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ISSRA PAPERS VOL-VI, ISSUE-II, 2014

CONTENTS

	Page
• Editor's Note	i-iii
• Best Human Resource Management Practices: A Short-Sighted Managerial Approach towards Paradigm Shift <i>Mr. Kashif Zaheer & Dr Muhammad Bashir Khan</i>	01
• Brewing Conflict over Kabul River; Policy Options for Legal Framework <i>Ms. Iffat Pervaz & Dr. M. Sheharyar Khan</i>	17
• Institutionalization of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan <i>Muhammad Yahhya Maqbool & Dr. Shahzad Hussain</i>	39
• Evolving 'Alienation' Concept – Implications for Pakistan University Youth <i>Muhammad Ilyas</i>	59
• A Recourse to the Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan - Borrowing Sociological Narratives in Contemporary Era <i>Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed</i>	79
• Gwadar Port as Emerging Energy Corridor for China's Economic Development: Opportunities and Challenges <i>Syed Waqas Haider Bukhari & Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht</i>	99
• Evolutionary Transformation of Religious Extremism and Terrorism: An Analysis of Fata-Pakistan <i>Muhammad Rafique</i>	119
• Book Review <i>M. Umar Baloch</i>	137
• NDU Publications	141

Editor's Note

The ISSRA Papers (The Journal of Governance and Public Policy) 2nd Half 2014 is in your hands. The Journal has been able to attract seasoned writers, who have contributed policy relevant papers in this edition and they are likely to contribute in future as well. The publication of the Journal has been possible with encouraging support of the Departments of Govt of Public Policy and Leadership & Management Sciences (Faculty of Contemporary Studies, NDU). The Brief summary of papers and their contributors is given in the succeeding paragraphs.

The first paper 'Best Human Resource Management Practices: A Short-Sighted Managerial Approach towards Paradigm Shift', has been contributed by Mr. Kashif Zaheer and Dr Muhammad Bashir Khan. This paper aims at human resource capacity building & organization management. The writers present different paradigm of management by applying the human resource practices, to analyze organizational structures as well as performance at large.

The second paper 'The Brewing Conflict over Kabul River; Policy Options for Legal Framework' is contributed by Ms. Iffat Pervaz and Dr. M. Sheharyar Khan. The study aims at studying the conflict over Kabul River. Pakistan and Afghanistan both are neighbouring countries but there is no treaty between them about water sharing. Afghanistan wants to make reservoirs over Kabul River which would limit the supply of water towards Pakistan.

The third paper 'Institutionalization of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan', is written by Muhammad Yahhya Maqbool and Dr. Shahzad Hussain. This paper critically analyzes the

institutionalization process of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan, the vulnerability to natural disasters and policy implementation. The paper also examines the lack of sensitization in the implementation of productive DRM in its actual form.

The fourth paper 'Evolving 'Alienation' Concept – Implications for Pakistan University Youth' is written by Muhammad Ilyas. The article aims at different facets of alienation while highlighting the impacts on social and educational situations. The motive is to examine the alienation behaviour among university students, which concludes that social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness are core factors which contribute as the causes of alienation.

The fifth paper 'A Recourse to the Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan - Borrowing Sociological Narratives in Contemporary Era', written by Ms. Mahroona Syed discusses the civil military relations within the ambit of sociological approach. In the current era, the Pakistani nation needs unity more than the previous times, the author concludes.

The sixth paper 'Gwadar Port as Emerging Energy Corridor for China's Economic Development: Opportunities and Challenges', has been written by Syed Waqas Haider Bukhari and Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht. This paper critically examines the importance of Gwadar port as it is located on an important geo-strategic location and it has increased the interdependence between China and Pakistan. It was constructed with the help of China, and she wants to use a corridor which would support her economic development.

The seventh paper 'Evolutionary Transformation of Religious Extremism and Terrorism: An Analysis of Fata-Pakistan', is written by Muhammad Rafique. The paper examines the phenomenon of

terrorism and extremism as well as militancy in Federally-Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. The writer also describes the role of US invasion in Afghanistan and gave recommendations to eliminate the menace of terrorism in Pakistan.

At the end, the Editor extends his profound gratitude to all the writers and readers for pre-posing their trust in ISSRA Papers. Wish you all the best of luck.

A Recourse to the Analysis of Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan - Borrowing Sociological Narratives in Contemporary Era

(Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed)*

Abstract

The Civil-Military relations debate is largely being discussed here with a political science approach to the issue which mostly presents a biased picture, since it only analyses the relations amongst the power elite. Such an approach unnecessarily necessitates the urge amongst stakeholders to indulge in an uncalled-for power struggle to assert their legitimacy or authority. This article argues that the indicators usually chosen to describe state of CMR in Pakistan, like regime type, presence of democracy, legitimacy granted by local or international community, control of one institution by another etc., may not be sufficiently valid. It is proposed that a more comprehensive sociological approach should instead be adopted for looking into the issue, especially when looking into the relations of the armed forces viz-a-viz civilian part. In this era when nation needs unity more than ever before as a matter of public policy, further studies need to be conducted to bring forth more accurate analysis of the reality on-ground.

Key Words: *political, necessitates, legitimacy, democracy, legitimacy, sociological approach, CMR*

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Prelude/Introduction

Even a cursory glance at the historical trajectory of political events in Pakistan would reveal a past akin more to a *catalogue* of misfortunes and blunders, achievements and shows of resilience by various segments of Pakistani society to any avid reader. When it comes to living, Pakistani nation has hardly ever come out of 'interesting times'- as ancient Chinese might have meant in their parlance. In its short history, Pakistan has seen all, literally, - from getting on the verge of financial bankruptcy to wars with neighbors and within its own boundaries; and last but not the least, tumultuous transitions of governments, no matter whether by elections or military takeovers. Prophets of doom have consequently never failed in predicting the future of the still young nation as a '*failed state*'. The situation turns far more critical when every single incident in the history of Pakistan is seen in the context of, and sometimes even as a result of, a perceived inter-institutional struggle aimed at tilting the balance of power favorably towards either of them. Hence, the perennial debate on Civil-Military Relations (CMR) in Pakistan always remains the *cause célèbre*, for a description of any scenario.

The approach, admittedly, is a very convenient one - to ascribe all ills to any observable entity or phenomenon that catches the media glare, especially when it involves the political and military top brass. More often than not, the military is chastised for 'taking over', by the political elite, sending negative vibes to the society in general that the CMR are deteriorating in this country. And then, as a result, it would seem as if the entire edifice of the state has fallen apart, like a house of cards, or so will be the impression given to the man on the street in Pakistan.

Thus, the most basic question still remains the most relevant: Have the Civil - Military Relations been sour in Pakistan over the years? The usual line of arguments begins from the presupposition that these are and have remained strained over the years¹ and there is a need to improve them. One couldn't agree more with the second assertion, since there is presumably always a room for improvement in the very nature of things. However, it is being argued here that such narratives are demoralizing and exclusionary in essence, for they ignore the societal input on the issue.

Therefore, this article attempts to question the first notion posed above through the eyes of a sociologist, thereby giving the central assertion that, barring a very few number of occasions, the Civil-Military relations have mostly remained very strong in Pakistan. This assertion comes on the premise that most studies focus on a partial approach of political science for looking at CMR in Pakistan, at the cost of ignoring other more encompassing and comprehensive sociological alternatives on the issue. With a little change in lens, one can find an altogether new perspective of defining and describing the problem at hand, which in the current case is the civil – military relation in Pakistan. This article questions as to why CMR are always taken to be a problem of political science discourse and not the sociological discourse? The inherent predicament with framing of arguments in such a way is that it gives a very biased view of the situation on the ground.

Repeated instances of media furor over incidents like, to quote just a few, Memo - gate scandal, exchange of strongly - worded

¹See "Civil-Military Relations in Contemporary Pakistan," *Survival*,40, no.2 (Summer 1998): 96-113,accessed December 13, 2014, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00396338.1998.10107840>.

statements amongst two important Cabinet members of ruling PML (N)² and an ISPR press release regarding the COAS visit to SSG Headquarters at Tarbela on 7th April, 2014³; and conspiracy theories regarding Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf dharnas (sit-ins) etc provided fresh impetus for writing this article. Certainly, over the years, Pakistan has become accustomed to such political situations at home. With the dawn of a new era of strengthening democratic norms in the society, the civil - military relations are being tested once again, as the institutions try to define their domain. The situation becomes more acute when the war of words involves dignity of institutions like military and judiciary, thereby negatively influencing the process of democratization.

Understanding the Enigma of ‘Civil-Military Relations (CMR)’

One must begin by understanding the concept of CMR. There is hardly any consensus amongst academia over how CMR can be defined. It is still a relative and yet to be refined concept, reason being that, as written by Jon Rahbek - Clemmensen, this field of study does not have a ‘coherent system of definitions and causal relations’ which is necessary for developing any concrete analysis⁴.

²Kamran Yousaf, “Controversial remarks: Khawaja Asif may lose defence portfolio,” *The Express Tribune*, April 14, 2014.

³Press Release by Inter Services Public Relations no. PR75/2014-ISPR., April 7, 2014, accessed December 17, 2014, https://www.ispr.gov.pk/front/main.asp?o=t-press_release&date=2014/4/7/.

⁴Jon Rahbek-Clemmensen, “Beyond ‘The Soldier and the State - *the Theoretical Framework of Elite Civil-Military Relations*,” (PhD thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 2013), accessed December 25, 2014, <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/782/>.

Divergence between Political Science and Sociological perspectives

Amongst several definitions of the concept of CMR, many somehow come singularly from political science discourse. However, the one which appears more comprehensive is, in the words of Vladimir Rukavishnikov and Michael Pugh, “the relationship between civilians (people without arms), the society at large, and the military (the people with arms).⁵ This very definition of CMR needs to be understood before contemplating on any argument on civil-military relations especially regarding Pakistan.

First and foremost, this definition represents CMR as a function of the whole society and not particularly one or two segments of it, stating CMR as not merely an interaction between military and political elite, as is the case with the political science approach to the issue. Civil-Military relations from the sociological perspective do not mean *only* the relations between the Government-of-the-day and the top military hierarchy. Since, the state itself is a creation of a society; all systems of society are a creation of the society too. Therefore, the Government, the parliament, the judiciary, the bureaucracy are all what members of a society desire for themselves in order to manage their day-to-day affairs. Similarly, the Armed Forces of Pakistan are an institution which is the creation of the society itself, just like the general political system of a state. Their role and functions, organization and structure, all must be seen as a creation and product of the society, just like other institutions; and not in isolation as some independent and self-growing, autonomous

⁵Vladimir O. Rukavishnikov and Michael Pugh, “Civil-Military Relations,” in *Handbook of the Sociology of the Military*, ed. Guiseppe Caforio (New York: Kluwer Academic, 2003), 131-149.

entity. It means that in case either situation exists, the inter-institution harmony - or friction for that matter - this does not per se symbolize, or is representative of, the state of affairs for the whole of the society.

Secondly, it is equally fallacious to be selective in choice of indicators while representing the state of CMR in a country. For example, one must ask whether presence of democracy, or military takeovers, civilian control of military etc completely depict and express the nature of civil-military relations in a country. At the same time, one must distinguish if civilian control of military is an indicator of good civil-military relations in a state or it is actually a desired end state transcending the ambit of the civil-military relations debate? A rational academic discussion would have difficulty in borrowing such an assumption. Needless to point out that many a writer do actually take civilian control of military to be the sole indicator for good CMR in a country like Pakistan. Therefore, the usual string of arguments goes like - military forces should be under civilian control, and civilian control can only come through democracy. Therefore, since there are repeated military takeovers, there can be no democracy and no civilian control on the military which only means that state of CMR is bad in Pakistan. Only if democracy is allowed to function smoothly, it will mean that CMR are strong in Pakistan and conversely, rule by military dictatorship means the CMR are weak in Pakistan. This line of reasoning must be questioned here. Is the style of government, in other words regime type, or absence of military coup, indicator of good CMR? In other words, how does civilian rule, especially democracy, come to be the only indicator of positive relations

between civilians and the military? It is indeed unfair to portray so, specifically in the case of Pakistan.

Civil-Military Relations in Pakistan: Playing Another Zero-Sum Game

Regardless of what version or interpretation of history one subscribes to, the history of Pakistan's turbulent political past shows that Pakistan remained unsettled on any particular form of government and kept shifting between democracy and repeated military takeovers. This, according to the perception of many in the civil society, marks the genesis of the problem of tumultuous political history of Pakistan. According to popular perception, a legacy of soured relations thus, still persists, creating a void between the civil and military cadres of the country. However, one may point out that the problem at hand should be understood keeping in view all the complexities and intricacies of the power relations within the Pakistani societal setup.

Unfortunately, as hinted above, the increasing predisposition among many from the intelligentsia and political leadership is to see the *problématique* in terms of, what political scientists would call, *elite civil-military relations*, and not in terms of *societal civil-military relations*. Such a Huntingtonian approach⁶ to perceive reality is, at best, myopic, since it ignores the importance of dynamics of power relations that shape societies; and which, in their essence, emanate from the very fabric of the society. For example, what grants power to the military forces of Pakistan, is not merely the barrel of the gun. It is most definitely the society itself

⁶Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 3.

which grants it the social legitimacy to make it as effective and pervasive as the sole guarantor of security of the state as per the Constitution of 1973⁷. A Janowitzian approach for explaining the nature of CMR in Pakistan⁸ therefore would have been equally valid for all practical purposes.

From that angle, if the will of the people of a country is the real gauge of civil-military relations, it could be measured for example, through people's participation in the elections. If so, then, the less-than 50 % total voters' turnout in 6 out of 10 general elections held in Pakistan since 1970, should actually tell us of people's loss of faith in their electoral system.⁹Such a fact, in fact, should put doubts on the argument of masses in Pakistan being in favor of democracy. The demand for Nizam-i-Adal in Swat, as later signed by former President Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, the calls from different hapless segments of society to armed forces to come to the rescue of common man once political leadership fails to deliver; endless surveys taken by international agencies proving the popularity and people's unflinching faith in them,¹⁰ along with long queues on

⁷See Article 245 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973.

⁸See Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960).

⁹The total voters' turn-out in general elections held from 1977 -1985 was: 55.02% (1977), 52.93%(1985), *PILDAT*, "Proposal on Election Reforms," accessed December 27, 2014, http://www.pildat.org/cgep/Research_Publications.asp/ and 42%(1988), 46%(1990), 39%(1993), 35% (1997), 40%(2002), 44%(2008), 53%(2013), *Gallup Pakistan*, "Report#1, The New Tide of Voter Turn-Out in Pakistan's National Election: 2013," accessed December 27, 2014, info@gallup.com.pk/.

¹⁰Just for example, Pew Global Survey (2013) shows nearly 79% of the total 82% population covered in their survey considers Pakistan armed forces' role in the country to be positive. This is also an indicator that armed forces enjoy widespread support and social legitimacy given by the masses. The survey report titled, "On Eve of Elections, a Dismal Public Mood in Pakistan," accessed December 24, 2014,

recruitment centers of armed forces do not bear testimony to the view that people of Pakistan see their armed forces as usurpers of their political rights as propounded by many, instead of deliverers.

The purpose of putting forth such arguments is not to propose that people of Pakistan want military dictatorship per se, but merely to highlight that the indicators depicting societal undercurrents should not be segregated and isolated from the central debate on the nature of civil-military relations in Pakistan.

Does ‘Civilian’ mean Political leadership only?

Also, one would question as to why in any discussion on specifically *elite* Civil - military relations, the term ‘civilians’ is employed to mean the politicians of a country only while judiciary, bureaucracy, media, intelligentsia and academia are ignored as well as people on the street who all make up the civilian population.

In any assessment of CMR in Pakistan, role of all segments must be seen on equal footing along with the role of politicians. For example, it must not be forgotten that in the early days of Independence, it was the bureaucratic rule which held the reins of power and resulted in similar political chaos as has been characteristic of the political situation in Pakistan since ages. Tahir Karman, for example calls the early years of Pakistan as the ‘decade of the *bureaucratic*’ instead of the ‘democratic/civilian rule’¹¹. Another argument would take into account the Doctrine of Necessity, quite regularly invoked by the Judiciary¹² to uphold the legitimacy of army actions - a practice that made its way right from

<http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2013/05/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Pakistan-Report-FINAL-May-7-20131.pdf>

¹¹See Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, 2008), 11.

¹²Ibid.,11.

Justice Munir to Justice Irshad Ali Khan and even Justice Iftikhar M Chaudhry, with very few exceptions otherwise. Also, in case of military takeovers, there would always be some mainstream politicians who would hail the armed forces for their actions. In fact, some would readily join the military-led governments once proffered an opportunity. Such a situation, contrary to commonly portrayed perception, shows very strong CMR in Pakistan.

On Elite CMR and Civilian Control over Military

It is pertinent to note that the trend among many writers in Pakistan is to pre-suppose that civil - military relations almost synonymously mean civilian control of the military which is based on a flawed logic. There is no denying the fact that the elite CMR are of indisputable importance but to extend these an importance beyond the will and reach of the people of a society and confining these to only 'civilian control over military' is rather unfair, especially in this society which is experiencing an increasing disconnect between haves and have-nots.¹³

Also, in order to understand the context of the problem at hand, the power relations, whether existing or emerging, in the world outside the state of Pakistan must be taken due cognizance of. The regional compulsions, geo - strategic scenarios, role of non-state actors, strategic position in the international arena, all take away

¹³See Mahroona Hussain Syed, *The Nature of Dependency in the Socio-Economic Development of Pakistan: An Exploratory Study Into The Compulsive And Voluntary Dependency Affecting Pakistan's Socio-Economic Development*, (LAP. Lambert Acad, 2010), https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=MI2yuAAACAAJ&dq=the+nature+of+dependency+in+the+socio-economic+development+of+pakistan:+an+exploratory+study+into+the+compulsive...&hl=en&sa=X&ei=_eCsVKyUJpCXuATBk4HIDQ&ved=OCBoQ6AEwAA.

much of the independence of action from actors within the state and have a stark influence on elite and societal CMR in the country.

Intertwinement of Concepts of Elite and Societal CMR

As the elite CMR and societal CMR are inherently intertwined concepts, none of these can be understood in isolation without looking into the other aspect. As Jon Rahbek - Clemmensen opined, the society's power relations must be understood in order to grasp the elite power relations¹⁴. The source of power for the armed forces, through which they draw their legitimacy, comes from their popularity and acceptance amongst the polity. What constitutes as 'legitimacy' is by definition, simply a 'recognition of the right to govern'¹⁵. Thereby, one may argue that the social legitimacy which an army requires in particular circumstances is, therefore, never required in Pakistan Army's case, for it has always been there. The geo-strategic compulsions, as alluded to above, along with the internal political mayhem caused by political leadership's failures, corruption and self - serving ruling elite, comprising mainly the landed aristocracy, coupled with ever-present hostile neighbours, Pakistan's overwhelming pre-occupation with fighting one war or another, actually made the armed forces more acceptable in the eyes of public. Therefore, the problem may not be studied in terms of legitimacy at all. On top, preceding such a mix of circumstances in Pakistan is the colonial past along with being home to diversified ethnicities. The callous disregard for socio-cultural realities, ethnic distribution and more humanitarian concerns at the time of

¹⁴See Clemmensen, "Beyond 'The Soldier and the State.'"

¹⁵Jean-Marc Coicaud, *Legitimacy and Politics: A Contribution to the Study of Political Right and Political Responsibility*, trans. David Ames Curtis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10.

demarcation of boundaries by the British Raj set the stage for a complex and largely defensive posture in the strategic thinking of the powers at play in Pakistan. From Independence to becoming a key ally in the War on Terror, and later itself becoming a victim of global power politics, Pakistan remained grappling with existential threats to its security and sovereignty. In fact, partial justification behind having so-called *heavy* defence burden in Pakistan comes from these factors. It initiated a perennial debate among Pakistan's intelligentsia who consider it another opportunity to castigate the armed forces and see it in the light of CMR debate. Pakistan's forces are fighting on multiple fronts and one must not forget that the quantum of effort, force and equipment required is absurdly huge. However, the money available does not commensurate with the sum that is needed for achieving the Herculean task it has been assigned¹⁶. Even if one were to compare the defence burden with other countries of the world, four-fifths of the military expenditures of the whole world, according to SIPRI estimates of 2013,¹⁷ are undertaken by only 15 states of the world, including India, our next-door neighbor, while Pakistan stands nowhere, even though it is facing far graver challenges to its security, at home and outside its borders, than most of the above since the day it joined the West's War on Terror.

¹⁶Mahroona Hussain Syed, "Economic Growth and Military Effectiveness: An Empirical Study of Pakistan's Military from 1991-2010," (MPhil thesis, National Defence University (NDU), 2013).

¹⁷"The share of world military expenditures of the 15 states with highest expenditure in 2013," *SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)*, accessed December 14, 2014, <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex-graphs-for-data-launch-2014/The-share-of-world-military-expenditure-of-the-15-states-with-the-highest-expenditure-in-2013.png>.

Problems with using the Elite CMR Lens

Since many people see these issues through the lens of CMR, they are prone to criticizing the size, the budget, the income-generating activities of the armed forces as an effort by them to build themselves up as corporate entities, so as to maintain control over the Government. On a similar note, since democracy is the perceived ideal of the citizenry, it is argued that military takeovers could be averted, had the army been cut down in terms of size and budget, and itself had concentrated more on professionalism. However, the critics are careful enough not to mention the amount of taxes submitted to the national exchequer by these so-called corporate entities in a culture where tax evasion is the rule of the day. The subsidies otherwise given by the Government to its failing public enterprises in every budget, arising out of maladministration and corruption, also find no mention in such debates. Given the limited budget, how does the intelligentsia propose that armed forces of Pakistan should take care of their officers who retire at young ages into a world of increasing unemployment? How come the numerous housing societies of many Government ministries, for example, the Railways Housing Society is shown to be more legitimate than DHA (Defence Housing Authority)?

