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ROLE OF PEACE JOURNALISM IN INDO-PAK RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF "*AMAN KI ASHA*"

Ms. Hafsa Khalid

Abstract

South-Asian region remains the focus of global community since India-Pakistan, the two nuclear antagonists, subsist in an atmosphere that is prone to recurring crisis and critical circumstances thus, leading to intractable conflicts. Keeping into account the failure of the two governments to construct peace within the region, peace journalism seems to be one of the remedies that can guarantee peaceful future. The article explores the prospects and promising outcomes that the peace-oriented news media can bring within the premises of the subcontinent. The phenomenon of peace journalism has deeply been investigated in the article where "Aman ki Asha" has been taken as a case study of peace media fostering positivity and brotherhood.

Introduction

Ever since, life has come into existence on this planet earth, war and peace have remained important aspects in determining the very destiny of human kind. With every conflict, there is a solution; with every war, there comes peace. The bonding between war and peace is like the association of day and night; no matter what comes first. The realization of peace-building efforts in any conflict-ridden society leads to the conclusion that the construction and maintenance of peace and harmony has always been the core hub of every society, thereby, leaving behind no reason to refute its importance as a significant prerequisite of human existence.

Media, of any society, is the most influential tool of winning hearts and minds of the targeted public. It is equally true in the context of Pakistan and India where people put a lot of confidence in whatever is portrayed trough their respective media. Media has been acknowledged as the most

significant instrument for communication at a larger level. It is the fourth influential institution of the state besides Executive, Legislation and Judiciary and therefore, is very significant in shaping the opinion of the public and their attitudes[1]. The term media is a vast phenomenon including those paradigms or ways through which a large number of people could be communicated in a structured pattern thereby incorporating electronic, print and online media. The current study, however, focuses on the news media which encloses the journalistic features aimed to inform and educate a larger public.

Due to marvellous influential characteristics, media can do wonders through cultivating the content in the mindset of the public, thereby shifting their beliefs and behaviours. The credit goes to media that the term 'peace journalism' has been coined. The debate on peace journalism through media has attracted many scholars, peace advocates, Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) owners and workers, journalists and other governmental organizations all-over the globe. Fortunately, people of India and Pakistan have started realizing that peace journalism can prove itself a significant and worth considering bridging aspect through which the ever continuing hostile relations of both the nations can be normalized[2]. The reason lies in the fact that media, especially the news media, regulate a watchdog function and maintain an eye on the other sectors of the society, making them answerable to the public[3].

Unfortunately, news media00 particularly television, news channels and newspapers, have been used as an instrument for negative propaganda by the governments on both sides of the border. Despite their contribution in promoting peace by making the public well-informed, they have become a tool of promoting violence and conflict both within Pakistan and India and beyond[4]. Therefore, effectual steps towards confidence and trust building need to be embraced in-order to lessen suspicion and revulsion between India and Pakistan and guarantee such environment which proves helpful for collaboration and brotherhood[5]. Consequently, promoting

peace through journalistic media of both the countries has gained the status of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and has attracted many national and international players. India and Pakistan have always been engaged in arms-race but the outcome of such actions has been appalling for the either country. Hence, endorsing peace and cooperation has become extremely important for the stability of the region.

The key objectives of the study are to; identify the significance of peace and serenity in South-Asia particularly in the context of India-Pakistan; explore the importance of peace journalism in the contemporary relationship of Pakistan and India; offer recommendations pertaining to the endorsement of media peace-building initiatives that the journalists might find helpful in furthering the phenomenon of peace journalism in the subcontinent.

Mass Media Theory of Agenda-Setting

The roots of agenda-setting can be found in early 1960's in the findings of Benard Cohen where he concluded that "the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about"[6]. Since then, it has been considered as one of the most noteworthy theories discussing the powerful clutch of mass media on its captivated audiences.

The idea of agenda-setting is that media is the instigators of the narratives since majority of the people do not witness such events on their own[7]. Therefore, the views and attitudes of the public rely mainly upon how the events are propagated through the media. Being media as the influential projectors of the issues, the viewers tend to believe in the reality portrayed via media[8].

In the Indo-Pak context, agenda-setting via media seems to be in accordance with the political agenda of both the states. Therefore, this theory is highly relevant in the subcontinent where the war-oriented agenda setting is

amongst the core reasons behind the ever strained India-Pakistan ties. Hence if the Indo-Pak media authorities are sensitized regarding the negativities furthered by the war-oriented agenda setting, it is only then that the peace narrative could materialize in the two societies.

Mass Media Theory of Cultivation

Cultivation theory is largely focused on the implications and effects particularly of the television exposure on the audiences. The theory is based on assumption that more the individuals are exposed to television content, the more they are liable to form opinion that are similar to television's media reality[9]. On one hand, television is the major source of information for many people, on the other, its continuous exposure can result into an enormous amount of behavioural and attitudinal changes.

The practicalities of cultivation theory can also be verified within the contemporary Indo-Pak ties. Since the media of both the countries have played a major role in cultivating negativities and hatred amongst the people of both nations, the peace journalists must consider this approach while figuring out the genesis of the ever strained India-Pakistan relationship.

Intensification of Indo-Pak Rivalry

History of the strained relations between Pakistan and India can be traced back to 1947 when these two nations were declared as independent sovereign states. Ever since, the rivalry has continued and become stronger, intense and yet more enduring as the time went by. Both India and Pakistan face the dilemma of weak political system that is unable to construct policies which are apt to develop reconciliation and more likely to settle the enduring concerns and problems that have captivated both the societies, since partition. The leaders of both the nations, however, have been engaged in the exchange of some constructive declaratory statements but the effects of such proclamations are very limited.

The unresolved issue of Kashmir has hampered efforts to improve relations between the two states. Despite all three wars being fought on this very cause, Kashmir still remains an unfinished agenda between Pakistan and India[10]. In the years following the partition, Pakistan has always voiced for solution of Kashmir problem as the main issue, while India has always asserted that the problem is a non issue for the world[11]. since then, Pakistan's foreign policy has often revolved around this matter and has demanded the solution of the entire Kashmir episode. Non resolution will render the peace initiatives within the nuclear neighbours as worthless.

Another factor that has escalated suspicion and a risk of miscalculation within the entire region, is the nuclearization of the two highly antagonistic yet strategic giants of South Asia. It must be noted that both the nuclear and conventional wars are directly proportional to each other as the threat of one leads to the likelihood of the other[12]. Pakistan's open nuclear strategy declares that if it feels threatened by India then Pakistan would not hesitate even to use nuclear technology while India, on the other hand, has declared that if Pakistan engages nuclear weapons in the first place then India would be the second to use them[13]. Along with that, Siachen Glacier is also a source of conflict between India and Pakistan. The issue, of course, is a part of the legacy of partition coupled with the incompatibility of the political wisdom of both the governments[14]. Moreover, the iceberg is less an area of strategic importance than it is an emblem of ego, national pride and a sense of belongingness for the people of both the countries[15]. The Indo-Pak forces are not only consuming their precious resources over a needless war but also damaging the natural environment and ecosystem of that area[16].

The highly unexpected Kargil conflict in 1999 left behind strains that might take several years or even decades to get washed out from the minds of both the nations. The Kargil incident provides a clear understanding of the Indian and Pakistani elitist's desires under the canopy of "national interests"[17]. Moreover, the Kargil conflict had made the foreign powers suspicious of Pakistan's capability of becoming

a reliable and responsible nuclear state while India successfully placed its demands before U.S. and came-out as a sound and trustworthy nuclear ally of the world's super power.

Similarly, India and Pakistan have also been engaged in vicious competition of arms race long before the acquisition of nuclear technology thereby creating a security dilemma for the entire region. It is perhaps not the nuclear weapons but the escalation of arms and missile technology also that places the security of South Asia at a high risk[18]. Moreover, in the third world countries like Pakistan and India where, there is a food deficiency along with worst health conditions, the considerable amount of the budget is allocated for the arms trade.

Considering the above mentioned reasons, one can reach the conclusion that it is perhaps the national pride that has forced the Indian and Pakistani news media to endorse war propagandistic designs that has jeopardized the peace of entire region. It is time for the people of both the countries to realize that "friends can be chosen but neighbours cannot". Therefore, peace journalism seems to be one of the remedies that can overcome the above mentioned hurdles in bringing peace between India and Pakistan.

Conceiving Peace

Before proceeding to peace journalism, one must have an understanding of what the term "peace" means. Peace is a varied phenomenon and its definition depends on how the individuals perceive the very notion. Johan Galtung, originator of the discipline of peace-research, divided peace into two different categories i.e. "negative-peace" and "positive-peace"[19]. By "negative – peace", he meant nonexistence of brutality, war and other such demonstrations of direct-violence while the attainment of such a scenario is not all the times possible through non-violent means[20]. The international organizations like UN carry the authority to set-up "negative-peace" where-ever required either through utilizing its authority of militia or coercion[21]. By "positive-

peace", he meant the nonexistence of all sorts of misunderstandings, lack of all categories of violence either structural or cultural and the attainment of peaceful scenario is always through non-violent means[22]. Peace journalism, disarmament, conflict transformation; all exemplify the struggle towards "positive-peace".

Peace Journalism: A Tool of Confidence-Building

The notion of peace journalism, as suggested by the term itself, relates to the process through which tension and communication gaps could be alleviated and a message of peace could be promoted via journalism amongst the adversaries. As the field of journalism depends entirely on media therefore peace-building through the use of media can be entitled as peace journalism.

Peace journalism illustrates and reorganizes the main responsibilities and core functions of the reporters who bear the burden of covering disputes and conflicts[23]. It is a common belief that humans are meant to interact with each other as they cannot isolate themselves from the environment of other fellow beings, due to their dependability on one another. The irony is that the humans cannot exist without their fellow beings and at the same time, they cannot stand one another. The incompatible goals of individuals as a consequence of these interactions lead to tension and conflicts putting way to anxiety and destructiveness. Being communication as an essential constituent of human existence, the idea of peace journalism possesses the ability to foster positive and rather productive interaction amongst people. Structuring peace as the major aim of this phenomenon, it depolarizes, deflates and de-escalates anxieties or conflicts, thus motivating the journalists to report the differences and disputes in such a manner that encourages communication in order to have a better understanding amongst the adversaries[24].

A peace journalist attempts to balance the perceived power of the antagonists, coordinates the dialogue process and

facilitates openness and mutual understanding[25]. Furthermore, the importance of visual images in the projection of peace journalism has also been considered. The human brain is most likely to bear the visual images more than the written texts for considerably longer period[26]. This is more evident in the war situations where the dramatic heart-touching images immediately penetrate into our personalities than the written or verbal news content.

Therefore, television and newspaper images are the most powerful and influential medium of all media institutions as individuals tend to relate the images, they see, to their view of world reality. However, the press images, because of their single freeze-frame ability, are likely to affect more than television content or films[27]. Moreover, cartoons, pictures and other such visual representations do bear a tendency of propagating war journalism by generating "enemy images" and in the same manner these visuals also have the potential to mobilize the efforts towards constructing peace amongst the adversaries[28].

Peace journalism seems to be the antidote that perhaps could cure the stressed relations between Pakistan and India. Both nations being intensely affected by such a pricey historic enmity, desperately need their journalists and media to proceed professionally and ethically as they mostly cover stories regarding conflicts and tension related to these two nuclear neighbours.

Applying Peace Journalism in War-Like Situation

Media, in any conflictual or peaceful situation, is a powerful weapon used by the authorities in order to influence public's support. Without media, disseminating a particular message to a larger audience is rather impossible. Therefore, one can say that media is the most powerful tool, that can be used for promotion of peaceful milieu.

The journalists perfectly know how influential media can be, especially in war-like circumstances. Media can best be

used as a catalyst for peace and can bring reforms and revolutions around the world. Two different approaches on reporting conflicts have been identified. The first approach propagated by Martin Bell, an experienced British Broadcasting Company (BBC) war journalist, denies objectivity to have any role in conflict reporting as, according to him, objectivity has never alleviated the agony of the victims[29]. Such journalism has been named as humanitarian journalism. However, the second approach sees objectivity as the basic element defining journalism[30].

Whatever the approach might be, one thing is quite clear that journalists are socially and ethically bound to protect the public interests[31]. In areas of intense conflict, peace journalism does not require the journalists to show only the good side of the picture but it emphasizes on impartiality and in-depth research of available facts. Every conflicting party has its own story and it is a democratic right of every individual to be heard before being analyzed or criticized. Therefore, peace journalists seek good reporting because it is often through such reporting that the problem automatically is reduced or resolved[32].

In fact, peace journalism is all about building bridges by facilitating dialogue process in war-like situations. A peace journalist should know the scope of an issue, background, major causes behind the escalation of conflict, impact and repercussions of the entire conflict[33]. Similarly, peace journalist should be fully equipped with skills in peace-building, and conflict analysis and transformation of the issue.

It has also been suggested that instead of only covering sudden erupted conflicts, the journalists should keep on alarming the people before any such event could occur[34]. This would not only help in de-escalation of tension but would also make the adversaries understand underlying factors that worsen relationship between the parties at conflict.

Indispensable Components of Peace Journalism

Three major components of peace-journalism approach are; representing the other side; alternative media reporting; and creative peace coverage[35].

Representing the Other Side

Representing the other's point of view through journalistic media can do wonders by clarifying each party's position through projecting the in-depth storylines of the conflict which otherwise are ignored by the people. This very component underlies the hypothesis that, as the media cover the other's point of view, the public becomes more informed regarding peace opportunities[36]. However, the other party's contextual information can help in better decision making and understanding one another. Moreover, if media could provide even half-image of the actual reality (from other's view point), it becomes more simple to humanize the "perceived other".

In fact, a peace journalist is bound to provide diversified information independent of the officially provided stories, otherwise, lack of ample information can even lead to misunderstandings, ambiguities and more intractability in the stances.

Alternative Media Reporting

Unfortunately, there are times when the peace processes assume back seat due to certain reasons in the context of India-Pakistan. In such circumstances, peace journalists require reporting on alternative stories that could promote and strengthen the peace processes. The alternatives to brutality can be provided through revealing the stories pertaining to human-rights violation. Such an attempt would not only provide some exciting rather human-interest stories but would also help in making the victims voice their sufferings. In times of less enthusiasm towards any peace initiative, alternative reporting can help peace process in the very sight of public. Besides human-rights violation,

interviewing the politicians or the prominent opinion makers of the "other side" can ensure more in-depth understanding of their viewpoints[37]. Hence, in this way the public of one side could develop firsthand knowhow regarding other's perception of the conflict.

A journalist may follow two steps while covering any peace process. First, the backchannel negotiations should be reported in order to build public trust and secondly, the obstacles likely to distort the peace environment should be revealed and discussed honestly in the news stories[38].

Creative Reporting

The last important component is reporting peace stories creatively. It is a common perception and a big obstacle in peace journalism that peace stories are often unexciting and boring. Since the audience is more interested in exhilarating stories, therefore, peace journalists need to go out of the box in order to attract the public. For this purpose, the journalists require creative reporting that could motivate and inspire the individuals both emotionally and socially.

Creative reporting could include the stories of cooperation that involve the grass-roots of both rival parties. In this way the media practitioners would not only empower their public with various viewpoints but also create opportunities for the audiences to develop a balanced rather more accurate judgment about the issue.

Peace Journalism in Indo-Pak Scenario

In countries like Pakistan and India, there are times when the formal level (official) dealings often fall short of alleviating mistrust and suspicion amongst the people of both the nations. The recurring crisis, impolite political stances, arms-race, internal problems, lack of concern; all combine to give a horrific picture of the future of South-Asia. In such circumstances, Track-III (citizen-diplomacy) remains the sole prospect that could bring both societies closer to pressurize

their representatives to reassess what has gone wrong during all these years.

Media, in both the states, enjoy a highly honoured and credible position amongst the people. Indians and Pakistanis tend to structure their perceptions in accordance with the light of news media. The recent boost of journalistic media in Pakistan, after the concluding episode of 2009 Chief Justice's restoration, has proved media's efficacy in portraying and resolving social issues. The same is applicable to the Indian society where the major economic, social or political information is extracted from the media sources.

Since media, over the previous six decades, have intensely fuelled the Indo-Pak conflict and these issues have been inculcated in the minds of the public so deeply that escaping this media war has become almost impossible. Such a trend has always come in the way of peaceful and secure South Asia. Thanks to citizen diplomacy, due to which the observers on each side saw a positive change in the official stances of Indian and Pakistani governments. The era of 1990s is characterized with various Track-III initiatives where different groups of the society made a positive move towards confidence building and the official efforts took a different, rather much concerned course[39]. It is because of peace-oriented journalistic media that people on the two sides, now, are much aware of the significance of peace and evils of war between India-Pakistan. Credit goes to media's reporting that the Indian and Pakistani representatives now meet each other by having their public backing and media support.

The recent argument of the citizen peace-communities in Pakistan and India has burdened both governments with heavy responsibility of continuing the ongoing confidence-building efforts sincerely and devotedly[40]. Here, the input of journalists and other media practitioners is worth-mentioning. The current attitude of media industry has contributed in across-the-board public awareness regarding how much crucial peace is for nuclear-armed South-Asia. Peace journalism in South Asia gained popularity in 1990s but

due to the frequent leg-pulling being exercised on part of both governments, it could not receive much public heed[41]. Today, the things are quite different; people are much aware, civil society is much mobilized and media is fairly independent and privatized. Therefore, current environment seems to be more suitable for attaining the maximum benefits of peace journalism between India-Pakistan.

News Media as Instrument of Peace-Journalism and Conflict De-Intensification

Media, predominantly news-media, serve twofold tasks; either they can be viciously dreadful by cultivating facets of fanaticism or they can be awe-inspiringly human-oriented through disseminating authentic information by regarding human-rights[42]. The pervasive conviction in war reporting leaves war outcome to the incumbent governments while peace-oriented war reporting grants journalists the power to take the resultant outcome in their hands by affecting the public positively and much fruitfully[43].

Peace-oriented news-media not only strengthens democracy but also guarantees individuals' sovereignty and people's right of having access to plausible information within their immediate environment[44]. Constructive news media of any society enables the citizens to form their opinion impartially on contemporary problems, whether political or social, and help the individuals in making conversant decisions on societal issues that directly affect them. They monitor, evaluate and critically analyze those who possess significant ranks thereby empowering citizens to keep an eye on their government representatives[45].

Furthermore, peace-values, being cultivated through peace-oriented media, reproduce such a society that ensures tranquil minds and healthy living of the public[46]. Such media grants voice to the unheard, valour to the suppressed, power to the weak, remedy to the victimized and an opportunity to the citizenry to take fate of the state in their own hands. In the underdeveloped states of South-Asia (especially Pakistan and

neighbouring India), peace-oriented journalism remains the only option.

'*Aman Ki Asha*': Compensating Bitterness and Exemplifying Peace Journalism

Perhaps one of the most lasting and celebrated peace journalistic endeavours between India and Pakistan is the one that came after 2008 hostile media's treatment of Mumbai incident. The project, accredited as "*Aman ki Asha*", demonstrates the worth of media in mediation, conflict-transformation and bilateral discourse[47]. Started in January 2010, Pakistani "*Jang Group*" and Indian "*Times of India*" teamed up to compensate media's track-record of acrimony and surliness against each-other. The initiative's title combines Urdu (*Aman* denoting peace) and Hindi (*Asha* denoting hope) terms to articulate harmony and understanding between India-Pakistan to illustrate the dying desire of both the nations to acquire peace.

The project incorporates various initiatives ventured via both entertainment and news-media that are intended to strengthen the ties between India and Pakistan and to mobilize mass support to attain peace objectives[48]. In partnership with the dynamic civil-society of both states, "*Aman ki Asha*" seeks to expose the public aspirations for witnessing a serene and secure region that lacks animosity and abhorrence against any nation. It has ushered the two historic opponents into such a context that guarantees mutual discourse, buoyancy, reciprocated respect, trust and has compelled both the governments to adopt fresh innovations to tackle their ever-continuing animosity. It attempts to offer productive outlook, broad in mindedness, acceptance, generosity and above all, it seeks to soften the deadlock that stands responsible for limiting the thinking ability of Indian and Pakistani politicians. Furthermore, it has insisted upon the journalists to search for shared values in lieu of divulging disparities and has brought the two societies closer enough to endorse the culture conductive of practicality and optimism.

A recent survey executed by *Daily Jang* has revealed that roughly 65% of Indian and Pakistani populace is very much mindful of this peace-journalistic endeavour and hence cherishes the initiative for its uniqueness, charisma and vigour[49]. Fortunately, it has touched nearly every issue that has anything to do with both the countries; whether it is trade, business, culture, language, education, visa policy, health issues, politics, cricket diplomacy, lifestyle, music, drama, movies or tough concerns like Siachen, war prisoners, Kashmir or water issue. Under the canopy of "*milnay do*" (let citizens convene), it has incorporated and fostered civil-society endeavours by drawing near to the grass-roots of India and Pakistan and has been lucky enough to win their trust and minds[50]. "*Aman ki Asha*" has granted a phenomenal breakthrough since partition particularly by involving the consent of Indian and Pakistani governments and citizenry. The most celebrated programs liked by the public under the said initiative are "Surk Shetra", "Chotay Ustad", "Foodistan", "Pakistan-India Takra" and frequent current affair shows being hosted by anchors of both the media.

Drama, music and film icons have enthusiastically supported the initiative by appealing the public to disregard what has happened before and anticipate better rather more productive future. It has altered the most dominant yet most unfriendly Indian and Pakistani mindset through portraying their common roots, culture, food and language. Being an extension of Track-III diplomacy, it has fostered the worth of democracy which is ultimately the only way out for both the societies. Following the media's treatment of dreadful Mumbai episode and media's aggressive track-record, the initiative hunts for denuclearization by halting the arms-race, deforms the "otherization" by valuing human-rights, alters the pessimistic mindset by illustrating commonness, cracks the deadlock by engaging the masses and strives to heal the miseries of the individuals.

