

PROBLEM SOLVING DECISION MAKING MODEL IN KASHMIR CONFLICT RESOLUTION: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract

Since 5th August 2019, the abrogation of Article 370 and 35(A) has given Kashmir conflict a different dimension. It has not only changed the autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) but also compromised the safeguard of the demographic status of J&K as a Muslim majority state in India. Since 1947, India and Pakistan have been locked into continuous adverse relations due to the conflict in Kashmir and do not find a common ground to bring peace in the region. Therefore, peace is an urgent need to address and redress the grievances of Kashmiris. Kashmiris in Indian occupied Kashmir are going through an ordeal, oppression due to massive human rights violations by Indian security forces. The conflict is becoming more protracted day by day and necessitates a systematic and sustainable resolution with the help of the international community and the United Nations. Throughout the last 72 years, several efforts were made, and multiple dialogue and negotiation took place, but Kashmir Conflict could not be resolved mainly due to India's rigid approach and policies towards Kashmir and continuous trust deficits between Pakistan and India. However, India and Pakistan need to commit to peaceful and sustainable conflict resolution. The paper suggests the application of the Problem Solving and Decision Making (PSDM) Model of Conflict Resolution in order to seek changes in legal and political framework to deal with complex issues of Kashmir conflict. The distinct aspects of the model carry a theoretical concept for framing Kashmir Conflict according to a particular sequence to resolve it.

Keywords: Kashmir Conflict, Conflict Analysis, Problem Solving Decision Making (PSDM) Model of Conflict Resolution.

Introduction

Unending hostility between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute, has been witnessed by the entire international community for the last seven decades. Kashmir is the most violent and volatile conflict zones between two nuclear rivals – India & Pakistan in South Asia. The conflict becomes more fragile when the

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stakeholders are nuclear-armed because it certainly risks regional and international peace. The Kashmiri freedom struggle gained momentum as an indigenous and genuine movement after Burhan Wani's martyrdom in 2016, a 21-year-old Kashmiri freedom fighter who exposed atrocities of Indian military forces through his active social media posts. The continuing curfew in Indian held Kashmir in the backdrop of revoking Article 370 and 35(A) on 5th August 2019, heavy military presence, media blackout, kidnapping of young boys, brutal patterns of violence and suppression of masses' voices have ignited a wave of protest and condemnation from the global community, which is emphasizing on a peaceful and sustainable resolution of long-standing Kashmir conflict.

Even though India and Pakistan have taken initiatives aimed at improving their stature in international affairs, but none has shown serious concerns for their crucial neighbouring relations. Geographically, India and Pakistan are the two most discussed nuclear powers of the world in South Asia.¹ But unfortunately, both the countries have been stricken with the territorial conflict and failed to develop sincerity in their relationship. Both India and Pakistan, have experienced political, social, economic as well as human losses due to this protracted conflict. The strained relations are affecting the region enormously. Hence, it would not be wrong to say that India and Pakistan have a history of volatile relations in the region.

After 72 years of independence, persistent complex relationship reveals that the time is ripened for India and Pakistan to realize their losses and begin the process of resolving Kashmir conflict. The disputed territory of Kashmir between India and Pakistan has gained not only geographic significance but also strategic importance since their independence. Many times, India and Pakistan have shown willingness to wrest control of the complete territory from each other for which they have gone through animosity on the borders and in relationships. Pakistan, at regional and international forums, and Kashmiris have raised voice to end violence and human suffering and let them utilize their right of self-determination through a promised UN-sponsored plebiscite.²

It is, therefore, needed that India and Pakistan opt for sustainable efforts and a systematic mechanism to resolve the territorial dispute and save the Kashmiris from great psychological and human loss. The discipline of peace studies offers various models that suggest a complete step by step process of conflict resolution through diverse and effective approaches such as negotiation and mediation. However, the Problem Solving Decision Making (PSDM) Model seems a comprehensive way to approach any conflict in a multidimensional way. This paper is an endeavour to apply the PSDM Model in Kashmir conflict to see its productivity and efficacy in the regional context. The PSDM Model is aimed at resolving conflicts

through a complete and in-depth analysis of the conflict and it also presents options to resolve key concerns. It is an integrated approach combining both Problem Solving and Decision Making under one framework. Moreover, the implementation process holds the parties responsible for their own conduct rather than dealing with each other unfairly. The paper dwells upon following aspects:-

- The theoretical concept and contours of PSDM Model.
- The significance of the PSDM with reference to Kashmir Conflict.
- How the PSDM Model can be applied to resolve the Kashmir Conflict.

The PSDM Model - A Theoretical Framework

Problem Solving and Decision Making (PSDM) Model of conflict resolution is a wholesome approach to understand conflict and develop a constructive approach for achieving desired results. The model is a cooperative process of integrating Problem-Solving and Decision Making in conflict resolution. Basically, PSDM is the combination of two processes; identifying problems and incorporating creative solutions to address those problems in a decision making process. Problem-Solving discusses diagnosis of conflict and simultaneously, the development of alternative possibilities for resolving the conflict. Firstly, in decision making, there may be a range of choices involved to make better alternative possibilities. Secondly, Decision Making emphasizes a commitment to the choice made to implement it further. Eben A. Weitzman and Patricia Flynn Weitzman proposed this four-phased model of PSDM in which they suggest that the conflict actors have to go through four different phases of approaching a conflict through constructive and interactive conflict resolution procedure. These are as under;³

- Conflict Diagnosis
- Identifying and Selecting Alternative Solutions
- Assessment and Evaluation of Mutually Agreed Solutions
- Making a Commitment towards an Alternative and Decision Making to implement it.

This interactive model provides an ideal, clear and simple roadmap to approach the conflict through its '3D' formula i.e. multi-dimensional conflict resolution processes. Overall, the model provides a way of thinking about the possible opportunities for the actors so that it can be adopted for the sustainable peace process and finally leads to resolution. Sometimes, the stages of this model give multiple opportunities to conflict actors to consider, reconsider their alternatives even if they are not fully willing to move towards the Decision Making and implementation stage. Therefore, applying this protean process to an intractable

conflict may assure a desirable resolution in the future. The model consists of four general phases that can be taken as components of a broader conflict resolution process.⁴

- **Diagnosing the Conflict:** It is the initial stage of the Problem-Solving process, which refers to the analysis of the conflict and its all necessary elements and aspects, such as various interactions and interests of the parties, values and preferences, emotions and investments of the actors, etc. The conflict can be diagnosed by seeing “5-Ws” and “1-H”; what, why, where, when, who and how. The conflict analysis requires the party's interests, goals and different structural dimensions of the conflict. Consequently, Problem-Solving needs to be addressed in finding a solution to building one definition for the conflicting situation. Weitzman provides vital components in the process, which involves conflict analysis as taking all aspects of the conflict on board and then, building a single definition of conflict to build consensus through scenario building.
- During the diagnosis period, social perspective coordination is important, which directs the parties to social level engagement in order to seek conflict resolution. Important decisions are supposed to be made by checking its affordability and viability to the parties. One may also create a joint diagnosis on the current situation considering a final statement that would come up with the above analysis in order to achieve desired results.
- **Identifying Alternative Solutions:** It suggests as once conflict diagnosis is done, the next step is to identify and generate alternative solutions. The alternative solutions should be acceptable to both conflicting parties. This step emphasizes on brainstorming for generating creative ideas and finding alternative solutions to make the parties develop as many ideas as they can. To encourage, put the parties in the situation to think over workable ideas and aiming for desirable ends from the process. Therefore, to identify or finding out alternative solutions to all problems of the conflict. Here, the concepts come as Best Alternatives to Negotiated Agreement (BATNA) or Estimated Alternatives to Negotiated Agreement (EATNA).⁵ Furthermore, it requires the parties' willingness to get a hold-on a position identified by them. Here, the high-level risk involved is a gradual process of trust-building between or among conflict actors, which is a prerequisite to develop and agreed on alternative solutions.

- **Evaluating and Choosing Mutually Accepted:** This is the third phase and almost final decision point of the process. Once a set of possible alternative solutions has been created, the next important stage is to consider alternatives, making assessments in terms of their pros and cons and pick the best possible solution to commit and implement. At this very stage, one can involve negotiator, mediator as a third party to develop various options and choose amongst them. The mediator or negotiator can make decisions at the individual level and they can have group Decision Making. The first and foremost duty of the negotiator is to create a sense of the parties' needs and justification as the agreement should be accepted by both the parties.⁶
- Also, to prioritize and evaluate the solutions, one can figure out whether to choose the third party and enter into an agreement by having strategies and options from the earlier analysis of the conflict. In this way, parties should be able to identify the best solutions. Other than that, evaluating and choosing the best solution can be a complete set of considerations for resolving the conflict.
- **Committing to Decision Making and Implementing the Solution:** Finally, once a mutually agreeable solution is found, this final stage of the process suggests incorporating it in Decision Making at the official and formal level. To put it simply, committing to Decision Making in the post peace-building or peace process point aiming to resolve the problem through Decision Making. However, it is not enough just to understand the conflict, but understanding must be translated into a willingness to act on committing solutions productively. At this stage, the parties can come up with the transforming, managing and resolving perceptions about the conflict and conflict resolution. In that case, readiness to take risks and building trust can encourage parties to make them believe that the agreement will work for the better. Therefore, the process might be responsible for social perspective coordination and integrating different points of view for the parties creating mutual gains. Committing and implementing the solution can be very much productive and finally, the process may be repeated until the parties decide to agree. The process also provides a certain opportunity, which can be taken for setting down any abrupt triggering violence.

Problem Solving Decision Making (PSDM) Model

Step-One: The Diagnosis and Analysis

Diagnosing conflict is the first investigative step of PSDM Model, there are mainly two steps for making a diagnosis of any conflict. The first step will cover conflict analysis and step two will provide a single definition to the conflict.

Section – I: Conflict Analysis

It provides a clear understanding to analyze a conflict leading towards Problem-Solving where one may find a solution for future assessment. Moreover, conflict analysis is one of the core systemic approaches to problem-solving. In the case of Kashmir conflict, it is described as a focused study having a vast capacity to make visualization for a deeper understanding of the underlying issues. The primary focus of analyzing conflict is to go deep or intervene considerably into conflict issues by studying all aspects of the conflict.

Similarly, to diagnose means tackling all the necessary elements of the conflict and answer the '5-Ws' and '1-H' accordingly, which refers to what of the conflict, where it is leading, when it started, who are the actors, why it doesn't provide any appropriate results, a solution or implementation in practice, and how it can be implemented. The why and how to evaluate a joint diagnosis, which in turn will present a final statement for further improvement in conflict resolution after checking the parties' affordability of conflict. Ultimately, social perspective coordination is important while diagnosing the conflict.

Conflict Analysis of Kashmir through Circle/Wheel Mapping Tool

Each individual has a different capacity to reach out to a solution or to get things to his mind. However, conflict analysis is a systematic study in the field of peace and conflict studies.⁷ It may provide the complete profile of political, economic and social issues of a conflict, what causes conflict and the study of dynamics of conflict.⁸ It is to define conflict intervention and looking into a sensitivity of conflict.⁹ In order to understand the conflict, it is further helpful for the planning stage, implementation stage and monitoring and evaluation stage¹⁰, which is the core purpose of the PSDM Model.

Conflict mapping provides a bird's eye view or objective view of the conflict. The modified areas in conflict mapping such as identification of root causes of the conflict, the relevant cause, actors of conflict, interests of the parties, goals of the

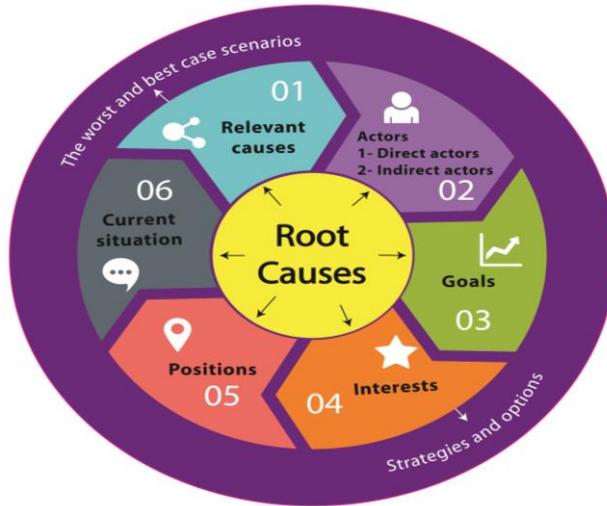


Diagram: Conflict Circle Mapping

parties, the contemporary events, making cost-benefit analysis, providing worst and best-case-scenario and eventually, it covers broader strategies and options. There are 7 standard tools of conflict mapping, suggested by conflict analysts,¹¹ the study has taken Conflict Wheel Model, which was developed by Dr. Maria Saifuddin Effendi.¹² For diagnosing the Kashmir conflict, a brief explanation of each area of circle mapping and application on Kashmir conflict is as follows:

- Root Causes of Kashmir Conflict:** Identifying the root causes of conflict is the first step towards conflict resolution. Why conflict actors have long been engaged in violence and what makes a conflict protracted that any effort to have peace fall victim to mutual paranoia? In the case of Kashmir, situations are often times unpredictable and more prone to violence. The conflict of Kashmir merits to be traced back from the Treaty of Amritsar 1846, which provided the lush green hilly and mountainous region of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh under British colonial rule.¹³ Kashmir, as a Muslim majority state, was ruled by Hindu Maharajas from 1846 till 1947 and the century-old Dogra rule didn't prove itself as favourable for the Muslim community in Kashmir. In 1947, when partition plan was announced by Lord Mountbatten in June 1947, it was declared that all Hindu majority areas would form India, Muslim areas would make Pakistan and princely states will be given the right to choose to accede either side in consideration of predominant religion and geographical proximity.¹⁴
- At the time of partition of the sub-continent, lobbying for the accession of Kashmir to India or either Pakistan was started based on the country's own interests.¹⁵ However, Radcliffe division of Gurdaspur is one of the root causes that resulted in intense disturbance in the

Kashmir issue earlier as Pakistan considered it as sudden changing in the partition map. The situation was in reverse as of Kashmir, Gurdaspur had a Muslim ruler and Hindu majority. The division has further complicated the matter, firstly, not only because of the loss of territory for Pakistan but it was the only space left for Muslim Kashmiris to access Pakistan and secondly, the growing realization that India was thereby assured of access to the state of Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁶ In August 1947, the fate of the two countries was declared as independent and princely states held back to decide which side to choose. While Maharaja was delaying his decision, there was an indigenous revolt started taking place in the Poonch region which was later joined by Pashtoon tribesmen and led to the first war between the newly born states.

- Maharaja rushed to the Indian government asking for its help to curb the revolt and India exploited the opportunity and made him sign the Treaty of Accession. It was in this backdrop when India and Pakistan fought and ended their first war in December 1947 with the intervention of the United Nations on the request of India and which instantly internationalized Kashmir conflict right at its beginning.¹⁷ On 13 August 1948, the UN Security Council (UNSC) passed a resolution emphasizing on the removal of Pakistan's and Indian troops from the region. The U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) was also established in 1948 to monitor the ceasefire line (later turned as Line of Control). Pakistan controls the far Northern and Western areas of the state whereas the Kashmir valley, Jammu, and Ladakh are under India's control.¹⁸ Not only in its resolution 1948, the UN kept emphasizing on the conduct of free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir which never took place in the past 72 years.
- **The Relevant Causes of the Conflict:** Relevant causes emanated from root causes which may trigger or fuel the actual conflict further. The relevant causes of Kashmir conflict include:
 - Violation of United Nation Resolution 1948 by India¹⁹
 - Human Rights Violation by the Indian Army and the Authorities
 - Majority Muslim Population
 - India-Pakistan Geopolitical Rivalry
 - Violation of Indus Waters Treaty by India
 - India-Pakistan Glacial Fight
 - Ayodhya Mosque Violation against Muslim Majority²⁰

- **The Actors Involved in Kashmir Conflict:** This area significantly covers ample evidence as to finding out the complete profile of who are the actors involved in the Kashmir conflict. Finding the actors give a clearer way of diagnosing the conflict. In this phase, we will make analysis as taking direct actors as well as indirect actors. Direct actors are those who are directly involved in the Kashmir conflict such as India, Pakistan, Kashmiri people (pro-Pakistan, pro-independence and pro-India) and, therefore, United Nations since 1949 as establishing United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), working as a peace-builder in Kashmir conflict. Whereas, indirect actors are those who have been involved and participated in the conflict at a distance or indirectly. These secondary actors such as the United Nations military after 1971 when India attacked Pakistan.
- Second is China who played its part after the 1962 war with India.²¹ Third is the United States as having a strategic partnership with India and the others are, European Union and Russia. Furthermore, the United States and the Soviet Union engagement during the Cold War, the United Kingdom somewhat at the time of partition, China as supports Pakistan in order to have balance against India, and finally, militants who are giving the cause of Muslims to conflict and these are from various countries around the globe. Even though third party intervention does not acceptable to the parties, especially India, as considering it the bilateral conflict between India and Pakistan, still it is including the offers of facilitation from the United Nations, the World Bank and often times the United States and the other, facilitators.

The Interest of the Parties

This step makes an analysis by highlighting the interests of the parties involved in the conflict directly and indirectly. The area indicates that the conflicting parties have immediate interests in resolving the conflict which is of high priority for them. Even though every individual has its own interests in conflict or resolving conflict, still one cannot ignore the actual demands of Kashmiri people, a land of freedom and a right of self-determination for themselves and also, interests of the other Indirect actors. A complete independence from India has been long demanded by a major section within Kashmir valley while in terms of federal-provincial relations other section seeks full or more autonomy.²² So far, the people of Kashmir valley are only interested in cultural and economic interactions across the LOC.²³

Here, in this paper, the interests of Pakistan and India would be broadly taken in place. India and Pakistan have their own strategic interests rather than

focusing on the interests of the people of Kashmiris.²⁴ India is eagerly engaged in the conflict as considering it as war with Pakistan, whereas, Pakistan views its interests based on an indigenous reason for the right of self-determination for Kashmiri people.²⁵ Pakistan's interests are as under;

- To minimize the intensity of custodial killings, Muslims' massacre, the crimes against humanity that being perpetrated by the Indian soldiers,
- To improve better understanding among Kashmiri people and maintain brotherhood as Pakistan considers Kashmir as a Muslim zone,
- To resolve water disputes with India through resolving the Kashmir conflict between them.

India's objectives in the state of Jammu and Kashmir has been considerably seen in terms of the following as such, integrating the people of Kashmir emotionally into the Indian mainstream, winning the hearts and minds of Kashmiris politically as well as psychologically and eventually, influencing its policies in the political affairs of Kashmir Valley.²⁶ As far as discussing terrorism, Indian administration is avoiding strategy towards Kashmir and therefore, perceives terrorism as a bilateral issue between Pakistan and India. Once proven, India decided to fence the LOC and emphasized that there would be no productive talks until the cross border terrorism issue is being negotiated bilaterally between the two countries.²⁷ Additionally, it is quite obvious for India that to declare Pakistan as an aggressor state.²⁸ To encourage the private sector of Kashmir to secure Kashmir's internal developments and to do so, the welfare of the Kashmiris in order to serve its own interests in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.²⁹

The Goals of the Conflicting Parties

The Kashmir conflict is, actually, between India and Pakistan and the relationship between the two has been marked complex. These two countries had to evolve if not as a friend but in symbolic terms neighbouring countries after getting independence. But next to this, both the states engaged in war and confrontations and then later, both became military powerful that put a threat on the South Asian region, it is now having unstable circumstances. In this context, India and Pakistan have opposing goals to each other. The goals of the conflicting parties are, therefore, referred to as the main purpose of the parties to be engaged in a particular conflict, and describes as, what outcome the parties want from the conflict or resolving the conflict. To the extent, Pakistan's goals on Kashmir are heavily depended upon its stance on Kashmir. Pakistan's foreign policy observes as to have peaceful relations with neighboring countries, however, Pakistan's goals are:

- To support Kashmiri people in their battle for freedom against Indian brutal rule to provide justice and freedom in Jammu and Kashmir and achieve sustained dignity of Kashmiri people,
- To have the complete resistance against violation of human rights and uncertainty in the state of Jammu and Kashmir,
- To maintain its stance on Kashmir as to settled down Kashmir conflict peacefully without any violence,
- To achieve prosperity in the South Asian region as Kashmir economy is predominantly agrarian.

On the other side, since independence, India has been maintaining its claims over Kashmir. Looking with it, India's strategy towards Kashmir has evolved in as a shrewd Kashmir policy that enables India to hold control over the main area of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.³⁰ India's desired objective is to not accept Kashmir accession to Pakistan, to which India did several attempts in history. For instance, to influence the Maharaja to accede to India, when he was under pressure following the troubles in Poonch, and the tribal invasion into Kashmir in order to attain secure persecuted majority Muslims.³¹ Furthermore, India's prime objectives in Kashmir are:

- To not allow Plebiscite in Kashmir and a continued resistance over the UN resolution 1948 as earlier it was only India who made efforts to delay the Kashmir crisis resolution proposed by UN Security Council,³²
- To hold the concept of secularism in order to justify the instrument of accession, which was signed between the Maharaja and the Indian administration caused Kashmir conditional accession to India,³³
- To install a permanent pro-Indian government in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

For example, in history, India successfully deferred the UN resolution of Kashmir of 1948 and therefore, installed a pro-Indian government.³⁴ As per the broader concerns over India's Kashmir objectives and strategies, India is making systematic efforts to take over the parts currently considering as the Azad state of Kashmir in Pakistan and therefore, completely occupied the state of Jammu and Kashmir.³⁵ Above all, to take Simla Agreement of 1972 in order to obtain India's goal of making the existing Line of Control (LOC) into a permanent borderline. As the agreement previously arranged the ceasefire of 1949 into the LOC which is taken as the directly negotiated borderline between the two countries.³⁶ To focus, India has been aiming to maintain the status quo and convert the Line of Control into an international border.³⁷

The Positions (on Kashmir)

This step can help one to make a critical analysis of Kashmir conflict by understanding what Kashmir for India & Pakistan is. Position of Pakistan on Kashmir,³⁸ can be summarized as:

- The state of Jammu and Kashmir is an unresolved agenda of Britain and a disputed territory between India and Pakistan,
- Both the parties acknowledged the disputed status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in the UN Security Council resolutions of August 13, 1948, and to which on January 5, 1949, both the two countries are considered a party,
- UN resolutions is remained operative and cannot be unilaterally disregarded by either party,
- As agreed in the UN Security Council resolutions along peaceful and bilateral negotiations would be made between India and Pakistan over the future status of Jammu and Kashmir. It, therefore, entails a fair, free and internationally supervised plebiscite that should be aimed to secure the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir,
- The plebiscite should allow the people of Jammu and Kashmir to choose freely, whether to remain independent and of permanent accession to either Pakistan or India,
- As bilateralism has been seeing leading towards nothing, an international mediatory intervention may be appropriate if mutually agreed.

On the other hand, India claims that Kashmir accession to India was approved accession, which is not true. It is, therefore, considered that the accession was temporarily declared by Mountbatten, there is no such evidence available in the documents. Furthermore, India claims that according to the 1957 Constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is an integral part of India,³⁹ which is also not true as Maharaja acceded to India in return for military assistance or for himself only. Whereas, India politically mentions that India never considered Hindu and Muslims as separate nations, but they believe in secularism, which makes no sense either.

The Critical Analysis

For India, Kashmir has great strategic value as bordering with Afghanistan and Pakistan; also it shares the border with China. Moreover, the importance of Kashmir cannot be denied due to origin of major rivers of Indus Basin in the region. Whereas, Pakistan considers Kashmir as a zone of fellow Muslims and to promote

Muslims' cause is a responsibility of Pakistan. Since independence, Pakistan and India, however, fought three wars over Kashmir. Following the first war of 1947-1948, on January 1, 1949, a ceasefire was agreed between India and Pakistan with 2/3 of the territory under Indian control and 1/3 with Pakistan.⁴⁰ However, the ceasefire was intended to be temporary, but the Line of Control remains the de-facto border between the two countries.

Moreover, the current status shows both the positions on Kashmir, as, Pakistan is, in the favour of UN plebiscite as per the wishes of the Kashmiri people. Whereas India doesn't consider UN resolution as significant as Pakistan does. India is claiming Kashmir as an integral part, which cannot be separated from India. India argued upon and claimed it a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan so disregard UN referendum which might include the voice of Kashmir. India accuses Pakistan of supporting Kashmiri separatists in Indian occupied Kashmir, which is a critical security issue on which many experts say that Pakistan should act upon it accordingly and change its security policies.

The Current Situation

This area of analysis provides a radiant outlook of any conflict. In this way, the major events of Kashmir conflict are being taken into board in order to know where the dynamics of the Kashmir conflict is currently leading. Come to the point, the recent crises that escalate the situation in the Indian-held Kashmir seems to breakout rapidly. The focus on the current situation is particularly the two as that the human rights violation by the Indian forces, and the continuing incidents of terrorism. As a result, and in retaliation, the birth of freedom fighters, ongoing protests against Indian authorities, clashes with Indian security forces, excessive persecution, increased violence in Kashmir, the youth's deadly observation and consequently, deadliest incidents that reported in the past years.

The Worst and Best Scenario of Kashmir Conflict

This area of analysis questioning that what would be the worst situation as well as the best situation for conflicting parties, such as, considering India and Pakistan while, having or resolving the Kashmir conflict. In the PSDM Model of conflict resolution, it is studied as, in this way, the researcher would be able to determine why the circumstances are not favourable for conflict resolution. For making the study relevant, furthermore, this area will be briefly explained by identifying alternative solutions to the Kashmir conflict. Therefore, the provided alternatives would be considered as the best-case scenario of Kashmir conflict.

However, some of them would be referred to as the worst alternatives to the Kashmir conflict.

The Cost-Benefit-Analysis of Kashmir Conflict

This is the most essential phase in making an analysis of any conflict. It leads to check the feasibility of a conflict and therefore, make economic calculations of conflict. Through cost-benefit-analysis one may get to know about the economic condition of the conflicting parties and thus, can understand how the emerging conflict situations can be controlled or manageable. In the area, the cost observes as what India and Pakistan are costing from their active engagement in conflict. Whereas, benefit observes as what is, or would be the benefit of conflict for the conflicting parties while engaging in Kashmir conflict. The cost may refer to a Siachen war, which is the costliest war of Pakistan and India. It is estimated that the war claimed the lives of 8000 Indian and Pakistani soldiers between 1984 and 2012,⁴¹ and it cost approximately Rs. 50 million on both sides, as per the figure of 2015-2016.⁴²

The defence budget of Pakistan has increased as around Rs. 920 billion in the fiscal year of 2017-2018.⁴³ Whereas, Indian defence budget is approximately 39.80 billion dollars.⁴⁴ However, these heavy military spending are hurting India and Pakistan defence allocations. To the Indian exchequer as per Independent observers costing of maintaining a military presence in Siachen is at Rs. 10-12 billion a year.⁴⁵ Pakistan attains a bit less drain but there appears a heavy costing on the country's finances. As long as, there seems no economic benefit of Kashmir conflict for India and Pakistan. What maximum, for both India and Pakistan, economic development would be possible through resolving the Kashmir conflict. In addition to regional gains, the South Asian region will be seeing the world's largest Muslim population and thereby, would benefit Muslims to be United. Eventually, for India as well as for Pakistan the cost-benefit analysis caters to have remained unchanged. Even though the case is not compromising that the time, efforts and resources on its resolution is too costly than its continuation but under a certain condition.⁴⁶

Strategies and Options

This area is found practically significant for making right strategies and choosing appropriate options for conflict resolution. In the paper, it will be relevant to summing up the ideas so as to determine as efficiently and effectively. For example, In Kashmir conflict, there are mainly two options or ways. One is Kashmir conflict resolution through negotiations and mutually agreeable solutions. Another is to reach out the resolution through all-out War options. However, different

strategies need to be addressed while resolving any conflict. While strategies are defined as choosing the appropriate techniques of negotiations while the parties dealing with each other with a desire to achieve a sustainable outcome. There are mainly 5 broader strategies that use to make negotiations successful, manage or resolve conflicts. These are avoiding, compromising, collaborating, competitive and accommodating.⁴⁷ India and Pakistan are mostly seen using avoiding or competitive strategies of negotiations.

Section-II: Formation of Integrated Definition for Kashmir Conflict

Approaching problem-solving and after a brief study of step one, the reader will be capable of finding a solution by giving a final statement for the Kashmir conflict. The integrated definition comes next to joint diagnosis which explored in the above discussion as of taking the conflicting parties as analyzing actors and their interrelationships as social perspective into consideration. The integrated definition of Kashmir conflict for India, Pakistan and Kashmiris, and for the world is as under. A peace agenda of freedom for Kashmiri people is a mixed combination of territorial, political, economic, identical, religious, humanitarian and a social-protracted conflict between India and Pakistan. For international peace and conflict resolution, Kashmir conflict is a critical conflict, which can be resolved through considering the humanitarian aspect of the conflict so as, building a neutral joint mechanism of the permanent members of the United Nations.

Step-Two: Problem Solving and Decision Making, Identifying Alternative Solutions

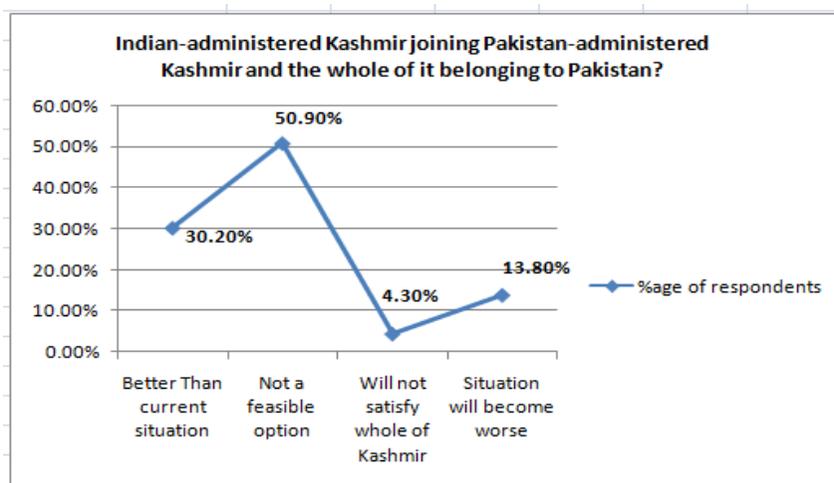
Identifying alternative solutions is the next step after diagnosing the conflict in the PSDM Model of conflict resolution. Here, we will be identifying a combination of the best-possible-alternatives as well as worst-alternative solutions to the Kashmir Conflict. Alternatives will provide need and acceptable alternate solution to the conflicting parties. In the case of Kashmir conflict, alternatives must be acceptable to direct actors of Kashmir conflict, which include the people of Kashmir, government of India and government of Pakistan. All the parties need to forward and work something out through generating alternative solutions to the conflict. When one is at the stage providing alternatives solutions, therefore, the aim is to improve relations and make an environment conducive to the conflicting parties.

In this process of identifying alternatives, one may also persuade the parties to identify their own positions themselves and forge ahead with the alternatives provided. During the process, a greater chance of risk might be involved. To which,

negotiators or practitioners should be well-informed about one-on-one situations indulging in the Kashmir conflict, therefore, the alternatives can match diversely for conflict resolution. Further, since 1947 a several proposals for Kashmir conflict are being offered by the analysts aiming to reach the resolution.⁴⁸

Kashmir joins Pakistan

As per the graph, a total of 30.2% of the population in India-held Kashmir said that the recent circumstances would become favorable and the current situation would be better if Kashmir joins Pakistan-administered-Kashmir. But further, they said that it would not be a preferably as a good solution when considering whole territory becoming Pakistan. As of this, 50.9% showed their concerns as it would not be a feasible solution for Kashmir conflict resolution. Furthermore, 13.8% of the population believes that the implementation of such a solution will lead to the worst. Whereas, 4.3% of the population claims that it will not satisfy the people of Kashmir.

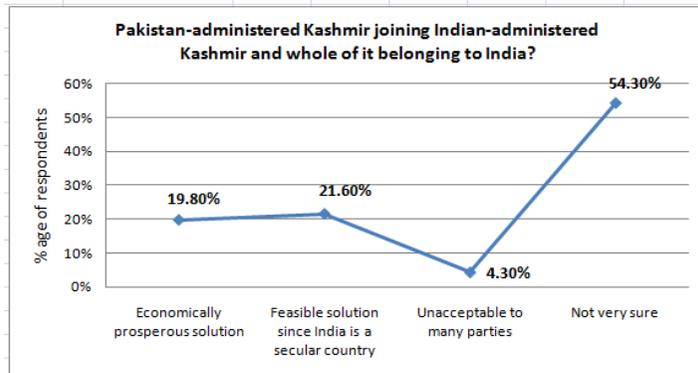


Source: International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 2011.⁴⁹

Kashmir joins India

This option will be favouring one party to the conflict. This solution would be difficult for Pakistan and Kashmiris itself. The figures show that a maximum of 54.3% are not considered this solution as good enough. The parties believe that this option would be appropriate only from religious concerns. Whereas 19.8% of the Kashmiri population shows their concerns as they will gain success in terms of economics. However, 21.6% of population considers it as a feasible solution to join a secular country. Apart from this, it appears impossible as joining Azad Kashmir with

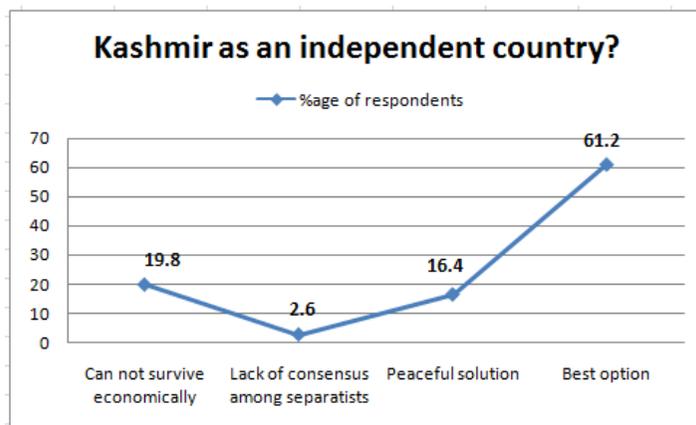
the Indian Territory. Hence, around 4.3% of population rejects this option as shown in the following graph.



Source: International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 2011.⁵⁰

Independent Kashmir

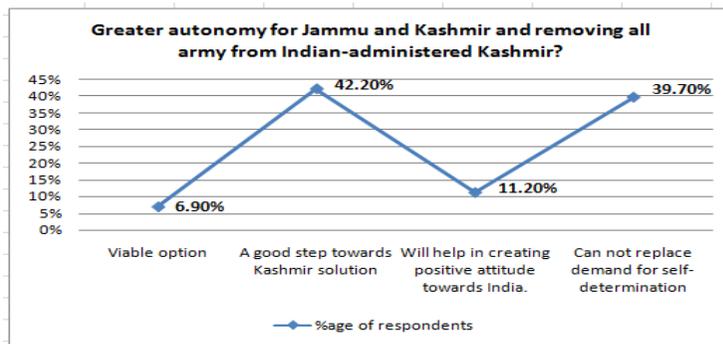
The belief is that independence is the best solution for Kashmir. For this, Kashmiris' inspiration is high up to 61.2% claimed they were promised the right of self-determination through a plebiscite by the government of India. Comparing with the above options, minimum critics of 19.8% come from the Kashmiris predicting that if gets independence Kashmir would not survive economically. In the graph further, 2.6% of the population said that due to lack of consensus this option is not possible whereas 16.4% said it would be an appropriate option for Kashmir to be independent. The figures are presented in the graph below.



Source: International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 2011.⁵¹

Greater Autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir and Demilitarization

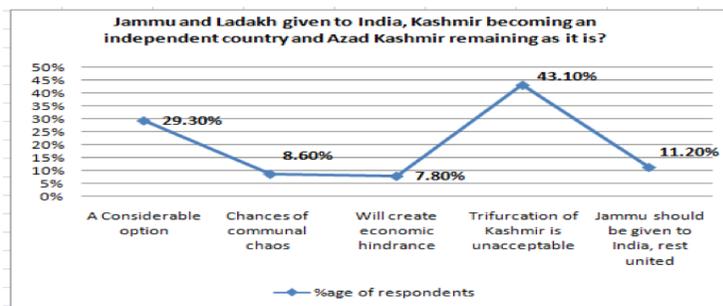
This is, therefore, offering greater autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir and demilitarization from Indian-held Kashmir. According to the graph presented the majority of the population think that 42.2% is a good approach to Kashmir conflict resolution. Whereas 11.2% said that this option will generate positive thinking towards India. However, 39.7% of the populations do not consider any solution except demanding self-determination.



Source: International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 2011.⁵²

A Mixed Division

Finally, the offer is parallel here. Kashmir would become an independent state, Jammu and Ladakh giving to Indian and Azad Kashmir remaining as it is. The data provided in the following graph explains that a majority of the people of Kashmir believe that as of around 29.3% that this option would be considerable. Whereas considering the trade, road linkages, and climate, 7.8% think that it will become an impediment in the economic development of the valley. Further, the figure of 11.2% said that they are unsure about this option. It is, therefore, mentioned that 43.1% are not satisfied with the process of trifurcating Kashmir.



Source: International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 2011.⁵³

Step–Three: Choosing the Best Alternative

Once the problem is solved by identifying all the possible alternative solutions to the Kashmir conflict, we need to choose the best alternative for implementation. This combines the third and the fourth step of the PSDM Model, which is approaching to decision-making. To choose the best alternative from all the identified alternatives in the study is very crucial in decision making and for the Kashmir conflict resolution. In this part, another procedural element is defined as a commitment to that alternative solution and proceeds for implementation.

Choosing the Best Alternative Solution to Kashmir Conflict

Given the characteristics of all alternatives provided by number of scholars, it is considered that no alternative is taken enough and perhaps might be for one-time application or limited, not for a sustainable resolution. But they can be taken along with the alternative of humanitarianism so might prove better results. It is evidently seen that India-Pakistan relations are in a dilemma, therefore, in their relationship Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) are not an end.⁵⁴ In this way, it is, whenever they both talk on a bilateral level with each other, bilateral interests come along with bilateral relations. Currently, India is not responding to any dialogue with Pakistan, whereas, Pakistan is worried about Indian policies in Indian occupied Kashmir but that eventually weakens India and muscles Pakistan.

Kashmir conflict is known to be a social protracted conflict thus intractable and where the parties are seen carrying opposing sides. The conflicting parties are not sharing good faith that oftentimes resulted in developing another rising factor in the conflict. Hence, to choose the best alternative will be the most certain factor because the alternative must be acceptable to the parties. Many scholars have proposed all possible changes in the conflict environment and thus solutions that is viably acceptable for Kashmir conflict resolution but could not reach to implementation. The parties themselves have made many serious efforts for the conflict resolution; therefore, they are still unable to reach out to any definite and sustainable resolution.

Step–Four: Commitment and Implementation

Commitment is pivotal in decision making and in order to resolve conflicts. To this, make a commitment with the best alternative solution to the Kashmir conflict is, however important. It is suggested in the study that the commitment based on humanitarianism will be made by the parties to the conflict. Once you develop a mutually acceptable solution, the process that suggesting having resolve through approaching decision making. However, it would not be fair just to

understand the problem and have a solution, but the identified alternative solution must be leading to act on productively. At this stage, the parties will reach the conflict with certain perceptions in minds and those are for considering the conflict outcomes.

Conclusion

Kashmir conflict needs a sustainable resolution. The international community is responsible for sustaining the world peace and resolving conflicts between and among the states, thus, succumbs to influence the parties, India and Pakistan for a peaceful resolution of Kashmir conflict. The application of PSDM is the systematic way of exploring the Kashmir conflict resolution and is only explored by centering the people of Jammu and Kashmir (Indian-held Kashmir) due to their sufferings of lives for themselves. All the four steps of PSDM Model show brevity, preciseness and deeply concerning the sensitivity of different dimensions of the conflict.

In PSDM, one way to diagnose the conflict is through the analysis study that driving all the factors of conflict significance to engage in the process of problem-solving. Through this approach, the study offered an integrated definition of the Kashmir conflict toward defining various aspects of the conflict provided in a single statement. Nonetheless, to lead the Kashmir conflict in the right direction is essential, only defining structural ways does not seem enough for the resolution. The guidance is required for the conflict resolution while the parties negotiate should be in a definite operational process. Therefore, a certain framework needs to be made that must be mutually agreeable by the parties. Conflict resolution proposals need to be made on ground realities knowing the sensitivity of the conflict.

In short, the application of the model would make India and Pakistan responsible to come to the negotiating table after going through all the steps of PSDM Model and meet the resolution criteria. It would also help the parties to be able to accommodate the Kashmiris' aspiration for self-determination. It would give the parties a better understanding to know each other's interests and positions over the conflict. Decision making and implementation should be achieved. Moreover, the parties need to be responsible for the ongoing human sufferings and future consequences. Human rights violations can be eliminated. The paper evidently proved that Kashmiris are not satisfied with the Indian illegal control of Kashmiris, therefore, mentioned which causes frequent protests in the area. The abrogation of Article 370 and 35(a) has further worsened the situation in Kashmir and one can see strong reactions from the international community also. It is high time for India to look into its domestic policies vis-à-vis its minority especially the Muslims. Taking

away the autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), granting rights to other communities to seek settlements/buy and sell property in J&K are none other than structural violence embedded in Indian policy-making circles. India and Pakistan need to engage in a sustainable dialogue to discuss and address their core concerns related to Kashmir. Kashmir deserves peace after being a hotbed of issues during the past 72 years.

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STEEPLE ANALYSIS OF PROLONGED ENERGY CRISIS IN PAKISTAN AND WAY FORWARD TO ENERGY SECURITY

Wajid Ali*

Abstract

Energy is the driving force of the country's economic growth. Pakistan, the land of sufficient renewable energy resources, has been suffering the worst energy crisis since the last decade. The electrical power sector of Pakistan has become non-resilient due to non-simultaneously up-gradation of the power sector, population explosion, growing urbanization, rising water disputes with India and Afghanistan, climate change and fear of rising oil prices due to prevailing geopolitical scenarios in the Middle East. After the development of the idea of securitization of economic policies by the USA and China, future wars lie on economic fronts which cannot be won without strong economic growth, that is dependent on sufficient energy supply to each segment of life. A brief interlinkage between national security and energy crisis has been presented in this paper. Multifaceted reasons behind these energy crises are evaluated by conducting its STEEPLE analysis (which stands for social, technical, economic, environmental, political, legal, and ethical). At the same time, multi-domains oriented potential solutions to curb down the different causes of energy crisis in Pakistan are presented, which will make the power sector of Pakistan resilient enough to stand with changing climate change conditions and geopolitical scenarios.

Keywords: Energy Crisis, STEEPLE Analysis, Energy Security, Pakistan.