Besides, it must be pointed out that the armed forces do not decide the volume / strength of their forces. It is for the society in general and the Government in specific to decide on it. Same is the case with the size of the budget. It is indeed the Government and the parliament that finally allocate defence budget to the armed forces. The Public Accounts Committee is another forum which can keep an eye on money going to defence forces. The failure of successive parliaments in Pakistan to enact laws and develop

mechanisms and capacities to maintain oversight on defence budgets should not be blamed upon the armed forces.

However, if such an argument is to be seen in the context of CMR, that the successive Parliaments agreed to the demands of the armed forces and did not care to venture into this domain, then in that case, doesn't it only indicate presence of even stronger *elite* CMR in Pakistan?

On Authoritarianism and Power Struggle

Another counter argument usually raised against above opinion is that the military rule in Pakistan is too authoritarian which grants less say to the common man, as against during civilian rule. Without justifying authoritarianism, it must still be pointed out that authoritarian rule was always a legacy in the territories included in Pakistan today, whether by the British, the feudal landlords-turned politicians or the military leadership. The British were more interested in controlling and maintaining law and order in the area than providing socio-economic progress to the people. The colonialists took pride in introducing the notion of democracy to the third world including the Subcontinent but their overarching fixation with maintaining strict control over subjects is evident from the fact that they introduced 'restricted adult franchise'¹⁸ for holding elections and not the universal adult franchise which India and Pakistan later adopted. Once Pakistan came into being, it merely borrowed ideas (including the Government for India Act, 1935) from the British and the system of governance that emerged

¹⁸Hassan Askari Rizvi, "A Narrative of Pakistan's Nine Elections (1970-2008)," in *PILDAT (Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, Report on 'The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan,' (May 2013): 11.*

consequently fostered more authoritarianism than genuine democracy. Then why to blame any one particular segment of the society? If at all, Pakistan failed in some way, it was a collective failure where no one can claim not being guilty. And if it is a success story, again it is a collective feat, to be rejoiced and built upon.

In fact, if style of Government and the performance on economic front entailed by it, could be taken as one gauge for good governance in case of Pakistan, to quote Dr Ishrat Hussain, ex-Governor of State Bank of Pakistan, there is hardly any difference amongst civil or military rule in Pakistan in terms of style of governance or in terms of performance on socio-economic front.¹⁹ The type of democracy that Pakistan has is a typically elitist democracy where the electorate has no choice but to choose from a group of 3000 elite families, most of which are feudal lords and/or their kith and kin. It turns out that the political leadership one way or the other comes from the same group all the time, hence the authoritarian style of governance. In case of military forces, the style is again authoritarian because of the strict command & control structures that they have. They have made mistakes but not any more than their civilian counterparts. Was Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto not a dictator in his own right as General Zia-Ul-Haq was? Both of them introduced their own paradigms (Islamic socialism and Islamic conservatism respectively) to ensure legitimacy for their rule on the basis of centralization of power and personal control of affairs of the state of Pakistan? The issue of

¹⁹Dr. Ishrat Hussain, "The Role of Politics in Pakistan Economy," *Journal of International Affairs*, 63, no.1, (March 2010): 1-8, <http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/role-politics-pakistans-economy/>.

authoritarianism in Pakistan influences in any case since the democracy Pakistan has, is an elitist democracy, comprised mainly of the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. On the other hand, the military derives its knack for authoritarianism through the Command and Control Structure which is a part of its very organization. Does every ruler not try to consolidate his power? Then why accuse only one particular for the alleged Bonapartism? It must be pointed out here that ever since the 1973 constitution was passed, there have been around 35 amendments in it till 2011 and not surprisingly, majority of them deal with power relations. Admittedly, the famed article 58/2-B was added into the Constitution during a military regime, but do we ever reflect that the military ruler used it only once while it was used four times by civilian Presidents, all dismissing their Governments on charges of corruption? If the military takeover is to be lamented, then the transfer of power from one civilian rule to another was not smooth either in Pakistan.

At this point, one might as well question the logic of considering the establishment of Democracy in Pakistan as the panacea for all troubles and to hail it as a sacrosanct ideal. Democracy may be a genuine ideal or end goal for a polity but only if it is seen as the harbinger of human welfare in a country. Unfortunately, the historical evidence may not support such an assertion, on the grounds that many of the democratic welfare states in the developed world originated in authoritarian rule.

Not-so-surprisingly, if grant of political legitimacy to a regime by the international community is to be taken as an indicator, not democracy but political expediency of the great powers determines if a regime is to be dealt with as true representative of a polity or not. Away from rhetoric, in case of Pakistan, one would really

question if the international community ever really favored any particular style of Government, i.e. either democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan. Whosoever could be arm-twisted by them was useful for them and given legitimacy there and then. Was President Musharraf any less legitimate a ruler in the eyes of the international community once he decided to take part in WoT than the elected political leaders are?

In all honesty, as far as Pakistan is concerned, any particular style of government would be desirable only if it delivers and performs its prime duty which is to give its people their rightful, i.e. socio-economic uplift and 'security' in every sense of the word. After all, what should be the end-goal of a government? Either to be democratic or to deliver and ensure human security comprehensively? Shouldn't provision of welfare to the masses be the only defining criteria to judge any government's performance? If a civil Government is able to deliver the goods, it is most definitely a more desirable state, if not equally so. The armed forces have, in any way, enough already on their platter to worry for and would like to see a prosperous and well-governed Pakistan as much as any other citizen would desire. Therefore, any debate on civil-military relations in the context of regime type in a society must be seen in that context too.

The problem, in all probability lies somewhere else. Not having been able to serve our people is actually a collective failure and not a fault of merely one Government/ institution or the other. Not to justify the military takeovers but merely to bring to light the inadequacies emanating from existing electoral process and constitutional mechanisms citing the above examples; had the

politicians put their house in order²⁰, there would be no chasm created and no calls for the armed forces to take over the reins and deliver the people from the tyranny of the political leadership. Tocqueville's remarks in *Democracy in America*, very much represent the thinking of the military mind when they watch the country falling into an abyss of bad governance and listen to the people of their country calling them to takeover:

'When I refuse to obey an unjust Law, I do not contest the right of the majority to command, but I simply appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of mankind.'²¹

From a different perspective, for all those who are bent upon portraying a negative view of history of CMR in Pakistan, it is often argued that political instability has affected Pakistan's economic progress. Interestingly, Pakistan has on the whole managed to achieve an average of about 5% annual growth rate throughout its history which should actually reflect positively on the state of CMR in Pakistan. Had there been chaos and belligerence between the civil and military top brass, this feat would have certainly been impossible.

The Role of CMR in Decision Making Regarding Nuclear Technology:-

Similarly, if state of CMR could be seen in terms of the decisions taken in Pakistan over the decades regarding its strategic assets, the greatest success of strong CMR in Pakistan comes in the form of the decisions taken by its civil and military leadership on the issue of

²⁰"Speedy justice need of the hour," *The Dawn*, December 29, 2014, accessed December 16, 2014, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1153781/speedy-justice-need-of-the-hour>.

²¹Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (London: Everyman's Library, 1945), 264-286.

nuclear technology, which can singularly serve as the best example and a beacon of hope for the citizens in this connection. There is a plenty of evidence to show that there has been no difference of opinion on matters pertaining to nuclear program and related matters in Pakistan. It was a program started by a civilian Prime Minister, run by eminent civilian scientists, strictly protected by the armed forces of Pakistan and guarded as an article of faith by each and every successive government, whether military or civilian. It would have been better if instead of painting doomsday scenarios of perceived deteriorated CMR in Pakistan, citing Memo-gate and Mehran-gate scandals, similar other incidents of bickering and mistrust amongst individuals; and creating unnecessary media hype on mere differences in opinions etc., such an extraordinary show of unity, faith and discipline had been celebrated by all and sundry.

Conclusion

Given the range of existential threats to its security, Pakistan could not have sailed smoothly through the turmoil. But defying all conventional wisdom, it however, resiliently survived - and survived well. However, the constant propping up of the narrative of weak civil-military relations is burdensome for the nation since it merely depicts the nature of elite power relations and not those of the common man. Also, it portrays a negative image to other communities in the world about a weak failing state where inter-institutional warfare is a constant reality. Such a narrative needs to be replaced by a narrative of strong societal civil-military relations. While any argument given here is not meant to give *carte blanche* to any stakeholder for transgressing the constitutionally-given mandate of its respective institution, still, the need of the hour is to bury the past and look ahead. An institutionalization of decision-

making powers through further reforms and dissemination of strong supporting narratives is the need of the hour. The window of opportunity opened by quickly evolving national consensus on National Action Plan must be cashed in time to harness the potential benefits of strong civil-military relations also.

Best Human Resource Management Practices: A Short-Sighted Managerial Approach towards Paradigm Shift

(Mr. Kashif Zaheer & Dr Muhammad Bashir Khan)*

Abstract

Human Resource Management (HRM) practices hold a vital role in enhancing and sustaining performance of any organization. Institutional capacity building is highly dependent on these HRM practices and their proper implementation. An organization can achieve its objectives and goals through these. Mostly these practices include HR Planning, Job Analysis, Job Design, Salaries, Performance Management, Trainings, Recruitment and Retention strategies, Job Security, etc

On the basis of my observation, personal experience as HR manager and extract of literature from various studies, a set of five best practices is being taken for this study. These include Job analysis and design, Recruiting and Selection, Training and Development, Performance management as well as Employee relations. Any Organization working in whatever sector - public or private can shift its paradigm from stagnant to active organization by effectively applying best HR practices.

Key Words: *Human Resource Management, Job Analysis, Recruitment, Performance Management, Employee Relation, Recruitment and Retention strategies*

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Introduction

Human resource (HR) is the most significant asset of an organization. All the other resources are used via HR. Although it's not very easy task to hire people and engage them in flow of resources. Human resources are not used instead they are managed. People working in an institution are unique resources. Haslinda A. (2009) terms it a process in which an organization manages its human talent to achieve their objectives. By process she means all the HRM practices, i.e. staffing, training, employee relations and job analysis. An organization needs to manage its resource to stand at competitive position. Kemal (2003) viewed that now it is well recognized that institutions matter in the growth process both directly and indirectly. As we earlier discussed, institutions are dependent on effective HRM system for better services. Successful recruiting and hiring efforts result in the development of a work force that not only benefits employees, supervisors, and departments but also contributes to the lasting greatness of any exceptional institution.

In Pakistan HRM sector is not new but unfortunately it has been highly ignored. As a result of which our institutions are unable to deliver services up to requirement of consumers. Similarly private sector is also not very advanced in utilizing HRM techniques. There is a dire need to make an analytical review of HRM practices currently existing in Pakistan both in public and private sector.

HRM in Pakistan carried out by public and private sectors is inadequate and responsively unable to provide required public service delivery. The right match of HRM practices adopted by public and private organizations can enhance the institutional

capabilities. An urgent need arises to make an exploratory study in perspective of best HR practices.

Main objectives of this study are to explore and understand the role of HRM practices in relation to public and private organizations. Analysis of this study will identify the following selected HRM practices and their implications. Analyze and evaluate best HR practices as well as to make recommendations is also one of the main objectives of this research.

Bridging the persistent gap in HRM practices

Organizational performance is highly dependent on these practices. Mark and Susan (1995) claimed that, if HR practices are properly organized and well functioned in an organization then one can build a perception that these are the HR practices which are contributing towards direct and economic progress of said organization. HRM practices influence the skills of employees, recruiting process helps in creating pools of deserving applicants and later on training helps in employees' development. Kathryn (2002) concluded his study in words that, these are the HR practices which contribute in maximizing the gains of organizations when one such firm adopts contemporary HR practices prevailing in the competitive sectors. According to Garry (2008) all the policies & practices which are intervening in carrying out the "people" or HR aspect of a managerial position along with recruiting, filtrating, training, compensating, and appraising is known as Human resource management.

Jeffrey (1995) coined seen HRM practices:-

- Employment or job security
- Selectivity during recruitment
- Employee participation

- Comparatively high wages
- Extensive training
- Reduced status distinctions

Raghubar (2009) proposed 14 important HRM practices as mentioned below:-

- HR Planning
- Job Analysis
- Job Design
- Salaries
- Motivation
- Welfare
- Industrial relations
- Communication
- Evaluation of job
- Performance & promotion
- Safety and Health of staff
- Orientation and placement mechanism
- Training & Development of recruited staff
- Recruitment and Selection process

Raghubar's deduced fourteen practices were apparently double to Jeffrey but after an in - depth and comparative analysis of work done by both researchers one can easily conclude the repetition of thoughts.

According to a survey conducted by SHRM-BNA on HRM staff, budget and activities (2004) nine working areas of HRM were defined as follows:-

- Analysis and design of work
- Recruitment and selection

- Training and development
- Performance management
- Compensation and benefits
- Employee relation
- Personnel policies
- Compliance with laws
- Support for strategy

Redman and Matthews (1998) identified six HR practices similar to Jeffery in the sense of recruitment system, training and performance appraisal. But when they talked about job description they went long way by adding the word flexible and empowered job designing and maximum employee's involvement while making any change in organization working patterns. Practices proposed by Raghubar are double in number but some of them appear to be extension of practices coined by Jeffrey. SHRM-BNA (2000-01) worked on nine HR practices in which they included two new heads, for compliance with law and support for strategy. One can note here that above mentioned practices can be put under five traditional HRM practices.

Major HRM Practices

Paul (1984) indicated that the quality of new recruits depends upon an organization's recruitment practices, and that the relative effectiveness of the selection phase is inherently dependent upon the caliber of candidates attracted. Once a job analysis has been conducted, the organization has a clear indication of the particular requirements of the job, where that job fits into the overall organization structure, and can then begin the process of recruitment to attract suitable candidates for the particular vacancy.

Recruitment is not uniform across public sector professions and ranks.

Training and development is another fundamental necessity to compete in contemporary institutions and for best updated delivery of services. If HRM is unable to enhance the performance of its employees then it directly affects the organizational performance. Organization's performance is directly dependent upon the efficient working of the staff. Employees are hired, trained, placed, developed, promoted, and discharged according to organization's needs. Human resource management can also be described as achieving the organizational goals more effectively by managing the human resources of the organization. An organization can work more effectively when its fairly selected competent staff is trained, motivated and well empowered with knowledge of modern techniques. HRM works by integrating HR policies, strategies, and procedures. So one can directly link the performance or outcome of an organization with effective utilization of HRM practices.

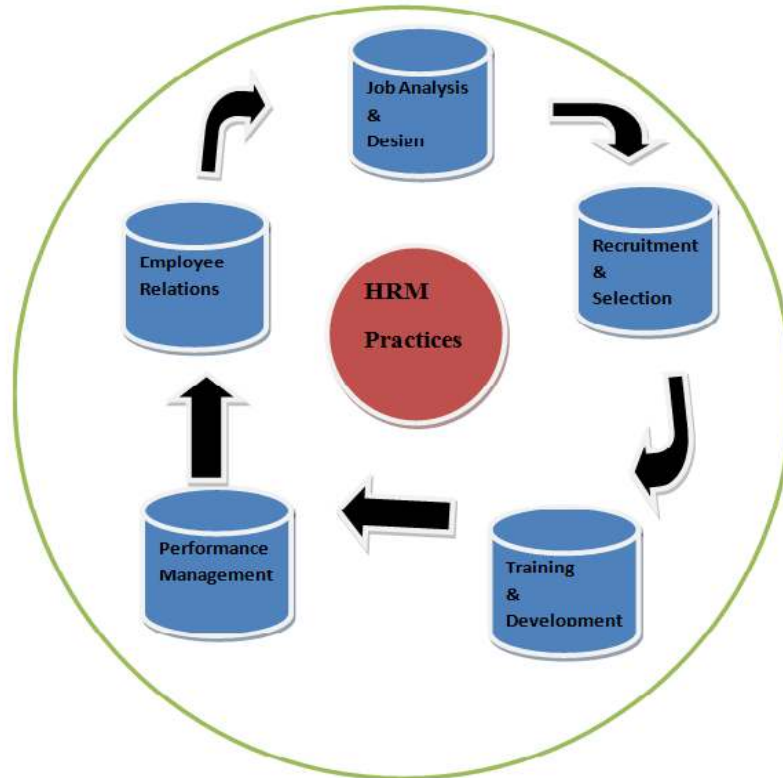
Sustained Economic as well as financial performance of any institutions is heavily dependent on effective management of working masses. As discussed earlier, different scholars defined and elaborated these management practices according to their own approach. For this study, the researchers have extracted five best practices on the basis of which it is devised that actually Human Resource management practices are overlapping and highly integrated.

These below mentioned five practices will provide an overview of all the other extensions:-

- ❖ Job analysis and design
- ❖ Recruiting and Selection

- ❖ Training and Development
- ❖ Performance management
- ❖ Employee relation

Diagrammatic view of the major Human Resource Management practices



Job Analysis and Design

Process through which all the information regarding contents, techniques, social and personal needs of job holder along with organizational requirement is gathered is known as job analysis. Procedure for job analysis is very simple and understandable.

- Observation and diary method
- Individual and group based interview method
- Questionnaire and conference based method

In observation methods, an analyst watches individual directly. In this method staff is required to write down diaries on daily basis. Individual and group based methods are most reliable methods due to direct interaction with employees. Group methods are best in getting simultaneous information regarding specific jobs. Sometimes questionnaires are developed to get some specific insights regarding some jobs. To gain expert insights it is also affective to hold issue based conference within organization or outside organization. Some experts from other organizations can also be called to get advanced methods and procedures to carry out some jobs in the contemporary world.

With reference to ESTACODE job description, job analysis and required qualification for any post should be laid down by the establishment division and concerned ministry in mutual consultation.

Secondly, the Job design can be defined as identification of contents, techniques and inter-relationship to carry out the job as per organizational requirement. While designing, personal and social needs of job holder are always kept in focus. Robert & Smith (1985) pointed out following essential influencing principles in job design. Influence in skills, task identity & significance, influence in autonomy and feedback are major contributors in job design. Influence in skills and identity relates to providing opportunities to workforce in doing diversified as well as combined work tasks. Whereas task significance means informing masses about importance of work they are carrying on in a responsible way. Autonomy figures out the working style, and feedback influence creates feedback channel.

Michael Armstrong, (2006) does have a very similar approach to Robert & Smith (1985). Michael says, autonomy, feedback, belief on significance of task, and variety in handling job tasks are of utmost value.

Training and Development

When a new employee is hired in an organization he is mostly not familiar with the process and practices of that organization. It takes time to get familiarity and in getting awareness. These are the senior employees or special trainers who train them on specific skills and essential or desirable knowledge mandatory for distinguishing performance. So it is all about training of the employee, new and existing, which makes them efficient in working style. Main purpose of training is skill empowerment, knowledge enhancement and improving individual behavior. Training is a continuous process but development is not synonymous to training. It is something different.

According to Parag Dawan (1997), human resource development refers to all those organized learned experiences which are helpful in bringing the possible designed behavioral change during a specific time. Training leads to a competitive advantage over other organizations working in same strata (Michael Armstrong, 2003). Tajammal & Rehman (2013) have identified that to survive in digital economy technologically sophisticated individuals in any organization are mandatory and these individuals can be retained and pooled by providing them essential skills and carrier related training.

Performance Management

Michael Armstrong (2006) defined Performance management (PM) as an integrated and strategic approach to organizations in

supporting persistent success by a process of improving the performance of the employees as well as enhancing capabilities of teams. Performance management is all about the organizational effectiveness. In performance management of human resources organizational effectiveness is raised by focusing on individual performance. Performance of employees means performance of organization. If somebody wants to know about employee's actions then only performance measurement can answer this very question. David et al (2013) believed that performance management being an integral and most important task of Human Resource Management is all about feedback, documentation and development. They did a great job by identifying three performance management systems (PMS):-

- Absolute PMS (APMS)
- Relative PMS (RPMS)
- Management by Objective (MBO)

Firstly, absolute performance management system (APMS) is the one in which employees' performance is measured against company's already prevailing standards. Secondly, relative performance means measures (RPMS) which judges employees with respect to other employees working in same streams. MBO, as name depicts is management by objective, and is concerned about how well allotted objectives or tasks were achieved.

Employee Relations

Labor relations, compliance with labor laws, dealing with labor unions, identifying labor needs, motivating them for efficient and loyal relations with organization, setting wages are the core concepts in employee relations. Arun & Mirza (1996, 2010) interpreted employee relation as union recognition, grievances

procedure, workers participation in management and communication with subjects. But according to Charless E. Greer (2004) negligent hiring, immigration, employment at will, drug testing and safety are the core functions in perspective of employee relation. Dessler and Verkkey (2010) identified that there are ethics, fair treatment, and just treatment which matter in employee relations. Praising for good work, suggestions and mentoring for career development, training, and fairness in all matters like appointment and dismissals lead to good relations among company, Boss, and employees. David and Stephen (2010) highlighted ethical as well as communication upward and downward as core areas of employee relation in human resource management. Ordinance for Industrial Relation 1969 was passed to resolve industrial disputes and improve labor relations. ILO Convention 87 and 98 were ratified by Government of Pakistan so this document brought a new icon for quick implementation of concerned ILO recommendations. This ordinance brought concept of minimum wage, employee access to utility services and in the other case a legal right to strike in consideration with labor union.