The initiative has been regarded as the most sincere and solemn strive undertaken by both the states towards cultivating peace and synchronization[51]. Its practicality has

made the most contradictory issues to be conversed on a single platform and the resultant views to be projected on both Indian and Pakistani media without bias or stereotyping. Being supported by a win-win stratagem, it ponders on mutual gains, bilateral compatibility, confiscating misconceptions, cultivating acceptance and positively modifying mindsets. It has accomplished what the other millionaire public-relation industries or NGOs have so far been unsuccessful to achieve. In India, Pak-phobia or Pak-threat has seen a considerable decline from 75% to 42% while in Pakistan the similar trend has reduced from 54% to 29% which confirms that this peace-journalistic endeavour has fruitfully come much nearer to what it was destined to accomplish[52].

Similar to other India-Pakistan peace initiatives, "*Aman ki Asha*" has also drawn condemnation and suspicion from Indian and Pakistani cynics. In Pakistan, few politicians, thinkers and media practitioners have deemed this step as merely an unnecessary idea intended to waste audience's valuable time and weakening of Pakistan's political posture over Kashmir[53]. While, Indian cynics' obsession over Pakistani backed extremism has grown thorns in the way of project's success as they observe the very initiative as being business-oriented, impractical and divisive[54]. However, the peace drive is in its babyhood and calls for uphill struggle to reach maturity but it is the primary step that, if allowed to prevail longer, might dismantle India-Pakistan historical antagonism and prove itself to be the torchbearer of new rather much peaceful beginning[55].

Roots of "*Aman ki Asha*"

The proposal of "*Aman ki Asha*" did not arrive suddenly from nowhere but possesses a history too. One might draw back the very initiative with the inception of SAFMA (South-Asian Free Media Association) that came along in 2000[56]. *The News* in alliance with United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) pioneered the plan of an energetic and liberated media that would be well-versed in endorsing long-lasting peace initiatives[57]. The objectives were comparable to

those of "*Aman ki Asha*" with an intention to exercise media for their mediation, watch-dog and conflict-resolution functions, thereby contributing in alleviating misconceptions, exposing truth, facilitating discourse or communication and discouraging negative stereotypes in South-Asia.

SAFMA, still in the scene, has focused on media's liberty, unblocked surge of information, conflict-transformation, regional collaboration, trust-building and a struggle towards obtaining peace both within and beyond the region. It has embraced those who reckoned the worth of discourse and who believed in the diplomatic resolution of divergence and, hence, has penetrated its voice into the doors of parliament and policy institutions. It has struggled for peace-building via media, journalists' liberation and citizen's right of accessing truth. Similar to "*Aman ki Asha*", several seminars and dialogues have been arranged by SAFMA with an intention to construct a conflict-free environment. Furthermore, it has assisted Indian and Pakistani journalists to collaborate with one-other to alter their prejudiced mindsets and to undermine stereotypes regarding each side through utilizing media.

Again in 2001, Agra summit, to some extent, brought back the ideals of peace journalism when in the presence of approximately 500 media-teams General Musharraf, the then Pakistani President, and Vajpayee, the then Indian Prime-Minister, met to converse bilateral issues. The event turned into a "media-summit" where a sea of journalists flew from Pakistan to its neighbouring India[58]. Though the conference did not prove fruitful but it had projected the peoples' longing for witnessing a brotherly atmosphere between India-Pakistan. The event, however, fell victim to sensationalism but the expectations and mood of the spectators were very optimistic and an opportunity was seen for alleviating tensions and misconceptions through utilizing the influence of media[59].

The above stated events have pioneered the foundations of "*Aman ki Asha*" and have demonstrated how Pakistani and

Indian media can prove to be useful to reduce bilateral tension and misunderstandings.

"*Aman ki Asha*": Psychological and Societal Ramifications on Public

As peace is beneficial for both states therefore, "*Aman ki Asha*" is likely to have the following ramifications on Indian and Pakistani public; healthy social living of people; chance to settle Kashmir-dispute; strengthening of Indian/Pakistani news and entertainment industry; creation of cultural and psychological benevolence amongst Indian and Pakistani citizens; financial boost through economic interdependence. Across-the-board tourism; diminution of trans-border extremism, smuggling and crimes; bilateral job opportunities. improvement in labour, education, infrastructure, political system, economy, culture, lifestyle, clothing etc; bilateral renewal of cricket, political, military and trade relations; decline in India-Pakistan risk of nuclear-war; considerable lessening of Indo-phobic or Pak-phobic trend; diversion of arms expenses to developmental and health projects; and finally, an opportunity for South Asia to succeed.

Recommendations for Peace Journalism in India-Pakistan

Peace journalists cannot operate alone; they need their fellow members to join them, government's endorsement and public appreciation. In Indo-Pak framework, the journalists require security and freedom to proceed in the best interests of the public. They need space to function, resources to preserve quality, capital to discard yellow journalism, security to certify objectivity and above all, respect for human-being and a public's messenger holding the duty to disseminate valid information. Unfortunately, the region of South-Asia has been viewed as the most dangerous place for conducting journalism.

First, the Indo-Pak journalists and other media practitioners must clarify whether they desire peace between

India and Pakistan or not. If yes, then they ought to endorse the following recommendations in their working media environments since these are not merely suggestions but a way of conducting ethical journalism in Indo-Pak hostile context. The following recommendations are offered from the personal opinion and experience of the participants selected for the survey of current study.

> ➢ The professional media-practitioners in India-Pakistan must be segregated from the non-professionals.
> ➢ The Indian and Pakistani journalists must be equipped with required training, professional education, financial and logistic resources. Various training camps must be established all over the subcontinent to strengthen the journalists' capability towards peace-building[60].
> ➢ Young journalists must be promoted and encouraged in both states' news-media industries since they are more energetic, possess fresh ideas, more logical and much creative than the older journalists[61].
> ➢ The media peace initiatives like "*Aman ki Asha*" must persist as it is due to such endeavours that Indo-phobic or Pak-phobic mindsets could be altered. Such initiatives must be made globalized by engaging all stakeholders and all media industries. Human minds tend to have short-term memory, therefore, such peace endeavours should emerge on a regular basis[62]. Furthermore, Indo-Pak peace journalists must have to go out of box, something apart from cricket diplomacy or few mutual entertainment or news programmes. Perhaps the element of creativity is more significant and obligatory especially in the context of India-Pakistan historic enmity.

Conclusion

The article has focused on the evolution and progression of peace journalism as an autonomous theme of peace-research. The entire literature has presented the only conclusion, that in a tense political relationship between the governments of

Pakistan and India; only objective, unbiased and rather peaceful media can help revive the forgotten history of Hindu-Muslim unity, fill the political and communication gaps, allow free-movement of people on both sides and could alleviate suspicion and miscommunications between the two nations. The South Asian journalists and media authorities should accept peace journalism as the only remedy of resolving historic issues as such conflicts have contributed in portraying the region as highly volatile, dangerous and insecure.

Notes

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MARITIME POWER AND STRATEGY

Dr. Azhar Ahmad

Abstract

Maritime power includes all relevant aspects of national power both; civil and military. National maritime capabilities and potential are seen in comprehensive terms as including ports & harbours, merchant marine & maritime industry, fishing and oceanographic fleets, ocean economic resources, maritime outlook and tradition, and other aspects of national power related to sea. Whereas, maritime strategy takes care of the development and management of the elements of maritime power. Access to sea provides political, economic and military advantages to the littoral states and raises their stature in the comity of nations. However, in order to take advantage of the bounties of the seas, a nation has to evolve a comprehensive maritime strategy to be able to exploit and protect all the elements of maritime power.

Introduction

> "It is He who has subjected the sea unto you, that ye may eat flesh thereof that is fresh and tender, and extract there-from ornaments to wear, and thou seest the ships therein that plough the waves that ye may seek to enrich yourself of the bounty of Allah and that ye may be grateful[1]."

More than two-thirds of the earth's surface is covered with water. All major oceans of the world are practically connected to form one whole. These oceans provide man with a seamless medium to traverse the entire length and breadth of this globe. Although human beings naturally live on land, their sustenance is crucially linked and dependent on these waters. All oceans, seas and inland waterways are a huge reservoir of food and an endless resource of organic and non-organic materials. The two most traditional usages of the seas include

the use of these waters as a source of food (fishing) and as a medium of transportation. Even today, seafoods comprise major portion of the overall human food consumption and the trend is increasing with the improvement in technology and better access to fishing techniques. Similarly, sea transport remains the most convenient and the cheapest mode of transport the world over. It is, therefore, no surprise that the humans prefer to live close to the waters and today 80% of the world's population lives on or near the coasts and 90% of the entire world's commerce is routed through the seas[2]. Moreover, the seas contain tremendous amount of resources, so important for sustenance and development of human society which include oil and gas, important minerals, food and energy. It is also the single most influential element that affects and regulates our climate and environment. Thus, the seas have a profound influence on our economic, social, cultural and military lives.

The objective of this paper is to critically analyse the importance of various elements of maritime power and their effective employment to achieve progress and prosperity for a country. The paper highlights the significance of the oceans in different aspects of human activity before clarifying the concepts of maritime power and strategy. It also explains how maritime strategy helps harness the benefits of various elements of maritime power.

Significance of the Seas

There have been few others like Mahan, who have tried to draw the attention of their peers to the importance of oceans in their lives. One of them was the architect of modern Soviet Navy, Admiral Gorshkov, who writes[3]:

> "Our seas, oceans and inland waterways are of huge importance in terms of resources, the environment and conservation, trade and industry, marine sciences and leisure activity."

The seas have been used, since time immemorial, primarily as an important resource of food, mainly fish, and as an economical and indestructible path for transportation of goods and people. However, advancements in technology promise a much wider access to the depths and widths of the seas. The increasing knowledge about the variety of sources available in these waters and their bottoms and the capability to technically exploit these precious sources has further enhanced the economic importance of seas. Technology is continually transforming the traditional knowledge and uses of the seas, being used for variety of civil and military purposes. In order to fully comprehend the scope and benefits of the seas, an effort is being made to categorize the uses of the oceans and the seas under three broad but very important aspects of human activity.

Economic

The foremost activity at the sea remains fishing. Sea food is one of the most preferred and healthy of the foods. Millions of individuals and their families are associated with and dependent on fishing around the world which has taken a form of a proper industry. It is estimated that over 500 million people earn their livelihood directly or indirectly through this industry[4]. Besides catching and selling fish, the industry includes manufacturing of fishing boats and trawlers, fishing lines and nets and a variety of modern equipment which is used directly or indirectly in the process. Fish processing has also become a thriving industry which gives employment to thousands and is a source of huge revenues for many countries. New techniques and equipment are being introduced regularly giving a continuous boost to the industry and adding its contribution to the overall economic activity. Rise in population and awareness about its nutritious value is adding to the demand of fish, generating more opportunities for the coastal states and individuals related with this industry.

Another vital economic activity at sea is the marine transportation. It is said that 90% of world trade is carried out

through seas. Bigger, much faster ships, loading/unloading and storing techniques provide vast economic opportunities. The transportation through sea is not only safer, but is cheaper as well. No other medium, land or air, has the capacity to lift equivalent amount of cargo in comparable size and cost. Not only the littoral states but even the land-locked countries are also dependent on the sea for a major portion of their imports and exports. Merchant shipping is a multibillion-dollar, multinational endeavour; an estimated two million people make their livelihood from seafaring[5]. There are other major activities associated with sea trade like ship-building and repairs, marine construction, and also the infrastructure and communications required for linking these ports with the hinterland. Thus the scale of economic activity generated through sea trade is enormous and has the capacity to alone turn the fortunes of the coastal states. Singapore and UAE are just two examples of states thriving on sea trade. The increase in the world trade, due to globalization, has become a primary factor that affects the international maritime environment.

Sea is also a significant resource for countless minerals. Many, perhaps, are still unknown to the mankind, however, the technology is opening up new vistas and human reach is becoming possible in the remoteness of ocean beds. So far, the most important and precious non-living product of the sea is petroleum. According to Professor Till[6], nearly one third of the oil and gas being consumed by the world comes from the seabed; Methane hydrates are the future energy resources and sea will be used more and more for energy generation as the world has learnt to exploit fluctuating tides, the movements of waves, and water temperature differentials. The economic activity being generated by transportation and use of petroleum alone is so enormous that it would be difficult to put a figure on it. Technology is opening wider and deeper oceanic areas for exploration of minerals. It is due to modern technology that Japan is endeavouring to retrieve iron from near its coast.

The oceans hold a promising future to meet the rapidly expanding needs of the people. Governments, throughout the world, are showing close interest in the deep sea, the sea-bed and its subsoil. The United States, Germany, Japan and Russia are leading the world-wide enterprise of oceanic explorations. In addition to the vast mining of oil and gas being carried out at sea, numerous other minerals and metals are also being mined from the sea-bed. As technology advances, the volume and variety of the yield from the sea would also increase. Sea water, sea-bed and subsoil of the sea carry huge potential resources of all kinds of foods, minerals, biological and chemical resources for the coastal states.

In its hunger for more and cheaper energy, mankind is turning toward the sea with renewed hopes. The potential sources of energy from the sea are numerous including the harnessing of wave-energy and the tidal movement, recovery of hydrogen from the sea water, and development of big-mass energy from biological sources of the sea. In this last category, the energy would be obtained from Kelp, the 'king of the sea weeds' which can grow by two feet per day.[7] Even the wind generated across the coasts is indirectly a product of the sea which is being used for energy generation.

Development of ports and harbours is a catalyst in the overall economic and industrial uplift of a country. It provides impetus to economic and social activity throughout the country. Even water sports and leisure activities provided by the seas contribute enormously in the social and economic well being of the people. It is no coincidence that most of the prosperous cities and notable commercial as well as cultural centres are located astride the seas. Recreation, real estate, ocean-related occupations, and other services associated with the ocean generate an amount of $54 billion in goods and services each year. Revenue generated from the ocean is received through: food, recreation, mining, shipping, kelp (emulsifying agent used in food and pharmaceutical products), and biomedical products[8].

Military

The importance of the seas as a medium of warfare and influence has grown over a period of time. The earlier military use of the seas was restricted to transportation of men and material to and from the enemy coast. The actual action was to be carried out at land. However, with passage of time and proficiency in the use of boats and weapons, it was sometimes found prudent to face the enemy at the sea. In military conflict, the sea may serve as the first line of defence for some countries and for some as the last reserve of space, to fall back upon. The sea also provides logistic supply routes to the combat forces fighting on land or operating near coastal areas. Despite advancements in warfare at sea, amphibious landing remains one of the most intricate and spectacular of military actions launched from the sea. Landings at Normandy and Inchon played decisive role in the outcome of the respective battles. It is still considered as an attractive form of power projection against weaker adversaries. Seabed also provides ideal ground for installation of long range listening devices and under-water weapons.

Mobility, flexibility and reach are some of the important characteristics of all the naval forces. Sea power plays a major part in projecting power both by direct support of operations on land and by independent action at sea. Due to increased dependence of states on sea-borne trade, the protection (or interdiction) of Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) has become an important military assignment for naval forces. States are becoming more and more dependent on sea trade and any interference thereof can have serious repercussions.

Development of new weapons like the stand-off cruise missile which can be fired from any platform has made it possible for maritime forces to carryout lethal missile attacks on shore targets including the interior of the coastal cities. However, in the nuclear age, the most sought after military instrument at sea today is the submarine which provides the best assured 'second-strike' capability to a nuclear state.

Political

Political importance of any element or resource is essentially a product of the economic and military factors. With the indisputable economic and military importance of the oceans, their political importance is inevitable. Ability to use the sea enhances the overall freedom of a nation, particularly in case of those nations which are surrounded by hostile neighbours.

A state needs a wide variety of contacts and communications with the international community to advance its influence and aims for its political stability and national progress. The sea facilitates in promoting commercial, cultural, scientific and industrial contacts between the littoral states. When Mozambique became free from Portuguese domination, its re-establishment of trade ties with the world community was quick because of its access to the sea. Pakistani merchant ships also immediately started calling at the Mozambique ports to bring own exports to that country. The state of Rhodesia which has now become Zimbabwe, on the other hand, has been taking much longer to develop similar contacts with other countries because it is a landlocked country[9]. Pakistan enjoys special importance for landlocked Central Asian Republics (CARs) and Afghanistan for providing access to the world through sea.

The states having access to the sea invariably tend to have a greater voice and influence in the sphere of international trade and commerce, fixing of transportation prices, allocation of tariffs and quotas, and on policies regarding shipping and turnover of trade etc. This enhances the overall economic expertise and activities of these states. Countries like Singapore, Iran, Egypt, Panama, Turkey etc. have a role to play in the international politics due to their proximity to important maritime choke points.

The sea provides a very good medium through which show of force to serve as deterrence or as a pressure tactics can be mounted. This kind of diplomacy by force or what is

sometimes called as 'Gun-boat diplomacy' is being frequently used by big powers as well as the regional powers. Present trends in power-politics in the international sphere, as well as availability of new kinds of weapons and naval units indicate still wider currency and applicability of the use of naval deterrent forces in support of diplomacy.

Understanding Maritime Strategy and Sea Power

Many historians have generally used the term 'maritime strategy' or 'sea power' in the military context. It is, therefore, no surprise that people tend to mix maritime/ sea power with naval power. Hence, there is a need to put the two in their correct perspective. The word 'maritime' is a composite term which has various elements such as ports and harbours, merchant marine, ocean economic resources and combatant naval forces. All these elements essentially contribute towards the 'national power' of a state. Maritime strategy is all about the sea and management of maritime assets in the best possible fashion[10]; which brings riches and honour to the state that learns and applies these skills. The political, economic and technological environments have got a direct bearing on the maritime strategy of a nation.[11]. Sea power is broadly defined to include all relevant aspects of national power, both civil and military. National maritime capabilities and potential are seen in comprehensive terms as including ports & harbours, merchant marine & maritime industry, fishing and oceanographic fleets, ocean economic resources like fish, oil & gas, minerals etc, maritime outlook and tradition, and other aspects of national power related to sea, rather than in narrow terms of weaponry alone. A strategy to enhance national sea power accordingly promotes and coordinates all aspects of maritime activity, both civil and military in order to optimize the use of available resources[12]. It may be said that maritime strategy is the conviction of a nation to put to use her political, social, economic and maritime assets with the aim to promote her maritime interests[13].

Maritime strategy determines the development of elements of sea power. It is greatly influenced by the economic, trade,

energy, defence and foreign policies amongst others. Maritime strategy therefore, regulates all the elements of sea power whereas; naval strategy deals primarily with one element i.e. the naval forces.

Naturally, there is a considerable inter-linking between the two because naval strategy is designed to protect the maritime interests of the state in peace and war. Moreover, it has the potential to support broad national objectives, particularly in the foreign policy. In the context of maritime affairs, naval forces safeguard the elements which are lucrative and open to dispute because conflicts over the treasures of the sea are bound to arise.

Therefore, despite excessive use of the term sea power, by majority of naval writers, in purely military context, this study considers sea power as an all-encompassing term which includes the ability to exploit all elements of maritime power. Although Mahan's works revolved mainly around naval campaigns, he did realize the importance of other elements of maritime power as well. According to him[14], sea power was essential to the growth of national strength and prosperity. He identified various factors which affected the sea power of a nation which included: geographical position, size of territory and population, political institutions and national character. All proponents of sea power unanimously agree that the ascendency of UK and USA owes primarily to their sea power. Admiral Gorshkov expresses his views on sea power in the following words[15]:

> "A nation's sea power is determined not only by the weapons and armed forces with which it can affect events at sea but also by its merchant marine, its fishing and oceanographic fleets, and its maritime outlook and tradition. It is true that these civil maritime activities can become vital ingredients in a nation's ability to exercise military power at sea, for example, when merchant ships carry troops and supplies in wartime, or trawlers and scientific vessels collect

intelligence in peacetime, but they are not inherently instruments of armed force."

How much influence sea power has had on the course of history and destiny of the nations is a matter of debate. Notwithstanding, the fact that this influence has not been constant and has varied due to various factors, it would be hard, even for the proponents of continental primacy, to reject its importance outright. As noted by Professor Till,[16] sea power may not be required today for colonization, but many other benefits of sea power, not visible to the early writers have arisen. For example, the adoption of the United Nation's Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) has given a whole new meaning to the term sea power by giving rights and responsibilities to coastal states. One extremely relevant manifestation of sea power is the nuclear submarine with its capability of second strike. So while the means, and even the ends, may have changed; the importance of sea power and hence of maritime strategy has not diminished. The United States' ability to invade far off lands and maintain its hegemony and control over resource rich areas of the globe is only possible because of its preponderance at sea. Having established the importance of sea power for contemporary littoral states, the need for a maritime strategy to exploit this power becomes only too obvious. Let us now discuss a few elements which are critical to the existence and exploitation of maritime power.

Elements of Maritime Power

"Under modern conditions, however, home trade is but a part of the business of a country bordering on the sea. Foreign necessaries or luxuries must be brought to its ports, either in its own or in foreign ships, which will return, bearing in exchange the products of the country, whether they be the fruits of the earth or the work of men's hands; and it is the wish of every nation that this shipping business should be done by its own vessels. The ships that thus sail

to and fro must have secure ports to which to
return, and must, as far as possible, be followed
by the protection of their country throughout the
voyage[17]."

Maritime elements are various and listed differently by
different writers. However, there are four basic elements
which are essential for a state to be considered a sea power of
any stature. These include ports & harbours, merchant
marine, ocean economic resources and combatant force.

Ports and Harbours

The most fundamental constituent of maritime power is
the ports. Without ports and harbours, worthwhile maritime
activity cannot simply take place. The possession of ports and
harbours is a significant attribute of sea power. A port offers
facility for receiving ships and transferring cargo. It is, in fact,
a gateway between water and land transport with services for
receiving and transferring cargo as well as passengers. As
such, a lot of related industrial activities take place in and
around the ports, giving rise to port-industrial complexes. It
may also be defined as an intermediate location in the global
flow of passengers and freight. As shipments by sea account
for about 90 percent of international trade by volume, sea
ports are vital nodes in global supply/logistic chains, as well as
in supra-national and regional trade. Naturally therefore, all
ports also form focal points for economic activities and for
associated industrial development[18].

