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ISSRA PAPERS VOL-IV, ISSUE-I
CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
• The Anatomy of Crime Terror Nexus in Pakistan <i>Muhammad Fiaz Hussain</i>	1
• Pakistan's Image Dilemma: Quest for Remedial Action <i>Muhammad Shabbir</i>	29
• Demand for New Provinces in Pakistan <i>Muhammad Usman Asghar</i>	59
• Internal and External Factors in Balochistan Conflict <i>Abdul Rauf Iqbal</i>	79
• United States Interests in Asia-Pacific: Implications for Pakistan <i>Asma Sana</i>	103
• China's Containment Syndrome: Revisiting the Issue from Pakistani Perspective <i>Afifa Kiran</i>	127
• Narco-Trade and Conflict Resolution: A Case-Study of Afghanistan <i>Mehvish Nigar Qureshi</i>	153
• US Rebalancing Towards Asia Pacific: Southeast Asia Responds <i>Sobia Hanif</i>	169
• On War by Deception-Mind Control to Propaganda: From Theory to Practice <i>Mahroona Hussain Syed</i>	195

THE ANATOMY OF CRIME TERROR NEXUS IN PAKISTAN

Muhammad Fiaz Hussain

Abstract

A phenomenon of “Criminal-Terrorism” is replacing “Religious Terrorism” in Pakistan. A plethora of criminal gangs and mafias have been found to be collaborating with the banned militant bandits in the country. It seems that they are cohabiting in a symbiotic relationship. The terrorists are financed by the crime and in return; due to instability created by the terrorists, the crime thrives very rapidly. Terrorism has become a profit making industry whose raw material comes from Crime: organized as well as disorganized. The industry is booming because the raw material is bulging. Abduction for ransom, bank robberies, illicit car lifting, small arms smuggling and proliferation, drug trafficking, money laundering, and Hawala System are rampant and terrorism thriving on this fertile soil. The counter insurgency strategies have not brought forth expected results so far, because the focus has been misplaced: much on terrorism and less on crime. It is asserted, therefore, that the war on terror cannot be won without the war on crime and a two pronged anti Crime-Terror strategy is needed. It is argued that if the arteries of crime are not cut, the blood will flow to the terrorist muscles. And a change of approach from religion to crime is needed to fight Terrorism.

Introduction

A remarkable convergence of interest between the Criminal and Terrorist groups has taken place in the post 9/11 era. Before this incident, the states used to covertly fund the Terrorist groups. But after the Global War on Terror, that economic assistance stopped because of the US pressure on those states. Resultantly, the Terrorist groups have fallen on the alternate sources of income. Crime has the potential to feed them. So, an unholy nexus has developed between the Crime and Terror whose dynamics have yet to be studied adequately.

In Pakistan, Terrorism has become a profit making industry whose raw material comes from Crime: organized as well as disorganized. The industry is booming because the raw material is bulging. Abduction for ransom, bank robberies, illicit car lifting, small arms smuggling and proliferation, drug trafficking, money laundering and Hawala System are rampant and terrorism thriving on this fertile soil.

The Crime-Terror Nexus has two operational methods: one, structural; two, functional. Structurally, the Terrorists physically interact with the Criminal gangs and mafias. They trade of their organizational expertise and small weapons with the black money of Criminals. Functionally, the Terrorists behave like chameleons: they act as criminals daytime, and as terrorist at night. This phenomenon of “Criminal-Terrorism” has adopted new dynamics in Pakistan, different from “Religious-Terrorism”.

Therefore, it is asserted that the war on terror cannot be won without the war on crime. So a sustainable, two pronged anti Crime-Terror strategy is needed. It is argued that if the arteries of crime are not cut, the blood will flow to the terrorist muscles. A change of approach from religion to crime is needed to fight Terrorism. Moreover, a lethal transnational nexus between Crime and Terror warrants an equally forceful transnational cooperation among the states.

This study conceptualizes the Crime-Terror Nexus in Rosenau's "Post international Paradigm", Makerenko's "Continuum Theory" and Dishman's concept of "Leaderless Nexus". It concludes that the symbiotic relationship of Crime and Terror is impeding the state to protect the life and property of its citizens. In the end, a two pronged strategy is recommended to fight Crime and Terrorism Simultaneously.

Conceptual Framework

In the post Cold War era, the criminal gangs and the terrorist groups have born as evil twins. They have formed a multifaceted relation best described as the "Nexus". This Crime-Terror nexus has been rarely studied. But, as both the terrorist and the organized groups are posing a serious challenge to the security and sovereignty of the state, numerous discussions are going on that hyphenate Crime with Terror in their premises. Anyhow, the Scholars are engaged in the rudimentary and preliminary discussion of the subject yet, that means the scope and the nature of this emerging Nexus is yet to be defined. The structural linkages and the functional

dynamics of this Nexus could be best framed in Rosenau's Post internationalism paradigm, in the murky rather turbulent global affairs.¹

It is the age of post internationalism. The relative relevance of Nation-States is diminishing rapidly. Non State actors, both groups and individuals, have emerged as a significant variable in every security equation. Their peculiar character is that they behave like independent variable. Therefore, non-state actors like Criminal gangs and Terrorist groups need to be studied in a post national approach, rather than classic state centric approach of the realists. It will provide an analytical framework commensurate with the new dynamics of post cold war era.

Post international paradigm defines the relationship with its premise, "individuals fulfilling multiple goals". Individual level of analysis has been given more importance than the state level analysis of the realist paradigm. In contemporary world, individuals have different roles and they construct different organizations simultaneously. The nature of the organization is defined by the individual roles of the constituent units and not the vice versa. If the analysis of Crime and Terror groups is taken as organizations, not just the agents of change, their dynamics can best be understood. Instead of discussing organizational capabilities and power basis, the relational concept vis-à-vis Crime and Terror groups provides better insight into the relations. In this regard the relational concept is "Control". Control of an actor is defined

as, “to modify, preserve, or otherwise affect the orientations or actions of another”.²

Two kinds of continua are formed when post international paradigm defines control. One, deals with the methods of control; second deals with the reaction to that control. Methods of control originate from the controllers and make a continuum from least violent to the most violent. Whereas, the reaction comes from the controlled; ranging from acceptance to rejection of the control. The focus on the repetition of these relational concepts is very significant to the study of Crime-Terror Nexus. Picarelli is of the view that “authority” comes from the controllers, whereas “legitimacy” comes from the controlled.³ Legitimacy is vital to this relational fabric because it gives the clear indications that it is the controlled that make this relationship very dynamic by accepting or rejecting the authority. The projected goals and behavior of the Criminal and Terrorist groups can better be gauged by these relational factors of control, authority and legitimacy. Figuratively, the idea follows as:

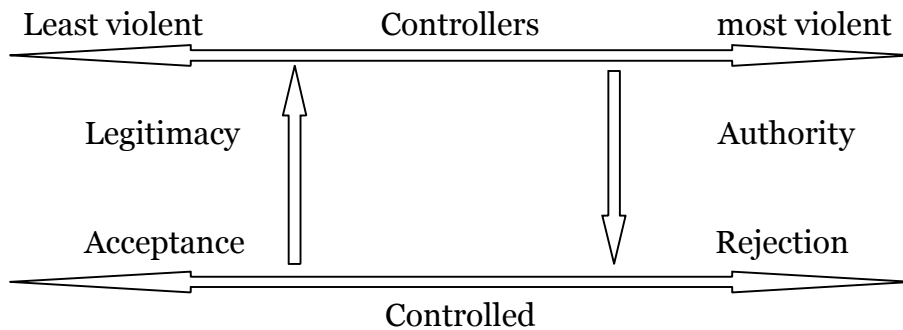


Figure 1

In this post-international paradigm, the non-state actors like criminal and terrorist groups reject the authority of the state and have many reasons to be in league with each other against the state. Before we move toward the main theme of rationale, methods and scope of any non-state nexus pitted against the state, we discuss the nature of these actors in brief first.