Introduction

Energy is the key driver of the nation's economic wheel. Pakistan is blessed with abundant natural energy resources. But due to improper energy mix, non-simultaneously up-gradation of all segments of power sectors, growing urbanization rate, population explosion, climate-change born circumstances and rising water disputes in current geopolitical scenarios, the electrical power sector of Pakistan has become non-resilient. There is a prolonged energy crisis, which has resulted in the stagnant economic growth of the country and slowed down the development across the country. According to the International Energy Agency (IEA)¹, the per-capita consumption of electricity in Pakistan is 488kWh against world's average energy

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consumption of 3052 KWh, which is roughly one-sixth of the world average consumption of electricity. Despite such low demand, Pakistan has been suffering energy crisis for many years.

Currently, Pakistan has installed capacity of 34282 MW.² Although power generation from this installed a capacity depends upon the availability of inputs and other constraints, the energy generation has reached up to 84680 GWh per annum, after the growth of 2.1%. In the year 2018-2019. Ministry of Energy (MoE), which was formed after merger of Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources and the power division of the Ministry of Water and Power on August 2017, is operating the power sector under structure shown in figure 1. (Solid lines show flow of electricity while broken or lines show flow of payments)

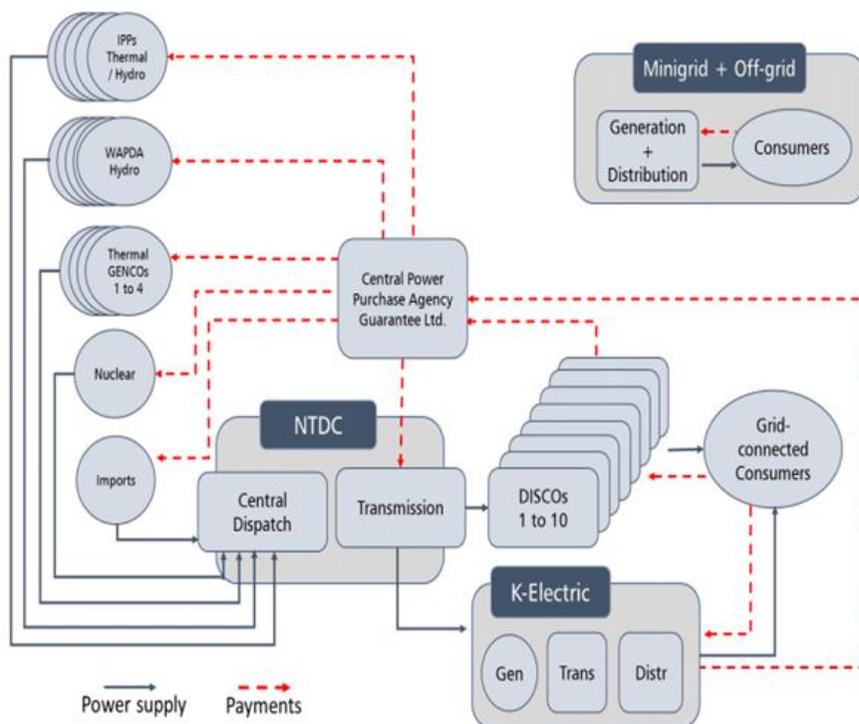


Figure 1: Structure of Power Sector of Pakistan³

Here DISCOs= Distribution Companies; GENCOs= Generation Companies; IPP= Independent Power Producer; NTDC= National Transmission and Dispatch Company; WAPDA= Water and Power Development Authority.

Impacts of Prolonged Energy Crisis on National Security

Securitization of economic policy is reshaping the existing world order and now military warfare is superseded by economic warfare. Without energy security, industrialization of a country is not possible. Due to the energy crisis, Pakistan is less likely to attract Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) in industrial sectors. There is a continuous decline in the existing number of industries in Pakistan. Maximum industries have been shifted in foreign, where cheap and reliable energy supply is available. The energy crisis in Pakistan also has reduced the active production hours of industries and raised the cost of production also. In nutshell, the energy crisis is one of the leading causes of stagnant economic growth of the country. These stagnant economic conditions impact the sovereignty of the state while dealing with international financial institutions.

Moreover, the climate change is another threat to global energy security, which will alter the energy demand patterns and intensities⁴. Saleem Shaik evaluated the impact of climate change on regional, sectoral energy demands in this regard⁵. The ambient temperatures across the globe are rising due to climate change, which will increase energy demand for cooling purposes.⁶ According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Pakistan is 7th most vulnerable country to climate change. The worsening climate of Pakistan is increasing energy demand. The energy shortfall increases in hot climate conditions like heat waves when energy demand for cooling purposes increases. This creates unrest and agitation in society. The death toll due to worse climate conditions, are increasing in Pakistan which must be seen through the prism of national security against man-made and natural disasters.

Last but not least, due to the high reliance on the Pakistan power sector on imported fuel, Pakistan is also vulnerable to the oil supply disruptions.⁷The energy supply routes of Pakistan are endangered due to tensions in the Middle East.⁸Hence, Pakistan needs self-sufficiency in its own energy resources, which is mandatory for national security and will reduce the vulnerability of the electrical power sector of Pakistan to the external environment.

Research Methodology: STEEPLE Analysis

STEEPLE analysis was used as a research tool, while conducting this research; which is a multidimensional model to analyze any sector from an eagle's eye. It is an extended form of SWOT analysis that only considered internal and external limited parameters. It also includes extended macro-economic and environmental factors. Following figure depicts the respective factors against each

factor, which were considered while conducting STEEPLE analysis of the power sector of Pakistan.

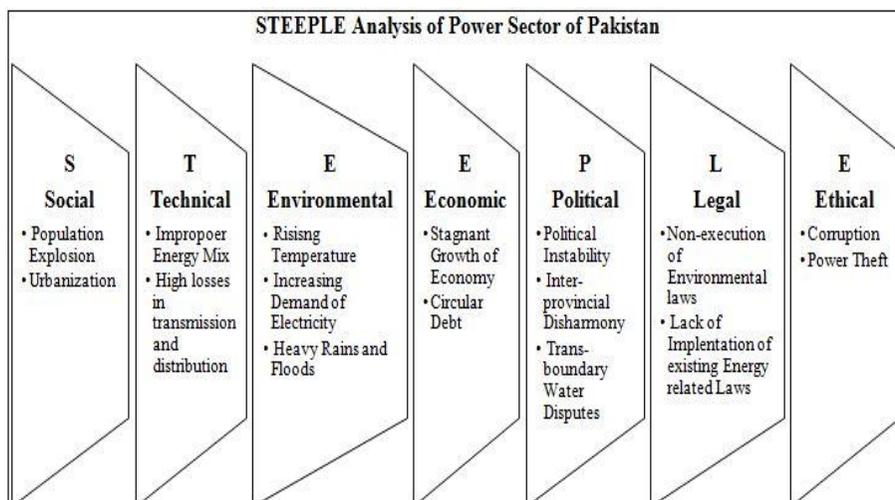


Figure: Factors Considered in STEEPLE Analysis

STEEPLE Analysis of Prolonged Energy Crisis in Pakistan

The state-of-the-art STEEPLE analysis of Pakistan’s energy crisis is as under:

Social Factors

- **Population Explosion:** Pakistan is the 6th most populous country in the world which has a population of 270.8 million according to 2017 census. The population is rising at a growth rate of 2.4% per annum. The fast increase in population is making the energy sector in Pakistan more stagnant. The following table shows the statistics of population rise in recent years, which indicates that population density is increasing every year.

Year	Total Population (in millions)	Population Density (Persons/Unit area)
2019	204596.4	231.99
2018	200813.8	227.7
2017	197016	223.4
2016	193203.5	219.07
2015	189380.5	214.74
2010	170560.2	193.4
2005	153909.7	174.52

2000	138523.3	157.07
1995	122829.1	139.28
1990	107678.6	122.1
1985	92219.49	104.57
1980	78068.14	88.52
1975	66787.9	75.73
1970	58090.76	65.87
1965	50845.22	57.65
1960	44908.29	50.92
1955	40424.3	45.84

Table 1: year-wise rise in population and population density⁹

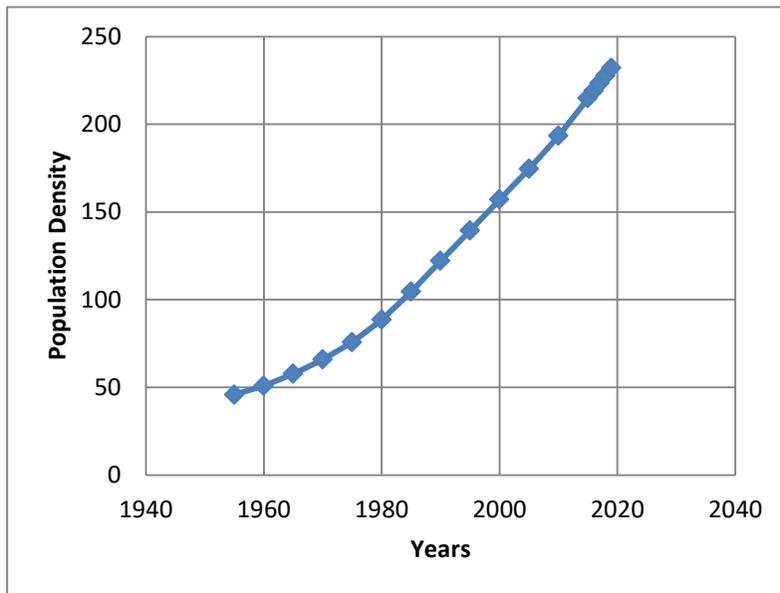


Figure 2: Rise in Population density in Pakistan over the years

Population Density means, a number of people per unit area. As Population density increases, Energy usage per unit area also increases. Hence; the existing power supply system feeding to a particular area becomes under-rated after some time; which contributes badly to the energy crisis.

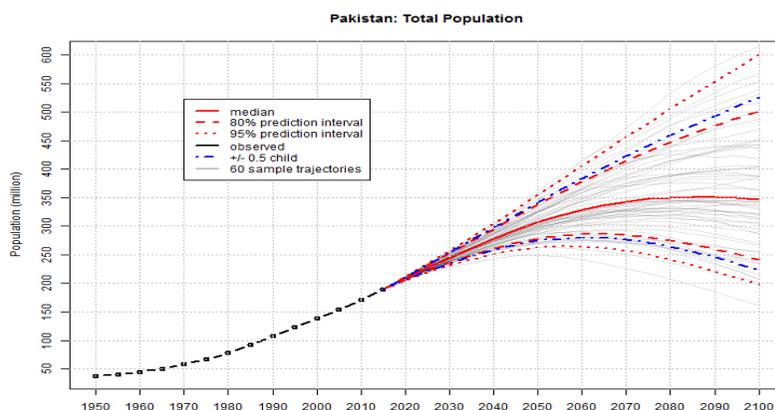


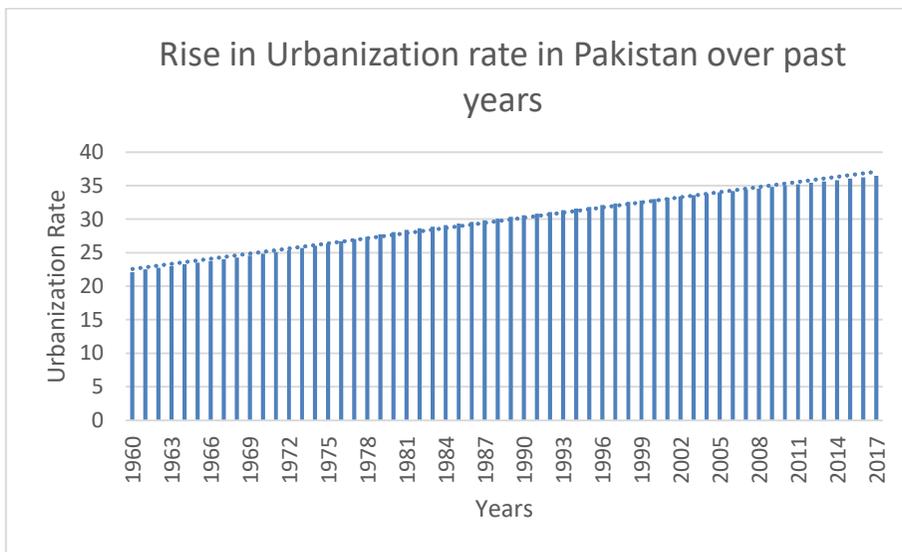
Figure 3: Expected Population Growth in Pakistan till end of this century¹⁰

- Urbanization.** Growing urbanization in Pakistan¹¹ is not only putting administrative as well as an economic burden on the state but also severing the energy crisis in Pakistan. The table mentioned below indicates a gradual continuous rise in urbanization in Pakistan.

Year	Urban Population (percentage of total population)	Year	Urban Population (percentage of total population)
1960	22.104	1989	30.327
1961	22.501	1990	30.576
1962	22.751	1991	30.826
1963	23.002	1992	31.077
1964	23.256	1993	31.329
1965	23.511	1994	31.582
1966	23.769	1995	31.836
1967	24.028	1996	32.092
1968	24.289	1997	32.348
1969	24.552	1998	32.585
1970	24.817	1999	32.783
1971	25.084	2000	32.982
1972	25.353	2001	33.18
1973	25.671	2002	33.38
1974	26.005	2003	33.58
1975	26.341	2004	33.781

1976	26.681	2005	33.982
1977	27.023	2006	34.184
1978	27.368	2007	34.387
1979	27.715	2008	34.59
1980	28.066	2009	34.793
1981	28.38	2010	34.997
1982	28.619	2011	35.202
1983	28.859	2012	35.408
1984	29.101	2013	35.613
1985	29.344	2014	35.819
1986	29.588	2015	36.026
1987	29.833	2016	36.234
1988	30.08	2017	36.442

Table 2: Year-wise percentage of Urban population in Pakistan¹²



It is obvious that the life-style of people in urban areas is better than rural areas. When urbanization is increasing in a country, then its energy requirements are also increasing. Per-capita energy consumption also increases in urbanized areas as shown in the figure below:

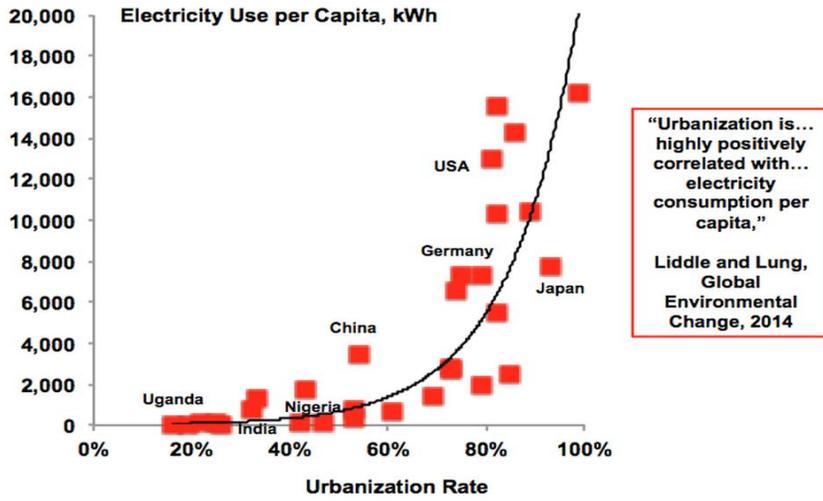
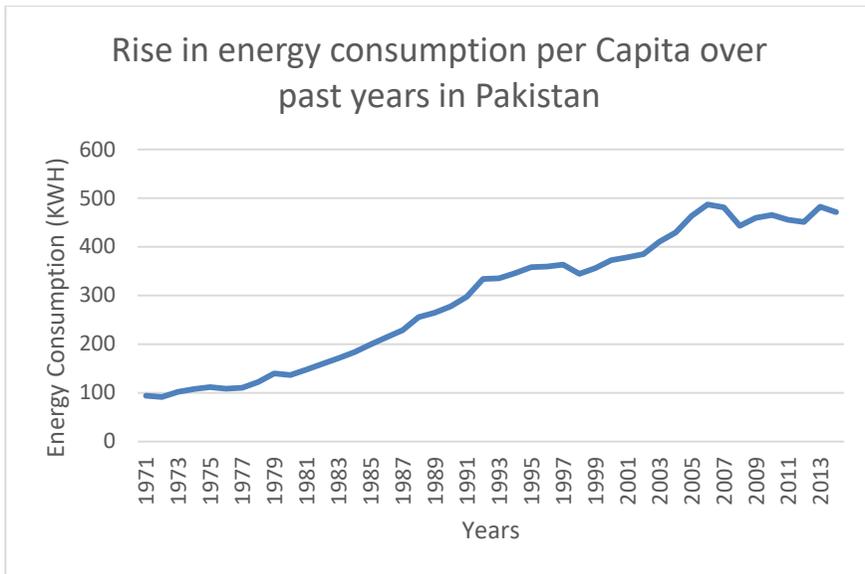
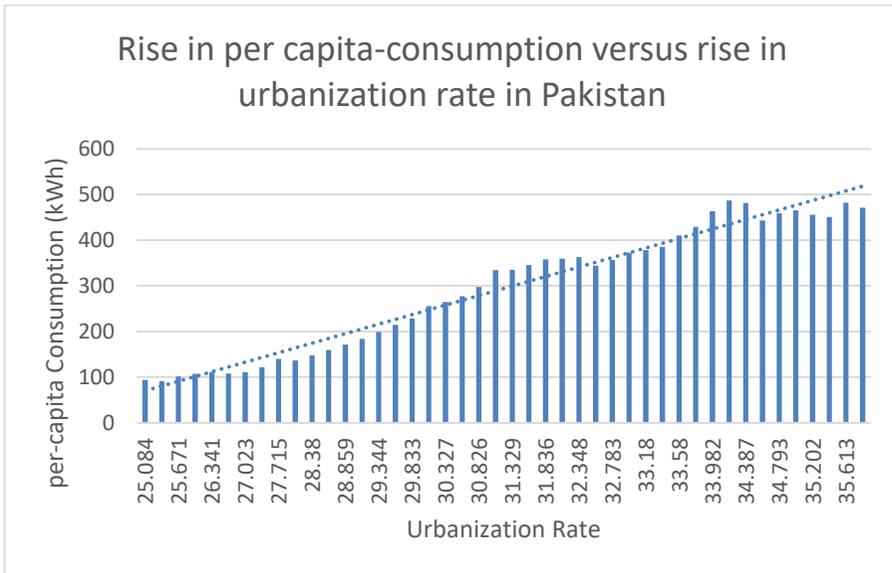


Figure 2: Correlation graph between ‘Rise in electricity Use per Capita’ w.r.t. ‘Urbanization Rate’ on global level¹³





Technological Factors

- Improper Energy-Mix: High Cost of Generation:** The pie-chart of energy-mix in Pakistanis shown below which depicts that Pakistan is generating a meager amount of energy from renewable sources.¹⁴

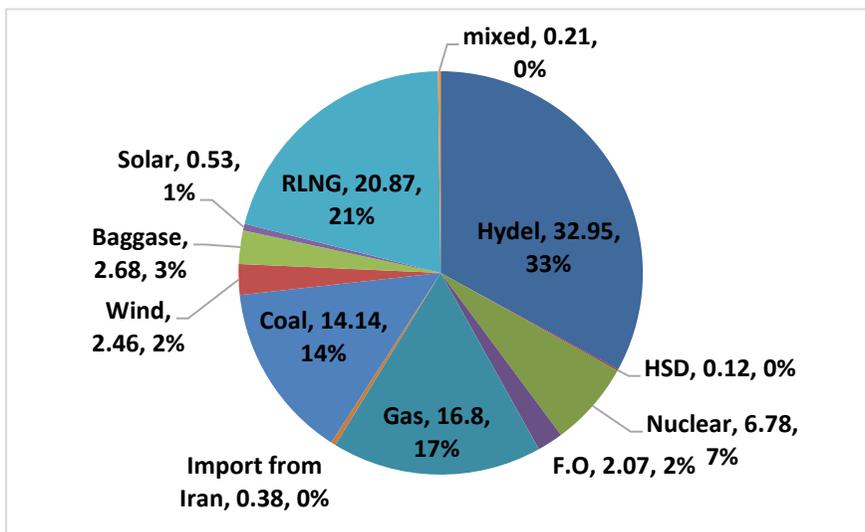


Figure 6: Pie-chart of Energy-mix of Pakistan

The unwise, non-economic and non-judicious reliance on foreign fuel (oil) by Pakistan is a leading cause of the high cost of generation. Amid international oil price surges of 1973 and 1979, Pakistan did not shift its dependency from oil to some other source. Still, Pakistan has maximum share of thermal generation among all resources.

Fuel Type	Generation	Share	Cost	Share	Rate
	MkWH	(Percent)	(Million Rs)	(Percentage)	Rs/KWH
Hydel	43314	32.95%	4,214	1%	0.10
Coal	18589	14.14%	103,562	21%	5.57
HSD	161	0.12%	2400	0%	14.90
F.O	2721	2.07%	40,853	8%	15.01
Gas	22088	16.80%	93,647	19%	4.24
Nuclear	8913	6.78%	8,950	2%	1.00
Mixed	271	0.21%	2763	1%	10.18
Import from Iran	496	0.38%	5237	1%	10.55
Wind Power	3234	2.46%	641	0%	0.20
Bagasse	3517	2.68%	23465	5%	6.67
Solar	701	0.53%	-	0%	-
RLNG	27430	20.87%	198,491	41%	7.27
Total	131,436	100%	484,224	100%	3.68
Energy Charges [Net of NTDC Losses]	128,397		484,224		3.77
Cap. Charge [Rs/kWh]			664,374		5.17
UOSC/MoF [Rs/kWh]			41,282		0.32
Total Cost [Rs/kWh]			1,189,880		9.27

Table 3: Source-wise share of each source in total energy generation and overall cost

- **High Transmission and Distribution (T&D) Losses:** Amid implying so many policy frameworks to reduce T&D losses, Pakistan currently has 18.2% T&D losses. In developing countries, the benchmark for these losses is 10%. Apart from wasting the scarce resources of energy, these

losses contribute non-payment fraction of generated energy, which is compensated by the government in the form of subsidies. Detail of these losses for the previous five years is shown below in the table; Pakistan has lost approximately Rs. 600 billion (599,814 million) in the form of these losses.

Years	Units	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18
Units Sold	GWH	71,055	72,642	76,623	81,558	91,902
Allowed T&D losses	Percentage	15.3	14.2	15.3	15.3	16.3
Actual T&D losses	Percentage	18.7	18.7	17.9	17.9	18.3
Excess losses of Discos	Percentage	3.3	4.5	2.6	2.6	2.0
Impact of Excess losses	PKR (in millions)	39,332	52,562	31,865	33,961	29,389
Cumulative Loss Impact	PKR (in millions)	39,332	91,894	123,759	157,720	187,109

Table 4: Detail of Losses of previous five years¹⁵

- **Insufficient Infrastructure** means ageing and inadequate transmission and distribution system and overloaded transformers.

DISCOs	Percentage of Total Over-Loaded Power Transformers (above 80%)		Percentage of Total Over-Loaded Distribution Transformers (above 80%)	
	2015-16	2015-16	2015-16	2016-17
GEPCO	40.91	40.91	2.58	2.39
LESCO	45.35	45.35	43.23	30.13
PESCO	50.36	50.36	31.99	29.18
TESCO	40.00	40.00	1.11	1.15
IESCO	19.07	19.07	6.83	6.19
FESCO	56.91	56.91	3.36	1.84
MEPCO	43.87	43.87	4.65	5.19
HESCO	67.89	67.89	23.59	9.28
SEPCO	28.45	28.45	18.39	20.69
QESCO	52.80	52.80	16.30	15.91
Total	45.15	45.15	15.31	12.54

Table 5: Overloaded Power transformers in Transmission and Distribution network¹⁶

DISCOs	Percentage of Total Over-Loaded 11 kV Feeders (above 80%)	
	2015-16	2016-17
GEPCO	21.44	10.93
LESCO	22.15	33.21
PESCO	43.66	51.27
TESCO	89.23	94.09
IESCO	6.95	2.55
FESCO	20.19	15.93
MEPCO	36.74	34.89
HESCO	23.68	26.13
SEPCO	39.51	36.15
QESCO	36.05	37.10
Total	28.14	29.00

Table 6: Distribution Company-wise Percentage of overloaded Distribution feeders

- **Postponement in Commissioning of Power Plants.** This can be understood by analyzing the following table:-

Name of Power Plant	Installed Capacity (MW)	Planned start date of the projects	Planned date of Commissioning	Actual/ Expected date of Commissioning	Time of Delay (Years)
Gomal Zam	17.4	Jul 2002	Sep 2006	June 2013	7
Satpara Dam	17.3	Apr 2003	Dec 2006	June 2012	5.5
Allai Khwar	121	Jun 2003	Jun 2007	Mar 2013	6
Duber Khwar	130	Jun 2003	Oct 2008	Dec 2013	5
Khan Khwar	72	Jun 2003	Oct 2007	Mar 2012	4.4
Mangla Dam raising	310	Jun 2004	Dec 2009	Oct. 2011	1.8
Neelum Jehlum	969	2002	2008	March 2018	10
Diamer Basha	4500	Nov2008	2015	2025	10

Table 7: Delayed power projects in recent past years by WAPDA¹⁷

Similarly, the construction of many other power plants was delayed due to various reasons. For example, Nuclear Power Plant, Chashma named as CHASNUPP-5 was deemed out to be completed in 2020 after its announcement in 2013, but it is still in the early stages of the development. Delay in completion of power projects not only raises the overall cost of the project as shown in the below figure but also lets the power sector failed to supply raising demands.

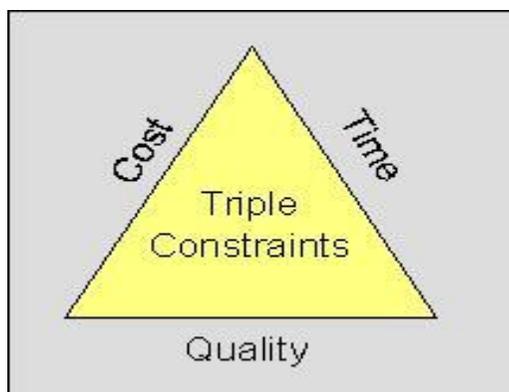


Figure 3: Three Constraints Triangle: Cost, Time and Quality

- **Poor Power Monitoring and Asset Management:** Power quality cannot be assured without live-tracking it. There is no facility to monitor live health of the electricity network across the country. There is overall poor asset management of the power sector in Pakistan. Modern economies have transformed their power grids and network into smart power grids and networks. Pakistan still has not deployed smart grid solutions to its power sector.

Environmental Factors

Pakistan is the 7th most vulnerable country to global climate change according to the Global Climate Change Index 2018.¹⁸ Where other sectors of Pakistan are prone to increase temperature, droughts, floods and heatwaves, the electrical power sector is also badly exposed to these calamities.

- **Increasing Temperature and Increasing Electricity Demand:** An international climate technology expert, Qamar-uz-Zaman Chaudhary explained that average temperature of Pakistan is rising and may increase 2-3% at the end of this year.¹⁹ In August 2017, A. Damm noted decreasing a trend in energy demand in European countries due to the global warming temperature of +2 Centigrade.²⁰ As most of the

European countries have cold weather, where people need energy for heating purpose. If the same correlation is applied in the case of Pakistan, then rising demand with rising temperatures cannot be ruled out as Pakistan has climate and energy is needed for cooling purposes to survive. Hence, the rise in the temperature in recent past years in Pakistan also contributed its part in energy crisis and the situation in future may become severe. In November 2016, M. Bartos related the likely impacts of rising temperature in the USA and presented that 1.9%–5.8% of transmission line capacity is reduced due to risen temperatures relative to the 1990–2010 reference period.²¹ The author also presented a likely rise of 4.2%–15% in peak per-capita summertime loads on average due to increases in ambient air temperature. The same case is true in Pakistan. Many power outages in Pakistan are just because of the tripping of HT and LT feeders due to overloading and due to demand as well as the severe weather conditions.

- Heavy Rains and Floods:** Due to climate change, heavy rainfalls in recent years are becoming common. Every year, there is a flood of variable magnitude in some parts of the country. These heavy rains cause floods and these floods damage the electrical power sector across the country. For example, in the year 2010, the severe flood damaged the power sector of Pakistan very badly, as explained in the below table as also reported in the World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB) Damages and Needs Assessment Report 2011.

Entity	Direct Damage (Rs. in millions)
Transmission	19.7
Distribution	261.8
Total Power Losses	281.5
Sub Total	563.0
Reconstruction Cost	281.5
Overall Loss	844.5

Table 8: Damages in Power sector of Pakistan due to flood 2010²²

Economic Factors

Stagnant economic growth and energy security are complementary to each other; loss in one is triggering effect for other’s loss.

- **Stagnant Growth of Economy:** In 2015, M. Shehbaz presented an insight into economic losses of Pakistan due to energy insecurity of the country.²³ Similarly, in 2018, T. Mahmood et. al explained that interdependence of economic growth and energy security of a country; which are mandatory for each other but huge investments are initially required to attain the latter on while striving for the economic growth of a country.²⁴ Besides the electrical power sector, the growth in each sector of life is dependent on overall economic variables of the country. The better the growth rate of the country is, the better is the growth and stability of all segments of life. Unfortunately, due to numerous factors like 'war on terror', foreign loans, failed economic policies and consumption-based economy, Pakistan has been suffering worst kind of economic crisis, which is worsening more and more with each passing day. Due to stagnant economic growth, the electrical power sector of Pakistan was not paid its due attention and financial share. This led to the failure to timely increase the power generation facilities, overhaul the transmission and distribution network, build the grid capacity and setting-up the power monitoring mechanism. There are various feasible studies conducted by relevant institutes in the power sector to build renewable energy plants in Pakistan, but their construction is constrained by economic conditions of Pakistan. So while evaluating the energy crisis in Pakistan, the economic constraints of the country must be taken into account.
- **Circular Debt:** Apart from other technical and managerial level issues of power sector of Pakistan, there is a huge problem of financial management of this sector due to inefficient policies and being stricken to old methods of payment-recoveries. The delay in a cash payment to generation companies, due to long loop of bills payment (as shown below in figure) between consumers and generation companies, also has exacerbated the dilemma of sustainable power supply in Pakistan.

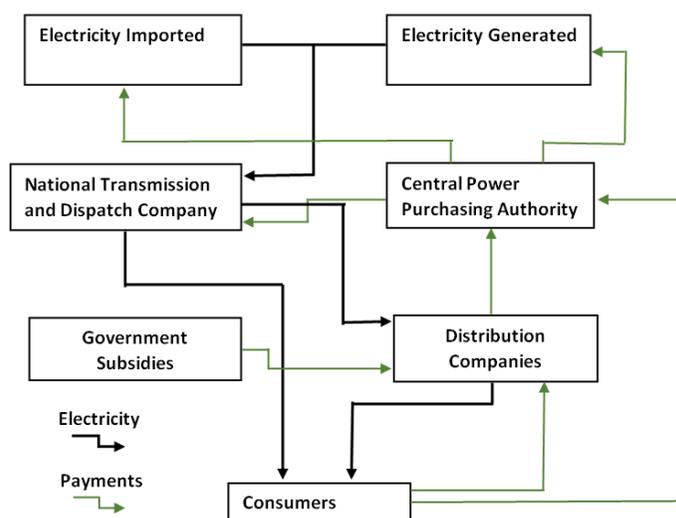


Figure 8: Electricity and payment flow in Pakistan [source: NEPRA official documents]

The issue of circular debt raised with the introduction of Independent Power Producers (IPPS) policy 1994; which attracted foreign investment to build up thermal plants. This policy slowly resulted in huge dependence of power generation of Pakistan on thermal sources while taking away the focus on hydel energy. In 2014, S. Aftab presented a detailed study on the energy crisis of Pakistan and mentioned this IPPs policy of 1994 as a responsible factor behind present circular debt; as high reliance on thermal fuel resulted in slippage in bill payments.²⁵

Entity	Amount (billion)	Payable by
Capacity payments	Rs. 323.428	31 st December 2018
Others	Rs. 13.428	31 st December 2018
Interest	Rs. 77.212	31 st December 2018
Federal Government	Rs.10.4	November 30, 2018
AJK	Rs.51.1	November 30, 2018
FATA	Rs.14.8	November 30, 2018
Agriculture tube-wells Baluchistan	Rs.238.4	November 30, 2018
KE	Rs.65.2	November 30, 2018
Provincial Government	Rs.48.5	November 30, 2018
Private (DISCOS)	Rs.450.8	November 30, 2018
IPPS	Rs.1.8	November 30, 2018

Political Factors

Political factor is one of the essential elements of national power. A well-established political system leads any country to successful policy making and resulting in country's prosperity and development.

- **Political Instability:** Political instability means a frequent change of the regime or heinous demonstrations in society. Unfortunately, Pakistan is ranked at rank 192 among 195 countries by Global Economy watch-dog for political stability.²⁶ Such uncertainty in a country's atmosphere causes irreversible loss to policy formulation and policy execution at each level. The energy sector of Pakistan suffered similar circumstances of the unstable political environment in which no solid, versatile and visionary policy was formulated, which will layout plan for simultaneously up-gradation of power generation, transmission and distribution facilities according to rising energy demand due to increasing population and improving living-standards.
- **Inter-provincial Disharmony:** Pakistan has one federation unit and four provinces in addition with two autonomous entities of Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. After the 18th amendment in 2010, the energy sector of Pakistan is suffering coordination gap among federation and provinces. According to a study titled "Impacts of 18th Constitutional Amendment on Governance of Renewable Energy in Pakistan" conducted by the World Wind Energy Association, the growth of the electrical power sector in Pakistan is hampered due to devolution of the energy sector by 18th amendment to province level.²⁷ The report identified lack of centralized efforts for the growth of the power sector in order to recruit renewable energy resources, evacuate grid capacity, control of funds and to develop institutional capacity at the provincial level. Inter-provincial conflicts on water-sharing^{28, 29} are also there in Pakistan which destroys productive understandings among provinces to cope with the energy crisis. The development of new hydel power stations like Kalabagh dam in Pakistan could not be made possible due to these conflicts.³⁰
- **Water Disputes with Neighbors:** Pakistan is indulged in a water war with India since its inception. After the Indus Water Treaty in 1960, a sigh of relief was observed in Pakistan.³¹ But after the rise of nationalist rhetoric and anti-Pakistan slogans in India, India is denying to follow this treaty and build dams on western rivers; which were assigned as Pakistan's property in the treaty. India has started to build dams on the

Western rivers and diverting water flows to Pakistan by stating reasons of his own needs. This will cause a shortage of water in Pakistan for agriculture, drinking purpose and also for power generation. Apart from India, our brother Islamic country Afghanistan is also planning to build dams on the Kabul River, which will stop water inflows from Afghanistan to Pakistan.³² Currently, the Kabul River feeds the Warsak dam which has power generation capacity of 241 MW which is likely to be raised up by WAPDA in the near future. The building of dams on the Kabul River by Afghanistan will contribute negatively to the power sector of Pakistan and reduce its capacity. In short, where the water disputes of Pakistan with India and Afghanistan is fatal for other sectors like agriculture and sustainable water supplies, it will affect more severely to the power sector of Pakistan.

Legal Factors

- **Non-execution of Environmental Laws - Deforestation and Energy Crisis:** Forests are natural fighters to climate change and they dilute the effects of carbon emissions in the environment. In 2014, A. Ali presented that Pakistan had been suffering severe deforestation for many years due to lack of focus on environmental protection and implementation of environmental policies.³³ This is a slow poisonous for sustainable living in the country and lets the climate change worsen. Increased temperatures and reduced levels of groundwaters then cause an increase in energy demand; hence in the energy crisis. M. Osava presented deforestation in Amazon as one of the key causes behind the worsening energy crisis.³⁴ Deforestation in Pakistan is also aggravating the energy crisis in Pakistan. There is a lack of policy frameworks and lack of implementation of these laws in Pakistan. The rate of deforestation in Pakistan is more the rate of forestation. So, failure to protect nature will more aggravate energy situation here just because of the non-execution of existing environmental policies and non-formulations of new, effective environmental protection laws.
- **Poor Mechanism for Recovery of Energy Bills from Consumers and Government Offices:** CPPA often fails to collect bills within the time from the private consumers as well as from government offices. In January 2019, IESCO sent a notice to Prime Minister House Islamabad for payment of arrears of energy bills of Rs. 99 million.³⁵ Similarly, many other government institutes are not clearing their arrears to DISCOs. The late payment of energy bills constitutes the problem of circular

debt also along-with raised interest upon these arrears is paid to IPPs. Currently, there is a lack of rule of law in this regard which hinders the successful operation of the energy sector.

- **Poor Execution of Existing Energy Security Laws:** Despite having anti-theft laws, Pakistan has not curbed down energy theft still. Thefts of electricity, transformers coils, transformers oil and etc. are still happening in Pakistan. The state of Pakistan seems unable to overcome energy-theft issues and material-stealing issues of the power sector.

Ethical Factors

- **Corruption:** Pakistan is ranked at the 117th among 180 countries in Corruption Perception Index (CPI), 2018 by Transparency International. Corruption in the power sector has hampered its stability as disclosed by NEPRA state of the industry report 2012. In the report, NEPRA mentioned corruption and mismanagement as responsible reasons behind prevailed energy crisis in the country. Following are some famous corruption scandals which not only badly affected the growth of the power sector in Pakistan but also resulted in a high loss to the national exchequer.

Name of Project	Alleged Corruption	Amount	Claimed By
Neelum-Jhelum Power Project	Corruption in form of kickbacks in purchasing Tunnel Boring Machines (TBMs)	\$ 74 million	Transparency International (TI)
Neelum-Jhelum Power Project	Assigning contracts of TBMs by WAPDA	\$ 7 billion	(TI)
Rental Power Plants	Approval of 5-10% from Economic Counsel without following NEPRA rules and violating the authority	\$ 220 million	National Accountability Bureau of Pakistan and also by TI

Nandipur power project	Rise in cost due to delay in start of the project	raised from Rs22 billion to Rs58 billion	Auditor General of Pakistan Report on Nandipur Power Project
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- **Power Theft:** It was revealed by Senate of Pakistan in a report on circular debt that during 2017-18, the projected cost of power theft remained over 53 billion rupees.

DISCOS	Area/Province being served	Units theft in July 2017-March 2018	Respective Cost
GEPCO	Punjab	80 million units	Rs1.002 billion
LESCO	Punjab	546 million units	Rs6.656 billion
PESCO	KPK + AJK	1.921 billion units	Rs23.489 billion
TESCO	Tribal Areas (KPK now)	-----	-----
IESCO	Islamabad+AJK	16 million units	Rso.226 billion
FESCO	Punjab	128 million units	Rs1.524 billion
MEPCO	Punjab	286 million units	Rs3.021 billion
HESCO+SEPCO	Sindh	1.126 billion units	Rs16.505 billion.
QESCO	Baluchistan	460 million units	Rs6.751 billion

Table 9: Units theft in July 2017 to March 2018 in different DISCOs³⁶

Way Forward to Prolonged Energy Crisis

STEEPLE analysis of energy crisis is self-evident of the fact that simultaneous reforms at all levels are mandatory for capacity building and smooth operation of Pakistan power sector. Following recommendations across each discrete domain are proposed as potential solutions to mitigate energy crisis for the prosperous and stable economy of the country.

- **Political Domain**
 - Political involvement in the power sector should be avoided. The culture of meritocracy should flourish all over in the power sector. All processes of commissioning, bidding and tendering must be transparent and on merit.

- Comprehensive legislation must be done to eradicate the menace of corruption.
 - Inspire, motivate and guide public sector for Government-public partnership for meeting the current challenges of the power system.
 - Settle down inter-provincial conflicts on major power projects immediately and Construct major dams like Kala Bagh dam to include handsome bulk generation of hydropower into the national grid and to avoid the floods. Routs of transmission networks, power plant sites and distribution station must be located on safe locations where floods can't damage.
 - Introduce solid, reliable and efficient policies for the entire power sector and ensure their timely implementation.³⁷ Poor transition management should be tackled while updating the whole power system.³⁸
 - Timely negotiate with the Eastern neighbour, India and Western neighbour, Afghanistan on critical water disputes. As water is life in general and for the power sector, it is fuel. Hydropower is solely dependent on water inflows and all other steam power plants like nuclear power plants are critically dependent on the availability of ample amount of water.
- **Economics Domain**
 - Financial experts must be hired to overlook the financial matters of the power sector.
 - Government should introduce fast billing and cash payment system for customers so that generation companies may get their revenue against generated power within time and may purchase fuel or meet its expenditure within time. The government should also take initiatory measures to fasten the cash flow process among distribution companies, CPPA (central power purchasing authority) and GENCOs to avoid circular debt problems.
 - Incentives of free use of electricity must be banned and critically stopped to employees of power sector companies and all government organizations should pay the billing of energy used in due time.
 - Strategic decisions must be taken to implement the rising idea of Entrepreneurship in the renewable energy market. It will create jobs for fresh graduates along-with tapping renewable energy.

- **Managerial and Administrative Domain**
 - Simultaneously focus on increasing the installed capacity of power generation, transmission and distribution system on an emergency basis prior to demand increase.
 - For current shortfall mitigation, import electricity from neighbour countries like Iran and China for the short term until installed capacity meets the demand.
 - Proper load forecasting techniques must be used to forecast the demand and ensure the sufficient generation for that forecasted demand in anticipation. Population growth in a particular area and an increase in per-capita consumption must be taken into account while planning for future's power systems.
 - Reduce or rationalize all taxes on power generation by masses or utilities and remove custom duties on import of power plant apparatus. This will boost-up the energy market in Pakistan.
 - Research centres should be established for prime solutions of Pakistan power sector problems.
 - Dependency on foreign technology should be decreased with the passage of time as it delays the commissioning of the new plant as well as maintenance of the old one along with an increased cost. Manufacturing and installation of power sector equipment and products must be initiated in Pakistan to ensure self-reliance.