The economic activity associated with ports can be divided
into different groups. The first group involves cargo and
passenger handling, storage and distribution activities as part
of port function, ship repair and a number of transport-related
services located in port itself and in their city centres. The
second group consists of a processing industries that process
imported material before their onward shipment/re-export
taking advantage of the inter-modal, trans-shipment and
break of bulk functions of ports. Another group of industries
found in port-industrial complexes are those whose inputs

include bulk commodities imported through the port. Oil refineries and related chemical industries, iron and steel mills and sugar refineries[19] may be included in this last category. Mahan further explains the importance of ports in the following words[20]:

> "The seaboard of a country is one of its frontiers; and the easier the access offered by the frontier to the region beyond, in this case the sea, the greater will be the tendency of people toward intercourse with the rest of the world by it. If a country be imagined having a long seaboard, but entirely without a harbour, such a country can have no sea trade of its own, no shipping, no navy."

The bases, ports and harbours provide berthing, repairs and numerous logistic facilities including recuperation of personnel, without which the sustained operations are not possible. The distant bases help increasing endurance and reach of combatants. Commercial ports and harbours are focal points for economic development of any state. Modern ports' capability of handling large quantities of cargo and shipping are important assets. Finally, it is no exaggeration to say that the existence and exploitation of all other elements of maritime power depends on the availability of suitable ports.

Merchant Marine

Maritime nations have various interests, economic interdependence, and a heritage tied inseparably to their geography. Regular inter-continental business flights and direct world-wide communications have created fresh commercial opportunities and brought nations closer, though they still rely on the oceans to serve as a highway to commerce abroad. The stability of the world economy depends upon unhindered trade across the seas and the oceans. Today, even the most powerful world economies, like US, with vast industrial, technological, agricultural, and resource components, are not self-sufficient. Nations depend on the

continued flow of raw materials and finished products to and from different countries.

International trade plays an overwhelmingly important role in stimulating economic growth. With the onset of globalization and improvement in transportation and related services, the world economies have become ever more inter-dependent. The three mediums of transportation i.e. land, air and sea have certain advantages and shortcomings. For example, man is most comfortable on land, the latter being his natural habitat and source of sustenance. Land also allows free and sustained movement even without the use of any vehicle. However, the land is not continuous and sometimes the terrain is not very hospitable. Even with the use of vehicles, there is restriction on speed and capacity. On the other hand, the air is ubiquitous, uninterrupted, and free of terrain difficulties; it allows high speed movement in all directions without the need of preparing roads and rails. Nonetheless, despite huge technological improvements, the staying power and size of air vehicles remains limited, and the energy required to move them at high speed becomes exorbitantly expensive. In contrast, the sea is almost continuous and free of terrain difficulties, requires no road, rail or runway preparations and allows large and heavy cargos to be lifted at far less energy expenditure.

A merchant marine, under the national flag and nationally owned and manned is generally considered to be an important element of maritime power. It enables the state to ensure the maintenance of its trade; earn profits, create wealth and provide employment; besides maintaining a pool of trained seamen. All these traits are particularly important in times of national crisis, when in addition, it may be desirable for a state to requisition merchant ships for naval or auxiliary purposes[21]. A clear example of this, is seen in the Falklands campaign where a large number of merchant ships were commissioned by the Royal Navy to augment its strength. It is also a well known fact that some countries use their merchant (and fishing) vessels for intelligence gathering and eavesdropping as well.

Having own merchant fleet of sufficient size and capability is particularly important during war and tension. Because during such periods the Flag of Convenience ships usually refuse to ply in dangerous waters or charge exorbitant fees on account of war insurance, which despite being a burden on the national exchequer, does not assure continued supplies. On such occasions, the best and only reliable solution is to have own ships able to carry vital cargo.

Hence the possession of merchant fleet is not only important for economic reasons but for the purposes of national security as well. Negligence to build and maintain own fleet could impact a state in three different ways. First and foremost would be to lack the capacity of assured supplies during peace and war. Secondly, the state will lose an opportunity to earn vital revenues from carrying cargos of other countries. And thirdly, it will have to pay exorbitant freight charges and, may be, even war insurance bills to flags of convenience.

The availability of shipping services to meet country's foreign trade needs in war or other emergencies has been the major reason for development of merchant shipping by many countries. Though national defence requirements do not fall within normal economic considerations, they have been an important factors in development of national mercantile marine. As mentioned earlier, a war in the region or a heightened state of tension can discourage neutral foreign shipping from operating in such an area. Resulting in denial of essential services for carrying country's trade or increased insurance premium for all cargo destined to or from a war zone. Experts have quoted five basic reasons why developing countries invest in shipping industry. These are: saving foreign exchange, reducing freight costs and consequently promoting the country's foreign trade, earning revenues from the shipping operation, providing additional employment, and assuring adequate and reliable shipping services in peace and crisis[22].

Oceanic Economic Resources

Oceanic economic resources are those assets or materials, related to the oceans or seas, which help generate economic activity or contribute to the economic well being of individuals or states. Generally, this term is used to include all living and non-living organisms and materials e.g. marine animals and plants, minerals, oil and gas etc. that are found in the oceans.

The coastal areas are by far the most biologically productive zones, endowed with rich, unique natural ecosystems that can contribute significantly towards national economy and growth. It is estimated[23] that one hectare of mangroves, if properly managed, could produce an annual yield of 100kg fish, 25kg shrimp, 15kg crab meat, 200kg mollusc, and 40kg sea cucumber, in addition to supplying indirect support for 400kg of fish and 75kg of shrimp that mature in off-shore areas. The economic wealth of coastal areas is derived from five major sources[24].

Products of direct economic value e.g. shrimp and finfish, which earn millions of US dollars in foreign exchange; minerals; sand mining; beach recreation and tourism that generate revenue, apart from providing support to livelihood of many rural communities along the productive natural systems.

Products of natural systems that are intangible and are not accounted for by the market economy. These are the output of economic functions performed and services provided by those systems e.g., supply of rich nutrients to support productivity of biologically diverse fauna and flora, of direct and indirect economic value to humans such as food, firewood, honey; fodder for animals, cattle and wild life.

Coast dependent activities such as coastal aquaculture, marine transport and shipping, beach related activities, tourism, ports and harbour etc.

Coastal linked activities include fish processing, agricultural activities along the coastal belt, marine coastal installations, lying of submarine cables and pipelines, ship building, power station etc.

Coastal services activities include housing, real estate, business industries and other professional services.

Thus, the total economic wealth generated by the natural systems, coast depended activities and services, contributes billions of US dollars to national Gross Natural Production (GNP). Many nations depend on the common resources of the oceans for enhancing their economic power. Since the access to the ocean is free, it allows the states to enjoy unlimited bounties offered by the ocean. Admiral Gorshkov considers seas, oceans and inland waterways to be of huge importance in terms of resources, the environment and conservation, trade and industry, marine sciences and leisure activity. He writes[25]:

> "The exploitation of the natural resources of the World Ocean, combined with the advance of science and technology making such exploitation possible, opens new vistas of economic and political integration for the socialist states of the world, widens the sphere of their international cooperation and heightens the prestige of the Soviet State in the international arena."

Combatant Naval Force

After establishing importance of the oceans and various elements of maritime power, it becomes common understanding that a state would need a capable force to safeguard not only its sovereignty but all its assets and resources as well. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that a coastal state must possess a potent naval force to protect its maritime interests. The sea plays a crucial role in the economic, military and political affairs of a state. If adequate maritime force is not maintained, the sea can become a liability rather than an asset.

Man lives on land but the predominant support to his life comes from water. Besides the fact that the sea is inextricably linked with every aspect of man's life, the potential resources possessed by the sea are infinitely greater than those of the land. Those who can harness the resources of sea, would always have more resources at their disposal for development. It is inevitable that the nations which have the capability of controlling the sea would become the dominant nations in the world. Khairuddin Barbarossa rightly understood the importance of naval power, when after his conquest in the battle of Preveza, in 1538, he uttered his famous words:

> "He who rules over the sea will undoubtedly rule over the land."

In the recent history, natural resources of the seas have attracted great interest around the world. The land is becoming scarce of some of the traditional raw materials due over-exploitation, while the demand is still on the rise. While with advancement in technology, it is becoming increasingly possible for man to work at sea and exploit the unlimited resources, it offers. Parallel with this increase in the access and demand of marine resources goes, of course, an increase in their strategic significance[26]. The conflicts over the use of ocean space arise principally from two developments: first, an explosion of technological advances in exploiting fish, petroleum, and minerals in ocean space; and second, the rising influence of developing countries in asserting their claim to the benefits of such exploitation[27]. The UNCLOS has given a large area of the seas under the jurisdiction of coastal states to exploit and reap its benefits. However, mere claims and resolutions do not guarantee protection of a nation's interests. A coastal state requires a potent military force to be able to protect its interests and deter intrusion.

Notwithstanding the above, the realm of a naval force extends much beyond mere protection of maritime interests. Their unique composition and special characteristics set them apart from both, the land and air forces. Hence modern naval forces are used as military as well as political instruments in

support of national policies. Naval presence is used to provide a regional stabilizing influence, foster strong alliances, and encourage multinational friendships. Development of new weapons, the capability to strike beyond just the coastal areas, and the second strike capability, has increased the importance of navies manifold. A naval force can be engaged or disengaged easily without fear of unintended escalation. By being on the high seas or in foreign ports, a navy can communicate threats, offer reassurances, or earn prestige in a way that troops or aircraft in their home bases cannot do. Naval forces operate in an international medium and can reach and operate around the globe, besides having the capacity to sustain themselves for longer periods.

The navy remains at the core of a country's military preparedness and war-fighting proficiency. As a team, operating around the seas, naval forces are able to shift their focus, in no time, from passive, low-profile, forward deployed operations to high-tempo crisis response. In this environment, the naval forces are expeditionary in character, a force whose flexibility, readiness, self-sustainability, and mobility is capable of preventing and, if necessary, winning regional battles, resolving crises, or serving as a vital element of joint task forces, to guard national interests. It is, therefore, considered an important element of not only the maritime power but that of the national power.

Conclusion

The progress and prosperity of mankind is crucially linked with the seas. With dwindling resources at land, the importance of seas has become manifold. The seas possess enormous opportunities as provider of food, hydrocarbons and minerals and also as the most convenient and cheapest medium of transportation. It is also the single most influential element that affects and regulates the climate and environment. Having access to sea offers political, economic and military options to the littoral and enhances its prestige in the comity of nations. The advancement in technology and the new laws facilitate the coastal states in exploiting the

resources in their maritime domain but at the same time, it is a challenge to be able to protect the maritime interests. In order to benefit from the bounties of the oceans, it is important that a nation invests in all the elements of maritime power. The management of these elements of maritime power requires a comprehensive and well thought out maritime strategy based on national goals and objectives.

Notes

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POLARIZATION OF BALOCH SOCIETY: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Muhammad Ihsan Qadir and Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmed

Abstract

All federating units of the state of Pakistan have diverse ethnic makeup, distinct cultures, assorted languages and even incongruent life style. These sociological differences have resulted in social division of overall Pakistani society which is evident from emergence of few very serious internal conflicts during past few decades. The enigmatic state versus province conflict in Balochistan has been ongoing since independence of Pakistan in 1947 having multiple causes and dimensions. The conflict has adversely affected Baloch population resulting into rising dissatisfaction level from the state. The prolonged sufferings of population have translated into solemn grievances over the years and set in symptoms of social polarization in Baloch society. Polarization, being a wide ranging phenomenon, has many contributory causes. The article focuses on polarization through the prism of three contributing variable; state of education, health & civic amenities and hypothesises that despite prevailing polarization in Baloch society, province of Balochistan cannot secede from federation of Pakistan.

Introduction

Balochistan is the largest but least developed province of Pakistan which has transitioned from being a loose tribal confederacy to the province of federation of Pakistan since 1970. The socio-political turmoil, faced since independence, had consequential effects on Baloch segment of society of the province. From macro-social standpoint, challenges faced by the Baloch society include limited economic opportunities, demographic imbalance, ubiquitous violence and subversive acts of nationalist groups. These inadequacies had long lasting effects and have caused psycho emotional damage to the society. Having passed through this tumultuous state of affairs

during last few decades, feelings of dissatisfaction and disassociation have entrenched in Baloch society. Lot has been written on existing precarious situation however, there is a need to examine causes and establish consequences of polarization in Baloch society. This phenomenon has entwined causal relationship which needs to be looked through the social, political and economic prisms for drawing meaningful conclusions. The article aims to contribute towards narrowly researched dimensions of social polarization of Baloch society and hypothesises that polarization in Baloch society has not yet touched alarming level where population considers secession as a viable option.

Society & Social Polarization - Defined

Since beginning of humanity, society has been continuously passing through evolution. As per Concise Oxford Dictionary (8th edition), "society is a sum of human conditions and activity regarded as a whole functioning interdependently". Etymologically, the term "society" draws origin from the Latin word *societas*, which in turn, is derived from the noun *socius* (comrade, friend, and ally) used to describe a bond or interaction among parties that are friendly. Adam Smith underscores other aspect of the process highlighting that society may subsist among different men, as among different merchants, from a sense of its utility without any mutual love or affection, if only they refrain from doing injury to each other[1]. Other social scientists have described society as a system of human organisations generating distinctive cultures, patterns, institutions and usually providing protection, security, continuity and national identity to its members[2]. Pakistani society in general, is a multi-cultural, multi lingual, ethnically diverse and heterogeneous mix of five[3] major groups. Baloch segment of overall Pakistani society has remained socially and economically marginalized as compared to the other ethnic groups since last six decades. The social unrest in Baloch society is indicative of gradual transcend of society towards social polarization.

Polarization is a wide ranging phenomenon which starts entrenching in societies where economic and job opportunities are scarce and socio-political aspirations of people remain unaccomplished. The cumulative effect of these elements gives rise to social deprivations and internal conflicts. The sociology literature outlines various notions of polarization. Chakravarty defines polarization as the appearance or disappearance of groups in distribution[4]. The social instability pushes societies towards polarization which is intimately connected with conflict[5]. Seshanna and Decornez describe that polarization means a movement towards the poles on any given issue including low income versus high income groups, liberals versus conservatives or the lower class versus the upper class[6]. Wolfson also asserts that polarization is the disappearing middle of a group to either side of scale[7].

The concept of social polarization is even more complex as it is perceived differently by different people. Hamnett concludes that social polarization remains most unclear and ill defined concept; there is uncertainty over its units of measurement, variables and the definition itself.[8] It is associated with the segregation within a society that may emerge from income inequality, economic displacements and results in such differentiation that would consist of various social groups, from high-income to low-income.[9] Esteban and Ray describe that social polarization has direct causal relationship with possibility of emergence of social conflicts in a society and explain the process; polarization results from the interaction of within group identity and across group alienation.[10] From theoretical standpoint, these scholars highlighted that intensity of conflict increases with the increasing level of polarization.[11]

Social polarization has four basic characteristics; individual groups as main actors, high degree of groups' heterogeneity, increased intensity with increased homogeneity and lesser number of significant groups.[12] Historically, social polarization had devastating effects on societies and has resulted in disintegration of republic of Weimar,[13] end of Russian revolution[14] and few other political order

breakdowns.[15] Esteban and Ray maintain that presence of three features is essential for occurrence of polarization in society; there must be homogeneity within in each cluster, there must be heterogeneity across clusters and there must be small number of significantly sized groups.[16] Lozada theorizes that social polarization entails concentration of groups or clusters based on class, ethnicity or race.[17] Interestingly, Blanco and Ramos concluded that the larger the inter-group heterogeneity, more alienation and larger the intra-group homogeneity greater the dilemma of identity thus more the social polarization[18].

Baloch Society

For the last few centuries, Balochistan has been inhabited by three major racial groups; Baloch, Pashtun and Brauhis with a sprinkle of few other small communities. Demographic distribution as per 1998 census (last censure undertaken in the country) is; Baloch and Brauhis 54.76%,[19] Pashtuns 29.64%, Sindhis 5.58%, Punjabis 2.52%, Saraikies 2.42%, Urdu speaking 0.97% and Hazaras, Makranis, Kurds and others altogether about 4.11%.[20] North part of Balochistan is dominated by Pashtun community whereas southern swaths are populated by Baloch segment. The peculiar tribal structure of Baloch society is the most significant feature.

Baloch segment of society has strong sense of ethnic consciousness, political alienation and socio-economic deprivations. Out of many causes of polarization, social indicators in terms of education, healthcare and civic amenities have been selected as contributing variables for analysis of polarization.

Social Indicators

Social indicators are like barometer for determining the quality of life of the population. From psychological stand point, perceptions are driven by comparisons. A segment of society observing other part enjoying better quality of life starts feeling deprived and dissatisfied. Prolonged

deprivations breed dissatisfaction and consequently result in dissociative proclivities. Townsend contends that people are deprived if they lack the types of diet, health, clothing, housing, household facilities, fuel, educational, working and social conditions, activities and facilities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged and approved, in the societies to which they belong.[21] Almost all elements for deprivation, as identified by Townsend, are abundantly present in Baloch society. A comparative table of summary for education, health and few other amenities between Balochistan and other provinces of Pakistan clearly show the dearth and deficiencies.

Provincial Comparison

Social Indicators	Provinces			
	Sindh 30.43 M	**Punjab** 73.62 M	**Balochistan** 6.55 M	**KP** 17.73 M
Literacy Rate	45%	46%	24%	35%
Net Enrolment Rate	53%	61%	47%	51%
PSDP for Education	Rs 4.5B	Rs 10.4B	Rs 1.6B	Rs 9.3B
Hospitals	330	306	122	209
Doctors	52,847	50514	3760	14390
Specialist Doctors (out of total no of doctors)	7929	13,565	927	3553
Infant Mortality Rate/1000	68	77	82	63
Unemployment Rate	14%	19%	34%	26%
Access to Drinking Water	43%	51%	20%	45%
Access to Sanitation	61%	78%	7%	71%

Sources: Table compiled from data of Pakistan Education Statistics 2011-12, Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey (PSLM) 2011-2012, Population figures as per 1998 census of Pakistan, Punjab Health Department and Population Welfare Dept Govt. of KP

For establishing level of satisfaction/dissatisfaction of masses as a measure for polarization estimate, an independent field survey with respect to education and healthcare facilities through a questionnaire in 8 districts of Balochistan (Gwadar, Kalat, Khuzdar, awaran, Kech, Kohlu, Kharan and Dera Bugti) was undertaken. One hundred respondents per district were randomly selected for input through stratified random sampling where education was the first stratum, healthcare facilities was the second stratum and civic amenities formed third stratum. The age group of the respondents ranged from 18 to 60 years having different education levels and backgrounds. Response from 590 (73%) respondents was received for further analysis. For simplification, graphs depict percentages of the response rounded off to 100. Findings of the survey with respect to education are depicted through graph and are explained below:
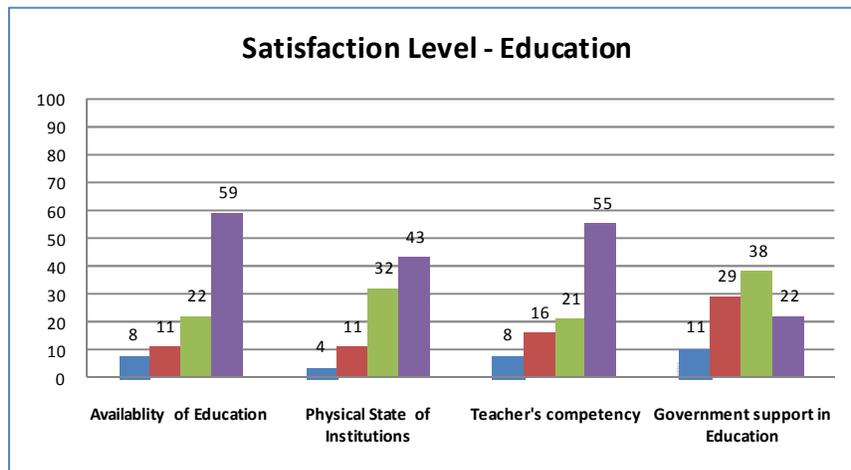
Source: Graph is based on respondents' input of field survey undertaken for this article.