Amjad (1982) highlighted that Ordinance for Workers welfare 1971, Labor Laws Ordinance 1972, gave a better protection to employee's right and employer's duties and vice-versa. Again it is the duty of Human Resource Management to administer a quick consideration of legal and fundamental protection by building a reliable relation with concerned employees.

Recruiting and Selection

Recruitment and selection is most important function and practice of human resource management department. It is a process through which concerned applicants are pooled and picked as per

requirements of the organization. Laxmikanth (2001 ed 2006) defined recruitment as filling up the vacant posts. He further connoted recruitment as positive and negative. Negatively means elimination of political influence, prevention of influence, and keeping the negative elements out. Thus, positive recruitment includes aggressive search for qualified, most talented and highly competent individuals. Recruitment can also be defined as all the measures taking place in a setup in putting the right people in the right place. Recruitment can usefully be defined as “those practices and activities carried out by the organization with the primary purpose of identifying and attracting potential employees (Barber 1998).

Rehman (2012) studied recruitment as most critical segment of human resource management. Well organized and developed HR and recruitment system is helpful in effective hiring. Barber (2006) pointed out that, if an organization is investing in developing HR and recruitment systems then they are preparing their setup for acquisition of talent management. This was debated in depth for organizational productivity and adaptability in HRM activates in general and recruitment in actual

Niazi (2003) after years of experience in corporate sector, debated about the strategic importance of Human Resource Management and recruitment practices. He mentions value addition in productivity, guaranteed success in competitive business, and skill management can only be achieved by designing deliberated industry centered recruitment practices.

Suggestions and Policy Recommendations

Study highlighted imperatively best HR practices that can be helpful in shifting paradigm from a stagnant organization to active

and vibrant organization. By keeping in focus challenges faced by organization in implementing these practices, following suggestions to overcome said issues are offered.

- In Pakistan HR system is at initial stages in most of the organizations. HR operations are restricted from payroll to holidays. In order to put HR system in formal operation HRM department, both in public and private organizations ought to be mandatory, explicit, autonomous, self-regulatory with clear objectives.
- As organizations are dependent on their employees for effective operations so recruitment system must be transparent and autonomous.
- Most of the administrative and managerial operations are outdated and less relevant to contemporary world. Up to date training of HR staff is highly important for improved operations.
- Recruitment system in Pakistan is very time consuming especially in public sector organizations. HR departments can enhance their efficiency by using modern technology and recruitment tools like Skype Interview, LinkedIn profile, Face book advertisement, social media, and organizations website etc.
- Private organizations are conducting walk in interviews, Job expos, and campus hiring to pick competent and up-to-date people. Same strategy can be opted by public sector for the very reason of hiring competent staff.
- Methods of recruitment must be aligned with international standards. Most of the respondents revealed that they were

hired via advertisement in newspapers. Social media is the new and emerging source of recruitment.

- Most of the public and private sector officials are unaware regarding employment laws and legislative complications. Government should intervene with solid measures to ensure regulation of employment laws. On the other hand private organization's recruitment material should include national labor policies for their proper implementation.
- Most of the organizations are dependent on employee referrals which is ultimately affecting the talent accusation. Public sector does have the potential in hiring professional staff by adequate equal opportunity to all competent staff available in job market.
- Favoritism and nepotism are main hurdles in effective recruitment practices in both sectors. This can only be tackled with professionally developed HR department empowered enough to work under its legislative and policy jurisdiction without any enforced intervention.

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Brewing Conflict over Kabul River; Policy Options for Legal Framework

(Ms. Iffat Pervaz & Dr. M. Sheharyar Khan)*

Abstract

Pakistan and Afghanistan not only share 2600 km long boundary but also a labyrinth of watercourses which meander in the rugged terrain of the Pak-Afghan borderland. Both the neighboring states are water stressed countries yet they have not tapped the potential to conserve this precious and rapidly depleting resource. Despite sharing water, there is no treaty between the two countries to put a mechanism in place for governing and managing its shared fresh water resource. Afghanistan is planning to construct reservoirs on the shared Kabul River which may limit the supply of water to the lower riparian state of Pakistan. This may trigger a conflict between the two states as Pakistan is already facing water shortage on which its agriculture and industry rely. However, this issue can be amicably resolved if the two states decide to enter into a formal agreement on the shared watercourses.

Key Words: *labyrinth, potential, mechanism, riparian, agriculture, water-stressed, watercourses*

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Introduction

Pakistan is a water-stressed country. The per capita water availability is 1000 cubic meter which was 5,600 cm at the time of partition. This places Pakistan among water-scarce countries. There would be a further shortage by 31 per cent in 2025¹. With the growing population, its demand for fresh water is also increasing. Pakistan's agriculture, which is the mainstay of its economy and employs major chunk of its labour, is also facing acute water shortage. Its economic growth also signifies further consumption of water. If Pakistan does not build small, medium and large sized water reservoirs the situation will worsen. Unfortunately, Pakistan's perennial rivers do not originate inside its borders. Kabul River, which is the Western tributary of mighty Indus River, contributes 16.5 Million Acre Feet (MAF) of water to Pakistan's complex water system.

Pakistan is the lower riparian of the river while the upper riparian, Afghanistan, has not built any big reservoir on it so far due to the three decades long conflict within the country. Its water managements is the worst in the world where water is managed locally. Its storage facility is also among the lowest in the world. But it is now planning to build storage dams on the river which may limit the flow of water to Pakistan. This will cause further stress on Pakistan's already depleting water resources affecting its agriculture and economy. If this issue is not taken up seriously by both the neighboring countries to manage the distribution of water on equitable bases, it may flare up into a conflict.

¹ Imran Rana, "Pakistan to face 31% water shortage by 2025," *The Express Tribune*, March 23, 2013.

This research undertaking builds on the hypothesis that the growing demand of water in both Pakistan and Afghanistan will make the Kabul River a controversial issue in the bilateral relations between the two countries. Until a mutual agreement regarding shared water resources is not negotiated and agreed upon, the impending crisis will loom large over the bilateral relations between the two countries.

This paper seeks answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the status of Kabul River between the two countries?
2. What problems can occur if the river is not managed mutually?
3. Is there any hope of legal framework of joint control over the river?

Robert Kaplan (1994)² had rightly warned about “The Coming Anarchy” in international politics that future wars will be fought over scarce resources, especially water. As the pressure of population grows on, the nature and humans overexploit their natural resources, conflict cannot be avoided over the control of natural resources. Since the collapse of the bipolar system, the scholarship in security studies has broadened the concept of security to include other areas that may threaten the security of states. This redefined security incorporates environment and other non-military threats including water. Thomas Homer-Dixon, who led a project on environment, population and security, known as Toronto Group, found a connection between interstate violence and scarce renewable resource of water. The chances of conflict in the third world countries are more likely given the contextual factors like

² Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy,” *The Atlantic*, February 1, 1994.

physical characteristics of a given environment, localized human social relations and institutions.

Gunther Baechler, who led Environment and Conflicts Project (ENCOP) came up with his finding that violence can occur in the absence of regulatory mechanisms and poor state performance.³ Michael Klair claims that modern warfare in 21st Century will be the result of “Resource War” especially freshwater global distribution.⁴

Kaplan’s warning could find its true impact in the South Asian region which is facing water scarcity in face of its growing population. Pakistan and India have faced such water disputes in the past which resulted in the famous Indus Water Treaty. The treaty has come under immense scrutiny after Pakistan has shown concern over India’s plan to build reservoirs on its rivers. If India is able to divert some of its water, it will cause huge loss to Pakistan’s economy.

On the other hand, Pakistan shares some of its Western rivers with Afghanistan. There is no mechanism of installing bilateral framework to manage the shared water. The Afghan plan to build storage reservoirs on these rivers may seriously limit the flow of water to Pakistan. This may lead to a crisis situation between the two countries. The scarcity of water resources and its growing demand from the teeming population of these neighbouring countries may drag the region into a serious conflict. This may become a defining feature of insecurity in the region.

³ Günther Baechler, “Why Environmental Transformation Causes Violence: A Synthesis,” *Environmental Change and Security Project Report*, Issue 4 (Spring 1998): 24-44.

⁴ Michael T. Klair, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Owl Books, 2001), 141.

Water Situation in South Asia

South Asia is densely populated region. The region is conflict prone as it has witnessed several inter and intra-state conflicts in the recent past. One core issue is the disagreement over fair distribution of water. The region is water-stressed as it is home to the world's 21 per cent population but has only 8.3 per cent of share in the world's fresh water resource.⁵ Stress in water occurs when it observes a decline in per capita or per hectare of the arable land. There are some factors which can cause the water stress. Population growth is one of them and climate change is another important contributing factor to the water stress. According to a technical report the ground water of South Asian region is decreasing. Rising in the sea level and over usage of water for irrigation purposes are some other factors.⁶

The stress on fresh water resources in South Asia has already affected the relations between countries in the region. Pakistan and India are the classic example. Despite having a treaty the water issue between the two has become politicized. South Asia is called hydrological society as the defining feature of this region is trans-boundary rivers.⁷ Kabul River in Afghanistan is one of these rivers.

⁵ Brahma Chellaney, "Water:Asia's new battle ground" 2011. Harper Collins publisher India with joint venture with India Today group

⁶ Richard Matthew (2013) Climate Change and Water Security in the Himalayan Region Page 39-40. Published by National Bureau of Asian Research

DOI: [10.1353/asp.2013.0038](https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2013.0038). Available at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/asp/summary/v016/16.matthew.html>. accessed on 11 december 2013

⁷ Dr Narendra Kumar Tripathi, "Water Issues in Sino-Indian And Indo-Pak Relation". 2009. United Service Institute of India.

The Kabul River

The Kabul River in Afghanistan is one of the important Trans-boundary Rivers in South Asia. Pakistan is in unique position with regard to the Kabul River as it is the lower riparian on the river, it is also an upper riparian. The Chitral River which originates in Pakistan enters into Afghanistan in Kunar province and later on joins the Kabul River at Jalalabad. The Kabul River then enters into Pakistan at Khyber Agency. Afghanistan has not made an efficient use of its water so far. Most of its water flows to Pakistan which is around 16.5 Million Acre Feet (MAF).⁸ But as Afghan government is moving towards some stability, it has planned to build 12 dams on this river to cater for water storage, irrigation, and generation of electricity. The realization of such a plan would mean a dent in Pakistan's water intake. Being a lower riparian of the Kabul River, Pakistan could face a decrease of around 17 per cent in its water.⁹

⁸ Khalid Mustafa, *India to help Afghanistan build 12 dams on Kabul River*. The News. 12th May, 2011. Accessed from <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-5933-India-to-help-Afghanistan-build-12-dams-on-Kabul-River>

⁹ "Sharing water resources with Afghanistan". Daily DAWN. 13 November, 2011. Accessed from <http://www.dawn.com/news/673055/sharing-water-resources-with-afghanistan>



Map of Kabul River

(<http://www.google.com.pk/search?q=map+of+kabul+river>)

There is non-existence of any bilateral treaty or agreements between the both states, so there is a strong need that a treaty should be negotiated which must be de-linked from the grievances which both states are facing currently. This is the only solution which can lead both riparian states towards win-win solution.

The Afghan Plan

Afghanistan is a landlocked country of 28 million people. It has gone through its worst history of violence spread across three decades. Subsequently, the state could not build any infrastructure and the already existing one crumbled in the flames of war. The water sector is surprisingly controlled at local level. There are no

state rules and regulations regarding proper management of its water resources.¹⁰

Hydro-geographically, Afghanistan is comprised of four basins: 1) Northern, 2) Western, 3) Southwestern, and 4) Eastern Kabul River. The last one covers 12 per cent of the country's area. This river enters Pakistan in Khyber Agency and joins the mighty Indus River 80 km downstream at Attock. Kabul River basin is divided into three sub-basins: Logar-Upper Kabul, Panjshir, and Lower Kabul. The average flow of Logar-Upper Kabul is 2.5 per cent, whereas Panjshir provides 14 per cent. The Lower Kabul and its significant tributaries provide the major part of the annual flow of this river. Afghanistan plans to construct dams on these three basins of Kabul River. This plan is in line with the expected growth in population of this sub-basin in the next two decades which may result in a demand of 300 per cent rise.¹¹

Afghanistan shares its water resources with Iran, Pakistan and Central Asian Republics. But it has not developed its water infrastructure so far and has no treaty of water sharing with its neighbours. Its plan to build dams on the rivers can be materialized by the support of international donors. The United States and India would be the major contributing countries. According to some

¹⁰ Denis Reich and Calvin Pearson, "Irrigation Outreach in Afghanistan: Exposure to Afghan Water Security Challenges" *Journal of Contemporary Water Research & Education*

Issue 149, Pages 33-40, December 2012

¹¹ Richard Matthew (2013) *Climate Change and Water Security in the Himalayan Region*, Asia Policy, Number 16, July 2013, Published by National Bureau of Asian Research

Afghan sources, India has invested over a billion dollars in the rebuilding projects of Afghanistan.¹²

It is to be underlined here that the development of water reservoirs in Afghanistan is inevitable as it has one of the lowest water storage capacities in the world.¹³ Managing the water at this moment is very essential because the Afghan population which is either internally displaced or refugees, are returning to their homes. This will cause a demand in the access to water. The current status of available water is approximately 2.8 Million Cubic Meters (MCM).¹⁴ Owing to changes in climate, increased demand for water, and environmental concerns, the issue of shared water resources is becoming complex with each passing day.¹⁵ This concern has been stressed by the Afghan President Hamid Karzai last year in a televised debate. Mr. Karzai accused the neighbour states for

¹² “Why South Asia Needs a Kabul Water Treaty” *Environmental Change and Security Program*. December 12, 2011. Accessed on April, Accessed from <http://www.newsecuritybeat.org/2011/12/why-south-asia-needs-a-kabul-water-treaty/>

¹³ Michael Kugelman, Ahmad Rafay Alam, and Gitanjali Bakshi “Peace through Water” *The Foreign Policy Group*. December 12, 2011. Accessed on April, Accessed from http://Southasia.Foreignpolicy.Com/Posts/2011/12/02/Peace_Through_Water

¹⁴ “Secondary Data Review on Afghanistan” ACAPS, Geneva. 20 July, 2011. Accessed on April, accessed from https://docs.google.com/viewer?a=v&q=cache:z8JUCmjUr24J:www.acaps.org/img/documents/secondary-data-review-afghanistan-secondary-data-review---afghanistan.pdf+afghanistan+overall+2,775+water&hl=en&gl=us&pid=bl&srcid=ADGEEShRFiKFTasXtgmfl_C22_Mob7jpWW7YTL9_iTm1Mb9-965AnfexTKax7W8evFm4x22kNGIl44VkoIHRWN-fee6nlK5GFIP1j74lvkuUd-fO-8rDt9hSCSt1IgmHpKDXW16iZnrG&sig=AHIEtbT-CRH9SmBi-6LaF4SyVXxxIPwwWg

¹⁵ Towards Kabul Water Treaty: Managing Shared Water Resources – Policy Issues and Options, page number 1-2, 2010

interference in Afghan plans to develop its water resources. He said, “Yes, there are interferences from our neighbors to interrupt work on water dams in Afghanistan,”¹⁶

“We know that some of our neighboring countries do not want our dams to be built and do not want us to have our own electricity. We have used our waters less throughout history and the neighbors have used them more. We know this, but we want to manage it in good relations with them.” (Hamid Karzai)¹⁷

As Mr. Karzai had shown his resolve, Afghanistan plans to construct four projects on Punjshir sub-basin, four Logur-Upper Kabul sub-basin and four more in the Lower Kabul sub-basin. Overall, the cost of these 12 dams is estimated to be 7.079 billion US dollar. The World Bank will provide the funding in terms of previously mentioned digits. The total storage capacity of these dams is 4.7 million acre feet (MAF) which is approximately the same as the Mangla dam.¹⁸

¹⁶ Frud Bezhan, Insecurity Springs from Afghan Dam Projects, published in Daily DAWN on 22 March 2013.

¹⁷ Scott Peterson, “Why a dam in Afghanistan might set back peace” 30th July, 2013. Accessed from <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Asia-South-Central/2013/0730/Why-a-dam-in-Afghanistan-might-set-back-peace>

¹⁸ Khalid Mutafa, “India to help Afghanistan build 12 dams on Kabul River”. *International The News*. 12 May, 2011. Accessed from <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-5933-India-to-help-Afghanistan-build-12-dams-on-Kabul-River>

Tables¹⁹ below illustrate the detailed plan of these dams.

Table 1: Planned projects on Punjshir sub-basin

Details	Totumdara Project	Barak Project	Panjshir Project	Baghdar Project
Cost US \$	332 million	1.174 billion	1.078 billion	607 million
Generation of Electricity	200 MW	100 MW	100 MW	210 MW
Storage Capacity	332510 acre feet	429830 acre feet	1054300 acre feet	324400 acre feet

Table 2: Planned projects on Logur-Upper Kabul sub-basin

Details	Haijana Project	Kajab Project	Tangi Wadag Project	Gat Project
Cost in US \$	607 million	207 million	356 million	51 million
Generation of Electricity	72 MW	15 MW	56 MW	86 MW
Storage Capacity	178420 acre feet	324400 acre feet	283850 acre feet	405500 acre feet

Table 3: Lower Kabul sub-basin

Details	Sarobi Project	Laghman Project	Konar Project	Kama Projects
Cost in US \$	442 million	1.434 billion	1.094 billion	---
Generation of Electricity	210 MW	1251 MW	94.8 MW	11.5 MW
Storage Capacity	324400 acre feet	233568 acre feet	---	---

¹⁹ Authors own compilation from Khalid Mustafa, "India to help Afghanistan build 12 dams on Kabul River". International The News. 21 May 2011. Accessed from <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-5933-India-to-help-Afghanistan-build-12-dams-on-Kabul-River>

Impact on Pakistan; Policy Options

Pakistan shares nine rivers with Afghanistan but the Kabul River is the main tributary of its Indus River. According to an estimate, the total flow of these rivers towards Pakistan is slightly over 18 MAF. The Kabul River alone contributes 16.5 MAF to the system. However, the Chitral River, which originates in Pakistan and called Kunar River in Afghanistan, contributes 8.5 MAF²⁰ to the Kabul River, which means the net share of Afghan water of Kabul River that flows into Pakistan is 8 MAF. As such, the right of Pakistan on Kabul River is very unique as it has both the upper and lower riparian status on the Kabul river.

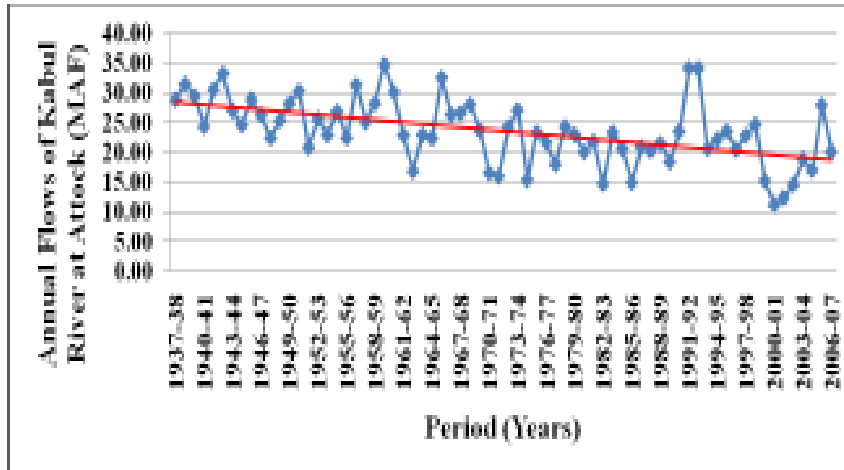
Afghanistan is bound to manage its water reservoirs as its water storage capacity stands amongst the lowest.²¹ If the above-mentioned plan is materialized, it will adversely impact the water flow into Pakistan. This will cause a decrease of around 17 per cent in its annual water flow.²² There is already a gradual decrease in the flow of Kabul River over the past decades. As the Table 4 indicates, a gradual decrease in the water of Kabul River can be observed.

²⁰ Vincent W. Uhl, Uhl, Baron, Rana & Associates Inc, "Afghanistan: An Overview of Ground Water Resources and Challenges". Lambertville, NJ 08530; vuhl@vuawater.com

²¹ Michael Kugelman, Ahmad Rafay Alam, and Gitanjali Bakshi "Peace through Water" *the foreign policy group*. December 12, 2011. Accessed on April, Accessed from http://Southasia.Foreignpolicy.Com/Posts/2011/12/02/Peace_Through_Water

²² "Sharing water resources with Afghanistan". Daily DAWN. 13 November, 2011. Accessed from <http://www.dawn.com/news/673055/sharing-water-resources-with-afghanistan>

Table 4: Decrease in the annual flow of Kabul River



Pakistan is not ready for such a disaster. Pakistan so far has not fully exploited the opportunities to build big dams on its rivers and store water. Much of its surface water is wasted into the ocean. With the growing population the per capita water has already decreased. If the situation continues like this Pakistan will become country with acute water shortage. But the process will be expedited if the flow of Western tributaries is also curtailed. This will be a disastrous situation for Pakistan. This crisis like situation will deeply undermine the relation between the two countries.