- **Power Generation Domain**
 - Use improved energy mix formula by less relying on fossil fuels and generating most of the power from hydroelectric sources as Hydropower generation is reliable, economical, highly efficient and has low maintenance cost as compared to other renewable energy sources^{39, 40}.
 - Pakistan is 6th nuclear power in the world but generating only a small amount of electrical power from nuclear sources. Many countries like Belgium are generating 60% of their total power demand by nuclear sources.⁴¹ Pakistan should enhance its nuclear power generation immediately as it is cheap, reliable and bulk source of electrical power.
 - Small Hydro-power plants (SHPP) which require low funds should be constructed. Nature has bestowed Pakistan with plenty of such renewable resources. Even the run of river plants can contribute a great part in power generation from efficient resources. River wise power generation potential is shown below in the figure.⁴²

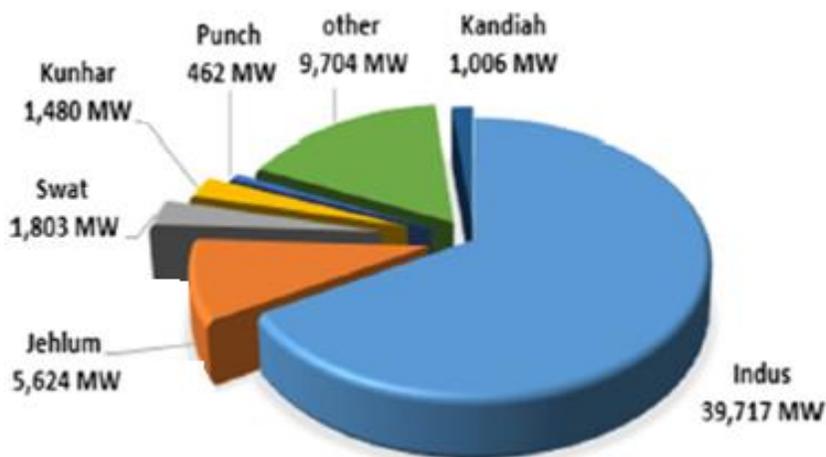


Figure 5: River wise power generation potential in Pakistan

- Improve production factor of the power plants by utilizing full installed capacity.
- Commissioning of power plants should be done within a planned date in order to save cost as well as ensure sufficient generation.
- Tap the renewable resources like wind power and solar power as soon as possible in order to shift power generation trend from fossil fuel generation towards renewable generation.
- **Power Transmission and Distribution Domain**
 - Improve the existing transmission network to reduce transmission losses and enhance the capacity of the transmission lines. Increase the interconnectivity of transmission lines in the form of Super grid to increase the reliability of service.⁴³
 - India and many other countries are using Extra High Voltage (EHV>500KV) for power transmission. India is now going to transmit power on 1000KV after 750KV experience. Pakistan must raise transmission voltage levels to reduce power losses.
 - Encourage the distributed generation to reduce transmission and distribution losses. This will also save the cost of expansion of transmission networks.

Power Utilization Domain

- Technology assisted techniques must be used for stopping power theft and line order situations must be improved for the punishment of thieves.
- Consumer's education about the efficient and wise use of electrical energy is mandatory. Power sector companies should educate their consumers about this in a smart way by publishing ads on bills and commercials on TV screens. Use of inefficient devices should be banned. For example, tube light should be used instead of an electric bulb to save electricity.
- Energy audit should be declared mandatory and periodic at each level. This will explore losses areas in the power sector and will tend to improve efficiency.
- Various new power management plans like Demand Side Management (DSM) should be introduced. Smart Grid technology should be implemented to continuously monitor and supervise the power system of Pakistan.
- Advanced metering infrastructure should be deployed for efficient billing and automatic monitoring.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Amid ample renewable energy resources in Pakistan, Pakistan is importing conventional fuels which results in the high cost of generation and makes the power sector of Pakistan vulnerable to international oil price rising. The prolonged energy crisis has devastated the national economy and slowed the industrialization process. Multifaceted reasons behind energy crises like population explosion, growing urbanization rate, improper energy mix, high transmission and distribution losses, corruption, power theft, lack of deployment latest smart technologies and the absence of advanced metering infrastructure need an immediate response from all spheres of the Government of Pakistan. Adoption of renewable technologies, simultaneous up-gradation of all segments of power sectors of Pakistan, reduction in power losses, improved structure of the power sector, a paradigm shift from thermal sources to renewable sources and effective management are leading solutions to cope with prevailed energy crisis. Renewable energy entrepreneurship should be introduced in the country in order to promote renewable energy share in the national energy mix formula; which will not only reduce the vulnerability of the power sector to surges in oil prices but will also provide cheap, clean and green energy solutions to the country with ample local employment opportunities.

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STRATEGIC DETERRENCE IN SOUTH ASIA FROM THE PRISM OF BALAKOT AND BEYOND

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Abstract

Ever since the advent of nuclear weapons, deterrence has been regarded as one of the most potent mechanisms of thwarting the application of military instruments between the nuclear-armed antagonists. Amidst the continual state of the fragile security environment, a growing military asymmetry between India and Pakistan and offensive Indian military doctrines obliges Pakistan to rely on Strategic Deterrence. Indian political and military elite has been looking to carve out space for limited war under nuclear overhang; Cold start and Proactive operations are two of the strategies evolved in the recent decades. Indian design to engage Pakistan in a limited war was an (at least partially) manifested during the Pulwama crisis, wherein, Indian Air force crossed international border and targeted alleged terrorist camps inside Pakistani territory. Pakistan responded with equally offensive action and bombed targets well inside the Indian Territory, besides downing Indian aircrafts. The unprecedented magnitude of Indian aggression and the resultant threat to regional security calculus, however, put a question mark on the general state of deterrence in South Asia. This article reviews the Pulwama incident and beyond from the perspective of deterrence and analyses the impact of small scale, apparently tactical operations with strategic objectives on the stability of deterrence in the Pak India security equation. The paper highlights that such proclivity of Indian leadership has given credence to the comprehensive deterrence which warrants an aggressive response to even the limited incursions. These limited incursions have a tendency to set in motion a series of actions and counter-actions, with dangerous prospects of touching the nuclear thresholds of one of the contenders. Indian attempt to establish new normal has met a severe setback as Pakistan displayed resolve to respond sharply to any aggressive move. In order to avoid the recurrence of such acts of Indian leadership, Pakistan would not regulate its response from the outset for fear of escalation. Planners of the next such conflict might be forced to take riskier actions thus putting deterrence stability under pressure. The paper underscores the need for redesigning the strands of deterrence to face challenges of fifth-generation warfare and likely Indian attempt of drawing strategic dividends from tactical actions in the era of the amplified scope of Information Operation thus carving victory in perception domain.

Keywords: Deterrence, South Asia, Nuclear Weapons, New Normal.

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Introduction

Strategic balance in South Asia has been tarnished by the US bid to develop India's Political, diplomatic and military profile for sustaining her as a hedge against China. As a result, Indian confidence and desired status of quasi regional policeman induced aspiration to shape a security environment, wherein state sovereignty is no longer inviolable and India could "turn the abnormal act of breaching the sovereignty of opponent into New-Normal".¹ Frequent acts of Cease Fire Violations and continued the spread of allegedly Indian sponsored terrorist organizations and occasional absence of a compelling rejoinder by Pakistan in the past emboldened hawks in extremist right-wing Indian political elite.

Country's resolve and capacity to react on Indian aggressions had faced questions, until the Post Balakot aggressive response by Pakistan Airforce. This time, considering the offensive a challenge to its comprehensive deterrence, Pakistan exhibited a resolute response paradigm. Such a response is particularly significant since Pakistan's will and ability to thwart adversaries' designs constitute its deterrence doctrine and is considered as surety for peace. With greater vulnerabilities, Pakistan has to rely on deterrence as a critical element of its military strategy, thus offsetting conventional force asymmetry with India and dissuade her from the application of the military instruments.²

While both nuclear neighbours in the past have played their cards cautiously, rise in Indian diplomatic and economic stature proffered an opportunity to coerce and condition Pakistan to tolerate aggressive Indian Actions as follow up of *allegedly Pakistan supported* acts of terrorism. Balakot thus added one more item to the *carte du jour* of non-nuclear options available to India thus expanding the variety of forms of aggression short of major conventional war.³ The central theme is raising Pakistan's threshold and continual widening of a window of punitive actions without fear of reprisal. Balakot standoff and lately, the autarchic repealing of Article 370 and 35(A) in Indian occupied Kashmir are hence viewed in the same context. Such Indian provocations put question mark on the general state of deterrence prevailing in sub-continent. This paper aimed looking at the Post-Pulwama developments from the prism of deterrence stability in the region.

There are multiple dimensions of Indo-Pakistan relations and varied explanations of Post-Pulwama happenings. This article will focus on the impact on deterrence with a view to ascertaining its sustainability amidst the varied character of future conflicts between nuclear neighbours of South Asia. Although, there is sufficient literature available on the subject of deterrence in South Asia, yet the impact of new cravings for venturing into the domains supposedly short of nuclear

threshold needs exploration. The paper will examine how the strategic stability in the region may be affected by smaller, not so spectacular operations, which may apparently seem to be tactical in nature.

Theoretical Construct of Deterrence

Deterrence is commonly understood in terms of convincing adversaries that aggression would provoke damage far greater than likely benefit. Dissuasion by the threat of momentous consequences for the aggressor thus lies in the foundation of the concept of deterrence. This implicit understanding ensures mutually assured survival sustained by the fear of mutually assured destruction.⁴ While analyzing fundamental principles of the concept of deterrence, one finds that it is a psychological function which carries roots far beyond the nuclear domain. Nonetheless, the induction of nuclear weapons in South Asia's security calculus has given primacy to the notion of nuclear deterrence. Nukes do not, however, automatically deter conflict unless the surety of the conflict escalating into a nuclear exchange obliges the target state to act rationally. Pakistan has employed both catalytic and asymmetric escalation strategies to ensure strategic deterrence in the region.⁵ Consequently, interplay of fear of reprisal and pursuance of major powers ensured stability of deterrence and has prevented major Indian adventure against Pakistan. This stability for a considerable period, kept the predicaments between the two countries consistently below the threshold where nuclear war remains thinkable.⁶

In order to offset the advantage of stable deterrence to its numerically inferior neighbour, India came up with a limited war doctrine, popularly known as the Cold Start. The doctrine envisaged that following a terrorist attack allegedly perpetrated by Pakistan, India would promptly attack, capture limited territory, cause adequate destruction and consequently embarrass/ discredit its armed forces. It was perceived that with these relatively limited politico-military objectives; India would force its will on Pakistan without crossing nuclear thresholds. Pakistan, as part of a comprehensive response, presented an important gap-filler in its deterrence mix by introducing low yield nuclear weapons, thus, denying limited spatial and military benchmarks.⁷ Later, Indian military thinkers, perhaps in a bid to further redesign subthreshold operations, conceived idea of limited tactical incursions and experimented the same earlier in (Indian claimed) surgical strikes 2016 and then at Balakot in 2018. Pakistan, therefore, believes that Indian offensive doctrines contradict the principle of rationality which rests at the core of the deterrence theory.⁸

Indian Attempts to Establish New Normal

One may ask why in an already fragile security environment in South Asia, India would cross international borders and engage in air battle against her nuclear neighbour. There is, however, a method in this madness which requires deeper a understanding of India's strategic thinking. Inspiration for such bellicosity lounges in its New-Normal mantra which brings forth new-fangled rules of engagement. The term New Normal, which Prime Minister Modi has already claimed to have established, was formerly conceived and then fabricated by the US and Israel after the deadly episode of 9/11.⁹ Breach of the sovereignty of other states like Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria was justified under the garb of fighting terrorism. The abnormal act of breaching the sovereignty of states was turned into New-Normal as state sovereignty was no more considered inviolable in new realities of international politics. India while following suite, repudiated the eternal logic of nuclear-deterrence since no other state ever attempted creating New-Normal in the presence of nuclear deterrence. It is either 'normal' to accept the logic of nuclear deterrence or 'abnormal' to reject it.¹⁰ Attempted creation of the New Normal by India, therefore, unsettled the theoretical and practical edifice of Nuclear-Deterrence. This attempt of altering the security environment seemingly miscarried as demonstrated by the sequence of events, which followed the Balakot air violation.

Threat to Deterrence Stability after Balakot Air Strikes

Incidents like Balakot may lead to an escalation that eventually could reach the nuclear red lines of one of the two states involved.¹¹ Nonetheless, having gone through somewhat similar potentially dangerous phases of the crises, the Indian strategic community now believes that since several escalators strides have never been taken, Balakot moved both countries only one rung up the escalation ladder. The inference they want to draw is that though, both countries came closer to making nuclear war, yet very far from the nuclear war itself; the space for a limited war, therefore, does exist.¹²

The encouraging fact for Pakistan's leadership is that in the case of Balakot, it managed to stop further aggression by relying on its conventional capability and without putting a strain on nuclear strategy. Pakistan showed resolve and capacity to mount a robust response against a type of aggression, which might continue to attract proponents of limited war. But does it imply that Pakistan accepts a space for limited war fighting? The resolution of this puzzle lies outside the nuclear domain, yet within the realm of comprehensive deterrence. Demonstration of resolve and capacity to respond with conventional capabilities do highlight that Pakistan will continue to express its will and react to any future belligerence with appropriate

offensive action. Some Indian analysts after Balakot hence opine that despite the partial set back to its nuclear posturing, Pakistan's reliance on deterrence has intensified amidst constantly growing conventional asymmetries.¹³

The situation after repealing Article 370, however, was different; though both antagonists did not portray any real threat, yet Pakistan had to face a direct attack on one of its vital national interests. India, in a bid to manipulate the social fabric of Indian Occupied Kashmir and bring its own version of normalcy, changed the special status accorded to the state of Kashmir. For Pakistan, the dilemma was how far could it go to enforce reversion of the decision and how far could it go to help the curfew-stricken people of Kashmir. This apparently a purely political matter is directly linked with the overall security of the region. Both countries have fought wars over the issue and still, the emotions of the people on both sides of the borders are highly charged. Theoretically, Kashmir is one of the vital national interests of Pakistan warrants application of all elements of national power, not excluding the military instrument of course. It was earlier perceived that in presence of comprehensive deterrence; India would not venture into taking such measures, which could alter the ground realities in Kashmir and force Pakistan to respond with all elements of its national power. Nonetheless, Modi played the card in a way that at least the catalytic strategy of deterrence was already neutralized. Despite Pakistan's vibrant diplomatic endeavors, no major world power perceived the situation leading to war. On the other hand, Pakistan, with internal politics under stress and the economy under duress was in no position to militarily engage with India. Modi took advantage and certainly played a smart card.

There can be other possible explanations for Modi's act like appeasing his hard-line supporters, look strong in a politically charged internal environment or gain political advantage in upcoming elections (Indian election 2019 results do highlight this advantage). One may also argue that by targeting a rural site of no strategic significance, Modi Government attempted to keep the level of escalation low right from the outset. However, as mentioned, the aggressive act of crossing an international border and then declaring it a success against the alleged terrorist camps did put Pakistani leadership in a situation, wherein a befitting response became critically essential. Focussing on the scope of this paper, the discussion in ensuing paragraphs will continue to concentrate on the issue of deterrence only. The question therefore arises, what type of Pakistani capacities could thwart limited operations like surgical strikes or tactical incursions (with attempted strategic advantages).

Three key dynamics currently mark the nuclear relationship between India and Pakistan; possible change to India's nuclear No First Use (NFU) policy, the

introduction of low yield weapons and lowering of the threshold for conventional military engagement.¹⁴ Each of these dynamics represents serious challenges to the security and stability of the region. Particularly, rescinding of NFU may situate Pakistan against lose-it-or-use-it dilemma and sow the seeds of pre-emptive tendencies in its strategic thinking.¹⁵ Low Yield Weapons may attract Pakistani military planners to synchronize nuclear strategy more intimately with military strategy. Lowering of a thresholds in view of Balakot like military incursions may compel the two sides to take series of dicier actions.

What was Different in Balakot?

Balakot air strike demonstrated two new markers. For the first time since 1971, IAF crossed into mainland Pakistan. It may be noted that the United States and erstwhile Soviet Union Air Forces even during the peak of the cold war avoided such incidences due to the fear of escalation. Indian air violation, therefore, exemplifies the renunciation of rational behaviour as the cost of switching on to the conflict escalator was perhaps not calculated.¹⁶ Second, Indian escalation both on vertical and horizontal planes showed her propensity to target undisputed Pakistani territory. This was a significant threshold to cross, which forecasts similar attacks on other areas of Pakistan where India claims the presence of terrorist camps.

Balakot illustrated heightened degree of Indian willingness to initiate a crisis with Pakistan.¹⁷ PM Modi, after the incident, claimed that he had called Pakistan's nuclear bluff since air strikes inside Pakistan deflated its nuclear threat.¹⁸ Indian Defence Analyst Rohan Mukharji, while highlighting Pakistan's act of releasing the Indian pilot, seeking to defuse tensions opines that "Pakistan may have just blinked."¹⁹ Indian political and military elite is therefore inclined to discredit strategic deterrence since India resorted to punitive military action disregarding Pakistan's nuclear capability.

Other school of thought opines that even after Pulwama, nuclear overhang did play on the minds of Indian strategists since India chose a limited aim instead of opening multiple frontages.²⁰ During the Balakot crisis and situation in the aftermath of repealing article 370, both neighbours continually reminded the other, that they possess nuclear weapons. Mutual vulnerability in the limited yet conventional realm was also manifested in the scale of the incursion. The Important thing to note here is that self-imposed limitations were observed despite operationalization of Cold Start Doctrine for which necessary forward placing of operational and logistic assets had already been carried out. Strategic capabilities must have played a role in escalation control. One may conclude that since the

aggressor (India) did not make a deep ingress, Pakistan's overall deterrence remained unharmed.²¹ On the contrary, the state of general deterrence could not prevent BJP hawks from initiating Balakot air strike and later the provocative act of repealing Article 370 in Indian occupied Kashmir.

An alternative reasoning questions even the need to consider the nuclear purview in such small-scale tactical actions. Nuclear weapons are certainly not meant to deter violations and skirmishes at the tactical level. This line of thinking argues that Pakistan's strategic weapons were neither thought to be bulwarks against a minute long air intrusion nor constitute its entire retaliatory ware withal.²² Comprehensive deterrence, when in place ideally should not put a strain on nuclear deterrence as limited tactical actions can be responded with other instruments of deterrence, however only when the responding state demonstrates will and capacity to escalate. On the other hand, although, response to tactical incursions falls at a low level of escalation, yet it does set in motion a series of reactions and counter-reactions. Keeping in mind the inherently charged environment in South Asia, such counteractions bear propensity to escalate into strategic domains, thus bringing Herman Kahn's rungs of escalation ladder into the equation.

Would India Venture Again

India demonstrated a new appetite for imposing costs on Pakistan, and especially for crossing thresholds and accepting risk. Its mass, economic relevance and military strength make India structurally inclined to establish its predominance in the region.²³ Right wing dominated cadence witnessed during Indian elections explicitly underline dangerous proclivities of Hindutva dominated BJP. Furthermore, revoking the special status of Kashmir and proclamations of likely abandoning of NFU is another testimony of the antagonistic outlook of Indian leadership. Such outlook foreshadows tendencies of instability and arms racing in the conflict-prone South Asia.²⁴

Balakot episode however, must have forced Indian leadership to think What if it escalates? In an author's view, Pakistan surprisingly offensive response so close to Election forced Indian leadership to act rationally. They had otherwise gained political mileage from the series of events and any further escalation could have negatively impacted the internal politics of India, particularly without the implicit endorsement of likeminded world powers. Having established a strong government, this taboo might not affect, allowing hawks to create opportunities to teach Pakistan a lesson. In this author's view, Indian attempt to alter the political and social landscape of Indian Occupied Kashmir by revoking special status may be viewed as another step in the same direction.

Under such a scenario, Indian actions probably will make the next crisis more dangerous. India may now assess that henceforth it can strike its neighbour, absorb a proportionate Pakistani retaliation, and safely de-escalate later in a crisis. But with Pakistan now more concerned about the state of general deterrence and her unwillingness to accept even limited violation of its sovereignty cannot but mount a more aggressive response, warranting aggressive counter-counter action by India. The future crises may therefore, induce both sides to take riskier action.²⁵ Unpredictable consequences of the abrogation of Article 370 and the breaking up of the occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir into two union territories have made the region more vulnerable to conflict. Stability of deterrence to prevent the possibility of wrong decisions leading to a situation of heightened conflict is therefore highly merited.

The episodes of Indian claimed surgical strikes in 2016 and Balakot attack 2019 can be taken as a prelude to creating an environment, wherein Pakistan is forced not to react to Indian small-scale tactical actions. Balakot incident opened another dimension of the debate on deterrence. Hitherto, Pakistan had relied more on the nuclear perspective of deterrence primarily owing to the conventional superiority of India. The question raised now is how to forestall small scale tactical operations aimed at gaining strategic effects. Under such an environment, strong conventional capability affords strength to strategic deterrence and forecloses chances of deterrence failure. A Retaliatory strike by the PAF demonstrated escalation control and refutation of Indian proclaimed new normal. Therefore, one may contend that Pakistan's full spectrum deterrence has actually proven its efficacy in the Balakot crisis.

One may argue that nothing significant happened at the tactical level to put pressure on overall deterrence. Pakistan's conventional riposte foiled Indian endeavour to establish a new normal; hence the old normal is most likely to persist. The pattern emerged during recent spat designates that Pakistan's conventional deterrence will address limited aggression (with violent response) while nuclear deterrence will ensure escalation control; the duo has taken together will reinforce overall deterrence. There is however a need for expanding the toolkit of deterrence doctrine. One of the determinants of Deterrence is threat perception. Pakistan must be able to Make India aware of exactly what all it is trying to deter. Its deterrence is against a full-blown conventional war only or does it want to deter aggressive political acts or a limited scale application of kinetic forces as well? Perhaps the concept has to be more objective now, especially when seen in the context of the following:

- Balakot types of incidents have given rise to the abridged manifestation of limited war. Acts, which may not even be termed as major engagements may question the deterrence regime of a nuclear neighbour warranting corresponding counter action. Every action and counteraction in this scenario will tend to cross another rung of escalation ladder in the conventional domain leading to invoking of nuclear deterrence.
- Indian desire of weakening civil military cohesion in Pakistan is most likely to gain impetus from tactical actions remaining below the psychological thresholds. In such a situation, Pakistan leadership will face dilemma; responding and facing an accusation of escalation from the international community OR restraining and getting discredited internally.
- Another dimension, which necessitates objective analysis is the continuous sponsoring of terrorism and dissident movements in Pakistan. It may be highlighted that there exists a tacit understanding within Pakistani political and military intelligentsia that these moves had been created or at least, patronized by Indian national security establishment. Pakistani think tanks have to see which strategic tool can deter India from playing with the internal security mosaic of Pakistan.
- Increased frustration of Kashmiris (and other dissatisfied elements like Sikhs and North Eastern states) after repelling of Article 370 is likely to force frustrated attacks on security forces, allowing India to blame Pakistan and encouraging BJP leadership to launch kinetic action in the garb of Response against Terrorism. Which element of national power can deter Prime Minister Modi from such provocation?

Thus far, strategic stability in South Asia has continued to hold. Indian unilateral decision to repeal the Jammu and Kashmir region's special constitutional status, however exacerbated volatility of the intrinsic conflictual environment in South Asia. Nonetheless, while the risks of a nuclear conflict have remained persistent, each passing crisis is making nuclear aspects progressively normalized. This apparent depreciation of the risks of a potential nuclear exchange presents an alarming insight into the strategic calculus of the region. Some scholars in India and the West, therefore, assert that "the rhetoric surrounding nuclear weapons and their potential use has not helped".²⁶ Since Balakot and repealing Article 370 in Kashmir, both countries are exercising their political and military options below the nuclear threshold. However, under heightened emotions in a crisis, leaderships resolve, mood, perception, personality and circumstance cannot be guesstimated; one cannot

assign probabilities for humans to act in a particular way. No one under such circumstances can ascertain where the other parties have drawn its nuclear red line.²⁷ Polarized nations of India and Pakistan and rise of right wing politics especially in India therefore bear risks of miscalculation, endangering strategic stability.²⁸ Under such uncertain environment, a rational choice for both the belligerents will have to be formed on constraint across the spectrum of conflict.

Deterrence and Evolving Character of Warfare

Amidst the evolving character of warfare, the Balakot incident followed by repealing of Article 370 in Kashmir has amplified the need for tailoring the deterrence as per changing character of Warfare. Owing to the destructive power of nuclear weapons, the conventional campaigns of the past have conceded to the limited wars under the 'hybrid' or '5th Generation' mantras.²⁹ Alongside military options, Indian policy analysts have accentuated the efforts to diplomatically isolate Pakistan and economically squeezing it from platforms like the International Financial Action Task Force.³⁰ Whereas, Fifth Generation Warfare envisages mostly non-contact warfare; the application of military instruments (including conventional and unconventional means) cannot be excluded from the game. Next escalation by India (at least in the initial phase) might not be in the land, air or naval domain but more likely in the form of cyber-attacks, information operations, enhanced support to violent non-state actors besides heightened politico, military, diplomatic and economic coercion (PMDEC).

The question arises at what stage; Pakistan will be compelled to respond in protracted mischievous battle. Would it continue to allow Indian brutalities in Occupied Kashmir, suffer minor wounds of PMDEC, keep bleeding and losing vitality to respond or would it react before it yields to the accumulative impact of multiple minor wounds on its social and moral fibre, economy and territorial integrity? With regard to Kashmir, how long Pakistani leadership can see the international community merely paying lip service to the sufferings of Kashmiris and do nothing to grant them the right for self-determination. Another question is whether or not the vigorous application of military instruments (warranting functionalization of nuclear cards) will be needed to force Pakistan to Indian will. The issue of Article 370 has demonstrated that India can target one of the vital national interests of Pakistan without bringing in the application of military means. This author opines that India will apply military hardware either in frustration (whereby it feels the futility of prolonged and mostly non-military option) or it will use the Indian military might after a sustained and successful application of instruments of fifth-generation warfare to cause coupe de grace. In either of the circumstances, neutralization of Pakistani nuclear capability has to be ensured.³¹

Pakistan's relevance in the region besides robust nuclear deterrence,(including supposed second-strike capability) arguably retains potential to thwart any such attempt. The question is how India will ensure the neutralization of Pakistani nuclear capability. The only plausible way for India is through the tacit support of the world community (international proponents of new normal) posing an existential dilemma to Pakistan's leadership. Under such stimulating security milieu, only a combination of coercive diplomacy/threat of escalation can prevent the conflict. From the discussion above, it seems as if playing of the nuclear card will continue to be a compulsion for Pakistan to safeguard its national interests.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that the Balakot episode has further exacerbated the insubstantiality of the South Asian security environment. Whereas, comprehensive deterrence had not entirely faded away, new realities have emerged; this would force the contenders to re-articulate impending moves.³² Whereas, deterrence particularly when viewed from the prism of the nuclear domain does not completely prevent limited actions across LOC/ international borders, but it does pose caution on the way nuclear neighbour respond and counter responds to each other moves. It has also been observed that Indian attempt to establish new normal has met a severe setback as Pakistan displayed resolve to respond sharply to any aggressive move. Learning from Balakot, in order to avoid the recurrence of such irresponsible acts of Indian leadership, Pakistan would not regulate its response from the outset for fear of escalation. Planners of the next such conflict might be forced to take riskier actions thus putting deterrence stability under pressure. Pakistan may be compelled to escalate besides using brinkmanship and force caution on aggressor to deter or de-escalate a crisis.

Henceforth, Pakistan's leadership may have to escalate more boldly to ensure deterrence stability and may not allow India to calmly de-escalate. While adjusting its nuclear posture, Pakistan must involve international players, highlight aggressive Indian doctrines and tacitly express its concerns to divert moral and diplomatic pressure towards India. Besides, Pakistan needs to expand its foreign policy options to give credence to the catalytic nuclear strategy options.³³

Revoking of special status has highlighted that Pakistan's diplomatic efforts and nuclear deterrence have not prevented India from unilateral and provocative actions on Kashmir. Pakistan has to devise means and re-evaluate the use of elements of national power to prevent further moves of Indian right-wing leadership for absorbing the occupied region completely into the folds of Indian dominion. There is a need for Pakistani political and defense analysts to deliberate response to

be mounted against similar but more critical measures that can be taken by the Indian leadership. The issue is vital for the country may demand tailor of comprehensive deterrence. If it is to be in the domain of deterrence, what tool of deterrence strategy can be employed and what capabilities are needed for such deterrence strategy.

The paper has also underscored the need for redesigning the strands of deterrence to face challenges of fifth-generation warfare and likely Indian attempt of drawing strategic dividends from tactical actions in the era of the amplified scope of Information Operation thus carving victory in perception domain. Indifferent outlook (or deliberate act as part of the strategy of Pivot to Asia or Indo Pacific strategy) of Western powers towards perennial state of conflict between the two nuclear states will adversely affect the international security environment. Moral deterrence leveraged by the international community can bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table for the amicable resolution of bilateral issues. Finally, scholars should focus more on strands of deterrence theory in fifth-generation warfare and safeguards against the use of purely political acts targeting vital national interests of the opposite states.

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SEIZING KASHMIR'S IDENTITY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE GLOBAL PEACE AND STABILITY

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Abstract

India's unilateral action of seizing Kashmiri's identity on Israeli model, has set ablaze the peace and stability in the South Asian region. Kashmiris have been robbed of their autonomy by Indian Prime Minister Modi and his hawkish government. The unilateral action by the Indian side is unprecedented, and demonstrates Indian stubbornness towards its neighbours in particular and world in general besides ridiculing the international institutions responsible for peace and security such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Needless to remind, that Kashmir has been a bone of contention between Pakistan and India since their Independence in 1947. The Indian action of annexing Kashmir without taking into consideration sensitivities attached to it is likely to affect the contemporary world order, besides further strengthening realpolitik assumptions. The two neighbours, who are nuclear rivals, have already fought three full-fledged conventional wars over their tangent claims on Kashmiri territory, besides a limited war i.e. Kargil Conflict. If the Kashmir issue is not addressed in time, it may actualize yet another war between Pakistan and India which, if initiated, could spiral up into a 3rd World War having likely exchange of nuclear devices that might be the end of world due to the devastation attached.

Keywords: Kashmir, Indian Atrocities, Extremist Ideology, Peace and Strategic Stability, Abrogation of Article 370 and 35 (A).

Introduction

Pakistan -India bilateral relations have again come to a standstill with flurry of blame game and accusations regarding each others' claims on the valley of Kashmir. Indian act of abrogating Jammu and Kashmir's special status on August 5, 2019 has created a war like situation.¹ Both Pakistan and India have emotional attachment to their respective positions. Pakistan views the Kashmir issue as an outstanding territorial dispute, while India is adamant that the Kashmir valley chose to be under Indian Union at the time of Independence by the then Maharaja of Princely state of Kashmir, Raja Hari Singh. Against the will of Muslims, who were in

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majority, Raja Hari found a kind of comfort in acceding to India so as to have its rule continued.² The accession to Indian Union was immediately denounced by the locals, who took up arms against the Indian armed forces. The Pakistani armed forces also joined the local freedom fighters so as to resist India's forced occupation of the Valley against the subcontinent's formula of division. Pakistan Armed Forces and the freedom fighters resisted the Indian forces' offensive move and evicted them from their strongholds. Seeing their defeat, the then Indian government rushed to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for intervention and requested for ceasefire. The UNSC acted as per its mandate and a ceasefire was called between the two sides. The ceasefire line between the two sides of Kashmir was later on converted into Line of Control (LoC).



Source: <http://www.futuredirections.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/Kashmir-and-the-Abrogation-of-Article-370-An-Indian-Perspective.pdf>
(Showing Indian version of Kashmir)

India played smart, diplomatically, and thus for buying time hedged behind the UNSC Resolutions (UNSCR) on one lame pretext or the other against those who demanded a plebiscite in Kashmir to let the Kashmiris exercise their free will to decide about their future. The UNSC Resolutions about Kashmir were a reflection of Pakistan and the Kashmiri people's will, and hence the Pakistani defensive-offensive was relegated in favour of the UNSC assurances for holding free and fair plebiscite. India, which felt humiliated and defeated, started employing delaying tactics and never let the plebiscite take place on multiple self-generated arguments and pleas. Seeing the Indian government and the occupation forces' atrocities, the Kashmiri youth soon started indigenous freedom struggle, which had full moral and diplomatic support from Pakistan. However, the Indian diplomatic corps dubbed the freedom struggle as violence or extremism and made an excuse for not holding

plebiscite the world community unfortunately, accepted. Since then, the Pakistan-India bilateral relations have never been normalized due to the Indian stubbornness on the Kashmir dispute.

Pakistan and India have fought three wars i.e. 1948, 1971 and 1965, besides a limited war in 1999 of Kargil on the issue of unresolved Kashmir dispute. The world community over a period of time has lost interest in resolving the issue for apparently three reasons: *First*, India is regarded as largest democracy vis-à-vis Pakistan; *second*, India has become one of the biggest markets for the consumable goods; and *third*, India was and is being seen as counter-weight to rising China.

Indian political and military leadership, with second tenure of the hardliner BJP government have found themselves an opportunity to cash the major powers' sensitivities and played their cards to annex the Kashmir valley against all the international laws, UNSC Resolutions, bilateral agreements with Pakistan. By abrogating Articles 370 and 35A from its constitution, which accorded special status to the Jammu and Kashmir. The unilateral act of Indian government is being seen as an act of war by the other stakeholders including China, Pakistan and Kashmiri people.

The three other stakeholders are carefully watching the evolving geopolitical situation and behaviour of the international institutions besides members of P-5 countries. Pakistan is exercising maximum restraint and playing its all possible diplomatic and political cards to let the international community exercise their authority to settle the issue peacefully of which the first expected step is denouncing of Indian act of abrogating the special status of Kashmir. The Pakistani military and political leadership fully understands that there are three major stakeholders on the Kashmir issue which happen to be nuclear powers. Any miscalculation may result into a catastrophic conflict that may result into nuclear winter or end of life.

Things are getting serious and hotter. The issue is of sovereignty for which nations have been non-compromising. The Indian side has aired a state of uncertainty and subjected the world in general and South Asian region in particular to existential threat. Happenings about the identity of Kashmir are no more normal, but alarming. The world powers have to understand the sensitivities and act fast. The paper is thus an effort to identify the genesis of the Kashmir issue, reasons behind the Indian act of mutilating Kashmiri's identity and listing the strategic implications associated with the issue.

Theoretical Framework

The current Pakistan-India bilateral relationship can be seen through the prisms of realism and constructivism. Realists' paradigm of international relations professes that states in an anarchic international system pursue more and more power so as to have their dominance and hegemony in the World.³ India is on course of maximizing its military modernization, which would instigate it to actualize its offensive military doctrines.⁴ As per the 2018 annual report published by the Sweden based Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), India has been the biggest arms and ammunition importing country in last five years that amounts to be approx. 12% of the global share of arms imports.⁵ Indian conventional and strategic military might encouraged it to take an ultimate decision about Kashmir status, which is a reflection of Indian hegemonic and revisionist strategic designs.⁶

To be more specific, the Mearsheimer theory of offensive realism tries to dominate the strikes thinking faculties. However, without being subjected to nationalistic orientation, theory of constructivism comes to forefront, which believes that in social construction of inter-state relations. Alex Wendt, in his 1992 masterpiece stated, "Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics," identifies that any systemic anarchy is product of inter-state actions and behaviour that basically revolves around state to state relationship over a period of time in an international structure of power.⁷ Pakistan-India bilateral relationship has long been subjected to hostilities and mistrust. Any action by either side is perceived with suspicion. Both sides are hostage to 'reification' i.e. pre-conceived ideas. In other words, any bilateral relationship under overall rubric of international relations is designed by two main ingredients i.e. interests and the international political structures, which in turn is dependent on social norms and pre-conceived ideas and not purely on material conditions.⁸

India, which is in search of achieving major power status, has done its part of maximizing hard power so as to adopt aggressive approach in dealing with different issues in order to meet political ends especially hegemony at regional level. Realists believe that for becoming a major power, regional hegemony is a must.⁹ However, India denies the mindset and argues that it is in response to its security concerns vis-à-vis China. The two perceptions about Indian approach, thus, often keep rubbing the shoulders.

The Rashtriya Seva Sangh (RSS)

The Rashtriya Seva Sangh (RSS) is a much talked about extremist right-wing Indian political cum militant organization, which happens to be the parent organization of the incumbent Indian ruling Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP). RSS was

founded back in 1925 by a rightist leader Keshav Baliram Hedgewar with an ideology of establishing Hindu dominance after the end of British rule in subcontinent.¹⁰ RSS had its mother ideology inferred from the then German racist Nazi party, which was deadly against the Jews being a direct threat to their superior race.

Historically, Hedgewar was ideologically inspired by the Indian nationalist scholar Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who believed in the superiority of Hindu nation. He dreamed a home for the Hindus and gave concept of *Hindutva*.¹¹ Motivated by the Savarkar's ideology, Hedgewar raised Hindu nationalist right wing organization in which, being a racist, he included only the upper-class Brahmins with a single aim of protecting Hindu social, cultural, political as well as religious interests. He believed in Hindu supremacy over rest of the religions.¹²

Initially, the RSS did not have any political aspirations and instead concentrated only on maintaining Hindu domination mission. Their basic orientation was to institutionalize the *Hinduness* among the superior castes of the Hindus. They focused on the discipline and ideology, which gelled well with the elite class Hindus.¹³ The RSS people had reservations on Kashmir's autonomy rights, especially the religious rights for the Muslim majority vis-à-vis Hindu minority and termed it as 'pseudo-secularism'.¹⁴ Thus, when the Hindutva ideology flourished, the RSS members started taking part in politics. Nationalist approach got the audience among the Hindus who happened to be the majority in India and thus the BJP came into power which is believed to be the soft political face of the decades old rightist party RSS.¹⁵ The incumbent Indian Prime Minister Modi has been among the most active members of RSS.¹⁶ With the extremists in power, hope of justness, fairplay, equal rights, sympathy, religious freedom, and above all restraint approach in dealing with different issues will be naïve. Needless to remind the major actors of international system, that RSS has been under sanctions and among banned organizations in the past due to its extremist approaches especially involvement in communal violence.

Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute

The dispute dates back to 1947, when the subcontinent was divided by the British rulers basing on the basic rule of majority. It was left on the choice of majority to side with either Pakistan or the Indian Union. Kashmir, while being in process of settling the political and demographic dichotomy i.e. the ruler being non-Muslim (Hari Singh) and majority being Muslims, the Indian Army launched an offensive to capture the entire Kashmir. The Pakistani troops, which were not well equipped at the time of independence, took up the arms along with the civilian *Lashkars* and stopped Indians from further advance.

The first Kashmir war started on 27 October 1947 that lasted till January 1, 1949. Later, on intervention of the United Nations, India, that was seeing defeat, managed a ceasefire with a promise to hold plebiscite to let Kashmiris decide about their status. However, nothing tangible could materialize as India initiated delaying tactics to put the issue on back burner. Resultantly, skirmishes kept occurring and finally on March 14, 1950, the UN Security Council (UNSC) adopted a Resolution on Kashmir, urging immediate demilitarization talks between India and Pakistan, pursuant to the decision of the Security Council taken at its 457th meeting, on December 22, 1949, which is also termed as McNaughton proposals; however, India later backed off.¹⁷ In spite of the UNSC instructions, the Indian side shied away from holding constructive or result oriented talks and did not let anything materialize in tangible terms but just the cosmetic and lip services were meted for the face value only in order to dilute global pressure for resolving the Kashmir issue.

The unresolved issue of Kashmir, however, kept the local Kashmiris on toe to get their identity recognized. The stubborn attitude of the Indian administration led to the outbreak of an all-out conventional war over Kashmir on September 6, 1965, which was also put to another ceasefire on September 23, 1965. The issue went extensively internationalized and India was forced upon to settle the issue. While the pressure was still building, India started ingress into East Pakistan which was difficult to be administered as it is located geographically apart. To the badluck of Pakistan, the 1971 general election created political turmoil on the issue of power sharing between political parties based in East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The political disharmony and geographical disconnect between the two wings gave an opportunity to India to cash in on and supported *Mukti Bahini*, a Bengali separatist organization. Indian Premier Modi recently admitted at government level that India supported *Mukti Bahini*.¹⁸ In spite of the fact that the Armed Forces of Pakistan fought with much valour and dignity, the political disharmony-led interests made the Pakistani forces to surrender. Had the Pakistan Armed Forces chosen to fight, there would have been huge innocent civilians' casualties. A war won militarily both in West Pakistan and East Pakistan had to taste a defeat on political table. It was Kashmir issue that encouraged India to checkmate Pakistan's huge military success of 1965 war.

After the 1971 debacle, on July 2, 1972 the Simla Agreement was signed between the two sides and the Kashmir issue was decided to be resolved bilaterally. Simla Agreement infact was the agreement because of which the Kashmir issue was brought down to the Indian desires of keeping it bilateral.

After Simla Agreement, the Kashmir issue once again went into back burner as Pakistan was recouping from the 1971 incident. In 1989, Afghan War started, and it further went into back seat. In 1998, Pakistan tested nuclear device in response to the Indian tests and once again the Kashmir dispute came into forefront. The Kargil Conflict was fought in 1999, which almost bought the two sides on brink of nuclear war which was averted by the international intervention.

Despite the international pressures, the indigenous freedom struggle by Kashmiri youth was getting intense against the Indian occupation forces. To the good luck of India, in 2001 the Twin Tower attacks took place which introduced 'terrorism' as a new kind of threat to the global peace and stability. The Kashmiri freedom struggle also got tainted with terrorism and the just struggle got the sham name of terrorism. The steam got out of the Kashmiri struggle and India successfully started blaming Pakistan as a state sponsoring terrorism, at all possible international forums. In short, the world got involved in debate of differentiating between freedom struggle and terrorism; thus, it became difficult for the Kashmiri freedom fighters to justify their attacks against the occupying Indian armed forces.

It was as late as 2017, when the martyrdom of Kashmiri freedom fighter Burhan Wani refueled the freedom struggle. Indian Armed Forces were left with no choice but to divert the world attention by all means. India, having an edge over media, started a campaign against Pakistan by projecting its involvement in physical support to the Kashmiri attacks. The Indian tactics included the choreographed attack against their own national institutions and armed forces installations in order to put Pakistan on back foot. India made the world worried that Pakistan's involvement in Kashmir could result into a nuclear war. Pakistan denied the allegations of any state sponsored activities inside India including Kashmir Valley. Meanwhile, the BJP government came into power and the Indian atrocities inside Kashmir intensified. BJP, as identified earlier, is political face of the RSS¹⁹ and rightist in its approach kept the nationalistic anti-Pakistan approach in front to win the second term in office. BJP also indicated in its manifesto that the Kashmir special status would be revoked. To win anti-Pakistan votes, the BJP government also staged a self-assumed kind of so called surgical strike inside Pakistan against the training camp of mujahideen. Pakistan denied any such activity; however, Indian media played an extremist role and talked so much of the fake surgical strike that the Indian masses started believing the lie.

In short, BJP that follows the RSS ideology of Hindu nationalism,²⁰ came into power in 2018 for the second term in India. The unexpected victory by BJP put their leaders into a pseudo fallacy of superiority. Lately in 2019, the BJP government taking the lead from self-believed success of staged attacks to blame Pakistan once

again staged a terrorist attack against its own troops at Pulwama. The Pulwama attack led to a new wave of Kashmir related debate at the international forum. India took initiative of bombing inside Pakistan at Balakot, which was effectively responded by the counterattack.