Picarelli categorizes the Criminal and Terrorist groups into Sovereign bound and sovereign free groups, by using the above mentioned post internationalist relational concepts.⁴ The Sovereign bound Criminal and Terrorist groups share commonality in controlling a region of the state, while supplanting the sovereignty of the state with the legitimacy of that locality. The second remarkable commonality is that both possess an organizational hierarchy in their structures. Perhaps they want to establish a parallel government with that of the state. Their third character is that their members eschew an ideology which is embedded locally. So, they tend to look inward habitually rather than transcending state borders. Shelley has pointed out their habitual behavior in changing circumstances because of their attachment to the local area and the illicit profits attached to it.⁵

The factor of ideology may bring schism to the Crime-Terror Nexus too. The argument, “Methods not Motives” brings clarity that the traditional Criminal and Terrorist groups may have similar methods but differ in their motives. As, the traditional Crime groups are strongly tied with host

states whose very sovereignty, the Terrorist groups challenge. So, the Sovereign bound Crime group and the Sovereign bound Terrorist group are difficult to live cheek by jowl. Their relation is precarious, and the Nexus will be unviable. On the contrary, the Sovereign free Criminal group and the Sovereign bound Terrorist group pose a challenge to the “Methods not Motives” argument. As according to Shelley, the undermining of sovereignty by the Terrorist group will not blur the relationship with the Sovereign free Criminal group.⁶

The religious Terrorist groups, not necessarily sectarian; do not regard the sovereignty of the state sacred. They belong to the Sovereign free category. As in the words of Hoffman, “For the religious terrorist, violence is first and foremost a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative. Terrorism thus assumes a transcendental dimension, and its perpetrators are consequently unconstrained by the political, moral or practical constraints that may affect other terrorists.”⁷ Moreover, the Sovereign free Criminal Groups and the Terrorist groups have benefited a lot from the revolution in the technology. They can better adapt to the changes while working through their networks. They have decentralized their decision making power to the networks and have become ruthlessly resilient. Stern has discussed this adaptability in the case of Al Qaeda as, “Over its life span, al Qaeda has constantly evolved and shown a surprising willingness to adapt its mission. This capacity for change has consistently made the group more

appealing to recruits, attracted surprising new allies, and—most worrisome from a Western perspective—made it harder to detect and destroy.”⁸ The other similarity between the two is their global world view. Both of them transcend the national boundaries. The sovereign bound and sovereign free groups are typified in the tabulation form as:

Type	Sovereign Bound	Sovereign Free
Sovereignty	Bound	Free
Adaptability	Habitual	Adaptive
Organization	Hierarchy	Network
World View	Local	Global
Examples	TTP, Lashkar e Jhangvi, Sipah e Sahaba, Sipah e Muhammad	Al Qaeda, TNSM, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jundullah

Table 1

It is important to note that the sovereign free terrorist groups have relative ease to collaborate with criminal groups. It is because due to the global crack down on the hierarchy of these groups, new dynamics in the organization of these illicit groups have emerged. It has led to the diminishing of hierarchy, and flattening of the organization into self sustaining networks. The emergence of networks in both the terrorist and the criminal groups has led to greater independence of lower but relatively large stratum of the organization. Now, they do not have to answer a chain of

command. Earlier, such cooperation was difficult to achieve as the leaders forbade because that could go against the mandate of the group. The result is that a phenomenon of “leaderless nexus” has emerged.⁹

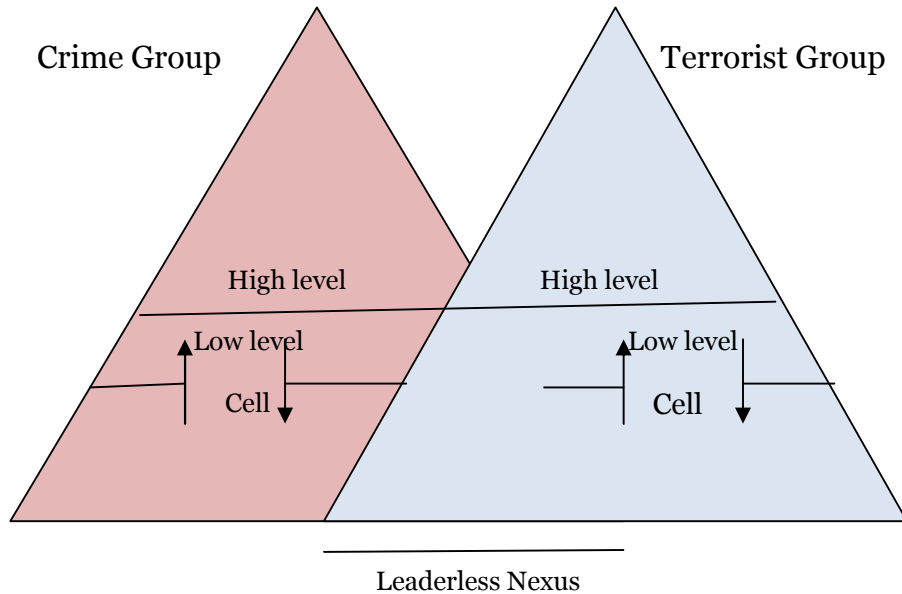


Figure 2

The figure shows that the decentralization has blurred the crime terror boundaries. The self sustaining cells have emerged, and act like nodes connected with each other. These nodes collaborate in methods, and exchange expertise. This convergence leads to hybrid organization best termed as “Leaderless Nexus”.

Makerenko sees the Crime-Terror Nexus in the form of a continuum.¹⁰ The crime and terror groups tend to converge towards each other. But, it is important to note that it is the marriage of convenience, not of affection. Before September

11, 2001, the states covertly used to fund different terrorist groups throughout the Globe. But due to the War on Terror, the economic aid flowing through state exchequers has decreased significantly. So, the terrorist groups started to engage in criminal activities for the generation of their revenues. A kind of complicated relationship has developed between the terrorist and criminal groups. The relation is both structural and functional. The criminals and the terrorist collaborate, provide technical assistance, expertise, weapons, and money to each other; and sometimes are directly involved in each other's activities.