The graph illustrates findings of various aspects of state of education in the province. Response against four most important modules have been shown in the graph. The bars show the percentage of respondents' feedback against each

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attribute which had few sub clauses as well. Eight percent of respondents were satisfied with availability of education facilities, 11% were less satisfied and 22% were generally satisfied whereas remaining 59 percent were completely dissatisfied. Findings of the survey further revealed that only 4% of the population was fully satisfied with physical state of educational institutions of the province whereas 43% were completely dissatisfied. The survey showed that only 8% of the sample population was fully satisfied against 55% of completely dissatisfied with teacher's competency. The level of satisfaction against government support for education was 11% against 38% of generally satisfied people, however 22% of the sample was completely dissatisfied. The inference drawn out of these findings was that population is completely dissatisfied with respect to educational facilities in the province.
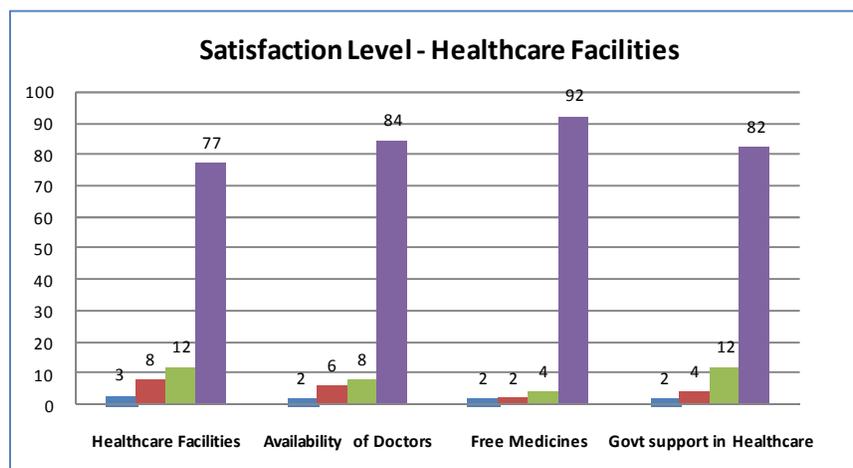
Healthcare Facilities

Non availability of good healthcare facilities is a major source of discontentment amongst population. Perpetual absence of these facilities directly affects the general health, life expectancy, infant and maternal mortality rates. From analysis of Health Deprivation Index data research report of SPDC,[22] it is concluded that Balochistan has the highest average health deprivation index in comparison to other provinces: (Balochistan: 35.15, KP: 27.16, Punjab: 23.52 and Sindh: 29.93). A comparison of existing healthcare facilities among other provinces is shown below:

Comparison of Healthcare Facilities

Healthcare Facilities	Province			
	Sindh	Punjab	Balochistan	KP
Hospitals	330	306	122	209
Dispensaries	2152	1501	580	730
Maternity & Child Welfare Centres	150	515	94	87
Number of Beds in hospitals	28671	47033	6923	19669

Source: Pakistan Statistical Year Book 2011,

The second part of survey questionnaire consisted of sample's feedback with respect to availability of healthcare services. Questionnaire addressed various aspects of healthcare for establishing satisfaction level of survey sample. Response of the sample has been illustrated through graph and explained below:

Satisfaction Level - Healthcare Facilities

Source: Graph is based on respondents' input of field survey undertaken for this article

It is evident from the graph that 77% of the respondents were completely dissatisfied with the availability of healthcare facilities. The meagre 3% satisfied population lived in cities rather than in remote villages. For availability of doctors, 84% of the sample was completely dissatisfied against 2% of fully satisfied. Non availability of free medicines remained the most dissatisfying aspect of healthcare services. Malpractices and corruption of officials was attributed as main cause by respondents. Government's will in establishing of healthcare facilities was adjudged as negligible as 82% of the respondents showed their complete dissatisfaction in this regard. Graph shows that majority of the sample population is falling in most dissatisfied bracket with respect to available healthcare facilities. The inference drawn from these findings is that

population is extremely dissatisfied with respect to availability of healthcare facilities in the province.

State of Civic Amenities

Apart from education and healthcare facilities, access to daily life civic amenities like electricity, clean drinking water and sanitation are the bare minimum requirements of good living which attributes towards satisfaction level of population. The province visibly lags behind in social and physical infrastructure. Only 25% of the villages have been provided with electricity, 20% of population has access to safe drinking water and 7% of the houses have sanitation facilities.[23] Natural gas was discovered in 1952 and supplies 38% of Pakistan's domestic (now reduced to 19%) and commercial energy needs but only 6% of Balochistan's population has a gas connection.[24] Non availability of these basic amenities as compared to other provinces has generated sense of deprivation amongst masses of Balochistan Province.

Stable safety and security environment reduces polarization to a larger extent. However, state of law and order in the province has remained very volatile for the last few decades. People have been targeted by nationalist groups fighting for independence/secession of the province. External interference is another cause for poor security situation thus, polarizing the society. During last 8 years, 3476 people (including civilians and security personnel) have lost their lives. This carnage had lasting impact on the psycho-social behaviour of the people of Balochistan in general and Baloch people in particular. Its after-effects are more pronounced in younger population who is exceedingly resorting to violence to avenge the losses. This is one of the major contributory causes for general unrest and polarization in Baloch society. The table amply manifests the poor law and order situation in the province.

Fatalities in Balochistan

Year	Civilians	Security Forces	Terrorists	Total
2006	226	82	142	450
2007	124	27	94	245
2008	130	111	107	348
2009	152	88	37	277
2010	274	59	14	347
2011	542	122	47	711
2012	690	178	86	954
2013	130	13	1	144
Total	**2268**	**680**	**528**	**3476**

Source: Data retrieved from South Asian Terrorist Portal

Despite presence of many polarizing agents and existence of medium level polarization in society, field survey brought out very interesting finding with respect to secession of province from the state of Pakistan. Selected sample of districts having active separatist movement showed that only 12% of the population perceives seceding as a fruitful option and rest 88% rejected the idea which is a good sign for the federation of Pakistan.

Social Consequences

Demographic balance is fervently guarded by communities living in socially polarized environs. A large ethnic Baloch population has migrated towards Sind because of economic compulsions and as a result, today more ethnic Baloch live outside Balochistan than inside. Moreover, during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, a large number of Pashtuns migrated to border areas of Pakistan. As per United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) report 2013, Balochistan still hosts 1.6 million Afghan refugees (Pashtuns) settled in border areas in North Western part of Balochistan. The ethnic Baloch community having low population density[25] became apprehensive that large influx of Pashtuns has

disturbed existing demographic balance of the province thus increasing friction between two major communities living peacefully side by side for centuries.

Furthermore, ethnic Baloch also fear that their representation in the government, both provincial and national level would be affected which will in turn, jeopardize their political aspirations. Concurrently, this apprehension induced unification of Baloch and Brauhi tribes to safeguard their common interests of maintaining majority against Pashtuns.

Geographic vastnesses, absence of commuting infrastructure complemented with nomadic way of life are major impediments in developing civic infrastructure in Balochistan. Despite all these inherent difficulties, the central and provincial governments did not fulfil their responsibilities by adopting pragmatic strategies for development of the province. The role of political leadership has been found amiss in development matrix of the province due to internal power struggle and tribal divide. Consequently, as an alternate means of livelihood illegal activities like smuggling, drug trafficking and other social crimes have permeated deep into the society. This aspect is another factor affecting negatively on society and slipping it towards polarization.

Vibrant economy produces stable society and both are complimentary to each other. In case of Balochistan, neither sound economy nor dynamic society could thrive because of multiple reasons which have attributed to this remorseful state include; mismanagement of resources, unbridled corruption and peculiar internal dynamics of tribal structure.

The land of Balochistan is endowed with rich natural resources having immense economic prospects but has not been fully explored even after six decades of independence. Lack of skilled workforce, lower technological and industrial base, absence of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in the mineral projects due to security reasons are a few causes to mention. Consequently, Baloch society economically suffered

which pushed the poor majority further into the vicious circle of poverty. Endemic poverty, negligible economic growth, and unemployment has fetched hopelessness causing grave sense of alienation. These feelings of deprivation are not completely unjustified and are embedded in the society.

The successive federal and provincial governments cannot be exonerated from the responsibility of not investing much in the province and human resource development. On the other hand, *Sardars* availed all opportunities of economic emancipation but did not distribute the dividends to the members of the tribes. Consuelo Corradi argues that violence is the instrument used with purpose of obtaining the redistribution of scarce resources; power of authority, economic privileges, access to opportunity or changes in the political system.[26] The negative psychosomatic sentiments of Baloch society are regularly inflamed by nationalist elements for furthering their own political cause.

State of education in Balochistan, in comparison with other provinces, is dismal. The absence of this most important element of social life, which helps in shaping the future of generations, has been left unattended. The outcome has long term adverse effects in societal development of Balochistan. As a consequence, local human resource could not be developed to fill the available jobs both in government and private sectors.

Condition of health infrastructure in Balochistan is not very encouraging as well. It is of rudimentary level which repudiates even reasonable healthcare facilities for the masses. The cumulative effect of this leads to dissatisfaction and disappointment in society which is evident from the demand of the population, hospitals and schools being the foremost.

The inaccessibility to various civic facilities has negative emotional and psychological effects on population which is suffering from sense of relative deprivation.[27] Ted Gurr affirms that psychological and social sources that nourish

potentials of collective violence are to be found in a feeling of relative deprivation.[28] Hence, relatively deprived Baloch society is going through trauma and has started resorting to violence for their rights.

Political Consequences

Balochistan has been in political turmoil since its accession with the state of Pakistan. Elected provincial governments have been dismissed by the central government on various pretexts which has precluded development of sustained political thought giving rise to nationalistic proclivity. The nationalist movements with separatist leanings have been politically active since early 70s and have managed to take political charge of the province occasionally. Interestingly, whenever nationalist elements were in power in Balochistan, province further slipped deeper into political unrest because of internal tribal power struggle. This political polarization in the province resulted in non-addressing of social needs of common people.

The violence in the province and state response through military means has complemented each other. Baloch perceive these military accesses by federal government as infringement to their basic right of freedom. Manwaring observes that 'lack of faith in improvement makes reform difficult if not impossible'[29] which has been a case in Balochistan. The net effect of all this turmoil and bloodletting has been social seclusion which is a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live.[30]

The separatist forces of Balochistan are trying to carve out an independent state by seceding from federation of Pakistan since long, without much success. As per 'no-fault' theory secession should be granted whenever people of certain territory express their will to form an independent state through a referendum however, majority of scholars argue

that secession should be granted only when a qualified 'super majority' expresses its will for independent state[31]. Horowitz suggests that secession can only be sustainable when over 70% of the population supports the idea[32]. In case of Balochistan, secession is less likely to succeed because only 3 out of 27 noticeable tribes are involved in separatist activities only, critical mass and organization for outright rebellion are missing and Sardars can easily be divided and conquered[33]. Presence of large number of Pashtuns (30%) population in the province is another big hurdle against secession. Low population density is another major cause for non accomplishment of separatist agenda. Under these hard realities, secession, if ever attempted, will result in civil war and bloodshed and may engulf Pashtuns of Afghanistan as well.

Polarization of Baloch population is mainly because of marginalization and dispossession. The compulsive non-participatory role given to Baloch politicians in development projects and general masses has taken the population further away from the centre.

As highlighted by Sandole who quotes Zeeman 'efforts to continue socializing oppressed people into compliance normative systems via punitive means reaches a critical threshold... then given a small increase of further realist stimulus, a given person may catastrophically change direction on the obedience – resistance gradient and attack the oppressor'.[34] This scholarly conclusion is applicable in Balochistan. The fear is that any fresh watershed event (like killing of Akbar Bugti) may create a snowball effect of disobedience from general masses by challenging state writ.

The ongoing sectarian killings of Hazara community are also a source of serious concern. Though the magnitude of this problem has not yet reached to a very alarming level, however, it has the potential to expand and explode. As a consequence, Hazara community may take up arms against foes in vengeance if pushed to the wall.

Conclusion

Balochistan is a land of great potentials having rich history, culture and traditions. Baloch people are brave, sturdy, hospitable and have flavour of arrogance in their demeanour. They are proud inhabitants of this 'graveyard of empires'. Since accession to Pakistan, Balochistan has faced many upheavals; blow to the tribal structure, political suppressions, economic degradation and social turmoil. The psycho-social fibre of Baloch society has suffered with long-lasting marks of deprivation and alienation. On the other hand, widespread poverty in Baloch society is the cause of internal unrest as well as the instigator of feeling of deprivation. The indifferent attitude of leadership has resulted in sinking the Baloch society deeper into the poverty quagmire. The influx of Afghan refugees has created a demographic imbalance in Baloch society which is perceived as a marginalization attempt. During the course of research for this article, physical interaction with many ethnic Baloch young and old men and women revealed that they needed respectful treatment, economic empowerment and proportionate share in the political dispensation and jobs which are considered rightful demands. State level interventions for increase in funds allocation from divisible pool The 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award with revision for distribution formula are well taken by majority of the population.

Introduction of 18th constitutional amendment has fulfilled the demand of provincial autonomy to quite an extent and it was an encouraging finding of this research article that despite all these upheavals, Baloch population still hopes for better future while being with the state of Pakistan. The present despondency, despair and dejection being symptoms of polarization have not yet overrun the Baloch society but need a quick fix.

The political exclusion of Baloch population from the power precluded it from integrating into main stream politics of the country. The protracted political isolation had brought

Baloch people to a stage where it believes less in political dialogue. However, general election of 2013 brought nationalists' political forces to power in the province once again. In a recent interview (January 22, 2014), Chief Minister of the province has categorically stated that Baloch are regaining trust in federation and now it depends on federation to deal province justly which is an encouraging development.

Decentralization through 18th constitutional amendment has further consolidated power in the hands of provincial administration which is helping in overall social and political integration of the province with federation and gradually reducing secessionist proclivities. Nationalists' narrative with small exceptions is also of accommodative orientation and needs minor nudge for positive snowball effect for stimulating positivity. All these indicators based on writers' personal experience require policy response and if actions are not generated quickly, phenomenon of polarization will take effect which will be even more difficult to eradicate.

Notes

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THE DRAWDOWN OF US AND NATO FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN IN 2014 – IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Aamir Hashmi & Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman

Abstract

The speedily sprouting security scene in Pakistan, Afghanistan and the region has fashioned a set of challenges viz-a-viz opportunities for regional and extra-regional countries, to fine-tune their strategic priorities in accordance with the altering security architecture. For Pakistan, to survive peacefully in the present imbroglio of evolving security and political landscape, it has become incumbent to make an impact of its genuine importance in the region to secure its short and long-term interests in Afghanistan. Being one of the key players in the post drawdown of NATO forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan is facing multi-faceted internal as well external challenges on one hand. It demands Pakistan's urgency to deal with the internal worsening law and order situation on the other; it has to respond to the evolving complex Afghan end game. Furthermore, Pakistan has to re-visit its security, political and economic priorities in the regional and international context, to convert and reduce the challenges into fruitful opportunities.

Introduction

The impending drawdown of the US and NATO forces is likely to complete by the end of 2014.[1]It has sparked discussions about the impact of this drawdown on the security situation in Afghanistan and the region. US and NATO forces will switch over their role from combat to "train, advice and assist."[2]It will shift the onus on the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) to take the leading role in maintaining law and order of the country and to undertake, effective counter-terrorism, counter-insurgency operations and standalone against the Taliban and other insurgent groups. The Afghan National Army (ANA) can play a constructive role in the

country's transition after 2014.[3]The foreign forces drawdown has shifted the international attention towards reconciliation, negotiations and finding a viable political solution of Afghan stalemate.[4]

The strategic milieu of Afghanistan is intricate, and has many dimensions. The future of Afghanistan does have the equation of four key players: the Afghan government, Taliban and other insurgent groups, US and Pakistan. It does not necessarily mean that the other regional and extra-regional actors are less important or they do not have stakes in the Afghan end game.[5]

Importance of Afghanistan for Pakistan

Pakistan and Afghanistan are together entertaining approximately 43 million ethnic Pashtuns and being the immediate neighbour; Pakistan has seriously become a victim of these the developments in Afghanistan.[6] It is not the first time that Pakistan is facing volatile security situation for supporting Afghanistan. In this backdrop, Pakistan has faced the consequences of the Afghan-Soviet War, which started in 1979 and ended in 1990. Since 1979, Pakistan has paid the price of being the immediate neighbour of Afghanistan. This cost is not limited to sacrifices of Pakistani people and security personnel; rather it also encompasses the political, economic and social costs with worst psychological impacts.

After 9/11 attacks, Pakistan became a frontline state in the war against terrorism and paid a huge price for that role. According to a recent report, Pakistan has lost 51000 lives,[7]since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, including 4000 military casualties.[8] On economic front, Pakistan has suffered $90 billion losses.[9] The cost of Pakistan's participation in 'war on terror', both human as well as material terms, has been heavier than any member of the foreign coalition fighting inside Afghanistan.[10]In return, Pakistan has received $15 billion from United States, which included the provision and maintenance of essential military equipment and initially a meager amount as compensation.[11]Additionally, Pakistan has

faced huge burden of 'Afghan Refugees' since the Afghan-Soviet War. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR), Pakistan hosts over 1.6 million registered Afghans, the largest refugee population in the world, staying for the most protracted period in a single country.[12]In addition to this, approximately one million un-documented Afghans are also living in Pakistan. The continuous stay of the Afghan refugees, combined with the growing security challenge posed by the illegal immigrants in Pakistan, has affected the strategic and socio-economic equilibrium of Pakistani society. It has injected an element of extremism and militancy in otherwise pluralistic society of Pakistan.

The US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 has given birth to tsunami of violence across the region; consequently, Pakistan is facing the aftershocks of eruption of the worst kind of terrorism in the modern history. It is generally believed that Pakistan's strategy of "cooperation" with the United States is one of the primary causes of contemporary terrorism directed at Islamabad.[13] The terrorists and insurgent groups killed innocent civilians and security personnel by exploding bombs, Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and suicide bombings.

After the establishment of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in 2007, the terrorists used sophisticated techniques against the law enforcements agencies to demoralize and inflict unaffordable damage to them. They have attacked the Mehran Base, key strategic installation at Kamra Airbase, and the General Headquarters (GHQ).[14]

In short, Pakistan being the neighbour of Afghanistan and located at an important geo-strategic position has legitimate security, political and economic interests in Afghanistan's end-game. As it is evident from history thePakistan can play a key role in Afghanistan.[15] Thus, Pakistan has been working closely with the international community and Afghanistan at all levels to support Afghan reconciliation process. Pakistan strongly looks forward for the restoration of peace and stability in Afghanistan. Pakistan has come to the conclusion

that peace and stability of Pakistan lies in the peace and stability of Afghanistan and vice versa.

The role of regional countries, importantly Pakistan is critical in reaching a sustainable peaceful settlement of Afghanistan conflict. Recently, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif said, "Pakistan would support Afghan led, Afghan owned", reconciliation process initiated by the Afghan High Peace Council, established in 2011.[16] In recent months, Pakistan has played an essential role in bringing the reluctant Taliban leadership to negotiation table. According to Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesperson, Mr. Aizaz Ahmed, "we (Pakistan) are convinced that an intra-Afghan dialogue and Afghan-owned peace process is the way forward to achieve peace in Afghanistan."[17]

Internal and External Challenges

There are a number of internal and external factors that influenced and impeded the ability of Pakistan to play a constructive role in shaping the Afghanistan end-game for the regional stability. Pakistan is faced with internal challenges in the shape of violent extremism, growing sectarianism, militant separatism, foreign fighters, extra-state actors, failing economy and natural disasters. Furthermore, the country is facing the worst kind of onslaught of terrorism and violence in the contemporary history. It has created a rift in the society, resultantly; it has been divided into two blocs: the right wing or the conservatives and the liberals or moderates. The two different and opposing views created confusion among the Pakistani society and generated an unending debate regarding the future course of action of Pakistani state vis-à-vis tackling the growing terrorism in the country. The conservatives are of the view that it is 'US led war' and they should get out of it as soon as possible. Also, they support the idea of reconciliation with the Taliban. On the other hand, the liberals are of the view that although, this was not their war, but they have been suffering the onslaught of terrorism since 2001, terrorists are killing the innocent civilians and the security personnel,

therefore, the government is not obliged to talk to them, rather crush the militant with a full-scale military force.

The grave internal security challenges remain unaddressed, as being portrayed by the prevailing security situation of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Balochistan mainly, and the rest of the country as a whole. Poor coordination among the security agencies and lesser attention to the capacity building measures of law enforcement agencies are adding to the problems. Pakistan, as a state, is facing tremendous and diverse challenges and the country has yet to formulate a comprehensive and wide-ranging counter-terrorism and national security policy.

The assault of TTP against Pakistan's law enforcement agencies and civilians has increased at a dangerous level. Currently, TTP is based at Kunar, Afghanistan. Maulana Fazlullah, the leader of TTP is residing inside Afghanistan along with approximately 700 militants. On many occasions, Pakistan has raised this issue with the Afghan officials to crackdown on TTP and its affiliates, but Afghan officials particularly province government did not show any interest in this regard. Moreover, Pakistan demanded the custody of the Taliban leader, as he has blood of many innocent Pakistanis on his hands, [18]However, the provincial Afghan government refused to hand over senior TTP leader Maulvi Faqir Mohammad to Pakistan.[19]

In short, the ongoing 'War on Terror' in Afghanistan has grave geo-strategic consequences for Pakistan. Pakistan has paid huge cost in form of militant insurgency in FATA, uprising in Swat, religious extremism, rampant rise of domestic terrorism, the backlash of US drone strikes and deep rift in the society regarding the 'War on Terror' and its aims and objectives.

In the wake of US and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) drawdown from Afghanistan, the uncertainty among the Pakistan's political and military leadership is increasing due to evolving Afghan complex end-game, intense

rivalry between the regional players and competing strategic interests in the region. Pakistan has to re-position its security, political and economic priorities in the regional context. Pakistan, being the neighbour of Afghanistan, has certain legitimate security interests and stakes in the 'deep game', which has been played on its western borders. Pakistan and US faced the lowest point in their relations in 2011, as Washington and Islamabad's principles and strategies differed. Since 2001, there had been several issues i.e. killing of Osama bin Laden (OBL), Salala attack, Raymond Davis issue, replacement of Military Liaison Officers, use of NGOs for malicious reconnaissance, highlighted the differences between both the countries. As a result, Pakistan's relations with US have gone mired in deep mistrust that left Pakistan on the margins, even after making massive sacrifices in the 'War on Terror'.[20]

Pakistan-Afghan Troubled Ties

Despite Pakistan's numerous sacrifices, it has failed to win the support and sympathy of the Afghan political elite. Islamabad and Kabul never had good relations at the top level. Afghanistan's Ex President Hamid Karzai and his affiliates used to blame Pakistan for creating trouble inside Afghanistan and throw all responsibility on Pakistan. They saw Pakistan as a part of problem rather than solution.

In addition to this, there are other issues, which are major irritants and serve as a cause of disagreement between the two neighbouring states, such as; unresolved issue of Durand line; influx of Afghan refugees and their continued presence in Pakistan for last three and half decades; border management issues; drug trafficking; and cross border movement of the terrorists and saboteurs.

The issue of Durand Line has been a source of conflict between the two neighbours since 1947. Afghanistan is of the view that the treaty of Durand Line was signed in 1893 between the British India and Afghanistan, and it is no more valid after the termination of British rule.[21]Afghanistan also

claimed with little validity that the border treaty was inked by a state that no longer existed. On the other, Pakistan considers the Durand line, as an established international border and a settled issue.[22]

All the other issues, such as influx of refugees, drug trafficking and cross border infiltration are the byproducts of unresolved border issue, as it does not allow better border management. The difference between the two sides has deepened due to ongoing wave of instability in Afghanistan, weak state structure and continued mistrust between the two parties. However, both the neighbouring countries have great prospects to co-operate not only in the fields of security, trade and economy but also health and education.