During Prime Minister Imran Khan's visit to the US in July 2019, President Trump during the White House press briefing offered to mediate between India and Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir issue. The US President also revealed that the Indian Premier and asked for mediation. Trump's revelations did not go well within India and a debate initiated about Modi's sincerity with the Kashmir issue. Kashmir again got the international attention which was against the Indian hardliners. Modi, sensing the loss of his political popularity, took a bold step and revoked Articles 370 and 35 A of the Indian constitution.

The revoking of said Articles related to Kashmir was not well received and fueled the freedom struggle inside Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK) besides Pakistan also held up to its diplomatic trenches steadfast. Seeing the eruption of violence in IOK, the Indian side imposed a tough curfew inside IOK and denied all basic rights to the people.

While exercising cautions in their approach, the world in general and human rights organizations in particular have started tacitly supporting Pakistan's diplomatic positions based on the undeniable realities on ground and have professed Kashmiri people's distresses, much to the dismay of Indian political elite. Despite all odds and oppressive tactics employed by the Indian troops inside IOK, the indigenous freedom struggle is being multiplied duly supported by the Pakistani diplomatic Corps to fight the case on political and diplomatic fronts. India is believed to have fired on its toes with an unprecedented action which even rejected the UNSC multiple resolutions to settle the issue. Only time will tell as to which course the Kashmir dispute would go amid all international, local and regional support aligned with the Kashmiri people's freedom struggle. Its' nothing but a test of international community, international organizations which champion human rights and international security, for instance the UNHRC and the UNSC.

An Account of UNSC Resolutions on Kashmir

Before a detailed analysis of the recent Indian act of abrogating Articles 370 and 35 A is undertaken, it is imperative to take an account of the UNSC Resolutions on Kashmir, to which India has been non responsive.²¹ It can be ascertained that since the 1971, no tangible UNSC was adopted, which shows Kashmir issue's

importance after 1971 Simla Agreement. Following are the major UNSC Resolutions on Kashmir:-

UNSCR	Date	Central Arguments
38	17 January 1948	Urged Pakistan and India to take prompt actions to improve the situation in the state.
39	20 January 1948	Calling for an urgent investigation into the matter fearing "the deteriorating situation might threaten international peace"
47	21 April 1948	Noted that both India and Pakistan desire that the accession of the state should be decided through democrat method of a free and impartial plebiscite.
51	3 June 1948	Reaffirmed previous resolutions and directed the Commission to move to the areas of dispute and complete the duties assigned to it in UNSC resolution 47 as soon as possible.
80	14 March 1950	Urged India and Pakistan to make immediate arrangements for the ceasefire and demilitarization of Jammu and Kashmir on the basis of the McNaughton proposals. ²²
91	30 March 1951	Reaffirmed that "the final disposition of the state of Jammu and Kashmir will be made in accordance with the will of people expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the UN".
96	10 November 1951	Called upon the parties to accept arbitration by the international Court of Justice upon all outstanding points of difference and decided that the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) would continue to supervise the ceasefire in the state.
98	24 December 1952	Recalled the provisions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan's (UNCIP), UN resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, which provided that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir of India or Pakistan would be decided through an impartial plebiscite.

123	21 February 1957	Requested that the president of the Security Council visit the sub-continent along with the government of India and Pakistan, examine any proposals which were likely to contribute to the resolution of the dispute.
209	4 September 1965	Called upon both India and Pakistan to take all steps necessary to immediately cease firing and return to their respective sides of the line. It also called on the two governments to co-operate fully with the UN military observer group in Pakistan and asked the Secretary General to report back on the implementation of the UNSCRs within three days.
210	6 September 1965	Called on the parties to cease hostilities in the entire area of conflict immediately and withdraw all armed personnel from the positions they held before August 5, 1965
211	20 September 1965	Demanded that the cease-fire take effect at 0700 hours GMT on September 22 and that both forces withdraw to the positions held before August 5, 1965. The council requested the Secretary General to ensure the supervision of the cease-fire and called on all states to restrain from any action which might aggravate the situation.
214	27 September 1965	The Council expressed the concern that the cease-fire called for in resolutions 209, 210 and 211 (and agreed to by India and Pakistan) was not holding, and demanded that the parties to honor their commitment, cease-fire and withdraw all armed personnel.
215	5 November 1967	After the call of cease-fire and failure of materializing it, the Council demanded that representative of India and Pakistan meet with a representative of the Secretary General to purpose schedule for the withdrawals as soon as possible.
303	6 December 1971	Decided to refer the question to the UNGA and meeting were called following deterioration in relations between India and Pakistan over a series of incidents, including Jammu and Kashmir and the

		additional strife in east Pakistan.
307	21 December 1971	Demanded that a durable cease-fire be observed until withdrawals could take place and called for international assistance in the relief of suffering and rehabilitation of refugees as well as their return home.

A Bird Eye View of Articles 370 and 35 A of the Indian Constitution

In January 1950, the Constitution of India was put to effect in Kashmir and Article 370 was made part of the Constitution. The Indian act of including Article 370 was against the clause VII of the instrument of accession signed between Indian Government and Maharaja Hari Singh, which stated that the Jammu and Kashmir cannot be compelled to except the Indian Constitution.²³

It implied that the state of Kashmir had the right to draft its own constitution besides was empowered to choose about additional powers which could be extended to the federal government. The provisions of Article 370 gave special status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir, for instance, separate state flag, autonomy over Jammu and Kashmir's internal administration and of course separate constitution. In short, there were 5 special provisions of Article 370, which include: *first*, the state of Jammu and Kashmir was exempted to have complete implementation of Indian constitution and thereby have the powers to constitute its own constitution; *second*, India's central government could only exercise its authority and constitutional power on the State of Jammu and Kashmir if the state's government concurs with the central government; *third*, the concurrence would remain provisional till the time it was ratified by the Jammu and Kashmir's elected assembly; *fourth*, Article 370 cannot be abrogated or amended without the approval and recommendation of the State's elected assembly; and *lastly*, the Indian government's powers over State of Jammu and Kashmir were limited to defence, foreign affairs and communications.²⁴

Article 35A was applied on State of Jammu and Kashmir by Presidential Order given in 1954, which kept the separate identity of Kashmiris for the last seven decades. Article 35A restricted the non-Kashmiri population from acquiring or buying property in Jammu and Kashmir and dual nationality of India and Kashmir, restrained giving jobs to non-Kashmiris, denial of admissions of non-Kashmiris in any professional college run by State government and disallowing any non-Kashmiri to marry Kashmiri women.²⁵

Implications of Abrogating Articles 370 and 35A

The current ruling party BJP had a written election manifesto, which clearly stated to integrate the State of Jammu and Kashmir into the Union of India by abrogating Articles 370 and 35A from the Indian constitution.²⁶ On August 5, 2019, in an unprecedented move, Indian President Ram Nath Kovind, through a constitutional order revoked Presidential Order of 1954, according to which the State of Jammu and Kashmir was given special status till the time a free and fair right of plebiscite was given to Kashmir to decide about their future.

The Indian government took the stance that abrogation of Articles 370 and 35A was done with the approval of Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.²⁷ However, in actuality it could only be done if the elected assembly of Jammu and Kashmir was willing and recommended it. Ironically, on August 5, 2019, the elective or constituent assembly of Jammu and Kashmir did not exist as it was dissolved in November 2018.²⁸ Indian political elite knew it that the special status of the Jammu and Kashmir could not be revoked, had the constituent assembly existed. Hence, it is evident from the Indian act that the decision about abrogating the Kashmir identity-related articles from the Indian constitution had already been taken a few months earlier. In fact, the Indian unilateral act revalidated Mohammad Ali Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory.²⁹ It also exposed BJP's extremist, racist and fascist ideologies³⁰ which happen to be the political face of RSS.

The Indian Premier's undemocratic and unprecedented immoral act of snatching away Kashmiri's identity could have multiple severe natured implications. A few of them are stipulated: the *First and foremost* is the fear of a new bloody freedom struggle that may result into an unprecedented violence by the Kashmiri youth; *second*, India by implicating Pakistan in Kashmiri freedom struggle related actions could launch an all-out war with Pakistan; *third*, the Indian armed forces which are equipped with all kinds of lethal weapons may adopt the basic method of curbing insurgency i.e. genocide; *fourth*, impose demographic change in Jammu and Kashmir in a bid to convert Muslim majority into a minority; *fifth*, India can pave the way for sowing seeds of Hindutva ideology by establishing centres of extremist Hindus in Jammu and Kashmir; and *last*, by denying education and equal opportunities to the Kashmiri youth, relegate them to the level of third grade citizens and even beyond.

Immediate Responses by Pakistan

Pakistan being a major stakeholder of the unresolved Kashmir dispute, immediately took all possible steps primarily in the realm of diplomacy in order to make the world community realize about the sensitivity of strategic environment

being built due to the Indian act of annexing Kashmir and including into its Union unilaterally.³¹

Besides, immediately strengthening the LoC with fresh troops amid Indian's open threats of launching limited offensive against Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan's political and diplomatic elite took multiple appreciable actions, which have taken aback the Indian political elite. The actions include passing of a unanimous resolution through its National Assembly on August 6, 2019 that rejected the Indian act of abrogating Articles 370 and 35 A and urged the world community to take notice of Indian violation of ceasefire along the LoC besides use of cluster ammunition against the unarmed public. In addition, Pakistan also expelled Indian High Commissioner from Pakistan and did not allow own High Commissioner to proceed to India. Pakistan also put an end to the bilateral trade including *Dosti Bus and Samjhota Express Train Service* and threatened to review existing bilateral agreements between Pakistan and India. Pakistan also celebrated August 14 as solidarity day with Kashmir while Indian Independence Day i.e. August 15 as black day.

At diplomatic level the Foreign Office held back to back meetings with like-minded diplomatic missions in Pakistan to win their support in favour of reminding India to honour UNSC Resolutions on Kashmir. Pakistan also approached UNSC and Human Rights Council to constitute inquiry commission with regard to Indian atrocities in Kashmir. Both the institutions had played their role, however, not to the expectation of the stakeholders that is Pakistan Kashmiris and China. UNSC had held its consultative meeting on Kashmir but without issuing an official statement. On Pakistan's request a meeting of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) Contact Group was also held, which took note of the human rights violations and urged the two stakeholders to settle the issue bilaterally.

A reality check of Pakistan's efforts reveals that the issue of Kashmir has, got international traction without any doubt; however, despite the Indian unilateral, undemocratic and unprecedented at that has humiliated the UNSC Resolutions, the world at large did not take tough stance against India less expressing concerns about human rights violations. Although the Chinese side did put up their tough stance against Indian act but remained cautious while siding with Pakistan. Turkey and Iran out rightly supported Pakistan's stance³² whereas, ironically, the UAE and Saudi Arabia awarded their highest national awards to Indian Prime Minister Modi for his role in improving the bilateral trade.³³ Albeit the UAE and Saudi Arabian acts were tangent to the Kashmiris and Pakistani expectations, it does support the argument that the contemporary political order is real politic-centered. It demonstrates the great powers' double standards. Economics has visibly taken over the morality in

international relations, for instance, contemporarily, the volume of annual trade between Gulf Arab countries and India is approx. 100 billion USD.³⁴ The lukewarm international criticism has effectively been utilized by the Indian media and thus played the biased international environment to their advantage for supporting their unjust revoking of Kashmir's special status.³⁵ Pakistan, inspite of less resilient international support, has resolved to fight for Kashmir till the last man and last bullet. Pakistani military and political leadership have also reiterated that Kashmir undoubtedly remains the jugular vein of Pakistan.³⁶

Regional and International Implications

Let's now analyse as to how the Indian dismissive and stubborn attitude could impact upon regional and global peace and harmony. In fact, the Indian unprecedented act of snatching Kashmiris identity without involving other stakeholders is a deliberate act of war which needs to be seen in realist perspective, lest it is too late. The world powers have to have a serious concern about evolving situation which could lead to destabilizing global peace and harmony. A few of the likely happenings based on the Indian approach of 'might is right' are discussed in the ensuing paragraphs:-

- **Sino-India and Pakistan-India Wars Leading to 3rd World War:** Besides the valley of Jammu and Kashmir, abrogation of Article 370 has also challenged the status of Ladakh valley. It is a well-known reality that China seeks its rights over the territory and issued an official statement on Indian act by stating that "India's unilateral amendment to its domestic law, continues to damage China's territorial sovereignty."³⁷ Hence this Indian action is "Unacceptable and Void'. In case, India fails to invoke Article 370, there are all the likely chances that an armed conflict may get erupted between the two most populated states leading to a human catastrophe. Moreover, the regional level war could spill over to other parts of the world depending upon the alliances – a horrific 3rd World War scenario.
- **Introduction of Perpetual Threat of Limited Wars:** China, Pakistan and India are three nuclear powers who lay their respective claims on Kashmir's geographical areas. All three stakeholders fully understand the destruction associated with the use of nuclear weapons. Foregoing all three could naturally be oriented to undertake limited wars or strikes at tactical levels to settle scores under the nuclear overhang. All three actors would try to remain well below the nuclear threshold and thus, there are substantial chances that the region may fall prey to perpetual threat of limited wars.

- **Negative Blow to the International Arms Control and Disarmament Initiatives:** The Indian stubbornness and dismissive attitude may send a negative image around the globe. The third-world countries and especially those who feel threatened with regard to their existence including Iran and DPRK may relegate the idea of disarming in favour of building more and more power so that to avoid getting blackmailed by major powers. India took full advantage of its discriminatory membership of Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR)³⁸ and special waivers with regard to Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). The two memberships helped India to build anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons systems, Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) Systems³⁹ besides saving its indigenous fissile material to build more and more nuclear warheads. These out of proportion capabilities have proved to be among the leading factors because of which the Indian leadership has even overruled the UNSC bindings on Kashmir.
- **Derailing of Afghanistan Peace Process:** The ongoing Pakistan-led Afghanistan peace process between Afghan Taliban and the US does not go well with the Indian approach of sandwiching Pakistan between India and Afghanistan. India's National Security Advisor Ajit Doval has openly committed to apply 'double squeeze policy' on Pakistan i.e. to keep Pakistan's regular forces diluted at two fronts. Although Pakistan has rejected the ambitious Indian policy of double squeeze, yet India will do its best to create an environment through its consulates in Afghanistan to derail the process.⁴⁰ While it might serve the Indian purpose, coercing Afghan peace process is tangent to the global mission of eliminating terrorism. The world can't afford to have yet another version of al-Qaeda in shape of Daesh inside Afghanistan. The choice rests with the world community either to restrict India or let it loose at the cost of their future generations' peace and security.
- **Insider Threat and the Global Nuclear Security Concerns:** In recent past, the world in general and nuclear haves have been voicing against the insider threat to the nuclear devices being held by nuclear weapons states.⁴¹ A rogue element at the helm of affairs related to pressing nuclear button has been a major source of concern. Needless to stress that at the moment Indian nuclear button is in hands of a man who happens to be the staunch member of Indian extremist rightist organization, RSS. Will the world powers let it remain as such? A regime change approach maybe option, although a non-democratic suggestion, however, could be beneficial when viewed through the prism of peace and stability. Irrational behaviour of the Indian

leadership can't be ignored which could result into an accidental or deliberate early use of nuclear devices. An indicator of which has already been shown by the Indian contemporary Defence Minister who acknowledged that only the circumstances would lead the Indian political leadership to choose between 'First Use' or 'No First Use;' doctrines.⁴²

- **Emergence of New World Order:** The political economy based alignments and realignments of the states are indicating towards likely emergence of New World Order. China, Russia and Pakistan seem to be belonging to one strategic group while Western Great Powers and the US are on the Indian side. Both the groups have different alliances based on their security and strategic interests and concerns. Visibly Middle Eastern and Far Eastern powers are making their independent choices to align with the Western or Eastern power hubs. Mostly the alignments and realignments are market based that want to have their chunk of pie. These new alliances could either shift the power centres permanently or resonate between the two poles, leading to a new kind of Great Game.
- **Idealist Paradigm Would Further Get Naïve:** In terms of international relations' paradigms, the idealist paradigm remains subjected to the criticism of being naïve to the contemporary international system. Realists' argument of mustering more and more power without looking at morality will get further strengthened against peaceful and just international system being professed by the idealists. India, which was earlier known for being democratic, secular and peace loving state, has finally opted to be undemocratic, non-secular and hardliner fascist one. Thus, morality and peace hugging arguments will breathe their last, if the Indian side is not pressurized to invoke the Kashmiri identity.

Way Forward For Pakistan

Although, a lot much is required to be done on Pakistan's part; yet, it needs to remain rational and logical while deciding any steps further. Following could be the modus operandi as a food for thought for Pakistani decision making apparatus:-

- Keep the steam filled in Kashmir issue and do not let any distractions to dilute the momentum already achieved.
- Build on the national economy and let the world come to Pakistan for trade. India has mustered courage to undertake unilateral action on

Kashmir through effectively cashing on its market and evolving economy.

- Do not let the Western powers find a reason to equate Pakistan's moral and diplomatic support to Kashmiri freedom struggle with tag of state sponsoring terrorism. It could be through activating Pakistani diaspora in Western countries, holding awareness seminars and discussions at notable think-tanks, diplomatic offensive through Pakistani missions abroad, calling for bilateral and multilateral meetings of stakeholders and above all presenting fact sheets at international forums related to security and human rights.
- Instead of getting singled out on the issue at diplomatic and political levels, establish a tri-party committee comprising of Kashmiri reps from both Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir, China and Pakistan to issue joint statements on evolving situations inside Kashmir.
- Win favourable votes in own favour at international level through extensive diplomatic outreach.
- Employ aggressive media campaign to project own narratives while mitigating propaganda campaign of the Indian media.
- Hybrid warfare is the essence of today's conflict pattern. Indian authorities have already acknowledged Pakistan's success in hybrid warfare, which needs to be maintained without falling victim to complacency.
- Harmony between civil-military hierarchies has to be maintained at all costs.
- Keep the nation informed through frequent press briefings by political, diplomatic and military spokespersons.
- Refrain from issuing hostile statements so as not to offer a broad side for getting tagged as irrational or irresponsible actor.
- Nuclear will come into play, albeit as a last resort. Pakistan should not let crystalize its threshold so that to avoid Indians bluff call.
- Religious and political harmony has to be achieved for a 'whole of a nation response'.
- Resisting war mongering statements for keeping the economic momentum going. Political and military leadership has done a lot to stabilize it. Nothing should disturb it.
- Initiate offer of holding Pakistan-India bilateral composite dialogue at an earliest convenience and reiterate its proposal of Strategic Restraint Regime (SRR).⁴³

- Keep itself relevant in Afghan peace process by bringing back the parties on negotiating table.
- Offensive and timely unfolding of the likely Indian choreographing of the terrorist incident for implicating Pakistan.

Conclusion

The Indian act of abrogating Articles 370 and 35 A cannot be taken light and thus has to be addressed at priority. Indian big market seems to have fascinated the major powers of the world, who have relegated the elements like norms, morality and justness in favour of their share of economic pie to be won from the Indian markets. The world community should understand that the nations have not been compromising when it comes to their sovereignty and prestige. Pakistan and Kashmiris are part of a resilient nation who have amply demonstrated in past that when it comes to their nationhood, the complete fiber of the nation gets united under one flag.

Kashmiris can't be subjugated to the oppression tainted resolution of the issue. India has seen it throughout the last seven decades. Kashmiris did not budge to the coercive tactics and not willing to accept Indian hegemony even now. They have hundreds of thousands of martyrs in the name of Kashmir independence and thus they would never sell their blood to occupation forces.

Amid such a resilient resistance by the Kashmiris vis-à-vis hardliner policies of the rightist Hindu government in centre, there are all the likely chances that a kinetic action may take place embroiling three nuclear powers. Such an eventuality may spiral up unexpectedly leading to actualizing of most feared nuclear winter. The world community and other peace and security organization have to act fast against the Indian government's extremist acts so as to ensure global peace and harmony.

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COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN PAKISTAN: METHODS, CHALLENGES AND THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

*Dr. Rizwan Naseer, Dr. Musarat Amin and Zaib Maroof**

Abstract

Pakistani society has been through the decades of radicalization and violent extremism that is mostly linked to the religious extremist activities which ultimately breeds radicalization. To examine the prevailing issues of radicalization this research aims at investigating the various phenomenon, drivers and approaches of violent extremism in Pakistan. This paper suggests three phases of de-radicalization i.e. protect, prepare and prevent to employ an effective Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) approach in Pakistan. Notable CVE initiatives of Pakistan for reforming inmates have also been discussed in detail. Theoretical underpinnings with highly effective models of Indonesia through family engagement and cyber de-radicalizing, the Malaysia model, which employed CVE through clerics and their sermons, and the U.S. model have been discussed to infer lessons for improving Pakistan's CVE programs. Pakistan's counter-terrorism narrative (Paigham-e-Pakistan) needs to be taught at public schools and colleges to prevent any future recruitment and terrorist activities. This paper underlines prominent challenges to Pakistan's CVE efforts and concludes by suggesting that a civilian authority to manage CVE programs will help increase efficiency. It recommends that the government should establish more CVE centers under civilian authority, in order to give onus of responsibility to government.

Keywords: Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), CVE Models, Paigham-e-Pakistan.

Introduction

There are several terms used interchangeably in contemporary literature on terrorism and counter-terrorism, which include violent extremism and fundamentalism. Some people use these terms interchangeably, whereas others try to differentiate and explain them.¹ Even the United Nations Security Council has urged for the adoption of a comprehensive approach to counter-terrorism and

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violent extremism. In the resolution of 2178 (2014) underlines CVE is an essential element of addressing threats to global peace and security. The adoption of UNSC resolution 2178 is the extension of UNSCR-1624, which stresses upon the role of educational institutions, religious society and the role of media.² Daniel Benjamin (2010) described CVE as;

“efforts to stop those most at risk of radicalization from becoming terrorists by providing the means to undercut the ideological and rhetorical narratives which drive violent extremism.”³

The US Department of Homeland Security defines violent extremists as, “individuals who support or commit ideologically motivated violence to further their political goals.”⁴ Violent Extremism (VE) is multifaceted as it may belong to various manifestations like religious extremism, anti-government and right-wing. But in most of the reported cases, violent extremism has been practiced in the form of religious extremism. There is a common perception of Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) programs that they lay much emphasis on religious extremism, whereas it seeks to address all kinds of Violent Extremism. With the rise of transnational terrorism, appeal for countering violent extremism, counter-radicalization and counter-terrorism is becoming a top priority for policy-makers around the globe. There are some CVE programs in terrorism affected countries, which bring forth some lessons for Pakistan’s CVE initiatives.

The first technique that most of the governments adopted for countering violent extremism is “the strategic communication”. Strategic communication programs were aimed at changing people’s mind through various talks, lecture, community engagement and indoctrination by religious scholars. Such programs had a low rate of success because of governmental priorities. As the technique of strategic communication is time-consuming and it requires sustainability couple with uninterrupted funding. After the unfruitful government-led programs of strategic communications campaigns in Pakistan, an alternate of empowering credible voices at the grass-root level and expanding them to vulnerable communities seems to work better than the previous strategy. This approach is useful not only in Pakistan but other terrorism ravaged nations too but is a slow-moving force to bring any tangible change. Although the history of violent extremism is much old it re-emerged after various militant and so-called Jihadist groups started campaigning their radical narratives after the United States launched a global war against terrorism in 2001. It includes the Al-Qaeda, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Salafi Jihadi Movement, Al-Shabaab, Jabhat-Al-Nusra and the Taliban with the primary objective of recruiting youth and achieving their respective politico-religious objectives.⁵

The United States has been a pioneer country to introduce CVE program. It initiated in the late 2000s as the State Department of the U.S. (Agency for International Development) made extensive efforts to clarify the definition of CVE. Primarily, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) functions on various issues of development and poverty alleviation but it expanded its scope to other areas including countering violent extremism as well because it is closely linked with economic development. A “Catch-all Category Approach” was adopted by different agencies and bureaus across the United States. The Bureau of Counter-terrorism within the State Department established a new section for focusing on CVE. In the U.S, various stakeholders including state government, local government, communities, private sector, NGOs, social services organizations, mental health providers and academia play a crucial role in CVE.⁶ Following the footsteps of the United States other governments and international organizations also started developing their programs of CVE. In line with the U.S., the United Kingdom and the European Union began to initiate their programs on CVE. The United Arab Emirates has been thought as the center-stage for extremist ideologies, where anti-Shia sentiments were on the rise because of the governmental policies and the fall-out of Saudi-Yemen war. In 2012, the *Hedayah* International Centre for CVE was established in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) by the coalition of international governments. Hedayah is devoted to counter all sorts of violent extremism through research, dialogue and capacity building programmes.

In Canada, there have been terrorist attacks since 2014 and the terrorists were inspired by extremist ideologies and since 2002, 20 individuals have been convicted of terrorism and another 21 have been charged with terrorism offenses. Canadian government started working on CVE efforts on various levels. Canada adopted a strategy of building resilience against terrorism that provides a framework to address the issues of terrorism threats. The strategy has similar elements such as

- Prevent,
- Detect,
- Deny and
- Respond.⁷

The Indonesian model of CVE is also quite groundbreaking. In 2002, after the Bali bombings in Indonesia, the security forces along with the Indonesian government contributed towards soft and ideological approaches of counter-terrorism like its Western equals i.e Countering Violent Extremism (CVE). The Indonesian government introduced some innovative and revolutionary CVE initiatives.⁸An International non-profit organization Search for Common Ground

(SFCG) Indonesia executed a 3 years plan titled '*Reducing the Recruitment and Recidivism of Violent Extremists in Indonesia.*' The program involved several stakeholders and worked towards a common goal of addressing the ongoing challenge of violent extremism. The recruitment of vulnerable younger humans into violent extremist companies and the excessive chance of recidivism for launched prisoners (especially the ones convicted of terrorism) after their launch on parole. The overall objective of the task changed into lessening the risk of violent extremism amongst young people and offenders in Indonesia.⁹

In most of the cases, the common cause of violent extremism is attached to social marginalization, government repression, fragmentation and poorly governed areas, where citizens face an identity crisis, rampant corruption and violation of their fundamental rights. Therefore, under-developed countries experience virulent violence and violent extremism. Some groups, who consider themselves oppressed and victims of marginalization take up violence as a tool to end their suffering and achieve liberty and glory.¹⁰ Such groups get support from various quarters to foster their movement, at the same time, these groups launch massive propaganda campaigns to raise funds and continue recruitment. The United States and European nations are making a shift to prioritize a "surrogate strategy" for combating such propaganda. But there is an asymmetry between the programs operating at the grass-root, community level and the law enforcers.¹¹ A major goal of the CVE program is to achieve the following objectives:-

- Building resilience to deflect extremism.
- Developing strategic communication and counter-narratives.

Only a holistic approach aimed at capacity building, resilience and social services may add much power to the programs instead of extensive surveillance or intelligence-led methods. In Pakistan mostly government-led operations are centered on counter-terrorism and counter-radicalization, whereas, very limited efforts have been carried out to counter-violent extremism. Pakistani society has been through indoctrination of radicalization during Zia's regime, which took a decade of extensive radicalization to continue so-called Jihad in Afghanistan. According to some reports it was funded by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in collaboration with the then Saudi regime. That so-called imported Jihadist ideology bifurcated the whole Pakistani society and also triggered the wave of sectarian terrorism. Therefore, all the challenges that include counter-terrorism, counter-radicalization, de-radicalization and countering violent-extremism are much trickier in Pakistan than in other countries. Polarized societies are more prone to violent extremism because of the internal schism. Other related factors include the collision

of popular belief and state's ideology, the divergence of interest between state and clergy. However, the primary objectives of CVE are the same all over the world. According to an already published study, there are three popular phases in CVE;

- **Protect:** Protection of civilians, crowded places, sports stadiums, markets, shopping malls and religious congregation etc are the topmost priority as any negligence in protection may cause massive casualties in case of any violence.
- **Prepare:** It is the primary responsibility of government to prepare for mitigating the impact of any emergency situation. A well trained and equipped counter-terrorism squads and rapid response forces can avoid loss of lives and infrastructure.
- **Prevent:** The strategy of prevention includes preventing people from becoming terrorists and follow extremist agendas. Fascinated by extremist ideologies, some of the people start supporting extremist groups or their agenda while rescuing such people from lethal extremist ideologies is sine qua-non to maintain peace in society.¹²

The CVE is a soft approach that is effective to the counter-terrorism. Western countries are more efficient in their response to the threat of CVE and kick-started various CVE programs, which suggest the engagement of youth and focus on winning the hearts and minds of local the populace. Softer approaches like CVE are sustainable because the potential extremists are reformed through engagement approach. That is the reason other affected countries are borrowing lessons from the Western-established programs.

"In addition, reframing work in such fields in terms of its contribution to the prevention of terrorism, CVE poses significant risks to practitioners and participants, whose local engagement may be seen as extension of America's often-controversial counter-terrorism (CT) policies and thus such initiatives are the targets of critics".¹³

There are some non-violent organizations, which later turned into violent extremist and caused violence at a greater level. The Lal Masjid operation was done in 2007 to maintain the writ of the government, which was challenged by a few hundreds in the capital city of Islamabad. The reality is that several terrorists had previously been participants of reputed non-violent extremist organizations that lend credence to the fact that such corporations can serve as a steppingstone to terrorism.¹⁴

The United Nations Security Council Resolution-2178, which addresses the CVE, calls upon the UN member states to take measures for enhancing international

cooperation to prevent violent extremisms and terrorism. Such a diplomatic forum provides an international legal framework, where states may enhance cooperation to address violent extremism and terrorism. As the UNSCR-2178;

“emphasizes in this regard the importance [...] to expand non-violent alternative avenues for battle prevention and resolution by using affected people and nearby groups to decrease the danger of radicalization to terrorism, and of efforts to sell non-violent alternatives to violent narratives espoused through overseas terrorist combatants, and underscores the role schooling can play in countering terrorist narratives.”¹⁵

Disproportionate imprisonment and punishments of violent extremists may invoke backlash from inmates. Same was the case with the United States' Guantanamo Bay prisoners. Folks, who are not yet violent extremists but are kept in prison with other potential violent extremists or terrorists, would consider such disproportionate sentence as a tool of repression by governmental authorities. It will make those violent extremists as a potential sympathizer of those terrorists in jail. For terrorist organizations, it becomes relatively easier to launch extremists as terrorists to steer the goals of terrorist organizations. The appropriate example is the Camp Bucca Jail in Iraq, which underwent the same circumstances after the American invasion in 2003. In Camp Bucca, Jihadists were held together with other inmates and they might without difficulty get in contact with each other. It enabled the Jihadists to employ followers amongst non-Jihadists.

CVE Initiatives and Pakistan – An Analysis

In Pakistan, the counter-terrorism, is given more preference as a strategy but countering violent extremism is also given equal importance. CVE has following primary purposes: -

- It keeps terrorist organizations from growing stronger.
- It builds resilience in community as well as society.
- It deprives terrorist organizations of gaining local support and recruitment.

Terrorist organizations, whether local or transnational aim to gain strength. Through CVE programs, resilience can be built in the local community to prevent local support and recruitment for terrorist groups. As discussing and examining the challenges posed to Pakistan's polity, it is vital to analyze the steps taken by the Pakistan government for countering violent extremism. Several scholars argue that the foreign models of CVE are not applicable in Pakistan due to its diverse nature. Pakistan also adopted a strategy of preventing violent extremism as part of Pakistan's

counter-terrorism efforts. Most of the terrorists entered in Pakistan from the porous border of Afghanistan, as Afghan Taliban, who influenced local sub-factions (Punjabi Taliban).¹⁶ Pakistan has its own method of CVE which is different from the one used in the Western countries. But that is debatable as CVE is a global threat and the CVE models of the West may offer some lessons to Pakistan. The models of CVE in the West are varied for instance in France, more focus is on the law enforcement agencies rather the local Imams of the community used as a bridge to link connection. Nevertheless, the U.S.A, Norway, Netherlands, UK, Colombia, Germany and Sweden implemented rehabilitation programs by disengaging the people from extremist organizations and bringing them back to society. Likewise, Saudi Arabia had introduced its “PRAT” approach that emphasizes on the prevention at first place, rehabilitation and post-rehab care. Moreover, Indonesia has introduced a program to neutralize the fundamentalist thinking of the radicals. The CVE model of Yemen involves the frequent contact between clerics and the radicals, which is highly useful for the rehabilitation of former militants into society.¹⁷ Abdul Basit in his research “*Countering Violent Extremism: Evaluating Pakistan’s Counter-Radicalization and Deradicalization Initiatives*” presents six convincing aspects for enlisting a comprehensive CVE program in Pakistan.¹⁸

- Terrorism and extremism are intertwined, therefore, it is hard to control terrorism without tackling the menace of extremism. There is a need to neutralize extremists appeal in Pakistani society to prevent future recruitments by terrorist organizations.
- CVE is carried out to choke supplies of membership and diminish support of locals for extremist ideology and groups.
- Keeping low scale terrorists in prisons won’t help much rather reforming and rehabilitating them and their extremist ideology.
- The military solution is effective but real and long-term results come from CVE efforts, therefore, a multipronged non-kinetic framework is required.
- An improved psychotherapy and guidance program can help save the imprudent youth from terrorists’ bait.
- Those extremists who decide to disengage from extremists and surrender to the state, should be given a chance to reintegrate in the society and live a normal life afterwards.¹⁹

However, Pakistani government attempted to adopt complete CVE approach based on various components of international CVE model like engagement and de-radicalization on one hand and counter-radicalization on the other. That is the reason Pakistan’s CVE policy is split as the de-radicalization and counter-

radicalization. After flushing TTP out of Swat, a rehabilitation program was set up under the supervision of Pakistan Military. In some areas of the Punjab similar programme were carried out under the direct supervision of counter-terrorism branch and in collaboration with Technical Vocational Training Authority (TEVTA).²⁰ Punjab de-radicalization programme in 2011 jointly managed by Counter-terrorism Department of Police and TEVTA was a commendable effort but it lacked financial support. After reforming about thousands of militants it faced closure because of the lack of funds.

Pakistani government adopted de-radicalization program to alter the behaviour of already captured terrorists from radical to moderate. But counter-radicalization is also required to reach better standards of stability in the country, which was effectively done through the National Action Plan (2014) by waging military operations combined with Madrassa reforms. Among others, Pakistan launched the following notable CVE initiatives for de-radicalization of inmates;

- Swat De-Radicalization camp
- Mishal
- Sparley
- Rastoon
- Pythom
- Heila

Counter-terrorism strategy can only cope with terrorism but in the long run there is a need to adopt softer measures to prevent future terrorist attacks. The dilemma with Pakistan's counter-terrorism policy 2014 (National Action Plan) has been that it relied mostly on counter-terrorism efforts. Such a strategy may serve in a shorter-term but softer approach his not being underlined in policy formulation. Though counter-terrorism operations destroyed terrorist networks and their infrastructure, but their ideology might still be appealing to radicals. That is why they still are getting recruitment from Madrassas, educational institutes and social media to continue their extremist ideologies. Counter-terrorism operations achieve the shorter success which is limited to destroying safe havens of terrorists only. Counter-terrorism strategies are the short term solution to combat terrorism as is apparent from the U.S. experience of counter-terrorism lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq. It shows that countering terrorism through kinetic means is capital intensive and prolongs beyond calculated time.

Unfortunately, Pakistani society is divided along sectarian and ethnic fault lines since its independence that later was exploited by internal and external elements to make deeper divisions in the society. After the wave of terrorism in

Pakistan, this division in society made the task of peace-building more complicated and on the contrary, gave rise to multiple factions of terrorist groups. The National Action Plan (NAP) very clearly underlines²¹ the government's counter-radicalism and counter-terrorism methods by pronouncing zero tolerance for militancy and the concrete measures to strangle terrorist enterprises by choking their financial lifelines and destroying their communication network.²² After the implementation of NAP few strategies were crafted to countering violent extremism as well. The NAP had included the following four clauses to efficient counter-terrorism and violent-extremism approach.²³

- Stern action against the literature promoting hate and extremism.
- Ensuring that proscribed organizations do not re-emerge with different names.
- Clamping a complete ban on the glorification (terrorists and their organizations) through print and electronic media.
- Dealing firmly with sectarian terrorists.

In the case of Pakistan, terrorism and extremism are intertwined, therefore tackling terrorism without weakening the bond of extremism is neither logical nor practicable. The CVE is considered as a sub-component of Pakistan's counter-terrorism policy.²⁴

Employing Strategy of De-radicalization

Pakistan Military initiated '*Mashal de-radicalization*' program to reintegrate captured militants in the battle of Swat 2009. The center for de-radicalization "Mashal" was established in the same building, which was once used by militants as their headquarters. This step was a psychological triumph over locals, who could see that once terrorist haven is now a rehabilitation center. The program of de-radicalization was the outcome of a realization that enduring peace could not be established with bullets only and there was a need to de-radicalize youth to avert the future threat of terrorism.²⁵ Pakistan Army having plentiful resources to run de-radicalization program started de-radicalizing militants by employing services of psychologists, moderate clerics and trainers.

More than three thousand of the militants have successfully been de-radicalized and the ratio for release is about 99%.²⁶ Such an impressive ratio of release reflected the efficiency and professionalism in the arduous task of CVE. Similar to the Indonesian model of CVE, a de-radicalization program designed involving families of the detainees also help in driving them out of such quagmire. Under the program "Mashal", the families of the detainees are also trained to

monitor detainees after their release from the facility. The rationale is simple that if released, the reformed youth still is prone to rejoin the ranks of terrorists. Through family monitoring, it becomes easy to recapture for further intensive de-radicalization. By invoking family bond, terrorists are reformed through the process of de-radicalization. The program in Swat aims to rehabilitate detainees, who worked for the Taliban. Rehabilitation provides them with another chance to live their new life that has a love for family, society, nation and country. Trainers at the de-radicalization center provide even vocational training to detainees that even after their release from the facility they can make a livelihood by adopting a vocation to live their life without financially depending upon others.²⁷

Sabaoon de-radicalization program; is a facility for youth between 12-18 years. Many other states are taking similar measures to keep record and surveillance of released prisoners through the police or family members of the detainees. Such states include Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Singapore, United Kingdom and Ireland. Swat rehabilitation facility has been successful because of the post-release surveillance by police officials and military.²⁸ Otherwise, those young boys, who are now trained and de-radicalized were once used as pawns by the Taliban. Taliban were turning them into suicide bombers through indoctrination methods. Those militants were waging a fierce battle against NATO forces in Afghanistan and Pakistan Army. But the programs of de-radicalization have considerable success in returning those young-lads back to society after reforming them

Social Media as a Tool to Radicalize/De-radicalize

As most of the people are attracted towards violent extremism, radicalization and terrorism because of the religious factor, therefore religious dialogue is also used as a counter-radical tool in Pakistan through clerics. There is a case of Malaysia, where the government used clerics to dissuade militants from violence.²⁹ The smart strategy to de-radicalize militants has been in the use of Islamic scholars, who have more credibility and respect within the ranks of militants.³⁰

An Indonesian NGO used enticing method to de-radicalize through social media. Youth uses social media so widely that it had much success in de-radicalization through comic entitled “*Ketika Nurani Bicara (When Conscience Talks)*” began publishing in 2010. That spreads the message that human with a conscience may not accept attacking or killing of other fellow humans. The slogans that comics accompanied were the following:-

- Islam is the religion of peace

- Peace in the Month of Ramadan
- Islam is peace
- Islam is a peace-loving religion
- The Prophet (PBUH) did call for Islam, but not by violence³¹

Such a strategy relates much to Pakistan's case because of the excessive use of social media in recent years by commoners. On the contrary, terrorist organizations also use social media to radicalize, recruit and raise funds through online sermons and appeals. It has alarmingly heightened the possibility of radicalizing youth via online-resources. Pakistan's more than 32.4 million population is an active user of the internet, whereas 70% among them is the youth. Such a massive number of social media users might be more vulnerable to extremist ideology without a regulating mechanism. As a sub-factor of Pakistan's CVE initiatives, the government must devise a mechanism to closely monitor online chat-rooms especially suspected of promoting so-called Jihadist materials. It should also monitor the websites and the activities of their subscribers.³² Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) is already doing a pretty good job but an already discussed Indonesian model may help to devise an effective strategy. Pakistani government is in the process of regulating social media and monitoring of websites along with certain legislation and debates in the parliament. The websites where hate-speech is promoted are permanently blocked. Social media campaigns against terrorist organization also reflect the unity of the nation against their odious ideology.

Pakistan's Counter-terrorism Narrative (Paigham-e-Pakistan)

After the extensive efforts of the Pakistani government over the last fifteen years, it succeeded in launching national narrative on counter-terrorism and extremism titled "Paigham-e-Pakistan" on January 16, 2018. Paigham-e-Pakistan is a *Fatwa* sought by the government of Pakistan to counter-terrorism and halt future recruitment and attacks by terrorists. Paigham-e-Pakistan rejects extremism, terrorism and sectarianism in all its manifestations and highlights the message of peace and harmony among Muslims in the light of the Holy Quran and Sunnah. The 22-point *Fatwa* (religious decree) was inked and endorsed by 1800 scholars belonging to all school of thoughts in Pakistan. The document is a unified stance against extremism and terrorism, which is a significant step towards providing the nation at least a counter-narrative. The state's pandering to purveyors of extremist ideologies has been crucial in seeding faith-based violence. To implement counter-narrative, a revivification of National Action Plan (NAP) will supplement the counter-terrorism strategy.³³ Along with other measures of national policy, counter-radicalization measures have also been crucial to dwindle down terrorism and checking potential

recruits for acts of terrorism. Pakistan had the following counter-radicalization measures:-³⁴

- Madrassa Reforms.
- National International Security Policy 2014.
- National Action Plan 2014.
- Counter-terrorism Operations.
- Pakistan Protection Act 2014.

There is a common perception that uneducated youth or illiterate people usually engage in violent activities. Recent incidents have changed that predominant perception as Mashal Khan's lynching at Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan by university fellows, Safoora massacre, where graduates from a prestigious institute participated and a medical student Noreen Laghari joined Islamic State, have been some out of many cases, where educated youth committed acts of violence and terrorism. Such incidents question the quality of public education on one hand and penetration of radical groups into public sector institutes on the other hand. Albert Einstein once stated that "education was not about the learning of mere facts, but to train minds think critically."³⁵ Majority of the youth, who was arrested by security forces and were de-radicalized, lacked critical thinking.

Categories of Violent Extremism in Pakistan

Extremism in Pakistan is broader in scope and may not be encapsulated into a single form. However, it can be categorized into some of the prominent forms such as;

- Anti-West violent extremism.
- Anti-American Violent extremism.
- Anti-Indian violent extremism.
- Anti-Liberal violent extremism.