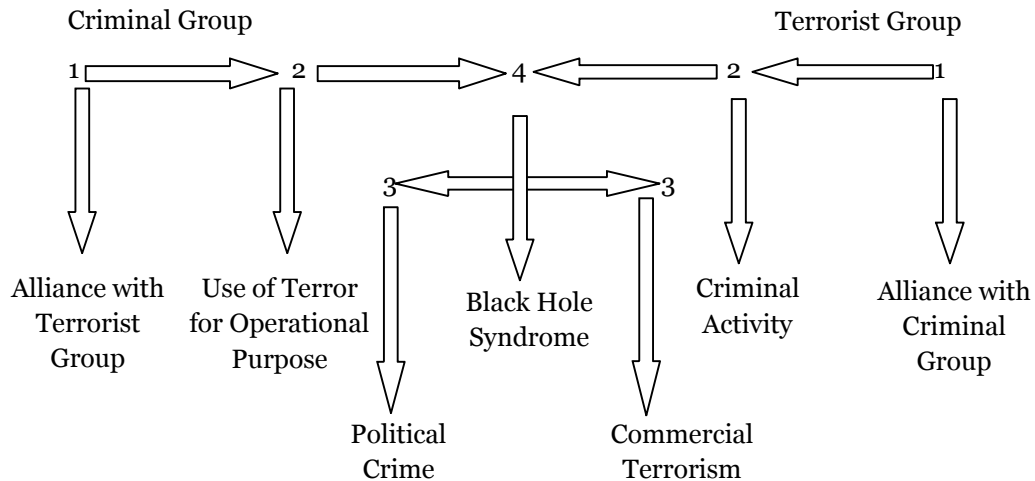


Figure 3

The figure above can better figurate their relation with each other. If we start from the left, the first point is where a criminal group makes an alliance with the terrorist group. The relationship is interest based. There are no ideological roots common to both the groups. This alliance is very precarious

because of few factors. The crime group wants status quo, while the terrorist group challenges it. The terrorist groups strive to come under limelight, but the criminal groups would not want to bring attention of the law enforcement agencies. The motives of a terrorist group are mainly political, but that of a crime group are solely economic. Therefore, the leader of a criminal gang will be cautious to put it in the same bed with the terrorist group.

So, the alliance is very difficult to achieve. But there are some opportunities for both of them to make some functional relationship whose goals have been discussed earlier. If the crime group adopts the techniques of the terrorist group, a second point on the continuum is achieved. At this point, the crime group uses terror for the operational purpose. The third point is reached, when the collaboration is made for the commitment of political crime. Conversely, from the right side of the continuum is the converse relationship of point one from the left. The second point shows the involvement of the terrorist group in criminal activity. The third point of relationship shows the terrorist group carrying out commercial terrorism. So, in this relationship, varying degrees of cooperation and collaboration is worked out till both the groups reach the Black Hole Syndrome. It is the grey area where the boundaries are blurred. The trans-boundary exchange of personnel is frequent. And the scope of activities at this point of relationship is such that it is difficult to

decipher that who is who and which is which. A strong nexus, rather a virtual merger of the groups takes place.

This theoretical debate concludes on the point that post internationalism defines the relational factors of Crime-Terror Nexus. The methods not motives argument which denies any link between the two does not hold water due to the dynamics of ever changing nature of the relationship. Second, due to the modern compulsions these groups have been decentralized into sustainable networks, which provide better opportunities for the crime and terror groups to converge structurally and collaborate functionally: hence a “leaderless nexus”. Third, the nexus is too fluid to be identified in discrete form due to the organizational compulsions, and monetary problems of these groups. Hence, we have reached a conclusion that there is an absolute chance of an evil Nexus between the terrorist and the criminal groups.

Terrorist Groups in Pakistan

Terrorism in Pakistan is pandemic. The losses to life and property are dangerously high.¹¹ Many terrorist groups are entrenched in the society who are at war with both the state and the society. Some of these groups are sovereign bound and some are sovereign free. A brief account of banned terrorist group is given below.

- **Al-Qaeda:** Formed in 1988, Al-Qaeda is a global terrorist organization banned by the United Nations Security Council.¹² Its upper hierarchy was apprehended to be in Pakistan after US Attack on

Afghanistan in 2001. It worked in the form of decentralized networks. Many of its leaders have been caught or dead, the last one to be Osama bin Laden, its founding father. Formed against the US imperialism, its goal has been global jihad of political Islam against the west. But, Al-Qaeda is thought to be extinct in Pakistan.¹³

- **Haqqani Network:** Haqqani Network, first nurtured by the US against the Soviets, has declared war against the US since 1994.¹⁴ Its prominent leaders are Jalaluddin Haqqani and Sirajuddin Haqqani. The network fights against the NATO and ISSAF in Afghanistan and alleged to be involved many bomb attacks in Afghanistan. So, it is also a sovereign free terrorist group. The Network was banned by the US executive order in November 2001.¹⁵ It has been alleged by US Ambassador Ryon Cocker to be involved in the bomb attacks on US Embassy in Afghanistan.¹⁶
- **Jaish-e-Muhammad:** Literally meaning the Army of Muhammad, it was founded by Maulana Masood Azhar in 2000. Its basic aim was to expel Indian forces from Jammu and Kashmir. It is largely a sovereign bound group, but it shares some contacts with Al Qaeda and Sipah Sahaba. In 2002, Pakistan banned the group. And it split into two wings with new names, the Jamaatul Furqan and the Khudame Islam. Maulana Azhar founded Al Rahmat Trust which gave financial

assistance to the group. The Attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001, and the hijacking of Indian airline 155 in 1999 and different attacks on the Christian minorities in Pakistan are alleged to be wrought out by this banned outfit.

- **Jundullah:** Jundullah is Operating against the Iranian Regime since 2003. It is led by Muhammad Dahir Baluch. It has conducted many attacks on Iran for the equal rights of Salafis in Iran. The most violent attacks were the attack on Iranian President in 2005, Zahedan Bombing in 2007, and Chah Bahar in 2010. It is officially labeled as terrorist by the US as well.¹⁷
- **Lashkar-e-Jhangvi:** It was formed by Riaz Basra, Akram Lahori, and Malik Ishaq in 1996, when they broke away from their parent Sipah Sahaba.¹⁸ Pakistan and the US have banned the group.¹⁹ It is mainly a sectarian group involved in the massacres of Shia Muslims in Pakistan.
- **Lashkar-e-Taiba:** Formed in 1990, it is the largest and well organized terrorist group of South Asia. Its leader is Hafiz Muhammad Saeed. And its motives are expelling the Indian forces from Kashmir and Pan Islamism in South Asia.²⁰ The attacks on Indian Parliament in 2001 and the Mumbai Attacks 2008 are the major terrorist attacks of the group. Its political wing Jamaat ud dawa has also been banned by the UN after the Mumbai attacks.