Indian Footprints in Afghanistan: A Cause of Worry for Pakistan

The growing Indian influence in Afghanistan was supported by US and Karzai governments. It is evident from the Indian pledged amount of $2 billion in Afghanistan against Pakistan's contribution of less than $350 million.[23] Moreover, India has become Afghanistan's leading regional development partner and its fifth largest donor. This has added to Pakistan's mistrust for the Indian policy objectives in Afghanistan. The primary objective of India's Afghan policy is to counter Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan, to weaken Pakistan's influence over Taliban groups, uninterrupted access to Central Asian Republics', natural resources and lastly, to encircle Pakistan.[24] Pakistan's uneasy relationship with Afghanistan and US created space for India to expand its footprints inside Afghan territory and to have a greater say in the evolving end game. An un-abating US and Afghanistan blame game, that Pakistan is responsible for deteriorating security situation inside Afghanistan, forces Pakistan to re-visit its policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan, US and India.

This has led to a more cautious approach by Pakistan vis-à-vis Afghanistan. On the other hand, India is busy in expanding its range of diplomatic activities i.e. opening up of two

consulates. Furthermore, India is investing in large scale development projects such as Zaranj-Dileram Highway, Hydro-Electric Dam in Herat and huge investment in developing 1.8 Hjigak Iron ore mines in Bamiyan Province.[25] Additionally, Indian Agency for Partnership in Development (IAPD) will take the lead from Ministry of External Affairs to expand development activities in Pashtun areas, bordering Pakistan.

The expansion of Indian footprints along the Pakistani border is a serious cause of worry for Pakistan. It has serious consequences for the domestic peace and stability in the country. Islamabad is of the view that there is a clandestine link between the increasing Indian presence in Afghanistan and the rampant rise of TTP terrorism activities inside Pakistan. India is also aiding and fueling insurgency in Balochistan by giving financial and logistic support to Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) militants.

Short and Long Term Objectives of Pakistan in Afghanistan

The fate of Pakistan and Afghanistan is intertwined due to geographic proximity, strong religious bonds, shared culture and historic connections. In the post 2014 Afghanistan, Pakistan has a significant role to play for peace process and the political settlement. Pakistan has opted to play a part of facilitator for negotiations among Taliban, US and Afghanistan, in order to move towards durable peace in the region.

The short-term interests can be; peaceful and smooth drawdown of American and NATO forces from Afghanistan; sustainable peace in Afghanistan; effective border management; politically stable government in Kabul; destruction and dismantlement of remaining Al-Qaida members from Afghanistan; and ensuring that TTP, BLA and other insurgent groups do not use Afghan territory, as a launching pad of terrorism and anti-state activities against Pakistan.

Long-term interests can be; peace and stability in Afghanistan; friendly government in Kabul; immediate departure of Afghan refugees to Afghanistan; bolstering security, economic and trade relations with Afghanistan and Central Asia; and making sure that India does not use its presence in Afghanistan, to pursue an anti-Pakistan policy.

In recent months, there is a significant realization in Islamabad that Pakistan's domestic peace and stability is vital for the national security. Therefore, it is in Pakistan's interests to eliminate terrorist networks and carry out operations against them. This realization had a major impact on Pakistan's Afghan policy. Fundamentally, four drivers have shaped Pakistani decision-makers' strategic vision of Afghanistan which include; the rampant rise of violence, terrorism and worsening security situation in the country; increasing Indian presence inside Afghan territory and Pakistan being pushed to margins; emerging political consensus in Islamabad that war through proxies has hurt Pakistan badly; and public pressure on the policy-makers to disassociate from GWOT.

The recent calculated shift in Pakistan's policy vis-à-vis Afghanistan, manifests that Pakistan neither wants chaos, civil war in Afghanistan nor the complete Taliban's rule, both of which, it believes, would create domestic instability and militancy, in FATA and other parts of the country, having negative impacts on the state of Pakistan. Therefore, stable, united and progressive Afghanistan is in the best interest of Pakistan.

Afghanistan a Puzzle: Opportunities for Pakistan

In the backdrop of US and NATO forces drawdown from Afghanistan, key regional players are competing to secure their interests in Afghanistan. Countries such as Pakistan, India and Iran are attempting to align supporters to enhance their bargaining positions inside Afghanistan, allowing them to gain political and economic advantages after US and ISAF drawdown, in 2014. The Afghan end-game is offering a golden

opportunity to Pakistani decision makers to rethink and head towards a fresh beginning with Afghanistan by forgetting the bitter memories of the past. The fresh start should be based upon the notion of mutual respect, non-interference and mutual prosperity.

Pakistan must facilitate US and NATO drawdown from Afghanistan. The steady reduction of foreign troops will undermine the narrative that fuels insurgency in Afghanistan. Consequently, it will end the perpetual agony of the Afghan people, after thirty years of continuous war. This is the best thing which Pakistan could do for Afghanistan and it should seize this historic opportunity, which is knocking at its door. It is also an appropriate time for Pakistan to mend its ties with the Northern Alliance and other ethnic groups in Afghanistan. This will give an extra edge to Pakistan in the post 2014 scenario. In this backdrop, Pakistan's political and military leadership need to cautiously evaluate the changing notions of security in the region and craft a policy which could serve Pakistan's national interests as well as respond to the aspirations of the Afghan people and international community.

Chaos, instability or civil war in Afghanistan would have serious consequences upon the domestic stability of Pakistan. The spillover effect will be disastrous for neighbouring and regional countries, as it has the potential to travel and affect the international peace and stability. Wars always end with reconciliation and dialogue between the warring parties. Therefore, the initiative taken by the Afghan High Peace Council and reconciliation process led by the Afghan government, not the Americans, can find a lasting solution to the country's violence, lawlessness and corruption. Pakistan must support this initiative and play its due role in this regard.

Following the departure of US troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan is likely to re-visit its policies towards Afghanistan to deal with the challenges posed by US drawdown. There is no doubt that the troops drawdown from Afghanistan would cause serious consequences and threats for Islamabad, as

Pakistan is already facing grave issues regarding Afghanistan's situation after NATO forces pull out. If the Afghan conflict is resolved through negotiations, this could be in the favour of long-term interest of Pakistan, as it strongly believes that stability and peace in Afghanistan is guarantee to Pakistan's peace and stability. Being an immediate neighbour, Pakistan cannot have peace until Afghanistan is stable and powerful. The policy makers in Pakistan strongly believe that increased ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan can lead to deal with the menace of terrorism more effectively. Pakistan's efforts to facilitate peace process would help to represent itself a responsible state in the eyes of international community, and also it would help to re-construct its repute regarding the peaceful settlement of Afghanistan.

Security Vacuum created by the US Drawdown

After US drawdown from Afghanistan, there are mixed reactions of Afghan government and Afghan people about the security vacuum created by the withdrawal of NATO. There are legitimate questions: what will be the nature of security vacuum? Who will fill this gap? And what will be the terms of engagement in Afghanistan? Afghan people have concerns that the Taliban would come back, take over and lead Afghanistan. Haji Rokai, a tribal elder said, "as soon as these forces leave this province not only Wardak, but even some parts of Kabul, will be occupied by Taliban and Kabul security will be in danger."[26]There are concerns that the US troops' drawdown would strengthen the insurgents after the arrival of spring, which traditionally considers the start of Afghanistan's fighting season. Post 2014 scenario is likely to see increase in violence and insurgent' attacks, launched by various groups such as Taliban, the Al-Qaida linked Haqqani Network and Hizb-i-Islami etc. Some people are doubtful that US Special Forces are expected to play a vital role after NATO combat troops drawdown by the end of 2014 and Afghan government decision could intricate negotiations between the United States and Afghanistan over the scope of US operations after the pull-out.[27] According to local communities and media sources, militants have already started ambushes, shooting

attacks and suicide bombings on American and Afghan forces there in Wardak.[28] The doubts are also expressed about the training and capacity of Afghan National Army (ANA) both by the Afghan people and regional countries, as they are already at a deplorable condition, because they lack training and equipment and could become less effective, when the Americans are set to leave.

Is Afghan National Security Forces Ready to Take Lead?

The government of Afghanistan has appreciated the decision of US troops' withdrawal and stated that the Afghan forces are ready to take responsibility for the country's security.[29] On the other hand, Afghan government has signed a legal framework with the US for next 10 years regarding limited presence of US troops, and its nine military bases, post 2014.[30] According to this agreement, US would cooperate and facilitate socio-economic development and would support to reconstruct its security and institutions.

Afghan people are not happy on the decision of US troops' drawdown and have concerns that this would destabilize the country, which is suffering from war for the last 35 years. They also fear that the nearly 3, 52,000 Afghan army and police forces are not ready to take the lead for security.[31]

Peaceful Settlement of Afghanistan's Conflict: Possible Endgame

As United States and NATO forces plan for limited withdrawal, the security situation in Afghanistan is still a major concern for regional and international actors.[32] Till now many efforts have been made to maintain peace and stability in Afghanistan, but all have failed due to lack of proper planning, changing policies and reliance on military power. If US and other players have emphasized upon negotiations the circumstances would be much different, as compared to the current situation. Various rounds of talks by US and Afghanistan as well as Pakistan conducted with Taliban, but

none of these efforts could result into concrete outcomes. The issue of how to initiate a long-lasting peace process is a troublesome for Washington, Islamabad and Kabul, and for other regional and international actors, especially, Afghan people for whom the process should be clear in direction and transparent.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Pakistan is facing grave internal and external challenges to its national security. Consequently, factors, such as domestic instability caused by Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), downturn in Pak-US ties and uneasy relations curtailed Pakistan's ability to play a constructive role in Afghanistan's peace process and Afghan end game. However, Pakistan has certain legitimate geo-strategic interests in Afghanistan and in the region. Pakistan's willingness to endorse "Afghan led—Afghan owned" reconciliation process approved by Afghan High Peace Council, is a strong indication that Pakistan wants peaceful, stable and united Afghanistan. Pakistan aims to broaden its sphere of activities to entire Afghanistan and desires to create goodwill among the common people rather than focusing only on Pashtun territories. Pakistan desires to work with the regional stakeholders, including China, to increase its range of activities from development to education, health and social welfare for the Afghan people. Pakistan needs to come up with a comprehensive socio-economic development plan for Afghanistan. This could be in the shape of small-scale development projects for Afghan rural areas and building strong connections with the Afghan companies through Public Private Partnership initiatives. These projects may be based on the local partnership and local ownership to form the basis of mutual cooperation. This would, resultantly, reduce the space for its strategic rivals in Afghanistan. The peace process must be in the best interest of Afghans. The regional and international actors should facilitate the peace process and the outcome should reflect the aspirations of the Afghan people. It should be arranged in such a way that they may not destabilize the regional peace and stability. This is a world, beaming with

economic options, so whosoever first turns these opportunities into own advantage, would be the winner, to stay with pride, on the globe.

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PAKISTAN'S DRONE DILEMMA

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Abstract

Ever since the beginning of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) led drone strikes in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in 2004, their frequency gradually escalated particularly during President Barak Obama's tenure. Although the US authorities claim that drone is a precision and effective kinetic weapon against terrorists in troubled and inaccessible areas across the globe but number of independent agencies within Pakistan and abroad seriously question these US claims. Significant collateral damage is being inflicted by these drones, including women and children, whereas high value target hits remain less than two percent. This paper briefly reviews the background of troubled Pakistan-US relationship, strategic utility of drones—from US perspective—before analysing the myths and realities about this highly controversial US program, and suggests a way forward, especially to the Pakistani authorities, over the drone dilemma and review of Pakistan-US relations.

Introduction

On June 11, 2014 the US resumed its drone strikes in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) after a pause of six months—the previous one was on December 25, 2013. The latest CIA led drone strike has once again opened up a stalled debate within Pakistan about the legitimacy of drone strikes in FATA and a few adjoining settled areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). Unfortunately, Pakistani society remains divided on this issue, as well. Those favouring drone strikes advocate that these are unavoidable due to rugged and inaccessible terrain; relatively insignificant collateral damage; inadequate anti-terror laws and redundancy of Pakistan's constitution; ineffective civil Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs); and threat of US wrath if Pakistan resists or shoots

down US drones. Those opposing drone strikes suggest that: the US violates Pakistan's sovereignty; drones are counter-productive as terrorism has grown manifold; Pakistan is fighting someone else's war; and Pakistan should adopt indigenous policies to deal terrorism rather getting dictation from abroad.

The drone dilemma remains under limelight in Pakistan because of the hype and consistent use of drones in FATA during President Obama's tenure, significant collateral damage, and mystical policies of Pakistani and US governments. This issue became further controversial after the assassination of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) chieftain, Hakimullah Mehsud, in a drone strike few days prior to beginning of dialogue between TTP and Pakistani government. Pakistan government and some religious and political parties declared this strike untimely and "droning" of the peace process itself.[1] Hakimullah's assassination was followed by another drone strike in Hangu, a settled town of KP, adding fuel to the already charged environment in KP and rest of the country. Pakistan government is in a bind on this sensitive matter because of US pressure and from public backlash. The drone critiques blame Pakistani authorities of certain degree of connivance with US authorities, especially the previous government. The present day, Pakistani authorities deserve appreciation for resisting US pressure and breaking the deadly drone cycle for at least six months.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the *myths* and *realities* surrounding US drone strikes inside FATA and KP's settled areas. This brief analysis is aimed at helping the readers and policy makers, especially in Pakistan, to clear the mist over this controversial US kinetic strategy and for reviewing Pakistan's existing policies, particularly with regard to the US.

The Nature of Pakistan-US Relations

Historically, Pakistan-US relationship has been transactional due to a number of reasons. The driving factors

behind these differences have been: the enduring Indo-Pak rivalry over Kashmir since partition and US's inclination towards India; Pakistan's strategic interests in Afghanistan (for some of them are in conflict with US interests); and Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme. There is a mutual mistrust among these estranged allies, who are muddling to keep this fragile relationship moving due to a narrow spectrum of some common interests in Afghanistan and combating global terrorism.

The US blame Pakistan for a double game in Afghanistan by alleging Pakistan for having links with Islamist extremist groups operating astride the Pak-Afghan border.[2] The US believes that FATA is the most dangerous place on earth and Pakistani government is either unwilling or incompetent to take decisive action against terrorist safe havens there, particularly against the dreaded Haqqani network. According to Robert Gates, ex US Defence Secretary, "although I would defend them in front of Congress and to the press to keep the relationship from getting worse—and endangering our supply line from Karachi—I knew they [Pakistanis] were really no allies at all."[3]

The killing of Osama-Bin-Laden (OBL) in a controversial US navy SEALs raid (May 2, 2011) vindicated the US claims about Pakistan's alleged complicity. After the terrible events in 2011, like: Raymond Davis fiasco, Abbottabad raid, and killing of 24 Pakistani soldiers in errant NATO strikes, Pakistan-US relations dipped to their lowest ebb. During these critical moments, a few hawks in US administration suggested declaring Pakistan as enemy.[4] Pakistan's critiques in the US believe that Pakistan is addicted to economic dole outs since partition and a parasite on US economy.[5]

Pakistan, on the other hand, has its own list of grievances against the US. Even during the sixties, when Pakistan was SEATO and CENTO member and firmly in anti-communist bloc, the relationship was never frictionless. India, an existential threat to Pakistan and a Soviet ally, received a preferential US treatment over Pakistan during 1965 and 1971

Indo-Pak wars. Pakistan was ditched on culmination of the Afghan *Jihad* (1979-1989), which had complete American backing. Instead of appreciating Pakistan's role, America slammed sanctions against Pakistan (1990- 2002) over its nuclear programme (under Pressler amendment) after Soviet Union's pullout from Afghanistan in 1989.

Pakistan has serious objections to increasing Indian presence in Afghanistan as it puts Pakistan in a nut cracker situation. Pakistan blames Indian consulates along Pakistan's Western borders, under US and NATO's watch, for supporting TTP and Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) in FATA and Balochistan, respectively. Afghanistan has become another proxy battleground for Pakistan and India due to biased US policies.[6] In an astonishing move, US Congress called for right to self determination by Baloch people in 2012, thus sending extremely dangerous signals to Pakistan.[7] Pakistan believes that a new Great Game is in play to realize a sinister idea of carving out an independent Greater Balochistan, paving the way to exploit Central Asian riches via the Indian Ocean's energy corridor.[8]

The primary challenge to Pakistan-US relationship is Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the then President Musharraf expressed his fears in the following way:

> The security of our strategic assets would have been jeopardized. It is no secret that the U.S. has never been comfortable with Pakistan acquiring nuclear weapons, and America undoubtedly would have taken the opportunity to destroy such weapons. And India, needless to say, would have loved to assist the U.S. to the hilt.[9]

A dangerous and malicious narrative of probability of Pakistan's nuclear weapons falling in terrorists' hands is being fed to the world.[10] According to Seymour Hesrh, US administration has tasked its Special Forces to draw contingencies of rescuing Pakistan's nuclear weapons from

terrorists' hands and even taking over control of Pakistan's nuclear arsenal, should such a contingency materializes.[11] Another disturbing US move for Pakistan was inking a strategic civil-nuclear deal with its arch rival, India—seen by Pakistan as disastrous under the given circumstances and stamping of traditional America's India bias.

Strategic Utility of Drones: A US Perspective

> America had found, in armed Predator, the ultimate weapon for a secret war. It was a tool that killed quietly, a weapon unbound for normal rules of accountability in combat. Armed drones would allow American presidents to order strikes on remote villages and where journalists or independent groups could not go.[12]

Drones have given impetus to the United States Special Operations Forces (USSOF) and CIA's special missions abroad, particularly in the troubled borderlands of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Africa. These are relatively inexpensive but sophisticated killers in the sky, thus avoiding boots on ground. After 9/11 attacks the USSOF, under CIA's umbrella, played a major role in dislodging two regimes blamed for these attacks i.e., Taliban and Saddam Husain. In fact, President Bush was so impressed with the performance of the USSOF, which employed unconventional warfare (UW) to overthrow these regimes, that he wanted a dominant role of USSOF in conventional US on military forces. A senior officer in US Defence Department is reported to have said about future transformation of US army as: "Army to become more like Marine Corps, the Marines like SOF, and the SOF like CIA."[13]

The purpose of this strategic shift in US military thing over drone's employment was to attain a pre-emptive military capability for taking out High Value Targets (HVTs), anywhere in the world swiftly. Drones, therefore, remain one of the direct action special operations US capabilities that provide CIA and Pentagon a global outreach against its enemies. In

addition to killing HVTs, drones possess deep stealth surveillance capability. The US drone (RQ 170 Sentinel) that Iran claimed to have brought down in 2011 was, in fact, on a surveillance mission over Iran's nuclear facilities, flown from a secret base in Afghanistan.[14]

Myths & Realities of Drone Strikes in Pakistan

The drones haunt terrorists holed up in FATA, non-combatants, and Pakistan's decision makers alike as Pakistan is the most "droned" country in the world today with no clearly laid out policies on drone's employment. Some myths regarding drone strikes have been discussed as well.

Myth 1: Drones kill terrorists with minimum civilian deaths: The claim that drones kill terrorists with minimal civilian casualties due to its precision capability is highly misleading. The statistics compiled—mainly by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)—disapprove official positions of concerned governments.

The latest figures available at New American Foundation[15] website are 371 total drone strikes so far; 2097 to 3449 killed; 258 to 307 civilians killed; 1640 to 2808 militants killed; and 199-334 unknown killed. The percentage of civilians and unknown killed (including women and children) is about 18.5 %. This data doesn't include the injured and damage to victims property.

In 2013, Amnesty International issued its startling report on drone strikes in Pakistan. This report criticized US drone policy and questioned its legitimacy under international humanitarian laws and national laws of Pakistan and US. The casualty figures given in this report are as under:

Sources	Total Strikes	Total Killed	Civilians Killed	Total Injured
Pakistan Government	>330	2,200	400-600	>600

Long War Journal/ New American Foundation/ Bureau of Investigative Journalism	348-374	2,065-3,613	153-926, including 168-200 children	
US Government	classified	4,700(unclear whether this refers to all drone strikes or just some countries including Pakistan)	classified	classified

Table-1: Record of drone strikes and the fatalities in Pakistan.[16]

On December 18, 2013 the *Dawn* newspaper, published its research on drone strikes in Pakistan. Author's following narration reflects the apathy of Pakistan government on drone strikes

> After years of drone strikes, whose numbers remain contentious, not a single government department has any authentic data to detail the number and identities of the killed, including civilian casualties.[17]

This report has come out with three different drone strike figures: through author's own sources the total is 334; according to FATA secretariat the figure is 352; and according to the Interior Minister the figure is 317 strikes killing 2,227 (including 67 civilian deaths).[18] Similarly, there is confusion on the death count which varies from 2,160 to 2,293 with hardly any distinction between terrorists and civilians.