It has been observed that majority of the extremists hold the Western culture and liberal values responsible for impuring Islamic values in Pakistan and they view them as a stumbling block on the way to implement Islamic laws nevertheless, such people are ignorant of national law formulation process and its implementation. Anti-American extremism is identical to Anti-West extremism, but there are more political reasons for violent extremism than religious ones. Iranian Revolution 1979 is linked with the U.S. policies to liberalize Iran under Shah's regime. Similarly burning of the U.S. embassy in Pakistan was due to a false report enunciating that the Islam's Holiest Place (Masjid Al-haram) was bombed by the

U.S., an enraged mob stormed into the embassy and caused killing of several Americans in November 1979. Terrorist attacks on U.S. consulates and embassies in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey, Athens, Syria, Saudi-Arabia, Indonesia, Peru, India, Kenya and Tanzania reflect how intense that anti-American violent extremism is and that is leading towards terrorism.³⁶ Anti-Americanism was on its rise after drone strikes in Pakistan.

Anti-Indian violent extremism does not support any kind of engagement with India, rather it seeks the total destruction of India. Some of the groups in Pakistan propagate Anti-Indian violent extremism. Even if the government tries to initiate some peaceful process to enhance Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) with India, such groups fiercely oppose governmental policies. Majority of the extremism in Pakistan is based on Anti-liberal violent extremism. It means to abolish liberal practices in Pakistan and replace them with *Sharia*. Alex P. Schmid in his research entitled *Violent and Non-Violent Extremism: Two Sides of the Same Coin*, mentions twenty indicators for monitoring extremism in any society and some of them are quite applicable to violent extremism in Pakistan. As extremists tend to;

- Reject the existing political and social order and situate themselves out.
- Overthrow government through revolutionary vanguard and struggle to establish their own.
- Take control of communal or state power.
- Reject democratic principles, which are based on sovereignty.
- Exhibit intolerance to others' views.
- Fixed ideas and close-mindedness.
- Lastly, in pursuit of their ideas and goals, extremists are willing to face death sentence and seek martyrdom.³⁷

Pakistan's counter-radicalization efforts have gained a laudable success to cope with such challenges, but it may take decades to drive extremism out of society.

Challenges Undermining Pakistan's CVE Efforts

Usually, there may be a lack of awareness among masses about the gravity of the threat that extremism poses to society. "The slight majority in Pakistan rejects violence, however, not always disagrees with the extremist agenda as such, that's couched in religious language".³⁸ Following are some of the essential demanding situations confronting Pakistan's current CVE strategies:

- **Social Environment and Risk of Re-radicalization:** In Pakistan where radicalism is stated to be wide-spread, few de-radicalization

centers are similar to isolated islands of normality in which militants are provided with wholesome surroundings to facilitate their go-back to everyday existence. However, the deradicalized youth are returned and reintegrated into our society, where the force of re-radicalization are nevertheless present, and the chances of their re-radicalization are pretty high. The government needs to address other correlated issues as well including deteriorated governance, significant socio-financial disparities as unemployment and lack of economic opportunities lead to a psychological state of mind, where they are willing to accept criminal tasks for an insignificant amount of money.

- **Political Marginalization:** Another gigantic challenge is of political marginalization, which provides a perfect breeding spot for the surge of radicalization. Without improving the aforementioned factors, the strategy of deradicalization may not bear better results. In the absence of a countrywide CVE coverage, countering extremism in Pakistan will stay herculean task.³⁹
- **Role of Institutions:** Institutions should start programs on CVE mandatory for all students to qualify. It surely will bear positive results in the long term de-radicalization strategy. CVE is an on-going, ever-evolving and a lengthy method. The government managing the de-radicalization program should ensure low recidivism chances. "Such claims seem untimely and exaggerated. The real fulfillment or failure of a de-radicalization program can only be judged after the passage of 10-15 years. Though Pakistan's de-radicalization program is working efficiently but it needs more years to mature to bear desired results."⁴⁰

In Pakistan, CVE is an evolving method in the counter-terrorism policy, which requires upgrades and rigorous re-assessment. An independent evaluation based on empirically verifiable data has not been carried out yet. Improving the monitoring of the program along scientific lines is another major challenge. But such an assessment method is likely to pinpoint those flaws, which need concrete measures. It is suggested that more CVE centers should be established and be given under the control of civilian authorities to turn the CVE initiatives to a comprehensive national-level program. Moreover, a bottom-up CVE approach may prove to be effective.⁴¹ According to some of the scholars, only a strong and effective educational system can steer Pakistan towards moderation and stability. It certainly may impact the minds of people to minimize the element of extremism from society as a whole.

Conclusion

The growing radicalism needs the governmental response by strengthening domestic security based on the mutual consensus of all stakeholders. It is pertinent to mention that the major stumbling block in tackling this challenge is susceptible governance. Moreover, there is a need to accept that the ethno-sectarian problems will continue to be a large obstacle in achieving financial prosperity in Pakistan. At the domestic level, the authorities should adopt “engage and get engaged” method by engaging all stakeholders into a single fold as ethnic, sectarian and non-secular divide are threats to inner concord. Nevertheless, it is high time to take bold initiatives to introduce the political, economic and educational reforms to tackle forthcoming challenges of political instability, economic degradation and educational lapse. Though counter-radicalization achieved success but to make it more sustainable soft approach (CVE) is the smart strategy. There are various effective strategies used by other countries to conduct efficient CVE, Pakistan should also adopt those soft approaches. The obligation to falsify the terrorist narratives (that misrepresents Islam) and to broaden a counter-narrative (Paigham-e-Pakistan) lies with politico-religious groups and civil society. If such beliefs are not challenged or condemned, extremism will continue to flourish despite counter-terrorism operations.

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CYBER-WARFARE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF PAKISTAN

Muhammad Imad Ayub Khan*

Abstract

Computer networks serve as the backbone of modern-day information and communications technologies. These networks have no physical boundaries that contain important data and information critical to any state's national security, which is vulnerable to cyber-attacks in the digital domain. This dilemma gives birth to the term cyber-warfare and it is one of the most critical security issues in present-day world. Huge investments are being done by the countries to use it as an offensive tool vis-à-vis they are also trying to build a steady force for the protection of their cyber-space. Cyber-Warfare poses a much complex and dangerous threat to the National security of Pakistan in the era of hybrid-warfare. This paper aimed to explain, what kind of threat does Pakistan faces in the domain of cyber-warfare and what effective measures Pakistan should take against such threats. This paper is based on deductive reasoning from the experiences of other nations to chart out a way forward for the National cyber policy of Pakistan as Pakistan is indeed developing with an effective speed in the field of information and communication technology, but the security aspects are not focused upon, which exposes a major unregulated domain of cyber-space to cyber-attacks, which can undermine the national security of Pakistan.

Keywords: Cyber warfare, National Security of Pakistan, Cyberspace, Information and communication, technology, Security Dilemma.

Introduction

Pakistan has witnessed the impact of cyber-warfare in the shape of minor cyber-attacks and violent use of its cyber-space in the last five years in the form of hate speech and exploitation of religious sentiment of its population. We as a nation have witnessed the use of social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube etc. for different religious and political movements. The threat of religious violence and propaganda of extremist views through the social media is, at the moment, on an insignificant level and not so powerful in shaping the anti-state propaganda. However, this might escalate to a significant level in the future if left untapped. The Government of Pakistan has been involved in the development of a policy against

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cyber-attacks since 2003, but so far, no real implementation has been put in practice. With the passage of time, the domain of cyber-space is not only abused by cyber-criminals, but has also become the strongest safe-heavens for cyber-terrorists to recruit and use the networks for communication, data collection, psychological warfare and mobilization.¹

Cyber warfare domain can be identified from the technical history of cyber development. Cyber warfare is traced backed to the start of the electronic warfare era, where the use of electric and radio communication came to the battlefield. The rapid evolution of computer technology since the dawn of the 21st century, have led most security thinkers to define cyber-warfare as part of military strategy and tactics. Sometimes these attacks are organized to weaken a state's fighting capacity in hostility, but the main problem still exists in terms of the purpose for which the attack was launched and the nature and desire of attackers. In both cases, cyber-attacks are not merely military instruments. The increasing use of information technology, especially in military and logistical operations, has made the militaries and other critical national security infrastructures vulnerable to cyber-attacks; thus leading to the creation of new military institutions, such as "Cyber-Commands" by various countries, whose primary purpose is not to prevent these attacks but rather to prevent, protect and counter-attack. There are many aspects of attribution-related cyber-attacks, as these attacks are not fully defined in international law, and more importantly, it is very difficult to investigate and gather evidence to prosecute when it comes to litigation.

Although cyber-space is a recent phenomenon, and even the basic definitions have not yet been agreed upon. However, the influence of cyber-space is widespread and immense. The rapid development of Information and Computer technologies (ICT) affects all aspects of human society, including the international political system. Cyber-space is an area of strategic importance and nation-states seek to use Cyber-space to promote their national interests. "Nation-states use all possible options to ensure their survival".²

Concept of Cyber-warfare

Cyber-warfare means the use of cyber-space for political aggression against the enemy for sabotaging its digital capacity. It involves the use of digital battle space for attacking enemy's computers and networks in which one can be either the offender or the defender involving operations pertaining to cyber-threats such as espionage, sabotage. The ongoing debate on cyber-warfare to define it as an act of war still resultless in its definition but still, this developing area in information technology has raised the alarms and nations have started taking countermeasures

by developing capabilities and has technically involved with the term cyber-warfare either as an aggressor, defendant or even both. The terms cyber-security, cyber-warfare and cyber-space are as interrelated as in the practical arena the terms security, battlefield and warfare.

Cyber-security-in general is a term used for the protection and regulations of cyber-space that is all the digital information. It includes transmission networks, which are used for the transmission of digital information across different organizations and institutions across the country through the internet. These networks are also used for the transmission of data, which can be classified as sensitive to the national security of a country.

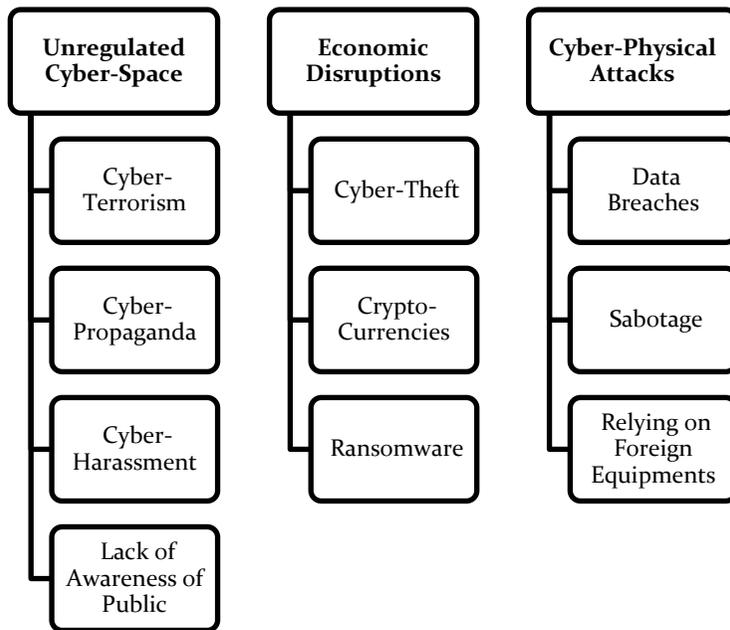
National Security of Pakistan: The Role of Cyber-warfare and Cyber-security

Pakistan's rivalry with India and its engagement in the war against terror enhance the necessity of effective cyber-defense in order to prevent hacking, online incitement and even digital surveillance. In Pakistan's recent history, some of the incidents indicate violence induced through cyber-channels like Cyber-Jihad, digital surveillance and Hacktivism falls under the umbrella of cyber-warfare, which have all the potentials to undermine the national security of Pakistan.

Pakistan has even lagged behind its neighboring countries, such as India and Iran, in vision, leadership, infrastructure, appropriate legislation and thoughtful policies to respond to any cyber-attack.³ Our traditional rival, India, which has invested a lot on this front in the previous two to three years and has also activated the Defence Cyber Agency (DCA), which a tri-services command of the Indian army responsible for cyber-defence and led by Rear Admiral Mohit Gupta.⁴ Researchers and lawmakers have already on many occasions pointed out that cyber-threats pose threats to the national security of Pakistan. Senator Mushahid Hussain, Chairman Senate Committee on Defense and Defense Production in 2013, said that;

“The cyber-security threat can affect Pakistan’s national defense, security, intelligence, diplomacy, nuclear and missile program, economy, energy, education, civil aviation as well as industrial and manufacturing units both in the private and public sector. Cyber-security is an issue of paramount importance for Pakistan’s stability and progress.”⁵

Similarly, former National Security Advisor, Naser Khan Janjua also said, “Cyber-attacks pose an enormous threat to the national economy, defense and security.”⁶



Cyber-Threats to the National Security of Pakistan

Three broad categories of cyber-threats can be analyzed from the last two decades of cyber-attacks in the entire world, which further comprises the number of cyber attacks such as;

Unregulated Cyber-space

The laws regulating the Pakistani cyber-space are very minimal and can be easily evaded by someone with a little knowledge of the computer systems.⁷ For Instance, we go back to 2008, when the first time Pakistani authorities ordered to block anti-Islamic content on the internet but due to the lack of an effective URL filtering system small free available softwares were used, which easily bypassed the Pakistan Telecommunication Authority blocking system.⁸ Similar the Pakistani government on numerous occasions has banned access to many website contain blasphemous, pornographic and anti-state content, which has been termed almost totally in-effective because of poor blocking mechanisms. This is because Pakistan has been on the very low rating of ICAN (The Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) where there is a very poor system to maintain the records of internet data flow. Freeware software can easily hide the real identities and location of a user using the internet in Pakistan which is very alarming indeed. The unregulated cyber-space has given birth to the following threatening concepts in Pakistan.

- **Cyber-Terrorism:** Unregulated cyber-space has fueled the impact of terrorism, where terrorist organizations use the digital information medium to spread violence, terror and extremism with quite ease. Pakistan has already suffered a lot in the last two decades due to terrorism. Pakistani armed forces have achieved significant success by eradicating the conventional terror attacks. However, the threat of cyber- terrorism is now posing a more potent threat due to its stealth nature. Attack on Bacha Khan University, Mardan in 2016 was planned and executed by terrorists using Afghan soil and the Afghan telecommunication network.⁹ Similarly the famous Safoora bus attack in Karachi was claimed by Jandullah based in Afghanistan¹⁰ the individuals like Saad Aziz, Tahir Hussain Minhas and Asad-ur-Rehman, who all were university students were basically inspired by ISIS.¹¹ These kinds of attacks are very dangerous because of its surprising nature and pose a serious threat to the national security. The case of Naureen Leghari who was a 2nd year student in medical college and joined the IS through extensive use of Facebook and was later apprehended by Pakistani security forces also merit mentioning.¹²
- **Cyber-Propaganda:** Cyber-Propaganda is the use of cyber-space to spread violence, anti-state agenda and narrative of extremism by individuals, political and religious groups. This kind of propaganda can put any government under immense pressure. The effect of cyber-propaganda can be witnessed from international events such as the alleged manipulation of the 2016 US presidential elections by Russia. In this case fake news and stats are used to engineer the minds of the voters using social media. This kind of act undermines the fairness of any elections. Pakistan has also been suffered by such events in the last two to three years. We have witnessed the use of social media by different religious and political movements. The rise of Tehreek Labaik Pakistan (TLP) to promote religious violence has twice put Pakistan in difficult times both in 2017 and 2018.¹³TLP used social media to spread its agenda in which the government was helpless to maintain law and order in the country and the common people suffered a lot in the form of physical and mental loss.¹⁴
- Another pertinent case is that of Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) which emerged in the last two years exploiting the sentiments of Pashtuns in the Federally Administered Tribal Area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and spreading it to the whole of Pakistan. The movement anti-state slogans made a soft power platform to instigate hatred in the critical phase of the ongoing war against terrorism.¹⁵ The scale of the

event can easily make it a platform for anti-state elements to exploit the weakness of participants to promote anti-state agenda. Similarly, the internet and social media have been flooded many times by fake news to create panic within the public.

- **Cyber-Harassment:** Also known as cyber-bullying, this is the individual use of cyber-domain to bully people across many social media platforms. Most of the times the victims are general users of social media, who are blackmailed and used for different purposes. The effects of cyber-bullying are different, but research shows that cyber-bullying has a disproportionate impact on young people than adolescents and adults. Young people are more likely to suffer as they continue to grow physically and mentally. Children who are harassed are likely to experience anxiety, depression, loneliness and depression.¹⁶
- **Lack of Awareness of Public:** The most critical problem that Pakistan faces in cyber-domain is the lack of understanding of the public on how to use the internet/social media platforms. Lack of knowledge convinces mostly under-educated class to believe fake news rather than even now understanding what they are seeing on their devices. Lack of understanding of cyber-ethics often leads to cyber-bullying, harassment, theft or being terrorized. This category fuels the above-defined categories to act as a catalyst to broaden the spectrum of cyber-attacks. The major cause of this is the lack of the subjects from the Pakistani educational curriculum from primary to university levels. No Computer subject books cover the subject of Computer Ethics and cyber-warfare. Even today only one University in Pakistan i.e. National Defence University (NDU) offers the course of cyber-Security as an elective subject but the lack of interest of students often leads the course to be dropped due to less number of students. This issue has created concern in Pakistani cyber-experts as the public can hardly understand the threat posed by the spectrum of cyber-space. This is not only important on the academic level but rather at the national level to make the public aware of how to surf and use the cyber-domain safely to secure them from being a soft target for the outside world.

Economic Disruptions

The modern era has become dependent on ICT based economic facilities such as e-trade, e-commerce and e-banking. Such terms have made life extremely fast and brought tremendous changes in the existing patterns of life, at the same time such practices have become vulnerable to cyber-attacks. Economic disruption

in the cyber-domain is considered as the most critical because the purpose of such cyber-attacks is to target the economic system of any country, which can create panic among the public. Such attacks are either to inflict damage or maybe even led to direct stealing of money. The target can be banking systems, which are directly linked to the economies of nation consequently economy is one of the most important pillars of any nation's national security. Pakistan has most recently been the target of such attacks at minor levels targeting many bank account holders in 2018 but coordinated attacks in this domain can have a catastrophic impact. Following terms have cautioned the life of an individual and brought a huge impact on national security;

- **Cyber-Theft:** Cyber-theft is the stealing of money targeting internet-based trading and banking companies. Pakistan witnessed such kinds of attacks most recently in November 2018, when people were deprived of millions of rupees using unauthorized online transfers.¹⁷ Pakistani authorities were helpless to explain the incidents. Until now no criminal is identified and has created a dilemma, where people are losing trust in using internet banking systems, which again will put Pakistan on backbenches in this domain. Internet scammers and hackers have led many online payment companies to put a ban on Pakistan from using its services such as PayPal, Google AdSense, Skill and many others. The misuses of Pakistani credit cards and debit cards have compromised people's trust. In this regard, the latest report claimed that card data of almost 20,000 users was stolen and sold to hackers on the dark web.¹⁸ This kind of attack holds the potential to inflict major damage to the economy of any country in general and Pakistan in particular in the coming future and will ultimately compromise the national security.
- **Crypto-Currencies:** The mysterious rise of crypto-currencies in the last few years has attracted investments from major investors because of its secure and stealthy nature. Crypto-currencies are forecasted to be used extensively in terror financing because of its complex transaction systems, for a country like Pakistan with less efficient e-payments systems it is difficult to avert and track the financial activities of terrorist and anti-state organizations, which are directly linked to its national security. There are many registered crypto-currencies in the world, while some are unregistered. In any case, the stealth transactions have attracted terrorist organizations to use unregulated currencies. Money Laundering is also common, using unregistered crypto currencies. According to statistics, there is almost 2073 crypto-

currencies in operation with an approximately market capacity of 1.4 trillion US dollars.¹⁹ The Legalization of crypto currencies varies from country to country. There is an "absolute ban" on the use of crypto-currencies trading in countries such as Algeria, Lesotho, Bolivia, Egypt, Bahrain, Iraq, Pakistan, Morocco, Nepal, Lithuania, and the UAE. Whereas an "implicit ban" applies to another 15 countries.²⁰ Pakistan, however announced a ban on crypto currencies and the State Bank of Pakistan strongly warned financial institutions against its use in Pakistan. But the lack of an effective system against the use of crypto currencies led to 60% increase in the value of Pakistan's first and only crypto currency, PakCoin. The use of crypto currencies in terrorism, tax evasion and money laundering is becoming a major threat not only to the economy, but also to the national security in larger framework.²¹

- **Ransomwares:** Ransomwares are virus softwares that are used to infect target computers and encrypting its data unusable until a specified ransom is paid-off to the unidentified attackers to decrypt the data for using again. Most of the time the attackers demand the money in crypto-currencies which makes then difficult almost impossible to track down the attackers. These kinds of attacks got famous in mid-2017 when the UK's NHS computer systems were attacked. Hackers gained access to the UK medical system. A computer virus is known as "WannaCry" is distributed via email as an attachment, because as the computer user clicks on it, all his data is blocked by the spreading virus in the computer system and will require online money transactions to the attackers to gain access to those files again. Around 300,000 connected computers were infected with WannaCry due to which the National Health Services (NHS) of the U.K remained inactive for several days when a 22-year-old Devon security researcher managed to find a kill switch and restore access to the system.²² The same kind of attack dubbed was used to hack computer systems in Ukraine during its conflict with Russia by using a virus named "Petya".²³

Cyber-Physical Attacks

These attacks are also known as "cyber-to-physical effect," when the hacker/attacker reaches the real world from his virtual computer world results in a catastrophic consequences. The use of "Stuxnet" computer virus by the Americans and Israelis, which infected the computers of the Iranian nuclear program and caused disruption in thousands of programmable logic controllers (PLCs) controlling the centrifuges used for the uranium enrichment process.²⁴ Such attacks are

identified as top-level attacks by countries such as the US; which considers these attacks as critical to their automated SCADA systems (Supervisory control and data acquisition) and Information Control Systems (ICS) which is used in many of their systems such as Water Management, Electrical Power grids and other critical infrastructure. The following cyber practices fall in physical cyber attacks.

- **Sabotages:** Sabotage in the domain of cyber-warfare is considered as the attack, where the target of attackers is the computer systems controlling critical infrastructures, such as Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Power Grids, Electric Distribution Systems, Automated Production Systems, Transportation Systems and many others. Pakistan luckily has not faced such kind of attacks because of two reasons. First, Pakistan has developed both its nuclear program and appropriate defense mechanism which on many occasions has been termed satisfactory by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Secondly, Pakistan remains underdeveloped in Industrial control systems, which will change in the future and the probability will increase with the introduction and development of modern technologies. This kind of development in technology makes any country of the world a target for sabotages as was the case of Iran when its nuclear program was hit by the Stuxnet virus.²⁵
- **Data Breaches:** Data breaches have emerged as critical failures in information and communication systems. For example, in the last three years on many occasions, the personal data of individuals using social media on the internet have been breached and accessed illegally, which is then sold illegally on the internet, which in turn is then used in cyber-harassment. These kinds of breaches have been termed as critical by many researchers as this data can be critical in shaping the ideology of the public using fake news according to pre-defined agenda. Data breaches have been reported since 2005 but the most critical data breaches happened in 2017 and 2018. In 2018 a Cambridge Analytica whistleblower revealed that data of more than 50 million Facebook users were exposed to Cambridge Analytica, which was used to target American voters.²⁶ Data breaches have been allegedly termed as a major factors leading to events such as Arab Spring, the US presidential election (2016) and the Brazilian presidential elections(2018). Keeping these in mind it is important to explain here that according to Pakistan Telecommunication Authority, 60 million users of Pakistan has access to the internet out of which 40% have registered user profiles on social

media. This can lead to an unwanted situation in the future if such data is breached illegally.

- **Relying on Foreign Equipments:** The use of foreign equipment in the domain of information and communication technology is one of the most ill researched areas in cyber-space. Most of the computer systems used around the world is developed by major powers and used in the critical infrastructure of many countries. The use of such systems can be exploited if the manufacturers leave a back door, backchannel, RAT (Remote Access Trojan), etc. in computer equipment. Pakistan like most of the countries around the world relies on foreign computer equipment's from small microprocessors, embedded systems to heavy-duty industrial computer system, which can at some time in the future pose a threat to the national security.

Pakistan and Cyber Warfare; An Analysis

Pakistan currently has a very low level of cybercrime laws, which are supposed to combat low-level cyber-crime. There is nothing as such to combat cyber-warfare at a broad and effective national or international level and neither there is any such strategy. Moreover, the current laws are ineffective rather public hardly knows about these laws. The first "Electronic Transactions Ordinance 2002" was drafted only to deal with banking issues, whereas, "Pakistan's Cyber-Crime Bill 2007" covers cyber-terrorism, misuse of electronic encryption, electronic system fraud and electronic forgery. The current and only first-level response to any cyber-crime in Pakistan has been adopted in the form of "Prevention of Cyber-crime Act 2015" which is the only drafted law in the constitution of Pakistan to combat cyber-crime. It explains the specified areas of cyber-crime and punishments for committing cyber-crimes in Pakistan. Moreover, the bill also highlights different types of crimes that come under the umbrella of cyber-crimes in the Pakistan Cyber-Space.²⁷

The National Response Center for Cyber-crime (NR3C) was set up in 2007 and mandated to the Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) to primarily combat technological crime in Pakistan. It is the only unit of its kind in the country and, in addition, to directly receive complaints, it also helps other law enforcement agencies in their own affairs.²⁸ But since the inception of NR3C, if one compares it on the technological analysis to the modern innovations in cyber-crimes, the statistics of NR3C reports about its implementation are poor. Neither it is up to the standard neither it is properly regulated. Even the basic setup of the agency is not up to the marks when compared with other agencies of the world.

Way Forward for Pakistan

The following international and national level recommendations are suggested against the threats identified in the cyber warfare domain.

International Level

Information and Communications Technology (ICT) is one of the main security challenges around the world. Risk assessments suggest that the real and universal emergency may be caused by the fact that the state or group of companies may create fear by using ICT to destroy the basic framework or military coordination systems. The proliferation of asymmetric warfare (i.e., conflicts between nations or groups that have disparate military capabilities) has expanded the use of ICTs by the states, which requires the promotion of a digital lead code throughout the world.²⁹ There is an urgent need for interstate participation to mitigate the dangers of Cyber-Crime, Basic Cyber-Attacks, Electronic Secret Work, Mass Information Interventions and Proposed Hostile Actions to expand control through the power of the Internet. The development of digital hazards can accelerate the monstrous social and financial damage, and it is necessary to re-calibrate worldwide efforts to present this new reality. Multinational organizations or regional partners such as UN, SCO, BRICS, SAARC and many others like these can work together to jointly tackle the issue of cyber-security to avoid confrontations between states. Especially these organizations can work jointly to make a mechanism to stop the spread of cyber-terrorism. The 2016 EU Parliament Directive on the Network and Information Security Systems, is a good example for such joint mechanisms in which the EU Parliament initiative focused on cyber-threats to sensitive and critical infrastructure with the aim to improve its countermeasures and enhances safeguarding mechanisms of its online services such as e-commerce, data systems against such digital infrastructures could have severe consequences and can inflict huge operational costs³⁰ and other services vital to the businesses of its governments and citizens. Any coordinated cyber-attacks

National level

At the national level the recommendations are divided into two categories; the Critical Category and the Future Strategy Category.

- **Critical / Emergency Recommendations:** This highlights the urgent steps required to secure the cyber-space such as;
 - **Broad National Security Policy:** The first critical step for the government is to legislate a broad and comprehensive national

cyber-security policy which must lay down well-defined procedures to tackle the issues of cyber-security. The scope of the cyber-crime bill should be expanded and be part of the national cybersecurity policy. The example of India's National cyber-security policy 2013 can be considered as a guideline model to devise a comprehensive policy.³¹

- **Establishment of National Cyber-Command:** The establishment of a national level cyber-command is very important to handle the issue of cyber-warfare which is considered as part of fifth-generation warfare. The USSTRATCOM is a good example wherein Pakistan the National cyber-command can be established to work under the National Security Council to take all concerned leaders onboard while preparing offensive and defensive cyber-war capabilities. The current NR3C of FIA can continue only to tackle minor cyber-crime.
- **Regulation of Pakistan's Cyber-Space:** Regulation of the current cyber-space is also very critical for the national security of Pakistan as PTA has failed to implement the writ of the state in cyber-space, such as the ban of social media in the past due to the issue of blasphemy. This can be done by devising a comprehensive mechanism with IT industry and LEA to regulate the cyber-space with the standards of ICAN internationally. All the computer and mobile subscriber's records should be properly maintained. The illegal use of untraced IP's, VPN's, Pirated Softwares should be banned.³²
- **Capacity Building:** The capacity of Pakistan's Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA) should be enhanced in order to deal with new innovation in cyber-crimes. LEA workers should be properly trained and equipped to combat cyber-crimes as the current situation of cyber-crime are very alarming. The forces should be divided into a different areas of operation with regard to harassment, economic embezzlement, terrorism and many other cyber-spheres.
- **Public Awareness Campaigns:** The public should be educated with campaigns and promotions to help them understand their rights and ethics in the domain of cyber-space. Many of the internet users in Pakistan are literally unable to distinguish between the pros and cons of the internet, hence are vulnerable to international propaganda. Daily hundreds of people are scammed through the internet. For this purpose, special promotion and

advertisement campaigns should be launched to help the general public aware, how to keep themselves secure with provided tips and tricks. Seminar and workshops should be arranged to build the capacity of the general public about cyber law. “National Cyber-Security Awareness Day” can be also organized to make people aware of the importance of cyber-security.

- **Future Strategy**

- **Regulation of Imported Computer Hardware:** Apart from mobile phones most of the computer equipment such as CPUs, hard drives, network switches, routers and many other computer equipment are coming in the country without proper checks and are being used in different important institutions. Factory-built codes and viruses is not a difficult task to implant in these devices. The subversion due to firmware malware at the hardware level is the most difficult to detect and the most dangerous for critical infrastructures. Most of the states, including Pakistan, depend on foreign suppliers to supply computer systems, such as SCADA and ICS. The built-in malware created during the production phase can lead to chaos. The incidents of ban on Chinese mobile phones in Europe with respect to the allegation of hardware spying equipment is a clear example of such level. Consequently, a separate wing of PTA or FIA should be trained to check incoming hardware equipment for spying and viruses before making its way to public or government systems. As an intermediate option, it is necessary to configure the equipment purchased before buying it in operation.
- **Indigenous Manufacturing of Computer Hardware:** Pakistan must strive to achieve the capacity of producing all components of computer hardware, which are used in different industries particularly in power plants along with network routers, Switches etc.
- **Broad introduction of Cyber-Warfare in the Curriculum at Secondary and Higher Secondary level:** In Pakistan, primary and secondary level computer books do not have any material on cyber-security. Even at universities level the topic is not specifically discussed. In this regard, the university curriculum should be amended so that our future generations are not dependent on foreign products.

- **Indigenous Development of Software:** Softwares are the main drivers for cyber-attacks. As the computer software is developed in the same languages and platforms, it is easy to master its codes and techniques by using it to exploit the flaws of the other systems developed in the same platform such as Microsoft Windows, Java, Android, Linux, Unix and many others. Relying on foreign software in important institutions especially in unregulated cyber-space like that of Pakistan is dangerous. Hackers are well conversant with these operating systems and by using APT these hackers exploit zero-day exploits. Hence it is imperative these Operating Systems should be customized before inducting. However indigenous development of Operating Systems will prevent any cyber-attack directed against these targets.
- **Narrative Building:** The narrative building includes the encouragement of the state to provide opportunities and scholarships to motivate students to research on cyber-security. There is very little material printed or researched in the field of cyber-security and cyber warfare in Pakistan's higher education institutes. Similarly think tanks should setup to widen and broaden up the research. Currently, there is only one think tank dedicated to cyber security setup in Air University Islamabad in 2017 i.e. National Center for Cyber-Security (NCCS). This is alarming, and the government must tend and encourage other institutes to do so to broaden up the base for cyber-security research.
- **Research and Development:** Technology is constantly changing. Today's decision may be futile tomorrow. In the same way, the threats, their consequences and the capabilities of the attackers are changing rapidly. This requires constant investigation into the most recent threats, the capabilities of the attackers, countermeasures and technical progress. Without R&D, it is almost impossible for any organization to keep up with the ever-changing threat environment. This will require funding and guidance for the implementation of cyber-security R&D requirements.

Conclusion

The world has witnessed a phenomenal growth in cyber-space. The impact of ICT extends to all business areas. Cyber-space is an activator for all other domains and unprotected cyber-space can pose a threat to the economy and safety of any country's national security in the modern era.³³ Many kinds of cyber-threats are

emerging which needs to be dealt at a national level rather at a department level. In the worst-case scenario, Cyber-attacks could affect the territorial sovereignty of the country by interfering with government decision-making systems, causing panic or inadvertent war. The Government of Pakistan is still in inertia for the development of a policy against cyber-attacks. Since 2003, only paperwork is done to build a comprehensive cyber policy and so far, no real implementation has been carried out. Currently, cyber-space is not only abused by cyber-criminals but also becoming a safe and strongest heaven for cyber-terrorists to recruit and use the networks for communication, data collection, psychological warfare and mobilization.³⁴

The research highlights that Pakistan is becoming more and more vulnerable day by day to the current and newly developing cyber-threats. The unserious attitude of the governments towards cyber-security is making Pakistan a soft target for cyber-attacks and even at many times the issue is being raised as recently by the DG ISPR in a seminar he urged media workers and journalists to counter the anti-state narrative being spread out on the internet platform which is known as fifth generation and hybrid war that is already being imposed against Pakistan.³⁵ This clearly points out that the war bells have already rung, and it is critical for Pakistan to start and secure the cyber-space as soon as possible.

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GENESIS OF ELECTRONIC MEDIA: UNDERSTANDING THE NATIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVE OF PAKISTAN

*Dr. Saqib Riaz and Dr. Babar Hussain Shah**

Abstract

Electronic media has got enormous popularity in present-day world. It has heavily influenced each sphere of life in the entire world. Information revolution has turned the world into a global village, where information passes from one part of the world to another in seconds. Media has connected the world and has not only drastically changed the lives of people but also influenced the policies, strategies of the governments. Media is considered as a soft power in the modern world that directly affects human minds and brings change in the attitudes and behaviors. Public opinion is not only influenced but shaped and designed by media, it has a great influence on strategic planning and environment. Modern societies are well aware of the fact that their survival is dependent on the wise and prudent use of media. The emergence of electronic media played a significant role in transforming Pakistani society into a well-informed society, but it raised several questions about the use and need of media in national cohesion and national security.

Keywords: Electronic Media, Commercialism, Freedom of Expression, National Security.

Introduction

The role of media has become highly significant in today's scientifically advanced era, where many researchers and experts have conducted research and emphasized upon the responsibilities of media regarding the strategic environment and national security. J. F. C. Fuller stated in his book, "*Tanks in the Great War 1914-19*" that in future, wars will be fought in the field of propaganda instead of war planes.¹ Italian scholar Gramsci presented the idea of cohesive and discursive approaches mentioning that in future only discursive approach will work worldwide. He presented the idea of the soft power of media to conquer the world and argued that in future cultural influence will act as a soft power and will take the place of invasion and occupation.² Many researchers and scholars validated the soft power of

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media in today's world in shaping, designing and redesigning public opinion. Walter Lipmann predicted in 1922 that media makes pictures in our heads and we all are dependent on media for the image of the world.³ On the other hand, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw have been successful in educating the world, that media set the public agenda and we all are heavily influenced by the agenda set by media organizations.⁴

Freedom of Expression as Basic Human Right

Freedom of expression is one of the fundamental rights of every individual. Article 19 of the United Nations (UN) gives the right to every person living on earth the freedom to express.⁵ The article is a part of the UN General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution no. 217-A that was titled as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The article ensures freedom of expression to every citizen living in any part of the world. Earlier in 1946, the UNGA passed its resolution no. 59 titled "**Right to Know**" that gave the right to every person to have access to information. Article 19 of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan also ensures freedom of expression with certain limitations and responsibilities. It ensured freedom of media in the country that is a platform for public voices. At the same time, this article faces certain criticism on the right to freedom of expression. The history of media freedom is full of ups and downs in Pakistan but now media is playing a pivotal role in uplifts the society.

Furthermore, the need and importance of media education has been recognized at various forums and it has been stressed that universities and colleges should establish media departments to educate and train young people to work in media organizations. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) arranged an international symposium in Grunwald, Germany in 1982 on the need and importance of media education. The symposium declared that there was a great need to launch media education programs in the entire world. Moreover, it was stressed in the symposium that media education programs of higher learning institutions should produce journalists and media workers, who could be able to run media organizations to strengthen freedom of expression in the world.⁶

Evolution of Electronic Media in Pakistan

Media, particularly electronic media have, heavily influenced the lives of individuals in the present-day world. Being citizens of the globalized world, we all are dependent on media for information, awareness, education, guidance and entertainment. Modern societies have become dependent on different source of media such as television, radio and newspapers and magazines to get the latest

information on happenings and events in the world. In other words, media inform us about the world and set our agenda of priorities. Pakistan since its inception had faced several problems and challenges, one of these was the institutionalized media. Most of the newspaper owners were Hindus and they migrated to India after partition. Only a few newspapers were being published from the geographical areas of Pakistan, including daily Nawa-i-waqt and Zamindar, while two largely circulated newspapers of today, daily Dawn and Jang shifted their offices from Delhi to Karachi. Later, many other newspapers started their publication from different areas of Pakistan. On the other hand, there were only three Radio stations in Pakistan at the time of independence. These were in Lahore, Peshawar and Dhaka. After the separation of Bangladesh, only two Radio stations were left in Pakistan. With correct time, Radio Pakistan, emerged as the Nation's true representative with many sub-stations in different cities of the country. Today, there are 22 AM radio stations in Pakistan. Another significant milestone in the media history of country was the launching of FM radio stations throughout the country. According to Pakistan Electronic Media Authority (PEMRA) (2019), there are 143 commercial and 47 non-commercial radio channels licensed by PEMRA.⁷

Pakistan Television (PTV) started its journey on November 26, 1964, with its first transmission from Lahore. In the beginning, it was a black and white transmission only for a few hours in the evening. Later, PTV enhanced its transmission time with a variety of programs especially entertainment programs, news and current affairs. PTV started its colour program service in 1976 and its broadcast timing increased gradually. PTV launched its first satellite service in 1992 and PTV-2 was the first satellite channel in Pakistan. In the late 90s, PTV enhanced its number of channels to maximize its viewership not only in Pakistan but also abroad. Today, PTV is broadcasting its programs from nine different channels. These are PTV Home, PTV News, PTV World, PTV National, PTV Global, PTV Sports, PTV Bolan, PTV AJK and PTV Parliament.

This is important to mention that PTV is a state-owned media organization. Like many other developing countries of the world, PTV supports and disseminate governmental policies. At the same time, Radio Pakistan is also owned, financed and controlled by the Government of Pakistan, both PTV and Radio Pakistan served the nation in the areas of information, education and entertainment.

The dawn of new millennium brought a new ray of hope for freedom of expression in Pakistan. It was the launching of private television channels. Although some private television channels started their broadcasting in 2000 from abroad but the Government legalized their transmission later and they were allowed to launch their transmission. Indus TV was the first private TV channel that started its

transmission in 2000, then ARY in 2001, Geo TV in 2002, Hum TV in 2005. In 2002, PEMRA was established to regulate the operations of private TV channels in Pakistan. It has the mandate to issue a license to private TV channels and FM radio stations. PEMRA has several bodies and committees that perform different functions at different levels, it's headquartered in Islamabad, with regional offices in big cities of the country. According to the latest information on its website, the number of satellite television licenses issued is 89 in July 2019, while some of them could not start their operations. PEMRA also issues landing rights license to foreign TV channels, the number of this kind of licenses is 37, including BBC, CNN, Baby TV, Filmax, Ten Sports and Afghan TV. The landing Rights license is issued for five years while the satellite TV license is issued for 15 years by paying the prescribed fee to PEMRA. Moreover, this organization is also responsible to issue a license to FM radio stations in the territory of the whole country.⁸

The revolution of electronic media especially private television channels has heavily influenced Pakistani society. It has not only changed the lifestyles of people living in the country but also put a great influence on organizations and government policies. However, the access to private TV channels is uneven. Although more than 4000 cable operators have their services across the country even then, there are many areas where transmission of private TV channels is not available. Most of the rural areas of Pakistan do not have access to private TV channels while the state run PTV has its network in the whole country.⁹

Transformation in the Nature of Electronic Media and Impact of New Media Technologies

The new media technologies have integrated the world to the extent that happens in one part of the world, have a direct impact on the other part of the world. This interconnected nature of media made the world a global village, a term coined by Marshal McLuhan in 1964.¹⁰ His prediction of a global village became true and today we are living in the global village, where the information revolution has changed the world altogether. Mobile phone technology was also a significant invention and development of the last decade of the 20th century. The new millennium brought smart technologies along with digital and social media that changed the patterns of lifestyles of people. Now, we all are living in the world which is now a global village where communication travels in seconds from sender to receiver. Smart-phone technology has influenced almost every human living on earth. It has facilitated human beings in every aspect of life. Ranging from students to teachers, from patients to doctors, from consumers to suppliers, from traders to buyers, from farmers to businessmen, from politicians to government employees,

from voters to candidates, every-one's life has been influenced and facilitated by smart-phone technology resulting in an increase in information level in society. Because of its many benefits it has been adopted by the majority of people all over the world.

According to data available on the website of Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) in July 2019, the number of cellular phones subscription was 161 million. The number of subscribers of 3G and 4G is 69 million and its penetration rate is 32.72%. Likewise, only three million people are having basic telephone facility with land line connection. The number of broadband subscribers is 71 million and its penetration rate is 33.81%.¹¹ This data clearly shows the penetration rate of cellular phones, the internet services of 3G and 4G and also the broadband which is extremely high. Furthermore, the research shows that modern digital technologies have significantly influenced the patterns of political communication in the whole world. The political parties make the best use of digital and social media to influence public opinion.¹² The increasing rate of the adopters of digital technologies enhanced the use of television viewership. Now many people watch their favorite programs on their cell phone instead of a TV screen. Hence the pattern of television viewing has been changed.

In the age of globalization, media has no boundaries. International media has a great influence on the world's politics. International television channels like CNN, BBC and Fox News are heavily watched in the urban areas of Pakistan. News agencies like AP, AFP and Reuters have their offices in Pakistan. These organizations have their correspondents in Pakistan who cover the events and issues of international interest. They have a special interest in the issues of foreign affairs, international dealings and security concerns. These correspondents play a vital role in disseminating the image of Pakistan and the people of Pakistan. Government organizations have to deal with them carefully so that they report positively. Through their media, they have the power to disseminate the image of Pakistan in the global community. People living in other parts of the world watch their media and believe on the narrative conveyed by them. Their negative reporting may create problems for the country. The policy-makers and other people living in the power corridors of the world organizations rely on the narrative given by international media and their decisions are influenced by the opinion created by their media.