- **Sipah-e-Muhammad:** It is a Shia militant group which was formed in early 1990's in a reaction to the militant activity of Sipah Sahaba.²¹ It was banned in 2001 by Pakistan. Its founder was Mureed Abbas Yazdani.
- **Sipah-e-Sahabah:** It was formed in 1980's to deter Shia influence in Pakistan in wake of Iranian Revolution in 1979. Maulana Haq Nawaz Jhangvi, Azam Tariq, Ziaurehman Farooqi and Eesarulhaq Qasmi founded Anjuman Sipah Sahaba in 1985.²² It was banned by musharaf in 2002. It is widely accused of sectarian violence in Pakistan against Shia Muslims.
- **Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhamadi:** It is a militant rebel organization formed in 1992 by Sufi Muhammad for the purpose of establishing Sharia law in Pakistan. The group was banned by Pakistan in 2002.²³ It took control of Swat in 2007 and attacked Buddhist sculptures. Pakistan Army conducted an operation to clean Swat from it successfully in 2009.
- **Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan:** Fighting mainly against Pakistani forces in FATA area, Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan was formed by Baitullah Mehsood in 2007 with the coalition of seven militant groups. Although it is separate from the Taliban groups in Afghanistan, it also targets the US in wake of drone strikes in Fata. Moreover, it has links with Al Qaeda and other militant groups.²⁴ Among many, Terrorist

Activities the group is accused of assassinating Benazir Bhutto on December 27, 2007.²⁵

Organized Crime in Pakistan

As the state is busy in fighting terrorism, Crime in Pakistan has not been given commensurate attention with respect to the gravity of the issue. Crime is sapping the economy. It has become an illicit source of revenue. There is a huge potential of Crime to feed terrorism in Pakistan as well. The actual and potential sources of crime which could run the industry of terrorism are discussed below:

- **Abduction for Ransom:** Kidnapping is rampant in Pakistan. It is a quick source which pays fast and in abundance. Every region, every class, and every age group is largely affected by this crime. Professional and business classes are equally affected. Mostly, the ransom is paid. And rarely, law enforcement agencies are allowed to intervene. It has become a profitable occupation. In year 2010, 16,977 cases of abduction were registered.²⁶
- **Bank Robberies:** Bank Robberies have increased in recent years. The commercial hubs of Pakistan like Karachi are attacked through bank robberies. The money has the potential to feed the terrorist groups working throughout the country. The biggest bank robbery in Pakistan happened in December, 2009 in Allied Bank Karachi. It was worth Rs. 500 million.²⁷

- **Hawala System:** Unofficial transfer of money is the other potential source of income for the terrorists. After the states applied a strong check on the flows of money through banks, the terrorists are financed through this informal system of money transfer. Almost Rs. 500 billion are transacted in Pakistan through Hawala System.²⁸
- **Illicit Drug Trafficking:** Drug trafficking is the main source of terrorists. It is the traditional link between the terrorists and the criminals. Ninety percent of world opium is supplied by Afghanistan, whose 30% is trafficked through Pakistan.²⁹ It has led to the phenomenon of Narco-Terrorism. The UNODC reports Pakistan's Gawadar port being used in narcotics trafficking from Afghanistan.³⁰
- **Illicit Firearms Trafficking:** Small weapons are smuggled because they are a rich source of income and easily transferred from one place to the other. Secondly, they are also used in the street crimes as well as by the terrorist groups. According to a report, 40% of arms made in Darra Adam Khel are used by the terrorists.³¹
- **Illicit Trafficking in Stolen Motor Vehicles:** In the urban areas, the law and order situation is deteriorating. Motor vehicles are the hot cakes for the criminal groups who are left scot free. The vehicles stolen in the urban areas are trafficked to the FATA

illicitly. A rampant illicit trade of these vehicles takes place, under the hand of terrorist groups. About 1100 vehicles whose price is worth Rs. 200 billion are stolen every year in Pakistan.³²

- **Money Laundering:** It is the crime of hiding the source of illegal money. According to a report, Pakistan is not involved in money laundering. But it is feared that drug smugglers use money laundering in their trade extensively.³³ The Government of Pakistan has passed a strict anti money laundering law in 2010. Many money laundering cases have been caught as well, especially Khanani and Kalia case in 2008.
- **Transnational Economic Crimes:** Miscellaneous economic crimes like fraud, white color crime, counterfeit of documents can also source the terrorist group.

Crime-Terror Nexus in Pakistan

Crime thrives and Terror prevails in a society where state apparatus is weak. This is the hard fact of post international era that equally applies to Pakistan. A plethora of criminal gangs and numerous militant bandits is operating in Pakistan. There is a likelihood of collaboration in their activities. Due to various reasons, their interests converge. And it seems that they are cohabiting in a symbiotic relationship. Crime feeds terrorism. Conversely, terrorism nourishes crime. In Pakistan, this situation has developed due to two main reasons. First, the terrorists generate money from crime necessary for their

activity. Earlier, Saudi Arabia, the US, UAE, and Iran funded them. But when the Frankenstein monsters turned upon their masters, the economic assistance stopped. Heavy sanctions followed. Therefore, the terrorists turned to a wide range of illicit and illegal sources of income. Second, in some instances the crime groups trade off money with weapons and expertise of the terrorists. So, a dynamic nexus between crime and terror has emerged.

The phenomenon of Crime-Terror Nexus has emerged. And the relation is much like a rider-host relation. Terrorism being the rider uses much of the benefits from Crime. So, the focus of this study has been on this aspect of the relation. It is noteworthy, that the Nexus can be dissected into two aspects: one, structural relationship; two, functional relation. The instances of structural relationship are many. For example, a doctor who was abducted for ransom was interviewed.³⁴ He told his story that first a criminal group abducted him and then sold him ultimately to Talibans through a series of purchasers and buyers. His family had to pay Rs. 4.3 million for ransom. Second example is the funding of D-Company to Lashkar e Taiba in Pakistan. In addition to real estate business, D- Company earns black money through pirating electronic films,³⁵ abduction, smuggling of arms, and Contract killing.³⁶ The third example is the financing of Al- Rahmat Trust to militant groups like Al-Qaeda and Lashkar e Taiba.³⁷

The functional relationship includes terrorists involved in criminal activity. Here, Rosenau's theory applies aptly which

focuses on “individuals fulfilling multiple roles”. The Terrorists act like chameleons: they are terrorist by day and criminal by night. Since there is no terrorist bank in the world, the terrorists get themselves into criminal activities. These crimes include Abduction for Ransom, Bank Robberies, Hawala System, Illicit drug trafficking, Illicit firearms trafficking, Illicit trafficking in stolen motor vehicles, Money laundering, and Transnational economic crimes to name a few. In the following paragraphs the criminal activities of the terrorist groups are highlighted.