From the data compiled by the above mentioned credible sources, it is absolutely clear that the ratio of innocent Pakistani citizens killed in the US drones is staggering and

alarming (between 7.4 to 25.6 %). This variation in data exists because the nature of drone operations remain classified under US and Pakistan governments. Even CIA's Islamabad station chief acknowledged that drone strikes "were often based on bad intelligence and had resulted in many civilian casualties."[19]

Myth 2: Drone is an effective counter terrorism (CT) kinetic measure: Ex Defence Secretary Leon Panetta has argued that drones are remarkably precise and limited in terms of collateral damage, and were 'the only game in town in terms of trying to disrupt the Al-Qaeda leadership'. Similarly, former CIA Director Michael Hayden has said that drone strikes have made regions like Pakistan's FATA 'neither safe nor a haven' for Al-Qaeda and its affiliated networks.[20]

It is a misnomer that drone strikes have made US safer as less than 2% HVTs have been killed so far.[21] One wonders that if drone is such an effective weapon then why terrorism continues to thrive in this region, rather increased in Pakistan?[22] There has been 36% inflation in suicide attacks thus increasing fatalities ratio by 179 % because of suicide attacks in Pakistan.[23]

David Kilcullen, a renowned Australian CT expert (author of book *The Accidental Guerrilla*), says that: "We are seeing a recovery of Al-Qaeda on all fronts;"[24] seriously questioning President Obama's objective of "disrupting, dismantling and destroying" Al-Qaeda across the globe. With the hype in US kinetic operations in Pakistan and Afghanistan, including drone strikes, the corresponding number of casualties of government forces (including NATO) also increased in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The insurgent syndicates astride the borders continue to remain viable and functional because of mistrust among the allies and their flawed strategies. The figures below sufficiently prove that drones have not been as effective in Pakistan-Afghanistan region as its advocates think and propagate.
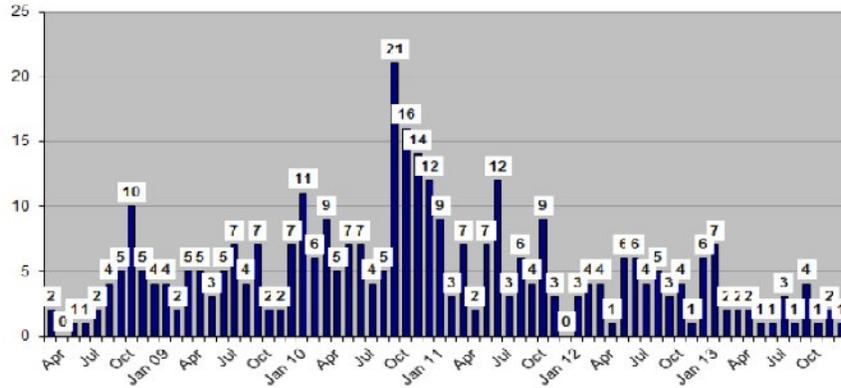
Figure 1: Cumulative total of 357 drone strikes in Pakistan since 2004:
2004 (1); 2005 (1); 2006 (3); 2007 (5); 2008 (36); 2009 (53); 2010 (117);
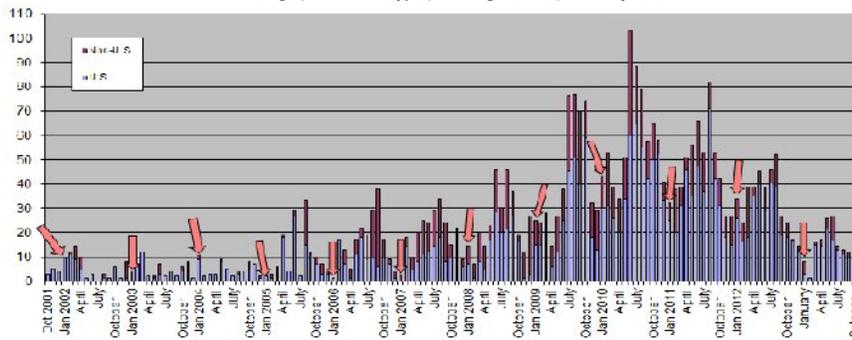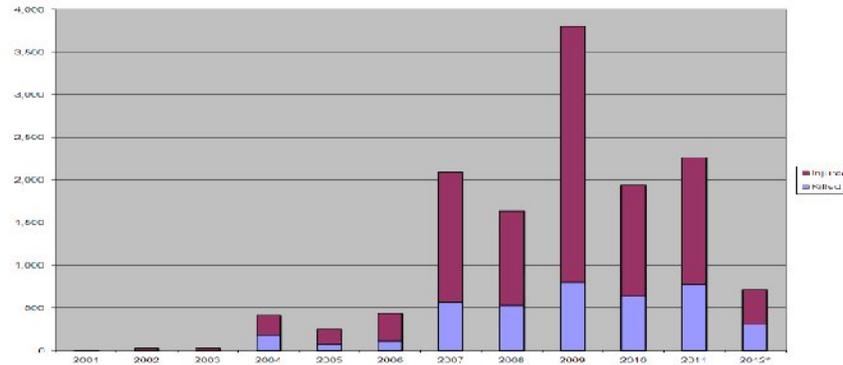2011 (65); 2012 (47); 2013 (28); 2014 (1).[25]

Figure 2: Annual US and Non-US fatalities since October 2001 in
Afghanistan are 3,431 (2,316 US and 1,115 non-US).
This does not include 3,546 and 6,890 fatalities of Afghan Army and Police
respectively since 2007 in Afghanistan.[26]

NOTE: Numbers from 2001-2009 are from the Pakistani military. 2010-12 numbers are via the Pak Institute for Peace Studies and are through May 2012.

Figure 3:   Pakistan Army's casualties from 2001 to 2012.[27]

Furthermore, a total of 58 leaders, mostly of tactical category (Al-Qaeda, TTP and TTA) have been killed (only 1.6 %) among the total kill figure (list available on website).[28] This is the most disturbing aspect as less than 2% HVTs have been killed in drone strikes, putting a question mark on drone's effectiveness.

Myth 3: US Drone strikes are legitimate in FATA

> "The use of armed drones - like any other weapon should be subject to long-standing rules of international law, including international humanitarian law... Every effort should be made to avoid mistakes and civilian casualties".

As far as the legitimacy of drone strikes in the FATA is concerned, none of the independent agencies has declared these as legitimate under any law. Since the programme remains secret, lacks transparency and accountability, its legitimacy remains questionable. According to article 2 (4) of UN Charter, no state can use or threaten to use force against any other state unless it is with the consent of the host state or in self defence in retaliation to an armed attack or threat of an imminent attack, and where the host state is either unwilling or incapable of taking appropriate action.[29] The stated positions of both Pakistan and US are, therefore, in violation of article of 2 (4) of UN charter for not clearly meeting the conditions for application of such a force in FATA.

The legal experts also question drone strikes against mosques, schools, funerals and large community gatherings (e.g., Jirgas and other social gatherings) to target a suspected terrorist or small group present at these places.[30] At times, rescue efforts also got targeted by drones. This type of targeting is known as double tap, in which targeted site is hit in quick and multiple successions.[31] According to Christopher Heyns, U.N. special representative on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions: "If civilian 'rescuers' are indeed being intentionally targeted, there is no doubt about the law: those strikes are a war crime."[32]

Myth 4: US conduct unilateral drone strikes in FATA

From the following events reported, one can conclude that discrete Pakistani authorities remained on board with their US counterparts on drone strikes but not over the target list.

During a meeting between President Asif Ali Zardari and CIA Director Michael Haydon on November 12, 2010, while discussing predator strikes, President Zardari told Haydon to: "Kill the seniors, collateral damage worries you Americans. It does not worry me."[33] According to Bob Woodward, President Zardari compromised innocent deaths as cost of doing *business* against senior Al-Qaeda leaders.[34] On another occasion, Leon Panetta, ex CIA Director was assured that "Pakistan would allow Predator drone flights in specified geographic areas called *boxes*.[35]

Anne Patterson, ex US ambassador to Pakistan, sent a cable to Washington in which she disclosed that in her meeting with Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani on drones, he remarked: "I don't care if they do it as long as they get the right people. We'll protest in the National Assembly and then ignore it."[36] General Musharraf, in an interview to CNN, first time admitted that at occasions, his government colluded with America over drone strikes.[37]

The NATO's Salalah attacks further exposed Pakistan's dubious stand on drones. The Shamsi Air Base in Balochistan—that Pakistan champions to have got vacated from the US in retaliation to these deadly attacks—was in fact harbouring US drones since long for employment in FATA.

Analysis

> War is not a chess game, but a vast phenomenon with an infinitely greater variables, some of which elude analysis.—David Galula.[38]

Consistent US drone strikes are a blot on credibility of Pakistani government. These strikes might have helped erase

a few US and Pakistan's enemies but they have left lasting political and security consequences for Pakistan. Major factors contributing to drone attacks and its fallout in Pakistan are:

Poor Governance

Successive Pakistani governments failed to establish their writ in FATA and settled areas of the country, which is almost non-existent even today. Due to persisting political disarray, Pakistan's security apparatus has been unable to contain mushrooming terrorism and extremism on its soil despite deploying over 150,000 troops in FATA. Thus providing an opportunity to the US to exploit this weakness and employ drones in FATA on this pretext. Furthermore, outdated anti-terror laws have emboldened the terrorists who continue to strike with impunity. Existence of vested interests and differences among the executive, judiciary and military is preventing any meaningful progress on this challenge to Pakistan today.

Pakistan has also been unable to evolve its indigenous Counter-Insurgency (COIN) or CT strategy after a decade of fighting terrorism. Belatedly, the previous government, during its last Parliamentary session in 2013, started formulating Pakistan's CT policy. The present government has yet to announce this strategy despite being in power since May 2013.

Anti-Pakistan and Anti-American Sentiments

Every state has a fundamental duty to protect its citizens' rights. Therefore, when innocent people also get killed in US drone strikes in FATA, there is a blow back from local population against the state. Such deaths motivate victims' family members turning into accidental guerrillas. To some extent, drone strikes are serving TTP's purpose of recruiting more suicide bombers and spreading its evil ideology (*takfir*).

Because of flawed US strategies in the region, especially towards Pakistan, there are growing anti-American sentiments among Pakistanis. Only 11 % Pakistanis have a

favourable view of the US, according to latest PEW research.[39] Similarly, there is repugnance against Pakistan in the US in the backdrop of its troubled relationship with Pakistan. These negative sentiments on both sides only complicate the existing mistrust.

Probability of US Strategic Surveillance and "Boots on Ground"

It is almost certain that US surveillance of Pakistan's nuclear sites and sensitive military installations goes on with the help of drones while Pakistan is combating TTP menace and focused on dealing other teething domestic challenges. A recent report clearly indicates that the CIA drone missions in this region include surveillance of Pakistan's nuclear sites, which may be jeopardised as Ex President Karzai refused to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) with US.[40]

Then the CIA rolled out the RQ-170 Sentinel, a sophisticated surveillance drone that had been outfitted with stealth technology. It could take high altitude photographs and could send real time video while evading Pakistan's defensive radar. With its distinctive batwing shape, it was capable of flying high above the compound without detection by the Pakistani authorities.[41]

According to another startling revelation by Bob Woodward, the US expanded its covert war in Pakistan by infiltrating its agents on Pakistani soil, mainly via Afghanistan. According to Panetta, writes Woodward, "as Pakistan keeps dragging its foot against the Haqqanis, therefore; his 3,000 men Counter Terrorism Pursuit Teams (CTPT) were now conducting cross-border operations into Pakistan."[42] And let us not forget that drones provide an extremely reliable platform to CIA's covert and overt operations in Pakistan. Edward Snowden's—an ex US National Security Agency agent—disclosures about US spying in Pakistan authenticates its fears.

Mushrooming CIA's Spy Network

Human intelligence plays a vital role in selecting drone targets in Pakistan for the CIA. Over the years of CIA's clandestine and covert operations in Pakistan, the agency has been able to cultivate a deep web of its spy network in Pakistan.[43] The presence of US private security contractors and host of International NGOs (INGOs) are playing a dominant role in foreign intelligence agencies spotting, cultivation and recruitment drive for local agents.

US Leverage

Any peace effort by Pakistan government with the TTP is unlikely to succeed as US can conveniently derail it with drones, as one saw it in case of Nek Muhammad's and Hakimullah's targeting earlier. Pakistani authorities are also wary as to why the US doesn't target TTP with similar frequency as it does against TTA and Al-Qaeda? Ironically, the new TTP leader, Fazalullah, is hiding in Afghanistan's Kunar Province but the CIA has yet not located and targeted him, despite launching of *Operation Zarb-e-Azab* by Pakistan army in the North Waziristan Agency, an action long awaited by US.

Recommendations

Following are a few pertinent recommendations:

Diplomacy: The government must exploit the prevailing anti-drone fervour at home and international level by stepping up its diplomatic manoeuvre to put US under pressure. Even influential voices, within the US, oppose this offensive strategy and consider it against US ethos. According to Jimmy Carter, ex US President, drone strikes are "cruel and inhuman."[44]

Indigenous Policies: Pakistan must fight all kinds of terrorism on its soil, based on its indigenous policies and not under foreign pressure. This will help mitigate the TTP's narrative of Pakistan army fighting America's

war, thus turning off its recruitment drive for misguided suicide bombers. Being allies, Pakistan must demand drone technology from US or at least get control of drone's employment, whenever it is unavoidable.

Transparency and Accountability: The use of drones must conform to UN International Human Rights Law (IHRL) and domestic laws of Pakistan and the US. A code of strict accountability has to be set to avoid civilian casualties. IHRL further "places a particular emphasis on the obligation of states to investigate, prosecute and punish any alleged violation of the norms banning extrajudicial executions."[45] Therefore, urgent laws have to be promulgated to investigate these strikes as per UN laws and for transparency purposes.

Compensation and Socioeconomic Uplift: In order to demonstrate solidarity with people of FATA, Pakistani government must compensate innocent victims' relatives in every possible manner. Immediate remedial measures have to be taken to rebuild their damaged properties as well as provision of medical care in the targeted areas. By doing so, Pakistan government will get desired public support (winning hearts and minds), thus facilitating state's overall CT strategy.

State's Writ: Pakistan must ensure state's writ within its borders, including areas comprising FATA, PATA, GB and the FRs to deny sanctuaries to local and foreign terrorists; automatically removing any motive to employ foreign drones in troubled borderlands. This is only possible once Pakistan has a uniformed application of its constitution on its complete territory. Pakistan government must transform its civil LEAs into professional bodies (free of political influence), even at the cost of shunning huge developmental budgets. The government must understand that without internal stability, no foreign investment will ever come to Pakistan nor there can be an economic revival.

Redrawing Relations with US: "The United States of America does not have friends; it has interests."—

Jhon Foster Dullas (US secretary of state, 1953-1959). Until the US and Pakistan do not develop a reasonable understanding on: future of Afghanistan beyond 2014 and respect each other's interests there; ways to move forward on Kashmir dispute; India's existing and future role in Afghanistan (seen by Pakistan as its encirclement from the West); recognition of Pakistan's nuclear status—and not just that of India, this relationship will continue to remain transactional.[46] The US should demonstrate a balanced approach in South Asia or else peace will remain a distant dream in this region and beyond. Despite a decade of alliance, the US and Pakistan have yet to move beyond intermittent strategic dialogue, whereas US-India strategic partnership got concluded in 2011. This reaffirms US's India bias, thus the mistrust. Moreover, Pakistan must demand from US to stop interfering in Balochistan and to use its influence over Afghanistan and India to stop as well. These steps can be great CBMs and help remove Pakistan's doubts about US designs in the region.

Conclusion

Beyond doubt, drone is a useful weapon system provided its employment is based on credible and actionable intelligence and within permissible limits as per UN and domestic laws. Unfortunately, in Pakistan-US context, where deep mistrust overshadows their estranged relationship, unilateral use of drones in FATA has led to significant collateral damage, apart from killing a few HVTs. The mystical policies of both Pakistan and US have contributed to the damages by drones, against tactical gains. Those losses could have been in-significant, had there been a greater coordination before executing each drone strike in FATA. Pakistan has suffered more politically because of the drone strikes as these have constantly embarrassed Pakistani governments over questions of sovereignty and credibility but then, Pakistan bears greater responsibility due its own subdued policies and weaknesses.

The six months hiatus in drone strikes proves that Pakistan can resist these strikes provided there is a will to do so. However, what Pakistan needs to worry most is employment of drones in stealth mode for surveillance of Pakistan's nuclear and sensitive military sites. The recent statement by Pakistan army's spokesman that Pakistan's Air Force is capable of striking the terrorist hideouts instead of relying on US drones reflects a bold shift in Pakistan's drone policy, which must be carried forward.[47] If Pakistan is really concerned about its sovereignty, then it must achieve fiscal sovereignty and establish state's writ on its entire territory to free itself from foreign meddling and setting a stage for evolving indigenous policies.

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NORTH WAZIRISTAN:
WAR ON TERROR OR WAR OF CULTURES

Aamir Cheema

Abstract

From 1895 onwards, when British established their political control along the Frontier especially in Waziristan, this Northern Waziristan Valley alone has been the most violent and terrorist in nature, often erupting suddenly and then calming down. It has happened in 1898, 1915, 1936 and now again since 2005, this valley is in forefront receiving almost hundred per cent more Drone attacks as compared to any other valley[1]. Thus fundamental inquiry is why it erupts and how it calms down. This paper examines the ongoing war from the theoretical, empirical and historical perspectives with a hypothesis that war is more engraved culturally rather than the politically based terrorism in North Waziristan and Militia is culturally more apt to tackle it than regular army.

Introduction

Pakistan has suffered the maximum in terms of human and material loss in the war,[2] despite the fact that it was regarded as the most intellectual to resolve the issue as observed by Magnus & Hopkins,(2012) 'Pakistan army, which carried forward both the martial and intellectual traditions of the British raj, knew how best to handle the frontiersmen'[3]. The main theatre of operation against the terrorists is focussed along or in the adjoining tribal areas of Pakistan's western frontier which runs along the crest of Hindu Kush Range. It is the Durand Line and the North Waziristan about whom President Obama remarked in 2009 as the most dangerous place in the world[4]. This most dangerous place is also known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) which comprises seven political agencies having over two dozen tribes inhabiting it[5].

The very fact that some of these tribes have always been engaged in armed movement and others have always remained as state's ally since 1849, creates a phenomenon which is often interpreted as a unified action by the Pathan *Qaum* rather than as an isolated act of an individual tribe. The historical similarities are too identical and familiar to be overlooked. In 1936, a military operation was initiated in the North Waziristan Agency with a single aim to capture Mirza Ali Khan Tori Khel of Uthmanzais Wazirs known as *Fakir of Ipi* and it failed to do so till 1960 when Fakir of Ipi died of natural death with his grave still a mystery.[6] In present time, the war primarily started with one single aim to hunt Osama Bin Laden, who again like Fakir of Ipi was believed to be hiding in the same agency)North Waziristan); he was finally killed in 2011 at Abbottabad, like Ipi his grave and death is still an enigma.

The existing literature on the subject matter can be divided into three major categories and themes, initially produced by British officials between 1830-1947, it conveys a Romance of Frontier. Secondly the American scholars had written with little empirical knowledge; relying solely upon the theoretical framework[7] drawn upon the experience of Malay, Vietnam, Sri Lanka and Middle East's asymmetric wars. This can be summarised as Pakistan is the hub of the international terrorism and bastion of militancy while Islam is the primary factor in the increase of violence all over the globe. Moreover, Pakistan military is supporting the militants especially with reference to the hiding and later killing of Osama bin Laden in May 2011 at Abbottabad. On the other hand, the conclusion of native scholars is towards highlighting the lack of infra-structure, facilities and education along with the misinterpretation of the Islamic teachings as the main cause; some of them have misinterpreted the culture, like Farhat Taj 'my own interviews reveal that sick relatives of all Taliban commanders continue to be treated at state expense at Islamabad...development projects are contracted to people closely linked with Taliban[8]. *Qaum* and *Riwaj* are two terms which have been overlooked; *qaum* conveys a sense of nationhood in which every tribe is identified with his clan

whereas the *riwaj* is the Magna Carta of these tribes. It is the misinterpretation of these two words which is the root cause of present and past violence. There is no compatible English (Western) definition for these peculiar cultural identities.

Culture and Civilization are two inherent overlapping threads which tend to explain a new paradigm as against Statist Paradigm of Classic Realist theory ' states are and will remain the dominant entities in world affair...states with similar cultures and institutions will see common interest' to understand the causes of human conflict. Samuel Huntington in his famous essay, Clash of Civilization? (1996) regarded Civilization as a combination of cultures, 'Most dangerous dimension ...would be conflict between groups from differing Civilization'[9] . The scholars have no unity in terms of numbers of Civilizations which exist or existed, they vary from seven to twenty four civilizations, 'Civilization have no clear cut boundaries' remarks Samuel Huntington.. Indus Valley Civilization is a matter of debate; Huntington has mistaken it as a Successive Civilizations namely Indian, Indic or Hindu. 'Probably one or more Civilizations emanated from Indus Civilization'[10]. Indus Civilization here means all those rivers and valleys which join the flow of Indus River water[11].

There is a disputation among the philosophers as to the definition of culture but they all agree that religion, common language, goals, values, aspirations, customs, all combine to bring forward a distinct identity. However, they have overlooked the historical bondages and geographical layout especially the importance of rivers in forming and keeping alive the identity. Nicola Machiavelli, a 14th century Italian, was the first one to debate the importance of 'Militia' in the national defence as against keeping a regular army, this he stated in his 'Art of War'. On the subject of war , another philosophical view expressed by Emmerich De Vatel (1714-1767} revolves around two principles, first one declares that 'regular war as regards its effects must be accounted just on both sides' and second principles govern 'whatever is permitted to one, because of the state of war, is also permissible to the other'[12].

Waziristan, an Aryan Civilization?

Wazirs are an ancient Pathan tribe. Aryans were fun loving people who were believers in a monotheistic deity. They lived in a close knit clan society where friendship was regarded as a sign of nobility and refusing alms to a needy person was looked down upon. Women were respected yet, they were not involved in the spheres of running the society. Intoxication through natural herb was an acceptable part of the society, Rig Veda mentioned a tribe by the name of Pakhta which is identified with present day Pathans.[13]. With the passage of time, all other Pathan tribes and even the Punjabi clans have been diluted of the Aryan culture with only North Waziristan retaining the original values; in this regard, the geography has been their key ally.