This impending scenario is unavoidable unless both the countries decide to resolve this in an efficient and equitable manner. Once the dams are built, Pakistan would be in a less privileged situation to wrest control or ask for fair share in the water. As the focus of Pakistan is currently on strategic aspects of situation in Afghanistan, this non-traditional threat to its security gets little attention. This issue cannot be taken lightly as it would be the one which will determine Pakistan’s future security concerns.

Legal Framework for Shared Waters

The dispute over water is as old as the recorded history of mankind. The first ever recorded dispute was between Sumerian city-states of Lagash and Umma in 2500 BC. The two city states resolved the conflict by entering into an agreement.²³ But this history of violence and cooperation goes hand in hand. In the last 50 years, 37 acute disputes involving violence have been recorded, whereas 150 treaties have been signed to resolve water conflicts.²⁴ This shows that in the recent past there have been frequent water disputes. This may be the result of water degradation in the face of growing population. If this trend continues, we may see more disputes in the coming future.

Nevertheless, if we take stock of how the countries or communities handled these disputes, the balance is in the favor of cooperation. United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has recorded some 3,600 treaties related to international water since 805 AD. The majority of these treaties were about water navigation and the demarcation of boundaries. The shift in water disputes occurred in the last century towards the water use, its development, and protection and conservation.²⁵ These treaties have proved endurance even at the outbreak of wars. The Indus Water Commission has survived two wars between Pakistan and India and the continued bitter rivalry. There is a consensus at international level that international water disputes can best be resolved through treaties instead of conflicts as evidenced by the data.

²³ “Transboundary Waters,” The United Nations, accessed May 23, 2014, http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/transboundary_waters.shtml

²⁴ “Transboundary Waters.”

²⁵ “Transboundary Waters.”

However, these treaties have some weak areas as well. There is lack of proper workable monitoring provisions, enforcement mechanisms, and water allocation provisions to take into account the flow of water and the changing needs, hydrological events, and changing basin dynamics.²⁶ There are international instruments like the 1997 United Nations Convention on Non-Navigational Uses of International Watercourses which address the shared water resources. Its two key prescribed principles on water courses: “equitable and reasonable use” and “the obligation not to cause significant harm” to neighbours can guide the conflicting states. The instrument has left it to the countries themselves to interpret it regarding their disputes about watersheds. But there is a need of credible third party for support of developing the watersheds and arbitration in case of any dispute.

By taking into consideration these examples and legal framework, it can be stated that there are more chances of co-operation rather than conflict over Kabul river between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Policy Options and Recommendations to Manage Water in Kabul River

The concerned stakeholders can take certain steps in order to reach a consensus over the issue and materialize the agreement on the Kabul Water. This supposed Kabul Water Treaty would tantamount to a right step in the improvement of relations between the two neighbouring states. Some of the policy recommendations are as follows:

²⁶ “Trans-boundary Waters.”

- Leadership in both the countries should show seriousness, sincerity and will to tackle this issue in amicable way.
- Most importantly, what the two riparian countries can do is to delink the Kabul River from other grievances between them.
- Sensitizing the public about the issue and taking them into confidence over the political dispensation of the issue. Water should be portrayed as an existential issue and be kept away from rhetoric or any political scoring in both the countries.
- International instruments and treaties shall be consulted and best practices in the successful management of watersheds should be adopted.
- International and regional institutions and agencies like SAARC, World Bank should be tapped for their funding, expertise and technical input.
- The treaty should include clauses regarding the changes in the basins and population.
- There should also be a mechanism for dispute resolution and treaty enforcement.

Cooperation over Kabul River

As water resource is depleting,²⁷ the water planners should be cognizant of the importance of this precious resource for the survival of their communities. In light of the recommendations of the UN, an adequate mechanism is needed to share the water of the Kabul River between Pakistan and Afghanistan on equitable bases without causing harm to each other. With the emerging hydropower

²⁷ Dilip Kumar Markandey and Neelima Rajvaidya, "water: characteristics and properties". 2005. A.P.H Publishing Corporations.

politics in South Asia there is strong need for institutionalized co-operation on shared water resources.²⁸ Both the countries can avail the services of World Bank or any other donor organizations which are active in this sector. These agencies cannot only develop the water basins but also provide platform for conflict resolution. Pakistan has already availed the services of these institutions like the World Bank on Indus River Commission and has developed its Indus basin with the funding from the bank. Afghanistan, too, is seeking the help of these institutions in order to develop its Kabul River basin. Both these countries can work with the third party or bilaterally to address this issue in its nascent stage.

This need of cooperation has been underlined from time to time by different stakeholders albeit it has not been taken up seriously by the respective governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in its study in 2008 underlined this need. The report states that water scarcity and management are major challenges for not only Afghanistan but the whole region.²⁹ There is no doubt in the fact that if both these countries show a strong resolve and will to manage the Kabul River, they can reach a treaty well before the onset of a crisis.

Conclusion

This paper dwelt upon the Kabul River as a significant trans-boundary river, involving stakes of upper and lower riparian states,

²⁸ Brahma Chellaney, "Water: Asia's new battle ground" 2011. Harper Collins publisher India with joint venture with India Today group.

²⁹ Rainer Gonzalez Palau, (2011) Afghanistan's Transboundary Water Resources: Regional Dimensions. Civil military fusion centre. Available at https://www.cimicweb.org/Documents/CFC%20AFG%20Infrastructure%20Archive/CFC_Afg_Monthly_Transboundary_Water_Resources_July2011.doc.pdf. accessed on 10 December 2013

i.e. Afghanistan and Pakistan. Both these countries are at unique position on the Kabul River as both are lower and upper riparian at the same time. Till now, most of the flow of the river was uninterrupted but Afghanistan is planning to build a dozen dams on it in order to take care of its growing need of water. This will adversely affect the flow of water to Pakistan and create a crisis like situation. This can lead to conflict between the two countries as both the countries have no legal treaty regarding sharing rivers' water.

But the practice of international community of states suggests that countries would prefer to resolve water issue through negotiation. Several examples can be found even in our own region. Although the leadership of both the countries has not taken up this issue very seriously yet there is a hope they will go for treaty. The treaty should be such that the water is shared in equitable manner with no harm to each other. International cooperation can be sought in order to reach consensus where both the parties are in win-win situation.

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DOI: 10.1353/asp.2013.0038 Page 42-43. Available at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/asp/summary/v016/16.matthew.html>. accessed on 11th December

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Evolutionary Transformation of Religious Extremism and Terrorism: An Analysis of Fata-Pakistan

(Muhammad Rafique)*

Abstract

The paper examines the evolutionary global phenomenon and discourse of terrorism and extremism, with special focus on FATA, Pakistan. Pakistan has become a prime victim as well as a hub of terrorism for last three decades. The evolution of the militancy in Pakistan's Federally-Administered Tribal Areas has emerged as strategic threat to the national security of the state. The terrorists selected the narrative that they were fighting against US invasion in Afghanistan fearing the occupation of FATA as well. They also raised the slogan of implementation of Sharia in Pakistan. The locals, still as patriotic as they were in the past, have known the fact that the extremists and terrorists are serious threat for them and for the country in totality. Now FATA people want success of government over the terrorists but success would not be without its cost or quick. This article helps to fill that knowledge gap by bringing a more detailed level of analysis to the understanding of how anti-state militant networks function at the local and extra-local levels. The paper also suggests the viable options and recommendations to eliminate the menace of the terrorism in Pakistan.

Key Words: *terrorism, militancy, historical, ideology, aggression, society*

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Introduction

History reveals that Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan mostly remained unstable even in pre and post Anglo-Afghan wars. FATA remained hub of Anglo Afghan wars during 19th century. The local tribes of FATA always resisted against foreign invasion and strongly struggled for sustaining their independence. The militant groups, in FATA, exploited the historical and cultural mindset of the local people who always remained against foreign interference. The militants groups in FATA remained successful to transform the mindsets of some of the students and locals into the mode of religious extremism and terrorism. On the other hand, some internal and external elements also got the opportunity to use these terrorists for their ambitions.¹ Contemporary scholars, at large, are of the opinion that FATA situation if not tackled by Pakistan, might become the serious security threat in South Asian region and beyond.² Till 1979, Pakistan preserved the image of a moderate Islamic society but the Russian invasion of Afghanistan brought Pakistan in the position to fight against communist ideology. The moderate mode of Pakistani culture and society came under influence of promotion of Jihad and religious extremism, and this negative transformation mostly served the strategic interests of the western world. Resultantly a large number of Maddaris with the aim to recruit young militants started in an extensive manner. During this period, approximately \$3.5 billion assistance and 65,000 tons of weapons were used by USA for

¹Mubarak Ali "*Origin of sectarianism: an analysis*" accessed on 13/3/2014 <http://www.indolink.com/indolink/analysis/other4.htm>.

² Steve Holland, "Tough Talk on Pakistan from Obama," *Reuters*, August 1, 2007:7

fighting against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. It is claimed by the majority of researchers that, it was the start of transformation of extremism in the region, which at present has become a horrible threat for Pakistan's national security.³

Conceptualization of the Discourse

Terrorist brutality is recognized from different manifestations of savagery utilized as a part of political and equipped clash. Terrorist viciousness is the most criminal phenomenon in practical mode though the political terrorism is delicate center of terrorism, yet a negative device to accomplish political additions.⁴ According to the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, the terrorism is, "a term used to depict the strategy or the hypothesis behind the technique whereby a composed gathering or gathering looks to accomplish its admitted points predominantly through the orderly utilization of viciousness".⁵ Such exercises are completed against the individuals who are "singular operators or agents of power meddling with fulfillment of the targets of such a gathering". The greater part of the reasons of terrorism leads to defiant Guerrilla fighting, uproars and other manifestation of political savagery. Such is the situation of FATA where the mode of violation changed in consecutive order.⁶ Terrorism is the phenomena of this age, which concerns the whole world in its effects and adequacy. Since 9/11 the entire world is

³ Manzoor Ahmad, *Implications of the War on Terror for Khyber Pukhtunkhwa*, Pakistan Journal of Critical Globalization Studies, Issue 3 (2010): 13-14

⁴ Stephen P. Cohen, The Nation and the State of Pakistan, the Washington Quarterly, summer 2002: 79

⁵ Stephen P. Cohen, The Nation and the State of Pakistan, the Washington Quarterly, summer 2002:107

⁶ Encyclopedia of Social sciences, Vol. XV, The Macmillan Company: 575-578

attempting mutually to battle it through a worldwide war against terrorism. Terrorism has numerous types and shapes in every field of life. These measurements lead to disarray of meaning of terrorism, which welcome savvy people and specialists to characterize Terrorism, its causes and cures. In 1937, the League of Nations passed a determination on an International Agreement in a Conference held to examine method for constraint and preventions of terrorism and this understanding has characterized terrorism as those criminal demonstrations, i.e. against a state and its fundamental target is to cause alarm and fear among particular group of people, gathering of individuals or open.⁷

The statement "terror" is derived from the Latin phrase "terrier" which signifies to harass or "to alarm". It was additionally characterized as a method for overseeing, or of restricting governments. Through the years, it has changed into an activist importance as well. In scholarly research this argument offered new paradigms; the "Terrology"^{*} in higher studies.⁸ The greater part of the examination and writing rises up out of western sources subsequently; it is generally one-sided. In present hypothetical verbal confrontations terrorism is a sensation which is simpler to portray than to characterize. Notwithstanding, a generally acknowledged definition is; "the methodical utilization or danger of

⁷ Blenshko wazdanof , translated by Al mabrouk Mohd. International terrorism and international law, Mesrana, Eldar Eljamahiria, first edition, 1404 h

^{*} The discourse terrorism is also taught in some of the educational institutions as a subject named Terrology.

⁸ Gilbert Guillaume "France and the Fight Against Terrorism" in Alex P. Schmid and Ronald D. Crelinsten (ed) "Western Responses to Terrorism" London, Frank Cass & Co. 1993: 5-6

brutality, killings, wounds and different harms to make an atmosphere of fear.⁹

In the past and also in the present, an order is viewed as revolutionary, rebel, and backstabber, which in the wake of disengaging itself from the primary body debilitates its quality and solidarity.¹⁰

In 'Political Terrorism' (1988), Schmit & Jongman referred to 109 different meanings of terrorism, these definitions were stated in an overview of driving researchers who did research in the field.¹¹

The researchers have recognized the following elements in their subsequent researchers:-

- Violence, power showed up in 83.5 % of the definitions
- Political gains for particular agenda 65%
- Fear, 57 %
- Emphasis on dread 51%
- Threats execution 47%
- Psychological impacts and foreseen responses 41.5%
- Discrepancy between the targets and exploited people 37.5%
- Intentional, arranged, efficient, composed activity 32%
- Methods of combat, strategy, tactics 30.5%.¹²

⁹ Thomas Copeland, "Is the new terrorism really new? An analysis of the new paradigm for terrorism", the journal of conflict studies, vol.11, no2 (winter 2001): 5

¹⁰ Geraldine Fagan, RUSSIA: How the battle with "religious extremism" began, FORUM 18 NEWS SERVICE, Oslo, Norway, 27 April 2009 http://www.forum18.org/Archive.php?article_id=1287&pdf=Y accessed on December 10, 2010

¹¹ Manzoor Ahmad, *Implications of the War on Terror for Khyber Pukhtunkhwa*, Pakistan Journal of Critical Globalization Studies, Issue 3 (2010):210-11.

¹² Alex-P. Schmidt and Albert -I. Longman et al; Political Terrorism(SWIDOC), Amsterdam and Transaction Book, 1988: 4-5

Hospitality Dilemma

Shockingly, USA and other worldwide groups centered unimportant thoughtfulness regarding this angle. Bedouin and Central Asian militants, alleged as "Mujahedeen", had left delighted in Taliban neighborliness. In the 1990s, they clandestinely began entering into FATA where they were again appreciated with great cordiality and assurance by the new developing activist groups of Taliban. These groups were at that point acquainted with each other as they were commonly part of the Afghan war amid 1980's. Pakistan's legislature around then did not consider Taliban bunches and their outside visitors as their foes. All the more, Pakistan constantly invited Afghan refugee which were on occasion in excess of 3.5 millions in Pakistan, and still a huge number of Afghan displaced people are inside Pakistan domain. In the attire of evacuees a few terrorists initially figured out how to invade into Pakistan. Banned organizations including *Sipah e Sahaba* and *Lashkar e Jhangvi* were additionally facilitated by the FATA militants (Talibans). The social qualities and customs of Pakistan and FATA to stretch out fellowship to Muslim brothers were contrarily misused by the activist groups of FATA, as they regularly asserted that it was their friendliness for their brothers. Indeed, the amicable notions of Pakistani governments in past for withdrawing Taliban were a piece of negative and poor state arrangement, which created the serious consequences for Pakistan defying at present.¹³ Since 9/11, the Pakistani law enforcement agencies (LEAs) have captured several radical fanatics and their supporters.

¹³ Musa Khan Jalalzai. "Sectarianism and Ethnic Violence in Pakistan" Lahore, Izahrsons Urdu Bazar, 1996:38-39

Pakistani government carried out military Operation Almizan, Operation-Rah-Nijat, Operation Rah e Raast, and at present operation Zarb e Azb and operation Khyber in FATA Waziristan, Swat and connected territories to wipe out remote aggressors, Al Qaida components and Taliban ancillary groups.¹⁴

Unfortunate Reality

At the centre of the sectarian conflicts in Islam, has been the Shi'ah–Sunni conflict. It is therefore quite evident that the Shi'ah - Sunni division is predominant in Islamic history.¹⁵ Islam in today's Pakistan is diverse in its interpretations and mode of belief. Pakistan's population is approx 77% Sunni, 20% Shi'ah. Some 3% are non-Muslims¹⁶. Most Pakistani Sunnis belong to the Hanfi fiqah or body of law, and follow one of two basic schools of interpretation – the Deobandi and the Brelvi. A third group, the Wahabi influenced Ahle Hadith, does not believe in interpretive traditions such as the Hanfi School. Out of Sunni Muslims approximately 70 percent are the Brailvis, who beside opposing the US aggression in the region, believe in tolerance and they are against terrorist activities of militant groups like TTP.¹⁷

Quaid-e-Azam's speech to the Legislative Assembly on 11 August 1947 bears a testimony to this fact when he said "You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the state ... you will find that in course of time

¹⁴ Hasan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*, New Delhi, Pentagon Press, 2005: 10-11.

¹⁵ Khalid Ahmed. What Ails Pakistan, <http://www.sabrang.com/cc/comold/june99/cover2.htm> accessed on 14 December 13.

¹⁶ CIA World Fact book.

¹⁷ Stephen P. Cohen, *The Nation and the State of Pakistan*, the Washington Quarterly, Summer 2002:112-113

Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in religious sense because that is the personal faith of each individual but in political sense as citizens of the state”.¹⁸ The story of religious dominance is also the story of the birth of sectarianism and retreat of liberal elements.¹⁹ Inclusion of the Objective Resolution in the constitution first as preface and later as a clause, anti Ahmadiya riots in Lahore in 1951, the setting up of Islamic Ideology Council by Ayub Khan, enforcement of some Islamic laws by Z.A. Bhutto and cosmetic pseudo Islamization by Zia and his support to deeni madaris, all lead to promotion of sectarianism in Pakistan. FATA region of Pakistan became much victim of the phenomenon.²⁰ Prior to 1980s, the society of Pakistan was articulate and more tolerant in all spheres of life including religious practices.²¹

Evolution of Extremism and Terrorism in Fata

By the year 2005 foreign militant elements returned to FATA and started killing Maliks and took control of the agencies. More than 200 Maliks were killed within a short span of time. Government, at that time, carried out ill-conceived agreements during 2005 to 2007; resultantly battle won on ground was lost through negotiations and ill-planned agreements.²² They were first eliminated out of Wana valley of SWA, and then boxed out of Shakai

¹⁸ Dr Akmal Hussain, *The Zia Regime (1977 - 1987)*, Daily Times, 3 Oct 2002

¹⁹ Khalid Ahmed. What Ails Pakistan, <http://www.sabrang.com/cc/comold/june99/cover2.htm> accessed on 14 December:02.

²⁰ Daily Times, *The God of Lesser Pakistanis*, editorial. Sep 27,2002

²¹ Stephen P. Cohen, *The Nation and the State of Pakistan*, the Washington Quarterly, Summer 2002: 113

²² Saleem Shehzad, “Inside Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, Beyond Bin Laden and 9/11”, Pluto Press 2011: 206

valley and last operation was directed in Mahsud territory of SWA. In Dec 2008 Mullah Omar sent a message, to influence TTP to set aside differences and help Afghan Taliban in battling the US presence in Afghanistan. In February 2009, three noticeable warlord aggressors of North and South Waziristan framed the 'Shura Ittehad-ul-Mujahideen' (SIM). The three confirmed that they would set aside differences to battle American-drove constrains and re-asserted their faithfulness to Mullah Omar and Osama Bin Laden. These (three) groups of Hafiz Gul Bahadur, Baitullah Mehsud, and Maulavi Nazir concurred and framed a solid militancy bloc, however it was soon separated because of their inner differences over initiative.²³ The TTP differs in structure to the Afghan Taliban in that it lacks a central command and is a much looser coalition of various militant groups, united by hostility against the government of Pakistan. Many researchers described the TTP's configuration as a loose network of dispersed constituent groups that vary in size and in levels of coordination. The different groups of the TTP tend to be restricted to their local areas of control and repeatedly lack the ability to enlarge their operations beyond the specific regions. But some splinter groups of this organization carry out terrorists acts even in the areas out of their influence. After the death of Baitullah Mehsud, Hakeemullah Mehsud was nominated as the ameer of TTP. After the death of Hakeemullah Mehsud, presently the TTP had Fazalullah as its Amir. He was followed in the leadership hierarchy by Faqir Mohammed as naib Amir, or deputy. The group contained members from all of FATA's

²³ Saleem Shehzad, "Inside Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, Beyond Bin Laden and 9/11", Pluto Press 2011:120-121

seven tribal agencies as well as several districts of the administrative areas of KPK and even from Punjab. Some 2008 estimates placed the total number of operatives at 30,000–35,000, although it is difficult to judge the reliability of such estimates.²⁴

The Pakistan government policies of early 1980s with the energetic financial assistance of Saudi Arabia and USA, converted FATA into theatre of global terrorism.²⁵ The causes of violence and terrorism in Afghanistan are distinctly shaped by the Cold War strategy of enlisting mujahedeen and madressah in a campaign to rollback the Soviet invasion.²⁶ US exploited the mujahedeen during the Cold War era without much consideration to the impact of the Afghan jihad on their own countries and Pakistan.²⁷ It is also pointed out by the researchers that the abandonment of Pakistan by America, left it more than 3 million Afghan refugees to care for; thousands of Madrasas (religious seminaries) funded by Saudi money to militarize the youth and convert them to the intolerant brand of militant Islam.²⁸

Dynamics and Security Implications

Although there is no proper survey and no current official record is available with government departments regarding the

²⁴ Pakistan media updt 2014 Define Fundamentalism, available on Accessed on 18 March 2014 <http://www.fundamentallyreformed.com/tag/curtis-lee-laws/>

²⁵ Audrey Kurth Cronin, Al Qaeda after the Iraq Conflict,” *CRS Report for Congress*, May 23, 2003, 2- 3.

²⁶ Hasan Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror*, New Delhi, Pentagon Press, 2005: 201.

²⁷ Text of the address delivered by Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz via video conference, London; June 4, 2007. Reproduced in “Documents,” *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 60, No. 3, July 2007: 199-204.

