a powerful neighbor of Sri Lanka. There is yet another model; the dialogue process, the peaceful way of settling the disputes. In history, many insurgencies have been resolved through the dialogue among the opposing parties. The most recent example is the political and negotiated settlement of the Northern Ireland in 1998. It was a complicated issue which remained unresolved for many years. IRA fought a protracted war against UK. The British Government had announced huge bounties on the heads of IRA members. During the dialogue, some members were negotiating with the British Government and Her Majesty for the resolution of Northern Ireland. Now, there is peace and prosperity in Northern Ireland.

Besides, there are many more successful models of countering the terrorism and insurgencies in various parts of the world, having their applicability for Pakistan. Some of these include; the Philippines (1899-1902), El Salvador (1980-1992), Malaysia (1948-1960) and Guatemala (1963-1993). All these models offer insight as to the overall success. The conflicts in Vietnam (1959-1972) and Algeria (1954-1962) offer great examples of military operational successes that were ultimately thwarted by a disconnected overall strategy. Additionally, the operations in Columbia (1963-present) offer current, real-time counterinsurgency measures that are having significant positive effects.

In the analysis one finds that, LTTE was representing an ethnic group, the Tamils having Indian origin, who wanted their separate identity viz-a-vis the majority Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. In the case of IRA, it was fighting for the right of Northern Ireland, having the popular support of the people. In the case of TTP, the group neither represents any ethnic majority, nor define any religious entity. They have no roots among the local populace. Rather, the people abhor them even in their areas of forced influence. It is on account of the fear resulting from their criminal and ruthless acts that has subdued the local population. Sometimes they lure the youth and unemployed people through huge finances. However, in

most of the cases, people side with this terrorist group owing to threats, they physically pose in their areas of influence. Thus, it is comparatively easier to root out TTP as compared to LTTE and IRA.

Every terrorism and counter terrorism has its own dynamics. While no counter-terrorism situation is the same and there is no prescribed template for success, it is beneficial to look at successful measures from past counterinsurgency operations and determine their applicability to Pakistan's current situation. Indeed, through a compilation of the lessons learnt, their analysis and applicability as a starting point we can reach over to four conclusions:-

- **One;** for a successful counter-terrorism strategy, the utmost importance has to be given to the security of the civilian populace and cultivation of a positive relationship with the local populace. Providing security and establishing trust with the local populace enables the Government to operate against terrorists with a comparative peace.
- **Two;** successful counter-terrorism strategy should take measures to deny the operating space to insurgents. This includes logistics lines as well as territory to operate from.
- **Three;** successful counter-terrorism strategy simultaneously embarks on socio-political development to take advantage of security gains. Projects like infrastructure, civic facilities, health and education significantly improve the populations association with state identity.
- **Four;** the most important and long term successful counter-terrorism measure is to develop a "whole of government" integrated strategy to establish strategic stability through addressing root causes/grievances of the insurgency.

A Perceived Counter Terrorism Strategy in Pakistan

There have been many failed attempts made by the successive governments to formulate a consensus counter-terrorism strategy for combating the ongoing wave of terrorism from Pakistan. The Government of PML (N) is also trying to formulate a consensus document on the counter-terrorism strategy at national level. This strategy would aim at overcoming the menaces of extremism, militancy and terrorism in their entirety. In the absence of any such a strategy, there remained ambiguity, as what to do. Would the military operation provide the final solution or the negotiation and dialogue is the alternative way forward. In case of military operations, the security forces would clear an area from the terrorists, but, what about its sustainability; the ultimate holding by the political and civil administration. The examples are there in the cases of Swat-Malakand and SWA, where Military cleared the area from terrorists, but, civil administration has not been able to hold it till-date.

Previously the Government of Pakistan has also tried its policy of “3 Ds”; the robust deterrence, investment in development, and pursuit of dialogue.³⁶ Unfortunately, the results of this strategy have not been very positive. Although, there is a delay in the finalization of a comprehensive counter terrorism strategy, yet, the Government is considering a new strategy to tackle the menace of terrorism. This new strategy is being named as the 4Ts strategy. 4Ts strategy envisages; “tracing of the elements, trailing coordination among the intelligence agencies, tackling the extremists or terrorists by taking action and seeking conviction as well as transforming of roles of religious scholars, mosques and seminaries in line with true teachings of Islam.”³⁷ Resurgence of terrorist acts after a brief pause is a matter of great concern for the Government. The salience of the strategy is that, a ‘National Counter Terrorism Force (NCTF)’ would be established. While being under the Premier, it will have intelligence and law enforcement powers. These forces will, “collect information and strike at the roots of terrorism and extremism. It will be supported by police force, which would otherwise continue its

routine law and order duties. Besides, under this new strategy, establishment of a 'National Counter Insurgency Force (NCIF)' is also envisaged."³⁸ This will release and replace the armed forces, currently deployed in the insurgency hit areas.' There is a growing realization among the Government, military establishment, civil society of Pakistan and even analysts that the real security threats to the state of Pakistan is from these domestic extremists and terrorists, operating within the state, rather the external military aggression. "While the external threat to Pakistan continues to exist, it is the internal threat that merits immediate attention."³⁹

A Contemporary Debate: Whether to Negotiate with TTP

*According to Ban Ki-moon, the UN Secretary General, the UN counter-terrorism strategy "recognizes that terrorism cannot be combated only through security-related or law enforcement means. Effective counter-terrorism requires a combination of social, educational, economic and political tools that target those factors that make the terrorist option appear attractive."*⁴⁰ However, with the kind of response, TTP has demonstrated, there started a debate among the civil society, the Government, military establishment and academia in Pakistan, whether to go for a dialogue with TTP or to counter them through the use of force. A vast majority of Pakistani masses are of the view that since TTP has killed thousands of innocent people of Pakistan and personnel of security forces, attacked and destroyed national installations, and despite Government's offer for dialogue, it is continuing its terrorist activities, therefore, it deserves no mercy. Dialogue with the TTP remains nonproductive or even none as the group challenges the writ of the state. This is surprising that in previous three agreements (2004, 2005 and 2008), the state gave some sort of recognition to the presence of TTP and undergone a brief dialogue process. On its part, TTP continues challenging the state, except for the duration once it needs to reorganize and reinforce itself. Indeed, TTP used these deals for its regrouping and subsequently launching fresh attacks on armed forces with new strategy. Swat is one such example,

where Sufi Muhammad and Mullah Fazullah, despite understanding with the Government, challenged the writ of the State and constitution of Pakistan in 2008.

The view of this majority group of Pakistani masses is that, security forces should launch an all-out military operation to curb the militancy of TTP. In this regard, the civil society of Pakistan should stand behind the security forces as previously witnessed in Swat-Malakand. This school of thought argues that, besides killing everyone, who is against their ideology, TTP not accept even the constitution and system of Government placed in the country. In fact, their fight is against the basic structure of the State, its constitution, institutions, parliament, judicial system and the armed forces. Then, the Shariah they want to impose on Pakistan is contrary to the Holy Quran and Sunnah. This school of thought questions how the state and its institutions can negotiate with such a hardened and unpredictable group whose terrorists play football with human skulls. Before dialogue, TTP should unconditionally accept the writ of state and disarm its militants. Politically, Pakistan People's Party, Awami National Party, some politico-religious groups and other liberal and secular parties support this view along with a majority of the Pakistani civil society.

The other school of thought considers that, despite all ills and worst record of promoting extremism and terrorism, there should be negotiations and dialogue with TTP for the restoration of peace and stability in the country. The PML (N) Government, most of politico-religious parties and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf are in favour of dialogue with TTP. This segment of the ruling group feels that, after all issues are finally settled through talk and negotiations, thus, without further delay, there should be negotiations with TTP. Therefore, despite continuing terrorists' activities of TTP, Government is offering peace talks and dialogue with TTP. This school of thought perhaps has conceived that the issues of grave concern like recognition of state's constitution, and its functionaries and writ of the state by TTP would be resolved during the talks. The central logic of this school of thought is

that if United States “can facilitate the opening of an Afghan Taliban office in Doha and initiate a dialogue with them why couldn’t Pakistan do the same in case of the TTP.” Although, there are no parallels between the two situations, but the pro-dialogue group feels that a decade of fighting with TTP bore no results, therefore, what is the guarantee that, we can overcome the TTP terrorism through the use of force? They feel that through dialogue, TTP can be convinced to reconcile to their brand of Islam and the writ of state as well as the constitution of Pakistan.

Indeed, this divide and further complicated role of religious parties has created a division among the conservative Pakistani society on the issue whether to opt for a dialogue with TTP or otherwise. Seeing the track record of TTP as debated above, one tends to agree with the anti-negotiations group, allowing armed forces to go all out to eliminate them everywhere and anywhere. But, the other aspects like, whether Pakistan has sufficient troops to take on the TTP and other terrorists, everywhere in the country remain pertinent. TTP and its splinter groups are now spread all over Pakistan, instead of remaining localized to in FATA only.

On the broad contours of dealing with the TTP and terrorism in Pakistan, there has been a lack of consensus among the political parties. The politico-religious parties have their traditional leaning towards these betrayed elements, perpetrating the menace of terrorism. There has been no open condemnation by even some of the moderate political forces in power. According to Abbas Nasir, “the government took its time to react to the attack and did so in strange, ambiguous terms as it stopped short of outright condemnation of the TTP and stuck to its talk stance. Issuing the statement was the easy part.”⁴¹ At times it appears after terrorists acts of TTP that “all parties to the ‘consensus’ APC resolution seemed to be running around like headless chickens.”⁴² After a number of terrorists acts in 2014, the TTP spokesperson, Shahidullah Shahid, vowed to continue the terrorist activities against the state of Pakistan and its security forces, whereas Government decided to give peace yet another chance.⁴³ In fact, “(TTP) is

still at war with government troops because the announced peace talks had yet to start and they are duty bound not only to retaliate the attacks, but also target the troops wherever they find an opportunity for it.”⁴⁴

Despite soft corner of the Government over the enhanced terrorist activities, and some of its provocative statement, Pak Army’s response was bold and quick. Former Army Chief, General Kayani while responding to the statement said that, despite our desire to give peace a chance, “no one should have any misgivings that we would let terrorists coerce us into accepting their terms. The army has the ability and the will to take the fight to the terrorists.”⁴⁵ Surely, Army has to fight the menace, “in accordance with the will of the nation and at any cost.”⁴⁶ The new Army chief, General Raheel Sharif expressed similar sentiments after TTP attacked troops in North Waziristan Agency in December 2013. However, despite the tragic incidents of killing soldiers and even a general, Pak Army “would continue to play its role in rebuilding the area and assisting civil administration in maintenance of law and order.”⁴⁷

The Suggested Strategy- As a Way Forward

With the kind of negative response, the TTP has demonstrated so far, the future of the dialogue seems in treading-water. Since the convening of APC in September 2013, that concluded in a serious Governmental offer for the talks, TTP has launched over sixty large and small attacks on high value targets, security forces, civil population, mosques, churches, religious and public gatherings. These attacks have killed over 600 people including some key national figures; politicians, senior military officers and police officials. Through particularly targeting these people and attacking Churches and killing two dozen FC personnel right in Bannu Garrison and Rawalpindi, TTP demonstrated that it has the capacity and will to engage anyone it desires. This implies that it has a strong position with best information system, most modern detective means, motivated manpower and sophisticated weapon system to engage anyone, irrespective of

the protective measures. In addition to this, TTP leadership; both current and previous, have always publically rejected the peace talks. The ruling party along with some other political and politico-religious parties is still making repeated offers to TTP for the initiations of the talks. The masses are indeed fed up from terrorist acts of TTP and dubious Government policy about their safety and security. People of Pakistan desire that Government should adopt an unambiguous policy and take stern action against this terrorist outfits, that have threatened their lives.

Nevertheless, despite rejection of talk's offer and repeated TTP attacks and killings of innocent people, the Government has been found wanting in taking a clear position and devising a comprehensive counter terrorism strategy. It still considers dialogue as an option to move forward. By compulsion, the military has to back the decisions of the political Government; otherwise it is losing its men and material on daily basis, which may have the adverse affect on the morale of troops, combating the militants. There is also no consensus among the political and religious parties; some of which have become engaged in a frenzy for talks with TTP. Besides, there exists ambiguity regarding the modus operandi; how to go about the talks; who will talk on behalf of the Government and talks with whom among the TTP camp. Some groups in the TTP may like to negotiate, whereas others may not. Then, there is no methodology finalized as how to deal with the hardliners and their irrational demands. The mystery remains as how to contemplate with the external forces behind the TTP. Would they allow their years of investment to go waste so easily?

Negotiations and dialogue for the restoration of peace and stability is a positive step. After all, wars and conflicts have not solved issues. Even after wars, issues are finally resolved through talks. However, for a negotiation to start with, the parties involved have to show their willingness and positivity, rather than defying the offer and intensifying ruthless and anti-state acts. The constant stance of the TTP has been that, it is not ready to talks unless its demands are met. Then, TTP is a non-state actor, hence, should not be given an allowance

to talk with Government from the position of strength, as it has constantly demonstrated, following the offer of Government for talks. It should be the prerogative of the Government to be at the dominating position, while negotiating with TTP. As its track record reveals, TTP has been erratic, sly and exploited the situation for its best advantage. In the philosophy of TTP, the Government's offer for talks means a weakness, thus it enhanced its militancy. Therefore, the best way forward would be to talk only with those who want to talk, ready to disarm themselves and accept writ of the state. Such elements should be segregated and absorbed in the society through various socio-economic incentives after successful process of negotiations. However, the detractors and hardliners, who have still not reconciled have to be dealt through the use of force.

Socio-economically, it would be in the interest of the state to create awareness among the masses; especially in the affected areas the civil society should be mobilized against the activities of this network for its alienation. At the same time, efforts should be made to lure in and subsequently provide the employment opportunities to the betrayed youth, who have joined either the TTP ranks or are ready to become its part under various compulsions. However, the door for the dialogue should remain open, if at any time TTP decides to accept the writ of state and readiness to disarm itself. After all, "there comes a point in any serious peace process when the enemies have to become partners; you have a common aim and you have to decide how to get there. That is what happened with the IRA and the British government. The British government had to do things that it would not naturally do, but which helped the IRA to persuade its radical wing that it was worth negotiating. There were people on the radical republican wing who were outside of the peace process and the IRA then became the group who knew who those people were."⁴⁸

Apart from this, it is more important to invest in social and economic development in the areas that have been hit by terrorism and from where most of the recruits come from.

There is a need to work in the areas affected by terrorism to steer them back to economic development. Therefore, Pakistan should use all political, economic and social levers to combat the menace of terrorism. This is only possible once there is a comprehensive governmental strategy and developmental plan for the affected areas. Otherwise, according to unanimously adopted, United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, the “terrorism cannot be combated only through security related or law enforcement means. Effective counter-terrorism requires a combination of social, educational, economic and political tools that target those factors that make the terrorist option appear attractive.”⁴⁹ In order for good faith negotiation efforts to influence the local populace and insurgent, Migdal’s “Strongman”⁵⁰ concept must be employed with a connector between the state and insurgents.

The state should not conduct the negotiation efforts without taking the public into confidence and should utilize information technology to publicize the negotiation efforts. By efforts of the state going overt, the covert manner of insurgents is threatened.

The state and people of Pakistan should keep in mind that success of such negotiations with militant insurgencies is an uncertain and time-consuming process; we have examples of LTTE and El Salvador. In later case there were two phases of negotiations and it took twelve years for the insurgents and government to reach some agreement.

Even if Pakistani government reaches some agreement, owing to the irregular nature of warfare between TTP and state of Pakistan, success is relative opposed to absolute. Therefore, the give and take of the “zero-sum” game does not effectively measure success in such cases. As mentioned earlier it should not be taken as making TTP surrender or defeating them. Instead it is about channelizing them in socio-economic mainstream and transforming them into a non violent, moderate political group who is integrated into nation. The personnel at the executive level of the state or

at the “high level command” of TTP must be convinced in a step by step, interactive manner in order for compliance.

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THE FUTURE OF OIL & NATURAL GAS POLITICS IN CENTRAL ASIA: A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Muhammad Umar Abbasi

Abstract

In spite of the emergent need of utilizing renewable resources, the fossil fuels, particularly oil and natural gas are likely to remain dominant sources of energy in the near future. Although the energy rich countries of Middle East would remain major producers of oil and gas, still, the Central Asian region, due to its close proximity with energy deficient states, will play a significant role in the global energy politics. The existing tug of war suggests that Russia and China, being regional influential states and having geographic connection with the Central Asian region, are influencing the geopolitics in their favour. The geopolitical rivalry between the West and the East in the form of pipeline politics, use of state owned energy entities and alliance making suggest a volatile future of the region. It is projected that for diverting untapped fossil fuels, the nearby waterways of Central Asian region would be militarized, threatening the security of littoral states. The prospects of democratization of the region are thin as the powerful states support autocratic regimes for their energy related interests.

Introduction

The 20th century is known for the politics of nuclear weapons and information technology. Technological advancement was both a cause and caused by discovery of new energy resources like oil and gas. These energy resources got unprecedented significance for driving the economies of industrialized world, since then the political economy of energy resources has transformed destinies of many states.

The discovery of oil under the surface lands of the Arab world changed its deserts into the most developed global cities where the rich of the world enjoy their leisure time. The

possession of fossil fuels has made Middle East the most significant region of the world. The West led by the USA spent almost half a century in devising strategies for ensuring smooth supply of energy fuels. They have been supporting and aiding their proxy authoritarian regimes of the region to manipulate the state of affairs in their favor. All this was done for the sake of oil.

In 1973, it was the same power of oil that led the Arab world flex its muscles in the form of oil embargo. Although the western powers managed to control the situation by assurance of an unhampered supply of oil at reasonable rates, still, they were concerned over the strategic leverage the Arab countries could enjoy over them. The reason for their anxiety was the bitter fact that the fuel running their economies was not under their feet. They were dependent on external sources of energy. Importance of fossil fuels is evident from the robust economies of the exhausted players of World War-II. It was the use of oil that revitalized their dead economies.

In the present age of information technology, due to the awareness of environmental hazards connected with the burning of fossil fuels and also because of the advancement of technology for the exploitation of renewable energy resources, the world is finding ways to end dependence on oil and gas. But the leaders of developed and newly industrialized nations find it difficult to convince the industrialists and owners of companies, related to energy business of the utility of alternative sources. Thinking in terms of real politick, the industrial lobby manipulates the policies of their governments in favor of utilizing fossil fuels. The easy availability and comparatively low cost make fossil fuels a lucrative attraction for industries.¹ Two decades of efforts made by environmentalists favoring use of renewable energy have brought no significant reduction in the use of oil and gas. Their consumption and production are still on the rise. Fossil fuels provide 90 percent² of total energy to the industrialized world and 75 percent³ of energy to the whole world.

The projections about energy politics also suggest that

fossil fuels will continue to play a significant role in global political economy. According to the recent projections, fossil fuels would fulfill about 80 percent of the primary world energy requirement in 2030.⁴ Marked dissonance in the priorities related to energy policies between the leaders of developed and developing countries and current incapability of renewable resources to meet the total energy needs of the world are indicative of the fact that oil and gas will remain the focus of energy politics for many decades. As the energy scenario predicts, renewable resources are expected to meet the global energy needs by the end of current century.⁵

Analyzing on the basis of available projections, it can be easily inferred that the current century will still be characterized by competition for the access of fossil fuels. Until now the region of Middle East has been dominating at the stage of petro-politics with easy to access, cheap and sweet oil. But the constant volatility of the region, now coupled with unprecedented public uprising against regional autocratic regimes is pushing the energy consumer states towards exploring new avenues of oil and gas with stable supply.

The crux of this research article is to explore the future destinations of oil and gas consumptions along with discovering those regions where stable and lasting production could ensure their supply. An analytical study is conducted for both oil and gas, locating their reserves strength, production and consumption trends in different global regions.

The method of this research piece takes an empirical form due to the fact that the future predictions, regarding the use and production of oil and natural gas of different countries, have been made by observing their production and consumption trends of the last five years of the previous decade (2005-2009). On the basis of these trends, projections regarding the consumption and production for the next two decades (2010-30) have been calculated. The data taken in numerical form has been compiled in tables and figures and on the basis of these values analysis has been conducted.

Oil Reserves

According to the estimates of Oil and Gas Journal, proven global oil reserves were 1342.2 billion barrels (as per January 2009). However, in the statistical review of world energy reserves, conducted by British Petroleum (BP)⁶, 1668.9 bbl of proved world oil reserves have been recorded. The projections of table 2.1 indicate that if the current pattern of production keeps its pace then global oil reserves are expected to last for about 52.9 years. The leading country in possession of oil is Venezuela with a capacity of 297.6 bbl (see table 2.1) and is followed by Saudi Arabia and Iran with 265.9 bbl and 157 bbl respectively.⁷

Middle East is the most blessed region with oil wealth, having a share of about 55.57 percent⁸ of the total reserves. Six of its countries are among top twenty oil possessors of the world. (See table 2.1) According to the reserves-production ratio, oil of Iraq and Kuwait is expected to last for more than 100 years.⁹ According to the estimates given in figure 2.1, next to Middle East is the North American region with a share of 15.63 percent and its leading oil rich country is Canada (See table 2.1). The third oil rich region is South & Central America having a share of 9.14 percent (See figure 2.1). But this significant position is just due to the presence of huge oil reserves of Venezuela (See table 2.1). All other countries of this region have no significant reserves of oil.

Table 2.1: Leading Countries in Possession of Oil Reserves

Countries	Oil & Gas Journal 2009	BP Statistical Review 2013	% of total	Lasting Capacity
Venezuela	99.37	297.6	17.8	100+
Saudi Arabia	266.71 bbl	265.9	15.9	63 yrs
Canada	178.09	173.9	10.4	100+

Iran	136.15	157	9.4	100+
Iraq	115.00	150	9.0	100+
Kuwait	104.00	101.5	6.18	88.7
UAE	97.80	97.8	5.9	79.1
Russia	60.00	87.2	5.2	22.4
Libya	43.66	48.0	2.9	86.9
Nigeria	37.22	37.2	2.2	42.1
USA	21.31	35	2.1	10.7
Kazakhstan	30.00	30.0	1.8	47.4
Qatar	26.8	23.9	1.4	33.2
China	16.00	17.3	1.0	11.4
Brazil	12.62	15.3	0.9	19.5
Angola	9.04	12.7	0.8	19.4
Algeria	12.20	12.2	0.7	20
Mexico	10.50	11.4	0.7	10.7
Norway	6.68	7.5	0.4	10.7
Azerbaijan	7.0	7.0	0.4	21.9
World	1668.1	1668.9	100	52.9

Sources:1) BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013
(www.bp.com)

2) Table of World Energy Reserves, posted by Energy Information Administration

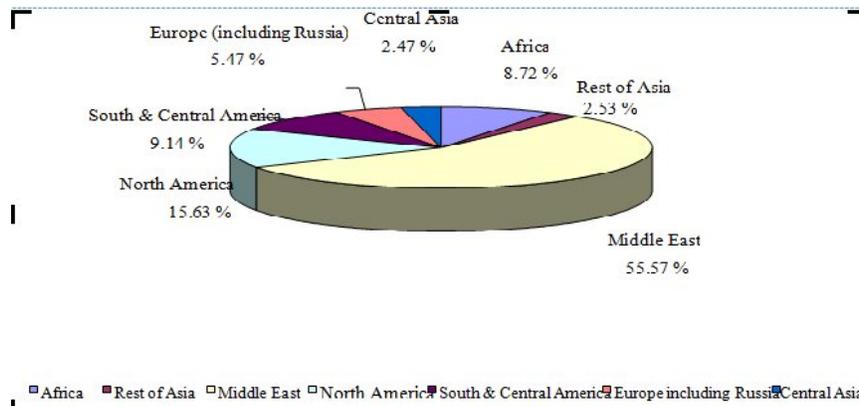


Figure 2.1: Region wise Oil Reserves

Source: Data collected from Table of World Energy Reserves, Posted by Energy Information Administration.
(<http://38.96.246.204/international/reserves.html>)

According to table 2.1, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan¹⁰ from Central Asia and Libya and Algeria from Africa have also got significant oil reserves and they are ranked in the top twenty global oil possessors. However, the developed countries of Europe and newly industrialized countries of Asia lag far behind in the possession of oil reserves, though oil remains major fuel for their economies. In the list of top 20 oil rich states only one country each from Europe and Asia is represented i.e. Norway and China respectively (See Table 2.1).