Being the Commercial hub of the country, Karachi provides many opportunities to the terrorists to generate their revenue. A story covered by the *New York Times* heads as: “Organized Crime in Pakistan Feeds Taliban.” It says that militants are actively involved in kidnapping of business class people, and robbing the banks. A police man was interviewed and he revealed that the terrorists earn 10% of their income through kidnapping.³⁸ A multimedia video shows an interview of a militant who had fled from Swat operation and settled in the sub-urban area of Karachi. He reveals that Karachi has become the main hideaway of the militants. A large number of them have got settled and they generate revenues through crime in Karachi. That money is used back in home areas where militancy is rampant.³⁹

In an interview, a police officer said, “We started seeing a different kind of crime — more professional, more aggressive. We realized these criminals were linked to jihadis”.⁴⁰

US private crime investigator Bill Warner wrote an interesting article where he revealed that how “the stolen cars of Al Qaeda financed Osama bin Laden”.⁴¹ Stolen motor vehicles are the other source of income the terrorists generate. Due to the deteriorating law and order situation, cars are stolen from the urban areas and kept in the unruly areas of FATA. There, they are sold to finance terrorism. Mostly, the stolen vehicles are used in the terrorist activity. A policeman has reported that by stopping car theft we have seen a remarkable decrease in terrorist activity in Islamabad.⁴²

A dangerous nexus has been developed between the drug mafias and the terrorists in Pakistan. The UN report apprehends that the opium output of Afghanistan is about US \$3 trillion. Even a fraction of the export can finance the Terrorists. It further says that drug trafficking has provided funds for the insurgency, including the transit roots.⁴³ In this case Pakistan. The International Narcotics Control Board reports that the annual income of Taliban from narcotics in 2007 can be estimated between \$259 million to \$ 518 million.⁴⁴ Even, Pakistan’s Gawadar port has been reported to be used in Narco-Terrorism.⁴⁵

Small Arms proliferation in Pakistan, especially in Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa and FATA has militarized the society and created large scale instability.⁴⁶ The AK 47 Culture in Pakistan has fueled the militancy in Pakistan. Small weapons have been smuggled through Afghanistan from Russia for the last three decades. The insurgency in Kashmir developed a nexus

between the small arms suppliers and the fighters in Kashmir. According to a report, about 100 factories are producing weapons in Darra. This weaponry and the explosives are purchased by the Talibans. According to a political analyst, “the militants are the permanent customers of the weapons factories”.⁴⁷

Through money laundering and counterfeit, transnational organized crime, and Hawala system, money flows through illegal veins to help the terrorists. Hawala is the most fluid source for the terrorists to use. A case in India was identified where Lashkar e Taiba received Indian Rs. 4.1 million.⁴⁸

In short, the terrorists are financed by the crime and in return; due to instability created by the terrorists, the crime thrives in Pakistan. The focus of law enforcement agencies is much on terrorism and less on crime. They are in a symbiotic relationship. As the new dynamics of the nexus emerge, more opportunities of the collaboration will emerge and a more forceful and sustainable threat of Crime and Terror will impede Pakistan in protecting life and property of its citizens.

Policy and Operational Recommendations

- A comprehensive, two pronged strategy to clamp down upon Crime-Terror Nexus simultaneously is needed. Because, the war against terrorism cannot be separated from the fight against organized crime.
- A regional approach of inter-state cooperation in sharing intelligence, technology and expertise is

needed, because this nexus is engulfing South Asia indiscriminately.

- Improvement of intelligence using scientific techniques, and enforcement of the law enforcing agencies.
- An enhanced inter-agency cooperation, even intermediary networks between anti terrorist squads and other law enforcement agencies must be developed.
- Instead of banning the groups, efforts must be done to stop their financing.
- Legislation to check financing through banks. e.g. Anti Money Laundering Act 2010
- Enforcement activity on the border area of Pakistan and India to stop small arms proliferation and drug smuggling.
- A sustained anti terrorist campaign which also includes clamping down on crime, specifically where the Nexus is emerging rapidly.

Conclusion

The Crime and Terror in Pakistan are in a symbiotic relationship. The illicit sources of crime are enriching the Terrorist industry, because the licit sources are dried up. So a phenomenon of “Criminal-Terrorism” is replacing “Religious Terrorism”. Therefore, “a combined anti Crime-Terror” strategy must be adopted to eliminate the scourge of this Nexus. A paradigm shift from religion to crime is essential to

deal with terrorism in Pakistan. Therefore, the bottom line is: The war against terrorism cannot be separated from the fight against organized crime.

End Notes

¹ J. Rosenau, (1990) *Turbulence in World Politics*, Princeton University Press. While Rosenau has published two books that build on the post international paradigm, the core essence of the paradigm and its best expression are found in turbulence. Therefore all citations to Rosenau refer to this volume unless otherwise noted.

² J. Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A theory of change and continuity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 183.

³ John T. Picarelli, "The Turbulent Nexus of Transnational Organized Crime and Terrorism: A theory of malevolent International Relations," *Global Crime*, 7:1 (2006), 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12

⁵ L. Shelley, "The unholy trinity: transnational crime, corruption and terrorism," *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 11:2 (Spring 2005), 101-11.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ B. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 92.

⁸ J. Stern, "The Protean Enemy," *Foreign Affairs*, 82:4 (July August 2003), 28.

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PAKISTAN'S IMAGE DILEMMA: QUEST FOR REMEDIAL ACTION

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Abstract

Pakistan has been a frontline participant in the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). In performing this role, it has sacrificed immensely in terms of men and material. However, despite its concerted efforts, it has been depicted quite negatively in the global media. As a result, it is perceived as a dangerous country, tarnishing its standing in the comity of nations. There is a popular view in Pakistan that the 'West' is deliberately creating this poor image which in turn is affecting the country's developmental process. Hence, this paper endeavours to analyze the tangible and intangible factors involved in this pursuit. Specifically it highlights factors like: the nation's inability in reaching a consensus regarding its own internal identity, its ideological mooring, the socio-political environment and the war on terrorism.

Introduction

"The two most precious things this side of the grave are our reputation and our life. But it is to be lamented that the most contemptible whisper may deprive us of the one, and the weakest weapon of the other."

Charles Caleb Colton.

For one reason or the other, Pakistan like other countries like Iran, Afghanistan and Somalia etc has a serious image dilemma which needs to be improved. The term “image” became popular in the 1950s which can be defined as, “The opinion or concept of something which is held by the public; or a mental representation of something; a mental picture or impression, an idea, concept.”¹

Thus, image is all about creating perceptions, but what does that mean? The word perception can be defined as the act of comprehending through the sense of the mind, cognition or awareness”; its origin is Latin verb “*percipere*” which means “gathering in”. Therefore, perception can be explained as a process through which humans collect information and a source for how humans understand things.²

However, image is not a phenomenon that can be easily manipulated to hide the facts. It is well understood within the business community that synthetic or false images invariably cause damage sooner or later, which is why Barry Day argues for honesty in his book on marketing.³

Various commentators, businessmen and marketing experts argue that image must reflect the actual characteristics of a nation or the real behaviour of its people.⁴ The image of a nation is usually the result of biases or prejudices held by others. It would neither appear suddenly, nor disappear quickly as it often grows over long period of time.⁵

In this context, it is obvious that Pakistan suffers from a chronic negative image problem and it is getting worse day by

day. The global media, foreign think tanks, international academia, even government representatives are almost unanimous in portraying Pakistan as a 'problematic' nation. In essence we can say that Pakistan has become the target of a global media war,⁶ which it seems to be losing. In global and national media nearly all significant news coverage and analytical comments about Pakistan are negative or hostile.