²⁸ Farhana Ali, “Risks and Rewards of a US-Pakistan Alliance,” *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 60, No.3, July 2007: 132.

exact number of madaris in FATA. Due to ongoing military operations most of the Madaris are out of function, militant religious leaders are using their strong holds on madaris. According to a survey there are 2357 madraris in entire FATA, which include 650 in NWA, 415 in SWA, 180 in Bajor, 112 in Dir, 415 in Khyber, 380 in Orakzai and 205 in Kurram.²⁹

Presently in NWA, the area under influence of Hafiz Gul Bahadur and Haqqani group, in SWA, Wana and surrounding areas under Wazir and Batani Tribes and madaris in some areas of other agencies under influence of Taliban are still functioning.³⁰ Almost 98 % madaris belong to Deubandi school of thought and few dozens of madaris in Kurram and Orakzai Agencies belong to Shia school of thought. As the majority of madaris belong to deubandi sect, so madaris are politically affiliated with JUI (F) and JUI(S). Significant numbers of so called religious teachers are ex students of 'madrassa Haqania Akora Khattak' run under the influence of Moulana Sami ul Haq.³¹

Militant groups with support of foreign elements use them to fight holly war (jihad), in the name of Islam.³² The poverty in the area provides an opportunity to the terrorist organizations to recruit

²⁹ Mujeeb ur Rehman, *Impact of Afghan Crisis on Waziristan,1979-2009* (Thesis), Islamabad, department of History Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad

³⁰ Terrorism files.org, terroprism in 21st Century accessed on March 13, 2014 [onlone]<http://www.terrorismfiles.org/encyclopedia/terrorism-21st-century.html>

³¹ Terrorism files.org, terroprism in 21st Century accessed on March 14, 2014 [onlone]<http://www.terrorismfiles.org/encyclopedia/terrorism-21st-century.html>

³² Mohammed Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).

the youngsters. Even a family head is compelled to spare one or more children for terrorists and in response, terrorists pay approximately rupees 3000 and provide protection to the family.³³ Militants of FATA manage the funds by taking charities from wealthy well-wishers, foreigners and various fraudulent activities.³⁴ TTP has lots of cash at its disposal, which helps it purchasing the loyalties of the poor and unemployed local youth. The United Nations Report released on September 9, 2007 revealed that young boys were persuaded for the terrorist activities and in response they were rewarded, such as in term of cash, a motorcycle, or a cell phone.³⁵ The military operation by Pakistani security agencies and occasional drone attacks by the NATO forces in tribal areas had proved as counterproductive outcomes.³⁶

Pakistan has helped in a considerable manner in WOT, in terms of operational, social, financial and logistics supports by yielding in excess of 57000 lives of innocent Pakistani citizens, and damages to property stayed in excess of \$107 billion dollars.³⁷ The Ongoing WOT has severely influenced Afghanistan and the associated districts, the gigantic negative consequences for FATA and whole Pakistan are adverse to the point that it will take decades to recover.

³³ The authors carried out the interviews of many locals of North Waziristan Agency, during 2006 to 2009

³⁴ Imtiaz Gul, "Military Operations in FATA Since 2004: Achievements and Backlash," Op cit:34- 35.

³⁵ Terrorism files.org, History of Terrorism, accessed on Feb12, 2014 from [online] <http://www.terrorismfiles.org/encyclopedia/history-of-terrorism.html>

³⁶ Terrorism files.org, terrorism in 21st Century accessed on March 3, 2014 [online] <http://www.terrorismfiles.org/encyclopedia/terrorism-20th-century.html>

³⁷ Pakistan Media Watcu Update 2013, accessed on January 2, 2014 <http://www.defencejournal.com/globe/2013/fangs.htm>.

Present engagement of Nawaz Sharief government, to start operation Zerb e Azb after the unsuccessful attempts of peace talks with TTP, warrant that circumstances of FATA have transitioned into the genuine national security concern of Pakistan.³⁸ The circumstances are almost perplexing sensation for the state, it may make genuine ramifications for national security if not handled with iron hand taking the whole country into certainty. Research organizations, strategy producers, the media, and common society are constantly showing their conclusive concerns that without handling the situation of terrorism in FATA especially, and other areas of Pakistan in general, it would remain serious challenge and hindrance for Pakistan to develop according to the potential it has.³⁹The ongoing operation Zerb- e -Azb with resolve can finish the menace of terrorism from Pakistan.

Analytical Overview

Rise of Taliban in Afghanistan in mid 1990s was a remarkable and emotional move. The fanatic propensities got more power and inspiration to satisfy their plan. The effects of Taliban development on Pakistan were gigantic as aggressor and fanatic components began accepting that Taliban styled government could be brought into Pakistan some time in future. American attack of Afghanistan after September 11, 2001, terrorist episode, likewise powered fanatic inclinations in Pakistan as the Pakhtuns were executed by assault in extensive numbers. Their Pakhtun Muslim brothers in Pakistan

³⁸ Mujeeb ur Rehman, *Impact of Afghan Crisis on Waziristan,1979-2009* (Thesis), Islamabad, department of History Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad

³⁹Terrorism files.org, terrorism in 21st Century accessed on March 13, 2014 [online]<http://www.terrorismfiles.org/encyclopedia/terrorism-21st-century.html>

became furious and the individuals who as of now had radical propensities, started becoming aggressors. After control of Afghanistan by America in October 2001, the security environment in Afghanistan become highly instabile as Taliban revolt began getting ground. America was of the assessment that militant component of FATA were filling in as terrorist camps for preparing and stowing away of fundamental aggressor groups of Afghan Taliban. Pakistan needed to begin military operation in FATA against such activists, in 2004. Pakistan military's operations against its own kin ended up being exceptionally tragic for Pakistan's security.⁴⁰

US government clearly took a stand that American citizens would be protected from all forms of threats including threat of terrorism. The situation took a dramatic turn in July 2007, when operation Lal mosque was carried out in capital city of Islamabad against the extremists religious groups who started challenging the authority of the state by taking the law into their own hands.⁴¹ The Lal Mosque event and its fall out also fueled extremist tendencies, especially in FATA. The government had to launch Rah-e-Nejat military operation against the militants in April 2009 in Swat, which proved to be a great success story on the part of Pakistani military.⁴²

⁴⁰Shireen M Mazari, *Terrorism : A Consequence of Global ization?* Strategic Studies Winter, 2002:14

⁴¹ Manzoor Ahmad, *Implications of the War On Terror for Khyber Pukhtunkhwa*, Pakistan Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies , Issue 3 (2010).

⁴² Manzoor Ahmad, *Implications of the War On Terror for Khyber Pukhtunkhwa*, Pakistan Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies , Issue 3 (2010).

The writ of the government gets weaker when terrorists are contacted for peace talk without realizing that these terrorists would never leave the acts of terrorism as the past one decade in FATA activities is known well to all policy makers. As far as rule of law for the reward and punishment is concerned, best strategy form government side is to treat every citizen in a uniform way without any discrimination of group or individual. The dialogue process with groups, like TTP mean the acceptance of the terrorists group as one of the stake holders. Acceptance to any of the demand of TTP, like release of criminals, demand of mini state, enforcement of Sharia (according to their own version of interpretation of Islam) etc might result into serious danger to the security of Pakistan and such conflict had been one of the unfortunate and major impediments for Pakistan.⁴³

The way forward methodology is recommended to be followed in successive manner that FATA changes ought to be actualized by coordinating and main streaming FATA individuals into political procedure. Law & Order situation needs to be maintained immediately by bringing all stakeholders and LEAs at one page. Comprehensive economic and development projects need to be planned for whole FATA and settlement of Temporarily Displaced People (TDPs) is challenging task ahead for the government authorities. Armed force/FC effectively can play its role in the territory for the wellbeing of the populace of FATA. Regular investment opportunities for the FATA people should be planned like dry fruits, chromites, handicraft industry and live stock

⁴³ Mukhtar Ahmed Ali, "Sectarian Conflict in Pakistan". Colombo; Sri Lanka, regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Policy Study 9. 2000 p14.

Recommended Measures

Some recommended measures are suggested to the policy makers and the people at the helms of the affairs:-

- **Regularization of Madrassa Culture.** The government needs to regularize all the existing madrassa system of Pakistan a wide network across the country, on war footings as a top priority agenda. If it is further delayed the influence of one particular sect would result into serious sectarian clashes in future. A federal board of composite madaris be composed; qualified scholars of all sects on proportionate ratio of sects to be appointed to run the madaris.
- **Uniformity of Overall Education System of Pakistan.** The Government must commit to allocate minimum 5% of GDP to the education sector, already promised by the Prime Minister. All madaris should be given equal degree awarding status like all government schools, colleges and universities. All the existing systems of private schools and colleges should be brought into the line of the national education policy equal to government system of education.
- **Institutionalization of Religious Scholars.** The exploitative role of so called religious scholars, who support extremism and terrorism, is the major problem in Pakistan. If the religious scholars are well learned and equipped with research based religious and conventional education only then they can bring positive change in the society. Scholars of religious studies should be facilitated by the government to study the research based religious and conventional education. The individual should be entitled to work as a

religious scholar after PhD level of education in the related field of the religion.

- **The Foreign Relations, Funding and Donations.** Saudi Arabia and some other countries should be engaged with sound foreign policy, and any type of funding and donations from their side should be strictly regularized through official and government forum. Any negative role to curb Iran and Shiaism should be stopped because it is very dangerous for entire Muslim world in general and Pakistan in particular. For this Pakistan at government and non government level must avoid to play a proxy role. Pakistan must have good relations with all neighboring countries. This policy will certainly bring balance.
- **National Narrative.** All terrorists or criminal groups must be treated as criminals by the government. National narrative from government side must be equal and open to all criminals including terrorists of all groups including TTP and such elements must be tackled with speedy or military courts.
- **FATA Reforms.** FATA either be made a part of KPK or to be declared as a separate province, as an equal federal unit. This would make its people stakeholders in the state affairs of Pakistan in future. It should be incorporated into administration of Pakistan phase wise by replacing the FCR with constitution of Pakistan with maximum consensus and consultation of locals who would now probably be agreed after a decade long brutalities of militants. Massive development projects like Islamabad and Punjab should be immediately started in FATA, which will win the hearts and

minds of FATA people who always remained very loyal with Pakistan if we follow the history.

- **Compensation Package.** A reconciliation commission should be established to address the grievances of FATA people. Government should provide compensation to internally displaced peoples (IDPs), injured and killed in collateral damage during military operations. The IDPs should be helped to settle back into their hometowns on priority. An extra special quota in government jobs should be allocated for bringing people of FATA in mainstream.

Conclusion

Individuals of FATA have been extremely energetic and earnest with Pakistan since the independence of the nation in 1947. Terrorist components, little in number have, commanded and assumed control over the customary frameworks of FATA. The circumstances of FATA are still in repairable stage, and government with the accord of all stake holders can conquer the issue totally however gradually. Truly, these tribes have been extremely devoted with the nation and after the annihilation of radicalism and terrorism; FATA individuals will again take dynamic part for the prosperity of Pakistan. Eventual fate of FATA and whole Pakistan is splendid and the issue of fanaticism and terrorism will absolutely be abolished from FATA and rest parts of the country. It is optimistically and factually believed that the 190 million individuals of Pakistan are set to make Pakistan as one of the strongest nations of the world.

Evolving ‘Alienation’ Concept – Implications for Pakistan University Youth

(Muhammad Ilyas)*

Abstract

Alienation, which is a socio-psychological phenomenon, characterizes the gap existing between parts or whole of the personality and significant aspects of external world. Seeman (1959) introduced six variants of alienation, i.e. powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, social isolation and self-estrangement. Prior research on alienation investigated impact of alienation on different social, industrial and educational situations. Alienation has been widespread and has enhanced role in the modern times. The current study is aimed at investigating into alienation behaviour among Pakistan university youth. A milestone British Council, Pakistan report about the plight of youth titled ‘Pakistan: Next Generation’ went a step ahead in highlighting the state of youth in Pakistan. The University youth is exposed to many psychological oddities. In modern times, the alienation concept has become a major dilemma for the youth of the country which is already affected by a lot of social and financial issues.

Key Words: *Alienation, socio-psychological, significant, potential, prosperity*

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Introduction

Educational institutions with urban background face a series of related problems including poor attendance, high dropout rates, low achievement, and poor relationships among different groups. These problems have hampered in the way of achieving goals set for the institutions of higher education in Pakistan. Youth being the asset of a nation can bring all-round changes in a society. “The youth potential if properly harnessed can bring a socio-economic revolution in Pakistan. On the contrary, if youth issues, perceptions and ideas are not assessed and subsequently addressed in a timely manner it may turn into a ‘nightmare on street to prosperity’” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2009, p. 2). Keeping in view the huge impact of the situation, it is considered as a great misfortune that those who are managers and policy makers of educational process, they do not follow a wholesome approach. Rather they typically focus on each of the separate problems in a fragmentary fashion without addressing the underlying main cause. This approach has done tremendous harm to the process of higher education, in the sense that not only main issue has been neglected, but a lot of precious time has also been wasted. The integrated and inter-dimensional relationship between the stake holders of higher education could not be cultivated, thus the maturity of the relationship could not be achieved. In the opinion of Brennan et al. (2010) the inter-relationship between university, regional context and local community has become rather more uncertain, as institutions have come to develop their own academic identities, often locating themselves within wider national and even global academic and educational networks.

Universities, due to nature of their internal set up are quite appropriate places to provide grounds for bringing positive changes in the mind-set of a society. Interactive teachings, broad based syllabi, highly educated faculty and high-tech labs are some of the areas where universities can provide opportunities for research and academics. But despite all these, higher education faces enormous hazards, as mentioned above. Such a situation has finally led to a wide ranging social isolation amongst the students. It is an evident outcome that the students, as individuals and in certain group forms, feel being socially excluded, which ultimately lead to a lack of interest in the group activities. In the last ten years, social exclusion has become one of the most frequently discussed topics in the social sciences, as narrated by Sucur (2006). He termed social exclusion to be the “main social issue of our time” (p. 10). This social exclusion is an explicit form of alienation.

‘Alienation’ Concept

Alienation is a divide, the existence of a perceptual or physical gap which subsists between an individual (in our case ‘the students’) and society in general, and university in particular. This gap enhances the distance between the perceptions and ideals of the two. Mejos (2007) talks about Wojtyla’s theory of participation; for Wojtyla, alienation is a problem and it plays as a hindrance to a person’s fulfilment of ideals, dreams and plans through his actions. Alienation is not a threat to man as a human being but is a threat to him as a person. Thus it blocks an individual’s progress towards becoming an effective part of society and his community. Wojtyla also considers that the concept of alienation, which was introduced into philosophy in the 19th century and adopted by Marx, seems to be making a great comeback today.

Nettler (1957) defined alienation as a psychological state of mind in which “the alienated person has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his society and the culture it carries” (p. 671). A review of the theories of alienation would reveal it as a subjective psychological state, while, “Marx saw alienation as an objective reality” (Nelson & O’Donohue, 2006, p. 6). Seeman (1975) identifies six distinct kinds of loss: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, cultural estrangement, self-estrangement and social isolation.

- **Alienation**

An estrangement or separation between parts or the whole of the personality and significant aspects of the world experience (Kurt Lang, 1964).

- **Powerlessness**

A feeling that one cannot manage or control expected results and is not able to reinforce the presupposed aims and goals (Seeman, 1975, p. 91).

- **Normlessness**

A situation where societal norms that regulate human behaviour are broken down. “People suffering from normlessness think that in order to achieve their valuable goals, they need illegitimate means or actions which are not accepted in the society” (Seeman, 1975, p. 93).

- **Social Isolation**

People suffering from social isolation are those "who assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society" (Seeman, 1959:789).

These facets of alienation have added into the complexity of young brain which is already influenced by multiple social elements.

Brennan et al. (2010) termed higher education coming across many changes, some are caused by government policies and changing patterns of social and economic demand and some have internal factors affecting them. These internal elements are like changes in the way knowledge is produced and organised within universities and other academic organisations.

Alienation and Modern Society

A dominating sense of alienation links the host of problems related with the process of educating. Lack of a wholesome understanding of the underlying issue mars the whole concern. It has been identified by the experts that rising social changes, automation of life, erosion of sympathy, and lack of creativity have contributed to withdrawing or alienated youth. Such a situation has given rise to widespread social exclusion. The students, as individuals and in certain group forms suffer from lack of interest in the group activities. Sucur (2006) who wrote in a report on social exclusion, narrates that during the last decade, social exclusion has become one of the most frequently discussed topics in the social sciences. This Report termed social exclusion to be the “main social issue of our time” (p. 10). This social exclusion is an explicit form of alienation.

Alienation has been widespread and has enhanced role in modern times. It has gripped the minds of people in general. The effects of this “malaise of modern times” (Sandhu and Tung, 2004, p. 1) are widespread and have been attributed to a number of reasons. Different social complexities have made alienation a complex sort of phenomenon. According to Mann (as cited in Henderson-King & Smith, 2006), students’ apparent lack of engagement in the educational process is mainly due to alienation,

with lesser role of individual failings. Similarly, social and institutional pressures and constraints have also been assigned role. Their stage of life, i.e. adolescence is a critical one for such kind of tendencies. Sandhu and Tung (2004) hold the view that the tendency of deviance is present in us at all stages of life, yet adolescence is the most vulnerable and sensitive period to adopt a negative identity and dysfunction. Keeping in view such growing significance of the concept in the modern times, many social theorists have laid stress upon and explained in details, various forms of alienation. For example, Kalekin-Fishman (2000) found that how increasing rate of social change, affluence, leisure, automation and lack of creativity have caused wide-spread alienation. Geyer (2001) highlighted few new types of alienation which have entered the studies, and which are caused by the increasingly accelerating complexification of modern societies. Geyer (2001) went on to mention “phenomena like selection and scanning mechanisms, problems of information overload as well as decisional overload, and the need to engage often in counterintuitive rather than spontaneous behaviour” (p. 390), as some of those which are directly related with alienation. These elements are the products of modern day society which has driven people to a super-charged life with convenient access to media. Kalekin-Fishman (2000) termed alienation as “a taken for granted generic label for imbalance, discontent, deviance, disintegration etc., as appropriate to the terminology of a particular field of endeavour” (p. 394). Other social commentators like Erikson and Tillich have emphasised modern man’s loneliness and isolation, and have conceived alienation as a rebellion against the dehumanization of man in the industrial society. These thoughts resonated Marx’s

conception of alienation which linked the concept with factory workers.

Seeman and Evans (1962) affirmed that popularity of the term alienation laid in the fact that alienation and its variants: normlessness, powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and self-estrangement dominated a considerable portion of classical sociological work. These variants of alienation as introduced by Seeman have been applied by many sociologists in the modern times to record the level of alienation. Although, majority of the literature and studies on alienation have focussed on alienation as a broad pattern of perceptions covering the total personality of an individual, yet this present article is confined to the institute of University. Talking in generic terms, alienation usually refers to a degree of self-estrangement from some positive attribute or relation, either through some sort of absence, loss or rejection.

Alienation – An Emerging Challenge for Pakistani Youth

An effort, here, has been made to dismantle the concept of alienation into diversity - in the varieties of questions which researchers ask, in the form of different outcomes sought in research, and in the form of its theoretical foundations. This present study aims at highlighting alienation behaviour among university students. As a negative attachment, alienation often results from the presence of some perception of loss. It is also linked with bringing about some conflicts in the mind of the individual which results into societal polarity. Kalekin-Fishman (2000) links alienation with a discovery among children at quite an early age that their dreams are incommensurable with social opportunities and thus their aligning with alienating responses. The policy makers in education are required to take full stock of the situation to bring the youth in the

national stream. Planning Commission of Pakistan (2009) highlighted this aspect in the following way:

The aforesaid scenarios, the optimistic as well as pessimistic, have implications for public policy, which is considered important not only in the context of growing security challenges in the region, but also in the realm of global knowledge based economies. All over the world youth is being given prime importance in future policy making due to rapidly evolving knowledge base; new and emerging technologies; ever growing potential of social and economic networking in modern times; and livelihood challenges. (p. 2)

A milestone report about the plight of youth in Pakistan was issued by the British Council, Pakistan in 2009. This British Council report titled 'Pakistan: Next Generation' (2009) has gone a step ahead in highlighting the state of youth affairs in Pakistan, especially in first decade of twenty-first century. The report duly brings about escalating behaviour of alienation amongst the Pakistani youth. Our society, which is characterized by strong social commitments and requirements, failure of state to provide comprehensive employment plans and weak bondages provided by the academic institutes has contributed to the emergence of a youth which is deeply polarized and is alienated. Ismail (2009) is quoted talking about the British Council report: "A new report commissioned by the British Council reveals widespread dissatisfaction and frustration among Pakistani youth. The report also sheds light on the bleak socio-economic prospects facing the vast majority of young people due to unemployment and underemployment and the lack of basic public services, including quality schooling" (para.1). Such scenario brings out that in modern

times, the alienation concept has become a major dilemma for the youth of the country which is already affected by a lot of social and financial issues.

- **Resurgence of the Problem of Alienation**

With growing complexities in social and psychological plains of human being, life styles have gone through drastic changes. The phenomenon has brought our students confronted with numerous situations demanding mental and physical commitments. Notwithstanding, a spirit of alienation has gripped the youth of the country. In November 2009, the New York Times (NYT) while citing the report, commissioned by the British Council, wrote, "Pakistan will face a 'demographic disaster' if it does not address the needs of its young generation, the largest in country's history, whose views reflect a deep disillusionment with the government and democracy".

- **Alienation and Pakistani Youth**

In a social or institutional context, alienation can be viewed as the state of or the result of nonconformity within institutional setup between various elements, ranging from administration, students, faculty, parents and other social agencies. The expectations in dedicated roles and later some misrepresentations cause the gaps which ultimately result into that creation of perceptual differences.