Table 2.2 Leading Global Oil Producers

Producers	Mt	% of world
Saudi Arabia	517	12.9
Russian Federation	510	12.7
United States	346	8.6
Islamic Rep. of Iran	215	5.4
People's Rep. of China	203	5.1
Canada	169	4.2
Venezuela	148	3.7
United Arab Emirates	149	3.7
Mexico	144	3.6
Nigeria	139	3.5
Rest of the world	1471	36.6
Total	4011	100.0

Source: World Key Energy Statistics, 2013, International Energy Agency
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Production

According to the estimates of International Energy Agency (IEA), Saudi Arabia, Russia and USA with respective shares of 12.9 percent, 12.7 percent, and 8.6 percent of the total production are the leading global oil producers.¹¹ The leading oil producing countries produce more than 60 percent of the

global oil (See Table 2.2). Among top 10 oil producing countries, three represent Middle East, and three belong to North American region while China is the only Asian country making its place in this exclusive group.

Due to the advantage of her huge reserves, Saudi Arabia can produce and make use of its oil for long time. According to the estimates given in Table 2.1, Saudi reserves would last for more than 60 years. After cold war, Russia's economic growth and development was largely dependent upon the sale of oil, therefore, she has remained the greatest producer of global oil. But on the basis of her reserves to production ratio, Russia's oil would end in 22 years.¹² Greater production in the absence of significant reserves will deplete Russian oil wealth quickly.

In comparison to their reserves, the production ratio of USA and China is far greater. Greater production in the absence of sufficient oil reserves makes their lasting capacity to just 11 and 9 years respectively (See Table 2.1). But both are dependent on oil for running their huge industrial and transport sector, which has been the back bone of their unprecedented economic development, especially of China. China is expected to become greater user of oil than USA in 2030.¹³

Even the significant 8.6 percent of the total global oil production for USA¹⁴ and 5.1 percent for China¹⁵ do not make them self sufficient in oil as both are largely dependent on its import to meet their domestic needs.

Production Trends

In figure 2.2 production trends of leading oil producing countries during the period (2005-9) show that Russian oil production is constantly increasing mainly because of its strong dependence on oil exports. Saudi oil production has shown consistent decline whereas the production graph of USA and Iran has increased. Considering the production of those countries, which have shown an increase in their level of

production, it is observed that the reserves of Russia, USA, China, Canada, Brazil, Angola, and Azerbaijan would end in almost 20 years (See Table 2.1).

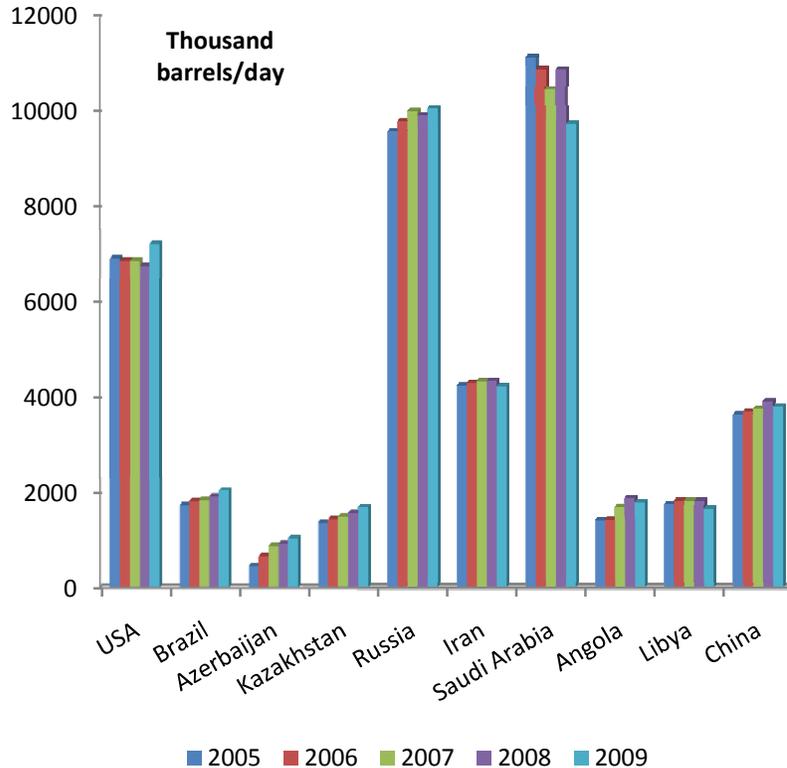


Figure 2.2: Countries Showing Increase in Production (2005-9)

Source: BP statistical review of world energy June, 2011.

In order to compensate the loss of global oil production the world would then depend more on those countries who have greater reserves lasting capacity. According to projected estimates the pressure on greater reserve lasting countries will start to mount by 2020 when USA, China, Mexico and Norway would run out of oil (See Table 2.1). It suggests that after a decade, probably in 2020, this quantity of oil would have to be produced by other countries. By 2030, the production capacity

of the greatest oil producer Russia along with that of Brazil, Angola, Algeria, and Azerbaijan would also end. From year 2030, the period would be very critical as the present rich producers of oil will be empty of oil reserves. So after this period, the centers of oil production would be those countries that have oil lasting capacity of more than 50 years.

In this respect five countries of the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and UAE,) one each from Africa (Libya), Central Asia (Kazakhstan), North America (Canada) and South America (Venezuela) will be the leading oil producers, attracting oil hungry economies. Middle East will remain hub of production with countries having greater lasting reserves capacity. However, other countries belonging to global South like Libya, and Kazakhstan will also gain tremendous importance in the future politics of global oil.

The statistics clearly indicate a shift in the center of gravity of world oil production. This fact has been further elaborated by M.T. Klare while comparing the oil production levels of the global North and the global South countries. He analyzed the oil output data of the leading countries of both regions and then concluded his findings in these words,

In 1990, producers in the global North jointly accounted for 39 % of total world oil output, by 2030, there combined share is expected to drop to 24 percent. Meanwhile, the energy department projects a significant increase in the share supply provided by key producing areas of the global South, notably Africa, the Caspian Sea basin, and the Persian Gulf. Together, the proportion of total world output accounted for by these three areas is expected to jump from 44 percent in 2004 to 57 percent in 2030.¹⁶

The analysis of future trend of oil politics is incomplete unless the consumption patterns are evaluated. Petro-politics is not only a matter of production; it is a business of consumption too. Only by including consumption pattern and

its analysis, one can locate the centre of oil politics in future.

Consumption

According to BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2013, in the year 2013, per day oil consumption was about 84077 thousand barrels¹⁷. The consumption trend reveals the fact that emerging economies of Asia are emerging as great oil consumers (See figure 2.3). The striking feature is that the largest oil producing nations have a very thin consumption level. Only Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Russia are among the major oil consuming nations.¹⁸ From this contrasting observation, it can be deduced that leading producers of oil are not its great consumers.

Economically, this trend can be explained by the fact that oil is consumed in those countries that have an extensive industrial sector like the countries of the West and Asia Pacific. The oil of Middle East has been fuelling the strong industrialized economies of the West. Similarly in Asia Pacific, the gradual development of newly industrialized economies testifies the enormous use of oil in their development. The region of Asia Pacific has become the largest user of oil with a share of 31.1 percent of the total global consumption.¹⁹

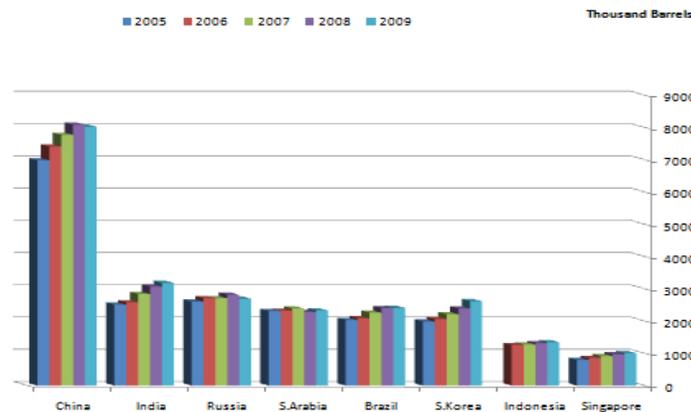


Figure 2.3: Countries Showing Increase in Consumption (2005-9)

Source: Data collected from BP statistical review of world energy June, 2011.

Consumption Trends

Figure 2.3 shows trends of leading oil consumer countries during 2005 to 2009. The values show that five countries of Asia namely China, India, Indonesia, South Korea and Singapore have registered significant increase in oil consumption. All these countries are in the transitional phase of development. To compensate for exploding population and booming economies, their dependence on oil is increasing. According to a finding,

The developing nations of Asia (including China, India, South Korea, Taiwan, and the Southeast Asian countries) started out in 2004 with a combined consumption of 14.8 mb/d, or 30 percent as much as is consumed by the mature industrialized nations, but because they are projected to experience a combined annual growth rate of 2.7 percent, their consumption is projected to jump to 29.8 mb/d by 2030, for a net gain of 15 mb/d.²⁰

On the other hand, countries of North America and European Union have gradually curtailed oil consumption (See figure 2.4). These are technologically strong but lasting capacity of oil in their lands is low. To maximize the life of oil reserves these countries are diversifying their energy resources. According to an estimate,

As a group, the mature industrialized nations are expected to experience a relatively modest rate of increase in net petroleum usage, estimated 0.6 percent per year between 2004 and 2030. However, because their consumption in 2004 was already quite substantial, even this moderate rate of increase will boost their combined consumption by 8 mb/d over this period, from 49.1 to a projected 57.1 mb/d.²¹

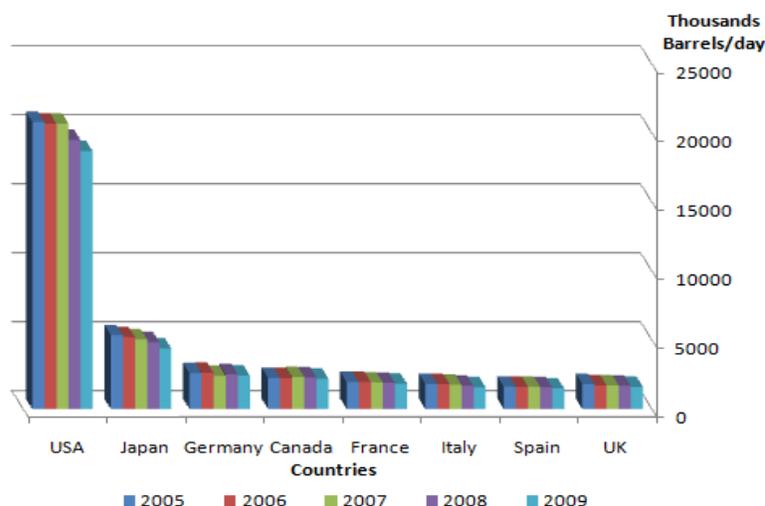


Figure 2.4: Countries Showing Decrease in Consumption (2005-9)

Source: Data collected from BP statistical review of world energy June, 2010.

Still the margin of this declining trend is not phenomenal to bring about complete independence from oil. Their industrial and transport sector will continue to use oil for many years because the prospects for full utilization of renewable energy resources are still far away.

Assessment

The analysis of existing oil reserves, their lasting capacity, production patterns and consumption trends of the leading countries of different global regions gives a few worth considering observations. Firstly, as already mentioned, the leading oil producers are not its great consumers. For instance the countries of Middle East have huge reserves with great longevity period but apart from Saudi Arabia and Iran, others are not great consumers. Even these two cannot make to the top ten global consumers. Whereas, the great oil consumers like USA, China, Japan, India, have lack of significant oil reserves.

Secondly, the great oil consumers will run out of their reserves during next two decades and would compete more vigorously for access to oil. In the year 2030, all the present great consumers would become total oil importers since they would have no oil to meet their domestic needs. And since all these countries are either developed or newly industrialized, their competition for oil would be transformed into new cold war involving those regions where oil would be produced.

Yet another significant observation is that countries of Middle East, Central Asia, and North Africa would become the centers of oil production in the coming decades. After 2030, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, UAE, Qatar, Iran, Kazakhstan, Libya, and Nigeria would have the capacity of meeting oil needs of the world.

So far as consumption is concerned, the projected trends indicate that USA, Russia and emerging economies of Asia like China, India, South Korea, Indonesia, and Singapore would be the recipients of oil. In this context the importance of Central Asian countries, especially Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan will be enhanced owing to their ideal geographic location along with abundance of hydrocarbons.

Natural Gas Reserves

According to the report of Oil and Gas Journal (2009), proven global gas reserves were estimated to be 6259.36 trillion cubic feet (tcf), while, BP Statistical review of June 2013, has recorded 6259.36 tcf of world natural gas reserves (See table 2.3). If global gas production keeps its current pace then these reserves would last for about 55.7 years.²² Iran is the leading gas possessor with 1187.3 tcf reserves²³ followed by Russia. Combined reserves of both countries are about 40% of the global natural gas (See Table 2.3). Turkmenistan is the fourth largest possessor of natural gas. The lasting capacity of Iran, Qatar, and Turkmenistan gas is over 100 years while Russian gas would last for about 55 years (See Table 2.3).

Region wise the Middle East region has 41.40 percent of

total reserves;²⁴ (See Figure 2.5) its leading gas rich countries are Iran, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Iraq, and Kuwait. The reserves of all these countries have lasting capacity of over 100 years (See Table 2.3) The other gas rich countries having lasting capacity of more than 100 years are Turkmenistan, Venezuela and Nigeria and their share to total global reserves is 9.3 percent, 3.0 percent and 2.8 percent respectively (See Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Leading Countries in Possession of Natural Gas Reserves

Countries	Oil & Gas Journal 2009	BP Statistical Review 2013	% of Total	Lasting Capacity
Iran	991.60	1187.3	18.0	100+
Russia	1680 tcf	1162.5 tcf	17.6	55.6 yrs
Qatar	891.94	885.1	13.4	100+
Turkmenistan	94.00	618.1	9.3	100+
USA	237.72	300.0	4.5	12.5
Saudi Arabia	258.47	290.8	4.4	80.1
UAE	214.40	215.1	3.3	100+
Venezuela	170.92	196.4	3.0	100+
Nigeria	184.16	182.0	2.8	100+
Algeria	159.00	159.1	2.4	55.3
Australia	130.00	132.8	2.0	76.6
Iraq	111.94	126.7	1.9	100+
China	80.00	109.3	1.7	28.9
Indonesia	106.00	103.3	1.6	41.2
Norway	81.68	73.8	1.1	18.2
Egypt	58.50	72.0	1.1	33.5
Kuwait	63.36	63	1.0	100+
Malaysia	83.00	46.8	0.7	20.3
Kazakhstan	85.00	45.7	0.7	65.6
Uzbekistan	65.00	39.7	0.6	19.7
World	6259.36	6614	100	55.7

Sources: 1) BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013
(www.bp.com)

2) Table of World Energy Reserves, posted by Energy Information Administration.

(<http://38.96.246.204/international/reserves.html>)

Regions of North America, Asia, and Europe have global gas share of 4.9 percent, 8.4 percent and 3.4 percent respectively.²⁵ Although countries of these regions are greatest users of natural gas but lasting capacity of their gas reserves is limited. The gas lasting capacity of USA, with 4.5 percent of total reserves is just 12.5 years.²⁶ Similarly, China has only 1.7 percent of global gas and its gas would run out in 29 years.²⁷ The overall outlook of natural gas reserves indicates the same pattern that was observed for oil reserves. Russia, Turkmenistan, and countries of Middle East have lion's share of world natural gas reserves but in consumption capacity, the countries of the West and Asia are leading. Russia and Iran with combined reserves of 40 percent²⁸ along with Turkmenistan with significant gas will be very important in the future politics of natural gas.

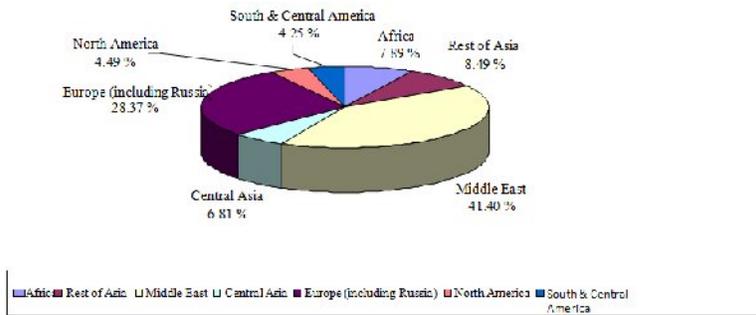


Figure 2.5: Region wise Natural Gas Reserves
 Source: Table of World Energy Reserves, posted by Energy Information Administration.
<http://38.96.246.204/international/reserves.html>.

Table 2.4 Leading Global Natural Gas Producers

Producers	bcm	% of world
Russian Federation	677	20.0
United States	651	19.2
Canada	160	4.7
Qatar	151	4.5
Islamic Rep. of Iran	149	4.4
Norway	106	3.1

People's Rep. of China	103	3.0
Saudi Arabia	92	2.7
Indonesia	92	2.7
Netherlands	81	2.4
Rest of the world	1126	33.3
World	3388	100.0

Source: World Key Energy Statistics, 2013, International Energy Agency (IEA).

http://www.iea.org/textbase/nppdf/free/2013/key_stats_2013.pdf.

Production

Production pattern shows that North America is the leading gas producing region with production capacity of 27.6 percent.²⁹ Producing 20.0 percent³⁰ of global natural gas, Russia is the world's largest gas producer followed by USA with 19 percent³¹ of world production. By comparing possession of gas reserves to production capacity, an important finding is that Turkmenistan, Venezuela, Iraq, and Nigeria are not among the top 10 gas producing countries, although they have huge reserves with longevity period of more than 100 years (See Table 2.3 & Table 2.4) This indicates that these countries will be the centers of production in the near future when the reserves of current great producers would shrink.

Production Trends

The countries mentioned in figure 2.6 show an increase in their gas production from period 2005-09. If their increasing production rate is compared with their reserves, it is found that USA, the greatest producer of gas would run out of it within 12.5 years and it will be followed by Norway whose reserves would finish in 18.2 years (See Table 2.3). And after about 25-30 years, Egypt, and China, will also be without natural gas reserves (See Table 2.3).

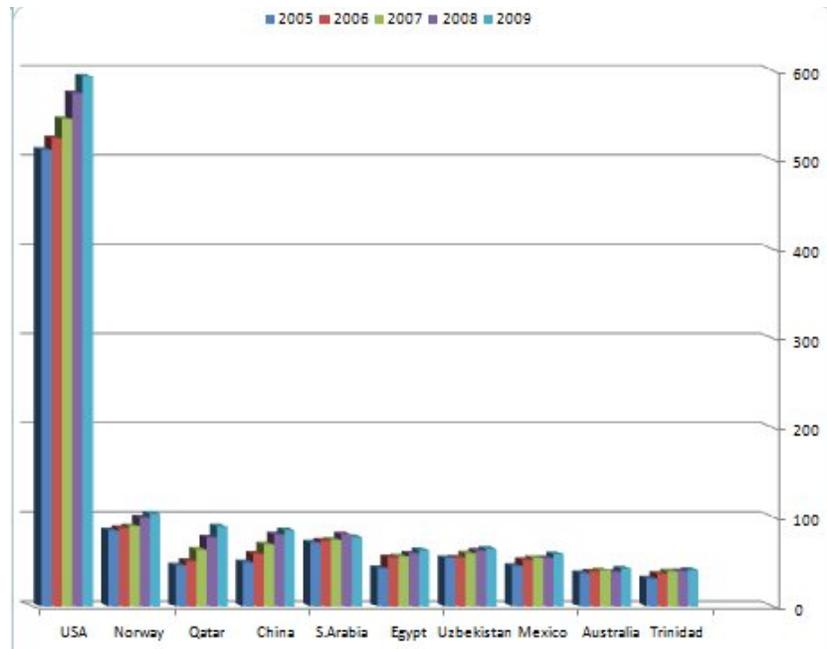


Figure 2.6: Countries Showing Increase in Natural Gas Production

Source: Data collected from BP statistical review of world energy June, 2011.

To satisfy the demands of global needs, overall production would have to be increased by those countries that have significant reserves with greater lasting capacity. In this regard Russia, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan along with Middle Eastern countries like Iran, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, U.A.E, Iraq, and Kuwait will be very important. Venezuela, Nigeria, and Australia would also become greater producers in the coming decades. Figure 2.6 portrays a scenario where North American, Asia Pacific and European countries will have no natural gas production capacity and they will be depending upon the countries of Middle East and Central Asia.

Consumption

The prediction of future politics of natural gas is

incomplete without considering the global consumption trends. The greatest consumer of natural gas is North American region having a capacity of 27.8 percent of the total.³² Asian countries like, China, India, and Japan are ranked among the top twenty gas consumers.³³ Country wise, behind USA, Russia is the greatest user of gas with a share of 13.2 percent of the global consumption.³⁴

Consumption Trends

According to the statistics given in figure 2.7, the countries of European Union are limiting their gas consumption. The countries of North America, with the exception of Canada and emerging economies of Asia have increased their gas utilization. Similarly, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and U.A.E have also shown increasing consumption trends. Having huge reserves, countries of Middle East afford greater gas consumption. Greater consumption of gas is beneficial over use of oil because of the greater cost and environmental hazards of the latter. On the other hand, greater consumption of gas by countries of North America and Asia would make them dependent on other countries due to their scarce reserves.

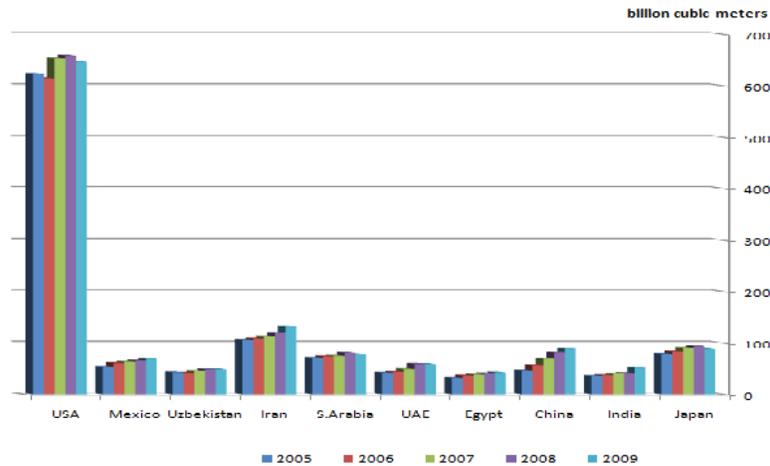


Figure 2.7: Countries Showing Increase in Natural Gas Consumption (2005-9)

Source: Data collected from BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2011

Assessment

Analyzing on the basis of existing gas reserves, production patterns, and consumption trends, it can be inferred that after a decade USA, which is not only the greatest producer but also the leading consumer, would be wholly dependent on import of natural gas. And after about three decades, the newly industrialized countries of Asia and E.U nations would also be fully importing gas for their industries and domestic use. Apart from USA, countries like China, Japan, India, Malaysia and Indonesia with huge populations and booming industries will be the largest markets of gas consumption. These countries will be dependent upon the greatest gas producing states of the world. In this context, Russia, Iran, Qatar, Turkmenistan, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Nigeria, Algeria, Iraq, Kazakhstan and Kuwait will attain great importance for the supply of natural gas. Among these, Russia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and UAE are already dominating in the production of gas and would continue to do so. Along with these, the above mentioned states of Central Asia, and North Africa would also become the supply centers of natural gas. Similarly, Venezuela from South America and Australia from Asia Pacific will be significant in the politics of gas in future.