Electronic Media and National Security: A Theoretical Perspective

Marshall McLuhan stated:

*“Today we are beginning to notice that the new media are not just mechanical gimmicks for creating worlds of illusion, but new languages with new and unique powers of expression”.*¹³

Media have been recognized as the fourth pillar of the state. Because of its great importance and influence; modern societies have become highly dependent on it. Security concerns are important because media create an atmosphere and environment of information that eventually affect public opinion. In a democratic society like Pakistan, there are several stakeholders of the information environment including government, military, society and individuals. For the first three categories, security concerns are the most important issues because the physical and ideological borders of the state depend on national security.

It is a worldwide acceptable phenomenon that national security is considered as the most important factor than anything else and there is no compromise on it. National security of a nation is a matter of its survival and no nation can take the risk to sacrifice it in the community of nations. At certain unusual situations, media organizations find themselves in a position that the issue of national security comes at par with their professional requirements, where it becomes difficult to manage the situation. During such situations, some media professionals advocate for professional ethics and values that may create problems and hindrances for the state and the military. History of the seven decades shows that at several occasions the state had to face problems because of the irresponsible reporting of some media channels in Pakistan.

The Social Responsibility Theory of media stresses that there are certain responsibilities on media on behalf of the society and state, where media should take care of them.¹⁴ The social responsibility theory came at a time when media scholars were divided into two groups. One group was in favor of the Authoritarian viewpoint that media should protect the interests of the people in power while the other group was of the view that media should be free to publish or broadcast anything at any time. Both extreme level viewpoints created discomfort for society. This situation gave birth to the idea of Social Responsibility Theory that emerged in the mid 20th century in the United States. The theory was welcomed all over the world since it forced media organizations to conduct their operations within the limitations of social responsibility. The theory gives protection to the social and cultural values of a society and also the national interests especially the issue of national security.

This is also important to mention that different segments of a society have different interests consequently desiring different kind of treatment by the media organizations. Being the custodian of a nation, the government in power has to protect the national interests and its requirements from the media organizations remain the same. Different political parties have different agenda and they seek media to help fulfill their agenda. Different pressure groups have their own stakes in a society. The Military has its own requirements to protect the geographical boundaries of a state. Businessmen have their own desires from the media. Here, it becomes difficult for the media to decide what to do. In addition to all these influences, media organizations have to compete with international media because the dominant flow of information remains from West to East. In these circumstances, the role of media becomes highly sensitive to protect the national interests.

Media and National Security -A Global Perspective

Media have influenced each and every segment of society in the entire world, from developing to developed nations. It has played a significant role in shaping the public opinion and perceptions of masses in different parts of the world. It was those perceptions that led different nations to go for wars. For example, American media supported its government and military during the Vietnam War in 1950s. Later on, the same media forced its government to withdraw its forces from Vietnam. Greater Societal pressure eventually led the American government to withdraw its military from Vietnam.¹⁵ In 1989, the incident of Tiananmen Square occurred in China, where thousands of students died. This tragic incident was condemned by the International media. Journalists all around the world criticized the Chinese military for the brutality that resulted in the revision of foreign policy of many nations towards China. The international media highlighted the tragedy and motivated the world community to act against the action of the Chinese Government. The Killing of American soldiers in Somalia was another incident that also provoked American media to enforce its Government to withdraw its forces from Somalia. The pictures of the American soldiers being beaten in the streets of Mogadishu resulted in large scale outcry in American society. Eventually, Clinton Government had to withdraw its soldiers from Somalia.¹⁶ Gulf war was also another international event that created a huge hue and cries all over the world. Bush administration tried to get maximum support from American media. Phillip Knightly mentioned that the US Government started comparisons of Iraqi President Saddam Hussain with German dictator Hitler.¹⁷ The Gulf war eventually became a televised war that created the sentiments of hate for the American administration all over the

world. The role of media has been vital during all these conflicts where media was used as a weapon by the forces associated with war.

The most significant contemporary event is 9/11 that changed the world altogether. The whole world watched the live scenes of attacks on the World Trade Towers in New York. American media coined the term Islamic terrorism. Hence a new war started that changed the social and cultural norms of the whole world. The Western media provoked people in the West that Muslims were responsible for the incident of 9/11. The role of media has been vital in the almost two-decade long war against terrorism in shaping the opinions and sentiments.

The Arab Spring was also a significant historical development of the 21st century in which Social Media played a major role in shaping the public opinion worldwide that contributed towards motivating Arabs to protest against their respective authoritative regimes. It was a war led by tweets, blogs, Facebook and YouTube bytes. The credit of the Arab Spring goes to Social Media that united Arab people, who eventually ousted their dictators from their several decades long rule. The rules of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt and Qaddafi in Libya came to an end because of the war led by Arab people through social media. A number of research studies have been conducted in the West to investigate the role of social media in the Arab Spring in 2011-12. After analyzing more than 3 million tweets, gigabytes of YouTube content and thousands of blog posts, a study conducted at the University of Washington found that social media played a central role in shaping political debates in the Arab Spring. It was further stated that Social media became a critical part of the toolkit for greater freedom.¹⁸ Gadi Wolfsfeld, Elad Segev and Tamir Sheafer found that social media have the power to mobilize people for political gatherings and protests.¹⁹

Media and National Security of Pakistan – An Analysis

During the last two decades, the electronic media of Pakistan significantly contributed in influencing public opinion. The television industry of Pakistan flourished, and its reach widened to the nooks and corners of Pakistan.²⁰ During the regime of ex-President Pervaiz Musharraf, the electronic media supported the Lawyers' Movement in the year 2007, which resulted in the restoration of the judiciary in the country. Social media also supported this movement in addition to TV channels. Swat Operation of Pakistan Army was supported by the electronic media, which declared Swat from extremists. Media played a significant role in changing public opinion and making it favorable for military operation. Almost a decade ago, the whole valley of Swat was captured by the militant groups enforcing their own kind of rules and regulations. The militant group Tehreek-e-Taliban

Pakistan (TTP) grabbed the administrative control of the valley. The rule of the state became almost invisible. Pakistan Army launched operations in the whole valley to fight against terrorism and lawlessness. The electronic media portrayed the positive image of the Pakistan Army which resulted into great support of the people of Pakistan for its Army²¹. Furthermore, the issue of Drone attacks was a controversial issue for the Pakistani nation. Many civilians were being killed in the year 2011-12 due to drone attacks that eventually created feelings of hatred among the people against foreign forces. The electronic media of Pakistan played a positive role in convincing the world community that these drone attacks were a source of increasing hatred. Diplomatic missions in Pakistan keenly observe and monitor Pakistani media to be aware of the sentiments of the people of Pakistan.

Electronic Media in Safeguarding National Security in Pakistan

Media has three functions to perform in modern societies: awareness, education and entertainment. All three functions are related to the concept of national security. The electronic media of Pakistan is aware of its responsibilities towards the issue of national security. Media organizations work freely and report the events happening in all parts of the country. Although on some occasions, the role of media has been criticized by some segments of civil society but on most of occasions, the role of television channels has been positive for the national issues. The issues of national interest are given top priority and consideration. The media of Pakistan played a highly supportive role in 1965 & 1971 wars with India. Radio Pakistan and Pakistan Television played a vital role in emotionally strengthening the nation by playing emotional songs, depicting strong resolve and portraying the nation's strength. The role of electronic media in various crisis situation such as 9/11 incident, war against terror, suicidal attacks in Pakistan, Osama Bin Laden Operation, APS attack; all these incidents were supported national interests and tried to unite the nation instead of fragmenting society. Moreover, the role of media channels have been quite significant during the natural calamities such as earthquake, floods, spread of Dengue fever etc. in public awareness as well as in motivating masses to help others in suffering.

Pakistani electronic media pointed out several cases of corruption in their investigative reporting, which resulted in big decisions against the defaulters. Their social service has been highly commendable for the eradication of corruption from the society. The role of television channels is of great importance in creating political awareness in Pakistan. Today, many citizens of Pakistan are politically aware and able to have their voting decision at own. The watchdog role of media has made the

government accountable to the masses. The role played in state and private channels during elections, made it difficult for any party to play with the results and resort to malpractices during elections; all this is making the country strong, vibrant and answerable to masses.

Perhaps, one of the highly pivotal roles of electronic media has been about entertainment. Pakistan Television provided excellent entertainment programs to the Pakistani audiences for decades. PTV dramas have contributed a lot in providing entertainment to the people. The music programs of Radio Pakistan have been a source of amusement for people living in urban as well as rural areas. With increasing changing patterns of media use, now entertainment is used as a source for stimulating concerns including national security. On national days, different programs are organized by Defence organizations with the help of Pakistan Television, where national songs and motivational music is played to boost up feelings, emotions and arousing nationalism among the masses. PTV has produced several dramas to boost love and passion for Pakistan Army. Alpha Bravo Charlie has been a famous drama serial of PTV in 1990s. PTV has produced dramas on the lives of martyrs of the Pakistan Army. The entertainment role of media has become significant for national cohesion.

Commercialism versus National Security

In the age of commercialism, news has become a commodity. Media organizations have become economic entities instead of social organizations and their basic objective is to earn more money. In these circumstances, it becomes more important to protect the national security of the country. Noam Chomsky's propaganda model states that media organizations propagate the narrative for which they are paid by their financiers.²² Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen Reese found that financial constraints become a hurdle for the freedom of media.²³ On certain occasions, it is observed that the private television channels of Pakistan prefer their commercial benefits over national or social motives. They remain busy to attract more and more audience to get a better rating that eventually attracts advertisers to advertise their products on that particular media. The current affairs programs and live talk shows of Pakistan TV channels sometimes do not take care of the national interests. They have established their association called as Pakistan Broadcasters Association (PBA) to protect their financial interests. For greater national cause, this is vital for PBA to include the concern of national security in its priorities and ask its member organizations to take special care for the national issues as a part of their social responsibility.

Objectivity versus National Interests

There is a continuous debate among media scholars worldwide that what should be preferred more by media: actual reporting (objectivity) or the national interest. The conflict between the concepts of objectivity and national interest has been a matter of debate at various forums. Objectivity is the basic pillar of the profession of journalism, which requires that news should be reported exactly in the way as it happened. It eradicates the inclusion of any views or comments or inclusion of any kind of human feelings or emotions in the news. It requires that nothing should be kept secret and actuality should be the base of any news story. On the other hand, national interests sometimes require not to publicize each and every information through media because on certain occasions it becomes indispensable to hide some particular information. In this situation, it becomes the responsibility of media organizations to keep the nation's interests on top priority even at the cost of objectivity because it is a matter of the survival of the entire nation. Reporters and editors should pay special attention to such issues that need special care regarding national security. Only those aspects should be highlighted that can spread a positive image of the nation and its strength. This is responsibility and moral obligation of the media organizations to keep the morale of the nation high in all situations.

Way Forward

Electronic media, especially, television and radio have become an integral part of modern societies. Digital media and social media have also joined the race and they are playing a significant role. They are capable to influence public opinion worldwide including people, organizations and governments. It is concluded that the role of media is extremely significant and sensitive regarding the issues of national security. A slight carelessness of some media outlet can create unrecoverable damage for the state and its institutions. Therefore, this is the top priority of media organizations to deal with the issues related to national security with extreme level of care. Commercial benefits should be sacrificed for a greater national cause. Only senior and responsible journalists should be assigned for the reporting of such issues. Media organizations should develop a mechanism in which there should be control of content regarding national security issues at top management. Some senior journalists with vast experience should be assigned to review such news before going on air or to print. Live coverage of TV programs can also create problems at certain times. Television channels should record such discussion programs and talk shows well before time so that there should be enough time for editing and presentation. Only those experts should be invited by TV channels in their programs who are well-aware and loyal to the nation and country. Irresponsible people may create a

problem with their irresponsible statements. Media management should make necessary arrangements to produce special programs to make the audiences aware of the issues of national security and to negate the negative propaganda of the enemy. National think tanks should also support media organizations to produce defence related programs for the awareness of general masses and also to wipe out the propaganda of the enemy media. The positive role of media will be highly supportive to create harmony and unity in the nation and to bring closer to the national narrative. The state-run media organizations have played their role with responsibility. Now, this is time for privately owned media organizations to come forward and produce content to strengthen national spirit among the masses of Pakistan.

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NATIONAL SECURITY REPERCUSSIONS OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN PAKISTAN

*Afsheen Zeeshan and Dr. Muhammad Bashir Khan**

Abstract

In the last two decades, the world has struggled with climate change and global warming issues. Even though foundations of environmentalism began as early as the 1950s, it is the Brundtland Commission on Environment that reenergized the crusade towards sustainable development. The Commission defined such development as that, which allows an existing generation to exploit the existing natural resources without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs using the available resources in their time. Climate change and global warming crusaders, however gained a lot of space following the Montreal Protocol that aimed at governing emission greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. However, their desires for compulsive carbon credit crusade as well as minimization of carbon-related emissions continue to meet different reactions from various countries. Some countries like the US have withdrawn from the accord giving the reason for national security in their decisions. This paper explores the correlation between climate change and security issues in the world and narrows down to Pakistan. Pakistan, in terms of geographical location, remains one of the most volatile nations given the different stand it always has in terms of war allies. The paper will underscore the correlation of its struggle for stability and climate change amid issues of terrorism fight. The paper will also evaluate essential remedial measures Pakistan can put in place to ensure it regulates the negative impacts of climate change.

Keywords: Climate Change, Global Warming, Water Scarcity, National Security.

Introduction

Climate change and global warming remain the current thorny issues facing world leaders. To some individuals, the two environmental issues represent the world's greatest test to global civilization in the 21st Century. According to Jackson, climate change represents a wide range of global occurrences arising from the use of fossil fuels that emit greenhouse gases to the atmosphere.¹ Such occurrence include a rise in global temperatures, changes in water levels at the sea, loss of ice levels in the Northern and Southern hemisphere and melting of mountain glaciers. In some cases,

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the shift in plant blooming and extreme and unpredictable weather patterns also occur because of climate change. Currently, climate change crusaders and scientist of global warming claim that the effects of the carbon emissions raise the world temperatures at an alarming trend. In record, the current decade represents one of the warmest in the century. Issues of droughts, cyclones, forest fires, rising seas levels, and decreasing agricultural success represent the leasing exhibits of the ruthlessness of climate change and global warming. In the last Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change held in October 2018, estimates indicate that average global temperature will rise between 2°C and 10°C over the next century.²

Genesis of Climate Change

Climate change can be defined as a variation in regional or global climate conditions specifically, a transformation observed in the mid from the late twentieth century onwards and produced mainly because of the greater levels of Carbon Dioxide in the atmosphere due to the usage of fossil fuels. Climate change means long-term shift on a large scale in the average temperatures and global weather patterns. 11,000 years before the Industrial Revolution, the average temperature across the planet was constant at around 14°C. The Industrial Revolution initiated in the mid of 1800s, when people started to use fossil fuels such as oil, coal and gas and burn them to meet the fuel requirements. Energy is produced in the process of burning fuels but greenhouse gases such as methane, nitrous oxide and carbon dioxide are released into the air. Now the quantities of these gases in our atmosphere are increasing day by day.³

- **Climate Change in Pakistan:** In the previous five decades, there is a rise of 0.5°C in the annual mean temperature of Pakistan. In the last century, there is approximately 10 centimeters increase in the sea level alongwith the coastal areas of Karachi. Global emissions can cause an increase of 3-5°C in the annual mean temperature of Pakistan by the end of this century. Melting of glaciers in the mountainous region of Himalayas, is affecting the volume of water flowing in the rivers at an alarming rate and these impacts are threatening the lives of millions. As a consequence of constant climate change, Pakistan's climate has become gradually more unpredictable and this inclination is anticipated to persist.⁴
- **Causes of Climate Change:** Greenhouse gas emissions represent the largest climate change causer. Release into the atmosphere of carbon based gases such as Carbon Dioxide and Methane, Nitrogen based gases such as Nitrous Oxide and Ozone cause a heating effect, which

otherwise known as the “greenhouse effect”. Before the banning of chlorofluorocarbons, these gases lead to the depletion of the Ozone layer that previously protected the lower atmosphere from direct sunrays. The Ozone layer exists in the upper atmosphere and helps in regulating global temperatures through reflection of the sunrays and emission of limited heat to the Earth’s surface by radiations. The depletion of the Ozone layer through the emission of these greenhouse gases compromises this role since more sun rays access to the lower global atmosphere.⁵ Forest degradation leads to climate change and global warming. Forests and trees are great carbon sinks. In the carbon cycle, they absorb Carbon Dioxide and use it for photosynthesis thereby releasing oxygen to the atmosphere. This carbon sequestration process goes down as the numbers of trees reduce in the forests. Trees are being removed for human use, forests are being eliminated for agriculture and human settlements and accident forest fires continue to compromise the ability of trees to absorb carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

- The higher concentration of Carbon Dioxide in the atmosphere leads to global warming and climate change.⁶ Pakistan plays an insignificant role in total global greenhouse gas emissions that are less than 1% and it is included in the list of countries that are the lowest in the globe in increasing quantities of greenhouse gases but it is also among those countries, which are the most vulnerable to climate change. In financial and technical capacity, our country is facing lots of challenges in adapting to these adverse impacts.⁷

Climate Change and Its Impacts

Oceans and seas are large assets in controlling climate change and global warming. Oceans absorb huge quantities of Carbon Dioxide and prevent it from accessing the upper layers of the atmosphere. However, the high concentration of trapped carbon dioxide in the oceans and seas make their water more acidic thus and causes negative impacts on the ocean and sea life. Freshwater access remains limited in most parts of the world. Climate change continues to worsen the situation. Since warm air in the atmosphere can hold more water moisture, the rainfall patterns keep changing and causing longer dry seasons. This further reduces water levels in rivers and lakes that are vital aspects in the domestic use of water and agriculture. The natural calamities because of climate change such as drought; famine further causes more impacts on the environment that lead to the displacement of human beings and fights over limited resources. Global warming and climate change cause desertification. Heatwaves arising from global warming

and unpredictable weather conditions continue to expand to the areas that experience favourable temperatures for human existence. In 2015, the State of Food Insecurity report by the International Fund for Agricultural Development and World Food Program indicated that more than 795 million of the global population lack access to adequate and quality food.⁸

Heavy monsoons have been affecting Pakistan frequently because of the country's geographic location makes it the most vulnerable to these rains. Over the previous two decades, the extreme events such as flooding and heavy rainfalls are becoming the reasons for the loss of human lives, livelihoods, assets and livestock. The main victim is the agricultural sector and due to agricultural losses, Pakistan's is not able to achieve its GDP's targets. Cold and heat waves are posing threats to its inhabitants. Changing precipitation patterns, water availability periods, droughts, intensity and frequency of heatwaves and weather-induced natural disasters all are contributing towards our weak economy.⁹

Climate Change and National Security – A Theoretical Perspective

Land, minerals, and political powers have been considered as the leading sources of conflicts in the previous decades. However, in the present day world, energy and environment seem to overtake these elements and are becoming major causes of conflicts across the globe. The nature and scope of ecological dangers because of climate change to national security and tactics to deal with them are subjects for debate among the academicians and policymakers.

In the academic and theoretical world, Climate Security is a terminology that is studied under the umbrella theory of Environmental Security, which was debated for the first time in the Brundtland Report in 1987. During the next three decades, professionals and experts in areas of diplomacy, politics, security, climate change and environment have presented this thought in an increasing frequency. According to Romm, the major implications of environmental changes on national security can be classified as:

- **Transnational Environmental Problems:** These consist of global environmental complications such as climate change due to global warming, loss of biodiversity and deforestation.
- **Local Resource Pressures:** These take account of resource shortages causing local fights, such as clashes over water scarcity and migration problems on the loss of agricultural land. Environmental insecurity can

also contribute towards the genocides and this is the most challenging concern for national security.

- **Environmentally Threatening Consequences of Wars:** These comprise of practices of warfare that damage or degrade environments.¹⁰

In an article, published by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists in 2016, the writer recommended that encounter over climate linked water problems, could be the reason for nuclear war, including Pakistan and India. On the basis of a review conducted on sixty studies on the topic of climate change and fights, more extreme rainfall could intensify social violence by 4%, and regional violence by 14% (median estimates).¹¹

Refugees and internally displaced persons because of climate change is a great challenge to address the issues regarding national security. Climate change effects such as a rise in sea levels, flooding, cyclones, and melting of glaciers continue to displace people from their native areas of habitation. As there are no laws present that categorize these displaced persons as refugees, their movement without legal protection exposes them to human trafficking and other vices. Their “illegal” settlements in some areas become a significant threat for others in the struggle for limited resources. Climate change and global warming are on the verge of creating crises over water and water resources. Apart from being a basic domestic commodity for human consumption, water is also important in agriculture and energy production.

According to the office of National Director of Intelligence in the US, North Africa, Middle East, and South Asia are likely to experience conflicts of water scarcity, quality and floods by 2040.¹² Some of the rivers that are likely to be part of these conflicts are Rivers Nile, Tigris, and Indus. The freshwater in these rivers that is being used for agriculture and irrigation continues to decrease; there is the likelihood that these countries will be involved in conflicts regarding access to the water of these rivers and regulations for using this freshwater. Reduction of water levels may also lead to increased food shortages, poor harvest, reduced resiliency towards drought, and increased contamination resulting for the use of agrochemicals. “Weaponization” of water in case of its scarcity is the new terminology being used by country to represent new problematic scenarios.¹³

Climate Change and Threats to National Security of Pakistan

Pakistan is currently undergoing a series of threats from terrorism, financial constraints, energy deficits, and climate change. Its security as a nation remains a

key concern to each and every Pakistani as they show concern over government decisions, which they consider not good economically and socially. In the struggle for peace and tranquility, Pakistan also suffers several local unrests like those in Baluchistan and target killing in cities like Karachi. Maintaining the fight against these multifaceted elements is costly. It keeps the county in an unstable situation with serious losses of human and fiscal resources. Despite all those challenges, climate change is further eating up the country without mercy. With its diverse geography containing a host of mountain ranges, glaciers, deserts, coastal lines, and plain areas, Pakistani suffers from all kinds of effects of climate change.¹⁴ Climate change continues to affect the country in the following aspects.

Agricultural Aspects

A large number of Pakistanis depend on agriculture as their source of livelihood. Pakistan as a country relies on its agriculture for foreign exchange as well as tax revenue. With such a level of dependency on agriculture, any change on factors of production such as land, labor, capital, and climatic conditions directly affects productivity and hence, decreases the earnings. Since natural and local agricultural activities in Pakistani depend on temperature, solar energy and rainfall, change in any of the above factors due to climate change and global warming exposes Pakistan to severe challenges such as:-¹⁵

- Reduction in water accessibility and availability that is changing the patterns of crop rotation.
- A severe decline in cereal production, for example; rice, wheat, sugarcane and cotton.
- In southern Pakistan crops of key cereals are anticipated to drop by 15-20% as inferred from Regional Climate Change Models.
- Livestock production is expected to decline by 20-30%, generating difficulties in milk, poultry and meat articles and forcing expenses way from reach of an average Pakistani.
- Pakistan is at present among those countries, which have weak resources regarding forests with an insufficient 5.2% forest shelter, and even this shelter is thinly stocked.
- Plant diseases, insect attacks and weeds will increase significantly, causing main crop losses.
- Vegetables, fruits and horticultural yields are worthy exports for Pakistan. An expected decline in these will harshly influence our balance of payments.

- The living of farm populations will be affected, and vulnerable groups like women, the elderly and children will be adversely impacted because of the undernourishment.¹⁶

These challenges are leading to food insecurity crises and food insecurity is a major contributor in the rise of conflicts and clashes of communities for scarce food resources. It is alarming for us and adaptive measures must be taken on time to save different segments of society from being involved in damaging and negative activities that can hinder our economic as well as social progress. A study by the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics was designed to discover science-based, pro-poor methodologies and practices that would assist Asia's agrarian mechanisms to deal with climate change, whereas helping underprivileged and weak farmers. The study's endorsements ranged from refining the utilization of climate statistics in indigenous planning and improving weather-based agro-advisory facilities, to encouraging diversification of countryside families' earnings and delivering motivations to agriculturalists to accept natural resource conservation processes that include an increase in woodland cover, replenishment of groundwater and usage of renewable energy.¹⁷

Water Scarcity

The "Task Force on Climate Change" in 2010 recognized some climate change-related dangers to water security and these threats are:-

- Increased inconsistency of river flows due to an increase in the unpredictability of monsoon and winter rains and loss of natural reservoirs in the form of glaciers.
- Increased demand for irrigation water, because of higher evaporation rates at elevated temperatures in the wake of decreasing per capita availability of water resources and increasing general water demand.
- Increase in sediment flow due to increased occurrences of a high amount of rains, causing speedier loss of reservoir capacity.
- Increased frequencies of high altitude snow avalanches and Glacial Lake Outburst Floods (GLOFs) produced by surging tributary glaciers blocking central valleys.
- Increased degradation of surface water quality due to increase in extreme climate events such as floods and droughts.
- Absence of current information and monitoring effort on climate change impacts in different regions, and deficiency of understanding and modeling ability about the patterns of glacier melting and rainfall.¹⁸

Water in Pakistan has become a serious source of conflict. Water is a great driver of Pakistani agricultural activities and any reduction in water supply reduces agricultural production. Over dependence on River Indus implies that the country will face conflicts with other nations on issues regarding the usage of water from this river. It is indicated that by 2030 Pakistan will receive a shortfall of 30% in rainfall amounts thereby reducing agricultural yields. Loss of arable land and reduced agricultural activities will expose the country to massive job loss, forced migration, and rising urbanization. With the growing population already nurturing on limited means, the climate change time bomb is ticking for Pakistan. Environmental migrants lead to food and energy stress that can lead to the struggle for political control, social recognition, and ethnic configuration, which are great recipes for inflicting conflicts. In cases where the indigenous population has to struggle over scarce water and agricultural resources with environmental migrants, the likelihood of social and community clashes remains high.

Rising sea levels threatened the stability of the coastal city of Karachi. As climate change continues to bite, melting glaciers are increasing quantities of water in the ocean that result in rising seas and ocean levels. An increase in sea level is directly related to the flooding phenomenon. If it goes without prevention and control, climate change effects will change the composition of Karachi city and can be a major contributor in the introduction of new political order. The global warming and consequential climate changes have rushed the patterns of global weather into a disorder. The adversative effects of climate change can be moderated with the help of immense tree plantation drives, appropriate urban planning, and initiation of stable flood management schemes and construction of water storage reservoirs.

Energy Sector

The important findings on Projected Climate Change Implications for Energy Sector in Pakistan are:-

- The decrease in water availability for hydropower generation. The most likely impact of global warming is the recession of Himalayan glaciers that are the largest source of freshwater supply in the country and this would very likely affect the country's power generation systems.
- Extreme climate events damaging oil, gas, and power infrastructure. The other major likely impact on the energy sector is damage to oil and gas infrastructure due to heavy precipitation leading to flooding.
- Hotter temperatures increase energy demand. As the increase in air-conditioning requirements mainly in summer, energy demand is

expected to increase. Further, climate change brings higher temperatures, and evaporation will increase electricity requirements for pumping water for agriculture irrigation.

- Warmer air and water temperatures may disturb the efficiency of nuclear and thermal power plants. An increase in water temperatures utilized for the cooling of nuclear and thermal power plants will upset the power plants' efficiency.¹⁹

The demand for energy is creating conflicts among provinces and posing a serious challenge for the Government of Pakistan in addressing the concerns raised by provincial governments. There are tribal groups in the country, who consider themselves neglected in reaping the benefits gained by using local resources for energy supply and these groups are among the major threats for national security. The issues regarding renewable energy projects such as transmission, delivery of electricity generated by them and their tariff decisions should be sorted out with consent between the center and the provinces.

Environmental Aspects

- **Fluctuating Weather Patterns:** Pakistan Meteorological Department has conveyed that over the last thirty years, climate change has caused a spatial shift of hundred kilometers towards the West in general monsoon pattern in Pakistan. There is seasonal change too in the configurations regarding rainfall distribution. The summer monsoon has moved towards the end of the term and likewise the winter showers have moved towards late February and March. Some heavy rain in the urban zone becomes the reason for urban flash flooding during the monsoon.
- In South Asia, tropical cyclones are generally created in the Bay of Bengal because of the higher temperatures that of the Arabian Sea but in the last twenty years, this trend is being changed. The Arabian Sea is facing a rise in temperature and having nearly the same temperature as the Bay of Bengal and the reason is climate change. Formation of depressions is one of its consequences and these depressions are generated in low pressure areas. They have a probability of changing into tropical cyclones and the tendency to affect the Sindh-Makran coast. The frequency of rains might decrease but the increasing trend can be seen in its intensity.
- **Glacier Melting:** With more than seven thousand well-known glaciers, comprising of approximately five hundred forty-three in the Valley of

Chitral, there is more glacial snow in Pakistan than any place on Globe external to the Polar Regions. The water from these glaciers flows to the rivers, contributes about 75% percent of the stored-water supply in Pakistan to approximately 180 million people. But as in the rest of the countries, scientists claim, Pakistan's glaciers are disappearing, particularly those at lower altitudes, consisting of the Hindu Kush mountainous region in North of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Amongst the reasons mentioned by experts are reduced snowfall, greater temperatures, heavier summer showers and widespread deforestation. Tree roots help in stabilizing or binding the glaciers to ground and Pakistan is losing its tree cover at an alarming rate.

- **Rise in Temperature:** The increase of Carbon Dioxide in the atmosphere increases the temperature that affects the moisture and precipitation levels. Even though the increase in temperature of high altitude countries may lead to a high level of rainfall and an increase in production, Pakistan falls in the countries with lower altitude that suffer losses in production due to an increase in temperature. The table below shows a decrease in production levels experienced by Pakistan and a projection on the likely scenario in the future if the mitigation measures against climate change fail.

Region	%age Share in National Production (2016)	Baseline Yield (Kilograms per hectare) 2016	Projected %age Change in Yield in 2085
Northern Mountains	2	2658	+50
Northern Sub mountainous	9	3933	-11
Southern semi-arid plains	42	4306	-8
Southern arid plains	47	4490	-5

Source: Climate Change Profile of Pakistan by Asian Development Bank²⁰

From this table, it can be analyzed that only the mountainous regions in the North will experience crop yield increase by 2085. All the rest of the Pakistan, 98% of agricultural land, will experience a reduction in production levels.

- **Soil Erosion:** Pakistan is confronting several ecological dangers, amid which, soil erosion appears to be the worst. Soil erosion involves the loss of soil at the surface level, which carries rich soil because of strong winds and flowing water. As an outcome of deforestation in the Northern parts, soil erosion is occurring at a shocking percentage. Water erosion is noticeable on vertical hills such as the Potohar pathway and adjacent zones, a region widely utilized for farming. The maximum noted amount of erosion is assessed to be 150-165 tons per hectare annually. According to some evaluations the Indus is contributing 500,000 tons of sediment to the Tarbela Reservoir daily, decreasing the lifecycle of the dam by 22% and the volume of a reservoir by 16%. Wind erosion has a comparatively lesser effect than water erosion. But, the amalgamation of the two is more disturbing. This lessens the yield of the land by 1.5-7.5% per annum.

Indian Water Aggression

After dehydrating Pakistani rivers Ravi, Bias, Jehlum and Sutlej by constructing Baglihar Dam, Kishan Ganga Dam and other minor dams, India has initiated the project of a new dam on River Chenab that is an open violation of Indus Basin Treaty. India has launched the building of three dams on the Indus River, which is the lifeline of Pakistan. The building of these dams is an element of the Indian strategy to produce 2,060 Megawatts of electricity.²¹ According to international regulations, the movement of rivers cannot be clogged by any country. River waters have a categorization of agriculture and domestic use water. Any country can trade its agriculture waters, but the domestic use waters cannot be sold so that civilization does not face any difficulty. Earlier to the water battle with Pakistan, India has also been stealing the water portion of Bangladesh and Nepal as India has clashed with Bangladesh over Farraka Barrage and with Nepal over Mahakali River. Indian dams are being built on Pakistani rivers under a well-planned approach to make the link-canal mechanism out of work, destroy agriculture and turn Pakistan into a desert.²²

Global Warming Hype – Another Perspective in the Context of National Security

There are always two sides of coins and different perspectives for contextual analysis of a problem. Another perspective about climate change is that global warming is nothing more than a new philosophy in the arena, some might have an opinion that it is a new deception, like a Y2K bug of the 21st century and the global cooling that appeared in newspapers during the 1960s and 1970s. Some people

deliberate that the notion of global warming is being utilized to create panic and fright among nations and those who are the mastermind of this revolution are considering it as a controlling weapon for the public's lives and for fiscal advantage. The history tells us that there had been much global propaganda, which gained popularity at the start but later on these ideas got discarded. Few potential motives that why climate change framework is being shaped all over the world can be:

- United Nations and its cliques desire to have international supremacy.
- Climate science scholars need to draw monetary backing.
- The developed nation's government wishes to increase taxes.
- A wish by the conservative political leaders (who support the philosophy of promoting traditional social institutions in the context of civilization and culture) to stimulate nuclear control, whereas appealing the political support of Green groups
- Purpose of some political leaders to utilize the global warming theory for economic advantage.
- Left wing political leaders wish to promote ideas of socialism.

Most of the people blame climate change for each extreme weather incident but we all must consider earnestly that abnormal or severe weather patterns are a part of the global climatic phenomenon. We cannot shift all blame to climate change; there are always some climatic occurrences that change the weather patterns of the globe. Why have not any low-lying region been submerged in the seawater as climate change experts claim. European Nations and the United States have much more pollution generating industries but why are they trying to dictate Russia, China and other countries to shut down their factories to reduce the harmful effects of global warming. Similarly, there are current reports on CNN and other international media channels that are highlighting the issues of releasing waste into the sea, noise pollution and air pollution, especially in Karachi. We admit that these challenges are being faced by Karachi's administration but in the current scenario, current reports on international media can be any hidden agenda of dictating countries to discourage the investors' traffic into the city as Karachi is the trade hub of our country. From the national security point of view, there must be a bird's eye view on each and every suspicious activity that is creating difficulties in maintenance of law and order situation whether it is from climate change perspective and any other notion.²³

Conclusion

Pakistan has a population of about 200 million that will continue to grow rapidly, and it might touch the figure of 400 plus million by 2050. Dealing with such

an extreme population challenge for an environmentally vulnerable country with limited financial resources can become very difficult. In Pakistan, climate change presents the potential to disrupt the national order and plunge the country into chaos. Water scarcity, food insecurity, and energy crises present a recipe for indulging in chaos. These coupled with the threat of terrorism, extremism and radicalization, Pakistan call for the immediate planning and implementation of remedial measures against climate change and global warming. Pakistan's climate change policy that declares climate change a priority agenda is trying to bring the country in the list of countries that have declared themselves as key players in the struggle for the reduction of carbon emissions.

Despite its emissions contributing just about 0.8% of the annual increase, the country directs itself towards reducing carbon emissions into the atmosphere. The policy also focuses on adaption and resilient measures that seek to deal with the loss of agricultural and water sources due to climate changes. Despite these efforts, there is need for continuous efforts for evaluation of climate changes for proper postulation and prediction. The country requires adequate investment in climatic change models and experts to gauge the likelihood of any calamity arising from the effects of climate change. Markedly, the forward planning can assist the country in avoiding catastrophic impacts of climate change such death of people due to flooding, storms, and cyclones. In addition, it can help the nation to develop suitable plans for tree plantation as well as improvement of agricultural practices.

Local initiatives such as forestation and reforestation play a vital role in climate change control. The country needs to embark on a serious plan for reforestation of wasted lands. The country should also educate its population on the need to practice agroforestry. Trees are carbon sinks that the can help in regulating climate change through carbon sequestration processes in the carbon cycle. The Pakistani government has prioritized tree plantation and provision of forest cover to the country in the what-to-do list to face the challenge of climate change. Earlier this year, the Ministry of Climate Change planted around 95 million saplings across the country under the "Plant for Pakistan" program.

The climate change adaptation practices of Pakistan are still at the emerging phase. Crop varieties, which are heat and drought tolerant must be used to deal with higher temperatures. Resourceful irrigation methods such as drip irrigation and sprinklers must be promoted. The irrigation distribution systems must be planned well to reduce the water losses and laser land leveling techniques must be used in order to reduce water wastage. Multi-hazard early warning systems must be introduced in all urban and rural areas and modern technologies must be integrated into this mechanism. Continuous research and development are essential to face the

threats posed by climate change and improve the security conditions better for the country. National security cannot be compromised at any cost and at any level and if climate change can have adverse effects on it, all concerns must be addressed vigilantly and sensibly.

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PAK-AFGHAN BORDER: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND WAY FORWARD

Muhammad Yousaf Alamgirian and Dr. Saqib Riaz *

Abstract

Geo-strategically Pakistan and Afghanistan are very important countries in the region. Afghanistan's different rulers starting from Amir Abdur Rehman (1880-1901) entered into various treaties regarding the settlement of boundaries but after the creation of Pakistan, in 1947, the then Afghan Amir withdrew from the agreement. Whereas Article 62 of the Vienna Convention terms that whenever any of the new country is emerged out of the colonial territory, all the agreements made during the previous eras will stand intact as legal. Due to continuous cross-border infiltration and free movement of humans and goods especially post 9/11, Pakistan felt the need to manage the Pak-Afghan border in accordance with international standards. This paper will ascertain not only the legality of the Durand Line but will also highlight why the Pak-Afghan Border Management is important in order to bring stability in the region and how this management can contribute towards internal peace and development.

Keywords: Peace, Durand Line, Border Management, War on Terror.

Introduction

Despite the fact that Durand Line is a recognized border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the management of the border issue has remained a major source of conflict between the two countries, since the independence of Pakistan. The Durand Line was declared as an international border after an MoU was signed between the then British government representative, Mortimer Durand, and the Afghan leader Abdur Rahman Khan, in 1893.¹ Both countries accepted the Durand Line, as an international border but soon after the inception of Pakistan, in 1947, Afghanistan despite being a neighbouring and a Muslim country, refused to recognize Pakistan as an independent country and also refused to accept the status of Durand Line. Pakistan, since her independence, initiated different efforts to have cordial relations with Afghanistan in order to resolve the issues. It also went ahead in

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extending hand of friendship despite Russian aggression. Moreover, Pakistan welcomed millions of Afghan refugees and offered them shelter,² unfortunately these refugees created a lot many problems such as law and order, Kalashnikov culture, drug trafficking, street crimes and unemployment of the local population.

Earlier Pakistan had threats on the East from India which has always tried to be bullish. However, from the Western side, it had no visible threats, but Afghanistan remained involved in conspiracies aimed at creating unrest along the borders in collaboration with India and USSR before Soviet aggression in 1979.³ Afghanistan's intentions have never been good towards Pakistan as, one; it refused to recognize its independence and, two it showed its dubious intentions regarding the already resolved issue of Durand Line.

After 9/11 Pakistan was one of those countries, who fought the war against terror as a front line state and made tangible efforts to eliminate terrorism from the region. Pakistan had to move its forces to launch operation in its own territory along the Western border to eliminate foreign elements residing there since the Afghans struggle against Soviets. They were the ones who fought the Afghan Mujahideen to repel Soviet aggression on Afghanistan. The United States launched war against the Taliban and declared Al-Qaeda responsible for the 9/11 incident. American and allied forces attacked Afghanistan and declared all radicals and extremists living in Afghanistan and Pakistan as terrorists. The US not only asked the respective countries to oust the terrorists from their areas but entered its forces into Afghanistan, threatening Pakistan's Western borders as well. Pakistan, however, took a strict stance that there should be no allied forces inside Pakistan borders, and they must restrict themselves to Afghanistan alone. In response to a story published in the New York Times that President Bush had ordered unilateral ground assaults inside Pakistan, the then Pakistan Army Chief, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani said, "The sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country will be defended at all costs and no external force will be allowed to conduct operations inside Pakistan."⁴ The allied forces, however, acknowledged the Durand Line as the international border and restricted themselves to Afghanistan only. Now, when Pakistan was fighting terrorism and faced attacks from across the border, it had to man the check-posts at different places and had asked Afghanistan to ensure its citizens to travel only on legal travel documents.⁵ So once again, Afghanistan raised its voice over the Durand Line only to undermine Pakistan's efforts for its border management.

Historical Background of Durand Line

In the late 1880s, the then ruler of Afghanistan was desperate to have negotiations with the British government of the subcontinent to settle the border

issues, whereas, the British government was not in hurry to resolve the matter on an urgent basis. The British nominated Lord Roberts as delegation head to visit Afghanistan, in order to settle the issue but the Afghan authorities did not welcome Roberts, because he was the one who led the British forces against Afghanistan during the second Anglo-Afghan War in 1878-80. He was well aware of Afghan terrain as well as the psyche of Afghan rulers and masses. On the other hand, the Amir thought that Roberts would be a challenging person to handle and “might be difficult to negotiate with.”⁶

The British government condemned the Amir’s refusal to accept the mission and termed it an undiplomatic move by the Afghans. After that, the Afghan Amir immediately gave his consent to have talks with the next mission to be detailed by the British government. But he successfully delayed until the time Lord Robert got retired and went back to Britain. However, Lord Lansdowne, the Viceroy of British in India, nominated, foreign secretary, Sir Mortimer Durand as head of the British mission to Afghanistan to provide a map, which would define the boundary between Afghanistan and British India.⁷

The mission led by Mortimer Durand reached Afghanistan on October 2, 1893. The final agreement was signed on November 12, 1893, known as Durand Line Agreement.⁸ After, the death of Amir Abdur Rehman in 1901, his son Amir Habibullah Khan became the ruler of Afghanistan. He revisited the border pact and signed an agreement with the British government in 1905. Amir Habibullah died in 1919. His brother Nasrullah Khan succeeded him but was ousted within seven days of his taking over. Habibullah’s son Amanullah Khan became the next Amir of Afghanistan. However, seeing that the British were exhausted due to the World War-1, the Afghan Amir started a confrontation with the British who despite troubles blocked those moves. The third Anglo-Afghan war was fought in May 1919, within a month the Afghan Amir had to go for the ceasefire as he realized that he had invited a monster for his state. At that time, he emphasized the need for a peace dialogue. As a result, a Treaty of Peace was signed on August 8 1919, at Rawalpindi.⁹ The Afghan delegation headed by Ali Ahmed Khan, while A.H Grant of the British government headed his delegation. The significance of the treaty of peace was that both the governments agreed and accepted to follow the previously accepted boundary by the late Amir Habibullah.¹⁰

However, the British alone had to work for implementation of the peace treaty and no support was provided by the Afghan government. Instead Afghans created unrest from time to time. To settle certain pending issues, the British and Afghan governments went for Kabul Treaty that was signed in 1921. In meetings afterward till 1947 the border treaty remained in force till the time of emergence of

Pakistan on the world map. Pakistan became an independent state with its already demarcated Eastern, Western and other borders. Due to the enforcement of Article 62 of the Vienna Convention¹¹ that whenever any of the new country is emerged out of the colonial territory all the agreements inked in the era of previous rulers of the region will stand intact and legal. The Durand Line was considered an international border by all means.