However, in response to this ruthless assault, Pakistan is not using a single world-scale media weapon to counter the attack.⁷ According to former Information Minister Javed Jabbar, "While not being physically destructive, the media war, in one sense, is worse. It erodes and diminishes the contours of our true identity in the minds of billions of people exposed to overseas media."⁸

Nevertheless, this negativity is a serious obstacle in Pakistan's relations with other countries, specifically with the U.S. While public opinion and international relations are subject to change overnight, the influence that the media demonstrates over policy-makers, academia, and common men alike, remain consistent. Thus, the key to repairing and building Pakistan's international image is media management and utilization of soft power.

Improving Pakistan's Bad Image Using Soft Power

Every Pakistani deems it obligatory to improve the flawed image of its country. But can it be totally improved? Professor William Benoit's "Image Repair Theory" implies that an image might be improved but may not be entirely restored.⁹

Countries also try to repair their image as Saudi Arabia did after the incident of 9/11.¹⁰ Clearly, a favourable Image for Pakistan is the need of the hour, and whatever could be, tarnished images need to be repaired. In this process use of soft power could be most helpful.

“Soft power” is a concept developed by Joseph Nye in his 1990 book to describe “the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce and using force or money as a means of persuasion to get the outcomes you want.”¹¹ There are three broad categories of soft power: culture, political values and policies. It is also called the second face of power that indirectly allows you to obtain the outcomes you want.¹²

According to Nye by using soft power, "a country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries – admiring its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness – want to follow it. In this sense, it is also important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics.¹³

Nye asserts that, "“Seduction is always effectual than coercion, and many values like democracy, human rights, and individual opportunities are deeply seductive.”¹⁴ Soft power is hampered when policies, culture, or values repel others instead of attracting them. In addition, soft power extends beyond the operations of government altogether, to the activities of the private sector and to society and culture at large.¹⁵

It's high time for Pakistan to start investing in soft power and start using media as an instrument of promoting its soft image all over the world. Some recommendations to improve Pakistan's image are given separately in this paper. But before proceeding further, it is necessary to understand the global and national entities that create negative perceptions of the country. The following sections will have an insight in to them.

Pakistan's Image Abroad: Drawing the Picturesque

Globally, print and electronic mediums are the one which make or break people's perceptions about states and personalities. All conceivable mediums - from books and official/semi official publications to newspapers and magazines to even movies - seem to predominantly reflect a negative image of Pakistan. This section will briefly discuss selected resources with various perceptions they are promoting. Thousands of examples of published material against Pakistan could be found however, because of space constraint, only a few examples are quoted here.

Journals and Books

The well-known expert on Afghanistan Barnett R. Rubin's, writes in the journal of '*Foreign Affairs*' that, "the main centre of terrorism to global reach, is in Pakistan".¹⁶ He also claimed that, "during western military offensives in mid-2006, intelligence reports confirmed that Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) was continuing to actively support Taliban leadership, which is now working out of Quetta".¹⁷ He further

argued that 9/11 did change Pakistan's behaviour but not its interests.¹⁸

Emma Duncan's book, *'Breaking the Curfew: A Political Journey Through Pakistan'* covers the "murkier" side of Pakistani state and society particularly focussing on the shadow of military over national politics, drug trafficking and arms smuggling, violation of civil and human rights and corruption in the state institutions. The book projects Pakistan as a volatile and unruly country where uncertainty reigns.¹⁹

Another book, *'Waiting for Allah: Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy'*, is authored by *Financial Times'* correspondent Christina Lamb. It is written in the backdrop of transition from military rule to the civilian government under Benazir Bhutto. *Waiting for Allah* is replete with the usual stereotyping of Pakistan that invariably predicts a bleak future of the country. The author covered the position of women, economic disparity, political patronage, tribal system, the influence of drug barons, and Pakistan's troubled relations with India and Afghanistan. Lamb has hardly anything positive to say about Pakistan.²⁰

Stephen Philip Cohen is a well known American writer on South Asia. His 2004 book, *'Idea of Pakistan'* is an instant "bible" for Pakistan-bashers. Cohen is not new to lambasting Pakistan. His 2001 book titled, *India: Emerging Power* also contained negative references to Pakistan. *The idea of Pakistan* has several unfair comments about Pakistan. It

particularly predicts a bleak future for Pakistan in Chapter 8 titled 'Pakistan's Futures.'²¹ Some of its content is outrageous, as illustrated below:

“...Pakistan has adapted to changing strategic circumstances by “renting” itself out to powerful states, notably the United States, but also Saudi Arabia and China. Occupying a piece of strategic territory, an inexhaustible resource, strengthens the central government and inhibits the prospect of genuine reform. Thus there is no urgent need to develop domestic capabilities, build human capital, or even look ahead to the day when the resource might be exhausted. The Establishment is prone to much wishful thinking that something or someone will always come to Pakistan’s rescue because of its location; this also tends to dampen public debate over alternative strategies and link Pakistan’s identity to seemingly immutable geography.”²²

Official/Semi-Official Publications

A British officer from the MI6 for the Defence Academy, [a British Ministry of Defence think-tank] wrote a paper alleging that ISI was indirectly supporting extremism in Afghanistan, Iraq and the UK. Following is the verbatim reproduction from the paper: “Indirectly Pakistan (through the ISI) has been supporting terrorism and extremism - whether in London on 7/7 or in Afghanistan or Iraq. [The West has] turned a blind eye towards existing instability and the indirect protection of Al Qaeda and promotion of terrorism (by ISI).”²³

A year-end report of the US Congressional Research Service (CRS) stated Pakistan was the focus of three major US foreign policy concerns: Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD) proliferation, terrorism and democracy. The report under review opined that the US sought to balance an “acute interest in Islamabad’s continued counter-terrorism cooperation, especially regarding Afghan stabilisation and the capture of Al Qaeda leadership, with tandem concerns about the weapons proliferation and the perceived need to encourage development of a more democratic and moderate Pakistani state.”²⁴ The US legislators depend largely on CRS in the process of opinion making. Thus, it has an immense impact on amongst the officials.