Importance of Central Asian Region Energy Reserves

The importance of fossil fuels, particularly oil and gas, has characterized international political economy of previous century and will still play a significant role in the present one. Lack of current capability of renewable resources in meeting the entire energy needs of the world; make non-renewable resources attractive to global economies.

On the basis of available statistical information regarding the current state of petro-politics, future projections have been made to explore the hub of global production and consumption centers. A thorough research has found out that the centre stage of oil and gas production is being shifted from the global North to the global South. Along with Middle East, Central Asian and North African region will become

significant in the future supply of these fossil fuels. The consumption trends also show a transformation from Europe and North America to the newly industrialized states of Asia.

Having a potential of huge unexplored energy reserves and also being situated in proximity to the future big consumer markets of oil and gas, the region of Central Asia assumes great significance. Before analyzing the importance of the region's reserves, it is imperative to have a glance over its energy statistics.

Table 2.5 Oil and Natural Gas Reserves of Central Asian Countries

Countries	Oil Reserves (bbl)	Natural Gas Reserves (tcf)
Azerbaijan	7.000	31.5
Kazakhstan	30.00	45.7
Kyrgyzstan	0.040	0.02
Tajikistan	0.012	0.20
Turkmenistan	0.600	618.1
Uzbekistan	0.600	39.7
Total	38.25	735.22
% of World	2.29	11.11
World	1668.9	6614

Source: BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).

Statistics in Table 2.5 clearly indicate that although the combined oil reserves of Central Asian countries are not sufficient enough as compared to other rich oil possessing regions of the world, still, natural gas reserves of this region are not only significant but also unexplored. An important investigation regarding the value of the energy reserves of Central Asian countries is the variation found in different statistics e.g. the US department of Energy Information Administration estimates that,

Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan each could contain over 250 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and more than 100 billion barrels of oil in reserve.³⁵

James Fishelson, in his article, has estimated oil reserves of Kazakhstan at about 79 billion barrels.³⁶ Similarly in yet another article, John Foster has found that Turkmenistan has the world's fourth largest reserves of natural gas at 7.94 trillion cubic meters (tcm),³⁷ exceeded only by Russia, Iran and Qatar. Variations in these figures do not underestimate the potential of Central Asian countries' energy reserves. If one contend ourselves to the least values of existing reserves i.e. that of BP Statistical Review of June 2013, even then the value of Central Asian reserves is significant. According to this estimate, Kazakhstan has 12th largest oil reserves in the world with lasting capacity of 47 years (See Table 2.1). As far as natural gas reserves are concerned, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan contain 4th, 19th largest reserves in the world, with a lasting capacity of 100, and 65 years respectively (See Table 2.3).

From these statistics, it is obvious that both Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have huge energy potential of oil and natural gas. Also, prospects of further exploration can authenticate the projected values of other findings. In case of further explorations, the attention of energy deficient countries would be further focussed on this region.

Secondly, Central Asia region is situated at the juncture of Europe, South Asia and East Asia; the regions in search of fossil fuels. Geographical proximity gives these regions an attraction for approaching energy reserves with an advantage of lesser distance of transport. In this connection, the states of China, India, and Pakistan are very significant. Not only these countries would be in constant need of oil and natural gas in the coming two decades, but also these are at nearer distance to the oil and gas reserves of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.

Thirdly, so far as oil is concerned, Russia, the current leading producer of the region, is predicted to lose its production capacity at the end of next two decades (see table 2.1), therefore, an open space in oil production would allow Kazakhstan to become the top most oil producer of the region. The prospects for this change of production avenue for Kazakhstan are brighter given the fact that the oil deficient countries of Europe, along with China and India are located around her. Although Turkmenistan would not be the only top most natural gas producer in the coming decades because of the presence of Russia and Iran, still, its role as a natural gas producer would increase because of the existing trend of switching natural gas as a fuel for oil.

Fourthly, Central Asian republics are landlocked, so these offer supply of energy via pipelines through land routes, which is considered safe and economical as compared to sea routes.

Considering the potential value and advantages of these reserves, it can easily be concluded that for energy deficient economies of Asia and Europe, the region of Central Asia is offering the most ideal production centre for their energy needs. Therefore, to secure stable supplies of oil and gas, the major stakeholders have already begun to exert political influence in this region.

Energy Politics in Central Asia

Considering the significance of Central Asian region, major powers have already involved themselves in the politics of energy for safeguarding their energy interests. In this context, the role played by European states led by USA, Russia and China is worth considering.

Europe imports 26 percent of its oil and 29 percent of its natural gas needs from Russia.³⁸ To avoid overdependence on Russia, Central Asian reserves offer attractive source of energy for European countries. Bypassing Russian route and having direct access to Central Asian energy reserves would end Russian use of energy as a political weapon. For this, the west

led by USA has developed west directed Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline in 2006.³⁹

For avoiding overdependence on oil, European countries are replacing it with natural gas gradually. Since European countries are deficient in natural gas, therefore, it is estimated that 80 percent of their natural gas needs would be imported by 2030.⁴⁰ For meeting future gas needs from Central Asian reserves, two pipeline projects have been planned i.e. Nabucco Pipeline, which is supposed to bring Azeri natural gas to Europe and Trans-Caspian Pipeline (TCP), which would transport Turkmen and /or Kazakh natural gas to Europe.⁴¹ But both these pipeline projects are subjected to hurdles related to Caspian Sea sovereignty issues and the presence of regional influential states like Russia and Iran who are opposing the said projects.

To counter west favored projects and to mitigate the US control of energy business Russia tries to exert its influence in these republics either by continuing the already existing northward pipeline routes or exploring those, which avoid Europe's direct access to Central Asian resources. In this regard, Russia has planned three pipeline projects i.e. Nord Stream gas pipeline⁴², South Stream gas pipeline and extension of already existent Blue Stream pipeline across Black Sea⁴³.

Successful implementation of these projects would offer cheap and affordable energy supply to southern countries of European Union. It would produce conflicts among EU countries as its western located countries prefer US favored western directed routes. Secondly, the prospects of Turkey- one of the hopeful for EU membership- becoming an energy transit country for Europe would also be neutralized. Russia is pursuing two pronged political strategy. Not only it is planning to continue control over Central Asian energy transportation, but, it is also creating disunity among EU countries.

Apart from the pipeline politics, the stakeholders in Central Asia are also involved in regional alliance making and using military means for controlling Central Asian States for pursuing their energy related interests. USA has initiated partnership for peace; a military assistance program for securing energy infrastructure in Central Asia. It has also helped established GUUAM, a regional alliance of five countries including Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova.⁴⁴In reaction, Russia has also created Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), which consists of seven former republics of USSR. US military is also involved in Central Asian region for conductance of joint naval and military exercises with its allies for gaining trust of their regimes. Similarly, Russia is also planning to establish its military base in Kyrgyzstan.⁴⁵

Further, Both Russia and USA have favored their respective ideologically inspired styles of governments in different Central Asian states. Russia has been supporting autocratic rulers, while USA has supported democratic revolutions in few of the Central Asia republics.⁴⁶Both powers aim to secure their interests through favoring regimes in the region.

So far as China is concerned its huge population and bulging economy needs imported energy as its own fossil fuels are dwindling hastily. China is likely to import 84 percent of its energy requirements by 2030.⁴⁷

Currently, Chinese energy imports are sea based coming via Malacca strait where US has dominant presence. To avoid security threatened sea based imports, China has made inroads into Central Asian region, which has land link with it. Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline (KCP) is operational since 2005, which is meeting 15 percent of Chinese crude oil needs.⁴⁸ Beijing is also receiving 30 to 40 bcm of natural gas from Turkmenistan through Chinese constructed natural gas pipeline.⁴⁹ In this context, Chinese state owned companies have got considerable foothold in the region for future stable supply of much needed energy for China. Chinese National

Petroleum Company (CNPC) has acquired Petrokazakh Company in Kazakhstan⁵⁰ and SINOPEC has got Kazakhstan's North Buzachi oil field. It has also got joint ownership of Kazakhstan Kumkol North field with Lukoil Company of Russia.⁵¹ Moreover SINOPEC has also reached a deal with Uzbek authorities over oil exploration and development.⁵²

China is also using Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) for gaining support of Central Asian regimes. Through this platform, China along with Russia provides security against terrorism and insurgencies to the regional regimes.⁵³

Conclusion

The statistical evidence of the significance of Central Asian states for their oil and natural gas reserves portrays the nature of geopolitics of the region in near future.

The tug of war for diverting energy resources through oil and natural gas pipelines via different waterways like the Caspian Sea, the Black sea, the Baltic Sea etc, predicts their militarization. Once the sea based pipelines are made effective, the concerned states would deploy their respective naval fleets for their safety. In case of any miscalculation or misadventure the security of the littoral states would be in jeopardy.

Secondly, the prospects of practical democracy in the states of Central Asia seem to be a remote possibility, at least in the near future. For the sake of their own energy related interests both USA and Russia would like to keep on favoring the autocratic regimes of the region, which are easily influenced as compared to democratically elected governments.

Thirdly, the existing geopolitical developments project that both Russia and China face brighter prospects of manipulating geopolitics in their favour. Both these states are regional major powers, having geographical contiguity with the Central Asian states. Moreover, both would be highly dependant on

easy to access fossil fuels, for which Central Asian republics offer ideal source.

On the other hand the west, particularly European energy deficient countries are not geographically linked to the region of Central Asia. Further, due to the ongoing effect of world financial crises, these states can't afford highly expensive sea based pipelines. Moreover, as compared to the state controlled energy companies of Russia and China, the energy companies of European states are not influential in the countries of Central Asia.

In the overall scenario, the energy related interests of Iran and India both regional level states- are also significant. Both Iran and India desire the southern flow of Central Asian energy for their own respective needs. Both are involved in energy related joint projects with Russian and Chinese state owned energy companies. In case of success of these joint projects, the chances of the flow of Central Asian energy towards Europe would be jeopardized.

And last but not the least prediction regarding the future geopolitics of Central Asian region is the formation of an energy cartel. The idea has already been proposed and is being strongly favored by Russia. If it materializes at the platform of SCO then it would likely exert the same level of influence, which Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) has been exerting. The projected scenario depicts the initiation of yet another cold war between the West led by USA and the East led by Russia.

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Notes

- ¹ Charles W. Kegley, JR. et al, *World Politics: Trends and Transformation* (New York: Thomson Wadsworth, 2008), p.376.
- ² Ibid. p.374.
- ³ Ibid.
- ⁴ Gwynne Dyer, “Cheap Oil Unlikely”, *The Dawn*, Tuesday, February 8, 2011.
- ⁵ Ibid., Charles W. Kegley, JR. p.376.
- ⁶ The statistical values have been taken from BP Statistical review because these are the latest i.e. of June 2013. Although some other statistical sources have objected to these values, but, since the focus of research is on Central Asia and the values regarding the countries of this region are almost same in all sources, therefore, BP Statistical values have been relied upon.
- ⁷ BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
- ⁸ Table of World Energy Reserves, posted by Energy Information Administration. <http://38.96.246.204/international/reserves.html>.
- ⁹ BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
- ¹⁰ For this research, Azerbaijan, being situated on the west bank of Caspian Sea is also considered part of Central Asia
- ¹¹ World Key Energy Statistics, 2013, International Energy Agency (IEA). http://www.iea.org/textbase/nppdf/free/2010/key_stats_2010.pdf.
- ¹² BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
- ¹³ James Fishelson, “From Silk Route to Chevron: The Geo Politics of Oil Pipelines in Central Asia” *Vestnik: The Journal of Russian and Asian Studies*, Issue 7, winter 2007.
- ¹⁴ BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Michael T. Klare, “Petroleum Anxiety and the Militarization of Energy”, ed. Daniel Moron and James A. Russell, *Energy Security and Global Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.44.
- ¹⁷ BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Michael T. Klare, “Petroleum Anxiety and the Militarization of Energy”, ed. Daniel Moron and James A. Russell, *Energy Security and Global Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.43.
- ²¹ Michael T. Klare, “Petroleum Anxiety and the Militarization of Energy”, ed. Daniel Moron and James A. Russell, *Energy Security and Global Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p.43.
- ²² BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2011 (www.bp.com).
- ²³ Table of World Energy Reserves, posted by Energy Information Administration. <http://38.96.246.204/international/reserves.html>.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Table of World Energy Reserves, posted by Energy Information Administration. <http://38.96.246.204/international/reserves.html>.

- ²⁶ BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2011 (www.bp.com).
²⁷ Ibid.
²⁸ Calculated on the basis of values given in table 2.3.
²⁹ BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
³⁰ World Key Energy Statistics, 2010, International Energy Agency (IEA).
http://www.iea.org/textbase/nppdf/free/2010/key_stats_2010.pdf.
³¹ World Key Energy Statistics, 2010, International Energy Agency (IEA).
http://www.iea.org/textbase/nppdf/free/2010/key_stats_2010.pdf.
³² BP Statistical Review of World Energy June, 2013 (www.bp.com).
³³ Ibid.
³⁴ Ibid.
³⁵ Jeff M. Smith, "The Great Game, Round Three", *Security Affairs*, Number 17, Fall 2009.
³⁶ James Fishelson, "From Silk Route to Chevron: Geopolitics of Oil Pipelines in Central Asia" *Vestnik: The Journal of Russian and Asian Studies*, Issue 7, winter 2007.
³⁷ John Foster, "Afghanistan, the TAPI Pipeline, and Energy Geopolitics", *The Journal of Energy Security*, March, 2010.
³⁸ Jeff M. Smith, "The Great Game, Round Three", *Security Affairs*, Number 17, Fall 2009.
³⁹ Gawdat Bahgat, "Central Asia and Energy Security", *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, March 2006, pp. 1-16.
⁴⁰ Paul Belkin, "The European Union's Energy Security Challenges" *The Quarterly Journal*, Spring 2008. pp. 76-102.
⁴¹ Ibid
⁴² Jeff M. Smith, "The Great Game, Round Three", *Security Affairs*, Number 17, Fall 2009.
⁴³ Paul Belkin, Op Cit.
⁴⁴ Gawdat Bahgat, "Central Asia and Energy Security", *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, March 2006, pp.1-16.
⁴⁵ Jeff M. Smith, "The Great Game, Round Three", *Security Affairs*, Number 17, Fall 2009.
⁴⁶ Ibid.
⁴⁷ Rizwan Zeb, "China and Central Asia", *Regional Studies*, Vol. XXIII, No.4, Autumn 2005, pp.3-36.
⁴⁸ Xuanli Liao, "Central Asia and China's Energy Security", *The China and Eurasian Forum Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4, November 2006, pp. 61-69.
⁴⁹ Gawdat Bahgat, "Central Asia and Energy Security", *Asian Affairs*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, March 2006, pp.1-16.
⁵⁰ Xuanli Liao, Op Cit.
⁵¹ Ibid.
⁵² Ibid.
⁵³ Sarfraz Khan & Imran Khan, "Sino-Indian Quest for Energy Security: The Central-West-South Asian Geopolitical Turf" *Regional Studies*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, Spring 2009, pp. 46-93.

STRATEGIC NEGLECT OF SUN TZU'S PRECEPTS: A CASE STUDY OF KARGIL CONFLICT

Zia Ul Haque Shamsi

Abstract

Great Chinese strategist Sun Tzu is undoubtedly regarded as the one of the most read and respected person from the ancient times whose writings on policy, strategy, war and politics are still the beacon of knowledge for the leaders around the world. While Sun Tzu is widely read and practiced in the East and West alike, this article argues that Pakistan's politico-military leadership tends to either ignore his precepts in its true perspectives or does not understand its spirit, particularly on the issues related to national security. One of the Sun Tzu's golden rules which relates to harmony in civil-military relations is perhaps most widely applicable in Pakistan's case. This article aims to highlight some of the related rules by Sun Tzu, which were ignored during planning, and execution of the Kargil Conflict. The article argues that if Sun Tzu's precepts were complied with, the Kargil plan would not see the day or else result of those events could be different.

Introduction

Sun Tzu's *'The Art of War'* written 2500 years ago is considered one of the most comprehensive documents on politics and strategy. It has not only served the successive Chinese dynasties well in managing their wars and politics, but also has been widely taught in major educational institutions and national defence universities around the world.

According to Tim Hoyt, *"The Art of War"* represents the earliest existing codification of military and political strategy, and is probably the most widely-read work on strategy in history."¹ Another study by US Army Major Andrew Torelli explains Sun Tzu's work as:

His *Art of War* codifies from a broad perspective the threat of military action combined with non-military methods such as diplomatic, economic,

psychological means could be used to attack an enemy's alliances and strategy which would lead to the greatest achievement of winning without fighting by convincing the enemy to yield or switch sides.²

In Pakistan also, Sun Tzu and his *'The Art of War'* is regarded as an important document on strategy, and is widely quoted by politico-military leadership in their writings as well as presentations. But, the intellectual puzzle that this article intends to investigate is if they (Pakistan's politico-military leadership) really understand Sun Tzu's precepts or merely use his quotations to strengthen the logic of their argument when it comes to making a presentation. This article is aimed at correlating Sun Tzu's some of the golden rules, ignored rather violated before and during the Kargil Conflict of 1999 between India and Pakistan, which nearly led the arch rivals to a possible nuclear showdown.

The Kargil Conflict

Kargil is geographically placed on the Line of Control (LoC) in the Northern Areas of Pakistan.³ Pakistan considered Kargil strategically important due to its unique location overlooking the only highway between Srinagar-Dras-Kargil and Leh (NH-1) road which served as the lifeline to sustain Siachen occupation by Indian troops. According to Altaf Gohar:

An old contingency plan was updated, and after carrying out detailed preparations during winter, the operation was launched to coincide with the melting of snow and the opening of India's national highway 1A linking Srinagar to Leh via Kargil.⁴

This article is not intended to review the events before or during the Kargil conflict under any theoretical context, but in light of Sun Tzu's selected precepts which were ignored by Pakistan's politico-military leadership in the process.

Importance of War for the State

Sun Tzu laid great emphasis on this aspect, “The art of war is of vital importance to the state. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence under no circumstances can it be neglected.....”⁵

Sun Tzu had categorically declared war as a very serious business and vigorously advocated that it must be avoided as far as possible. He had said, “... supreme excellence consists in breaking enemy’s resistance without fighting.”⁶ However, in case it becomes inevitable then it must be as short and as swift as possible.⁷ In the Indo-Pak context, one would notice that except the first Kashmir War of 1948, all subsequent wars and conflicts between India and Pakistan were inconsequential and failed to resolve any of the protracted conflict.

The first Kashmir War of 1948 was a spontaneous reaction of the locals and the tribesmen from Pakistan who went into the war zone to support their Kashmiri brethren to help them gain independence from the unjustified accession of the Maharaja to India and not to Pakistan. While the Northern Areas had been liberated by the locals, at least some part in the form of Azad Jammu & Kashmir was liberated by these warriors in that difficult environment where Pakistan Army could not play its due role.

The second Kashmir War of 1965, though technically initiated by India by crossing the international border on 6th September, had a background for its beginning in that manner. *Operation Gibraltar*⁸ launched by Pakistan was in some way the trigger, which directly contradicted Sun Tzu’s precept of war avoidance and war preparedness. Neither did Pakistan prepare well for the operations it initiated, nor was it able to avoid the subsequent response in the form of an all out war by India. According to K.M. Arif also:

The 1965 war is one of the classic examples of an unintended war. Pakistan did not bargain for general hostilities. Perhaps, neither did India. Limited and local events and episodes followed one after another, increasing tension and triggering

jingoism. Each side reacted disproportionately to the perceived provocation by the other and in the end lost control. India and Pakistan reacted, on occasions excessively, to each other and plunged into a war that neither had planned.⁹

The research into events leading to the execution of Operation Gibraltar reveals that Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) was riding the decision making process at the time, isolating the Ministry of Defence (MOD) and General Headquarters (GHQ), through a persuasive strategy of compelling President Ayub give more weightage to its assessment. General Musa in his book accepted that he reluctantly agreed to launch Gibraltar as an order from the Supreme Commander.¹⁰

In the domain of policy and strategy also, decision making was out of synchronisation between civil and military leaders, though President was a Field Marshal himself. The government's policy was that of non-aggression and "the role given to its armed forces was to defend the country against an external threat."¹¹ However, the government on the insistence of foreign ministry had approved the launching of *Operation Gibraltar* as early as mid-May 1965. On the military side, whereas GHQ was reluctant in executing the deep raids in Jammu & Kashmir, its military strategy was that of 'Offensive Defense.'¹² Arif's remarks about the decision making process in Pakistan support this study's contention; "This was a victory of individuals over the institutions. The fate of the country was decided by the judgment of a nominated few."¹³

Likewise in Kargil Conflict of 1999, Pakistan's initiative failed primarily because it lacked preparations as well as adherence to Sun Tzu's golden rule on civil-military relations.

Importance of Civil-Military Relations

Sun Tzu was of the view that, "without harmony in the state, no military expedition can be undertaken; without harmony in the army; no battle array can be formed."¹⁴

This particular saying of Sun Tzu holds good for the entire history of civil-military relationship in Pakistan, as was seen during *Operation Gibraltar*. However, instead of going into the causes of frequent imposition of military rules in Pakistan, study would focus on the Kargil conflict, during and after which civilian and military leaderships were not seen on the same page. The same was noted by others as well. According to India's former army chief, General VP Malik, "The outbreak of war in Kargil also showed that the Pakistan's political leadership was working out of sync with the thinking and plans of its military brass."¹⁵ PR Chari quotes Michael Krepon on the same issue that, "Pakistan's nuclear policy, and, for that matter its defense, as well as its Kashmir and India policy are strictly controlled by the Pakistan Army, with civilians playing a peripheral role in the decision-making apparatus."¹⁶

The Kargil conflict has attracted a lot of criticism not only from abroad but also from within for the reason that Pakistan's politico-military leadership, till date has not reconciled with those events which nearly brought India and Pakistan to a possible nuclear exchange. No matter how limited the politico-military objectives of the expedition were, they were not set forth by the political leadership which is the prerequisite for launching a military operation, as proffered by Sun Tzu. The endless debate whether Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was briefed about Kargil or not continues till date without any conclusion, but the fact remains that the political objectives were not set by the political leadership and military planners wanted to execute the mission because in their opinion, it could accomplish the objectives they had set forth. While it was fundamentally in contradiction to Sun Tzu's rule regarding civil-military agreement on launching the operation, the military planners did not consider it appropriate to keep other elements of the armed forces on board either during the planning stage, preparatory stage or even during the initial days of the launch phase.

According to Sun Tzu, political objectives have to be set by the political leadership and related means have to be made available to the military to accomplish the assigned task. The selection of objectives has to be done after extremely careful observation based on sound intelligence and enemies capabilities and intention. However, each of the above aspect was ignored in

Kargil episode. The study finds that even if the political objectives were not set by the political leadership and initiative was taken by the military leadership then it was incumbent upon them that at least the major elements of the armed forces were in sync with the set objectives.