Waziristan was a name given to the area between Kurram River in the North to Zhob River in South, on the East the plains of Indus near Dera Ismail Khan and on West the Ghazna were the frontiers. Two major clans of wazir namely Uthmanzai and Ahmedzai inhabit it with majority in North whereas Mahsuds live in South Waziristan, *Qaum* is the proper word for tribe in local culture and it conveys the sense of a nation. Within Waziristan, the Aryan code of conduct is still visible, there are racial classes, Wazir are regarded as of upper and ruling tier, fighting men of the area. The language is Pashtu, but with a different dialect. Islam made its presence felt in the area after the defeat of the Turk and Chinese armies at the hands of Arabs in 751 AD. After the Aryan invasion (2000 BC) and migration, came the Greeks under Alexander the Great, followed by Saka, Huns, Yeu Chi and many other tribes descending down from Central Asia. Thus, present day FATA is a conglomeration of the bloodline of those and many others like Mongol, Mughal, Turk and Persian races who passed through these passes. These tribes are still following the old customs, traditions and above all, the laws known as Pakhtun Wali in which vendetta is cardinal aspect[14], an enigma to modern day lifestyle.

The tribal society in Waziristan is primitive in nature, more akin to the early city states of Greece; democrats, without any hierarchical kingship, all Wazirs being treated equal yet racist in outlook as non Wazirs and non-Muslims especially the Hindus are not allowed to wear the turban rather a white skull cap is allowed to them[15]. There is no central hereditary power junta rather it varies from time to time. Polygamy is a common practice which becomes a necessity because of frequent feuds and war. There is no concept of population control rather a popular concept prevails that more are the children; the stronger the clan will be. Women are treated with respect and are seldom seen outside their walled compounds. Kidnapping or rape of females is a rarity. The practising religion is the Sunni sect of Islam, thus religious men attract great reverence but still there are no shrines, elders are respected, Jirga is the parliament of the clan where collective decisions are taken and are bound to be observed. Carrying and manufacturing of arms is a matter of pride and every tribe has a considerable amount of armoury including anti-aircraft guns, mines and field artillery; most of them were captured during the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, (1979-1989).[16]

North Waziristan Agency (NWA)

Waziristan came into prominence due to Forward Policy after the annexation of Punjab in 1849[17]. Waziristan proved to be an enigma for the British as the settled districts of Dera Jats were constantly raided by the Mahsud distant relatives of Wazir. This gave birth to two distinct school of governance, 'Forward Policy' or open door favours interaction with tribes whereas 'Closed Border'; cuts off ties from tribes or Closed Policy[18]. This shuffling of policy or mind set is still in vogue.

Forward Policy created South Waziristan and North Waziristan Agencies in 1895,these agencies were directly under control of the Central Government at Calcutta and not the provincial government (Punjab and later North West Frontier Province (NWFP), NWA has an area of 4,707 square kilometres. Presently, population is 3, 61,246 (1998 census) an

annual growth rate of 2.46%. There are 192,432 males and 168,814 females in the agency, literacy rate being 13% among males and 0.5% among females. Population density is 77 persons per square kilometre only South Waziristan Agency has a lower density rate than NWA among the seven agencies (South Waziristan Agency (SWA) have an area of 6,620 square kilometres with a population of 429,841)[19]. The Uthmanzai Wazirs form 59% of population, Daur 39% with Mahsuds forming the remainder. There are 73000 Afghan refugees still living in the agency. Ibrahim Khel, Wali Khel and Mamit Khel are the three major Wazir Tribes with sub clans which includes Madda Khel, Manzar Khel, Tori Khel and Macha Khel of Ibrahim clan, Bakka Khel, Jani Khel, and Kabul Khel being part of Wali Khel clan, Hassan Khel, Khaddar Khel, Bora Khel and Wuzzi Khel are an integral part of Mamit Khel; all in all, there are 42 sub clans of Uthmanzai Wazirs in NWA. Daur tribe composed of four main clans. The agency is the heartland of Wazir with Daur as a protectorate clan, carrying on the agricultural work and paying a tribute to Wazir annually for protection. It was the Daur who requested and invited the Brits to take them under their protection in lieu of taxes; similar patterns took place in adjoining Kurram Agency where the Turi Tribe also requested Brits for protection in 1892. The Agency itself is along the Tochi River, having a length of 70 miles. Wazirs occupy the hills and the upper valley where as the Daur are in plains and in lower valley. Both tribes have disputes over land whereas wazir clans are all blood brothers, the Daur are practically alone.

The contention, that is, lack of education in the agency which is the root cause of violence is negated by the fact that NWA surprisingly has 705 educational institutions out of which there are 405 primary, 67 middle, 31 high and 149 community based schools and one degree college at Miranshah having 814 students; there is one vocational college, one commerce college, one commercial college and one teachers training centre having 14 students. There are 40,000 boys and 20,000 female students in NWA area. Mir Ali has the highest number of schools for girls. The number of teachers in NWA exceeds 800 with 458 male and 401 female

teachers imparting education[20]. It is obvious that Daur tribes have more inclination towards education as compared to Wazirs. It is through education that Daurs have disturbed the hereditary and centuries old ethnic structure. There were 250 Malakans in NWA in 2005[21], except at Miranshah where the Daur have majority of malaks, Wazirs are overwhelming in number. Malaki system is not based upon the mere numerical superiority rather the strategic importance is the key factor, these malaks are nominated by the political agent, they receive annual allowance and subsidies. Before 1997, these *malaks* used to elect the member of national assembly however, now people elect them through votes

Religiously, North Waziristan is overwhelmingly a Sunni adhering agency, following Deoband school of thought or Wahhabis, King Saud of Saudi Arabia paid a state visit to Miranshah in 1953[22]. Thus Arab inclination towards this agency is no surprise. Agency also has the highest number of religious seminaries among all the political agencies; most notable are Idak Madrassa, Maulvi Saleem Gul of Spinwam, Haqqani Madrassa, Dande Madrassa and Degan, all less Idak are in Wazir control. People are intolerant of Shia faith adherents, there is no Imambargah in the agency except that of Tochi Scouts, every year in Muharram, a Lashkar is called to march towards Kurram (an over whelming Shia agency) to carry out bloodshed.

Military Cultures in North Waziristan, Army vs Militia

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, three distinct types of army cultures emerged, one based upon pure all British regiments known as British Army, second the British Indian Army having British officers but troops were natives, lastly the Sikh Army which comprised Sikh and Muslim troops and officers, along with newly raised native frontier irregulars; exclusively Peshawar and Mardan districts were transitioned into Punjab Irregulars and Frontier Force regiments (Piffers)[23]. Pakistan Army's cultural and traditional roots thus lie in these British, British Indian and Sikh armies; built upon

the distinct culture of regimentation, strict discipline, bureaucratic in nature; where everything has to be in black and white and heterogeneous class composition having centralised command and control structure in the political agencies, the levies, militia, rifles and scouts were raised as military wings starting from 1878 when Khyber Rifles was raised. These were different in composition and organisation from regular army. In North Waziristan, the very first Levies were raised in 1895[24] which were upgraded to North Waziristan Militia (NWM) in 1900. Fundamentally, Levies comprised men from only one tribe or Tochi Valley (Daur) whereas Militia had Wazir and other Pathan tribes also. Militia had army officers in command who were all British, it also had native officers as well from regular army, on deputation.

Historical Fallacy

The year 1919 proved to be a decisive year when almost all Militias (Khyber Rifles, North & South Waziristan militias} revolted in varying degree against their officers because of Third Afghan War. The worst hit was North Waziristan Militia, which in 1922, was transitioned into Tochi Scouts, it now had more recruits from settled Pathan tribes like Khattak and Yousafzai[25].

Period between 1936 - 1947 is very interesting as no less than 30,000 British troops were deployed in North Waziristan to hunt one man *Fakir of Ipi*. It should be kept in mind that, at that period, British military needed every man to counter Nazism thus this deployment of such magnitude speaks for itself. *Fakir of Ipi* accidentally rose to fame due to the Islam Bibi affair in Bannu. From the onset, army took control of the operation, Ipi village was shelled and this ignited the Fakir of Ipi's own tribe Tori Khel. This period also gave an insight of two military cultures working together, one that of regular army with its heavy load of rules and regulations and other that of Scouts with practical and very little bureaucratic channels. There were accusation upon the Scouts of collaborating with the natives which were partially true, but

the overall efficiency offset these minor irritants. The conspiracy theories which have surfaced in post 9/11, especially in Pakistan in which it was alleged that Osama was an American proxy and the intention of Western world was primarily to make an ingress in the area to grab the mineral resources are nullified when Osama's hunt is compared to Ipi's, because at that time despite all the might of British, Ipi was never caught, therefore, the military culture of North Waziristan is not a new phenomenon. Tribes rallied around him not that they liked him or he was a chief but because the ingress and presence of army was disliked and same is happening now.

North Waziristan calmed down not gradually but suddenly when in post 1947 under the 'Operation Curzon' Pakistan Army vacated all the forward cantonments including Gardei and Razmak[26] thus area resorted to its pre 1895 status; only difference was that of additional roads and other infrastructure but, no person of army was allowed to stay inside the tribal area; scouts were exemption. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 is another mile stone, not only it provides logical background to the much debated Forward Policy but also, it gives another insight into tribal mind-set especially of Tochi Valley. Tribes did not allow army to operate from their area but they wholeheartedly cooperated with scouts. For all practical purposes, there was no army inside the North Waziristan Agency till 2005. Peace prevailed in the agency for over fifty years without the presence of army, thus it gives credit to the theory that peace in North Waziristan is viable without the presence of army in it.

Causes of Violence in North Waziristan

The hypothesis, that violence in North Waziristan is linked with the presence or absence of army is best observed in the post 9/11 scenario. In North Waziristan, the operations between 9/11 till July 2005 were all conducted by the Tochi Scouts[27] with very few casualties; they were able to open up three inaccessible areas of Bangidhar, Kazha and Dwa Toi.

Due to operations in Afghanistan, majority of the Taliban migrated and took refuge in the North Waziristan; because they had common bloodline. Mere ordering the tribes to evict them was against the *riwaj*; initially there were no Taliban safe haven in North Waziristan, it was only after Army operations in South Waziristan from 2002 onwards that they shifted into North Waziristan. On 11th February 2004, the very first peace pact was agreed upon in a Jirga at Miranshah.[28]

On 5th July 2005, army took the operational command of the agency thereby placing both the political agent and the Tochi Scouts under its command; the situation was normal by the agency standards. The agency was not under the grip of Taliban rather it were the local criminal gangs and shortage of electricity which were the major nuisance and menace. Americans carried out an operation against the Taliban in Lataka Narai on the night of 14/15th July in which 24 Taliban were killed; this incident triggered a chain of events because all of these dead bodies were later buried inside Pakistan territory. It coincided with the very first address of GOC 7 Division to Uthmanzai Jirga in which he gave 24 hours ultimatum to hand over the miscreants, somehow the timings of Jirga and American attack coincided with each other and fuelled rumours of collaboration between the two.

Starting from the night of 16/17th July 2005 and commencing on the evening of 20th July, three connected operations were carried out by army with multiple aims; show of strength, clear the area of unlicensed weapons and to apprehend any foreign miscreant. All three operations were conducted in the surroundings of Miranshah Fort. Nothing much was achieved, sixteen persons were arrested apart from nine light machine guns & one rocket launcher. Unnecessary resistance and the ensuing fire opened by the army resulted in the death of eighteen foreigners out of which five were women. This was the turning point in current war which ignited the agency. Thus, it was not the religion or the affiliation with Taliban rather a misjudged cultural act by the army which resulted in creating a Domino Factor.

Battle for Miranshah

In another unplanned act, Taliban took the control of the agency in October 2005 after eliminating the criminal gangs in a two-day operation. It was a critical stage where Miranshah and the whole agency was at stake, the army misjudged the timings and remained aloof from gang warfare, the political agent, being under army command, was unable to use his own military might, the Tochi Scouts. Taliban, not only eliminated the gangs but in the process, won the heart and minds of the natives. Army tried to wrest the initiative from Taliban by establishing a post at Hassu Khel in December/ January 2006. This post was established by Tochi Scouts on army instructions without consulting the political agent or administration. Flouting the *Riwaj* and despite the warning from the tribe, the army persisted on the post, consequently the complete post was wiped out by the tribe. Army now had to call upon the air force as a show of force. The second peace pact between the army and the Taliban was signed in September 2006, it was a continuity of the history but where it differs from the past is in the fact that in 1936 campaign, the control was handed back to the political agent after the peace accord but it was not followed here in 2006 with army still retaining the operational and political control of NWA.

There was no set day for the move of military convoy but one of the conditions of the Taliban was that army should fix one particular day for road movement as it causes inconvenience to the public. On 31st March 2008, political administration started working again in Razmak.

It was the Khassadar pay which ultimately set the course of collision among the various stakeholders of the agency. At end of April 2008, Khassadar went on strike, jirga reminded the political agent that that it was part of the peace pact to pay the Khassadar pending pay. The issue looked minor with Khassadar demanding seven months of pay and Political Agent willing to pay only four months as balance was beyond his financial ceilings. Regarding CD's shops they were demolished by Taliban in Miranshah on 3/4th June 2008, a

total of 12 shops were destroyed. Shaving of beard was banned and any barber caught doing so was punished; same was the case for drug sellers and consumers. Army viewed every step and move of Taliban as a challenge to writ of the state.

Two Military Cultures – Army & Scouts

Back in 1936 when the insurgency started in Waziristan after the Islam Bibi affair, at that time Tochi Scouts was also put under the operational control of army[29], the political control of the agency was also handed over to the army; similar actions were taken at this time also. Frontier Corps and army had two distinct military cultures and both had seldom worked together for long duration. Majority of the scouts less officers had very little knowledge about the way of army working and same was the case among the army jawans. One of the scouts narrated that, in initial days, he was uncomfortable with the presence of army. One key reason was the lack of communication between the two. Scouts invariably speak Pashtu which very few in army ranks and even less in officer cadre understand. A scout, irrespective of his rank, always shakes hand with the visitors irrespective of his rank, would offer him tea and since he is not that proficient in Urdu thus his vocabulary was very informal in addressing the seniors. In case of army it is other way around where it is the prerogative of the senior to offer his hand for handshake. In army, all company commanders are invariably officers preferably a field officer (Major) but in Tochi Scouts or for that matter in Frontier Crops (FC) the companies are commanded by Junior Commissioned Officers (JCOs); which is a very powerful and authoritative rank. The concept of *Qaum* is another enigma for the army; *qaum* tend to live, train, eat, fight, obey, disobey and die together, this is more powerful than the espirit de corps, on which army life thrives.

Scouts life pattern is also different from army; his sense of motivation and pride centrally revolve around the pride of his *Qaum* more than his sense of unity with Wing whereas in army, the battalion is the real pride. Scout is very demanding and vocal in terms of his right of ration and leave.

Professionally in the contest of Frontier Warfare, a scout is more professional, his body muscles are more tuned to mountain marches, climbs, descends and use of ground than an army jawan. An army jawan has the edge in technology; he has a broader outlook, is more educated and above all, has better equipment. Their fables, proverbs, heroes, folklore, songs, dances all differ from each other. They are familiar with every village, smaller and large. They know the culture, *riwaj* and traditions of each tribe and village. An army unit seldom interacts with civilians thus to them, there is no such thing as *riwaj*. Frontier Scouts way of warfare is medieval in cultural aspect which is in frequency with the adjoining environs; army on the other hand, represents modern times. Over passage of time, army has become more technological in outlook in line with the requirements of future warfare.

Conclusion

Pakistan Army also launched the much awaited Operation Zarb-e-Azb in July 2014, after the killing of its troops in a road side bomb blast near Miranshah; (rationally it was not taken as a step to sabotage the peace talks but as an act of defiance by the whole agency) with an aim to cleanse the agency and more important to finish the operation till the elimination of last terrorist, it has been able to make steady success gradually. In North Waziristan, the insurgencies although driven by religion are never really sparked by any political motivation, rather chain of events became the main factor. Most logically, the Wazirs will insist upon the withdrawal of army from the agency and if history is to be kept in mind, another Operation Curzon will be carried out; let it not be forgotten that there was peace in the agency after the Operation Curzon. Armies, all over the world, have distinct culture of their own; a kind of Civilization independent of geography and Pakistan army is no exception. This military culture is modern, adheres to rules and regulations, treaties and pact another parallel military culture is the Frontier Corps of Militia& Scouts, which is more aligned with culture of North Waziristan and matters in North Waziristan should be

handled by them and the political agent; as they have been doing in the past .

Notes

[1] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Drone_Strikes_in_Pakistan#2013

[2] Brigadier Sajjad Ahmed, 2012, *Terrorism and Extremism in Pakistan post 9/11 reappraisal and the way forward*, { M.Phil. Thesis, , p-92, National Defence University, Islamabad. Till 2012, a total of 37,888 casualties including 3974 security forces, 11,809 Civilian, and 22105 insurgents. Also see Dr Khan Muhammad 'ISAF, Afghanistan & Pakistan; Challenges and Opportunities', *Marghalla Papers Islamabad,2012.*

[3] Magnus Marsden , Benjamin D.Hopkins *Fragments of The Afghan Frontier*, {Oxford, Karachi, 2012},p-5

[4] President Obama's remarks on a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan, White House office of the press secretary, 27 March 2009, www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-o..

[5] Durand Line is 1,640 miles long, agreement was signed on 12 November 1893. FATA have an area of 10,510 miles.with a population of 3.1 million{1998 census} . Till 1947, there were only 4 political agencies in the NWFP. Namely Khyber, Kurram , South and North Waziristan Political Agencies. Bajaour, Mohmand and Orakzai were raised between 1960-1980. Lutf ur Rehman, *Durand Agreement; its impacts on Bajaour, Chitral, Dir and Swat*, {M.Phil Thesis}, National Defence University, Islamabad, 2011. http://111.68.99.107/libmax/opac/index.aspx

[6] Fakir of Ipi's grave is at Gurweikht, western end of Tochi valley inside a cave but no funeral was ever held at time of death and even exact location is uncertain.

[7] Eamon Murphy *Making of Terrorism in Pakistan, historical and Social Roots of Extremism*,{Routledge, New York, 2013}, p-5.

[8] Farhat Taj, *Taliban and Anti Taliban*,{Cambridge Scholars, UK,2011},p-5., p-71.

[9] Samuel P. Huntington *The Clash of Civilisations and The Remaking of World Order{P*enguin, New Delhi,1997}. The original article was published in the summer of 1993 in journal *Foreign Affairs* under the title *Clash of Civilisations ?,* it stirred up more discussions in three years than any other article published in journal since 1940.

[10] Samuel Huntington *The Clash of Civilisations,* p-44.

[11] Arya Desh was the name of India, Northern Tribes call it India or Hindu as noted by Hsin-Tu in 7th AD, see*The discovery of India,* Jawaharlal Nehru*[*John Day ,New York,1945*],p-63.*Chinese called India as Shin-Tu

see James Legge*, A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms The Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of His Travels in India &Ceylon AD 399-414,(Oxford,1886),p-26.*also seeJhon Keay *History of India (*Grover,NewYork,2000)*,p-57,*word for river in Sanskrit is Sindhu.

[12] M.G. Forsyth edited, *The theory of International Affairs selected texts from Gentilli to Traitschke* {George Allen, London, 1970}, p 110.

[13]*Imperial Gazetteer of India Volume 1, Indian Empire Descriptive.* {Oxford,clarendon,1907-1909} pp,360-370.

[14]*Qabaili Rasm or Riwaj*{tribal traditions} an unpublished draft of Kurram Agency tribal agreement dated 29th July 1944, Political Agent archive, Kurram Agency Parachinar. It is identical with the *Mahsud Monograph*, compiled in 1980 by the Political Agent South Waziristan Agency, a former army captain, Mr Omar Afridi, copy at Thall Scouts Library , Thall Fort.

[15] Political Agent Report North Waziristan Agency 1901,p-5-6, Official document, Tochi Scouts Archives, Miranshah.

[16] During 2001, Tribal war between Madda Khel and Mohmit Khel, both used artillery and land mines. *Tochi Scouts War Diary*, Miranshah Archives.

[17]Major H.G.Raverty The Afghan Wazirs and their Country in The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record, Volume IX, Nos 17 and 18, January – April 1895 (Oriental University Institute, Woking,) page 153,.

[18] Magnus Marsden & Benjamin D.Hopkins *Fragments of The Afghan Frontier* ,{Oxford, Karachi, 2013},pp,69-73

[19]Tochi Scouts *Analysis of the FATA, 2011*. Study Period conducted on 5th September 2011 at Miranshah.

[20]Development Plan presented by Tochi Scouts in March 2002.

[21] Tochi Scouts *Study Period*, p – 114. Political Agent , *Record of Malaki*, Miranshah, unpublished.

[22] Tochi Scouts *Visitors Book and related instructions of visit,* Miranshah Archives.2012.

[23]Timothy Roberts Moreman "*Passing It On The Army In India &The Developmental Frontier Warfare 1849 1947.*{Thesis, Doctor of Philosophy}, King's College, University of London. pp. 20-25

[24]*Border & Administration Report for the year 1895-1896*, Political Agent Archives Miran Shah. Unpublished.

[25]*North Waziristan Militia War Diary*, unpublished, official, Tochi Scouts archive, Miranshah.

[26]Captain A.R. Siddiqui (correspondent of Civil & Military Gazette) quoting Brigadier Ayub Khan, article published on 5th February 2005, in Dawn Newspaper.

[27] In 1922, the nomenclature of North Waziristan Militia was changed to Tochi Scouts, *Tochi Scouts Standing Orders 1922.*

[28]*Political Agent Political Diary for 2004*, unpublished, Miranshah Archives.

[29]Political Agent, North Waziristan , *Official Record, 1935-1936*, unpublished.

EMPOWERMENT OF PAKISTANI WOMEN: PERCEPTIONS AND REALITY

Dr. Sarwet Rasul

Abstract

Women's access to higher education is considered a tool of their empowerment in the intellectual, organizational, social, economic, administrative and familial spheres. Ideally speaking, empowerment is an active multidimensional process which should enable women to realize their identity and powers in all spheres of life, including greater autonomy in decision making, ability to plan their lives, and greater control over the circumstances that influence their lives. However, these theoretical assumptions, related to empowerment, are questioned when it comes to the beliefs, customs and practices prevalent in reality. In the patriarchal context of Pakistan, the paper explores how far Pakistani Women Parliamentarians are empowered in their professional and personal lives; how far they exercise independence in decision making related to the issues of their personal and professional lives.