The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in its meeting held in Karachi capital of Pakistan in March 1956 stated,

“The members of the Council declared that their governments recognized that the sovereignty of Pakistan extends up to the Durand Line, the international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and it was consequently affirmed that the Treaty area referred to in Articles IV and VIII of the Treaty includes the area up to that Line.”¹²

Mazher and Goraya in their research paper published in South Asian Studies Journal narrated,¹³

“The Durand Line became a source of attention during the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. The use of force and border clashes in 2003 led to the casualties of many soldiers on both sides of the border. For the first time in history, Pakistan has brought and gathered its 80,000 troops on the Pak-Afghan border, in order to show that its territory shall not be used for violent activities and extremism. But this decision has raised a great deal of reactions.”

Beginning of Controversy

- **Afghan U-Turn in 1947:** Pakistan gracefully honoured all the previously signed and accepted territorial border pacts and showed its resolve to manage its borders with full force and deterrence. But the Afghan Amir Zahir Shah, in his effort to appease India, refused to accept the border treaty signed in 1893 between the British government and Afghanistan. Moreover, likeminded Jirga announced the independence of the tribal areas of Pakistan while sitting in Afghanistan, knowing well that tribal had already joined hands with the founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah and expressed their full support to him. Jinnah himself visited tribal areas, met the upright tribal elders who firmly voted to remain with Pakistan. However, Mr. Jinnah decided to keep tribal areas with Pakistan according to their own culture, traditions and norms. In short tribal areas on Pakistan sides were always dealt by Pakistan. “The people of FATA have representation in the national assembly. The area is largely ruled from

Peshawar, where the governor of NWFP, a presidential appointee, exercises enormous authority.”¹⁴

- Afghanistan, however, kept on interfering rhetorically, physically and diplomatically but Pakistan tackled the confrontation very soberly and firmly to the extent that during the war on terror, it started fencing its borders with Afghanistan, which were a continuous source of interference, infiltration and cross-border terrorist attacks from Afghanistan side. Pakistan has gone all-out for Pak-Afghan border management in order to ensure peace in both the countries as well as in the region. Barfield and Hawthorne¹⁵ in their paper narrates that “Afghan Amirs often portrayed themselves as the historic leaders of all Pashtuns even when they did not rule over them.” In others words Afghan Amirs were not having any clout over them and no influence was taken by the tribal on Pakistan’s side. Before the emergence of Pakistan, when so ever Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan visited Western belt tribal areas, the local tribes never invited the Afghan Amir to be part of the talks. Later the local tribes went for the referendum and voted to remain with Pakistan as citizens of the country.
- **Indian Propaganda:** Unfortunately, India has remained busy in conspiracies since her independence.¹⁶ It not only managed to make changes in the partition plan with the help of British representatives but also created hurdles for the newly established state of Pakistan and supported Afghanistan in terms of finances and diplomatic ties in order to create unrest in Pakistan and on its borders. Durand Line is one such example. Indian researchers, academicians and analysts always carried the state policy on Durand Line. An Indian researcher Arka Biswas in his paper “Durand Line: History, Legality & Future” narrates “Thus both the 1893 and 1905 treaties were personal in nature.”¹⁷ In fact the treaties were signed between the delegations appointed by both sides of the governments. So, any treaty signed between official and state-appointed delegations can never be treated as private or so. In “Obama’s Wars” Pakistan’s concern has been expressed in a way that it shows the gravity of the issue, which Pakistan is having regarding Indian involvement in Pakistan in order to destabilize the country.¹⁸ It says “there also was a concern that India funded separatist movements in various regions of Pakistan, most notably among the natives of Baluchistan”.¹⁹
- **US Stance:** The United States remained impartial on the issue, however, it always insisted that both sides should honor the border. The US, being one of the more stakeholders due to its global and

regional designs always accepted the Durand Line as an international border. When the Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan in 1979, no one termed it as an attack on Pakistan, because the Russian forces entered on the other side of the Durand Line which was and is Afghanistan. However, Pakistan and the US joined hands to oust Russian forces from Afghanistan. Years after when 9/11 occurred and the US entered Afghanistan and Pakistan became its ally even then it didn't allow the American boots on its part of the land. Hence, the American forces were remained restricted to Afghanistan's side, accepting the Durand Line as an international border. "The international communities, including the US, the UK, China and other nations and international organizations have always backed the legal position of Pakistan".²⁰ Even America after 9/11 having all the moral and legal support remained indecisive about operating inside Pakistan. Bob Woodward in his book, articulates,²¹

"The real issue was whether U.S soldiers could conduct operations on the ground in Pakistan. That had traditionally been the red line, but it was the crux of the problem that had to be solved."

- On the other hand, Barfield and Hawthorne²² were ironically promoting the concept of open borders by saying "Any eventual agreement must respect the long tradition of unhindered cross-border movement by residents of the area that neither Afghanistan nor Pakistan has the ability to halt." Unfortunately, this porous border had been a major cause of deterioration of the overall peace situation of the region.

Border Management

Pakistan and Afghanistan share 2,430 km²³ long international border. Due to its porous nature, this border is a continuous threat for the regional and global peace. Pakistan has number of times, asked the international powers and the Afghan governments to step forward to seal this border, but in vain. So, Pakistan started fencing its side of the border in order to stop infiltration from the other side. On June 14, 2016, when the construction of Torkham Gate was in process Afghan security forces opened fire on the Pakistani officials. Resultantly, a Pakistan Army major was martyred. Pakistan, however, is committed to complete the fencing process at all costs. That's why the Pak-Afghan border management remains a hot issue in both regional and international media.

United States Institute of Peace's special report²⁴ however says that "Afghanistan, Pakistan and the neighboring regions would all benefit from a

recognized open border between the two countries". The situation is the other way round. Because of the porous nature and open border drug trafficking, smuggling, arms trading and above all free movement of the terrorists from one side to the other has thrown the region into the worst danger of its kind. Both countries face suicidal & terrorist attacks and continue to bleed and suffer. Although its gravity has been rather less in Pakistan and increased in Afghanistan where allied forces and Afghan national army failed to adopt a comprehensive and well-composed strategy against terrorism, manning their side of the border. In fact, the Pak-Afghan border management is the only solution that can bring peace in the region.

If, ever there was any negative effect of the porous border that was on Pakistan and its Western areas bordering Afghanistan. Magnus and Benjamin in their book "Fragments of the Afghan Frontiers" narrated that;²⁵

"Because of the unrest and fragmentation in Afghanistan and break-up of the Soviet Union brought major risks to neighbouring countries, "Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province today known as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, has been profoundly affected by political instability, military conflict and disappointment over the past three decades".

Now, when most of the NATO and American forces have left and fewer foreign troops are there in Afghanistan, the issue of border management has resurfaced badly as Afghan forces are not interested or they are incapable of stopping infiltration. Hence the terrorists are staging attacks in Pakistan from base on Afghan soil. Even after the attacks of Army Public School Peshawar, Lahore Chairing Cross blast and Sehwan Sharif attack,²⁶ terrorists in Afghanistan had claimed the responsibility of these attacks. Pakistan showed resolve to barb its borders with Afghanistan at any cost not only to stop the cross-border attacks by the Afghan militants but will also help the region in controlling drug trafficking and smuggling from the other side of border.

How this cross-border infiltration damages the peace and brings instability, was analyzed by Bob Woodward in his book "Obama's Wars",²⁷ "Extremists based in Pakistan were undermining the Afghan government and in the self-destructive cycle, Afghanistan's insecurity fed Pakistan's instability."²⁸ This has been happening because of the poor management of the borders. Afghanistan has always been least pushed regarding the issue and America was worried much about the internal situation of Afghanistan, instead of looking into border management affairs. Pakistan was left with no choice to work on managing the borders as much as it could. Pakistan's move to manage its borders is not going to benefit the whole region but is very much in line with the desire of the international community. "Pakistan needs assurance from Afghanistan that it will not add to Pakistan's security problems

(particularly Afghanistan's relations with India). Afghanistan needs free access to ports, narrates the American Institute of Afghanistan Studies.²⁹ Obviously, free access for Afghanistan to Pakistani ports like Karachi and now Gwadar is only possible when Afghanistan pledges honour to the borders between both the countries and its citizens to travel on proper documents like visa and travel to Pakistan through the certified routes after thorough checking by the Pakistani officials deputed there at border-crossing points.

Due to the continuous wars and fighting among different groups inside Afghanistan and especially when the war on terror was fought on both sides of the border, the flow of refugees has increased manifold. Magnus & Benjamin in "Fragments of the Afghanistan Frontier" narrate that "the flow of refugees fleeing from or returning to Afghanistan, heroin trafficking, and the violence of continual conflicts along the frontier adds to the sense of this as a place of instability and chaos."³⁰ That shows how borders of porous nature are harmful for the societies and bring disorder in the longer run.

Way Forward

The international community hasn't been that effective in helping Pakistan and Afghanistan to improve their bilateral relations, which have become worse after the incident of 9/11 and its consequence of war on terrorism in Afghanistan. The war resulted in instability, destruction, unrest and mistrust in the region. Peace has deteriorated. The economy sector has greatly deteriorated. In such an environment, the feasible situation left for both the countries is to look for the opportunities to improve bilateral relations.

Afghanistan needs to understand that days have ended when it had open borders with Pakistan and there was a free movement on both sides. It was for peacetime atmosphere. But after the war on terrorism being fought for the last seventeen years in the region, it is not feasible and possible for any independent state to have open borders with a war-torn neighbour. Afghanistan must support Pakistan's resolve to organize and manage the two countries, borders on modern lines. Movement of the citizens from both sides must be predicate on proper visa documents and adopting procedures of international standards. To have cordial relations with some countries, it is not necessary to have open borders. Good relations should be based on honouring rules and conditions of the land.

Despite skirmishes between Afghanistan and Pakistan for the last few years, there is a way forward, but there must be a desire from both sides to establish cordial relations. It seems that both countries have felt the need to revive good relations as

during the past two years not on the state level, but people-to-people interaction also flourished. Afghanistan's President Ashraf Ghani was among the heads of the states that first phoned and congratulated Imran Khan on his party's victory in the election. He expressed his well wishes. Afghan diplomats also met Imran Khan and discussed matters of mutual interest. On assuming the office of Prime Minister, Imran Khan expressed the need for better relations with Afghanistan. Minister of Foreign Affairs Shah Mahmood Qureshi, after taking charge of the ministry had his first-ever visit to Afghanistan showing how Afghanistan, was important for bringing peace in the region and Afghanistan carries significance in Pakistan's relations with other countries.

In November 2018 Prime Minister Imran Khan visited the forward posts of North Waziristan along with Chief of Army Staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa. He was briefed about the ongoing developments regarding Pak-Afghan border management. The Prime Minister appreciated the resolve and emphasized that the measures be taken to bring peace in the region. He hoped for peace beyond borders, especially in Afghanistan. He rightly said so that "peace in Afghanistan doesn't mean peace in Afghanistan only it is the peace in region and peace in Pakistan specifically".³¹ On the other hand, the Afghan situation has not remained an issue of the United States alone. Its spectrum has broadened due to the China Pakistan Economic Corridor in the region. Russia is also a stakeholder. Central Asian States have their own interest. Hence, America will not be the only stakeholder to decide the fate of Afghanistan.

Pakistan has however been trying to play its role in mediation conducting talks with Afghan Taliban at Murree³², in 2016. The news of the death of Mullah Umar was leaked by the segments unhappy with Pakistan's resolve to facilitate talks with the Taliban and to bring a viable solution of the Afghan crisis. The then president of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai disclosed that on many occasions when he wanted to have talks with the Afghan Taliban, he was pressured by America not to engage in the talks.

The World needs to understand that Pakistan is the most important stakeholder in terms of peace in Afghanistan. If blame games are played in order to suppress Pakistan and keep it under pressure, it may not be able to play its role efficiently. The United States has also understood to some extent that its policy to Pakistan with threats is not going to work. America's strategy in Afghanistan hasn't been that successful and desired objectives haven't been achieved. The do-more mantra is also not viable in the changing scenario. It seems America has also felt the paradigm shift in the South Asian region. For example, President Trump wrote in December 2018 to Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan to play its role in resolving the Afghan crisis. Imran Khan says, "instead of 'do more' US wants Pakistan's

cooperation in Afghanistan; Pakistan will play the mediatory role instead of fighting someone else's war."³³

Pakistan is also aware of the fact that until the time peace does not return to Afghanistan there will be no peace in Pakistan and the region. That's why Pakistan has always been on the forefront to be part of the moves to bring peace in Afghanistan. In October 2018 a peace conference was held in Moscow, Russia, and about 10 countries attended it. Ironically America didn't attend the conference. On the other hand, Afghan Taliban are also reluctant to engage in talks with the Afghan government declaring it useless to hold talks with a weak government. Taliban have always insisted to have talks not less than with the United States, as decision power rests with the US and not with the Afghan government. The Taliban's other condition is that they will be engaged in talks only when United States will decide to leave Afghanistan. The US president's special correspondent Zalmey Khalilzad has made many visits to Afghanistan in this regard. He visited Pakistan in November 2018 and met the high officials of Pakistan and met Prime Minister as well and presented him letter of President Trump.

Despite the difficult situation, Pakistan is however facilitating US in bringing the Taliban on table. One such meeting was held in oct 2019 where Khalilzad met the Afghan Taliban in Islamabad. DW reports "US special envoy Khalilzad has met with Taliban negotiators in the Pakistani capital, Islamabad, a Taliban official said on Saturday on condition of anonymity. It is the first time such a meeting, said to have taken place on Friday, has occurred since US President Donald Trump described a seemingly imminent peace deal to end Afghanistan's 18-year conflict as "dead" a month ago".³⁴

As for as the new developments on Pak-Afghan border management are concerned, Director General ISPR Major General Asif Ghafoor keeps on updating the media/ masses regarding the development undertaken. In his tweet, he informed that "The fencing of Pak-Afghan border would be completed by December 2019. He said the work on forts and fence continued on Pak-Afghan border as 233 of 843 forts and fencing of 802 out of 1,200 kilometers priority one area had been completed."³⁵ Priority one areas are Bajur, Mohmand and Khyber and the total length of the area is 100 km.³⁶

Pakistan has however been doing its part of the job to ensure proper fencing on Pakistan Afghanistan border. A story published in the Express Tribune ³⁷ narrates "The Pakistan Army has completed the fencing of the first 482 km long patch of the 1,403km long Pakistan-Afghanistan border in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The fence is provided with security cameras and motion detectors. A delegation of journalists

visited the Pakistan-Afghanistan Torkham border in the K-P's Khyber district where security authorities gave them a detailed briefing on border management. They said in 2017, the Pakistan Army in the first phase started working on 482 km long patch along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Work on this patch has now completed well before time bringing about a visible decline in terrorism and smuggling. Equipped with water, solar electricity and protection mines, 233 forts have also been constructed on the 1,403 km long border. To link these forts, safe tracks are also being constructed. From the Torkham border crossing, around 1,200 trucks and 10,000 people enter and exit Pakistan but now no one gets permission to enter Pakistan without proper documents. Special cards have been given to 200 Afghan students who live in Afghanistan but study in Pakistan. Emergency patients also get permission to enter Pakistan without documents. They said as a goodwill gesture; the Afghan check posts near the border are provided water by Pakistan. However, the decision to fence the border has not gone down well with the Afghan government. According to authorities, daily two to three attempts are made to disrupt the fence building and to cross the border into Pakistan. Till now 1,900 Afghans have been arrested and deported. The security forces killed three terrorists and handed over their bodies to Afghan officials. Authorities said 539 km long route, a major part of which has already been fenced, was the easiest route to enter Pakistan”.

Conclusion

Pakistan has faced more than 70 thousand casualties of its citizens during more than decade-long war on terror. It has encountered hundreds of terrorist and suicidal attacks. Most of the incidents originated from other side of the border i.e. Afghanistan. So, it was the foremost responsibility of the state of Pakistan that it should seal and manage its 2,430 km-long international border with Afghanistan. Pakistan as a state and its institutions like the Pakistan Army are very sensitive regarding the management of Pakistan's borders. In order to secure the Pak-Afghan border, Pakistan has already started fencing the borders. “In the first phase high infiltration prone borders are being fenced and in second phase fencing of remaining border areas including Balochistan will be executed. Besides fencing, The Pakistan Army and Frontier Constabulary are constructing new forts/border posts to improve surveillance.”³⁸ Moreover, Afghanistan has never been supportive to the border management measures taken by Pakistan to resolve this issue once for all. Although it is difficult, still Pakistan alone is attempting to manage this border by establishing new check posts' fencing the border and digging trenches at required points of the border. The world needs to realize that the porous border is not only a threat to world peace, but also it is one of the causes of drug trafficking, human and goods

smuggling along with other crimes, so Pakistan's efforts are needed to be supported in true spirit".³⁹

The fence would be a major factor in checking free and unrestricted movement of terrorists. The fence will settle the Durand Line controversy forever. It is now a permanent demarcation line and the border between the two countries. This will formalize trade and other exchanges between the two countries. This is going to save the world from drugs because the free flow of narcotics will be stopped. This will also stop smuggling of items from the international market through Afghanistan and will minimize the chances of human trafficking from both sides. The fencing and management of Pak-Afghan borders will also help American and other foreign forces deployed in Afghanistan to exit safely. And the world could see new rays of peace in this region, which will not only contribute to regional stability but will help in subsidizing international peace, harmony and development.

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SOCIETAL RESISTANCE THROUGH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: A SHIELD AGAINST EXTREMIST VOICES/ACTIONS TELESCOPING PAKISTAN

Dr. Fauzia Ghani *

Abstract

Extremism, extremist behaviors and actions are the issues that the world is facing in general and Pakistan in particular. Extremism is the quality of being extreme or advocacy of extreme views. Extremism has a multifaceted phenomenon; the most eminent form is terrorism or radical religious pursuit. Extremist tendencies are found in individuals but at the same time society resists such violent behaviors and extremism through various ways and methods. Thus, democratic governance is to be taken as a tool/mode in the hands of society to resist extremist actions in Pakistan. This paper endeavors to examine the factors of democratic governance through which Pakistani society can resist extremism. It also analyzes the causes of extremist actions in Pakistani society. Moreover, through descriptive analysis, it has been inferred that how it has affected the social fabric of the society. The paper identifies variations of extremist actions, which are prevailing in Pakistan either on a religious or ethnic basis. The paper will make an effort to weave various pertinent issues of extremist and communal violence with an in-depth study of socio-political factors of extremism in the world in general and Pakistan in particular. The important argument of this paper is that behind everyday veracities of extremist behaviors and tendencies or fervent religious radicalization, lies an emergent need of pursuing certain actions from society in the form of democratic governance based on social capital. Further, this paper will try to present solutions for forming an agreement based on tolerance, accommodation and reconciliation among different groups of the society along with effective political policies against extremist actions.

Keywords: Extremism, Societal Resistance, Democracy, Governance.

Introduction

The entire world is suffering from the problem of extremism in the present-day world. This extremism may be ideological, issue-based or ethno-nationalist, whatever, the kind is, societal response to extremism is very quick. This response may be in a form of support for these actions or it may take the form of resistance and the resistance may be violent or non-violent. If violent, it can lead to another extremist action in response to this extremism. On the contrary, non-violent

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extremism can find and follow numerous democratic tactics and measures. This paper mainly relates to non-violent resistance, through democratic governance, against violent extremism in Pakistan. Besides, the details regarding resistance, social resistance, extremism, its kinds, historical background and democratic governance are discussed and analyzed in detail in this paper.

Resistance: Meaning and Its Genesis

The term 'resistance' was used by many authors in several contexts therefore; it is interpreted in many ways. It was defined as the acts of subordinate people against the acts of those super-ordinate people, who want to impose any taxes or other means through which they can violate the rights of the subordinates.¹ This definition is more confined to 'class resistance' and needs to illustrate the comprehensiveness of this term. Resistance is also defined as, the attitudes, actions and behaviors that aim to counter any hegemonic or dominant power, which is responsible for unfair classification in society.² When we talk about societal resistance, it is a social phenomenon, which includes the contest against the prevalent practices of society that have been developed by any societal institution, organization or culture. This contest is done by groups of or group of alienated and deprived people; also, it may be against the government or any other dominant group of the society.³ It is a very inclusive definition of social resistance, which encompasses the resistance against both society and government.

The concept of societal resistance was originally introduced during the French Revolution. Edmund Burke wrote "Reflections on the Revolution in France" in 1790; he wanted to resist the revolution and urged people for this too. In the subcontinent, the phenomenon of resistance was introduced by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who contested the colonial rule of the British through Satyagraha in the twentieth century,⁴ and this phenomenon is still present even after decolonization. In India and Pakistan, the pages of history have witnessed many social resistances against the dominant majority groups, governments' policies and racial discrimination etc. But this paper deals only with social resistance, through democratic governance, against extremism in Pakistan.

Kaleidoscopic Analysis of Extremism

The phenomenon of extremism does not only encompass extreme views but activities and actions as well. Usually, extremism refers to those views, beliefs and actions, which are far away from normal and satisfactory social attitudes. However, there is no defined criterion for the definition of normal social attitudes and people define them in accordance with their own views and biased thinking. In addition,

Power gaps also affect the definition of extremism. For instance, if a conflict is between two groups; one with less power than the other, the activities of the group with little power is considered more extremist than those of the other group.⁵

The term extremism is mainly, used for reflecting disapproval as it opposes or disapproves diversity. But sometimes it is considered free from any objection and condemnation. Here comes the difference between violent extremism and non-violent one as this matter is very subjective and relates to one's own perception regarding any certain action. Thus, an extremist activity may be seen by few as wrong, but few may consider it a fair act.⁶ This paper deals with violent extremism only. Violent extremism is not only confined to the involvement in extremist actions, but the support and preparation of ideologically driven violence are also included in this category. Further, violent extremism is the opposite of conflict-management as the demands of any extremist group are uncompromising. These demands may be social, political, religious and economic.⁷ Violent extremism is generally classified into three types. First, the Ideological extremism is a kind of extremism, which has political (nationalism) or religious grounds. In Australia, many extremist groups are furthering neo-Nazism; whereas, on the other hand, many Islamist and Christian fundamentalist groups may be included in the category of ideological extremism. Issue-based extremism is the second kind of extremism, in which violent extremism is based on any specific issue.

Unlike other kinds, the issue-based extremism adopts peaceful means to achieve goals because the purpose is to seek attention for the specific issue though little violence may be included sometimes. The issues in this type of extremism may contain animal rights, ecological activism and criminal problems. The third kind of extremism includes ethno-nationalist or separatist extremism. In this type, racial, cultural, linguistic and ethnic issues provide a strong stimulus to the extremists in their violent political skirmishes. Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers and Australian citizens, who moved to Iraq and Syria in order to assist Kurdish people against ISIS, come under this extremism. Extremism emerged in more fierce shape in nineteenth-century than ever before, particularly during the interwar period in the shape of Fascism and Nazism by Mussolini and Hitler. They endeavored to change the political and social systems of the whole Europe by using violent means. The ethnonationalism as, well as ideological extremism, was at its peak. In the contemporary world, religious cause is used to spread socio-political problems. The Islamist extremist groups mainly Da'esh, Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda are disrupting the peace and stability of the entire globe.⁸ Furthermore, the Revolution in Iran (1979) raised a conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran and the country decided to increase the follower of their sects in peripheral countries such as Iranian backed

Shias and Saudi backed Sunni movements in South Asia and the Middle East. This Shia-Sunni scuffle was inflamed during the cold war. In 1980, U.S. used Pakistan and again Sunni Muslims were backed but this time, they were backed by America and the purpose was to train them so that they can fight in their neighboring Afghanistan against the Soviet Union.⁹ Earlier, they were known as Islamic Militants and were trained to fight against the enemies of Islam. But now the same Madrassas, assisted by foreign aid and are blamed to train pupils to fight against the West under their radical ideology. WikiLeaks shows that the madrassas in the South of Punjab receive \$100 million per year from the Gulf countries.¹⁰ But not any real actions have been taken at the international level in order to stop this funding.¹¹

Moreover, following 2001 when Pakistan clearly stated to be part of the US war on terrorism, the terrorist organizations used to strive to spread terror through their intimidating acts including the murder of many renowned personalities and bombarding on many shrines, mosques as well as other religious places.¹² On the other hand, the world has been moving towards democratic governance since World War I and II though some under developed countries are facing problems in this regard. The more the concern is growing towards human rights, the more the world is focusing on a strong democratic system with good governance. The model of democratic governance is very broad and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world is from division in two poles due to democratization.¹³

The combination of rules and processes of democracy with institutions and processes of governance is known as democratic governance. This combination provides the best amalgamation of democracy and governance. But the problems in democratic governance have no exception. Some democratic systems seem to be over democratic with extra-constitutional processes in which people are less represented. Besides, the judiciary is inefficient and biased. Further, the parliamentary system is working under stress.¹⁴

Societal Resistance to Extremism through Democratic Governance

Every society consists of people with different natures and temperaments. People, with more or less similar attitudes, make a group and raise their voices against any issue that is common among them. These differences in temperaments mark the variations in the types of resistance; some people go for violent resistance; while others use non-violent means of resistance. This paper deals with these aspects that how and in what ways extremist voices in Pakistan are socially resisted through democratic governance.

Democratic governance, despite its problems, is still needed and required for many problems; for instance, extremism cannot be eradicated just based on strong defense on military rather good governance is also indispensable of this sake. Significantly, in Pakistan, democratic governance is much needed to be applied in its all letters and spirits; over the period of time, we have seen how our sovereignty is compromised for the sake of few hundred dollars. As in a democracy, accountability and transparency are the hallmarks of democratic governance, which act as a shield against extremism.

The first principle of democracy is participation by people. It provides people with immense opportunities for acculturation so that people could be politically socialized and political culture could be participant. In democratic governance, people have the right to speak about their views and show resistance to anything, which is wrong, the same is in the case of extremism. In Pakistan, extremism has been a critical problem since the last half of the 20th century. Due to the involvement of regional and international players, the people of Pakistan were divided either on religion, ethnic values or on various political slogans. But the few people elected by many people had to and have to continue their legitimacy by their democratic actions and performances, and for this sake, they let people respond to extremist voices. The social resistance to extremism in Pakistan, under the democratic environment, is analyzed as under: -

- Societal resistance through the spread of awareness
- Societal resistance from youth
- Societal resistance from tribal communities
- Societal resistance through public rallies
- Societal resistance through traditional and social media
- Societal resistance through moderate religious schools
- Societal resistance through inter-ethnic and inter-faith social harmony public debates and statements against extremism
- Societal resistance through humanitarian relief
- Societal resistance through arts

Societal Resistance through Spread of Awareness

In Pakistan, people avail the freedom of speech and make the people aware through organizing conferences and seminars on different topics relevant to extremism. For example, the landmark “Istehkam-e Pakistan Conference” was held in Lahore (2009) in order to resist the growing extremist influence in Swat. The conference, arranged by scholars, urged military intervention in Swat. Besides, the government was requested to take counter-terrorist actions. The scholars, who

participated in the conference, spread awareness in their respective areas. Eventually, it would have been impossible for the military to take decisions backed by all political parties without such resistance from society.¹⁵

Social Resistance from Youth

The young generation of Pakistan is also resisting extremist voices by utilizing democratic modes and mediums. They are doing so by establishing organizations, clubs and societies at the university and national level, by arranging orientating programs and seminars. Bargad is a very good example of a progressive youth NGO of Gujranwala. The members of this NGO held four days' "All Pakistan Student Leaders Conference" in 2009 and invited sixty-five student leaders in order to discuss different ways and means for the reduction of extremist influence in colleges and universities. Also, Young Parliamentarians Caucus (YPC) arranges several debates in villages as well as metropolitan cities on topics including women empowerment, radicalization, terrorism and ethnic conflicts.¹⁶

Social Resistance from Tribal Communities

Not only, the urban citizens are responding to extremism, the rural folks are also participating in countering-extremist actions. The tribes invite Jirgas to discuss the problems raised by the Taliban. An MNA of Pakistan elected from KPK, Bushra Gohar, invited the activists of Swat in many Jirgas and disclosed the real threats emerging in the area. She also discussed many strategies to make people aware of the problems of religious and ethnic extremism in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province.¹⁷

Societal Resistance through Public Rallies

Public rallies and peaceful protests are other democratic means to response to radicalism. The Center for Innovative Research, Collaboration and Learning showed the support of 25000 men to Swat counter-terrorism operations (2009) through their National Flag Day March. Besides, NGOs working for humanitarian purposes also hold public campaigns. A rally naming "Say No to Talibanization, Say No to Religious Extremism" was arranged by Women's Action Front in 2007; the aim was to show support from women for anti-extremist efforts and to promote awareness in this regard.¹⁸ In addition, the protests for minorities' rights are seen by many organizations. For example, a Non-Governmental Organization, Shirkat Gah, arranged a rally to condemn the attacks on two Ahmedi mosques in 2010.¹⁹

Social Resistance through Traditional and Social Media

The freedom of media is the essence of a democratic system. The traditional media encompassing newspapers, news channels, radio, music, films and other T.V

programs try to give voice to people's grievances. They also resist extremism by working on the themes relevant to peace, harmony and tolerance. Moreover, they show the violence occurring in the country thus making the elected representatives more accountable to the common public, and the field of journalism is also flourishing day by day in Pakistan. Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) trains people especially youth in journalism by showing videos and documentaries regarding terrorism in Pakistan. In this regard, two movies 'Khuda Kay Liye' by Shoaib Mansoor and 'Children of the Taliban' by Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, made a huge impact on youth.²⁰

Social media is the most common way to share one's sentiments and views about any issue. The videos of the Taliban's rule in Swat and the problems in the area went viral on facebook and twitter. Moreover, many peace initiatives are taken on social media after being inspired by the Arab Spring. Recently, there was much hue and cry on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Youtube regarding the violence in Myanmar, India held Kashmir, killing of Muslims in a mosque in New Zealand and burning of Holy Quran in Norway.

Societal Resistance through Moderate Religious Schools

The so-called Islamic extremist and militant groups strive to deter the public by bombing the educational institutions; they want their Sharia to be enforced and education to be confined to their madrassas. But, Pakistanis are trying to establish moderate religious institutions so that the influence of these traditional religious institutes could be lessened, which provides a substitute to the private schools (as the schools are costly and unaffordable for poor people). Thus, they grab the poor kids and train them as they want.

Therefore, the moderate religious madrassas are trying to give education on compulsory subjects i.e. Math, English, Urdu and Pakistan Studies along with Islamic education. Moreover, they are providing the same level of education for girls as well as vocational education for their better future. One example is Minhaj-ul-Quran International, where anti-extremist camps are also arranged. Another example is Dar ul-Uloom Ashraf al-Madaris where seminars are arranged on peace and tolerance in Islam according to Quran and Hadith.²¹

Societal Resistance through Inter-ethnic and Inter-faith Social Harmony

The radical groups try to recruit those young people who are uneducated and are victims of fiscal, psychological or social issues. They provoke their

sentiments about the unjust done with them and use those sentiments against the society. The Peace Network Pakistan, is working on the countering-radicalization program by promoting inter-ethnic harmony among people through a revised curriculum and the reducing of mental health issues of youth.

Bushra Hyder, Director of the Qadims Lumier School and College in Peshawar, is working to promote cultural, religious, sectarian and ethnic harmony in her students through her newly designed peace syllabus. The students of these schools and colleges are known as 'Peace Angels' who help the victims of terrorism.²²

Pak-Turk International School system is also performing its services by working to remove stereotypes from Pakistani society; this is the reason they are working even Peshawar and Quetta.²³ Following the end of successful operation in Swat, the Center for Education and Development arranged the Simam Festival in order to celebrate freedom of Swat is in 2011. Some organizations also try to develop tolerate relations with minorities; for instance, the students of Minhaj-ul-Quran participated in this Christmas' celebrations of Christian community, and the Muslim students of SZABIST University celebrated Holy with their Hindu friends.²⁴

Societal Resistance through Public Debates and Statements against Extremism

The religious scholars and other educated orators also reveal their arguments about extremism. The instances from the Holy Quran and the life of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) are discussed. The fatwas by many religious scholars also work tremendously. The Fatwas by Dr. Tahir ul Qadri and Dr. Sarfaraz Naeemi, against suicide bombing and terrorism, were translated in English and were praised at the international level even. Moreover, conferences and seminars are also organized by different universities frequently on the issue.²⁵

Societal Resistance through Humanitarian Relief

Poverty is the main cause to drag people into the whirlpool of terrorism. The militant groups, like Hezbollah, provide the poor people with better living standards and purchase their lives in return of few rupees. However, people are forming organizations, which are working to provide relief to such people. For example, Al-Mustafa Welfare Society recently partnered with the World Health Organization; this welfare society helps the needy people in underdeveloped areas of Pakistan, and Rotary International helps to eliminate Polio from the rural areas of Pakistan. These humanitarian assistances help youth to stay away from extremist ideology and thoughts.

Societal Resistance through Arts

People, in Pakistan, resist radical actions in the form of art as well. The students of Fine Arts of Beaconhouse National University and NCA promoted peace through different artworks. They painted shirts and streets' walls also reflected their message of peace.²⁶

Besides, the talented singers from all parts of the country, irrespective of ethnic, sectarian and religious discriminations, sing the songs in their native languages on the platform of a very popular T.V show, Coke Studio; this is a very beautiful form of art which is being used for the teaching of peace. Moreover, Pakistan Youth Alliance presented a street theatre in Swat for the sake of encouraging youth to demolish the extremist tendencies.

Democratic Governance as a Shield against Extremist Voices in Pakistan

Democratic governance on one hand, provides people with the opportunity to resist extremism through their right to speak, formulation of organizations, arrangement of conferences and seminars, social and traditional media, arts, music and moderate religious schools; on the other hand, the principles and processes of democracy, when adopted by the institutions of governance, require the representatives of the people to resist extremist voices. The same is the case of Pakistan where the seed of extremism was sown during the period of war against the Soviet Union, who intervened in Afghanistan and threatened the sovereignty of Pakistan. Whereas, in the first decade of twenty-first century which witnessed the democratic regime by Pakistan People's Party which adopted some democratic measures to tackle militancy and extremism due to which law and order situation deteriorated. Most importantly, the democratic regimes have confidence and support of the public that they are working for counter-radicalism in contrast to those whose aim has been to seek foreign interests for dollars. The following discussion demonstrates how different actions were taken through democratic governance and how they helped in the counter-extremist efforts:

- **Rule of Law:** Democratic governance ensures impartial and fair legal frameworks so that human rights could be secured. National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA) was established in 2009 with the purpose to assist all departments and sections relating to counter-terrorism. But the NACTA was not provided with a proper set of responsibilities. Then in 2013, Act no. XIX was passed by the Senate, which provided proper legal support to NACTA with the responsibilities regarding intelligence, research and

other counter-terrorism strategies. ²⁷National Internal Security Policy (NISP) was adopted in 2014. NACTA was given the responsibility to implement this policy. The main elements of NISP included:²⁸

- Dialogue with all stakeholders
 - Isolation of terrorists from their support systems
 - Enhancing deterrence and the capacity of the security apparatus to neutralize threats to internal security.
-
- In 2014, the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan attacked on Army Public School, Peshawar, against the operation Zarb-e-Azab; the attack killed 145 people. In response, the democratic government announced the *National Action Plan* (NAP). The twenty points of NAP are very similar to those of NISP. But NAP focused on the establishment of military courts for the trial of terrorists (it was ratified by the National Assembly in form of twenty first constitutional amendments), a counter-terrorism force and modification of the criminal system. Moreover, NAP introduced Madrassa reforms. NAP's aims included the reforms in FATA, to solve the issue of Afghan refugees and to successfully accomplish the operation in Karachi.²⁹
 - **Civil-Military Relations:** In a democratic system with good governance, all the departments perform their own specific functions and interdependence makes their relation strong. In the case of Pakistan, the military has always kept an edge over other institutions, however, during the second decade of the twenty-first century, civil-military relations were highly balanced and cordial and these balanced relations helped countering extremism and defeating the radicalism. In countering violent-extremism, the military launched many operations including Rah-e-Nijat, Rah-e-Shahadat, Rah-e-Haq, Zarb-e-Azb and operation Radd-ul-Fasaad. These operations aimed to exterminate militant groups from the country and to destroy their hubs located in the different areas of Pakistan.³⁰
 - In addition, the military is trying to rehabilitate the boys used by the Taliban during their rule in Swat. For this cause, the Sabaoon Center for Rehabilitation is working to assist them psychologically and socially so that they may perform their roles in society in a very positive way. Also, the efforts have been made to provide them with education, social facilities, counseling and proper vocational training.³¹
 - **Comprehensiveness and Decentralization:** One of the prominent features of democracy is the inclusiveness and absence of a centralized system. In Pakistan, the anti-extremist efforts by the democratic rulers also try to follow these features. For example, Political Parties Act was extended

to Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) so that the feeling of isolation and deprivation among the people of FATA could be lessened.³² Also, government is trying to introduce many scholarships' opportunities for the students of FATA and KPKs, with special quotas, in the universities of Punjab. Besides, many job opportunities are also being provided to them.

Conclusion

Resistance is a means to fight for one's or any group's rights. This fight may be fought through either violent and non-violent ways. The people show resistance when they want to contest the government's policies or the dominance of any social element in society. When resistance is against the violent extremist actions of society, people adopt different strategies to resist them; democratic governance is also a means to resist extremism. Though democracy is not much consolidated in Pakistan, the people of Pakistan are endeavoring to adopt democratic strategies to tackle the rapidly growing extremism in the country.

In Pakistan, democracy provided people with the opportunity to speak for their rights. People use this democratic facility to resist growing extremism in for of media, art exhibitions, music, NGOs, conferences and seminars. Also, the government is working for counter-extremism while using democratic strategies but the situation of governance in Pakistan needs to be improved; especially, economic and political governance. Though National Action Plan provides a good piece of policies, comprehensive enforcement of these policies is inevitable to get desired results.

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NATIONAL SECURITY PARADIGM OF PAKISTAN - RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS

*Dr. Mudassir Mukhtar, Dr. Waseem Ishaque and Dr. Muhammad Shoaib Malik**

Abstract

Pakistan, since its inception has been confronting multi-dimensional security challenges. Geo-strategic location of Pakistan, lack of resources, the weak economy, existence of multi-ethnic groups, sectarian divisions and negative fall-out of developments in Afghanistan have compounded our security matrix, apart from the traditional and non-traditional threat from India. The incidents of 9/11 added new a dimension to the range of challenges confronted by world and Pakistan by adding an unprecedented complexity to our internal security situation. Today, the ambit of Pakistan's national security challenges transcends beyond traditional and non-traditional threats and is seriously affecting human security aspects as well. This article unveils the national security paradigm of Pakistan by taking into account past and present situations and recommends comprehensive policy and strategic measures for ensuring the national security of Pakistan in the evolving strategic milieu.

Keywords: National Security, Human Security, National Security Management.

Introduction

At the time of independence, Pakistan inherited a host of national security challenges with weak a economy, lack of infrastructure, lack of formidable conventional defense capability against hostile hegemonic neighbour and unprecedented human security issues due to mass migrations and settlement of refugees. Pakistan has come a long way since 1947 and today it has a formidable defense, reasonably well developed infrastructure and status at regional and international levels. In this era of globalization and complex interdependence, Pakistan offers enormous opportunities to the regional countries to be linked into trade corridors for the mutual benefit of all the relevant countries. While on the internal front, Pakistan has successfully defeated the menace of terrorism and extremism unprecedentedly in the comity of nations, yet internal fault lines, the

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struggling economy, weak governance, dispensation of speedy justice, human security and overall national security management aspects are considered as major challenges warranting immediate attention. Paul Kennedy reflects Pakistan as one of the world's fundamental state by stating that;

“whose collapse would spell trans-boundary mayhem: While its steady economic progress and stability, on the other hand, would bolster its region's economic vitality and political soundness”!

Recent democratic transition, realization at government level to view national security in a comprehensive context and efforts to formulate National Security Policy (NSP) have dawned new hope but a lot needs to be done to meet the challenges of the future in a comprehensive and coherent manner.

Analytical Debate on the Prevailing Environment

Global and Regional Environment

Before discussing the challenges of the prevailing environment, it would be prudent to scan through the global security paradigm and contextualize the national security of Pakistan within this paradigm.

- **Era of Globalization and Complex Interdependence:** Globalization marks a tremendous change in the concept of security owing to the interdependencies of states. Regardless of the status of power, states tend to shape up the environment, undertake coalitions or make alliances to operate against other countries or states. However, the new buzzwords like common development, shared destiny, shared future, win-win cooperation are gaining currency. The Realist paradigm though very much relevant and operative today, however, Liberalist voices are also making comparable effects.
- **War on Terrorism (WoT):** The coalition led by the US has remained busy in fighting the war against terrorism after the 9/11 episode giving a pretext to the US to complete its agenda of transformation in Afghanistan, Middle East and adjoining areas for ensuring its security, security of allies and above all the security of Israel. With a change of priorities in the list of US national interests, where terrorism has been downgraded in national security strategy of 2018, the war on terrorism has reached its culminating point. Theory of Just War and targeting of Muslims in strive to rid the world out of terrorism, the Muslims have been defamed and the legitimate struggle of people of Palestine and Kashmir has also been overshadowed and marginalized.

- **Energy Resources:** Today, world is greatly characterized by the struggle for control of energy resources. Eurasia, Middle East and Central Asian Republics (CARs) being the hub of energy resources remain to focus on competing for power centers of the world owing to their dependency on these regions. China's economic ingress in Africa also remains a matter of concern for the US and the West. In this backdrop, Pakistan under her geostrategic location remains at the fulcrum of major power's competition.
- **Geo-Economics:** Geo-economics is gaining precedence over geopolitics. Presence of two major economies of the world i.e. China and India; within the neighbourhood of Pakistan not only enhances the importance of the region but also offers enormous opportunities for Pakistan, if we manage a fine balance in our relationship with major powers.
- **Regional Balance of Power:** Evolving transformation in the Middle East and adjoining contiguous areas has manifested turf war between Saudi Arabia and Iran for regional dominance. While Pakistan has so far maintained a policy of engagement with both competing regional powers, however, pragmatic long-term policy of relevance with both countries will prove to be in Pakistan's strategic interests.
- **Afghanistan:** Currently, Afghanistan is repositioning to competing interests of the major powers with inconsistency of relations with Pakistan. Reconciliation is the key to outline the contours of peace and stability in Afghanistan. Situation in Afghanistan directly impinges upon the internal security of Pakistan. Peace and stability in Afghanistan is in the larger interests of Pakistan, therefore, fall out of instability in Afghanistan necessitates the development of broad-based relations and facilitation of ongoing intra-Afghan reconciliation process and Taliban rapprochement with the USA.
- **India:** Fragility of Pakistan-India relations continues, as evident from recent abrogation of Special Status of Kashmir by deleting the Article 370 and 35A from the Indian Constitution, LOC incidents and ongoing situation in IOK, where brutal incidents of human rights violations are occurring as normal phenomena. Indian Government's refusal to reciprocate all peace offers made by the present Pakistani Government is dimming the prospects of durable peace in South Asia. Any miscalculation on either side will have devastating consequences. President Trump's statements on Kashmir are welcome gestures but demand pro-active foreign policy measures in creating environments,

where India eventually agrees on de-escalation and creating an environment of lasting peace.