For Pakistan's military, the 'political objectives' of *Operation Koh Paima*¹⁷ were to seek international support for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute through third party intervention, or at least win a time-bound Indian commitment in this regard.¹⁸ Further, secure a better bargaining position during negotiations with India over the Siachen Glacier,¹⁹ and as Malik suggests; reinvigorate Kashmir freedom struggle and disrupt efforts towards declaration of LOC as international border.²⁰ According to Mazari, Pakistan's military objectives were to preempt a visualized Indian offensive,²¹ interdict strategic road linkage between Srinagar and Leh/ Siachen.²² Whereas, Indian author Paul Kapoor quotes Pakistan's former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto that; Kargil-like plan was presented to her in 1989 and 1996,²³ with an objective "to oust Indian forces from Siachen Glacier in northern Kashmir."²⁴

Know Your Enemy

Sun Tzu had all along insisted on greater knowledge about the enemy but equally important was to carry out a dispassionate self analysis to avoid being dragged into wrong wars. He had said, "Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril."²⁵

Sun Tzu stated that it is essential to carry out an in-depth analysis of enemy capability and intent before making a move on the battle front. For the purpose he laid great emphasis on the organizations of intelligence departments. According to Sun Tzu, it is incumbent upon the military commander to have complete information about enemy's possible plans so that he is not surprised during war. In the Indo-Pak context, since the armed forces of the two countries have been fighting hot and cold wars since the British left the sub-continent in 1947, it was expected that two would have a thorough knowledge of each other's capability and intent. However, paradoxically one finds that on various occasions, Pakistan's military leadership did not

calculate the India's response correctly and hence found itself in an awkward situation for which it neither prepared itself nor the nation. *Operation Gibraltar* launched in August 1965 to create conditions to gain favorable response from the Kashmiri population to internationalize the Kashmir issue not only failed to achieve the desired objectives, but also led to a fierce Indian response which ultimately led to first all out war between India and Pakistan. Likewise in Kargil conflict, Pakistan's military leadership's assumption that India would take the intrusion as a *fait accompli* proved fatal because it responded with all available resources including Bofors artillery guns and Indian Air Force jets using Precision Guided Munitions (PGMs). It is necessary to highlight that India used its air force for the first time since 1971 Indo-Pak war. Had Pakistan's military leadership given a deep thought to Sun Tzu's precept of knowing the enemy well, and learnt a few lessons from India's response to *Operation Gibraltar*, perhaps Kargil could have been avoided. Kargil planners' assumed that limited military operations, incursions across the LoC in the disputed areas of Jammu and Kashmir are justifiable, because India has also been guilty of such violations in Siachen, Chorbat La and Qamar sectors on different occasions.²⁶ However, India does not allow the same to Pakistan's intrusions and always reacts very strongly as it did in case of Kargil.

Thus the question remains unanswered as to why Pakistan's military leadership assumed that India would not respond to its intrusion with so much force and accepts it as a *fait accompli*. It reflected that Sun Tzu's call for knowing the enemy was ignored by the Pakistan's military leadership, and hence was faced with an awkward situation once the Indian response started to unfold. According to Strobe Talbott, "Pakistan was almost universally seen to have precipitated the crisis, ruining the promising peace process that had begun in Lahore and inviting an Indian counteroffensive."²⁷ Therefore, Pakistan's military leadership's political objective to internationalize the Kashmir issue, which it was not entitled to formulate, in fact proved counter-productive to the Kashmir cause.

This leads to an obvious question as to why the Kargil planners assumed that India would accept this alteration in the LOC and would not react in the manner it actually did. Kargil

intrusion, often referred as 'mission creep',²⁸ in fact led to a strong response by India, which was not envisaged by Pakistan's military leadership. The answer lies perhaps into Sun Tzu's teachings related to the aspects that deal exclusively with the military commander's ability to think deep and prudently. He was of the view that a military commander has to spend a lot of time thinking about a battle plan, rehearsed it a number of times and be extremely sure that he is not taking any chance that might cause him defeat.²⁹

Avoid Use of Force

Sun Tzu was of the view that, "War is always constant and does not necessarily need to be represented by force on force military actions, but includes ongoing diplomatic, economic, and psychological battles."³⁰

Sun Tzu's this particular precept calls for a serious review of Kargil-like operations to resolve a protracted conflict between the two estranged neighbours. While the efforts were in hand to let the diplomacy do its job, and *The Lahore Declaration*³¹ signed during Prime Minister Vajpayee's landmark visit to Lahore in February 1999 was seen as a major breakthrough towards the normalization of relations, Kargil wrapped it all. As per Strobe Talbott's account of Prime Minister Sharif's meeting with President Clinton:

The conversation had already convinced Clinton of what he feared: the world was closer even than during the Cuban missile crisis to a nuclear war. Unlike Kennedy and Khrushchev in 1962, Vajpayee and Sharif did not realize how close they were to the brink, so there was an even greater risk that they would blindly stumble across it.³²

This perhaps is so true for enduring rivalries like between India and Pakistan. The two neighbouring states are in a perpetual state of war since their independence from the British in 1947. However, since the introduction of the nuclear factor in the already strained relationship in later half of the 1980s, though initially under opacity, has averted a few wars but have neither resolved any of the protracted conflicts nor ensured

peace and stability in their relationship. India appears to be following Sun Tzu's this particular precept more vigorously, and have avoided a direct military engagement and instead relied more on waging a non-kinetic war in a far more aggressive and organized manner. India's diplomatic offensives in the aftermath of terrorist attacks on the Indian Parliament in November 2001 and terrorist attacks in Mumbai in 2008 have paid larger dividends in the form of tarnished Pakistan's image as a state having soft corner for terror elements operating in Afghanistan and Indian Held Kashmir.

Importance of Timings for Military Operations

At first place, Sun Tzu was for winning wars without fighting, however if war was inevitable then its timings were of utmost important. "He who knows when he can fight and when he cannot, will be victorious."³³

Kargil operations were planned and executed in total disregard to Sun Tzu's warning on waging wars. Sun Tzu's emphasis was that wars cannot be waged without thorough planning and on wrong assumptions. Pakistan's military leadership can draw pertinent lessons from the Sun-Tzu's teachings, sayings and writings; many of those fit well in the Kargil context. The claims and counter-claims whether the Kargil plan had the approval by the civilian leadership or not, are still debated. Sun Tzu had said, "Now, the general is the assistant to the sovereign of the state. If this assistance is all-embracing, the state will surely be strong; if defective, the state will certainly be weak."³⁴ So now if Musharraf claims that Prime Minister Sharif got nervous under the US pressure and agreed for the pull out of the forces,³⁵ the answer lies in Sun Tzu's precepts that if state establishments are not on the same page, state would be weak and political government would not be able to withstand the external pressures.

While US was genuinely concerned once the conflict escalated vertically, due the presence of nuclear weapons on the inventory of both India and Pakistan, the study finds that US played a dominant role in forcing Pakistan to withdraw toward its side of the LoC on behalf of India, whereas the reason for restraint in horizontal expansion lies somewhere else. As mentioned above,

India gained immensely for exercising restraint by projecting herself as a responsible nuclear weapon state, concurrently putting a question mark on Pakistan in the same domain. Moreover, India denied Pakistan any chance of using its nuclear card to finish the battle, with its troops inside Indian LoC. Secondly, the US Administration's public statements, which made it clear from the beginning that Clinton blamed Pakistan for starting a dangerous conflict, now demanded an unconditional Pakistani withdrawal to the line of control.³⁶

The study observes that neither was Pakistan's political and military leadership on the same page, nor were all other elements of national power ever synergized before undertaking the military campaign at Kargil, no matter how limited it was to be in scope or intensity. The possibility of India's as well as the international reaction was not taken into consideration and hence the diplomacy lacked a coordinated response. Since the probabilities of India's military response were not calculated, therefore Pakistani military's reaction was also not in line to the initial plan and hence the reinforcements were never provided to the initiators. Likewise, the exit strategy, either did not exist or was not put in place because the conflict ended under US pressure and not to its logical conclusion.

Need for Strategic Appraisal

Sun Tzu had insisted on the correct appraisal of the environment without which one's own security will be at a greater risk. "To secure ourselves against defeat lies in our own hands, but the opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself."³⁷

This particular phrase appears true in case of Kargil conflict. Pakistan itself provided India a chance to claim victory, not only by using force to evict the intrusion, but also through a diplomatic offensive projecting Pakistan an aggressor and irresponsible nuclear state. Soon after the nuclear tests of 1998, Pakistan had the opportunity to reassert its stance on Jammu & Kashmir and other disputes, as was recognised in the *Lahore Declaration* signed on February 21, 1999 during Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit to Pakistan. The *Lahore Declaration* outlined that:

Reiterating the determination of both countries to implementing the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit; Recalling their agreement of 23rd September, 1998, that an environment of peace and security is in the supreme national interest of both sides and that the resolution of all outstanding issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, is essential for this purpose.³⁸

Whereas in India, where its intelligence and army units were found napping and surprised, its political leadership took the lead to quickly put its house in order and tasked its military forces to get the Kargil Heights vacated, without actually going across the LOC. India did everything to push Pakistani soldiers back to their side of the LOC, but did not provide Pakistan any opportunity to play its nuclear card at any stage of the conflict.

Need for an Utmost Preparation

Sun Tzu insisted on utmost preparations for any military expedition which has become inevitable. “The general who wins the battle makes many calculations in his temple before the battle is fought. The general who loses makes but few calculations beforehand.”³⁹ When Sun Tzu insists on ‘many calculations....before the battle’, there is little doubt that he was emphasising on thorough planning for an impending expedition. Kargil planners may have given due consideration to Sun Tzu’s dictates about planning to the last details, but the same could not be manifested when the situation began to unfold on the icy mountains. If one accepts Gohar’s assertions that it was an old plan; then it was even more important to deliberate upon it more thoroughly due to changed paradigm.

A number of things had changed since India occupied the empty Siachen glacier in 1983, clearly in contravention to Simla Agreement of 1972 between the two estranged neighbours. The two arch rivals had demonstrated their capability to develop nuclear weapons by carrying out the nuclear tests in May 1998, first by India and in response by Pakistan. Moreover, within one year of these tests, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee undertook the historic ‘Bus Diplomacy’ trip to Pakistan and the two signed the *Lahore Declaration* which contained a number of

Confidence Building Measures (CBMs). While the two governments were seriously revising their relationship for a peaceful and stable future, Pakistan's military leadership decided to go ahead with the Kargil Plan without actually reading the domestic or global environment.

Strategy Supersedes Tactics

Sun Tzu had prophesied on the need to have a well thought out strategy before launching any type or level of military campaign. However, he insists on the importance of the tactics as well. "Strategy without tactics is the slowest route to victory. Tactics without strategy is the noise before defeat."⁴⁰

Pakistan's military leaders have not clearly outlined the strategy adopted by its armed forces during the Kargil operations. It is perhaps primarily because the policy of confrontational engagement did not exist at that time and political leadership was in fact on the path to reconciliation after the tit for tat nuclear tests in May 1998, followed by 'Bus Diplomacy' by Prime Minister Vajpayee in February 1999. Therefore, the strategy was also not put in place after due deliberations, and now if some Pakistani military officials claim Kargil to be a brilliant plan; they tend to ignore Sun Tzu's above precept. In order to further elaborate this point, it is necessary to seek some guidance from another authority on strategy and tactics, Carl von Clausewitz. In one of his definitions, Clausewitz writes strategy as, "Art of using battles to win war," and in the same context he defines tactics as, "Art of using troops in the battle."⁴¹ Musharraf dedicated one full chapter on Kargil conflict in his book to outline his side of the story and clarifies a number of myths and realities. However, in doing so, at no stage did he make any mention of a strategy and insists on the brilliance of his tactical plans.⁴² If the objective was to internationalize the Kashmir issue, it actually proved otherwise. According to Strobe Talbott, "Pakistan was almost universally seen to have precipitated the crisis, ruining the promising peace process that had begun in Lahore and inviting an Indian counteroffensive."⁴³

Conclusion

The study contends that even after the passage of over 2500 years, Sun Tzu's work on policy and strategy for the state remains a prophecy. According to Tim Hoyt:

The Art of War consistently indicates a marked dislike for warfare. The height of strategy is not to subdue the enemy in battle, but to subdue him without fighting at all. Sun Tzu, unlike many Western analysts, focuses on the period before the war begins as a principle realm for strategy. This pre-war period requires deft manipulation of friends and enemies during the mobilization of military forces, stockpiling of logistic requirements for the initial campaigns, and other preparations for war.⁴⁴

Kargil expedition was a non-starter from Sun Tzu's perspective. Kashmir was at once declared 'nuclear flash point',⁴⁵ especially because of the series of events that followed the nuclear tests. Its timings, assumptions, objectives, preparations, execution and exit were all questioned by not only international observers but by our own intelligencia, polity and the sister services. Even two times Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto wrote that the outcome of the Kargil war "was the most humiliating moment for the military since the fall of Dacca. A blame game started, and it was just a matter of time as to who would move first against the other."⁴⁶

Kargil conflict has become the most controversial military engagement with India, no matter how limited it was. It not only provided India the much needed opportunity to declare Pakistan as an aggressor and an irresponsible nuclear power but also did no good for the Kashmir cause. The study observes that if Sun Tzu's precepts on policy, strategy and war were given due consideration, Kargil plan would not have seen the light of the day and perhaps the two nuclear neighbours would have moved towards peace and stability instead of continuing with confrontation and hostilities.

Sun Tzu had said, "Now, the general is the assistant to the sovereign of the state. If this assistance is all-embracing, the state will surely be strong; if defective, the state will certainly be weak."⁴⁷ So now if General Musharraf claims that, "it remains a mystery to me why he (Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif) was in such a hurry" to an unconditional withdrawal of the forces,⁴⁸ the answer lies in Sun Tzu's precepts that if state establishments are not on the same page, state would be weak and political government would not be able to withstand the external pressures.

According to Gurmeet Kanwal, Kargil came at a time when "the acceptance of the concept of the LoC as permanent border between India and Pakistan was gaining currency."⁴⁹ Fortunately though, "despite the intensity of the combat, fighting remained localized to the immediate area of dispute. Pakistan did not breach other points of the LOC, and Indian forces did not invade Pakistani territory."⁵⁰ Regardless, "Pakistan's risky strategy in Kargil backfired. It attracted greater international interest – but no international support for Pakistan's desire to detach Kashmir from India."⁵¹

The study contends that if Sun Tzu's precepts had been followed in letter and spirit by Pakistan's politico-military leadership while dealing with national security issues, the outcome could have been far different than the one Pakistan experienced during and after the Kargil conflict.

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WOMEN'S ROLE IN MODERATING EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Shabana Fayyaz

Abstract

Women's role in countering the militant extremism remain an untapped source by the government policymakers. The paper stresses the vitality of women's critical role as agents of peace in crafting and instituting a proactive counter extremism policy at the governmental and non-governmental levels. Women are directly targeted by militants, who seek to limit their rights and mobility. Pakistan has a wealth of women-led civil society organizations leading humanitarian relief programs for IDPs and providing education, healthcare, psychosocial counselling, and livelihood skills and training to populations affected by violence and displacement. In addition to providing direct service delivery, women are undertaking various initiatives, both personally and professionally, to help communities recover after disasters. What we need today is holistic counter-terrorism policy that is rooted in the ground realities and involves women as potent factor in its formulating and implementation phase. Force based approach is often counter-productive in nature and ends up creating sympathy poles for the militants.

Introduction

Pakistan is at a crucial juncture as it struggles to contain rising extremism, achieve political stability, and uphold the rule of law. Plagued by geopolitical, ethnic, and sectarian-driven violence, Pakistani citizens continue to experience volatile insecurity and devastating loss of life. The definition of extremism varies broadly, its causes are many, and its consequences are devastating to Pakistan's moral fabric and overall stability. In the face of intensifying extremism and terrorist violence, women in particular are experiencing high levels of insecurity. The paper main argument is that women

role in countering the militant extremism remain an untapped source by the government policymakers. The paper aims to register the vitality of women's critical role as agents of peace in crafting and instituting a pro-active counter extremism policy at the governmental and non-governmental level. The paper raises the following queries:

- What is the theoretical lens to be employed to understand women role in moderating extremism in Pakistan?
- What's the nature of the Security Landscape in Pakistan that defines and envelopes the responses from both the state as well as non-state actors particularly women? Is there a difference between the Terrorism and Extremism?
- What has been the impact of militancy on Women in Pakistan?
- How women have responded to the extremely negative environment in the militancy hit areas? What has been the role of Women as "Agents of Change" in the positive sense at the micro and macro level within the country
- Have the governments since 9/11 considered women as an asset to be used in country's extremism in Pakistan?
- Finally, what needs to be done to involve women in eradicating and moderating violent extremism in Pakistan?

Theoretical Context

To undertake a scholarly analysis of the role of women in countering political violence the paper employs the feminist/gender based approach in the international relations. International Relations and has remain dominated by the men and the women role has remained negligible. During and after the conflict women issues and active role have been ignored. In 1989 Cynthia Enloe asked the question: "Where are the women?" She found that women often were there, even where we might not expect the, keeping a military base going, for example, or as the majority of workers in export-processing zones.¹ In the words Jan Jindly Pettman:

“When we find women, we find gender relations, too. So war stories from very different states tell of brave soldier men, the protectors, and the women they protect, who wait, and weep and have more sons for killing (Elshtain 1987). These stories construct men as agents of the state or nation, and women as passive, regardless of what actual men and women are doing..... They disguise women’s active support of or participation in wars, including as warriors. And they force conditions of dependence on women, who are expected to be grateful for this protection, even when they do not wish it.”²

Importantly, the following points cannot be ignored in understating the Pakistan’s security milieu:

- Feminism is not restricted to Western states.
- Contemporary feminism is diverse in their understandings of the difference gender masks and how to stop this difference from counting against women.
- Since early 1980s, the issue of differences between women has become visible in feminist politics.
- Women’s rights are not being progressively achieved. Today there is a global-wide backlash against women’s rights.³

Similarly one can relate to the Feminist and gender lens to understand the situation in Pakistan where women must be seen as the physical reproducers of the nation: they are ‘nationalist wombs’.⁴ Women are also agents in or against nationalist politics in their own right. The key points to note are:

- Nationalism is usually called up in gendered language.
- Women get caught up in nationalist politics in construction as mothers of the nation and as markers of difference.
- Women also participate in or oppose nationalist politics.
- Women’s symbolic significance in nationalism makes them vulnerable to violence, including war rape.

In short, Gender and Feminist theories are extremely useful to comprehend the critical situation in Pakistan. One must register that gender is a relevant category for analysis in global politics.⁵

Pakistan's Security Landscape

Militants, nationalist insurgents and violent sectarian groups carried out a total of 1,577 terrorist attacks across Pakistan in 2012, claiming the lives of 2,050 people and causing injuries to another 3,822. Over 61 percent (971) of these attacks were carried out by the so-called religiously motivated militant groups, mainly the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), which caused the killing of 1,076 people and injuries to another 2,227. The Baloch and Sindhi nationalist insurgents carried out 404 attacks, killing 437 people and injuring 823 others. Meanwhile, 202 sectarian related terrorist attacks, perpetrated by banned sectarian groups and the TTP and groups affiliated with it claimed the lives of 537 people and caused injuries to 772 people.⁶

Before proceeding an analysis of how women in Pakistan have been at the receiving end of the violent extremism and militancy one must be clear that there is thin line that bifurcate extremism and terrorism. In the words of renowned terrorism analyst Gus Martin:

“Extremism is a precursor to terrorism. It is an overarching belief system terrorist use to justify their violent behavior. It is characterized by what a person's beliefs are as well as how a person expresses his or her beliefs. Thus no matter how offensive or reprehensible one's thoughts or words are, they are not by themselves acts of terrorism. Only those who violently act out their extremist beliefs are terrorists.”⁷

Parallel to this, one cannot ignore the fact that present insecurity that includes physical and non-physical in nature is not recent phenomenon. There is whole history behind it. It's a product of successive government's benign neglect of the ground realities that has internal as well as external

dimensions. Religion has been exploited by ethnic, social, political and religious stakeholders to institute their personal gains. The rise of extremism in Pakistan stems from various internal and external factors. It can largely be tied to the country's legacy of unresolved disputes with India; General Zia ul-Haq's campaign to Islamize the country in the 1970s; the backlash of the 1980s Afghan War, where the US funded and armed *mujahedeen* to oust the Soviets, who were then left to their own devices after the US withdrew from the region; the exploitation of religion by actors seeking to achieve influence in South Asia; and the state's "patronage of militant groups to secure geostrategic objectives in Kashmir and Afghanistan."⁸ In the 1990s, the country experienced historically unprecedented growth in poverty, combined with the decline of democratic governance and oversight, which reinforced extremist tendencies.⁹ This period also witnessed a rise in sectarian and ethnic violence on a scale never seen before.¹⁰ Education curricula, the media, religious sermons, and political rhetoric illustrate—and widely disseminate—extremist attitudes. At a minimum, intolerant beliefs have infiltrated mainstream norms and polarized Pakistani society, leading to visible animosity toward religious and ethnic groups, social exclusion, and increasing violation of basic human rights, especially of women and minorities.

In its 65 years of independent existence, Pakistan has vacillated between civilian and military rule and thus has struggled to establish stable democratic institutions. Consequently, political and socioeconomic factors—such as poor governance; corruption; insufficient rule of law; gender, economic, and education disparities; unequal distribution of resources; and misinterpretation and exploitation of religion by state and non-state actors—have bred conditions that led to the rise of extremism and continue to fuel radicalization. Subsequently, most "Pakistanis still feel excluded from politics, educational opportunities, jobs, and justice."¹¹ It is also pertinent to note the role of democratically elected leadership particularly the Parliament has remained negligible vis-à-vis the violent extremism in the country. As a result growth of healthy and positive political culture remains

elusive to date.¹² According the recent report of an Islamabad based think-tank, Jinnah Institute:

“In terms of tackling the treatment of women as second-class citizen of Pakistan, all parties made a variety of legislative promises, such as schemes to ensure the financial independence of women, ratifying laws dealing with violence against women, and repealing laws discriminatory against women. While this has been met with some success, with the passage of the Protection Against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act in 2010, and the National Commission on the status of Women Bill in 2012, the question of changing the on-ground reality remains.”¹³

Rising extremism has only compounded women's marginalization. In addition to prevalent violence against women and increasing limitations on their participation in public life, terrorist violence has infiltrated almost all communities: the conflict has literally come to women's doorsteps. Suicide bombers regularly target public markets that women must frequent to sustain their families. Their workplaces have been bombed, as have their children's schools. Women in volatile KPK province noted that their children have stopped playing outside or accompanying them on errands for fear of attacks. According to a director of a school in Peshawar, “When I say goodbye to my family in the morning, I never know if one of us will not return home that night.”¹⁴

Impact of Conflict on Women

“Gender inequalities with respect to enjoyment of human rights, political and economic status, land ownership, housing conditions, education, health, in particular reproductive and sexual health and exposure to violence, make women more vulnerable before, during, and after disaster.” — UN Commission on the Status of Women.¹⁵

The impact of terrorist violence, armed conflict, and displacement on women is particularly acute. Women are

directly targeted by extremists, who seek to limit their rights and mobility. In Swat, the Taliban issued a *fatwa* against women working; they were also banned from leaving their homes without the accompaniment of a male relative,¹⁶ which has significantly limited women's access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities. Suicide bombers regularly target public markets, where women must go to sustain their families. Their workplaces have been bombed, as have their children's schools. For instance, girls' schools are often the targets of terrorist attacks—70 percent of the 440 schools destroyed by the Taliban in Swat were for girls.¹⁷

Crisis and resulting displacement impact women and girls differently from men and boys. As the mainstays of family and community life, women generally “look after the sick and children in situations of stress and scarcity.”¹⁸ Because women become extra burdened by the fundamental health and survival needs of their families during crises, tasks are often delegated to daughters, who are removed from schools to assist at home. This naturally increases the imbalance between the genders, even after the end of the conflict.¹⁹ Crisis-induced displacement also often “results in extreme social and familial disruption, increased work demands for women, greatly increased vulnerability of women to sexual violence, and high incidence of psychosocial trauma.”²⁰

Women and girl IDPs in Pakistan have faced “gender-based violence, trafficking, and specific health issues,”²¹ and women in refugee camps often lack “access to showers, latrines, emergency supplies, and doctors—with [detrimental] implications for their health and hygiene.”²² This is partly due to *purdah*, or customs that prohibit women from interacting with men outside their families, but also because women's specific needs are rarely taken into account when designing camp structures and management. Following natural and man-made disasters, women therefore must cope with and respond to upended social relations, increased exposure to violence, psychosocial distress, and the loss of security, protection, shelter and livelihoods.