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic society where many varied segments of society are intermingled. This diversified population has given rise to a lot much strife within the society. The society is greatly polarised from within and without. Higher education is also facing multifarious threats.

“Challenges that face our higher education today are not limited to the internal problems of education. There are more challenges that face us outside the educational field also. These are political, economical and moral” (Açikgenç, 2008, p. 41).

Educationists believe in an assumption that if plans could be devised for conducting personal and social life with suitable rationality, problems of alienation would be eliminated. Thus, there are studies which focus on evidence of what we may call local alienation—phenomena which are supposedly curable while theoretical analyses tend to deal with issues which are thoroughly rooted and embedded in what we know as the only possible setting.

- **Alienation Roots**

In the context of our country, our youth is polarised owing to various factors, which are scattered throughout the general public life. It has been revealed that human alienation is not restricted to any particular time frame, and its type and amount change, basing on social and historical conditions. Farahbod et al. (2012) concluded that throughout history, concept of alienation has taken shapes of various ranges of concepts such as individual alienation, alienation towards God, nature, society and work and even self-alienation.

The report commissioned by the British Council, Pakistan: The Next Generation (2009), warns that unless Pakistan drastically increases access to education and creates millions of new jobs for its young people, social and political upheavals are almost inevitable in coming years. Estrangement is going to rise and is expected to rise to new

heights. Tally (2009) found alienation to be originally meant as estrangement. Thus such estrangement gives rise to alienation.

Currently, Pakistan's official unemployment rate is about 8 percent, but over 70 percent are employed in the informal sector. In a country where 60 percent of the population lives on less than \$2 per day, the global economic crisis has had a tremendous impact on the lives of working people and has thrown millions of people into poverty. The British Council report (2009) further comments on living conditions of Pakistani youth that electricity shut-downs are not only affecting industry but are having a devastating impact on the lives of ordinary people. Alongside this issue, high food and fuel prices have made the necessities of life increasingly expensive. The Report (2009) also highlighted that around 7 percent of the population has fallen back into poverty due to the food, energy, and economic shocks. They are nowhere near a balanced and healthy way of life. They have no commitments and engagements. Theorists term this widening gap as isolation and alienation. Farahbod et al. (2012) discussed alienation in socio-psychological context. For them, in socio-psychological domain, alienation refers to a person's psychological withdrawal from society.

Alienation - A Social Dilemma

Economic issues are the main concern of the average Pakistani in spite of the worsening security situation across the country. The Report (2009) by British Council further notes that 72 percent of Pakistanis think that their personal economic situation has got

worse in the past year and only one in ten expect things to get better in the near future.

British Council Report (2009) commenting on plight of common Pakistanis, rates day-to-day survival as main worry of ordinary people, as though they are worried about terrorism and the security situation. Most Pakistanis mention inflation, unemployment, lack of energy and water resources, and poverty as the most critical issues affecting their lives. “Youth unemployment results in social disintegration, discord and disagreement. Hence, lack of proper employment opportunities for young people can have negative consequences for poverty alleviation strategies as well” (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2009, p. 2). Assuming the fact that these situations breed alienation was substantiated through micro-manifestations of class and power in face to face interaction in the Pakistani society. Sense of insecurity creates alienation, physical as well as mental.

Access to education is also a serious issue confronting young Pakistanis, particularly the next generation. The Report (2009) states, “In our survey, a quarter of respondents are illiterate and have never attended an educational institution. For girls, (wherever they live) and rural respondents (whatever their gender), this proportion rises to 36 percent. In Baluchistan, nearly half the next generation has had no education at all” (p. 13). According to the researchers, these are set conditions for breeding alienation. Kalekin-Fishman (2000) considers the education researchers to interpret alienation as sets of conditions which do not offer resistance to control. This lack of voluntary control breeds insecurity and alienation. It hamper the way of the youth towards a balanced, i.e., educated way of living. Nelson and O’Donohue

(2006) narrates Marx having considered that “an alienated man enacts a role in which he is estranged from the kind of life of which he is capable” (p. 4). Gaidzanwa (2007) considered that for Marx the concept of alienation referred to the loss of control experienced by workers over the nature, process and products of their labour. In the light of Marxian conception, Pakistani conditions appear to be fit-conditions for generation of alienation. Students’ estrangement from education multiplies the problems. Such negligence of the education sector has created mental contradictions for the students.

Unfortunately, education curriculum has not been designed to meet the vocational needs of the country. Wide gaps between the education institutions and the industrial and commercial enterprises have rendered education as quite invalid. Ryan and Deci (as cited in McCombs, 2003) maintain that alienation in any age population is caused by failing to provide supports for competence, autonomy, and relatedness. In Pakistan, education has been limited to degrees only without giving due significance to vocational aspect of education. The report of British Council (2009) cites that around half the youths that were interviewed considered their qualifications to be inadequate and only a quarter of them believe they have the necessary qualifications for the job they desire. Having such scenario in view, rest of the youth finds their life and academics irrelevant and unnecessary. According to the report, “Many have concluded there is little point in becoming educated if there are no jobs” (p. 14).

Psychosomatic Fall-Outs of Alienation

This report by the British Council portrays a representative picture of the Pakistani society. The alienating behaviour have affected the youth of the nation. The Report continues to note that

many fears which grip the minds of the youth include fears about their employment situation. They believe that jobs scenario is not encouraging and that job prospects are getting worse. Many find their working life disrupted by corruption and discrimination. This condition of the youth exposes them to many psychological oddities. They are, mentally, suffering from some complex forms of situations. Their state infuses them with alienation. This complex situation adds many more dimensions to the alienating state.

- **Disillusioned Youth**

The society is facing crushing effects of youth disillusionment. Such disillusioned youth cannot do any good to itself and to the society at large. The picture portrayed by the British Council Report (2009) maintains that people are being discriminated on the basis of gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. People are being gratified while favoritism is also rife. The report cites another young man from Karachi who said, “The environment these days is very bad. There are no jobs. Everything is getting expensive. The poor man’s life has become very difficult” (p. 15).

The youth feels unable to give vent to their feelings and emotions. They feel being shut-in, being unable to express their deprivations. This fact leads to an alienation which can be seen as a psycho-social concept. Its operating ground is the psychological plains of human personality. It is an internalised state which directly affects perceptions and mental outlook of an individual who is suffering from alienation. The person comes under direct influence of a particular state of mind. Sandhu and Tung (2004) have also

reported that alienated youth are often attracted towards cults, or other sub-groups which mislead them from mainstream". Such a situation is precariously causing the youth to move away from the national stream. According to him, "Alienation as most generally used in the social science denotes an estrangement or separation between parts or the whole of the personality and significant aspects of the world experience" (p.19).

- **Gap between Personality and outer world of Experience**

This definition of the term draws the lines of interaction between personality and outer world, in the domain of state of alienation. This general connotation of the term may refer to the way an estranged personality comes in contact with significant portions of the around world. Here this separation as expressed above can exist between (a) the self and the objective world; (b) the self and aspects of the self that have come at odds and have become separated and placed over against the self.

At the same time, alienation is a social phenomenon because a person gets alienated due to social elements casting their influence on the individual's personality. These social factors may be present in close vicinity of the individual in the form of persons or institutions, or these may be located at distance. This situation can aptly be characterized by a multi-pronged alienation measure introduced by Dean (1961) who developed a tri-dimensional measure of alienation (powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation).

Recommendations

In the light of above discussion, following set of recommendations are offered:-

- A major change in teacher-student relationships is required if students are to feel more committed to their institution. Enhanced on-campus interaction will not only improve teaching, but will be helpful in identifying any alienating behaviour.
- There is also need to study impact of different social elements, like family, peer groups, media on the alienation levels of students.
- Authorities to consider organising workshops, to involve stake-holders, and to address social and psychological issues of the students.
- Low achievement of students is needed to be promptly addressed to eradicate any distractors for the affected students. Improvement in academic results will increase motivation level.
- Effectively and pro-actively acting Students Advisory and Counselling Cells are to be established. The same was also recommended by Planning Commission of Pakistan in Youth Strategy: Issues, Challenges and Opportunities, 2009.
- Antitheses of alienation, i.e., commitment, engagement should be encouraged within the university peripheries. Responsibility in this regard lies on the university authorities and faculty.
- Social environment, in general and universities, in particular need to become more humane social

institutions. Elmi (2012) found that young people who are not able to find out sustainable values in their culture, religion and believes, they will suffer from diffusion. All the people having relevant social status will not feel social alienation because of their ability to counter their problems successfully. McInerney (2009) describes the alienated students as those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds. He terms them to be probably lacking the confidence, self-assurance, motivation and social capital to function effectively.

- Another point of significance is the requirement of curricula which would be able to become relevant to their present needs as well as to their future needs. All activities at university should be meaningful, relevant and heterogeneous to meet social and psychological needs of all the students.

Conclusion

Young people are the future of Pakistan and their aspirations matter. Investing in youth is synonymous to investing in prosperity of the nation. This point is required to be understood in true letter and spirit at all tiers. Planning Commission of Pakistan (2009) highlights the seriousness of the situation by hinting that the youth issues have been ignored in past. Policy makers are handicapped because no credible statistics for policy analysis is available. If there is a will to solve youth social and economic issues, there is a need to embark on an action oriented research. The British Council Report (2009) warns that time is running out for the Pakistani elite to collect the country's "demographic dividend" (p. 20). According to the British Council report (2009), owing to significance of the role

of the youth, Pakistan could derive benefits from its young population that will endure into the next century. If the opportunity is missed, it will take a century or more to repair.

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Gwadar Port as Emerging Energy Corridor for China's Economic Development: Opportunities and Challenges

(Syed Waqas Haider Bukhari & Prof. Dr. Naudir Bakht)*

Abstract

Gwadar port possesses an important geo-strategic location and has increased interdependence between Pakistan and China. The port was constructed with the assistance of China. Now the control of this port is under the supervision of Chinese authorities. China wants to use this port as a corridor. This study highlighting various aspects whereas, The Gwadar port gives an edge to Pakistan over India, because through this port China can move her goods easily targeting other regions of the world. In this context China's active role is being influenced in the presence of other internal as well as external elements. Both US and India are feeling threatened by Chinese naval presence at Gwadar port. Because through this port, China can monitor US and India maritime activities. To counter this, India is focusing on Iran's Chahbahar port and wants to use that as an alternative when it supplies would be blocked by China in any critical time in future. Simultaneously, the paper aims at economic, strategic, and geo-political aspects prevalent in the region and as how Pakistan has been dealing with such circumstances.

Key Words: *geo-strategic, assistance, economic, encirclement, infrastructural*

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Introduction

Pak-China economic cooperation has significant interdependence and has been considered necessary for regional peace. In South Asian region, China is spreading her muscles by providing economic assistance and participating in infrastructural development. It is developing cordial relations with all South Asian nations those are in the position to protect China's economic and security interests in any future crises. Pakistan is also one of those South Asian nations to whom China is giving preference in developing cordial relations. Pakistan enjoys vital position in China's geo-strategic calculations. It is because a resolute Pakistan in South Asia would be in the greater interests of China. To strengthen bilateral relations, China has been providing support to Pakistan for the development of Gwadar port. This act further enhanced the already existing bilateral ties. Gwadar port provides vital opportunities to China in term of her supply lines and enhancement of trade. This port can connect China to the whole world via sea route. Along with sea route via Pakistan, China can gain access to world resource rich regions.

Energy is very essential for China to support its growing industry and through Gwadar there is a secure route to supply this energy. According to China's officials, they have only economic interests in the development of the port and China would avoid from any military confrontation in this region because it needs transparent supply of energy.

The hypothesis is stated as 'in changing regional dynamics the energy and trade corridor of Gwadar will strengthen bilateral relationship between China and Pakistan. At the same time these developments will jeopardize US and Indian strategic calculations'.

Gwadar port has vital geo-strategic location which attracts China to use it as a corridor. This port can connect China to other regions like: Central, Southern and Western Asia. China is profusely investing for the development of this port. It is because it may want to use the port for trade. On one side, Baluchistan's security-situation is much complex which serves to limit the role of Chinese in this region while on the other hand, on Indian Ocean, India is considering on the option of using this port as a threat to its maritime security.

In international system, state is not a unilateral actor. There are also other multiple actors, i.e. international organizations, multinational national firms and non-state actors. These actors are important not only due to their activities but also effect government policies through different means. The theory, Complex interdependence, used in this paper, indicates that states are interdependent upon each other through multiple channels. The issues like security finance or trade shows different ways of mutual dependence. These differences stem the politics of complex interdependence. In complex interdependence any change in issue area also changes the sensitivity of other actor. With the change of this sensitivity the vulnerability of other actor is also changed.¹ Interdependence "means mutual dependence". If this interdependence is disturbed then there will be reciprocal effects, means both sides bears the consequences.

The Gwadar port possesses vital infrastructural investment of China in Pakistan. Through this port, China not only secures its energy transportation route but it can also counter different encirclements. Pakistan also needs China for the development or

up-gradation of its infrastructure. China supported Pakistan in all circumstances.

Geo-Strategic Significance of Gwadar Port for China

Gwadar Port has a strategic significance. The strategic importance of Baluchistan for China lies in its Geo-Strategic location and huge reserves of natural resources.

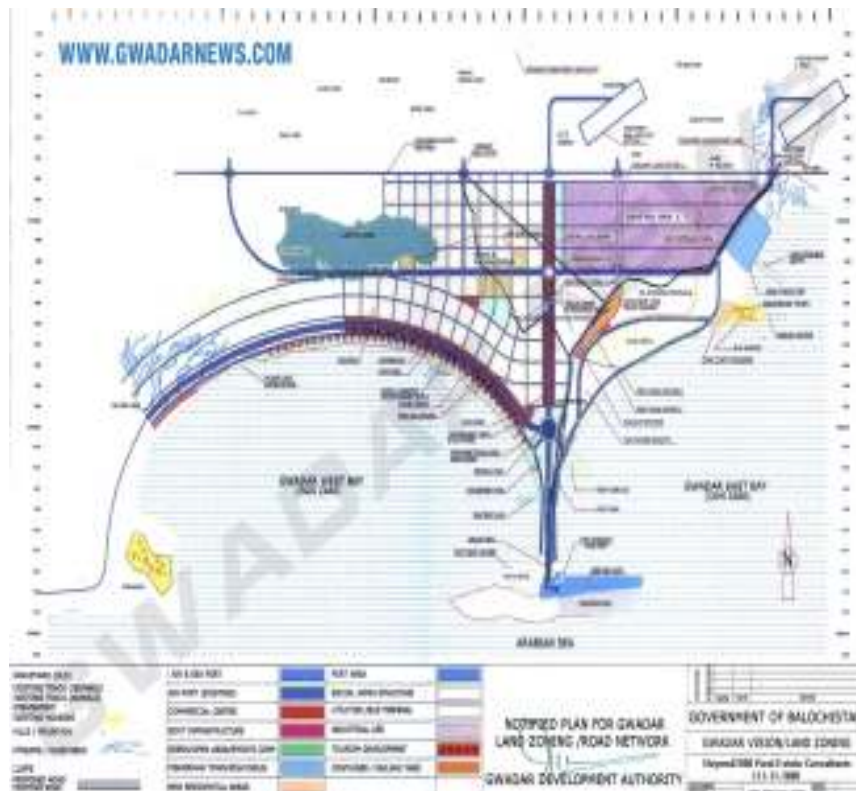
Geographically, Karachi is 460 Km in the West, Iran is 75 Km in the eastern side and Strait of Hormuz is 400 km.² It increased strategic depth of Pakistan from eastern side and further away India. The increased strategic depth of 460 km is added which decrease vulnerability of Pakistan from India. Gwadar port helped China to monitor sea line activities from Persian Gulf to Strait of Hormuz. Strategically, the presence of Chinese Naval force enables it to maintain check on US 5th Naval Fleet which has domination on Persian Gulf. Furthermore, this port enables China to check the emerging aspirations of Indian Blue Water Navy. By improving existing Caspian Sea link, this port can be compared with UAE and other ports. This port can become better trade route to Caspian Sea region. If US blocks Malacca Strait for Chinese shipment then this port can be used as substitute way for Chinese trade from Indian Ocean to West Asia.³

The development of Gwadar port enhanced Pakistan's strategic importance for China. In future, the port would attract foreign investors for trade which will generate revenue. Strategic position of the port has also attracted India, USA and Russia. Geographically significance of the port is a blessing for the economic growth of Pakistan. Although the area in which this port is located is facing different security problems but when there would be proper

investment on infrastructure development then there are many chances of peace and prosperity.

China's Role in the Development of Gwadar Port

China invested in Pakistan on the construction of two vital projects; First, China contributed in the construction of Gwadar Port and secondly on the up-gradation of Karakorum High way from Gwadar to Western Chinese province. This up-gradation of highway can connect China to Russian built highway. This highway is further connected to five Central Asian states. Gwadar port will provide access to Central Asian states and Xinjiang province through “an all-weather highway” as direct route.⁴



Source:<http://www.gwadarnews.com/gwadarphotos/gwadamasterplan.jpg>

In infrastructural development China played constructive role in Pakistan. Pakistan and China have bilateral wish to cooperate with each other in all circumstances. Similarly, it was the wish of Pakistan that the Gwadar port should be constructed and operated by Chinese authorities and this all-weather friendship should be strengthens more. On 16 March 2002, Pakistan and China signed an agreement regarding the construction of Gwadar port. Chinese Harbor Engineering Company took the work regarding the construction of Phase-I which is now in full working condition.⁵

On the 50th anniversary of Pak-China friendship, the Chinese Premier Zhu Ringji declared its commitment regarding the construction of Gwadar port by China. In the light of this commitment, Gwadar was up-graded from tiny port to deep sea port with new wharves, warehouse and related facilities. The construction was divided into three phases. According to the plan of phase-1, three multipurpose berths would be constructed and each of these berths would be 12.5 meter depth and handle the ships of 30,000 tons. The proposed cost for the construction of the Gwadar port was decided \$248 million. In March 2002, to start the construction of phase-I China provided financial assistance of \$198 million. In initial assistance \$50 million was an outright grant, another \$50 million was a commercial grant and \$98 million was a China's state credit. This initial assistance was considered 80 percent of the total project cost. In the meantime, for the construction of Phase-1 Pakistan also look for international support. Oman and Saudi-Arabia showed their willingness for financial support regarding this phase. In 2003, President Musharraf visited Moscow and wished his desired to involve Russia in this project by offering Russian access to warm water through Gwadar.

In 2005, during the visit of Premier Wen Jiabao China showed its willingness regarding the construction of Phase-II of Gwadar port. The work plan regarding the construction of this phase included new harbor with 14 meters depth which would handle 200,000 ton oil ships and 100,000 ton container ships. Furthermore, the construction of 2 oil berths and a cargo terminal were included in the phase. The total calculated cost of the Phase-II was \$600 million and China was willing to give one-third. China offered \$198 million which included \$ 31 million as interest free loan and \$49 million as grant.⁶

The total cost of the all three projects was \$ 1.75 billion dollars.⁷ Economically, China supported very well in the development of Gwadar Port. Along with China, Asian Development Bank also gave \$ 500 million for the development of the road networks.⁸ Economic significance of Gwadar for China has two dimensions. First, there is unrest in many parts of the Gulf region and Gwadar Port will provide sea route to reach Gulf ports which will minimize security risks. This port is nearer to Strait of Hormoz which is attracting the investors who are considering insecurity a bigger factor in their calculations.⁹

China's Interests in Gwadar Port

Gwadar port has the capacity to emerge as future trans-shipment port at the dawn of 21st century, China showed her interests in the development of this port because Chinese leadership was well awarded from the opportunities which this port can give to them. China's core interests in the development of the port are related to use it as energy and trade corridor and in strategic terms too.

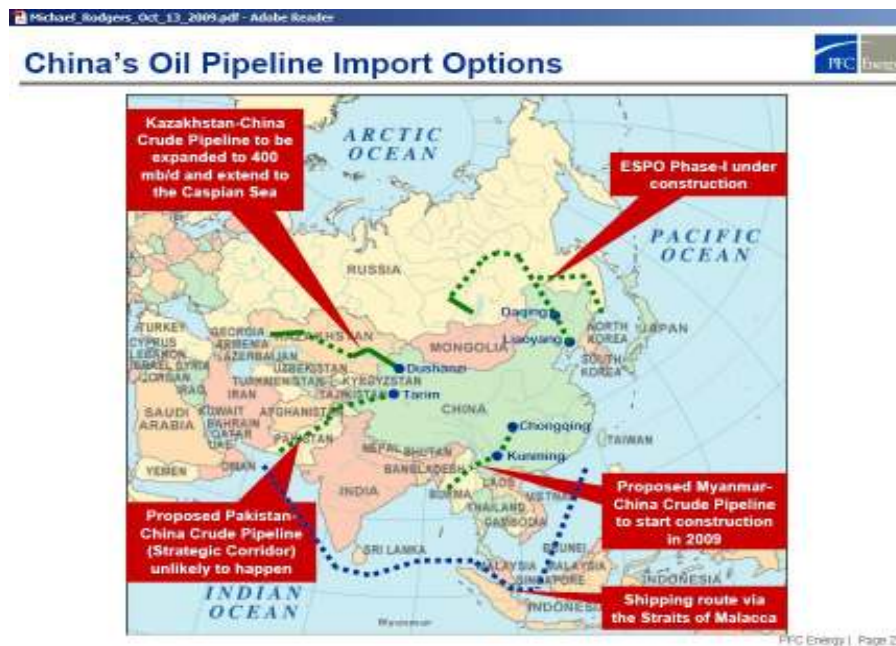
Energy Corridor

Energy cooperation is vital in Pak-China trade and economic relations. Gwadar port has the capacity to give both economic and military gains to China. Since, after the establishment of first diplomatic interaction, both started cooperating in different sectors. In 2006, their cooperation was further reinforced when the president of Pakistan, General Perviz Musharraf, visited China. Moreover, he offered China to make Pakistan an energy-trade corridor by the development of Gwadar port and up-gradation of KKH. These are the shortest routes and may help China to make its Western part an economic hub.¹⁰China's response upon this offer was also a classic example which fortified their long-stand friendship and proved the vitality of China's economic presence in South and Southwest Asian region.