- **China:** China remains economic and trade centric while pursuing a “*Harmonious World View*” policy. Stability in Afghanistan, Iron Brother’s relations with Pakistan and common fight against terrorism figures out as important aspects in security calculus of China. CPEC promises huge benefits for China, Pakistan and the region. ‘US \$ 60 billion investment in mega projects in Pakistan has been graded as fate changer for Pakistan and game changer for the region.’² However, China’s economic engagement with India is boosting, which has now crossed US \$ 100 billion apart from enhanced engagement at diplomatic level.³ This scenario offers enormous opportunities to Pakistan in the resetting trajectory of her relations with India by using good offices of China.

Pakistan’s Internal Environment

Pakistan has come a long way since the start of the US led War on terrorism and rise of several violent non-state actors. With wholehearted nation’s support, security forces have defeated terrorism from all over the country and the few so called sleeper cells whether active or inactive are being targeted. The salient aspects of the domestic landscape of Pakistan are appended below:

- Rising civil society, energetic youth, and awareness among masses is a positive sign amidst deteriorating national cohesion.
- Ethnic fissures, sectarianism, and extremism are on the rise leading to cleavages amongst masses.
- Weak governance, mismanagement and misappropriations have led to weak economic growth and discontentment among the masses.
- Rising poverty, lack of education, health problems, lack of vocational training facilities and growth of unskilled population are potential burdens to the state’s resources.
- Unbridled and commercially motivated media while creating awareness among masses has been a source of despondency in society.
- Notwithstanding above, the positive trends discernible in society, if properly harnessed, could help turn around the situation and make the realization of Pakistan’s full potential a reality.
- For ease of assimilation, the internal security matrix of Pakistan has been elaborated in the ensuing table bearing nature of threat being

experienced in different regions depending on the type and motives of the actors.⁴

Actor	Region	Threat
TTP + Foreign players	FATA	Trans-nationalist
Tribals + Foreign players	Balochistan	Sub-nationalist
Polity + Clergy + Mafia	Karachi	Politico-economic
Madaris + Militants + Polity	Punjab + KPK	Politico-eco + sectarian
Locals	Gilgit-Baltistan	Sectarian
Feudals	Sindh	Politico-economic

The environmental scan has enabled us to quantify the challenges faced by the state of Pakistan, which will help in formulating a comprehensive National Security Policy.

National Security Challenges

Pakistan confronts a complex security landscape and unprecedented challenges to its national security.⁵ These emanate from a diverse array of sources internal and external, overt and covert, direct and indirect, hard and soft, old and new, traditional and non-traditional⁶. Some of these challenges are the unintended consequence of Pakistan's past policies, while others have resulted from structural or trigger causes. This wide spectrum of challenges have been clustered through a matrix based on sectors of Comprehensive National Security.

- **Primary Referent Object – State or Individuals:** While identifying security challenges, two referents come to mind; state or an individual. While human is the primary object, most of the political scientists like Barry Buzan and Weaver conclude that state remains the primary referent to provide security which addresses human security challenges as well.
- **Sectors of Analytical Security Model:** To delineate the ambit of Comprehensive National Security framework, three analytical models enunciated by different political scientists were evaluated. These

include Barry Buzan's five sectors of National Security,⁷ Nils Andren Six Variables⁸ and Lenore G. Martin's five interacting variables.⁹

Analytical National Security Models

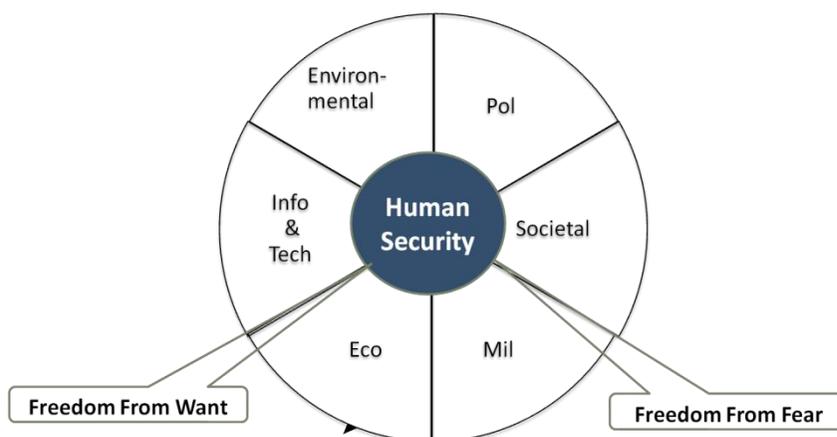
<u>Barry Buzan</u>	<u>Nils Andren</u>	<u>Lenore G Martin</u>
Military	Territorial	Political
Political	Economic	Ethnic & Religious
Economic	Cultural	Economic
Societal	Ecological	Natural Resources
Environmental	Socio-Political	Military
	Military & Diplomacy	

Sectors - National Security Framework of Pakistan

- Political
- Economic
- Military
- Societal
- Religious- has been dovetailed with societal sector
- Information and Technology
- Environmental

Place of Human Security

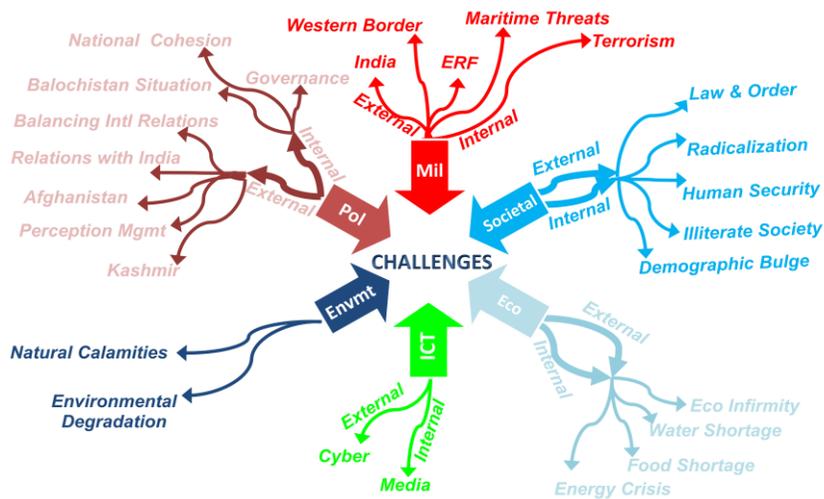
Human security both freedom from want and freedom from fear lies at the core of this model.¹⁰



Complexity of Security Challenges

- The sectors defined by all three of them are interlinked, well-knitted and overlapping and therefore exact boundaries cannot be drawn between these sectors.
- Instead of divulging into every aspect of state functioning, only those areas have been identified which affect the state of Pakistan the most.
- Analyses deliberate to identify causes as well as their manifestations.
- Clear demarcations between Internal and External Challenges cannot be made owing to their complicated linkages.

Challenges Matrix at a Glance



Political Aspects

- **Inter-Provincial Disharmony:** Lack of agreed and stable framework on water and resource distribution, share in NFC award, neglect and inability to handle mainstreaming issues in time and marginalization of segments of society especially in under-developed provinces have created sense of alienation and given rise to sub-nationalist elements supported by their foreign masters for taking arms and challenging the writ of state in Balochistan and KPK Provinces. It must be realized that strong federating units are the guarantor of strong Pakistan, therefore, all areas must develop proportionately.
- **Governance:** Weak governance and lack of ability to foresee and address commoner's problems are causing despondency among the

masses. Academically, governance contains elements like policy formulation, regulation and implementation and use of “public resources for public management”.¹¹

- **Corruption:** Corruption involves a level of state capture, which is rooted in weak capacity of state institutions along with a lack of control and accountability due to vested interests of the ruling elite. Different estimates show that daily corruption in Pakistan is more than 7 billion Rupees. Besides financial corruption, ethical and procedural corruption is equally damaging.
- **Perception Management:** Despite enormous sacrifices and losses in terms of men and material, with over 63000 deaths and an equal number injured and economic losses to the tune of over US \$ 120 billion, the international community still demands from Pakistan to do more. Despite unprecedented successes in rooting out menace of terrorism and bringing lasting stability in erstwhile FATA region, and overall contribution to global peace through United Nations peace missions, the negative perception about Pakistan is misplaced and prejudiced.
- **Situation in Erstwhile FATA and Balochistan:** Underdevelopment, foreign involvements and use of hard power in the past without tangible developmental agenda have kept parts of Balochistan and FATA in a perpetual state of destabilization and eroded the writ of the state. While enhanced developmental activities and mainstreaming is underway, yet the pace of implementation vis-à-vis the enormity of challenges need to be fast-tracked for speedy impact.
- **Resolution of Kashmir Issue:** Indian intransigence towards Kashmir resolution has resulted in three wars, however, the issue stands unresolved till to date. The recent abrogation of Article 370 and 35A in Indian occupied Kashmir by the Indian government and comprehensive response by Pakistan and the international community demands proactive all-encompassing policy towards its peaceful resolution of disputes.
- **Balanced Relations:** Pragmatic policy in balancing relations with major powers like USA, China Russia and other regional powers such as Saudi Arabia and Iran is the need of the hour. Pakistan must maintain constructive engagement and be relevant to all irrespective of regional and global environment.
- **Relation with India:** Mistrust, hatred & animosity coupled by Indian rising stature and global relevance is hardening Indian stance on

dispute resolution on Kashmir and other teething issues with Pakistan. The present Government's peace offers have not been reciprocated by India, instead Prime Minister Modi has adopted a ferocious policy of diplomatic isolation of Pakistan.

- **Relations with Afghanistan:** Peace & Stability in Afghanistan directly impacts Pakistan, but the complexity of situation enhances due to uncertainty, fragility, vested interests, internal fissures, Indian involvement and ongoing reconciliation process with some positive indicators. Therefore, successful completion of Afghan transition and improved bilateral relationship, contributing to regional stability while countering Indian designs shall be one of the biggest challenges.

Military Aspects

- **Countering Threat from India:** Growing conventional asymmetry, power differential, and Pakistan specific doctrines as against Pakistan's eroding economic capacity to meet defense requirements continue to pose a challenge. Indian involvement in Balochistan and former FATA through indirect means by promoting sub-nationalism and proxy war to cause internal fissures and destabilization.
- **Eradication of Terrorism:** Terrorism in Pakistan takes various forms such as criminal, ethnic, religious extremism and sectarian. This is aided by porous Afghan border, inconclusive war in Afghanistan, and contributing societal factors like poverty, lack of education, unemployment, and Madrassah culture etc. Despite unprecedented successes in eradicating the menace of terrorism, developmental aspects need fast track implementation.
- **Maritime Security:** Pakistan lies in the proximity to Strait of Hormuz and Gulf of Oman and houses a rich EEZ infested with huge potential. Moreover, the growing importance of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in the global power politics and presence of stronger Indian maritime forces in the neighbourhood are a matter of concern.

Economic Aspects

- **Struggling Economy:** Pakistan's declining GDP growth of 3.3% during the fiscal year 2018/19, reduction in FDI and increase in trade deficit speak the economic frailties of Pakistan. Reduced fiscal space, shrinking economic capacity and poor economic policies coupled with mismanagement and corruption result in declining socioeconomic

educated and skilled society will create serious challenges for the state in years to come.

Information and Technology Aspects

The challenges in information domain emerge from insidious and negative use of all means of information, including media ranging from cultural co-option to perception management of masses and spreading of despondency in society.

Environmental Aspects

Pollution causes environmental degradation which is further aided by deforestation of meagre forested areas. In the recent past, the frequency of natural calamities has also increased considerably resulting in huge loss to the human life and property while causing devastation to the economy of country thus adding strain to the meagre resources. The calamities have the potential to hit the very basic structure and demographic fibre of the society thus leading to unrest and security issues.

National Security Mechanism in Pakistan

The strategic scan of prevailing and projected environment and national security challenges being faced by the state, it will be appropriate to highlight some of the structural transformations in terms of national security management in Pakistan handle overall national security challenges in a befitting manner and capitalize on the opportunities offered by a globalized world.¹³

- **National Security Council (NSC) in Pakistan:** The NSC or a similar highest decision-making body has existed in various forms as an arrangement whereby civil and military hierarchy share the responsibility of institutionalized decision-making on matters of national security. However, this body did not contribute to decision making on national security issues as it was supposed.¹⁴
- **Defence Committee of Cabinet (DCC):** The DCC as a permanent body to debate national security issues and implement comprehensive policy has been the only forum to occasionally deliberate on event-triggered approach. Despite numerous attacks on defence installations and on innocent civilians, DCC could not develop and approve a National Security Strategy.¹⁵
- **Coordination Committee for National Security and Defence (CCNSD):** CCNSD was created for the specific task of formulating and

overseeing the implementation of national security policy but has not contributed significantly so far.¹⁶

Analytical Debate on National Security Management in Pakistan

Structural Issues

- **Decision Making at Highest level:** Historically, the decision-making in Pakistan on matters of security and foreign policy has been managed through a combination of informal arrangements and institutional frameworks.¹⁷ There is a slow but subtle increase in the role of the civilian government and the Parliament in these matters. Such arrangements have been major sources of friction affecting civil-military relations. Policy organization shuffled between NSC, DCC, and CCNSD, the prime purpose of this highest decision making body is yet to be realized due to its redundancy in meeting frequently as well as the practice of decision making beyond its domains. Consequently, decision making is reactive, instead of proactive.
- **Limited Scope of National Security Policy:** Pakistan's national security has been handled erstwhile, as a current and dynamic strategy with inputs and recommendations of relevant stakeholders. The scope of national security was seen in its narrower form of national defense, internal security and foreign relations, while economy served the purpose of sustaining the state in governance and national security infrastructure in its limited context. In line with the current trends of national security, other dynamics like human security, energy, and food security, water security etc. are being considered for strategizing in national security paradigm. However, lack of institutional mechanism and less urgency in promulgating NSP of Pakistan is resulting in reactive policies.

Policy Issues

In the absence of overarching policy documents, which should be guiding the state institutions, the well-coordinated subordinate policies in sync with NSP, the response is generally crisis management on occurrence. There is great realization among all stakeholders for comprehensive NSP guiding subordinate policies, yet its actualization is far from sight.

Economic and Human Security

Under-developed population, as well as human sufferings in the wake of natural calamities as a potential threat, under weak economic profile, pose present and futuristic challenges to human security in Pakistan. In view of present dangers of terrorism and limitations imposed by weak economy, the current policy lays perfunctory attention to the very dynamic challenges to human security. Resultantly, food crisis, energy shortfalls, health issues, calamities, disaster management and growing unskilled population appear as flashpoints. The continuous decline in GDP growth rate is a worrisome development that must be addressed at priority as strong economy is ultimate guarantor of national security.

Political Stability

For the development of any country, consistency of policies is an important success ladder. Unfortunately, in last three political governments, the tug of war between government and opposition remained a continuous struggle, which kept all stakeholders distracted from their core functions. While people's power is ultimate guarantor of national security and development of Pakistan, therefore, people's wishes must be respected. Enduring political stability is ultimate guarantor of National security, therefore, all state institutions must render wholehearted support for lasting stability in the country.

Internal Security

While Pakistan's Armed Forces with the support of Pakistani nation and all state institutions have successfully defeated the menace of terrorism and have restored the writ of the government, yet few sleeper cells are finding rare opportunities of exploitation and targeting innocent people. A comprehensive mechanism like National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) should be made a permanent feature for a comprehensive response. Removing inter-provincial disharmony, equitable share of all federating units in finance, water, jobs and development are some of the measures for alleviating marginalized feelings among the provinces. Decentralization of administrative powers down to the lowest governance level will make everyone stake-holder in the governance, which will eventually strengthen the federation.

External Security

The conventional defense of Pakistan is undoubtedly robust and formidable with strong conventional forces backed up by strategic capability. However, other elements of external security like foreign policy and interstate relations have to be rearticulated to remain relevant and proactive in dealing with the developments in

our neighbourhood like Middle East, Afghanistan and Kashmir. While overarching constituents of our foreign policy should follow Quaid's vision of peace without, therefore, appropriate foreign policy option should be exercised for handling evolving situations in our region and resultant challenges.

Proposed Way Forward for National Security Management in Pakistan

There is a great debate and realization in Pakistan to formulate National Security policy beyond the realm of military security alone. Through a multidimensional approach, aspects of social, political, diplomatic and economic should be integrated into national security planning¹⁸. In this backdrop, some policy recommendations are suggested in ensuing paragraphs.

- **National Security Management Structure:** The different formats discussed in previous parts of this paper have been tried and implemented, yet a cohesive policy formulation remains a distant possibility. The universally practiced format of the National Security Council (NSC) or secretariat (NSS) and National Security Advisor (NSA) is the best structure available to comprehensively prepare, update and revise national security policy. The secretariat should preferably have a wider representation of both civil and military components to include concerned ministries in the form of co-opting membership in the Planning Committee, representation from all provinces and security establishments will facilitate decision making and implementation mechanisms. This secretariat should formally interact with relevant standing committees of the parliament as well.
- **Comprehensive Approach to National Security:** Over years, Pakistan has adopted "hard" path to national security¹⁹, focusing on military force alone. While the soft path takes an expansive and arguably more sustainable view of national security, it had been a difficult choice for Pakistan due to multiple reasons. Consequently, the correct prioritization of allocation of resources could never be made. On the other hand, Pakistan is confronted with myriad of problems, which is a complex blend of mismanagement of economy and policies. While Pakistan's defense needs require re-assessment and management of available resources deserves more focus. In the absence of any alternate plan, better Governance, prudent economic policies, correct prioritization and proactive diplomacy is the need of hour. The national security policy should not only focus on counter-terrorism policy,

rather it should address all facets of national security. Initial thrust may be directed to counter-terrorism as a priority issue, yet other aspects of political, economic, human and energy security should remain high on the agenda.

- **Guidelines to Subordinate Policies:** A cohesive national security policy should outline clear, tangible and achievable guidelines to subordinate policies like foreign, internal, economic, military, media, etc. The respective ministries should then formulate their respective policies and strategies for making Pakistan a stable, prosperous and developed nation in coming 5-10 years. The environments of internal and external peace have to be created for eventual economic development backed up by political stability, diplomatic relevance, and pragmatic policies.

Conclusion

Today Pakistan is facing serious challenges both on internal and external fronts. The extremely sensitive and volatile regional environment demands that we objectively refine our strategic response and national policies besides an enhanced relationship with world powers to maintain peace in the region, so that the resultant stable environment becomes a catalyst for ushering an era of stability and prosperity for the people of Pakistan. The national security policy should take into account the military security aspects, without relegating other dimensions like political, societal and economy, etc. in the formulation of a comprehensive national security paradigm. There is great realization today for NSP and this is the right time to recommence the stalled process of instituting the national security management system and formulation of national security policy for a comprehensive response to all types of challenges we face today. On an optimistic note, we are a resilient and dynamic nation and we have demonstrated to face and defeat challenges in totality. Therefore, NSP and its suitably agreed structure should never be a problem as it is in our best national interest.

NOTES

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UNDERSTANDING THE POST-MERGER FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREA (FATA) CHALLENGES AND ITS IMPACT ON NATIONAL SECURITY

*Tariq Mehmood and Mobeen Jafar Mir**

Abstract

Merger of FATA was long awaited demand of Pakistani nation in order to mainstream the neglected region of the country. On 31st May 2018, FATA region was merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) by the repealing 1901 regulation. In an attempt to assess the impact of FATA merger with KPK; qualitative study was conducted in form of interviews of locals of each tribal district. Five major domains were analyzed, the cultural amalgamation- Judicial system versus Jirga system, educational shift from Madrassa to national educational standards, Health standards from urban practices to rural practices, economic shift from free market to regular market and overall impact on national security including regional dynamics involving security situation in Afghanistan. Most of the respondents showed deep concern over performance of Government and slow pace of development in the region. Though some efforts have been put in, however the short comings in social sector are detrimental to national security drive due to its vulnerability to international actors to exploit for re-emergence of conflict. Additionally, the security situation in Afghanistan has direct impact on security of Pakistan. The U.S and Taliban negotiators are extensively engaged in peace agreements, despite sporadic clashes between opposing forces. However, needless to say; it is the country's internal strength that can dictate level of impact of foreign intervention in that country. Therefore; Pakistan Government needs to manifest already planned reforms in social sector on fast track, generate economic activity and strengthen governance in this part of the country.

Keywords: Merger, Governance, Education, Health, Economy, Justice, Afghanistan, Security.

Introduction

The Afghanistan along with erstwhile FATA region has remained hot battlefield for invaders since 323 BC, however they faced tough resistance to continue their rule, thus the region has been named as Graveyard of Empires.¹ The recent history of four decades has witnessed two major invasions. First, in December 1979, the then Soviet Union attempted to invade Afghanistan, however it was successfully repulsed

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by locals of the region, who fought as a Mujahideen with U.S support, thus forced Soviet forces to withdraw from region by February 1989.² Later in 2001, the US decided to bomb Afghanistan in the backdrop of 9/11 terrorist attacks on World Trade Center and Pentagon. The deadliest attack took the lives of 2996, whereas injuring over 6000 beside material damage of over \$ 10 billion.³ Since 2001, both adjoining areas i.e. Afghanistan and FATA are transformed to conflict zone and witnessed bloodshed and almost collapse of political, economic and social structure. In Afghan conflict, 1,892 US soldiers killed, whereas 20,589 wounded in action, beside a trillion dollars expenditure and psychological and emotional impact on veterans and their families. At the same time, a devastating cost paid by the people of Afghanistan, where 147,000 killed in the war since 2001, which include more than 38,000 civilians.⁴ While in FATA conflict, around 60,000 lost their lives and economic cost over \$100 billion. In-fact the economic cost is assessed to be double of it as the conflict has resulted into collapse of business structure, joblessness, insecurity and lack of foreign investment due to security reasons.

FATA region also faced criticism due to negligence by the Government in political, economic and social sector. The people of the region remained isolated from rest part of the country and restricted by their own culture traditions. Simultaneously efforts to mainstreaming FATA continued but manifested on December 14th, 2016, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly adopted a resolution in favour of merging FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the goal of infrastructure rehabilitation and reconstruction. Recommendations to bring FATA on par to the rest of the country were approved by the federal cabinet on March 2nd, 2017, and on December 26th, 2017, the federal cabinet approved the formation of the National Implementation Committee on FATA Reforms. On 31 May 2018, The FATA Reforms Bill, in essence the 31st amendment to the constitution, abolished this provision, and in his final executive decision under the article, President Mamnoon Hussain repealed the 1901 regulations.⁵ By repealing 1901 regulation the political and executive system comes as per the national system under 1973 constitution. President Mamnoon Hussain also enacted FATA Interim Regulations Act 2018, replacing FCR until transformation is completed. The decision of FATA interim regulations was criticized by some segment due to its variations from modern concept of law and was also declared unconstitutional by Peshawar High Court.⁶

The decision to mainstream FATA was hailed by most part of the nation, however some political forces such as Jamiat Ulma-e-Islam (Fazlu-ur Rehman) JUI (F) opposed the merger of the region since the day it was proposed. The argument voiced by the JUI (F) is that in first phase, people should be provided with basic

facilities including education and political rights. Thereafter referendum may be held to ensure due representation of the people.

Almost an year is passed since FATA merger and now it is to be viewed where FATA stands today? Five important sectors have been analyzed as being foremost for the development of the society as under: -

- Events leading to FATA merger – Historical Perspective
- Impact on tribal culture – Judicial system versus Jirga system
- Impact on Economy – Free Market versus regulated economy
- Impact on Education – Madrassa education versus national education standards
- Impact on Health–Urban health standards verses Rural Health standards
- Impact on overall national security – Regional context

Events leading to FATA Merger – Historical Perspective

If we meticulously examine annals of Pashtun-dominated region of South Asia, like Pakistan's province of Khyber Paktunkhwa (KPK), including erstwhile region of FATA and Balochistan, as well as certain other pockets of Afghanistan, it would become obvious that these areas have remained at the center of power struggle among different empires. Seleucus I Nicator, an infantry general under Alexander the Great, was the first foreign invader who overwhelmed the Pashtuns and ultimately merged their region into his newly established the Seleucid Empire. Earlier on, Alexander - the Great (323 B.C) had made numerous futile attempts to invade the tribal belt.⁷ Thereafter emperors Ashoka Maurya, Mehmood Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghori, Zaheeruddin Babar, Aurangzeb Alamgir, Dost Muhammad, Hari Singh continued attempts to sustain their rule in the region.⁸ Later on, the British East India Company and the Emirate of Afghanistan locked horns from 1839-1842 in the First Anglo-Afghan War, and in 1878-1880 the Second Anglo-Afghan War.⁹ The war became a driving force giving birth to a great game-like situation in Central Asia by forcing the British Empire to cross swords with the Russian Empire.¹⁰

The British administration in 1871 introduced a new set of laws the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), later modified in 1873 and 1876, to manage the crime rate in the tribal region.¹¹ The FCR is considered as a hybrid of British Colonial-era legal framework incorporating tribal traditions and customs (also called as Black Law), thus violating modern norms on International human rights.¹² The August 1947 partition of the British Raj into Pakistan and India bequeathed the god forsaken and fragile Frontier Province and the tribal areas to Pakistan. The Government of

Pakistan too maintained the status-quo by not depriving the local Maliks of perquisites they had enjoyed under the British Raj, thus ensuring their loyalty on the altar of grave human right violations inflicted on the tribal residents.

In 1970s, FATA bore the brunt of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan when millions of Afghan refugees poured into its territory, thus leaving its economic progress in the doldrums. The invasion not only ignited a fear in the tribesmen, it also encouraged them to put their heads together to design a roadmap to counter the imminent threats coming from the Soviet Union, thus the invasion became one of the primary reasons for the formation of Mujahideen against the Soviets. What further compounded the situation was the element of ideology giving birth to the concept of 'Jihad' amalgamating with the tribal avowal to revolt for the sovereignty of tribal customs and norms.

After soviet withdrawal the Afghanistan region came under control of Taliban whereas, Jihadi mindset continued in FATA region. USA diverted the attention from the region after achieving the objective thus left the chaos on the mercy of people of Afghanistan. Pakistan Government managed the Taliban Government, whereas peaceful Jihadism continued in FATA region.

The incident of 9/11 attacks resulted into bombing of Afghanistan, deployment of US led NATO forces and forcing Pakistan to join global war on terror; thus, transforming both regions into protracted social conflict. The causes of terrorism due to foreign intervention is not a new phenomenon. The causal relationship of foreign intervention, difference of religion between foreign intervention and the nationalism of the local community with the mass support of Martyrdom resulting into suicide terrorism is interesting hypothesis proved by Robert A. Pape in his book "Dying to Win" the strategic causes of suicide terrorism.¹³ Edward Azar argues that four pre-conditions become the source of protracted social conflict: communal content, human needs, governance and state role and international linkages.¹⁴

Conduct of successful military operations in FATA and effective rehabilitation has resulted into conflict management hence paved the way for merging the region in order to mainstream the neglect part of the country.

Post-Merger Impact on Tribal Culture – Judicial system versus Jirga System

The Pashtuns possess a strong culture of Pashtunwali, which is a particular way of tribal life, including local customary laws, codes of conduct, and an all-

encompassing system to live a tribal life.¹⁵ It is particularly about Pashtun attributes, like bravery and honesty; pride and chivalry; love and patriotism; hospitality and devotion; uprightness and commitment, and dignity, which have passed down generation to generation and are considered highly revered. The Pashtunwali is a complete mode of lifestyle that regulates every single affair of tribesmen. The Jirga System, a traditional assembly of tribal elders to sort out tribal affairs keeping in view the tribal customs, is also a part of the Pashtunwali.¹⁶ Afterwards, military operations led by Pakistan army to purge the region of extremists sent the people of FATA as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and Temporarily Displaced Persons (TDPs) to different parts of KPK.¹⁷ The stranded people of FATA were further pushed towards an entirely new system of government in these areas. It is pertinent to mention that the Pashtuns had long remained isolated from the modernity of the world owing to their geographical incongruity with rest of the world and excessive affinity with Pashtun-dominated areas of Afghanistan. Absence of any compatibility between tribal norms and legal administrative system of Pakistan further effected the Pashtunwali culture of tribesmen.¹⁸ These tribesmen would brandish their weapons as a part of their tribal custom depicting their chivalry, but their displacement deprived them of their weapons, thus leaving them empty-handed. In the aftermath of the FATA merger with KPK, the region is increasingly weapon free.¹⁹ Likewise, the IDPs, who had hardly ever interacted with the outside world, started inculcating the norms and customs of the areas they had been settled in, ultimately paving a way for culture transformation²⁰. During interviews the elder respondents (Maliks) were observed overwhelmingly convinced with the centuries-old tribal norms, which, in their opinion, ensure self-sustained administrative system. Presently, however, both national judicial system and police department are not completely in place in the region. The dismal situation of lawlessness can be better understood by revealing the fact that the first-ever police station in FATA was established in Wana, the largest district of the Waziristan Agency, in 2018.²¹ This too has fallen short of expectations because of absence of any effective mechanism to regulate its functions. Then, there is a lot of incongruity between the Federally Administered Tribal Areas Interim Governance Regulation, 2018, and the Constitution of Pakistan. Keeping in view these incompatibilities, the Supreme Court of Pakistan dismissed a civil petition in January 2018 signed by the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government.²² This has ominously contributed in malfunctioning of the state apparatus, notably the judicial system and police department, in FATA.

Most respondents favored Jirga System that would provide quick and cheap justice to the local society. Likewise, this has also resulted in grave human rights violations, notably putting women and children rights are at stake. Absence of an effective police force, national judicial system and Jirga System has further

exacerbated the already feeble judicial system. It has, however, fueled tribesmen's mistrust of the federal government and has raised the numbers of unsettled tribal issues with no judicial mechanism installed to solve them. As per the respondents, people of the tribal belt are least interested in lodging FIR and hiring a lawyer as it is both time-consuming and exceedingly expensive. It shatters their confidence and makes them less-confident to play a role in national development. Although FATA interim regulations allow an Assistant Commissioner to rely on a selected council of tribal elders to adjudicate civil cases on the basis of customary law,²³ yet it mostly observed that locals have least information about the council of elders and its subsequent procedures for the dispute settlement. The only viable solution for the time being should be the continuation of both practices (National Judicial System and the Local Jirga System) until the National Judicial System is fully installed and people get accustomed to its process. This will definitely broaden their choices to resort to either of the systems for the speedy redressal of their grievances. It would also provide them with an opportunity to minimize the risks of being neglected in the Local Jirga System and they may later knock the door of the National Judiciary if they believed that justice was not served. This will definitely put a challenge on Pakistan Government and judicial institution to gain people's confidence else people will remain biased towards practicing local Jirga system.

Post-Merger Impact on Economy – Free Market versus Regulated Economy

FATA is bestowed with rich natural resources. It, however, cannot make use of its resources owing to lacking development skills, poor technology and impoverished communication infrastructure. This, in return, has retarded economic activities and job opportunities in the region. Fortunately, there are a few dams, like Zara dam, Malana dam and Maidani dam, in Kurram Agency. These dams work as a much-needed source of water supply in the area. Kurram Agency is boundlessly blessed with fruit production, like apples, apricots and peaches, which can be a great source of revenue if utilized effectively.²⁴ Similarly, Orakzai Agency and Waziristan are also rich in fruit and vegetable production, notably apricots and pine nuts. Presently, the major dependence of livelihood is on livestock, which is considered as a primary source of economic activity in the region. It was reported that there are more than 4 million cattle, including buffaloes, sheep and goats in the region. This makes the region a sizeable market for milk and cooking oil production. Despite having such enormous dairy market at their disposal, tribesmen cannot exploit the marketing opportunities as absence of latest technology and reliance on non-technical ways hampers their chances of economic growth. In addition to agricultural and livestock opportunities, Mohmand and Bajur agencies also are

excessively rich in natural resources, like marble, copper, granite, gypsum and chromite.²⁵ Here, too, full economic potential is yet to be materialized primarily due to power outages, dismal communication network and absence of modern technology. The major repercussion of these shortcomings is confinement of local businessmen to local markets.

Pakistan army has again played a pivotal role in boosting economic activities by working towards construction and repairing of road networks in the region. The projects, like construction of Market Complex, Bus Terminal and Agri Park in Waziristan, are a stepping stone to provide local businessmen an easy access to national and international markets. Likewise, construction of 57 km Mir Ali – Gharrium road in North Waziristan, Terminal and Mini Market in Miranshah, Parachinar – Said karam-Sarpak with length 41.6 km, Parachinar bypass 11 km, Kor Miran – Toudo length 33kms, Dogar Samaa Bazar length 24 km, Kurez-Kadda Bazar length 17 Km, Aund Khel-Ferozkhel length 21kms, Bara river – Chapri- Kohat 10 km, Mohmand Jhanda Dab 19 km in Mohmand Agency, Road Khar- Barang 36 km in Bajaur district and many small roads / tracks made to connect intra and inter-tribal districts in merged areas.²⁶

Poverty was a decisive factor in giving birth to terrorism in the region, so commercial activism is the need of the hour. It goes without saying that terrorists lure poor, uneducated and wretched people into committing heinous crimes. Now, military operations have purged the region of radical elements. Now after success of military operation, the rehabilitation requires provision of economic opportunities by making expedient reforms in agriculture, mineral industry, animal farming, and provision of government jobs. Lack of economic opportunities may be dangerous in the post terrorism traumatic society which can certainly affect national security where foreign actors are on lookout to exploit vulnerabilities of Pakistan - Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) is a case in point.²⁷

Post-Merger Impact on Education – Madrassa Education versus National Education Standards

The education system in FATA comprises three types: the government system, informal education and Madrassa system. The funds for training of teachers and higher studies, for example in universities, are funneled through treasuries of KPK and other provinces of the country. The burden of education in areas constituting erstwhile FATA is also shouldered by different organizations providing technical and vocational training in tribal areas. Unfortunately, the standard of education in FATA is dismal and below par. It is reported that as many as 600 educational institutes are non-functional mainly owing to security concerns or

displacement of locals to other parts of Pakistan.²⁸ Likewise, the data gathered for educational institutes for girls is equally pathetic and shows that out of total 1927 schools for girls; around 537 are non-operating making 28% of non-working institutions for girls. Of all the districts of FATA, Khyber tribal district has the highest ratio of non-functional educational institutes, like 44.5% are non-functional schools there.²⁹ According to the FATA development household survey (2013-14), the literacy rate in tribal district is 33% which is too less as compare to average literacy rate (58%) of the country. The adult literacy rate too is abysmally low at 28.4% in merged areas against 57% adult literacy rate in Pakistan.³⁰ In general, there are only 4506 out of 6050, or 74%, institutions providing primary education. With the parameter of 40 students and above making an overcrowded institute, only 41% of schools are rightly overcrowded; too low a percentage if compared with the other parts of Pakistan. To the reader's dismay, as reported by the survey, around 13% of students of grade 1 could not read simple words written before them. Moreover, it is discovered that there are only 35 colleges, 23 and 12 for boys and girls respectively, with only 3% of students successfully completing their higher education.³¹ It gives credence to the fact that education sector in FATA is dismal and needs a timely remedy. It also was discovered that girls, who are less likely to attend both formal and informal education because of prevalent societal norms and taboos, lacked way too behind if compared with their male counterparts. The boys who could read a single sentence in either Urdu or Pashto made 42% compared to only 17% of girls who could do same.³² Apart from societal norms, rampant poverty also obstructs children from attending the schools providing formal education. Formal education, which is indispensable to tackle the modern world challenges, is both expensive and grueling for the locals. It is estimated that there are 2.6 million out-of-school children in KP including areas constituting erstwhile FATA. A report published by KP government states that there were around 8,971 religious schools before FATA merger imparting religious education to more than 150,000 children.³³ The Taliban have, as reported by the education department, destroyed more than 750 schools since 2005.³⁴ It is feared that these students are exceedingly vulnerable to falling in the hands of terrorists.

The Pakistan army in collaboration with the federal government has re-constructed education institutes in the war-ravaged FATA. These institutes for the first time afford hostel facilities for both boys and girls and accommodate both married and single faculty members. For instance, newly rehabilitated Degree College Miranshah in North Waziristan and Educational Complex Dogar in Kurram district, offer these facilities. Similarly, a new model school and college with attached facility of hostel is also erected there. State of the art Cadet College Mohamand has also been established to provide education and career development to the students

of the region. The civil government, as reported by the Demand Response Research Center Round 1 and II, 2018-19, has also approved a grand sum of 3376 million rupees for 345 projects in education sector.³⁵ The development on these projects aimed at uplifting the tribal infrastructure, however, has either remained extremely slow or has not started at all. Most of respondents expressed deep concern over non establishment of required institutions especially in rugged mountainous region such as Wazirsitan region.

In a nutshell, FATA merger with KPK has achieved negligibly low as far as improving the educational infrastructure of these remote areas is concerned. A robust mechanism to implement education reforms is the need of the hour. The grievances of the deserted people of FATA can only be addressed if education is propagated in these areas. It will, definitely, pay long-term dividends in the form of wiping out the evil of terrorism and unemployment from the tribal region. If illiteracy perpetuates its hold in the region, it would become extremely detrimental to national efforts aimed at rehabilitation and maintaining security in the region.

Post-Merger Impact on Health – Urban health Standards verses Rural Health Standards

The current situation of health sector in tribal districts merits attention. There is presently no proper infrastructure for health facility and absence of doctors, nursing staff, latest laboratories and necessary medical equipment and medicines further aggravates the situation. There is, lamentably, only one doctor available to 7000 patients in FATA.³⁶ There are only 784 doctors and 363 nurses available and an average distance travelled by locals to reach Tehsil HQ, due to lesser number of hospital facilities, is 12.3 kilometers. It speaks volumes for rising health emergency in the area. Here, too, in the post-military operations, the Pakistan army in collaboration with the civil government has played its pioneering role in establishing a few health facilities. For instance, rehabilitation of District HQ hospitals, like a 40-bed facility in Mohmand district; a 100-bed facility in Orakzai district, and establishment of a trauma center and category D hospital in Kurram district is worth mentioning in this regard. These facilities have proper Outdoor Patient Departments (OPDs), Indoor Patient Departments (IPDs), like gynecology, surgical and medical departments, Operation Theaters (OTs), in addition to administrative blocks and residential accommodation for the medical staff. Solar electricity is also being provided at numerous places to ensure continuous supply of electricity. Around 20 health projects of both small and medium scales have also been undertaken by Pakistan army in tribal districts.³⁷ Two significant developments by the federal government – approval of Rs 777.1 million fund to undertake 76 health projects in the

region and announcement of “Health Cards” by the incumbent government– will play a major role in addressing the health-related issues of the tribal people.³⁸

Lack of access to health facility can dramatically impede the political, social and economic growth of the region. Access to health is a prerequisite to achieve long-term dividends in any society. Its absence, keeps a society underdeveloped, malnourished and deprived. Conflict-laden FATA has never been able to give primary importance to the health issues, which, if neglected, can disturb an entire system. It is, however, increasingly important for the government to pay a constructive role in restructuring the worn-out health facilities in the region. Dividends of rehabilitation will remain a pipe dream as long as health issues are viewed narrowly by the federal government.

Post-Merger Impact on Overall National Security – Regional and Global Context

While at present, security situation in FATA is controlled after successful operations such as Operation Zarb-e-Azb started on June 15, 2014 and thereafter operation Raddul Fassad from February 22, 2017 till to-date has led TTP command elements to flee to hide out areas of Afghanistan. Terrorist incidents that were order of the day in erstwhile FATA have shown dramatic decline in the wake of military operations led by Pakistan army. The Ministry of States and Frontier Regions (Safron) reports that terrorism-related casualties in FATA alone stood at 3,062 out of total 6,966 lives that perished due to terrorism since 2013-14 in all over Pakistan.³⁹ As far as the latest data is concerned, FATA has witnessed a marked decline of 52.3% in total terror attacks that took place in 2018 as compared to 2017.⁴⁰ The rehabilitation phase in terms of resettling of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and development of infra-structure in social sector is in progress.

While in the process of rehabilitation and development, a political movement in the name of Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) emerged under chairman, Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen. PTM, with its former name the Mehsud Tahafuz Movement, was founded in 2014. Its sole agenda in 2014 was the removal of land mines installed by Pakistan army during anti-terrorist operations in the region. However, an ethnic Pashtun, Naqibullah Mehsud’s cold-blooded murder at the hands of an alleged serial killer and a notorious police officer, in 2018 sparked the flames of the movement.⁴¹ It started chanting anti-state slogans which received world-wide media attention. Despite Director General of Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor’s unflinching commitment to address their grievances, this hostile attitude was vociferously condemned by the military establishment. DG ISPR maintained that PTM was working in connivance with

Afghan and Indian intelligence agencies to sow the seeds of chaos in Pakistan.⁴² There is an explicit possibility that the merged region with no state apparatus working there is the most vulnerable place, which can become a hotbed of terrorism.

Additionally, since Pakistan shares a porous border with Afghanistan, therefore, stability in Afghanistan will have direct impact over stability in FATA. Weak governance has left Afghanistan under mix of control or influence by the Government and Taliban. "Only 53.8 percent of districts were "controlled or influenced" by the government, while 2.3 percent of the districts were under insurgent control or influence and 33.9 percent of districts were contested".⁴³ The failure of U.S led NATO forces has been validated by a confidential trove of government documents obtained by The Washington Post reveals that senior U.S. officials failed to tell the truth about the war in Afghanistan throughout their 18-year campaign, making rosy pronouncements they knew to be false and hiding unmistakable evidence the war had become unwinnable.⁴⁴ At present, US, China, Russia, Qatar, Iran, Pakistan and many others are busy in dialogue with the Taliban representatives to reach out on certain consensus, like reduction of violence, followed by Intra Afghan dialogue and cease fire.⁴⁵ However, US desire to end up the endless war by withdrawal of most of US forces from Afghanistan is likely to bring more chaos and uncertainty till political settlement security stability in Afghanistan is ensured. Precipitous withdrawal of the US from Afghanistan with no installation of effective political and security mechanism can descend the region back into the chaos of 2001.

Conclusion

FATA is under evolutionary process of transformation to mainstream with the national standards. The people of the region have shown great determination during challenges of terrorism and protracted social conflict. At one end, Government of Pakistan is determined to main stream the region however on the other end falls short of practical steps in economy, education, health and justice domain. There is a dire need to focus on fast track development by the Government else foreign hostile elements are already looking for an opportunity to exploit masses in the name of identity, leading to recurrence of conflict which had been managed after lot of sacrifices by the people of the region and government forces alike.

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