Yet, despite women's social and economic role, as well as their demonstrated ability to help restore and rebuild devastated societies, women are rarely consulted in planning relief efforts or developing reconstruction policies. Their exclusion has led to the creation of gender-insensitive interventions that increase women's vulnerability and limit their access to the crucial resources communities need to recover, such "education, training and employment, and housing reconstruction."²³ For instance, even though about 12.2 percent of all registered IDPs in 2009 were female heads of households, a disproportionate amount of women did not receive adequate food and cash entitlements because compensation policies often only target, and distribute goods, to registered male heads up households.²⁴ This "inadvertently undermines[s] women's authority"²⁵ and stymies women's ability to rebuild their lives after violence. Ignoring the critical role women play in post-conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation and excluding them from shaping these processes is therefore detrimental not only to women themselves but also to the recovery of their families and communities.

In especially acute cases, such as in the Swat valley, the Taliban issued a *fatwa* against women working; they were also banned from leaving their homes without the accompaniment of a male relative. In addition to the severe health risks this poses to women needing medical attention as well as the economic strain this causes families, the Taliban's influence entirely disrupted social life—women are perpetually afraid of reprisal and many are depressed from the isolation.²⁶ Extremist violence is taking a devastating toll on the nation's emotional and psychological well-being. As the mainstays in families and communities, Pakistani women are particularly impacted by the social disruption and violence caused by conflict.

Additionally, the Taliban burned more than 400 schools in KPK's Malakand division and over 60 schools in FATA, especially targeting girls' schools.²⁷ During the 2009 military campaign in Swat, more than 500 schools were either

destroyed or partially damaged.²⁸ Such destruction has deprived approximately 150,000 students of education and left 8,000 women teachers jobless.²⁹

The costs of Pakistan's conflicts are practically immeasurable. Compounding significant loss of human life is the immense economic, political, social and psychosocial damage caused by extremist violence. In addition to curbing radicalization and tackling violent extremism, Pakistan also faces the daunting challenge of providing support to displaced and conflict-affected populations, reconstructing destroyed communities and rehabilitating those traumatized by violence. Women though at the receiving end of the conflict have also been used as human shields as well as fund raisers by the Islamic militant groups. In case of Swat prior to the military operations, women denoted their personal jewellery for the construction of an Islamic seminary by the Mullah Fazlullah. They did so, because initially in the radio broadcasts of the Mullah Fazlullah talked of the women issues and status in the society. This was very rare in the highly conservative society of Swat. Likewise in the first half of 2007, Lal Masjid episode 2007, thousands of students, including many girls, were barricaded in the Jamia Hafsa/Lal Masjid complex together with an arsenal of weapons prepared for violent confrontation if Sharia law was not imposed.³⁰

Women as Agents of change

“Women must be at the heart of all recovery and reconstruction processes. For decades, they have been the lifeline of their communities, leading survival systems and mutual aid networks, including among the internally displaced and refugee communities. Women are not just victims, they are survivors, and they need to be part of the solution. The reweaving of the social fabric of life is the foundation for reconstruction and a necessary part of the healing process. It is women, in their families and their communities, who are playing this role.” — Noeleen Heyzer, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.³¹

All too often, women are uniquely portrayed as victims of conflict despite the resilience they have shown in the face of disaster and their capability in rebuilding lives and communities. As evidenced by recent calamities, Pakistani women have played an enormous role in effectively responding to crises and helping their communities recover after they strike. For instance, many women physically helped repair and rebuild homes, as well as cultivate livestock, following the floods in Punjab.³² Normally excluded from decision making at the local level, flood-affected women also formed women's-only *Pattan Dehi Tanzeems*, or village organizations, to increase their influence in relief and reconstruction. Through these PDTs, local women assisted with food distribution as well as designing and building houses, which noticeably increased their access to resources and home ownership, and subsequently their influence within the community.³³ Two Pakistanis were also the first Muslim women to become female search-and-rescue workers for Focus Humanitarian Assistance, an emergency-response group affiliated with the Aga Khan Development Network. Called to rescue victims of flash floods, mudslides and earthquakes in perilous situations, they have placed their lives at incredibly high risk to save others—particularly women who cannot receive assistance from men because of *purdah*.³⁴

Pakistan also has a wealth of women-led civil society organizations leading humanitarian relief programs for IDPs and providing education, healthcare, psychosocial counseling, and livelihood skills training to populations affected by violence and displacement. In addition to providing direct service delivery, women are undertaking various initiatives—both personally and professionally—to help communities recover after disasters. For instance, Falaknaz Asfandyar, the widow of a former provincial minister assassinated by the Taliban in Swat, established a network of relatives and friends to support community reconstruction initiatives after military operations in the region. She personally raises and contributes funds to rebuilding projects and one day hopes to open a girls school in her home.³⁵ Amna Khan, who survived a bomb blast at the International Islamic University in Islamabad in

October 2009, formed a women's support network at the university to provide counselling to the survivors.³⁶

Members of Amn-o-Nisa (which means peace through women), a national coalition of Pakistani women leaders who have collectively mobilized against extremism, exemplify creative grassroots leadership in this regard. Through their respective organizations, members from Baluchistan and Punjab established "women-friendly" spaces in Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps to provide women and children healthcare and counseling services—a critical first step for healing and recovering after conflict. Others are training local leaders and district government officials on disaster-response strategies and human rights protection. One member facilitates interactive role-play sessions to teach communities how to mitigate and respond to natural disasters. At a personal level, I mobilized my family members and students to dedicate resources and recruit volunteers to help IDPs in Swat.³⁷

In areas hard-hit by extremist violence, women are also on the front lines of rehabilitation efforts. "According to Nasat Iqbal from the government's Social Welfare Organization, women are playing a major role in promoting education and leading rehabilitation projects. In Malakand, the Jamia Subhaniyya Rizvia is building one of the first religious and vocational schools for women in the tribal belt."³⁸ One member of Amn-o-Nisa who is a lawyer and human rights defender is providing pro bono legal services to widows, female orphans, and those injured in bomb blasts and advocating for their right to compensation and essential services.³⁹ Bushra Hyder, a member from KPK who directs a school, works with groups of students and mothers affected by violent extremism to address the trauma her community is experiencing. Recognizing increasing aggression and disturbing images in art classes, she began counseling sessions with the children and their mothers. She then invited the mothers to conduct storytelling sessions in classrooms to educate students about the negative consequences of intolerance and violence. Ms. Hyder also created "peace clubs"

of students who visit survivors of bomb blasts at a hospital in Peshawar to help both the survivors and students better understand and cope with their trauma.⁴⁰

One organization—PAIMAN Alumni Trust—initiated a deradicalization and rehabilitation program in Swat under the leadership of Executive Director Mossarat Qadeem, who is also the national coordinator of Amn-o-Nisa. Using dialogue and peaceful Quranic teachings, Ms. Qadeem works with the mothers of extremists to convince their sons to give up militancy and become peaceful members of society. The program also provides ex-Taliban fighters psychosocial counseling and skills-based training to link them with livelihoods and help them to lead meaningful, productive lives. As of this year, 79 boys had successfully been rehabilitated, some of whom went on to earn master's degrees, contest local elections, or become entrepreneurs.⁴¹

Aurat Foundation non-government organization established in 1986, *Aurat Publication and Information Service Foundation* is a civil society organization committed to work for women's empowerment and citizens' participation in governance for creating a socially just, democratic and humane society in Pakistan. *Awaz-e-Niswan* (Voice of Women) is a non-government, non-profit, secular registered women organization formed in 2001. It aims to raise the concerns of weaker segments of society especially single mothers heading the families (divorced, separated and widows) at regional and international level for the empowerment of women. It is working for the transformation of this vulnerable section of society into progressive, efficient and dynamic society to promote human respect and dignity for the advancement of a just society. To achieve its goals, it has been involved in the sector of education, health/reproductive health, enterprise development, legal awareness/assistance and peace and social harmony.

The *All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA)*, as it is commonly known, is a non-profit and non-political Pakistani organization whose fundamental aim is the furtherance of the

moral, social and economic welfare of the women of Pakistan. APWA has been a very active organization since its founding, with branches in 56 districts across Pakistan, and even in rural and urban fringe areas. *Khwendo Kor - Women and Children Development Program*. Its area of operation is the North Western Frontier Province (Peshawar, Karak and Dir). Major projects undertaken for women include the Micro credit Programme (1994) in Peshawar, and Khajwand Project on Education health and Poverty Alleviation in Karak.

Given their roles in families and civil society, women are keenly aware of their communities' needs and are well placed to help them physically, socially, and emotionally recover from violence. Their knowledge and insight about realities on the ground can shed light on affected groups' priorities and the resources required for reconstruction, which is needed to enhance the success of crisis-responses.⁴² As evidenced by the aforementioned examples, Pakistani women are taking incredible—even life-threatening—measures to reconstruct destroyed homes and schools, assist traumatized survivors, deradicalize and rehabilitate youth, and rebuild lives shattered by extremist violence.

Gaps in Government's response towards Women Role in moderating Extremism in Pakistan

“If the goal is to improve health, nutrition or education, reduce fertility or child mortality, stem the spread of HIV, build robust and self-sustaining community organizations, encourage grassroots democracy, and ultimately, temper extremism, successful efforts must target women.” —Isobel Coleman, Senior Fellow and Director of the Women and Foreign Policy Program, Council on Foreign Relations.⁴³

Despite the important contributions of Pakistani women to tempering extremist voices, preventing and resolving crises, and rebuilding communities affected by violence, national and international policymakers largely do not recognize women's roles as peace builders, which has contributed to a lack of access for women with keen insight about conflicts to relevant

decision-making circles. This exclusion has significantly weakened efforts to combat violent extremism because it has resulted in the creation of policies that do not accurately address the root causes of radicalization or the needs and concerns of conflict-affected communities. The active involvement of Pakistani women in shaping policies—especially related to security and development—is therefore critical to bring about a more stable, secure, prosperous country. It is similarly crucial to support Pakistani women's efforts to build peace and promote them as moderating forces within the country.

Despite policymakers' efforts to address violent extremism, uncoordinated and gender-insensitive responses have left marginalized communities wanting for services and, paradoxically, in some cases, more prone to radicalization. For instance, the lack of an organized, local first-response system following terrorist attacks has left many communities unsure of where and how to seek help, and from whom. Interviews with two women survivors of bomb blasts in Kurram Agency and Peshawar indicate that immediately after the blasts occurred, there were no emergency rescue teams or nearby first-aid facilities to treat the victims.⁴⁴ Women in particular face enormous challenges seeking emergency medical care from men who are not family members due to customs that prohibit them from doing so. Mass confusion following such events also caused widespread fear and panic among those affected, further exacerbating their trauma.⁴⁵

“We need female volunteers trained in advance by the hospital to cope with emergency situations.” — Dr. Arham Hai, Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences.⁴⁶ There also exists “no comprehensive policy and legislative framework for awarding compensation money to the civilian victims of conflict and terrorism in the country.”⁴⁷ Survivors of terrorist violence are in dire need of recovery assistance; currently left to support themselves, many are adopting more extremist views out of frustration and anger. For instance, according to a human rights defender in KPK, survivors are becoming more

prone to radicalization because they feel ignored and neglected.

National and international policymakers have not sufficiently acknowledged Pakistani women as peace builders or incorporated their voices into reconstruction and rehabilitation policies and processes. To truly address the needs of disaster-affected communities, provide assistance to survivors of extremist violence and displacement, and curb radicalization in Pakistan, it is imperative to support and enhance women's recovery efforts. Equally important, policymakers must include women when designing and implementing response, reconstruction, and rehabilitation initiatives to make them more effective and sustainable. This will ultimately help policymakers address the root sources and drivers of extremism and empower communities to effectively respond to and recover from extremist violence.

For instance, when 14 years girl Malala Yousufzai was shot in the neck and head by the extremist Taliban for speaking out on behalf of education for girls in Swat last year government condemned the action and she was shifted to United Kingdom for medical treatment. Malala has been recognized as symbol of courage within and outside the country. To quote her contemporary Noor:

“Malala has no fear. The Taliban misinterpret the Quran and do not represent Islam..... Quran advocates for compulsory education of both male and female..... I come from a conservative religious family and believe in education.”⁴⁸

Similarly, two rehabilitation centers have been set up in post-insurgency phase in Swat. Military has been running these centers. The focus of the program is on defusing anti-state tendencies. Parallel to this, aim is to impart skills like mobile repairing, electric work, and religious education to the detainees who were caught during and after the military operation in the area. ⁴⁹ To be more effective there is dire need to forge public and private partnership (particularly involving

women) in the post-conflict zones in the country. According to the Pak Institute for Peace Studies latest report:

“The complete denunciation of extremism should be the program’s objective and a viable ideological anchor needs to be provided in framework of nationalism and pluralism. At the same time, there is need to emphasize the post-release stage where rehabilitated detainees should be provided sufficient and prolonged aftercare.”⁵⁰

Conclusion/Recommendations

What we need today is holistic counter-terrorism policy that is rooted in the ground realities and involves women as potent factor in its formulating and implementation phase. Force based approach is often counter productive in nature and end up creating sympathy poles for the militants. To address violent extremism, enhance women’s ongoing efforts to build social cohesion, and increase women’s participation in peace and security processes the following recommendations for Pakistani policymakers:

Security

- The Senate and National Assembly Standing Committees on Interior should incorporate women into the proposed bill for establishment of the National Counter Terrorism Authority, ensuring that women will be appointed to 30 percent of the NACTA seats, following which the committees should approve the bill.⁵¹
- The Senate and National Assembly Standing Committees of Interior must ensure that the draft bill calls for a special focus on researching and addressing the impact of violent extremism and terrorism on women within NACTA’s Terms of Reference and Scope of Work.
- The Ministry of Interior must immediately review the personnel composition of civilian law enforcement agencies to ensure that they include 30 percent women.

- The Ministry of Interior must conduct an immediate needs assessment specifically for women police stations and women law enforcers to provide them with the necessary tools, equipment and resources for efficient performance of their duties.
- The Ministry of Interior, the National Police Bureau, and the National Police Academy must ensure capacity building and skill development of law enforcement officers so they are able to deal with women survivors as well as women perpetrators during incidents of violent extremism and terrorism.
- The Ministry of Interior, the National Police Bureau and the National Police Academy,⁵² must conduct trainings for capacity building and skills development particularly of women law enforcement officers, for efficient media liaising and public handling during incidents of violent extremism and terrorism.

Mediums of Indoctrination and Education

The Provincial Departments of Education and the Provincial Text Book Boards must include topics related to peace and tolerance, including interfaith harmony in curricula at the primary and secondary levels. Textbooks and other teaching materials should reflect the contributions of Pakistani women to their society.

- The Provincial Departments of Education should incorporate peace and tolerance into the professional development courses for teachers. Women organizations working on these issues should develop those courses and materials together.
- Civil society organizations invested in addressing extremism, especially women's groups, in partnership with media development organizations, should create a media watchdog committee to ensure compliance with the existing code of conduct.
- Media development organizations, along with civil society organizations, should develop media literacy

activities for youth and children in schools, colleges and universities on the impact of extremism.

Reconstruction and Rehabilitation

- To identify and acknowledge victims of violent extremism and terrorism, and to provide survivors with adequate compensation, the Federal Ministry of Interior, along with the Provincial Ministries/ Departments of Social Welfare and Women Development, should map, collect, and consolidate data of the conflict affectees, especially women, youth, and other vulnerable groups.
- The National Disaster Management Authority, and where applicable, the concerned Provincial Disaster Management Authorities, should review their respective policy frameworks to acknowledge women's role as agents of change in moderating extremism and to ensure specific attention is paid to the needs of women and youth affectees of violent extremism and terrorism.
- The NDMA and PDMA/FDMA (where applicable) should appoint and support a gender adviser to integrate the roles, needs and concerns of women survivors of violent extremism and terrorism in all phases and levels of reconstruction and rehabilitation.
- The National Crisis Management Cell, the NDMA and the PDMA/FDMA (where applicable), through an inclusive and consultative process, should develop a strong mechanism for monitoring and evaluation, as well as analysis, of reconstruction and rehabilitation activities for women and youth affected by violent extremism and terrorism.
- The Prime Minister and the Cabinet, in coordination with the provincial governments and women's organizations, must develop a National Policy for Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, along with a national strategy. The proposed national policy must focus on women and youth affectees of violent

- extremism and terrorism and recognize women's leadership in advancing social cohesion.
- The Provincial Departments of Home and Interior, District Coordination Officers, and District Police Officers/Capital City Police Officers, along with community-based organizations and other stakeholders should identify and nominate first responders in every district to react to incidents of extremist violence and terrorism, specifically addressing the needs of women and girls.
 - The Provincial Departments of Women Development and Social Welfare must ensure the accessibility and availability of women crisis centers in conflict-affected areas to provide trauma care, psychosocial support, and skills for rehabilitation.
 - The Provincial Education Departments should conduct a needs assessment in order to reconstruct demolished schools and construct new schools for girls in conflict-affected areas according to the needs of the community. The departments should also provide enhanced training for female teachers with incentives to work in post-conflict areas and ensure continued education for girls.
 - Civil society organizations, especially women's groups working on peace and security, should partner with relevant military and civilian authorities to conduct an independent evaluation of ongoing deradicalization efforts, including centers such as *Sabaoon* and *Raastoon*. Furthermore, engage women and youth groups in advancing similar efforts with appropriate modifications.

In nut shell, women constitute almost 52 percent of the total population of the country and this is an asset that must be incorporated both in the public and private capacity to eradicate political violence in the country. Following the 2013 elections, a unique opportunity exists to involve marginalized sect that is women to be mainstreamed in the society. In the last elections Ulema in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and Baluchistan didn't allow women to cast their vote. In contrast to this, All

Pakistan Ulema Council (APUC) in a recently held national conference in Islamabad reached a consensus on the issue of right of franchise for women. The conference issued an edict, declaring that Islam and Shariah does not prevent but supports women's participation in the elections, and any attempt to keep them away from casting votes would be against the teaching of Islam and Shariah.⁵³

Author

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Notes

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3. Ibid, p.489.

4. Enloe, C. op.cit.

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CHALLENGES IN IRAN-PAKISTAN GAS PIPELINE

Dr. Muhammad Saleem Mazhar & Dr. Naheed S. Goraya

Abstract

The acute energy crisis is a major problem being faced by Pakistan today which in turn has made the country down-trodden both economically and socially. Since gas is the cheapest source of energy production so, Iran Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project carries greater significance in this backdrop. This project is not only considered as a Pipeline but also the Lifeline. On March 11, 2013, the ground breaking ceremony of Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline (IP), so called "Peace Pipeline" took place despite great opposition by the US. This project carries a win-a-win position for both Iran and Pakistan. Pakistan today faces energy crisis and its most of the problem can be resolved by Iran which is the second largest producer of gas as it will get the revenue from exporting gas to Pakistan. The IP Project must be implemented in order to tackle Pakistan's energy problem. As it will not only benefit Pakistan in getting transit fee for the route of gas to other countries but also this project will add to the enhancement of the industrial and agricultural sector at cheaper rates. The success of this project will help Pakistan to revitalize its economy. This paper explains a brief history of the Pipeline Project along with its feasibility aspects. The study will analyze how the IP Project is very much vital for Pakistan today as the energy crisis in the country is rising high and this step forward will be in the national interest. It will also discuss how US is making an unjustified pretext regarding the initiation of the project between both Iran and Pakistan.

Introduction

Oil and gas carries significant economic and geopolitical repercussions in the modern world, and are therefore measured as the 'most strategic sources of energy'. While on the other hand, natural gas is thought to be the 'preferred

energy', as compared to oil and gas, because of its greater efficiency and cost effectiveness. Today Iran with its 15.8 % share of the world's proven gas reserves requires exporting its gas and the Asian market is knocking down its door.¹

The Iran-Pakistan pipeline has a long history as it had been conceived 20 years ago. Earlier, it was not carried out because Pakistan could not decide between the options of Turkmenistan (Taliban factor), Qatar (differences over pricing and incentives, technical difficulties, inter-Gulf politics and political missteps on both parts) or Iran.² It was the mid 1950s when an article was published by the Military College of Risalpur under the title of "Persian Pipeline" written by Malik Aftab Ahmad Khan, Pakistani civil engineer. The author invoked the proposal to underpin the gas reserves and presented a design scheme of the potential project.³ In 1985, Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project was formally signed between both countries. This project was brought under discussion with Iran for the first time in history in the era of (Late) Benazir Bhutto's Premiership in 1994. She as a Prime Minister of Pakistan had three options at that time;

- Construction of Ghazi-Barotha Dam (the Hydro-Power Project on Indus River)
- Initiation of the negotiations for oil and gas with Iran (As pipeline at that time was not under much discussion).
- Independent power projects (IPPs) of 5000 MW were installed (which were highly criticized and later on corruption charges were also filed against Benazir Bhutto's government).

Afterwards, in 1995, the gas pipeline was discussed again by signing a preliminary agreement. In 1998, for the first time, its development was subtracted in Nawaz Sharif's second era (1997-99) and it was proposed that India should also be included in this pipeline, along with Pakistan and Iran, not only to create an atmosphere of peace but for the promotion of trade and to open more pipelines. Following this, in 1999, Iran started talks with India. While earlier in 2001-02, the then

Pakistani Chief Executive, Musharraf looked this project not more than a Transit pipeline, as Iran was having gas and India was in need of energy while Pakistan had no demands. Thus Pakistan was supposed to play the role of a facilitator as a Transit Company, and for that very reason, Pakistan had to collect the fare in lieu of using its land. In 2003, a working group of Iran and Pakistan was established so that it may be developed further. In 2004 (before India joined this pipeline), the then Pakistani Prime Minister, Shaukat Aziz (2004-07) during SAARC Conference, tried to persuade India in order to join the pipeline; but India showed no concern at that time. Rather it was stated that unless the relations between both countries are smooth and trust-building takes place, India would not take gas through Pakistan. The main reason lying behind it was Indian concern over security issues between both countries. It showed apprehensions that if any security conflict between both countries takes place, Pakistan might block the gas supply and therefore, India “would not take that much high risk” without resolving issues with Pakistan. It also proposed that the pipeline might be spread under sea towards Mumbai. But it could be very pricey that way. Moreover, cutting-edge technology would have been required that is only accessible to US and few European countries so far. Another factor which abandoned India was the issue of transit fee. India would have to pay the transit fee to Pakistan around \$350 million and it was quite unacceptable for India to boost Pakistan’s economy.⁴ Nevertheless India demanded the security-sovereign guarantees. It was much debated in India too, whether Pakistan should be trusted or not? It was the time, when Musharraf started “Aman ki Asha” (A Peace Initiative), in order to have Indian trust over Pakistan and for that very reason, also provided an out of box solution for Kashmir and banned the alleged tag of Jihad.