Gwadar port is nearest to the Strait of Hormuz and 40% of world oil supply passes through this strait. According to Pan Zhiping, Director of the Central Asian Studies Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, "China's new energy channel' through which oil from Africa and the Middle East would be transported to China by road, rail or pipeline".¹¹ China is dependent to acquire its 60 percent energy from Persian Gulf. The construction of oil pipeline from Gwadar to China will reduce the distance of several km. In the view of Chen Xuguang (Party Secretary of Kashgar) Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and China rail track and Kashgar-Gwadar linking line are expected to operate in next few years and then China will not be dependent more on Straits of Malacca and other routes of South-China, East China Yellow Sea.¹²

Gwadar port reduced distance of several km for China to transport African oil from Persian Gulf and Western China. China

has planned to build gas pipeline of 25000 km from Gwadar to Xinjiang through Pakistan which would reduce the distance. On the other hand, Eastern port of Shanghai and Beijing are 4500 km faraway from Xinjiang. Through Indian Ocean, Gwadar Port and Persian Gulf are 10,000 km faraway from Shanghai Port. It is obvious that transportation of energy and trade from East-African states to Persian Gulf through Gwadar will lessen the distance of 15000 km and 2500 km will just remain. Moreover, this route would not only reduce consumption cost but also a safe and secure route in compare with maritime route. Presently, China's oil tankers are reaching Gulf in twenty days and after the completion of this high-speed road and railway track these tankers would reach within 48 hours.¹³ The construction of Gwadar port enables China to deliver oil and gas through pipelines.



Source:http://www.crudeoilpeak.com/wpcontent/gallery/asp02009/china_oil_import_pipelines.jpg

Moreover, Chinese oil and gas exploration firms may get reasonable revenue in the form of taxes and also through different incentives by the government of Pakistan.¹⁴

China's interests in Gwadar Port are commercial and its geo-strategic location enables it to compete it with other regional ports. It is located at the choke point of Strait of Hormuz and has capacity to handle larger ships and oil tankers.¹⁵ The location of the port enables it to handle trade among enormous states like Central Asia, Iran, Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Pakistan, East Africa and China. In future perspective, Gwadar will serve as international trade port for China and Pakistan will become regional trading hub. This port is a landmark in Pak-China business relations and it is a two way passage for markets of east and west, north and south.

Gwadar holds significant importance as far as China's strategic calculations are concerned. It is true that the port is providing many economic opportunities to China, as yet there is no getting away from the fact that there exist other actors- mainly India and internal bad security situation of Baluchistan which may lead to a specific role of China in this matter.

Prospects of Trade and Economic Development

Gwadar has both trade and economic incentives not only for Pakistan and China, but also for other regional states. Pakistan and China are biggest trading partners and their bilateral trade was recorded more than \$ 12 billion in 2013. Pakistan imports from China were recorded \$9.2 billion while exports were calculated \$ 3.14 billion.¹⁶ Pakistan's exports to China include leather goods, mineral reserves and base metals. While on the other hand Pakistan's imports from China include transport equipments, chemical, mineral ores, textile related products, machinery and

mechanical appliances. After 2011, a big increase of 48 percent was calculated in bilateral trade.

Trade Forecast of Gwadar

Category	Year		
	2005	2010	2015
Dry Cargo (million tons)	3.96	4.74	5.77
Liquid Cargo (million tons)	16.62	17.54	18.77
Container 1000 TEUs	200	241	295
Transshipment 1000 TEUs	200	250	300

Source: Board of Investment, Government of Pakistan

Through five years' Development Program for Economic and Trade Cooperation, China will invest on 36 projects worth \$14 billion in Pakistan. Then there would be joint Economic Commission who will see the implementation of the projects.¹⁷ By up-grading 335 km of KKH from Gilgit to Khunjrab pass the bilateral trade as well as trade with Central Asian states will not only increase but new routes of commerce through Silk Route will also be opened.

As the port would start working with full velocity, it might give benefits to Central Asian States and Afghanistan also. Along with this, Gwadar port is located at the cross road of Middle East and Central Asian region which may also facilitates commercial commodities of intra-regional states. In this regard, Gwadar port can present its share as shortest supply route and having the capacity of handling big ships and cargos. Through Gwadar port, there are possibilities to develop economic cooperation, sea and fishing, exploration of oil and gas and exploration of valuable minerals.¹⁸

Development of Road Railway Networks for Energy Transportation

For the transportation of energy, China is focusing on the construction and up-gradations of railway and road tracks. In the work plan of phase-I, a railway track was proposed which would connect Gwadar with Dalbandin, Bandar Abbas, Karachi and Rawalpindi through railway track. The construction of two highways starting from Gwadar through Makran Coast connects at Liari with Indus highway. In 2001, China declared its support regarding the construction of Gwadar-Dalbandin railway track and Makran highway. In 2003, Asian Development Bank showed its willingness regarding the provision of \$150 million for the construction of road from Gwadar to Chaman via Pak-Afghan border. The construction of this road would facilitate the supply route among Gwadar, Afghanistan and Central Asia.¹⁹

Along with Gwadar port, China invested massively in the railway system of Pakistan. In 2001, China provided \$250 million to Pakistan and Pakistan purchased 175 rail coaches and 69 locomotives.²⁰ In July 2002, Pakistan received 14 passenger coaches from China. In 2003, both countries concluded another agreement according to which China was to give 1300 railway engines to Pakistan. In these 420 were to be manufactured in China and remaining 880 were to be produced in Lahore. In the prevailing year, Pakistan got China's intention regarding the improvement of old railway system.²¹ In this regard both signed different MOUs and according to Pakistan's finance minister Shaukat Aziz, China would give \$500 million to Pakistan for building of new railway tracks, new wagons and locomotives.²²

In 2008, first railway track was completed which is the nearest route to KKH. The KKH and coastal highway both are pivotal trading routes which are generating economic benefits. Currently, KKH is linking Western part of China to Pakistan. In infrastructural development China is currently working on different highway projects. A road-line which connect Gwadar with Karachi has been completed and an overhaul of KKH in northwest of Pakistan is under progress. This Karachi to Gwadar road route alone reduced the time from 48 to 7 hrs. Moreover, the development of country-side highway is also under consideration through motorway project.²³

Modernization of railway system along with the development of Gwadar port would enable China to move raw material and make easy the transportation of energy towards China. This up-gradation of railway system would enhance China's capacity and it can easily move people and goods between Western region to Arabian Sea via Pakistan and also from Gwadar to Central Asia. The development of Gwadar port is a unique opportunity for Central Asian states also. Through Gwadar these port can gain access to warm waters and enhance their trade. Furthermore, by using Gwadar port these landlocked states can export energy and products to the rest of the world. This port will give economic boost not only to these states and Pakistan and China will also get economic benefits indirectly.

Strategic Interests

Political, Economic and security interests of China are interconnected. China has both economic as well as strategic interests in the development of Gwadar port. The vital geo-strategic location of the port enables China to secure its strategic interests by

increasing its military presence. China has numerous strategic interests in the Gwadar port which are explained below;

- a) Development of Gwadar port and its connecting with Xinjiang increased China's security presence. China was in the favor of increasing its military and political influence in this area because its 60 percent energy supply is passing through this way. The development of Gwadar port provided pivotal opportunity to China to increase its presence and secure its supply route.²⁴
- b) This port enables China to gain control over Shaksgam and surrounding valleys, which have capacity to create choke points along with Silk route and may undermine China's influence over Xinjiang province. Furthermore, the land access via Pakistan to Iran and Afghanistan may reduce threats from India and American presence in the Persian Gulf.²⁵
- c) Through Gwadar port, China may not only contain India and US growing presence but also use it as opportunity to prove its claim as one major maritime power. Furthermore, through this port China can check India's maritime movement on Indian Ocean.²⁶
- d) The pivotal location of Gwadar Port and its close proximity to Strait of Hormoz gives China an access to Indian Ocean. By using Indian Ocean via Pakistan, China can get favorable alternative for its oil tankers to offload Persian Gulf oil without moving via East Asian waters.²⁷

International Geopolitics behind Turbulence to Chinese Interests over Gwadar

China's interests over Gwadar port are clear but its presence is creating fears in US and India geo-strategic calculations. Acquisition of Gwadar port by China created many security questions for both India and US in Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean region.

US and Indian Concerns

As long as United State is concerned, it is not calculating China a bigger threat as compared with Russia but in contemporary scenario, China is the only state which may pose threat to US interests in Asian region. Indian Ocean has been and will remain a grave concern for US foreign policy makers.²⁸In contemporary regional security structure US interests over Gwadar port cannot be ruled out. The Washington has feared that by this growing influence China can monitor US maritime related activities over Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea. US is looking at China's control over Gwadar with suspicion and feared that China could turn Gwadar into a naval base and would undermine US interests.²⁹If China increases its influence in Indian Ocean region, US would consider its interests at stake. The rise of China shifted US policy focus to look from West to East and it adopted new strategy of "Pivot Asia" and rebalancing. In the view of this policy US political and economic focus has been shifted to Asia-Pacific region. Moreover 60 % of US military focus is on this region in which India is key ally of the US.³⁰

For India, Gwadar port is a bone of contention. Soon after the start of development India showed its reservations on the project. The basic concern of India's opposition on the port is its control by the Chinese authorities. India is feeling insecurity that this port will

give Pakistan an upper position over India in term of access to world natural resources. Moreover, China's financial assistance for this project created insecurity for India because through this port; China can enhance its influence to Arabian Sea.³¹ Like China, Indian economy is heavily dependent on the sea. In terms of trade India is 90 % dependent on sea trade. Domestically, Indian oil and gas production is reducing and in order to import oil India is 90 % dependent of Sea. The major source of Indian oil import is from Africa of Middle East region which can be monitored by Chinese naval presence over the port.³²

Presence of China on Gwadar is a serious concern for India. India feels insecurity by the presence of Chinese navy that through this port China can watch India's trading ships and may also pose challenge at any critical movement. Indian policy makers also consider acquisition of Gwadar Port by China as encirclement to India through the Ocean.³³ So in order to respond to the encirclement, India is focusing on alternative ways to secure its energy supply through Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. For that purpose, India is developing close cordial relations with Iran and spent huge amount on the development on Chahbahar Port. The development of Gwadar port by China and Chahbahar by India will become the cause of open rivalry between Indian and China. Along with this these developments will be the cause of geo-strategic and geo-economic struggle.³⁴

According to John Gaever China and India relations are based on realist view of balancing power. Regarding Asian power struggle Robert Gervis rightly pointed out it as "Security Dilemma". This thing is directly related to China as growing power and showing its presence in South Asian region. While on the other hand India is

reactionary power and is responding to China's encirclement by counter-encirclement through its East look policy. In the light of China's growing energy concerns many scholars characterized China as revisionist power, those have wish to change current international status quo.³⁵

Conclusion

Gwadar Port project is of immense importance for Pakistan. The geo-political and geo-economic significance of this project for both Pakistan and China is clear. If this port would operate in its full capacity and would not only generate valuable revenue, but it will also open new corridors of trade. The area in which this port is located is facing turbulence but if China would gain success to fully operate this project, it would be a great achievement. In addition to Gwadar port China also invested in different projects of Pakistan. The basic reason behind these investments is that China wants to use Gwadar as regional hub port and other investments, i.e. developments of roads and railway tracks would serve as land links towards other regions.

The province Baluchistan has been given with less importance since independence. There are different local as well as international elements that are disturbing the situation. On internal level, there are Baloch separatist fighters who are disturbing law and order situation. Pakistan's law and enforcement agencies are performing best to counter the activities of these elements. Along with internal elements, the involvement of external elements cannot be ruled out. These external forces are helping internal elements and they are disturbing the environment. On external front basically US and India are more worried regarding the acquisition and presence of China in Gwadar. Chinese presence is undermining

both US and Indian interests and to control China they are disrupting internal security situation of Baluchistan.

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Institutionalization of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan

(Muhammad Yahhya Maqbool & Dr. Shahzad Hussain)*

Abstract

The paper intends to critically analyze the institutionalization process of Disaster Risk Management in Pakistan. At first, the hazard profile has been presented to depict Pakistan's vulnerability to natural disasters. Afterwards, the study narrates the historical evolution of various disaster related institutions along with their composition and objectives. This mainly serves the purpose of compiling the basic information about disaster related institutions in Pakistan. In addition to that, the study also examines the nature of the institutionalization process of disaster risk management in Pakistan. The study concludes that reactive approach to DRM adopted by the policy makers has inflicted heavy tolls of men and material losses since the inception of the country. History exhibits that natural calamity was responded by establishing a new institutional setup. However, after the devastating earthquake of 2005, a paradigm shift took place.

Key Words: *Disaster, vulnerability, calamity, devastating*

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Introduction

The word “disaster” consists of two French words: “dis” and “aster”. The word “dis” denotes bad whereas the word “aster” means star. Resultantly, the words “disaster” refers to ‘Bad or Evil star’.¹ Apart from etymological meaning, it has also been attributed by the United Nations office of Disaster Risk reduction (UNISDR), which defines disaster to be,

“A serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources.”²

By disrupting the people at large disaster stands for perilous effects on human life including massive humanistic and material effects and losses of/ on economy and environment. It surpasses the human skills of victimized society to tackle it with all available resources at hand.³ This paper points out the important aspects of natural disasters only. The frequency and intensity of disasters have increased during last few decades. If the contents of the available data are considered to be reliable, since 1970 the number of disasters has increased from 69 to 350 per year. Moreover, the economic losses in such disastrous events have increased from \$ 12 billion to \$ 88 billion in last three decades.⁴ The pattern is more or less similar in case of South Asia in general and Pakistan in particular.

Since the subject matter has succeeded to attract the attention of the policy makers at world level due to its proliferated frequency and intensity. But the approach in Pakistan towards such a serious issue is regrettably non responsive, i.e. focusing merely on relief and

rehabilitation. The disastrous effects of 2005 earthquake compelled our policy makers to join their heads in order to devise a uniform mechanism of Disaster Risk Management (DRM) in the country. Here very first time in the history of this country, efforts were concentrated towards proper institutionalization of DRM in a holistic manner.

Institutionalization generally refers to the process of establishment of an institution. But in political science, it stands for the “development of a regularized system of policy making.” Indeed, routines are developed by a political community and are further endowed with resources and authority to perform an act in a specific way. Therefore, responses to the calamities occurring on regularly basis are often institutionalized. The political community in this way undertakes collective action in order to provide the political actors with incentives so that public good at large or control of an externality could be achieved.⁵ Hence in this study, the term refers to, *“The process of establishment of system with legitimate institutional structure having capacity to carry its mandate”*.⁶

Disaster management is defined as to manage the complete disaster spectrum, including “preparedness, response, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction.”⁷ But many academicians are of the view that it is not a very accurate term to define the whole process. As it stand for, “management of a disaster event”, which covers only the post disaster stage, while pre-disaster stages are excluded.⁸ So a more appropriate term to be used is disaster risk management which is defined in the UNDISR terminology book as *“The systematic process of using administrative directives, organizations, and operational skills and capacities to implement*

strategies, policies and improved coping capacities in order to lessen the adverse impacts of hazards and the possibility of disaster."⁹

It includes sum total of all measures, programs and activities, which can be taken up before, during and after a disaster with the purpose to avert a disaster, reduce its impact or recover from its losses.

Methodology

This study is descriptive and analytical in nature, data was collected from both Primary and Secondary sources. Secondary sources include Pakistan's disaster related laws and policies in Pakistan, and research literature published in various national/international journals. For quantitative data, an international database of disaster "em-dat" was consulted. In quest of Primary data, structured and semi-structured interviews with government officials and experts were conducted. Sample for interview was reached through judgment and snow ball sampling.

Disaster Risk Profile of Pakistan

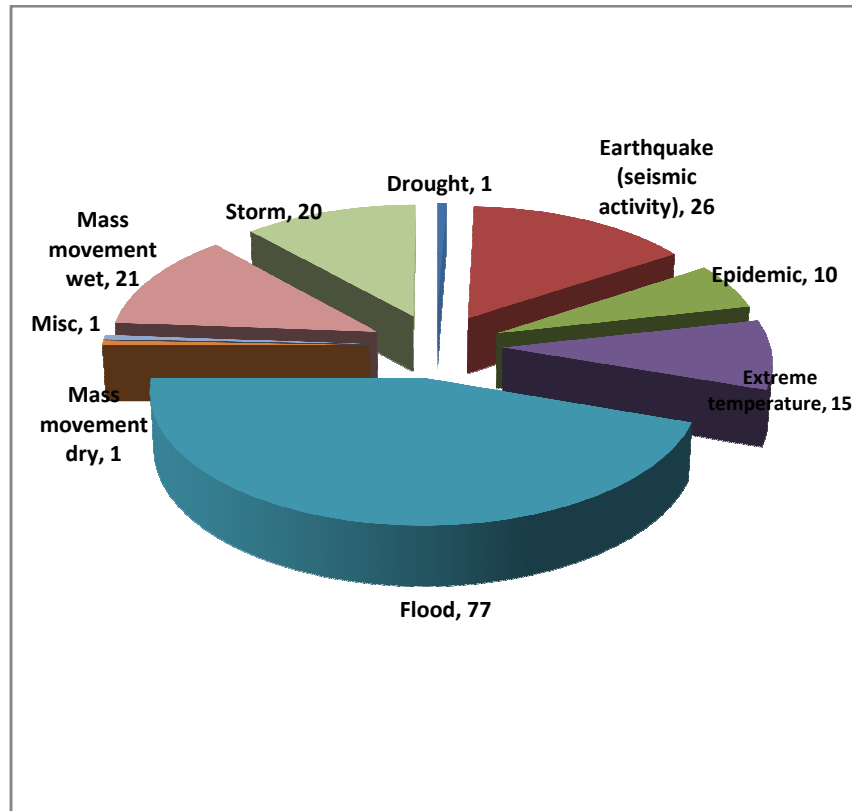
Pakistan with a total area of 796,095 sq km, lies between 24 and 37 degrees north and longitudes 62 and 75 degrees east.¹⁰ Prone to hazards, the region wherein Pakistan lies is geographically bestowed with topographical and environmental extremes.¹¹ Thus, the region hosts all types of terrains and climates, and barely manages extreme conditions.

Disaster History

If we look at the history, statistics of the period 1947 to 2014 lay out Pakistan's disaster profile. One hundred and seventy two natural disastrous events resulted in loss of 11 hundred thousand human lives, left near 9.5 million people homeless and cost an

economic loss of more than 2.6 billion dollars. The pie chart given below describes a more detailed and clearer picture about the disaster history of Pakistan.¹²

Figure-1: The Disaster Occurrence in Pakistan (1947-2014)



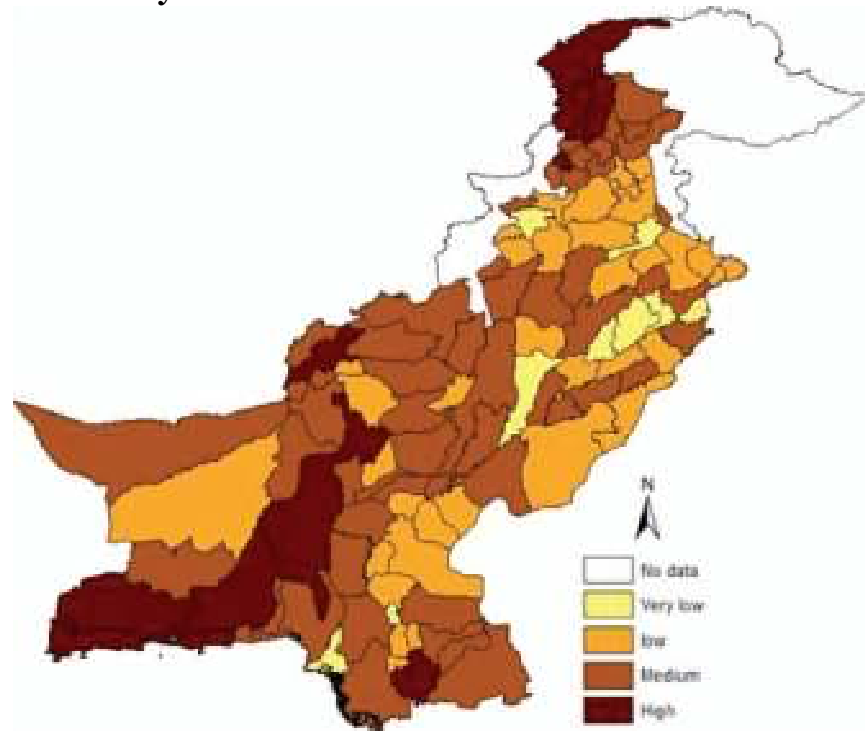
Source: EM-DAT by CRED

(http://emdat.be/advanced_search/index.html)

Vulnerability Profile

The district wise level of vulnerability is mapped.