Background

In 1995, nearly a half-century after the creation of Pakistan, the National Report for the Fourth UN World Conference for Women had to admit that women "continue to suffer in the face of oppressive patriarchal structures, rigid orthodox norms and stifling socio-cultural customs and traditions in Pakistan."[1]

Politics is a domain of power, and in Pakistan it is strongly male dominated. According to population indicators report of World Bank 2011, "Women constitute 49% of the Pakistan's population, being unutilized in the national development due to their low skill, less education and less empowerment in the realm of politics"[2]. Patriarchal setup and social stereotypes dismiss their capabilities and create persistent hurdles in their way of empowerment. "Pakistan's political sphere is also

typically viewed as masculine and politicians as male" and major political positions are still in the hands of men whereas women are delimited to soft-profiles only, which ultimately jeopardize their level of empowerment in Pakistan.

Issues Associated with Empowerment

The word 'empower' denotes that it is not an internal phenomenon rather the external factors have to endow one with the specific power. Empowerment, in other words, is "the result of the process which enables an individual to know about herself/himself, what she/he wants, express it, try to get it and fulfill their needs, enhance confidence, awareness, mobility, choices, control over resources and decision making power. The process which enables an individual to gain all the above qualities is called empowerment[3]." The phenomenon of empowering someone implicitly comments on the powerlessness of the individual before. In other words, the process of empowerment in the social context involves that power is endowed to the powerless from the powerful entities in the society by "allowing the week and the marginalized to have access to the tools and the materials they need to forge their own destinies"[4].

When it comes to the issue of empowerment, customary law plays a vital role. As a matter of fact "The constitution of Pakistan recognizes the principle of equality of all citizens and the right to equal protection of the law"[5]; particularly, it makes discrimination against women on the basis of gender illegal, and calls for positive measures by the state. One example of how law works to ensure the maximum and equal participation of female gender in policy making is evident from the efforts that are made "to increase women's participation through legislative measures like gender quotas which are being implemented at a remarkable rate all over the world"[6]. Purpose of this "quota system is to recruit women into a political position in order to limit their isolation in politics"[7] There are other forces that work side by side with law i.e. customary law, which specially plays a vital role in case of absence of any constituted/written law.

Customary law can be defined as 'traditional common rule or practice that has become an intrinsic part of the accepted and expected conduct in a community'[8]. Oxford dictionary defines customary law as the law 'established by or based on custom rather than common law or statute'[9]. When it comes to the question how customs and traditions play a significant role in determining the position of Pakistani women in different spheres of life, one finds that many practices are flagrant violations of state as well as official Islamic law and are clearly detrimental to women's welfare. However, some cultural practices protect women in an environment where legal protections are either absent or unenforceable. This is well known in many other contexts where traditional institutions "step into the breach" left vacant by absent or unenforceable legal protections. One can examine practices that appear to play this role in rural Pakistan. This is not to suggest that such customary practices yield optimal outcomes for women, but that given the lacunae in written laws and enforcement capacity, some customary practices may actually enhance women's welfare[10].

Empowerment of Women

Men and women are substantial part of any society but in male dominated societies, female population is the deprived and marginalized group of society. If men and women were created equal, the phenomenon of empowerment of women illustrates that initially they have been disempowered and as a relapse, they are encouraged to hold some power in their hands for the well being of the family or the society but above all, for themselves. Empowerment of women is generally seen in relation to men. The status of men is the measuring tool for scaling how much empowerment is required on the part of women. On the other hand, the empowerment of women is also seen as a threat to the singular rule of men but it needs to be clarified that empowering women does not imply disempowering men; they can both remain in power simultaneously[11]. Such an empowerment is based, not only restricted to the physical or material aspects of life but it also

reflects their intellectual and emotional development, and this relationship is reciprocal in nature.

For instance, for a woman to be economically independent and socially active, her self-esteem and confidence need to be raised first, then she needs to be sensitized to her status in the society and its implications for herself and those around her; only then can she rise to achieve the physical scales of empowerment.

There are seven components regarding the empowerment of women: awareness of their rights; improved standards of living, equal ownership of productive resources, better health care for herself and her children, higher literacy level and education, increased partnership in economic and commercial sectors, and achievement of self-reliance, self confidence and self – respect[12]. Furthermore, education, employment, contact with outside world, personality development, economic independence, institutional and legal support, promotion of women wings and activists are the prerequisites for the empowerment of women[13]. These are the social measures that need to be taken to give sustainable power to women.

Perceptions and Reality about Women

In today's world, there are certain expectations and hopes related to the outcomes of empowering women. It is expected that empowerment would establish equality between men and women as it should root out subordination of women; and once empowered, women can have control over their labour, income, sexuality, reproduction and mobility. It is also hoped that empowerment would be a way to economic independence, high self-esteem and self-confidence. It is further expected that in the context of politics, female empowerment i.e. Reserved seats for females in the parliament will lead to "a new kind of politics under a new leadership"[14].

Reality of women empowerment, however, might differ from what is expected as the "rhetoric between theory and

practice" appears to be very the wide[15]. Terms such as "new age women" and "woman of substance" are just words in books[16]. Apparently, women might be awarded empowerment but the ground reality changes very rarely. In fact, independence and ample self–reliance are 'idealistic terms'[17]. On practical grounds, people consult others and female, specifically, who is always thoughtful, sacrificing and caring for her family. The remarks of Jeanne Kirkpatrick (former UN ambassador for the United States) are significant in this regard: "I tend to think that the patterns of interaction in high politics are particularly unattractive to women - as unattractive to women as they are inhospitable to them"[18].

Gender, Power and Politics

Discriminations on the basis of gender has proved to be a prevalent characteristic of system in Pakistan. "Women's image is as that of mother and wife - the private and not the public one"[19]. These socially subscribed roles debar women from empowerment. These roles instill in them, the thought that only external factors would provide them with the power and opportunity to be empowered but this is not the case as empowerment "is not a commodity that can be handed over to women"[20].

Society is dissected not on the bases of the potential of individuals rather on their gender. When such an unjust division appears, women are the exploited group in this regard. Men are on the giving end of power i.e. they exercise their power whereas women are on the receiving end. Power does not appear to be neutral term in this context rather, "issues of sexuality are at the heart of the whole workings of power in modern society"[21].

In human societies, different occupations are associated either with one gender or another. The more passive jobs are linked to women whereas the jobs that require activity or power are associated with men. Politics is also one of the fields that are governed by the idea of power. For instance, studies on the issues of 'gender and power' in the political context of

Bangladesh show that women do not have political status, access, or influence equal to men[22]. There is no doubt that women are considered as secondary to men in terms of their social role by various philosophers including Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau, who "used different arguments to arrive at the common conclusion that politics is essentially a male prerogative and women are not physically or mentally fit to participate in politics on equal terms with men"[23].

The way to empowerment is incomplete without empowering women politically and providing them equal participation in the endeavour to run the nation. Out of the 50 percent female population of Pakistan, only 5 to 10 percent women participate in politics and it is rare for them to acquire the highest political positions[24]. As a matter of fact, "political empowerment is the form of participation in decision making process at various levels of political activity"[25].

Women issues can be dealt, only when the representative will be an active part of the decision bodies locally, nationally and internationally[26]. If we look at it in the context of India, the political experience of women in India was of being 'puppets' in male hands initially as they were not accepted equal by the male '*Panchyat*' members; no one even remotely anticipated the level of commitment displayed by the women, who participated in politics as a result of 33% reservation at panachayat and municipal levels. The emergence of these women disproved the belief that women are not 'available' for politics[27]. Thus, women in politics are not on the highest level of leadership so there are very few women heads of state; and gender is active "in the election, appointment and retention of female leaders"[28].

Political Rights of Women in Pakistan

With the independence of country, Pakistani women were granted suffrage in 1947 under the Pakistan Ordinance[29]; and their right to vote was reasserted in national elections in 1956 under the interim constitution[30]. However, the right to vote is

another thing and the practice of this political right is something completely different. In Pakistani context, the gap between theory and practice is quite wide. In fact "the constitution of Pakistan guarantees to ensure women empowerment in the society, but Pakistan being a patriarchal society, finds it difficult in implementing such constitutional provisions"[31]; so the female voting turn-out in Pakistan has always been very low. If we look at the history of developed countries, generally female voting turn out is high, but in developing countries like Pakistan, female are not allowed to vote in various constituencies. Even today, Pakistan currently has 32. 2 million female registered voters in comparison with the 38.8 million registered male voters, female voters face severe hurdles in casting their votes and getting themselves to the highest echelons of the power corridor[32]. The reasons of this less vote turn out are embedded in the culture. A research of National Commission on the status of women claims, "in March 2001 during the local government elections, thousands of women in over 13 out of the 56 Union Councils of Swabi were barred from casting votes"[33].

As far as the right to be members of legislative bodies is concerned, the provision of reservation of seats for women in the Parliament can be seen throughout the constitutional history of Pakistan from 1956 to 1973[34]. An attempt to trace the history of Pakistani female participation in politics shows that in 1956, 3 percent seats were reserved for women, which were increased to 5 percent in 1973 in both the national and provincial assemblies. This participation was doubled to 10 percent in 1984 but only for the National Assembly that provided twenty women with a chance to be indirectly elected. In 1985, twenty two women were in the national Assembly whereas from 1988-1990, four women competed for general seats besides the twenty reserved seats. The first Muslim female Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, was also elected in the same era. In 1988, the reserved seats for women lapsed and consequently there were only two women in the national and three women in the provincial assemblies. One additional seat was reserved for minorities. In 1995, there were four women each in the National and Provincial Assemblies[35]. In politics,

women currently occupy 21 percent of the seats in the National Assembly and 18 percent of seats in the Senate. Pakistan has had one woman prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, and other women have found a place in various high-level positions in the central and provincial governments[36].

Reasons behind Low Participation

There are three major reasons for women's low participation in politics namely: *purdah* that is a religious obligation for a Muslim woman, illiteracy and violence against women[37]. The countries with dominant religions (such as Islam in Kuwait) and philosophy (such as Confucianism in Korea) have low participation of women in politics[38]. However, Pakistan also has the examples of the mother and the daughter Lady Nusrat Haroon and Daulat Hidayatallah. Lady Haroon was a prominent and powerful woman who devoted herself to work for Pakistan movement. Founded by her, Nusrat Club, was the hub of political activities of Muslim women. She was also elected as the President of all India Women Muslim League in 1943, and the Vice-President of All Pakistan Women's Association founded by Begum Ra'ana Liaquat Ali in 1945. "Daulat Hidayatallah accompanied her father Sir Abdullah Haroon to the Imperial Economic Conference in Canada. She was Joint Secretary of the Sindh Muslim League. In 1936, she married Anwar Hidayatallah, the son of Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatallah. Her mother-in-law being politically enlightened was most supportive and biography of her father, Sir Abdullah Haroon is illustrative of her acumen and services"[39].

For instance, in the 1946 election, Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz and Begum Shaista Ikramullah got elected in Central Constituent Assembly. Women politicians could also be seen in the Pakistan movement but when it came to rule the country, the "monopoly" of male dominance did not let Fatima Jinnah to win[40]. In 1965 presidential election, Ayub Khan defeated Fatima Jinnah by taking 64% of the votes. There were various reasons of Fatima Jinnah's defeat: indirect ballot, second amendment of the Constitution that confirmed

him as President till the election of his successor, Ayub Khan's unfair utilization of the state facilities etc[41].

In the case of Pakistan, an analysis of the history makes it evident that there are certain factors that have led to low participation of women in politics. The factors which contributed to women's subordination include "the cultural legacy; the-class based socio-economic and political structure; the urban/rural divide; the patriarchal practices; and the role of religion in the polity"[42]. However, despite the limited number and low participation, women have always been present in the political realm of Pakistan.

Pakistani women, despite hazards, have been participating in politics for a long time both in the formal politics i.e. parliament and the informal politics as activists. There are three paths of the empowerment of women in politics. Firstly, they can fill in the place of their deceased husband and father which is also known as political surrogates; and Benazir Bhutto is an example of "how in gender-traditional countries women's political activism is tolerated when it appears as though they are acting on behalf of male relatives"[43]. It was the death of her father that won her the seat, and she "took over the male role in the family"[44]. The second way is the political insider way. Such leaders work their way up through a part hierarchy over a number of years like Indra Gandhi. The third path is the political outsider path to power. These people enter when people are disheartened from their present political leaders so they are given the benefit of doubt and they get elected[45]. Generally, women also join politics through the third path or route; and they are used as a tool to obtain more votes for a political party or a family. When it comes to the case of Benazir Bhutto, one argument is that her gender served positively for her as she was seen as an outsider to politics which lessened the threat to General Zia and she was ultimately not exiled like her brothers[46]. Bhutto herself asserted; "in a way I had transcended gender. There was not a person who did not know the circumstances that had forced me out of the pattern of landowning families where young women were guarded zealously and rarely, if ever, allowed to

leave their homes without a male relative[47]."

Researchers have outlined some reasons responsible for the low or non-participation of women in politics. The reasons for any issue are dissected into internal and external factors but here only external factors stop a woman's way to politics. Household responsibilities are in the way of participation in politics. Only women have the dual responsibility of managing house and work simultaneously. Masculinist, confrontational, alienating culture is a reason for low participation of women in politics[48].

Answering the question as to why, despite all the odds, women have been participating in politics, four motivations or reasons are preferred that bring women into public sphere of life. These include; issues linked to the economic survival of themselves and their children; nationalist and racial/ethnic struggles; issues addressing broad humanistic/nurturing problems and issues identified as women's rights issues[49].

Conclusion

To conclude, it can be said that in the traditional patriarchal society of Pakistan, women are expected to be dependent upon men; and in this context the idea of empowerment of women sounds only theoretical, not practical. Much of the role of Pakistani women in politics is determined through customs and traditions of the community, and thus, it is via customary law that Pakistani women politicians enjoy certain rights and privileges on one hand and face certain limitations, on the other. However, the findings of the current research proves, that women parliamentarians enjoy, practice and assert far more power in different spheres of their lives than generally it is assumed about women.

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BOOK REVIEW

Muhammad Rehan Zafar

Rana Athar Javed, *Biting the Silver Bullet,* (Lahore: Tropical Printers, 2013), pp. 368, Price in Pakistan Rs. 1000/-

The book "Biting the Silver Bullet" written by Rana Athar Javed is an exceptional and timely effort to highlight Pakistan's narrative and sacrifices in the War on Terror (WOT). The author is the Director General of Pakistan House which is an independent think-tank based in Denmark. A distinguished columnist and having diverse experience of serving in various international and governmental bodies, the author brings unique insight into this book.

The author comprehensively defines the problem at hand i.e. Terrorism and Pakistan's perspective on the issue. While defining the issue, the writer also points out the vital differentiation between Afghan Taliban and Tehrik-e-Taliban (TTP) Pakistan due to its anti-state nature and support being received through foreign sponsors. The writer points out that US lost popularity in Pakistan because of its self-serving policies and lack of consideration for national interests of its most allied state. The author presents a strong case for taking ownership of this war due to the economic and socio-political costs that have been borne by the nation as well as the necessity to regain the image and prestige of the nation lost due to negative connotations attached to the green passport.

While, Pakistan's lack of a broad security policy has been pointed out by the author on one hand, he also brings forth different aspects dual policy adopted by USA in attempt to hide its massive failure in Afghanistan which in turn adds to instability in the region. The author also draws attention to ambiguous US foreign policy objectives in Afghanistan and failure to formulate a clear policy about the country in post-2014 scenario. He points out that the current US policy is "less realistic and more pretentious" and as such, seems to be an attempt to conceal the formidable challenges in the wake of US withdrawal from Afghanistan. He has also criticized the US drone policy and termed it as counterproductive. He advises that Pakistan should work on securing its own national interest in view of US self-centered approach to the region.

Afghanistan's internal problems and Indian attempts to gain foothold in the country as well as the negative implications of Indian involvement on relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The author points out that, US policy-makers have been ignoring Pakistan's legitimate concerns in case of Afghanistan while Afghan President himself had been playing a negative role in this regard through his "anarchic diplomacy" which in turn is driven by an effort to conceal Mr. Karzai's own failures within Afghanistan. A detailed analysis of Taliban and the different facets and dynamic of their movement and possible negotiation scenarios has also been given while describing the

Taliban as "Culturally Religious" at their core instead of being "Religiously Cultured" thus neatly bringing out the dichotomy in their proclaimed version of Islam.

An entire chapter of the book has been dedicated to elaborate security policies of regional and international actors involved. The author identifies the problem of "risk spreading to societies that are becoming security oriented" while their socio-cultural fabric is being torn apart by adopting such discourse. This discourse however, has been strengthened by espionage activities involving foreign NGOs operating in Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistani military is still fighting the newly independent media that has yet to achieve level of professional maturity that needs to be displayed. Unfortunately, current media discourse is weakening Pakistan's "national narrative".

A distinctive aspect of this book is its elaborate and rational evaluation of current US role in Afghanistan and various possible post-2014 scenarios. The capabilities of ANSF and its component ANA have been assessed in absence of ISAF forces. Furthermore, the author has delved into strategic communication strategies adopted by US and NATO as well as Taliban. It is pointed out that NATO's credibility as an offensive military alliance is linked to a clear victory in Afghanistan which is no longer achievable. The rise of China

and Russia in this scenario would have far reaching consequences in global geopolitics.

The author also gives a detailed account of far reaching effects of War on Terror on Pakistani state and society over the course of last decade in terms of psychological, economic and institutional consequences. The emerging nature of War on terror in relation to national defense and civil military relations in 21st century as well as effects of post 2014 scenario has also been discussed in detail. Pakistan would thus be facing significant and complex security threats in coming years. Valuable recommendations have been given at the end of the book covering critical areas of perception management, counter terrorism, economy as well as de-radicalization.

Although, the book is composed of author's previously published articles over the course of a year, yet the organization and structure is very well formed and coherent. The book is divided into eight chapters in all which deal comprehensively with most critical issues related to the war on terror. The only problem arises due to vast number of topics and aspects covered in the book but that too, is a plus point as the book is indeed one of the most comprehensive works yet on the subject. Although this book has been written in expository style, yet the reader never loses interest due to solid examples and arguments presented by the author.

CALL FOR PAPERS AND POLICY GUIDELINES

National Defence University (NDU) is persistently engaged in quality research on multidisciplinary issues of national strategy and security. Keeping the flag high, the university annually publishes two research journals, namely 'NDU Journal' and 'Margalla Papers' since 1987 and 1997 respectively. Both the journals are recognized in 'Y' category by Higher Education Commission of Pakistan and also indexed/abstracted by International Political Science Abstract, Paris and Bibliography of Asian Studies, USA. A research article of high academic standards is published after thorough scrutiny and blind peer review at home and abroad.

To enhance and extend value of contributions in these journals, NDU intently desires to benefit from a wide spectrum of the academicians, scholars and intelligentsia, etc. In this regard, NDU, earnestly, look forward to your forthcoming valuable intellectual discourse as per the scope of both the journals.

The scope of both the journals along with the guidelines for contributors are appended below.

Procedure

➢ Acknowledgement within 24 hours on receipt of paper.
➢ Preliminary review/scrutiny by the Editor, rejection or provisional acceptance (2 weeks).

- ➢ Internal (Pakistan based) peer review (8 weeks).
- ➢ Improvement on the observations of the paper by the author (2 weeks).
- ➢ Peer review from the foreign expert on receipt of revised version by the author (12 weeks).
- ➢ Improvement/revision (if any) by the author highlighted by the foreign expert (2 weeks).
- ➢ Final editing, formatting, processing and printing etc (November 2015).
- ➢ Publication of the journal (tentatively) by (December 2015).

SCOPE OF THE JOURNALS

NDU Journal. NDU Journal will primarily deal with **NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES**, as per following areas:-

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➤ Federation-Provinces / Inter-Provincial Relations
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➤ Religious and Cultural Issues
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Margalla Papers. Margalla Papers will primarily deal with **GLOBAL AND REGIONAL ISSUES**, as per following areas:-

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➤ Nuclear Weapons, Armament and Related Issues
➤ Defence Collaborations and Developments
➤ Major Treaties and Agreements
➤ Issues Concerning International Organizations and Alliances
➤ United Nations, and UN Peacekeeping Operations
➤ International Law
➤ Any other subject matter pertaining to global and regional issues.

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The general guidelines for the worthy authors are appended below:

Abstract:	150-250 words
Manuscripts Length:	5000-6000 words
Keywords:	8-10 words
Text Font and Size:	Georgia, 12
Endnotes Font and Size:	Georgia, 10
Quotation Font and Size:	Georgia, 11
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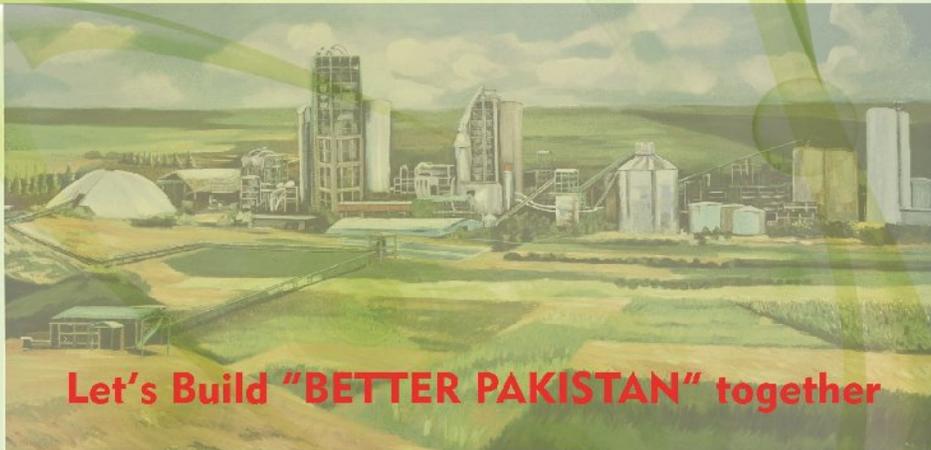
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