In 2005, during Musharraf’s Presidency, it was decided that India should also be included in this project. At that time, when this pipeline project was being discussed, its purpose was to spread this pipeline from Iran to India as India was facing the acute energy crisis at that time while Pakistan did not. Thus in 2005, India finally agreed to have a 3-way

pipeline. But today, the scenario is different. Pakistan is facing acute energy crisis and Musharraf had not left country with any “forward planning” and thus it could not proceed further. Another issue related to this project had not been resolved during Musharraf’s era and that was about diameter of the pipeline. The problem with the gas is that once the pipeline is spread, afterwards, its diameter cannot be enlarged. More the diameter of pipe would be, the more will be the supply of gas. Currently, the diameter of the pipe is 56 inches, but if Pakistan has to get the gas on the way through, then more supply would be needed as its diameter was supposed to be according to the needs of India only at that time. In 2008-09, energy shortage was started in Pakistan and it was asserted that the resources left are sufficient for a very meagre period of time. Then Pakistani authorities immediately thought to have a share in the pipeline project. While on the other hand, India had already signed a Civil-Nuclear deal with the US in 2009 under the conditions that it would not take gas from Iran. Therefore, the US administration demanded from India that it should abandon the pipeline project and may take nuclear energy from US. Eventually, India exercised the option of nuclear energy and pulled down from the project.

In 2010, another issue rose to scene. America demanded Pakistan to leave this project with the warnings that if it would go ahead in constructing this pipeline, then sanctions like Iran will also be imposed on it. These sanctions are too tough and Iranian government is being hurt by the US administration and is keen to get Iran out of this project. Under this act, India was pulled out too. On March 16, 2010, a formal agreement was signed between Iran and Pakistan in Ankara (Turkey). In July 2011, Iran publicized that it has done its part of pipeline construction. On March 12, 2012, the Finance Ministry of Pakistan claimed that the investors are showing interest in this project; therefore Pakistan would be in need of having assistance from Iranian, Chinese and Russian governments as well.

In 2012, this act was strengthened by making 9 more amendments; and then 3 more strict provisions were added

into this act. Under this act, if any individual or financial institution (whether be it Iranian, Non-Iranian, American or any one), may promote the petro-chemical products, the sanctions will be attracted. But it is important to note that these sanctions can either be imposed on an individual or financial institution but not on the country. While if the law is violated over the issue of nuclear weapons, the sanctions will be imposed on the said country. At present, Iran is under three layers of international sanctions “targeting its alleged pursuit” of “Non-Peaceful” nuclear activities — a unilateral sanctions regime imposed by the US in conjunction with the European Union, and a multilateral regime under the framework of the United Nations. Largely, US sanctions rule out the American nationals and individuals from business and arms dealing with Iran, as well as targeting Iran’s financial dealings with the rest of the world. Yet its domain widens to non-US persons, nonetheless, in the case of re-export of sensitive US-origin goods, technology or services to Iran or the government of Iran.⁵

Therefore when it became evident that these sanctions can be imposed on the individuals and majority stake holders in a company, three important entities within Pakistan pulled out of this;

- **National Bank of Pakistan (NBP):** It is a nationalized bank of Pakistan. As all the reserves and banks of NBP were in New York and the entire export and import was managed from there, therefore it did not want to take any risk. Thus in November 2011, it declared that the bank would not take any risk of financing this project as sanctions could be imposed consequently and pulled out eventually.
- **Industrial-Commercial Bank of China:** China too having many interests, pulled out in 2011 and refused to finance.
- **Oil & Gas Development Company Limited (OGDCL):** Its share-holders are also foreigners and thus they have their buying-selling dealings with them. Therefore, Pakistan had neither its own institutions at

its back nor did China support it. In nutshell, none of the institution was ready to finance this project

On April 15, 2012, such news were heard in which Saudi Arabia had also demanded Pakistan to leave the project and offered oil, gas and cash money in compensation. In January 2013, the Pakistani cabinet gave the final approval. Hence on March 11, 2013, the formal working of this project was initiated. Although the financial problems prevailed about the construction of the pipeline, yet Pakistani government decided to go ahead.

Earlier the pipeline project was named as IPI (Iran-Pakistan-India) Pipeline which India withdrew under American pressure later on and went ahead for nuclear agreement with the US. Now this pipeline project has been formally initiated between Pakistan and Iran with the grounding breaking ceremony of March 11, 2013.

Pipeline Feasibility

The first section of the pipeline (running over 900 Km) from Assaluyeh region of Iran to the city of Iranshahr in Sistan and Balochistan province was inaugurated about two years ago. The construction of the second section of the pipeline (120Km) was initiated in 2012, running from the South-Eastern Iranian city of Iranshahr to Pakistani border while the last trench of the pipeline on Pakistani soil is expected to be finished in next two years.⁶ The “781 Km section’s consultants include Germany’s Beratende Ingenieur GmbH and Pakistani Nespak. The construction work will be undertaken by “Tadbir energy” of Iran at an estimated cost of \$1.3 billion. Iran will provide \$ 500 million-half through a government loan and half through an Iranian bank. The remaining cost will be arranged through a Chinese loan and gas infrastructure development cess”.⁷ By 2015, daily 750 million cubic feet of gas will be delivered to Pakistan through this project. According to the feasibility studies, this pipeline has 30 years life span and Pakistan will be getting \$60-70 billion, adding up to \$2 billion in 30 years. In the following six

months, Iran will extend this pipeline (785 Km long starting from Iranian border) up to Gwadar from where it is supposed to spread up to Nawab Shah (Sindh), ultimately producing 4000 MW of electricity. It will help in getting some eradication from the expensive electricity that is being produced by Furnace Oil. Thus on one hand, it will not only increase the production but on the other hand, it will be cheaper too.

Iran has already laid down 900 km pipeline from South Pars to Sheher while 200 Km pipeline up to Gabd-Zero point which is in the final stages of design. The 781 km Pakistani section of the pipeline (42 inch diameter) is to be laid close to Makran Coastal highway from Gabd-Zero point to Nawabshah.

Current Status

The myopic policies of the governments, inefficient and expensive rental plants, scarce funds, severely damaging industrial production have led Pakistan to face dire “energy crisis” due to lack of management, flawed utilization policy and lack of effectiveness in supply and use of energy as main aspects.

Though Pakistan has taken initiative about the IP project, yet the fact cannot be set aside that it would have to face difficulties as far as Pak-US relations in the present scenario are concerned. Pakistan has been facing the US opposition over this issue since last three years. As already Patrick Ventrell, the Spokesman of the State Department has stated that “the finalization of the Iran-Pakistan pipeline project was bound to raise serious concerns in the USA”. It was further claimed how US has been assisting Pakistan in dealing with the energy crisis.⁸

The same threats have been raised by Victoria Nuland, another Spokesperson of the US Department on March 7, 2013.⁹ Subsequently on March 11, 2013, the US State Department has made it clearer that the sanctions can be

imposed against Pakistan under Iran Sanctions Act. Now there are two important questions;

- Will such sanctions be in favour of the US administration at this stage, when Afghan endgame is in offing and America wants Pakistan's help in the withdrawal process?
- If such sanctions are imposed, how Pakistan is going to tackle this situation and sustain in the presence of already deteriorated economic conditions? In addition to that, how Pakistan will deal the issue on diplomatic level?

The Challenges, Realities and Pipeline Geopolitics

The ground breaking ceremony of IP project has not only given a new direction to the political and commercial policies of the region but also the annoying attitude of the global actors, the US and Europe has shaken the global scenario. The future of Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline (IP) seems much vivid as it is not a future of IP but it is future of Pakistan. What the nations have to choose is between the obscurity and poverty and the affluence. This project is not merely advantageous for Pakistan but also vital for Iran and the whole region. Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline is the cheapest way of receiving gas for Pakistan as it will not only meet up with the industrial and domestic requirements of the country but also generate electricity.

The price of gas is currently estimated at 78 % of the international oil price, but subject to the revision a year before it flows on the basis of competitive energy resources, notably Turkman gas.¹⁰ Pakistan is supposed to complete its part of pipeline till the year 2014; otherwise it will have to pay a fine, starting from January 2015. If Pakistan does not take gas, it will have to pay penalty of 0.1 million per day; and if Pakistan shows any delay in this penalty, it will increase to 0.3 million per day. There is no doubt that Pakistan is in dire need of energy today, yet this project is intolerable for the owners of dollars and Euro who are already creating hurdles for Iran day

by day. Today, Turkey is the largest customer of Iranian gas. It consumes 90% of the exported Iranian gas. Though china, Japan and India are the buyers of Iranian oil, yet they have assured the big powers that they would reduce their purchasing demand gradually. All of these countries make payments to Iran in their own currency and Turkey is not an exception. It pays to Iran in *Lera* which are deposited in a Turk Bank. Iran used to purchase gold from this money which by somehow, it used to sell in UAE and thus *Dollars* were attained. But now America has amended the law and has included the “precious metals” among “forbidden”; as if to make the selling of gold impossible for Iran. The sanctions are the serious obstacles as far as this pipeline project is concerned.

Pipeline Geopolitics

Energy security is a subject where politics mixes with economics.¹¹ If it is looked at history of this gas pipeline projects, it becomes evident how the politics and economy have been behind the curtains.

Politics

Though Iran is going to benefit itself economically with this project, yet it carries much significance for Iran from a political point of view as well. As the western, particularly the American pressure has been increasing on several countries across the globe in order to exclude them from concluding oil and gas contracts with Iran. Nevertheless, this project is going to engage both Iran and Pakistan in a vital project which on one hand will not only meet the interest of both countries but on the other hand will have a positive impact on them too.¹² As far as Pakistan is concerned, the only available option for the gas so far is Sui gas Distribution Network. It is pathetic to know that a larger part of the reserves of Sui gas has been burnt up. Apart from that the hydro-power or coals potential have not been exploited yet. Despite the acute shortage of energy and the dire need of Pakistan to import the pipeline gas from Iran, it is pertinent to know that the “pipelines at all

times are a highly political matter as they have participated as an important player in the regional politics”.¹³

Economics

Though geo-politics of IP gas pipeline is very important debate yet its economics cannot be brushed aside. Pakistan today faces an acute energy crisis (with a direct economic cost of about 3-4% of GDP per annum) and for that reason, it not only requires natural gas but also the “liquid petroleum gas, TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India) project, import of electricity from Central Asia and greater exploitation of indigenous hydel, natural and coal resources”. The power crisis faced by Pakistan today Pakistan had been predicted in 2006 by Hagler Bailly who stated that “Pakistan would be witnessing a severe gas shortage in 2007 which if not managed, would worsen in the next two decades”.¹⁴



Source: <http://www.defence.pk/forums/strategic-geopolitical-issues/131834-iran-pakistan-top-regional-powers-iran-2.html>

The geo-strategic location of Pakistan can develop it into an ‘Energy Corridor’ in the region. The “gas comprises almost 48% of Pakistan’s energy mix. During the year 2011-12, the fuel oil import bill of Pakistan was \$12 billion which was expected to increase by \$ 13 billion by the next financial year

and by 2020 it would be almost 45 to \$ 50 billion. It shows that there would be almost 3 fold increase in the demand of energy while out of that only 63 million metric tons of oil was being produced locally. It illustrates that almost 38-40% oil was to be imported in next 15 years”. At present “700 million cubic feet of gas is being consumed daily in Pakistan and 7% likely increase in annual consumption of oil signifies that the oil demand will multiply to about 4 billion cubic feet by 2025”. Pakistan is facing the scarcity of 5000-6000MW of energy, resulting in heavy gas load shedding etc.¹⁵

At present, the shortfall of natural gas in Pakistan is around 1.5 billion cubic feet per day (bcfpd) which is estimated to go up to around 6-8 bcfpd by 2020. Therefore, it can be affirmed that this project will help Pakistan in dropping the generation cost from the “existing fuel mix which is tilted towards furnace oil and diesel”. Whatever the direct economic costs are, the broader macro-economic collateral cost are ample too which are;

- Turn down in employment level
- Lower level of earnings
- Lower government revenue
- Decline in export orders
- Considerably lower fixed investment levels
- Larger frailty of banking structure
- Heavy subsidies through budget
- New-enterprise circular debt¹⁶

Unjustified Pretext of the US Threats

America has throughout been opposing this project and has constantly pressurizing Pakistan to abandon itself from this project. The US earlier in 2010 had also offered an alternative energy route to Pakistan. In addition to that, Obama administration also put forward assistance to Pakistan for a ‘Liquefied Natural Gas Terminal’ along with providing the electricity from Tajikistan through Wakhan Corridor, conditioned if Pakistan restraints itself from IP Project but the offer has been denounced by Pakistani government. Despite

the fact that US administration has been warning that in case, Pakistan goes ahead in this project, the US would move up severe apprehensions under the Iran Sanctions Act. Though in case of sanctions, Pakistan will come across many difficulties yet so far, firmly, it is ready to move ahead with this project.

America's 12 years futile war in Afghanistan is a complete failure and as in 2014, it plans to show an exit, therefore, Pakistan carries a vital position. For that reason, it is in the better interest of US that it may support IP project rather than opposing it. It is very simple to understand that "if Iran could export 6 to 9 billion cubic meter gas to Turkey and 1 billion cubic metre to Armenia which in the future would rise to 2.3 billion cubic metre, then why objections were being made on Iran regarding exporting gas to Pakistan".¹⁷

Whatever threats American administration is making, they are based on unjustified pretext as far as the purchase of the gas from Iran is concerned because they consider that it is not going to attract them in view of the nature of deal. The other thing is that the payment of the gas supply which has to be done through the export of foodstuffs and other commodities; hence there will be no Pakistani investment in Iran's energy sector. Turkey and Turkmenistan has not faced any sanctions despite the fact that Iranian pipelines have been laid there too. Moreover, India also did not face sanctions while it has been importing oil from Iran. The gas or oil exports or imports have not been barred under the sanctions imposed by UN Security Council. The restraints on Iranian oil have been positioned "unilaterally by the European Union and indirectly by the US through banking limitations". These are not obligatory for other countries

Even as regards the "unilateral restrictions placed on import of oil from Iran by the EU and US, exceptions have been made by Washington for European and other countries, including India, which are very much reliant on Iranian oil". Since Pakistan has practically no other speedy option to meet its energy requirements, the US threat of "costs" is particularly insensible and unmerited. The American suggestion that

Pakistan must execute TAPI pipeline, as an alternative is hypocritical, as it does not seem feasible due to low-graded quality of gas and also owing to the instability in Afghanistan. This venture is unlikely to be accomplished unless there is “peace in Afghanistan and this outlook is as secluded as ever”. Pakistan cannot afford to hang around for the foreseeable future. In any case, “Pakistan (and India) can well use all the gas that can be supplied through both the Iran and Turkmenistan pipelines”.¹⁸

But currently, Pakistan must avoid these sanctions as already China, India along with its own financial institutions have pulled out of the project. Therefore, there are three options available for Pakistan;

- Either it manages money itself but it will lead to further problems.
- There is no money in hand though the cost of the pipeline has been reduced from \$1.5 billion to \$1.3 billion.¹⁹
- Iran might be asked that it should finance in constructing the Pakistani part of pipeline. But Iran itself does not have finances as it has two defaults during the year 2013; as Iranian government had bought wheat from Ukraine and so far it has not paid. Moreover, It had also bought rice from India and has not paid to it also yet.

The existing rules do not allow any sanctions on the purchase of Iranian natural gas. Though, even if it were met by the US “dialling up the pain” for Pakistan, “economically or via other means, cold economic logic reads out that Pakistan ought to pursue through on the pipeline”.

Though the role of India and china has been backed out as a result of American sanctions, yet Russia is keen about this project and is supporting it. The major reason in this regard is the Russian reluctance over TAPI as it desires that the gas should be produced from Iran but at the same time, it is not in her interest that the Central Asian gas may come downwards

in South towards India, Pakistan and China, rather it should connect Europe through Russia by paying its transit fee. Therefore, in this scenario, Russia has shown concern that it may help Pakistan in constructing pipeline on Pakistan's part-way through *Gazprom* (the major state home corporation of Russia). This offer is fraught with the condition that Pakistan will not review on Russian bidding. Apart from that, Russia has offered Pakistan for a long-term loan but Pakistani authorities have not shown any consent and desire to have any kind of self-financing scheme offered by Iran.

Conclusion

The IP project is considered to be not only a pipeline for Pakistan but also the Life Line. Therefore, it is in the benefit of the country that the project be carried on as it will congregate 75% of energy requirement (making industrial and agricultural inputs cheaper) which would be accessible for 20 years. This project is feasible and cheapest opportunity for Pakistan because it will assist in saving the diminishing foreign reserves. Although IP would cost \$3billion to Pakistan yet it would trim down oil imports by \$5.3 billion. Therefore, no compromise should be made on the part of political leadership as this project in the national interest of Pakistan. If the country does not go for pipeline project then it would have yet more severe implications than the ones US is expected to inflict on Pakistan in case of pursuing gas project with Iran. It is high time that Pakistan may trail the profound economic rendezvous with Iran as part of a stretched out venture for regional economic integration which the US claims to sustain.

Relations with Iran should not be viewed as a "zero-sum" game to any other set of Pakistan's imperative bilateral relationships — in proportion to the US approach to Pakistan and India. Much time has already been wasted as far as this project is concerned. Not only there are widened distances among the neighbours, but also Pakistan has not been appreciated despite many sacrifices in the war against terrorism. It is yet to see if the future governments

successfully carry this project or not? Still if the project succeeds, it can be enlarged towards India and Western China in future. Then Pakistan would be in a position to have million dollars as transit fee. Therefore, any kind of the trade Iran may start with China and India, Pakistan will be acting as a trading hub of the region. This is an imperative step forward which will certainly enhance the national interest of the country. The government must do what is right and in the best interest of the nation and country. Pakistan carries a significant geo-strategic position and has the trump card as far as 2014 withdrawal from Afghanistan is concerned. America will definitely be in need of using Pakistan's territory as earlier it did face many hurdles when NATO supply route was closed by Pakistan twice. The US and NATO forces will have to use Pakistani land once the withdrawal from Afghanistan takes place. Apart from that, US administration needs Pakistan as far as peace talks and negotiations with Afghan factions are concerned. Therefore, the US might relax sanctions that it has earlier imposed on Iran, if the talks between Iran and P-5 Countries (the 5 permanent members of the UN Security Council) proceed further. America must recognize that Pakistan is in need to balance its own economic needs with its responsibilities as an ally. The government of Pakistan must keep in mind while formulating its energy and power policies, so that the best use of the gas from IP pipeline may be utilized. The IP project carries greater significance for Pakistan's shattered economy at this particular stage as the agriculture and industry in the country is declining. It may lead Pakistan towards the formation of Asian Tiger one day. It will create new employment opportunities for the people of those areas where this pipeline will cross. Despite threats and hurdles, the IP Gas pipeline project will unfasten the possibilities of far-reaching relations with one of our close neighbours.

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Notes

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ISLAMIC CONCEPT OF MORALITY AS NOTION OF WAR FIGHTING CONCEPT

Hassan Jalil

Abstract

Almost all modern armies of the world adopt some form of morality; however its application profiles have differed across the world dependent upon culture and environment. Analysis of contemporary moral trends in militaries across the globe reveals that existing concepts have failed to ensure ethical behavior in the battlefield. This failure leads to question the viability of contemporary moral trends and the need for alternative models of morality in profession of arms. A look at Islamic conception of morality divulges that it centers its foundation on ethical behavior as its philosophical basis is the endowment in human beings to differentiate between virtue and evil. The ultimate purpose of morality in Islam is to achieve love and Faith in the Almighty and the one who attains these qualities reaches the pinnacle of Nafs-e-Mutma'innah (contented Soul). Islam which presents a stronger concept of morality can serve as a basis of moral doctrine for Pakistan Army. Thus, the study has been purposed to suggest the inclusion of Islamic principles of morality in the Army as a notion of our war fighting concept. The study has been developed by critical review of literature produced on the subject matter.

The Quintessence of Morality

O ye who believe! stand out firmly for Allah, as witnesses to fair dealing, and let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to piety: and fear Allah. For Allah is well-acquainted with all that ye do.¹

The term Morality, an eighteenth century English word, has been derived from the French “moralite” or from Latin

“moralis” meaning “manner, character, and proper behavior”². The Oxford dictionary defines morality as “a particular system of values and principles of conduct” and “the extent to which an action is right or wrong”. The term “morality” is used both descriptively and normatively³ wherein descriptively it refers to codes of conduct put forward by a society or some other group such as a religion, whereas, used normatively it refers to a code of conduct that, given specified conditions, would be put forward by all rational persons⁴.

Morality can be displayed as an individual behavior or as a group behavior abiding a Moral Code. A system of morality (according to a particular philosophy, religion, culture, etc.) can be described as a ‘Moral Code’ and a moral is any one practice or teaching within a moral code⁵. In its applicability dimension, morality can be equated with “goodness” or “rightness.”⁶ Immorality is the active opposition to morality (i.e. opposition to that which is good or right), while amorality is variously defined as an unawareness of, indifference toward, or disbelief in any set of moral standards or principles. Moral or ethical behavior is generally taken to mean behavior that conforms to some code of conduct which is held to be authoritative in matters of right and wrong⁷. The set of principles that define what is right and wrong being called ‘morality’ or ‘ethics’⁸.

Morals and Ethics are interchangeable terms as ethics also known as moral philosophy is the branch of philosophy concerned with the systematic study of morality i.e. what is right or wrong⁹. The word ‘ethics’ is sometimes used more narrowly to mean the moral principles of a particular tradition, group, or individual. Although the morality of people and their ethics amounts to the same thing, morality is generally restricted to systems such as that of Kant (philosopher), based on notions such as duty, obligation, and principles of conduct, whereas, ethics are more akin to Aristotelian approach of practical reasoning, based on the notion of a virtue, and generally avoiding the separation of ‘moral’ considerations from other practical considerations¹⁰.

The Notion of Morality in Military

The notion of Morality in Military is quite old rather as old as the history itself¹¹. Even the primitive religions preached some form of morality during wars. Even the most barbaric of the armies observed, if not all, some form of moral conduct during wars. Genghis Khan, despite his eagerness to take lives with no moral consequences, had instructed his army to abide by a strict code of moral conduct which later came to be known as Mongol Laws.¹²

This was because the need for the highest degree of morality and ethics are at the pinnacle in the military profession which places the supreme demand of not only sacrificing oneself in the line of duty but also require to kill the opponent while still retaining the high moral ground and professional ethos. These ostensible contradictory demands place a greater premium on the commanders as far as collective responsible behavior of the men they command.

With the advancement in educational levels across the globe, the notion of morality in military has gained more popular support. However the quality and quantity of military ethics training varies widely between countries¹³. Military ethics are included the training syllabus in almost all armies of the world. For instance, with US defence forces the foremost emphasis is on loyalty where the military officers are taught the four stages of moral development which include moral understanding, moral compliance, moral maturity, and moral ambition. In Australia, cadets at the Australian Defence Force Academy are taught character development classes (run by military chaplains). Military ethics is run as a university course, taught by a philosophy lecturers at Royal Military College Duntroon and at Australian Defence College. Thus all major armies of the world teach moral ethics in some form. The existing morality quotient of modern armies, as given by Paul Robinson in his book *Ethics Education in the Military* is given as under¹⁴:-

Israel	Australia	US Army	Germany	British Army
Mission perseverance	Professionalism	Loyalty	Loyalty	Integrity
Responsibility	Loyalty	Duty	Duty	Respect
Credibility	Innovation	Respect	Discipline	Loyalty
Personal example	Courage	Selfless service	Valour	Courage
Respect for human life	Integrity	Honour	Moral values	Discipline
Purity of arms	Teamwork	Integrity	Democracy	Selfless commitment
Professionalism	-	Personal courage	-	-
Discipline	-	-	-	-
Comradeship	-	-	-	-

A subjective analysis of existing morality quotient of modern armies reveals that a lot of emphasis is laid on group loyalty and the need to train military personnel to kill (completion of mission). The group bonding is achieved through immersion in the intense, all-encompassing, group-oriented training environment, drills and ceremonials through the constant emphasis on duty, obedience, and loyalty, and through unofficial bonding processes. This is made explicit in a US Army report on military training which states that developing “unit cohesion” is a central goal of physical training, as is developing the “warrior ethos” which includes “never leaving a fallen comrade behind”. However, in view of the repeated embarrassing incidents in the recent past, the concept of blind obedience and loyalty to the military/ own unit is now being seriously debated in the military thinkers. Questioning the group loyalty and group cohesion, it is argued that virtuous military personnel would not cover up other combatants’ illegal activities, would not participate in illegal and degrading hazing rituals, and would not put group conformity above the military’s own values.