Feature Films and Documentaries

Syrina: This 2005 feature film on terrorism is centred on a young Pakistani oil worker in UAE, which promotes the stereotype that even common Pakistanis are easily susceptible to become suicide bombers.²⁵

Reinventing the Taliban: This 2003 documentary by Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, and Ed Robbins focuses on the rise of fundamentalists in Pakistan. The government functionaries and supporters in Khyber Pakhtun Khawa (KPK) are shown banning musical performances, painting over cinema murals; public burning of video cassettes and CDs and calling for an end to co-education. The documentary shows injustice and inequity, especially towards women and tries to explain why the Taliban’s ideology is being given new life in Pakistan. The

documentary also shows secular Pakistanis but they do not seem to be participating in improving the future of Pakistan.²⁶

Reports of Civil Society Organizations

In Amnesty International's (AI) Annual Reports for last 16 years, Pakistan features in all of them as a country with poor human rights record. In its December 2006 publication, AI reported a number of cases of the disappearance of people who were suspected of having links with Al Qaida, it alleged the involvement of security agencies, and the misstatement by officials in the highest court of the land.²⁷ In support of its arguments, the report quoted from the President Musharaf's autobiography *In the Line of Fire* that Pakistan had handed over, rather hurriedly, a large number of suspects to the US who was subsequently mistreated in Guantanamo and other prisons.²⁸

The Brussels-based *International Crisis Group (ICG)* frequently issues reports on Pakistan. The mere titles of these reports reflect the kind of perception they create about the country. For example, the December 2006 report titled, "Pakistan's Tribal Areas: Appeasing the Militants". Another 2011 report on Islamic parties in Pakistan states that, "The Islamic parties might work within the current political order, but eventually their aim is to replace it with one which is based on narrow, discriminatory interpretations of Islam. They have also taken oblique positions on militant jihad: on the one hand, they persist on their distinction from militant outfits by virtue of working peacefully and within the

democratic system; while at the same time, they admit to sharing the ideological goal of enforcing Sharia (Islamic law), while maintaining sizeable maddrasa and mosque networks that are breeding grounds for many extremist groups.”²⁹

Despite Pakistan's sacrifices and aid in GWOT, Stimson Centre's exclusively published report on 2008 Mumbai attacks concludes that, the Mumbai crisis remains unfinished. The Indian grievances still remain unresolved, ignited by terror attacks in late-November 2008 that were demonstrably launched from Pakistan. While on the other hand, Pakistani policies remain dangerously subject to miscalculation. Furthermore, attacks in India by extremists trained, equipped, and based in Pakistan can be expected, making the chance of another crisis most likely.³⁰

The material cited above gives a fairly good idea of the intensity of negative vibes created by foreign media regarding Pakistan. However, now the extent to which the local authors and intellectuals are creating this image will be analyzed.

National Character and Self Image

Talking about local authors, intellectuals – academia, researchers and journalists – are one of the worst critics of the government policies and socio-economic and political conditions of the country. They have more credibility than the government spokespersons and their hand outs. Some of the most often quoted writers/commentators are discussed below.

Ayaz Amir, a famous writer of Pakistan, wrote about Pakistanis “We lack spirit, conditioned more by history than

climate to bow meekly before authority. The people of Thailand have more spirit than us, the people of South Korea a greater sense of right and wrong, even the Nepalese people more mettle than we dare think of.”³¹

Ahmad Rashid in his latest book, "Pakistan on the Brink: the Future of America, Pakistan and Afghanistan" asserts that the Haqqani network enjoys ISI support. Moreover, he is of the views that, Afghan Taliban have safe havens in Pakistan. Attacks led from these sanctuaries are in fact instigated by the Pakistani Intelligence agency- ISI. In addition, ISI provides them money, ammunition and training.³²

The Washington, D.C./Boston-based Husain Haqqani's book, "*Pakistan: between Mosque and Military*", essentially endorsed the widely held view in the West that the alliance of Islamists and the military officers have shaped Pakistan the way it is today. And the country's future and thus the outcome of the global war on terror will depend on this "unholy" alliance.³³ The book became instantly popular with scholars interested in South Asia and is repeatedly quoted in context with the role of religion and armed forces in Pakistani politics.

The Boston-based Hassan Abbas's book, "*Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*", discusses the jihadist organizations, army's alleged support to them and the resulting tensions with Pakistan's neighbours. The book obliquely suggests international interference in Pakistan by detailing a role for the international community that is lead by the US.³⁴

Retired senior officials, both civilian and military, are also not too far behind in this race of self-criticism. If they make any contribution to the media, they are likely to be critical of the government. This group of critics cover a broad spectrum, from people such as Lt. General (Retired) Hamid Gul to former Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed Khan. They enjoy additional credibility with the foreign critics, with regards of being well informed from the inner working of the system.

The Diaspora's Views

Pakistani Diaspora is rather large, some 5-6 million all over the world. About two million of them are in the West. The Diaspora could be a major source of strength for Pakistan but they are generally disillusioned with the conditions of governance in Pakistan.³⁵ Therefore, for the most part, they have become a liability as far as the image issue is concerned. Adil Najam's report on philanthropy in Pakistani-American community concluded that about half of the Pakistani-Americans believed that their charitable contributions may not be put to good use in Pakistan.³⁶

The review of prevailing perceptions in the international media, academia, and think-tank community creates the image of Pakistan as a "backward" nation, a violator of human and civil rights, a major "source of extremism" in the world, "a violent, unstable and unpredictable" country, a "serial proliferators of WMD technologies" and a "suspect partner" in the War on Terror. However, all these perceptions may not be

true. The perceptions and realities are categorized and discussed in the proceeding section.

Drawing Cleavage between Misperceptions and Bitter Realities

Pakistan's international image suffers from a number of perceptions: Most of them are based in historic events or prejudices. They could be broadly classified in the below described categories:

- **Backward Society and Bad Governance:** Pakistan is an under-developed and backward society which suffers from failing economy, widespread poverty, low social indicators, and abysmally low rates of literacy, lack of law and order, and pervasive corruption.

This hub of issues is common to the developing world. However, few countries have broken the vicious cycle associated with the issues in this category. Pakistan may not seem very promising when viewed abstractly. However it can be argued that, considerable progress keeping in view where we were half a century ago and the geo-strategic environment we are condemned to live in. These aspects are conveniently ignored by international observers. One can always quote India as an example, which is afflicted with similar ills. But India receives a more sympathetic press on accounts of it being a democracy and secular state.

- **Extremist Ideologies:** Pakistani population espouses extremist ideologies and state organs if not actively

supporting such ideologies, do nothing to control them. Pakistan is thus a suspect partner in the global war on terrorism and a very unsafe country to visit.

Extremism is not a phenomenon that originated in Pakistan. It was exported to this country during the Afghan jihad against the Soviet occupation. Pakistan is not a culprit, it is a victim. We may not have done well to handle the situation but some of the constraints for not doing well were generated extraneously. The world walking away from Afghanistan and economic sanctions against Pakistan were to a large extent responsible for a situation which became untenable over a period of time. As a result, the news of violence from Pakistan keeps the world media well occupied.

- **Nuclear Proliferation:** Pakistan has proliferated nuclear technology to rouge states jeopardising international security. It can not be trusted with WMDs.

Pakistan's nuclear programme is an exercise in survival. However, globally the proliferation network already existed since 1950s and joining of A.Q. Khan to this network was natural to achieve national interests. No doubt that outward proliferation activity was unfortunate and embarrassing for Pakistan but once the activity was exposed, Islamabad took all necessary measures to plug any regulatory and administrative loopholes that could cause the repeat of any such

activity. Nuclear programmes of most countries were developed through carefully orchestrated proliferation. This not only includes Indian and Israeli programmes but also British and French programmes at an early stage. Pakistan, by no means, is without a company either in inward or outward proliferation.