Figure 2: Patterns of total risk from natural hazards for Pakistan by district



Source: Lubna Rafiq & Thomas Blaschke (2012): Disaster risk and vulnerability in Pakistan at a district level, *Geomatics, Natural Hazards and Risk*, 3:4, 329

According to a study conducted by Lubna Rafiq & Thomas Blaschke in 2012, approximately 6% of the total area of Pakistan is in high risk zones, while 30% is in medium risk zones. Only 27% is considered low risk and 7% very low risk.¹³ While, approximately 2% of total population lives in high risk zones and 18% in moderated risk zones, whereas 38% of the population is in low risk zones. Only 28% of the population lives in very low risk areas.¹⁴

Institutionalization Process of DRM in Pakistan

Since its independence, Pakistan has been facing multilateral challenges; natural disasters are few among them. Previously,

disaster management revolved around the flood management only. It's not the case that mitigation was not taken into account, but Pakistan has been dominated by mindset which has been reactive in nature and all the preparedness was around how to respond. It was not perceived to mitigate the risk. There are a lot of factors, i.e. since independence country was engaged in a geo-political struggle between communism and capitalism, and rivalry with neighbors etc and the focus was on building defensive capability which led to logistic supply chain oriented development. Risk perception has been incorporated, but not as the disaster risk point of view.¹⁵ Although few legal instruments were developed, like the West Pakistan National Calamities (Prevention and Relief) Act of 1958 as first legislation for disaster management, Civil Defense Act, Emergency Relief Cell (ERC) etc but the focus was on management of consequences of the disasters.¹⁶

The world at large has adopted the modern techniques to DRM in as early as 80's. But it remained alien discipline to our part of the world till 2005 earthquake. The new proactive approach to DRM can minimize the adverse effects of a hazard to a large extent. But it was never realized until 2005 earthquake that world has entered in an era where there is not even single country which can bear all these losses single handedly. So with the help of international community the modern concept of DRM was adopted.¹⁷

National Calamities (Prevention and Relief) Act

The West Pakistan National Calamities Act was enforced on 24th April, 1958 to ensure the restoration and maintenance of affected areas by calamities, be it man-made or natural and also the control and relief attached thereto. Earlier a few areas like FATA was not included in the sphere of the Act. Later in 1963 in an attempt to

include such areas in the said statute, the West Pakistan Natural Calamities (Prevention and Relief Act – Extension to Tribal Areas) regulation was approved. In this Act, the ‘response’ to emergencies was primarily focused so it did not look beyond that. Moreover, another important step was suggested with regard to relief, compensation and punishment to law breakers in the wake of calamity.¹⁸

The Civil Defense

The Civil Defense Act was promulgated on 29th April, 1952 in order to secure the Civil Defense and regulate all the matters related thereto. The Act clearly states; the directorate has been mandated to take steps only in situation arising from the holistic attack. Realizing the lacuna existing in the statute, it was attempted to amend the act in 1993 so that its sphere could be expanded to remedial measures against natural as well as man-made disasters. However, the nature of natural disaster management was not changed even after the amendment.¹⁹

Civil Defense services are constituted in two parts, the **Federal Directorate** and **Field Services**. The Directorate was considered to be the dominant organization that was responsible for responding to disasters till 1970. However, gradually a major decline in financial resources and few other political decisions led to a continuous decline in the role and performance. Now Civil Defense has become an almost redundant institution with very limited resources. Now even these resources are being transferred to Emergency Rescue Service ‘1122’.²⁰

Emergency Relief Cell (ERC)

ERC was established back in 1970s in reaction to a cyclone which caused a widespread devastation in former East Pakistan. Its

mandate is to support relief and provision of compensation to calamity hit areas. It works under cabinet division. As per rules of business 1973 the subject of disaster relief has been allocated to Cabinet Division.

In addition, a warehouse of relief goods is also maintained in the capital, Islamabad. Relief Goods Dispatch Organization (GDO) is located in Karachi to receive and dispatch all relief goods from local and foreign agencies during the disaster.

The ERC also maintains an Aviation Squadron consisting of a fleet of 9 helicopters, to assist rescue operations during the disaster and VVIP movements. The ERC also operates the Citizen Damage Compensation Program. This program was launched by the GOP in response to devastating floods 2010.²¹

Federal Flood Commission

Through a resolution dated 4th January 1977, the Federal Flood Commission (FFC) was established to manage flood management issues across Pakistan. The commission was mandated to take only such steps which are necessary in mitigating the effects and impacts of flood. The responsibilities assigned to the commission include the preparation of the national flood protection plans, the improvement of flood forecasting system, the standardisation of specification and designs in the field of flood protection as well as the undertaking of research programmes for flood control and protection.²²

Pakistan Emergency Services Ordinance and Pakistan Emergency and Fire Code

The Pakistan Emergency Service Ordinance and Pakistan Emergency and Fire Code were enacted in 2002. The enactment was actually a reaction to the fire ignited in the Shaheed-e-Millat Secretariat building.²³ Since it affected massive number of people, the government sought to provide for the setting up of a new federal

institution through the aforesaid enactment in order to address such situations in future. The act has also empowered the Pakistan Emergency and Fire Council to formulate and implement any code, rules, regulations and specifications in order to ensure the safety of life and property from fires, explosions and other hazardous materials. Subsequently, an entity was constituted by amalgamating the roles assigned to Civil Defense and Fire Brigade. This entity was mandated to inspect any building or premises having been built in violation of the Pakistan Fire Code. This fact is even more ironic that even after years; the department had still no means to improve discrepancies in its systems.²⁴

Punjab Emergency Service

The skeleton of Punjab Emergency Service was envisaged earlier in 2004 that led to the launching of 1122 service. Thereafter, the governing legislation was approved in 2006.²⁵ The service is mandated to a number of tasks including the sensitive emergency response, medical evacuation, monitoring disaster response, undertaking capacity building and coordinating emergency responses.²⁶

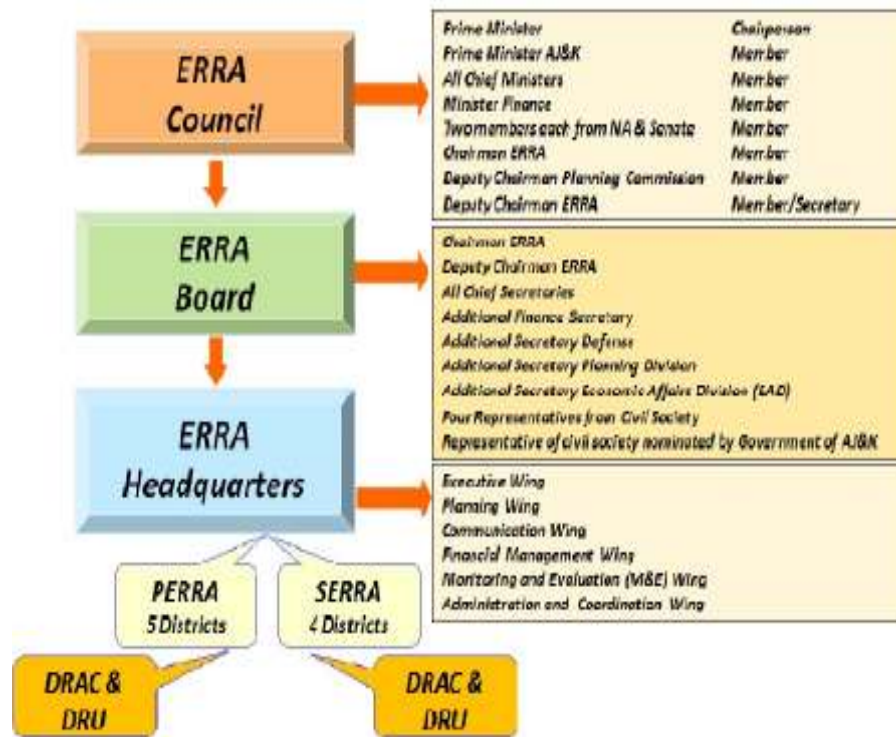
Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (ERRA)

The Earthquake Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Authority (ERRA) appeared immediately after the earthquake. The ordinance was notified by Ministry of Law and Justice and it took effect from November 26, 2009.²⁷ The ERRA Act was enacted on March 14, 2011. However, it was enforced as an ex-post facto law from July 1, 2007.²⁸ It is important to note that the Act aimed to rehabilitate the victims of 2005 earthquake.

The Authority has been vested in with the powers such as to undertake the construction and developmental work, seeking

information from any person or institution (including army and civilian) and the transfer of the works to other government agencies.²⁹

Organizational Framework of ERRA



Post-2005 institutional framework under NDMA Act

The earthquake of October 5, 2005, being the decisive landmark in the institutionalization of DRM under new proactive approach, has played a pivotal role in the development of a comprehensive institutional framework. Pakistan's existing institutional framework was inadequate to deal with the consequences of the massive earthquake. Need for a harmonized and overarching institutional

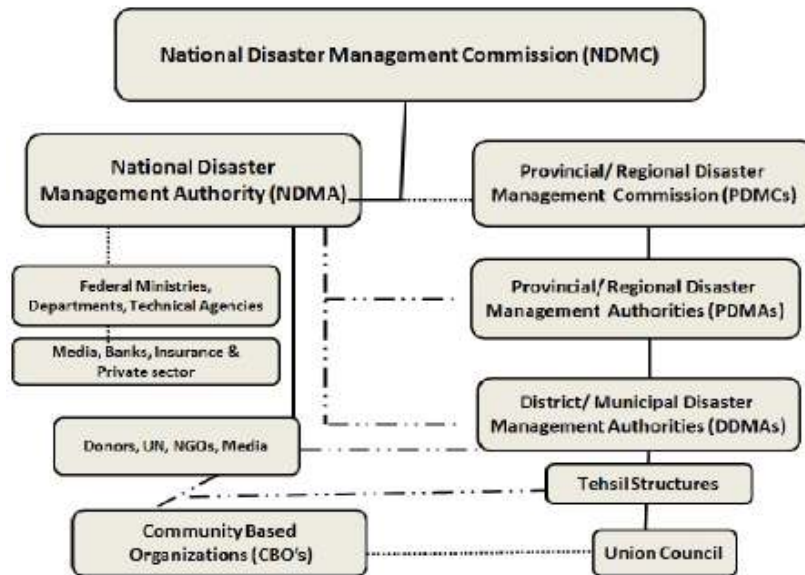
framework was felt that could coordinate the national DM efforts by creating a synergy between domestic and external agencies to mitigate the effects of future disasters. The government has therefore, rolled up its sleeves and came up with pragmatic initiatives in order to establish an effective institutional framework of DRM in Pakistan. The National Disaster Management Commission and Authority (NDMC and NDMA) were established in 2006. Initially, it was enacted as presidential ordinance in 2006 known as National Disaster Management Ordinance (NDMO) 2006. Later on another disastrous event of 2010 floods led to the approval of the very ordinance as act of parliament.³⁰

Therefore, the event of 2005 earthquake has occupied the most dominant role in the institutionalization of DRM by giving birth to the NDMA. Since the significance of new institutional framework of DRM cannot be undermined, this section provides a critical analysis of the newly evolved institutional framework that deals with disaster management.

NDMA Act 2010

Realizing the expediency of an effective DRM system after the devastating event of 2005 earthquake, the National Disaster Management Act was approved by the parliament on August 11, 2010. It deals with the establishment, functions and powers of statutory administrative agency known as NDMA. The legal foundation of the act lies with the resolution passed by all provincial assemblies under the article 144 of the Constitution of Pakistan which says that Parliament may regulate NDMA to overcome unforeseen situations.³¹ The table given below depicts the hierarchy of the new framework tasked to mitigate and prevent the detrimental impacts of natural disaster.

Figure 3: Institutional Framework for Disaster Risk Management: NDMA Act 2010



Source: National Disaster Risk Management Framework of Pakistan - Feb 2014

National Disaster Management Authority

National Disaster Management Commission (NDMC) was established under the NDMA Act. The Commission comprises of members including Prime Minister as the Chairperson of the Commission; Leader of Opposition, key line ministers, Governor (KPK), Chief Ministers of all Provinces, PM AJ&K, Chief Executive of Northern Areas, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and one representative of civil society are the members.³²

The NDMC lays down policies, approves national plans and issues guidelines on DRM. It provides funds and constitutes advisory committees as and when required. National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) is responsible for implementing,

coordinating and monitoring of whole spectrum of DRM under the guidelines and policies laid down by NDMC.³³

Provincial Disaster Management Authority

The Federal structure is replicated in provinces with Provincial Disaster Management Commission (PDMC), headed by their respective Chief Ministers and the same way is responsible for policy making at provincial level. The Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) is headed by a Director General, who is appointed by provincial government. PDMA is responsible for formulation, coordination and implementation of the DRM policies and plans for province.³⁴

District & Local Disaster Management Authorities

District Disaster Management Authority (DDMA) will be chaired by the head of district council and comprise of District Coordination Officer (DCO), District Police Officer (DPO) and Executive District Officer (EDO) Health and other district level officers.³⁵ It will be responsible for formulation, implementation and coordination of national and provincial DRM polices and plans at district level.³⁶

Local authorities under DDMA shall ensure the availability of the relevant human and material resources at time of disaster or disaster threat. Furthermore, the authorities will also ensure enforcing buildings codes in their jurisdiction and carrying out all other pre and post disaster activities.³⁷

The Federal Government shall establish National Institute of Disaster Management (NIDM) for planning and promoting DRM related research, training and development of national data - base on policies, prevention mechanisms and mitigation measures. A national disaster response force shall be established under NDMA

for specialist response to a threatening disaster situation or disaster. Federal and provincial governments shall constitute National and Provincial Disaster Management Funds respectively, which shall be financed by proposed budgetary allocation, grants, loans, aids and donations etc.³⁸

Findings

The analysis of history and process of institutionalization makes it evident that each large scale calamity has been responded by a new set of laws and institutions by the government. Each institutional setup was time bound and situational. The major gaps in the process are its limited scope, reactive nature and redundancy with passage of time. The other major drawback is, while enacting the new laws the old one were never kept in view which ultimately led to the issue of overlapping and conflicting mandate. This reactive nature of policy making undermines the evolutionary process of newly established system.

Until the enforcement of new DRM system, emergency response was the most predominant approach in Pakistan to deal with disasters, although a proactive approach to DRM has been claimed by the authorities from 2005 onwards. One will be astonished to know that the new proactive legislation (NDMO 2006) had lapsed before 2010 floods. So at this point of time the new proactive system was not having the legal footings and mandate to cope with the situation.³⁹ It is another evidence of reactive approach of policy makers towards DRM. This time media played its role in order to put the issue to policy agenda. As policy response to the agenda, same 2006 ordinance was presented to the Parliament, and approved as NDMA Act 2010.

The promulgation of the NDMA Act, formulation of National Disaster Risk Management Framework, National DRR policy and focus on preparedness and DRR instead of being reactive to disasters, can be equated as paradigm shift in DRM. However, this proactive approach had a little impact on changing the mindset but at large mindset of relief still prevails. A disaster can't be averted, because it is beyond human control. The people at helm of affairs win political mileage by providing relief goods to the victims. It is dire need of the time to change this mindset. The policy makers after going through so many workshops, seminars and documents by NGOs can discuss the proactive approach very well, but it never reflected in the measures on ground.⁴⁰

Although at the federal level the system enjoys a little political support but at provincial level the situation is alarming. There has been no PDMC meeting held in the Punjab and Sindh to date, which reflects a lack of ownership of the issue and a trivial level of political support to the DRM system. Now, if we look into third tier "District Level" which is the key point as it connects with the people, the situation is even worse. Here, the subject is handled by an officer (DCO) who has many others job to do in his/her routine work and he/she comes back to this portfolio only when a disaster hits; means there is a dearth of specialized human and financial resources. Rightly narrated by an expert working with an international NGO, "I have yet to come across a district which is actively working on risk mitigation, whereas, in the case of preparedness only those districts which are highly vulnerable or frequently hit by disasters have made progress like contingency planning etc.

The public policy making approach of "bad policy, good politics" can well explain the reasons of lack of political will. The policy

response to DRM in Pakistan can be a good example of this approach. Lack of awareness and sensitization towards DRM in common masses helps public policy makers to attain a big political mileage through such bad policies. This reactive approach to DRM provides opportunity to the political leaders seek maximum media coverage while being among the masses at their difficult times, and to announce a variety of relief packages. This is how this bad policy results in good politics.

Policy Recommendations

- This subject of Disaster Risk Management should be treated as priority. People at the helm of affairs must brush aside this reactive approach not only in the sphere of drafting the policies but also in the implementation process specifically. For instance, DG PDMA Baluchistan shared that he organized a competition of preparing a District Disaster Management plan among all the districts of Baluchistan which motivated all the officials to better prepare themselves for any kind of disasters.⁴¹ It seems to be an excellent practice of engaging the officials proactively. This needs to be replicated in other parts of the country as well.
- The communities should be well aware and sensitized about disaster risk reduction and the institutions should incorporate DRR as an integral part of sustainable development.
- The concerned Institutions should conduct specialized courses and capacity building workshops for the civil servants and people working in the sector.
- The government must initiate awareness campaigns by utilizing effective mass media tools to sensitize and educate

the common masses about the risk reduction mitigation measures.

- The key elements of the subject should be included in the educational curriculum.
- The efforts should be made to resume trainings and exercises like NDC at collage high school level to train the youth for effective disaster management operations.

“We must shift from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention...it is more humane... also much cheaper...”

Kofi Annan, address to the UN General Assembly in 1999.

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BOOK REVIEW

(Umar Farooq Baloch)*

Title of the Book : 'Capital in the Twenty-First Century'
Author's Name : Thomas Piketty
Translated by : Arthur Goldhammer
Publisher : Harvard University Press
Place of Publication : USA
Year of Publication : 2014

Thomas Piketty has accomplished a wonderful study of wealth inequality which possesses an extended appeal in different walks of life. The review of the book "Capital in the Twenty-First Century" includes various parameters of wealth, accounts over already practiced models, and the concepts which appraise the dynamics of capital and wealth distribution at large. The importance of the book lies in, providing more widespread documentation of the phenomenon than formerly existed and predicting its inexorable continuation, based upon an economic law.

The book provides an elegant framework for better understanding of a complex reality, concentrating on what happens to a few among us, of fortunate and privileged class, starting a debate over issues, and functioning of the market system. Piketty frames his arguments on the canvas of economics that provides comprehensive economic models, overarching the Marxist and keynsian point of views for better comprehension, where main

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stream economics buffers the doctrine of economic growth and benefits with logical theoretic attacks.

Furthermore, Piketty highlights two major wars and the period of Great Depression that constituted uncertain circumstances. Another integral factor, Capital in equality has disowned us from our '*democratic sovereignty*'. In this way, his insights are luckily abundant with historic references of economic and political thinking about global competition from French Revolution to present. Moreover to this, the writer instigates the hegemony of upper class and their beneficiaries, as they are afraid to contribute their wealth to human capital, whereas a common individual holder with bottom merits trickles his capital to the descents. The writer predicts that without intervention, inequality of wealth, which exceeds income inequality, becomes more extreme where the top 1% will capture a greater share of the available wealth among the society. The rest among them will do their best but in vain. In this connection, many sources identify the trends of inequality from top to the bottom, the shares remain in the hands on the top. The growing concentration for the capital in fewer hands has enabled its ownership to keep it comparatively scarce and thus valuable. And consequently high inequality leads to economic destabilization. So for as, another aspect to value social democracy is in the form of progressive taxation while tracing the history and economic patterns, analyzing the cause of inequality, and evaluation of policy fixes at large.

Although a criticism seems to esteem Piketty's popularity, representing the return of Marxism, and of course his choice of the title encourages his analysis which is non-Marxist. Marx's attribution to political economy was to discover the linkages

between capital and production on the basis of class power. Marx designated an inequality to production, as well as social and political power accruing to the owners of the means of production, whereas most contemporary attacks on capitalism focus over the issues of the distribution of wealth.

The notable drawback in Piketty`s understanding is that the true value of an asset is stated as it is bought or sold, but he tries to include the value of capital goods in the estimates of wealth where the capital remains a computing number in every day stock calculus, and he does not incorporates the values in real terms. He has hardly convinced the economic scientists with the capital value, ownership of capital stock, and the stock brokers in terms of capital`s economic power.

In other words, Pikkity has not applied the theoretic value to what he had talked earlier, as the indicators have not regarded the true sum of wealth possessed by the financial assets but, what writer shares with us is a series of snapshots which exhibits the distribution, as well as segregation of wealth and the retunes received by the individuals.

Piketetty also denies the socialist approache that may require an ownership of government or of individual to appease the means of production. But according to his perspective, the ownership remains important where the state owned utilities lead to the means of wealth. His conceptual frame work behind this phenomenon is sovereign and liberal distribution of capital in all cores of distribution. He claims that he is a political economist.

The book is comprised of an empirical research conducted in collaboration with renowned scholars and has been brought out after the effort over a fifteen years program. The singular

significance of this book is that the study proves the intuition of 'scientific significance'. Its results are of transformation of what we know about the evolution of income and wealth over the past centuries. There is yet another implication of underlying trends, where wealth tends to grow rapid than the income.

In conclusion, the book provides revolutionary accounts and relives the mission of economics, with the claims that economic discipline is one of the super-sciences of human behaviour as well as in terms of public policy. The fundamental theme Pikky has brought out, the capital and its returns, wealth distribution, economic inequalities, onto the canvas of core discussions