Concurrent to the group cohesion, an equal premium is being placed on preparing the soldiers for the combat by imparting training in realistic environment so that the actual combat would just look like practice firing. To minimize the psychological impact of killing, desensitization behavioral conditioning are part of the training regime, achieved through various measures.

Motivating Drivers for Existing Concept of Morality in Military

In scientific domain, neuro scientists associate morality to the activation of 'mirror neurons' and stimulation of ventromedial prefrontal cortex¹⁵. In instinctive domain, many prescriptive theories of morality exist among which more famous are Ethical Egoism, Virtue Ethics/Self Pleasure, Kantism, Cultural Relativism, Moral Subjectivism and Divine Command Theory etc. Immanuel Kant's theory on morality and Divine Command Theory are two leading theories which form the basis of morality in contemporary armies.

Kantian Theory: Concept of modern western morality is built on the foundation of this theory in which one ought to do his duty simply because it is his duty and reason guides to this conclusion. Right and wrong is determined by rationality, giving universal duties¹⁶. The basic idea highlights that there exists a supreme principle of morality in which good and evil are defined in terms of Law/Duty/Obligation. Rationality and Freedom are central moral values to this theory. Good Will (i.e., having the right intentions) is the only thing that is good without qualification so, actions are truly moral only if they have the right intention, i.e., based on Good Will.

Divine Command Theory: This theory anchors on the assumption (fact) that there is a definite connection between morality and religion, to the extent that, without religion (in particular, without God or gods) there is no morality, i.e., no right and wrong behaviour¹⁷. It is postulated that religion is mandatory to motivate and guide people¹⁸ to behave in morally correct way and that the connection between morality

and religion means that right and wrong come from the divine commands of God (or the gods) .

Analysis of Current Application of Existing Concept of Morality in Military

Despite teaching morality to soldiers in military schools existing concept of morality in military has failed to produce any appreciable results. The incidents of Abu Gharib and Qandahar¹⁹ in which a deranged US soldier killed 16 innocent civilian and afterwards burnt their bodies speaks volume about the moral bankruptcy of morality in contemporary armies.²⁰ The western armies, particularly US Army continues to suffer from lack of morality and ethics, the optimum possible efforts to instil in them the best practices of morality notwithstanding. Whereas, the group loyalty and unit cohesion may be a strong forte in the system, the conduct outside as well in the battle field in the repeated violations of human rights and human laws have put the heads of their commanders in shame. Moreover, PTSD (post trauma stress disorder) is a common phenomenon owing to their desensitization, stressful environment of the battle field and the guilt factor.

There have been numerous cases in US Military alone where army officers serving at senior most command and authority positions have been found involved in cases of moral turpitude.²¹ Involvement of such high officials leave little doubt that western concept of morality has not been successful in inculcating moral values even after decades of moral training. These recent episodes, highlighted in international media, leave much to be desired as far as moral plane is concerned. In light of their track record, there is now a serious debate on laying too much emphasis on group loyalty and unit cohesion. Moreover professing difficulties in inculcating moral element in the leadership²², inculcating good moral character in military personnel have necessitated radical re-think of training and culture as well as the development of effective ethics education programs. This demands an appraisal of

existing moral code of conducts practiced in modern armies and explore concept of morality as envisioned by Islam.

Islamic Concept of Morality

Islam introduced the concepts of morality and ethics as their main pillar of their war fighting concept in an age where wars were synonymous with savagery, debauchery, promiscuity, rape and plunder. Resultantly, the numerically inferior Muslim Armies always outwitted the much superior enemy forces due to the superior strategic orientation and psychological ascendancy achieved by the force multipliers of faith and high moral values. The superior strategy adopted by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)²³ resulted into conquest of Makah with no bloodshed within 8 years of migration to Madinah. This unparalleled feat in the history of mankind would not have been possible unless and until the Muslim Army's war fighting concepts were based on the altruistic values of Islam. Whereas, the Muslim History is replete with the numerous examples of unparalleled morality, a few glimpses are given below to elucidate the importance of observing strict code of morality in their war fighting concepts:-

- The incident of Hazrat Ali (may Allah be pleased with him) sparing an infidel of a certain death, who he had spat on Hazrat Ali's face, when he was knocked down by the great warrior, is well known to all of us. To his utter surprise, the infidel was spared by Hazarat Ali as he did not want to include his personal motive in his killing.
- While returning from a battle, Hazarat Osama bin Zaid (may Allah be pleased with him) informed the Prophet (P.B.U.H)²⁴ that he had killed one of the infidel who while trying to avoid being killed had feigned acceptance of Islam by reciting the Kalama²⁵. The Prophet got highly annoyed with him and told him that how could he judge the intentions of that infidel and what would he do on the Day of Judgment when the

- 'Kalama' of the infidel would stand between Hazrat Osama and that infidel.
- During the battle of Qadsyia²⁶, the Iranian commander sent his spies for the reconnaissance of Muslim Army. The spies on their return informed their commander that they had never seen any Army like the Muslim Army in their lives. They commented on the Muslim Army "*Ruhban fi lail, Fursan fi nihar*" (saints at night and cavalry heroes during day). The indelible combination of piety and warrior spirit was thus the instrument of dismembering the two mightiest empires of the history i.e. Persian Empire and the Roman Empire within a short span of time.
 - Immediately after Umar ibn Abdul Aziz was elected Caliph in 717 A.D²⁷., a delegation from Samarqand (Uzbekistan) called on him and complained that the General of the Islamic armies, Qutaibah, had unjustifiably deployed his army in the town. Caliph Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, after holding an inquiry ordered his army to vacate the town. When the citizens of Samarqand witnessed this state of affairs, they decided that fighting against such people would be futile. Rather, they regarded it as mercy and a blessing from God. The dwellers of Samarqand, therefore, agreed to host the Islamic army in Samarqand.
 - Islamic armies conquered Damascus, Hams and parts of Syria in 634²⁸ A.D. and imposed 'Jizya' on them. In order to face Roman Army, they had to retreat from these towns as part of the overall maneuver plan but to utter surprise of the inhabitant Christians of these towns, the 'Jizya' collected was returned to them on the plea that the Jizya was meant for the protection of their lives and properties as well as defence of their territory from outside aggression, hence being returned before their retreat. The christen citizens responded by stating that "*God be with you and bring you back victorious. Your governance and your justice and equity have fascinated enamored us, as the Romans despite of being our coreligionists; we have bitter remembrance of their oppression and tyranny. By God! had they*

*been in your position, they would not have returned a copper out of the taxes collected from us. Rather, they would have taken away everything they could from here belonging to us."*²⁹

Islamic Code of Ethics as a Superior Form of Morality

A Muslim is blessed with the best of code of morality and ethics since his motivation for observing moral code is not for a reward in this world or for some material gain rather it is purely because of Taqwa (Being of Conscious of Almighty). Islamic moral values flow from the divine source of Quran and Sunnah and faith in Allah and the Day of Judgment form the basis of Islamic morality.

Within Islamic Concept of Morality, all actions are directed at pleasing Allah and to expect rewards for good deeds in eternal life. The complete code of conduct spanning all activities of life including conduct in the battle field have been given in Quran and demonstrated by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Our traditions and cultural values further strengthen the basis of our professional ethics, hence be embedded in the morality code of our Army. There can be no better beacon for morality development than this verse which has been repeated many a times in the Holy Quran emphasizing that "And remain conscious of God: verily, God is aware of all that you do".³⁰

The Holy Qur'ân elucidate three sources of moral conduct which have been embedded in the human nature. These are:-

- **The Commanding Self (*Nafs-e-Ammâra*):** It is the first source of morality if the instrument of reason is applied³¹. According to the Holy Qur'ân the state arising out of the human beings animal self which incites the human being towards evil, "Yet I do not hold myself to be free from weakness, for the Commanding Self (-the animal self) is surely prone to enjoin evil, except on whom my Lord has mercy."³²

- **The Self-Accusing Spirit (*Nafs-e-Lawwâma*):** It is the living perception of one's psychological condition or the call of the inner voice. It is the second source of morality, the one judging the excellence of morals, every human being bestowed with this voice.³³ It is the voice of the conscience which becomes loud when an act of indecency is committed. The Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) is reported to have said, "*When wanting to decide whether something is good or bad (right or wrong), ask your heart and inner soul, and take it that the deed, the commission of which gives you a feeling of satisfaction to the heart and inner soul, is a virtuous deed and the deed which rankles in the heart and produces perturbation and hesitancy in the mind is a sinful deed, even though the people may tell you that it is a lawful deed*³⁴." And I swear by (and bring to witness) the Self-accusing Soul (*Nafs-e-Lawwâma* - the innate self-reproaching spirit, at the doing of an evil deed as an evidence"³⁵
- **Love and Faith in the Almighty (*Nafs-e Mutma'innah*):** It is the third and the ultimate source of morality in Islam. Faith in God is the foundation stone of the Qur'ânic Code of Ethics, our faith in God strengthens our heart to achieve the good and shun the evil³⁶. It is through this channel the human soul finds its ultimate peace and tranquility which is called *Nafs-e Mutma'innah*³⁷ - the Soul at Peace in the Holy Qur'ân. "As for the person who has been blessed with a contented and peaceful mind He will say to him,) 'O you soul at peace! Come back to your Lord well-pleased with Him and He well-pleased with you. Enter the fold of My chosen servants, and enter the Garden made by Me.³⁸

The Notion of Morality in Pakistan Army

The existing concept of morality in our military is a hybrid between Islamic principles and British legacy. This colonial code of morality, based on the 'in-group vs out-group' behavior is still being followed in Pakistan Army to a large

extent. Whereas, this twisted form of morality might have suited the vested interest of the 'British, it has created many vices in our system over a period of time. Group/ Unit loyalty reign supreme in our military ethos with many vices accepted in the name of furtherance of unit cause. Whereas, the British era regimental loyalty of covering even the heinous crimes of the troops including murder in the name of regiment has diminished to a large extent, all out efforts are still made to inculcate the troops for not getting involved in any heinous crimes; bringing bad name to the organization in general and the regiment in particular.

While transforming a raw young boy into a military officer in PMA, all out efforts are made to inculcate in him the "spirit de corps" along with the other attributes like loyalty, perseverance and integrity through the rigorous training regime. With maximum emphasis on grooming the potential officer for their future leadership role, resort is also made to motivation talks and personality development programmes. Ironically, rather than following the best moral development programme that our religion offer, these programmes are mostly based on western borrowed concepts, hence the inculcation of the best moral values into the cadets owing to these concept remain doubtful. Resultantly, during the rigorous training regime, all out efforts of the majority of the cadets is avoiding an act which would qualify him for a reprieve, the morality of the act itself notwithstanding. It is also a known fact that many instances of failure of the erstwhile "Honour Code System" come to fore from time to time. This habit of cloaking the actual self is an attribute that he carries with him throughout his professional life.

Having been grown in an almost utopian environment of morality along with strict vigilance system, the newly commissioned officer finds himself in a totally different environment in the regiment, wherein, individual's actions are considered to be in line with the regimental traditions, norms and values. The morality and conduct of the officer is not doubted as long as his personal self is not involved in any questionable activity.

Even the conduct of few senior officers in Army has remained questionable which has become a favorite topic of our TV talk shows as well as drawing rooms gossips. Their involvement, while in service, in shady deals has substantially dented the reputation of the honourable profession. Similarly, the post retirement conscious awakening is causing lot of sarcasm in the society. The justification of these senior officers for their past ignoble deeds in the media on account of 'blind subordination' and acting on the orders of superiors does not bode well for their stature.

In a society where corruption is not only endemic but an accepted norm and where end justifies the means, our men and officers cannot remain insulated from this malignance, a special focus is, therefore, needed to re-invigorate the essence of morality and ethics in our military, especially at the leadership level. Moreover, the shift from conventional war where everything was black and white to sub conventional and non-kinetic warfare wherein the conduct of our Army would remain under the sharp lens of hostile media and any exploitable action of our Armed Forces would be exploited for the vested interest, the HR violations of Indian Sri Lankan Army being case in point. Nevertheless, the colonial concept of morality in Pakistan Army has failed to affect the moral code of officers and men alike³⁹.

The Need for an Islamic Concept of Morality in Pakistan Army

The existing code of morality prevalent in Pakistan Army has been affected by dialectical materialism of our society which has resulted in the shape of rapid moral decadence and sharp decline in the psycho -social ethos. Thus there is a need to revamp the existing concept with something more powerful and effective. The Motto of Pakistan Army "*Faith, Taqwa and Jihaad in the name of Allah*" is the epitome of morality and provides with the rallying point for morality; faith must therefore form the foundation upon which the Army should structure its code of morality.

Morality has never been truly documented in Pakistan Army. Thus the first step is to document the core principles of morality, as elucidated in Quran, making it official facet of morality in Pakistan Army and which should form as a notion of our war fighting doctrine. The documented code of morality, based on foundation of our Motto, should be the only code of conduct allowed to be sermonized in the army. A body of experts should be tasked to document this moral code. Some recommended attributes of morality in the suggested code could be:-

- Honesty and Integrity to include truthfulness, trustworthiness and sincerity.
- Courage to include bravery, responsibility and accountability.
- Kindheartedness to include compassion, consideration and forgiveness.
- Mutual respect to include respect and loyalty for parents, teachers, elders and neighbors.
- Cleanliness of body and mind to include physical cleanliness, environmental cleanliness and cleanliness of mind and thoughts.
- Others such like attributes to include justice, cooperation, rationality, diligence, gratitude, humility and self reliance etc.

Methodology to Implement Islamic Concept of Morality in Pakistan Army

The Islamic Concept of Morality is suggested to be implemented at three different tiers i.e at individual, group and leadership level. Following actions / strategies may be considered for morality development package in Pakistan Army:-

- Institutional ethos through the process of osmosis, i.e ethics are 'caught' not 'taught' through the sheer forces of institution.
- Formal classes in moral philosophy and personality development.

- Studying case studies from Muslim history as well as contemporary era.
- Role models and conduct of battles (Muslim history as well as contemporary military history).
- Integration of morality and ethics into the other aspects of military training.

Individual Morality: Rather than following the model of individual morality through creation of morally upright person by instilling certain key qualities or disposition of character through psychological remedial measures, “Tameer-e-Kirdar” Programme, started in 1990 by Lieutenant General (Retired) Ghulam Muhammad, is recommended to be re-invigorated after identifying its strengths and weaknesses. The said programme may be re-initiated with maximum emphasis on self actualization aspects rather than going into the rituals and semantics. Towards this end, it is proposed that virtues and ethics be inculcating into the hearts and minds of our men by elucidating the personality of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and other Muslim role models whose unwavering moralities and lofty characters proved to be battle winning factors in the Muslim History.

Group/Institutional Morality: Group loyalty and unit cohesion, founded on Islamic moral principles, remains the hall mark of Pakistan Army, which has enabled it to withstand the rigours of extremely harsh conditions and challenges. Leaders and men must be groomed neither to give nor to accept any unethical command blindly which may not stand the litmus test of morality. The Islamic concept of Group morality which is based on obedience to command channel while being conscious of Almighty should form the basic feature of group morality in Pakistan Army. The traditional concept of transforming a newly inducted cadet/recruits into military culture by bullying ragging needs to focus on bringing a change through motivation and inspiration. Severe trauma to the newly inducted cadets leaves irreparable psychological scars on many individuals. Towards this end, it is worth mentioning that unbecoming conduct of the senior cadets with the newly inducted cadets has come

under intense scrutiny in the leading academies of the world, including US and Australia.

Leadership Morality: Of the three dimensions of leadership-moral, physical and intellectual-the most difficult to harvest is moral development. The physical attributes of leadership-courage, bearing, endurance, and even appearance, can be cultivated through disciplined training⁴⁰. The intellectual aspect of leadership can be cultivated through intensive study of human nature, crisis management, leadership and managerial technique, philosophy, logic, and so on⁴¹. However, the moral aspect of leadership-personally understanding, embracing, and inculcating ethical conduct in others is far more difficult to develop in leaders and can be far more time consuming, hence necessitate bifurcating morality from leadership, especially when viewed in the back drop of the quantum change in our psycho-social environment. Towards this end, it is suggested that a separate module of 'Morality and Ethics' be introduced in the curriculum in which maximum emphasis be laid on personality development on the basis of tenants of Islam. Alternatively, the leadership module of our syllabi at various levels of training may be re-designated as "Leadership and Morality" in which the group bonding, unit cohesion and loyalty etc are tailored according to the prism of morality, rather than old concepts. We need to understand that in SCW environment, we deal with our own kith and kin, hence the British model would no longer work in such a challenging environment. The recommended actions / strategies proposed above may be helpful in this regard.

Conclusion

Owing to the advent of new technologies and evolving doctrines, the nature of warfare has been in constant transition; however, human being would continue to remain the only constant factor of the battle field. It can thus be safely vouched that the deciding factor in the battle would be human beings and not the weapons and technologies; hence the conduct of the human in and outside the battle field would continue to be of paramount importance and battle winning

factor even for the most advanced armies of the world. The need of maintaining the highest standards of ethics and zero tolerance for any act of immorality for a professional army in this backdrop cannot be over emphasized. With human resource as our prime asset, morality would remain to be a force multiplier for us, hence needs to be adopted as a notion of war fighting concept. The western models of morality having failed the test of combat, there is a demand for alternative model of Morality. Islamic model of morality, which if implemented in Pakistan Army, would not only increase the fighting potential of army as a combat force but would also pave the way for this model to be adopted by other armies of the world.

Author

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Notes

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² en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morality

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²² The Four Stages of Moral Development in Military Leaders , Joseph J. Thomas Lakefield Family Foundation

Distinguished Military Professor of Leadership, United States Naval Academy. (410) 293-6548, jjthomas@usna.edu

²³ Stands for Sallul laho alehi Wasallam; meaning Peace be Upon Him

²⁴ Stands for Sallul laho alehi Wasallam; meaning Peace be Upon Him

²⁵ <http://abdurrahman.org/seerah/riyad/00/chap049.htm>

²⁶ The History of al-Tabari Vol. 12: The Battle of al-Qadisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine A.D. 635-637/A.H. 14-15

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²⁹ Book, The Great Islamic Conquests AD 632-750, David Nicolle, 2009, Ospery publishing

³⁰ Quran 5 :8 , Muhammad Asad

³¹<http://www.zaynabacademy.org/understanding-the-three-types-of-nafs/comment-page-1/>

³² Quran 12:53

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³⁴ http://www.islam-info.ch/en/Morality_in_Islam.htm

³⁵ Quran 75:2

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US IMAGE IN THE PAKISTANI PRINT MEDIA: A Case Study of Pre and Post Abbottabad Operation

Muhammad Rafique

Abstract

Media in Pakistan, due to globalized effect and the liberty given by the government, has been gradually consolidating its position especially since the start of the century. Most of the analysts consider Pakistani media as an effective instrument which is playing its agenda-setting and news framing role in the society. Keeping in view this critical role of media, image of the US in pre and post Abbottabad operation scenario has measured through content analysis of four leading newspapers of the country (including two English and two Urdu language newspapers) to judge balanced opinion of different issues relating to the topic of the study. The study is focused on four months period of pre and post Abbottabad Operation. The findings and results of the study show that the US image transformed from bad to worse after the Abbottabad Operation. The US is framed more as foe to Pakistan than as friend of Pakistan during the pre and post Abbottabad Operation.

Introduction

Today, in the media driven world, all matters of life including, beliefs, opinions and even decisions are influenced by media.¹ The media shapes the public opinion regarding liking or disliking any state or states while dealing through foreign policy with one another². In mutual relation of Pakistan and US, the role of media remained crucial, especially print media of Pakistan remained focus on this aspect³. US image in Pakistan as portrayed by leading Pakistani newspapers remained significantly negative. The aggressive attitude of US affected the Muslims around the globe.⁴ Since last 6 decades, there had been a lot of ups and downs in Pak-US relations⁵. After 9/11, Pak US coalition against WOT (war on terror) framed new dimensions of

relationship between both the countries. There had always been trust deficit, between both the countries, in cooperation of WOT⁶. Pakistani print media remained much focused on issue of Pak-US relations especially in connection with WOT. The Abbottabad Operation is considered to be a turning point in US strategy of war against terrorism with regard to its withdrawal policy from Afghanistan Operation.⁷ Pakistan and United States have working relations since 1947. However, these relations between both the nations did not remain the same. These relations fluctuated from bad to good and vice versa. Nevertheless, the Pak-US relations got global importance after 9/11 particularly, in combating war on terror as coalition partners. A decade of coalition between both the countries remained under challenges especially for Pakistan as it was tough to fight in own territory. Pakistani government, Army and ISI played very effective role to fight against terrorism but US always demanded much more from Pakistan. After the incident of Abbottabad Operation Pak-US relation are facing new challenges. Impression of US has changed or more prominent to various segment of the society of Pakistan.

There are so many reasons for poor image of US in most of the Muslim world especially in Pakistan.⁸ After 9/11, the role of Pakistan in fighting WOT remained vital but it was not fully recognized by US⁹. Instead of appreciating Pakistani efforts, America demanded to “*Do More*” from Pakistan.¹⁰ During first half of the year 2011, some significant events took place which brought direct and indirect effects on Pak-US relations. Presently, media’s role seems very vital in almost all the sphere of life. Pakistan is multicultural society with divergent mind sets of people. Pakistan is presently under dark shadows of numerous problems like terrorism, poor law and order situation, corruption, inflation, load shedding, target killing, unemployment and poverty etc. Undoubtedly, media’s duty is to show the truth and reality, but it should not, deliberately, portray the negative aspects of our country. Pakistan also has so many good and encouraging things which media must highlight to the world in a positive manner. The Pakistan media’s responsibility must be to act as a ‘watch dog’ on what

is being shown and published in international electronic and print media.¹¹

The basic concept of the Agenda Setting theory is given by McCombs & Shaw (1972-73) in their primary article, the agenda-setting function of the mass media and Public Opinion¹². They argue that the media (mainly the news media) are not always successful at telling us what to think, but they are quite successful at telling us what to think about. The basic idea of the agenda-setting role of mass media is taken from an old book, *Public Opinion* Written by Walter Lippmann (1922). The title of first chapter is *The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads*. Lippmann was the researcher who presented the theory that the mass media make pictures of the world for us and also inform us about the world events¹³. He perceived that the pictures shown by the media were mostly incomplete and vague. The audience can see only reflections or interpretation of reality (not reality itself) in the coverage of news media.¹⁴ Our perceptions about the world are generally transformed due to same reflections. In 1972, two researchers McCombs and Shaw conducted an empirical study to probe the idea that the news media organizations influence the perceptions of the world or otherwise,¹⁵ and the results of the study were in favour of the hypothesis that the media strongly affected the perceptions¹⁶.

Pakistani media gave greater importance to these events in their coverage. In the history of Pak-US relations, many unwanted events took place, but there is a difference between all other incidents and the incident of US attack on OBL compound at Abbottabad on 2 May 2011. This incident harassed the entire nation as it was not expected from a 'so called' coalition partner.¹⁷

Brief Overview on Abbottabad Operation

On April 29, 2011, at 8 am local time, President of the US gave the final "go-ahead" and approved the operation "Geronimo" on OBL compound. The Abbottabad Operation was initially code named as the operation Geronimo¹⁸.

Geronimo was the Apache tribal leader who fought for his mother land for many years. He died on February 17, 1909, as a prisoner of the United States at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Americans people insisted the American government to change the name of the Operation and operation Geronimo was renamed as Operation Neptune Spear¹⁹. The raid was expected to be completed within 40 minutes. US authorities did not share any information before the raid on OBL compound, with Pakistani government until the operation was over. Michael Mullen, the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, called Pakistan Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani after the completion of the operation at about 3 am local time and informed about the Abbottabad Operation. The secret operation was conducted exclusively by the US forces.²⁰ After the identification, the dead body of OBL was drowned in Arabian Sea within 24 hours of his death.²¹ Most of the Western countries and the western media appreciated the US operation against OBL, but some also condemned the US raid, especially by Field Castro, Hamas Group, some Islamic countries and most importantly, Amnesty International who criticized US illegal and un-ethical act of US.²²

Significance Framing of US Image

The purpose of the study was to investigate the image of US in the leading Urdu and English daily newspapers of Pakistan before and after Abbottabad Operation. There are many news groups in Pakistan and the researcher selected one newspaper from each group i.e. (Dawn, the News, Nawa-i-Waqat, and Express) to attain balance opinion for the study. However, only editorial of two months before, and two months after the Abbottabad Operation were analyzed. The pre and post Abbottabad Operation coverage determined how far the Abbottabad Operation influenced the image of US in leading Pakistani daily Newspapers. The study provided answers to the questions; how much coverage Pakistani leading Newspapers gave to US before and after Abbottabad Operation? Whether the image of US has been portrayed as a friend or foe of Pakistan during pre and post Abbottabad

Operation? What is the difference in portrayal of US image in leading English and Urdu Newspapers of Pakistan during the specified period?

Pew Global Research Centre Report, highlighted that majority of Pakistanis disliked US Operation at Abbottabad against OBL. According to the report only 14% people of Pakistan supported the killing of Al Qaida leader. Majority of Pakistanis think that US raid on Bin Laden's compound had negative impact on the already strained Pak-US relations. In worldwide survey of the report 63 % people disapproved the act of US raid on OBL compound. The report further revealed that 12% expressed a positive opinion about US and 8% have shown confidence in President Barack Obama to do the right thing in world affairs²³. These views were negative before and after the killing of OBL. The report further pointed out that Pakistanis are uncertain about involvement of Pakistan government in the operation of killing of OBL. 29% people of Pakistan believe that Pakistani government permitted the raid and 23% said government of Pakistan did not permit, but 49% said that they did not know and 18% people thought that government of Pakistan knew that Bin Laden was hiding in Abbottabad and 29% people thought that OBL was not there. In this report, 53% people offered no opinion.²⁴

Data Collection and Content Analysis

The selection of newspapers for specified period of the study was based on circulation value. Four newspapers one from each group i.e. Dawn, The News, Nawa-i-Waqt and Express were selected for this study.

- These are leading newspapers and widely circulated in Pakistan.
- These newspapers are selected from different but famous groups.
- Two newspapers from each language i.e. Urdu and English have been chosen.
- Two newspapers from each language were selected to know balanced opinion of rural and urban readers

because Urdu newspapers are more circulated in rural areas and similarly English in urban areas²⁵.

The data have been collected during the specified period i.e. (1st March to 30th June 2011) from the selected newspapers. All relevant editorials have been analyzed according to their frames and slants. The specified period for the study was 1st March 2011 to 30th June 2011. The purpose for selection of this period was Abbottabad Incident that was considered an important event of the campaign against GWOT (global war on terror). Portrayal of US image in Pakistan by the Pakistani print media became more prominent after that incident.

Variables and Indicators of the Study

Topics, Frames, Slants, and the Length are the variables of the study. Following are the main topics /issues for the study:

- Drone Attacks in Pakistan Territory
- Attack on OBL Compound
- Raymond Davis Issue
- Joint Operation by Pak-US Intelligence Agencies (ISI and CIA)
- Pakistani Government Reaction on OBL Killing
- American Government Reaction on OBL Killing

Analysis, Results and Interpretation

The results, interpretation and description of the data, collected from selected newspapers, are discussed in preceding pages. Cross-tabulation and chi-square tests have been applied to evaluate the issue and examine the differences in portrayal of US image in the leading Pakistani newspapers of specified period (two months pre and two month post Abbottabad Operation). The results of the data are given in tabular form with detailed interpretations.

Table 1: Length and Frequency during Pre and Post Abbottabad Operation

Period	Frequency	Mean Length in sq-cm	Total Length in sq-cm	Percentage %
Pre-Abbottabad Operation	59	125	7361	44.4%
Post-Abbottabad Operation	74	124	9130	55.6%
Total	133	124	16491	100.0%

The above statistics indicate the results about length-wise coverage/frequency of pre and post Abbottabad Operation in the selected newspapers. The result of above table shows that 59 editorials were published in pre-Abbottabad Operation period and the length of these editorials was 7361 square centimetres. 44.4% of the total content published in the selected newspapers during pre-Abbottabad Operation. Likewise, 74 editorials, published during the period of post-Abbottabad Operation and their length was 9130 square centimetres. 55.6% of the total content published in the selected newspapers during post-Abbottabad Operation.

Table 2: Percentage Analyzed Newspaper-wise

Newspapers	Frequency	Mean Length in sq. cm	Total length in sq.cm	Percentage %	Chi-Square
Nawa-i-Waqt	34	124	4166	25.3%	43.534 (p = .792)
Express	34	125	4271	25.8%	
The News	34	124	4223	25.6%	
Dawn	31	124	3831	23.3%	
Total	133	124	16491	100.0%	

Total 141 editorials were recorded for the study. The daily Dawn published overall 31 editorials, the News published 35 editorials, the daily Nawa-i-Waqt published 34 editorials and daily Express published 34 editorials on the selected variables.

The length of editorials in Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, the News and Dawn in square centimetres, was measured 4166 (25.3%), 4271 (25.8%), 4223 (25.6%) and 3831 (23.3%) respectively. Chi-Square (X^2) value is 43.534 and the calculated significance value is (.000) $p = .792$ that means there is insignificant difference in terms of length of editorials that printed in the selected newspapers.

The overall results of above table show that selected Urdu newspapers (Nawa-i-Waqt, Express) give slightly more coverage as compared to English newspapers (The News and Dawn).

Table 3: Analysis of the Selected English and Urdu Newspapers

Language		Dawn	The News	Nawa-i-Waqt	Express	Total
English	Frequency	31	34	0	0	65
	Percentage	47.7%	52.3%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Urdu	Frequency	0	0	34	34	68
	Percentage	.0%	.0%	50.0%	50.0.3%	100.0%
Total	Frequency	31	34	34	34	133
	Percentage	23.3%	25.6%	25.8%	25.3%	100.0%

The above results differentiate the frequency of the editorials of the selected English and Urdu newspapers published during 1st March 2011 to 30th June 2011. The results indicate that out of total 133 editorials, Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn published 34 (25.8%), 34 (25.3%), 34 (25.6%) and 31 (23.3%) editorials respectively on topics of the study. 65 editorials (48.9 %) were published by English language newspapers whereas 68 editorials (51.1 %) by Urdu newspapers. In mass media research in Pakistan, mostly it is revealed that English newspapers focused Pak-US relations comparatively with more deliberation as compared to the Urdu newspapers of Pakistan, but frequency by and large remained balanced in both the languages.

Table 4: Analysis of the Coverage during Pre and Post Abbottabad Operation

News paper		Pre Abbottabad Operation	Post Abbottabad Operation	Total
Nawa-i-Waqt	Frequency	16	18	34
	Percentage	47.0 %	53.0%	100.0%
Express	Frequency	15	19	34
	Percentage	44.1%	55.9%	100.0%
The News	Frequency	15	19	34
	Percentage	44.1%	55.9%	100.0%
Dawn	Frequency	13	18	31
	Percentage	41.9%	58.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	59	74	133
	Percentage	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%

The above data highlight the coverage given to the topics of the study by the selected newspapers during the Pre and Post Abbottabad i.e. 1st March 2011 to 30th June 2011. The results of above table indicate that Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn gave the coverage in terms of frequency of editorials to Pre Abbottabad Operation as 16 (47.0%), 15 (44.1%), 15 (44.1%) and 13 (41.9%) respectively. The coverage of post-Abbottabad Operation by Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News and Dawn in term of frequency of editorials, was 18 (53.0%), 19 (55.9%), 19 (55.9%) and 18 (58.1%) respectively. The overall results of above table show that these newspapers gave adequate coverage to all the topics of the study.

Pak-US were enjoying working relations in intelligence sharing, logistics and other operational/non-operational cooperation in WOT, but after the incident of Raymond Davis and Abbottabad Operation against OBL, the trust deficit was glaringly visible between intelligence agencies of both the countries.²⁶

Table 5: Slant-wise Catagarization (Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral)

News papers		Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	Total	Chi-Square
Nawa-i-Waqt	Count	5	25	4	34	53.248 P = .000
	Percentage	14.7%	70.6%	14.7%	100.0%	
Express	Count	6	20	8	34	
	Percentage	17.6%	58.9%	23.5%	100.0%	
The News	Count	7	20	7	34	
	Percentage	20.6%	58.9%	20.5%	100.0%	
Dawn	Count	6	19	6	31	
	Percentage	19.3%	61.3%	19.4%	100.0%	
Total	Count	24	84	25	133	
	Percentage	18.1%	63.1%	18.8%	100.0%	

The above results signify slant-wise how the selected newspapers framed the US image in the selected newspapers' i.e. 'favourable, unfavourable, neutral' during 'Pre and Post Abbottabad Operation'. The results of above table documented that the slant-wise coverage in selected newspapers (Nawa-i-Waqt, Express, The News, Dawn) portrayed US as favourable for Pakistan in 5 (14.7%), 6 (17.6%), 7 (20.6%) and 6 (19.3%) editorials respectively. However unfavourable portrayal of US for Pakistan was 25 (70.6%), 20 (58.9%), 20 (58.9%) and 19 (61.3%) and 4 (14.7%), 8 (23.5%), 7 (20.5%) and 6 (19.4%) editorials were neutral for US image respectively.

The overall results of above table indicate that the majority of the content portrayed US image in the Pakistani leading newspapers as unfavourable for Pakistan. The difference of portrayal between all the selected newspapers is significant in terms of slant-wise coverage of the selected newspapers. US image in Pakistani leading Urdu and English Newspapers was portrayed significantly 'unfavorable' and English and Urdu leading Newspapers of Pakistan portrayed the image of US

slightly different as there was no significant difference as per results of above table.

In Pakistan, the acts of US, like drone attacks in Pakistan territory, Raymond Davis issue and raid on OBL compound have seriously damaged the image of the super power in the eyes of the Pakistani media. This deteriorated state of image of US prevails in rest of the world as well, due to the global hegemonic policies of US.²⁷

Table 6: Slant-wise Catagarization (Favourable, Unfavourable and Neutral) During Pre and Post Abbottabad Operation

Slants of Editorials		Pre-Abbottabad Operation	Post-Abbottabad Operation	Total	Chi-Square
Favourable	Count	14	10	24	53.248 (p = .000)
	Percentage	23.7%	13.5%	18.1%	
Unfavourable	Count	35	49	84	
	Percentage	59.3%	66.2%	63.1%	
Neutral	Count	10	15	25	
	Percentage	17.0%	20.3%	18.8%	
Total	Count	59	74	133	
	Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The statistical results given in above table indicate that US image was portrayed favorable in the selected Pakistani newspapers in 14 editorials (23.7%) out of 59 during Pre-Abbottabad Operation and 10 editorials (13.5 %) out of 74 during Post-Abbottabad Operation. Whereas 35 editorials (59.3%) out of 59 and 49 (66.2%) out of 74 portrayed US image as favorable during the pre and post period of Abbottabad Operation respectively. 10 (17.0%) and 15 (20.3 %) editorials were neutral during the pre and post period of Abbottabad Operation respectively. The Chi-Square test (X^2) value is 53.248 and the calculated significance value is .000 ($p = .000$) which is significant. The results indicate that US image became slightly bad to worse from pre to post

Abbottabad Operation, but the difference between pre and post Abbottabad Operation in US image remained significant as results of the study indicate in the above table.

The overall results of above table indicate that US image was negative in the selected print media of Pakistan during the predetermined period of pre and post Abbottabad Operation. The results prove that ‘Image of US in leading Urdu and English Newspapers of Pakistan remained negative after Abbottabad Operation.

Table 7: Frames wise Catagarization (Friend and Foe)

		Friend	Foe	Total	Chi-Square
Dawn	Count	9	22	31	26.173 (p = .000)
	Percentage	24.3%	22.9%	23.3%	
The News	Count	11	23	34	
	Percentage	29.8%	23.9%	25.6%	
Nawa-i-Waqt	Count	7	27	34	
	Percentage	18.9%	28.1%	25.6%	
Express	Count	10	24	34	
	Percentage	27.0%	25.1%	25.5%	
Total	Count	37	96	133	
	Percentage	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

The above results explain that US image was portrayed as ‘friend’ of Pakistan by the selected English newspapers in 20 editorials (30.8%) out of 65 and as a ‘foe’ to Pakistan in 45 editorials (69.2%) out of 65. Whereas, in the selected Urdu newspapers, US image is portrayed as ‘friend’ of Pakistan in 17 editorials (25.0 %) out of 68 and as ‘foe’ to Pakistan in 51 editorials (75.0 %) out of 68. The Chi-Square test (X^2) value is 26.173 and the calculated significance value is .000 (p = .000) which is significant. The results indicate that US image was negative in all the selected newspapers with significant difference. The Nawa-i-Waqt remained more significant to portray US image as foe to Pakistan.

The overall results of above table indicate that US image was negative in the selected print media including the selected Urdu and English newspapers of Pakistan. It is also prove that “US image, in Pakistani leading Urdu and English Newspapers, was never portrayed positively as friend of Pakistan”. It is clearly found that “US image, in Pakistani leading Urdu and English newspapers, was portrayed negatively as foe of Pakistan”. It is also revealed from the results of the study that English and Urdu leading Newspapers of Pakistan portrayed the image of US with marginal difference; the difference is insignificant. ‘US image, in Pakistani leading Urdu and English newspapers, was portrayed significantly negative as foe of Pakistan.’

Conclusion

In this study, US image is framed more as foe to Pakistan than as friend of Pakistan, during pre and post-Abbottabad Operation period. 68.3% and 74.4% editorials framed US as Foe to Pakistan during the period of pre and post-Abbottabad Operation, respectively. US image is also slanted more unfavourable than as favourable, during pre and post-Abbottabad Operation period. 60.3% and 64.1% editorials slanted US as unfavourable during the period of pre and post-Abbottabad Operation, respectively. The study provided comprehensive answers to all research questions and research hypothesis.

Pakistani print media seems more consistent in highlighting the opinion of the public regarding US involvement in Pakistani integral affairs. Besides US is ally to Pakistan in combating WOT but still US is seen more as foe than friend to Pakistan. According to the content analysis carried out in the study, US image was portrayed unfavourable and foe to Pakistan by leading newspapers of Pakistan. It is found in the study that overall US image negative. A marginal difference was observed between portrayal of US image between leading English and Urdu Newspapers of Pakistan. The Urdu and English newspaper’s ratio for considering US unfavourable for Pakistan was measured 6:5. Nawa-i-Waqt

was gauged as slightly more anti US newspaper as compared to other three newspapers.

The study was confined within local print media of Pakistan. Pak-US relations have always been important segment of the foreign policy of Pakistan. Anti US sentiments of Pakistani people were expressed in the media accordingly. The Pakistani print media sets the agenda as per public perception especially in case of US image as observed in the study.²⁸ The role of Pakistan print media is praise worthy because it set the agenda comparatively more on line of public opinion as compared to electronic media. The general public of Pakistan is fully charged with anti-US sentiments as result of certain US acts inside Pakistan. US seriously need to redefine her ties, towards positive direction, for improvement of image, which is presently the worst ever in the history of Pak-US relations.

There are so many reasons for poor image of US in most of the Muslim countries especially in Pakistan. After 9/11, the role of Pakistan in fighting WOT remained prominent in term of commitment, sacrifices of lives of thousands of Pakistani and economic losses. These contributions of Pakistan have not been seen with recognition and appreciation by USA. The ground reality is that Pakistani Public does not like America due to its policies in the region that affected adversely to Pakistani society. Such state of thinking and the negative public opinion may be the result of direct as well as indirect expressions of public opinion regarding interferences of US in national affairs of the country and violation of sovereignty of Pakistan. In fact mass media are supposed to be one of the major sources for making attitudes and opinion of the audience regarding indirect issues.

Reaction of people of Pakistan including all segments of the society was very serious and of high concern over act of US to kill OBL, in which sovereignty of Pakistan was obviously challenged. There are serious acts initiated by the US against Pakistan which may be deemed as the basic cause of tension

between the relations of the two countries and the prevailing negative image of America in Pakistani society.

Recommendations

The incident, like US raid on OBL compound, framed negative image of US because this incident added fuel to fire. As far as US image in Pakistani print media is concerned, US must address the reservations of the world especially Pakistan to improve the image. US must pay respect to the sovereignty of Pakistani nations. The acts like drone attacks in Pakistan Territory, Abbottabad Operation, Raymond Davis Issue and many more always damaged US image in the eyes of public and the media.²⁹ Keeping in view the importance of the study, the researcher gives the following recommendations:

Government of Pakistan

- Strict scrutiny of the foreigners entering and working in Pakistan must be implemented to check and monitor all illegal activities of expatriates like Raymond Davis.
- All walks of life including politicians, bureaucrats, law enforcing and intelligence agencies, think tanks, media, judiciary, civil society and other stake holders must be involve and taken into confidence in decision making process specially on the national security related issues.
- National and private media must be professional but national security matters be taken into serious account while making media policy.
- People of Pakistan must always be taken into confidence in serious security issues of the state like Abbottabad operation against OBL by US forces.
- A comprehensive national media policy must be prepared and implemented to safeguard the national interests and security related issues which are neglected by most of the private media channels of Pakistan.
- United States has played a vital role in the region, especially in Pakistan in terms of prevailing security situation of Pakistan. There is need to monitor all the

activities carried out by USA diplomats, US funded NGOs and other US visitors in Pakistan.

- Media must be convinced by the regulatory authorities to filter the news stories as per the national policy objectives.

Pakistani Print Media

- Pakistani print media must explore and print the facts of the issues like 'Abbottabad operation' for general masses at the stage when new facts are revealed.
- Print media of Pakistan must formulate and set agenda as per the public opinion, so that public agenda may become the media agenda, but like responsible Pakistani the interests of the state must always be kept in mind.
- Both Urdu and English newspapers may set the agenda according to their readers. Framing of an issue on media may be based on professionalism and gate keeping role of print media by acting as bridge between government and people.

The Audience (Students and Researchers)

- The issues related to national security of Pakistan are given more coverage in opinion pages of the Urdu and English newspapers as these pages are main agenda setters for the public, the audience must have more focus on the editorials.
- Students and researchers of social sciences are recommended to carry out research to know how media has reacts on different actions of US in Pakistan.
- Editorials are more opinion oriented by the concerned media groups; readers must follow different media groups to have balanced and unbiased opinion on the issue.
- Letters to the editors and columns are also very important so the writers must contribute maximum in this segment by highlighting national, regional and global issues.

Author

Lieutenant Colonel Muhammad Rafique is a PhD Scholar of International Relations in National Defence University Islamabad. He is an analyst of the media, History, international relations and world politics. He has keen interest in the domestic and international media to analyze the regional Issues. He has special focus on global policies of great powers. Presently, he is serving as the Deputy Director Internal Studies Institute for Strategic Studies Research and Analysis, National Defence University, Islamabad.

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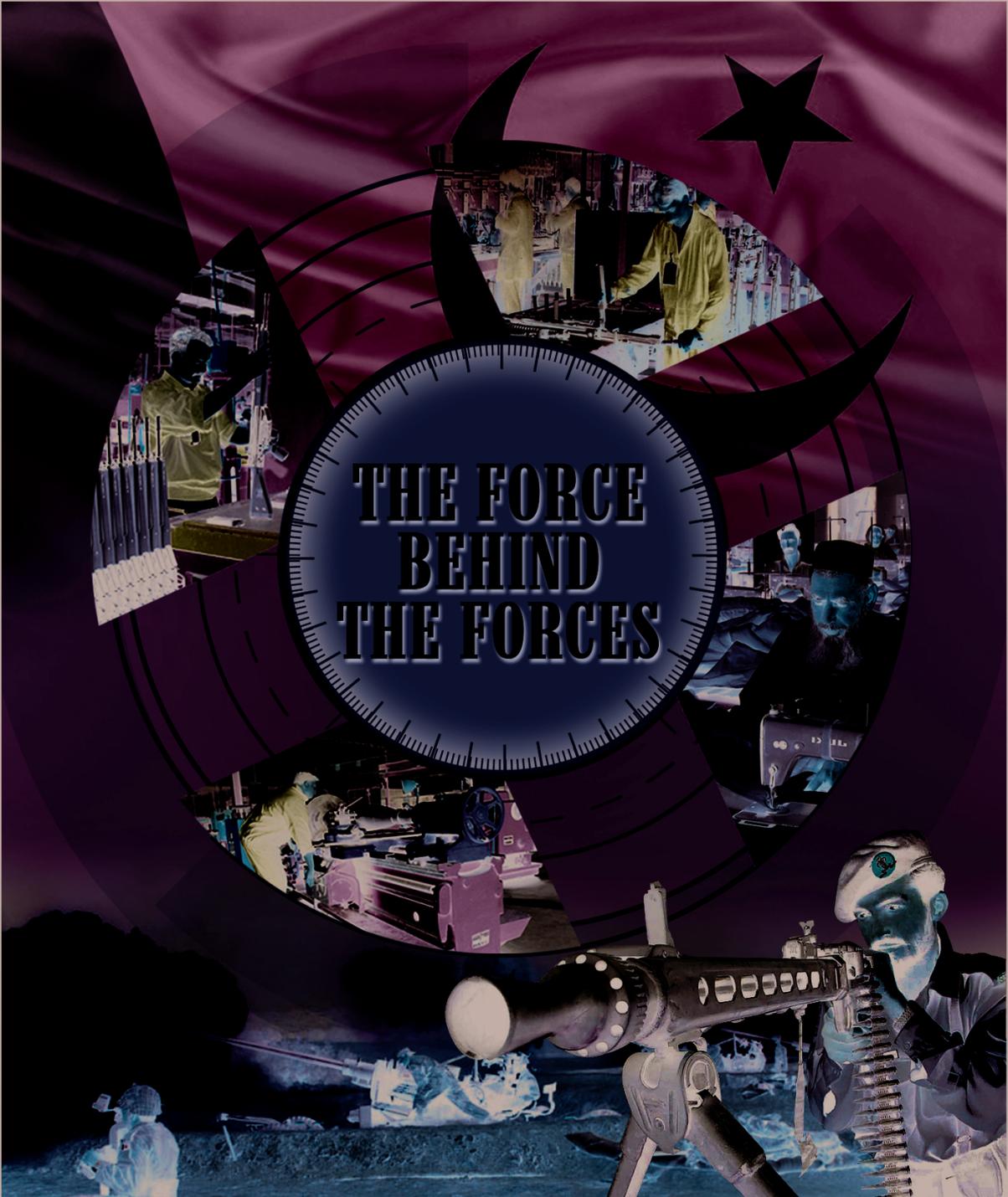
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