- **Bad Neighbour:** There is a perception that Pakistan is in perpetual conflict with its neighbours. It supports militancy in Indian Held Kashmir (IHK) and Taliban resistance in Afghanistan as policy instruments. It is obviously an unfair perception. It is India which has declined to implement the UN resolutions. It is India which bifurcated Pakistan. India is a much bigger country and had been unfriendly towards Pakistan from the beginning, including refusing to part with Pakistan's share in post-British distribution of assets and imposing trade restrictions against Pakistan. Similarly, Afghanistan had been unfriendly towards Pakistan from the beginning including opposing Pakistan's membership of the United Nations and claim on Pakistani territory. Even in current phase of badmouthing Pakistan, the critic tend to forget that not only the Pakistan's role in keeping Afghan economy viable but also practically sheltering a fourth of Afghan population on its territory, thus substantially reducing Kabul's burden. Pakistan may be guilty of mishandling

its neighbours but the positive aspects by far outweigh this “guilt”.

- **Army Rule:** “The state in Pakistan is subservient to the military which either rules directly or controls the civilian dispensation indirectly.”

Army's rule is an unpleasant reality but the alternatives had not been better. Also, each of the military governments in Pakistan sooner or latter found a niche that made the democratic west as their staunch supporter. It is only an evolutionary process through which the army could return to its own professional domain.

- **Human Rights:** “Human rights mean very little to Pakistani state and society. The weaker sections of the society, particularly women, are treated horribly.”

The human rights situation in Pakistan is a result of a complex historic process. The situation today, however, is much improved than at any time in our history. Pakistan receives a lot of flake on this account but several positive things are ignored by the critics as they would not fit into their stereotyping of Muslim societies. The violation of rights of even one person is one too many but recognising and appreciating positives would facilitate more positives.

Although in recent years, particularly since the incident of 9/11, Pakistan has attracted a disproportionate attention of the international media and think-tanks,³⁷

seasoned readers know that the negativity about Pakistan had initiated a long time ago. When it comes to the image of Pakistan, most of these perceptions have *some* reality behind them but perceptions are invariably stronger than reality. Also, there are some contradictions between reality and perception. The realistic view of Pakistan is that it is a tremendously valuable ally in global war on terrorism, a progressive state, a liberalized economy, a forward looking nation and a bridge between the Islamic world and the west. The perception that prevails is that Pakistan is a suspect partner in the GWOT, a backward nation, the heart of extremism, and essentially violent, unstable, and unpredictable. This view is shaped by the hostile media and inevitably limits and influences policy-makers internationally in dealing with Pakistan. If the media mirrors reality, then Pakistan is stuck in a hall of mirrors.

Reasons of Pakistan's Bad Image

There may be many other reasons for Pakistan's bad image however, following factors inspire or fuel the media world war on Pakistan:

- The ugly and unpleasant reality of certain aspects of our own condition for which we alone are responsible. Thus, overseas media serve as mirrors of what actually exists.

- The sheer ignorance and bias of many personnel in overseas media outlines the superficiality and skin-thin approach with which they portray our complexities.
- There are inherent prejudices overseas against a country like Pakistan that calls itself an "Islamic republic" and yet fails to pursue "ijtihad" and reforms, when other states are becoming increasingly secular.
- Barring a few exceptions, most overseas media, especially western media despite being "independent" serve as instruments to further the objectives, interests and values of the states, the societies and the corporate sectors in which the media are based. Sometimes, these determinants are entirely opposite to the interests and values espoused by Pakistan.
- Historically, and continuously to this date, we have failed to invest the diverse, the professional and the financial resources required to project a credible, positive portrait of ourselves in overseas countries and in world media in particular.

In his article, published in 1999, Professor Adil Najam very appropriately summarised the Pakistan's image problem. He said, "The international media seems anti-Pakistani not simply because it is controlled by some phantom "Zionist Lobby" or because it is pro-India, but because we have never given it much reason to be pro-Pakistani.

Over the last so many years--but particularly in the last four or five--Pakistan has consistently scarred its own

international image through acts that can only be defined as self-mutilation. Today, in the eyes of the international media--even those we count as our friends--we appear untrustworthy and disfigured. What we have done to our international image through our own actions is worse than what all the Indian propaganda could ever have done in a hundred years. As far as our international image is concerned, we have indeed been our own worst enemy.”³⁸

Does Image Matter?

Having ascertained that Pakistan has a less than favourable image in the West, it needs to be determined whether it matters or not? The reasons why a positive image is deemed so desirable are in many ways self-evident; however, for the sake of completeness they should be re-examined.

One element of national power is political influence, the strength of which is based on a combination of tangible and intangible factors. Within the intangible category sits the perception, or image, of a state as seen by other states. Pakistan aspires to be one of the lead members of the Organisation of Islamic Conference, to join economic cooperative groupings such as the Indian Ocean Rim Association of Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC) and has recently been allowed to rejoin the Commonwealth. Acceptance into, and effectiveness within, such organisations depends on a mix of hard facts and perceptions.

Trade likewise would benefit from a significantly enhanced national image.³⁹ Speaking about ways to improve Pakistan's exports to his country, the Japanese Ambassador explained that Pakistan suffered from a surfeit of negative images including nuclear tests, military coups, sectarian violence and terrorism. He suggested that Pakistan would benefit from introducing a more balanced image to the Japanese people.⁴⁰

Similarly, attracting much needed Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is an extremely competitive business in the globalised market place. Although hard economic realities prevail, negative perceptions and poor image put off prospective investors even before the formal analysis stage. In the US/UK survey only eleven per cent of business executives were aware Pakistan is encouraging economic growth and the majority were also unaware of the democracy building.

Few business leaders are prepared to invest in Pakistan due to an image of corruption.⁴¹ Shortly, in a globalised world where politics, economics and trade all lead to multiple choices and constant competition, there can be little doubt image matters. Furthermore, image for better or worse, can have a significant impact on national morale and confidence.

Looking at the globe: How other states are dealing with the image dilemma? It might be of value to see what importance other countries place on image and to examine a few snapshots of how they tackle the challenge of projecting a positive image abroad. The US faced with severe negative

opinions abroad, appointed Karen Hughes as the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy.

She was tasked with improving the US image and providing a better dialogues with other nations, in particular the Muslim world.⁴² This started with a high profile tour of Muslim states in mid-2005. This approach is based on an analysis which suggests the tarnish of its international image is ascribed to “ineffective foreign publicity” and “inadequate communication”; albeit the US has spared no effort to include its image in almost all of its diplomatic activities. The problem, as seen by the People’s Daily in China, does not lie with ineffective US public diplomacy but rather with an irrational foreign policy.⁴³

UK has at its disposal the instrument of the British Council, founded in 1934, to make the life and thought of the British people more widely known abroad and to strengthen common cultural traditions in the Commonwealth.⁴⁴ It now promotes the UK’s image in 110 countries worldwide.⁴⁵ About India, an ex-Minister of Information for Pakistan commented that India’s external communication frontiers dominate due a number of factors including; the sheer size of the country, the popularity of Bollywood, a mix of history and image, having a larger Diaspora and due to higher investment in media.⁴⁶

Japan, in the aftermath of the atrocities committed by its military in World War Two, had an acute image problem both regionally and globally. Through a long term strategy of introducing democracy, a market economy and constitutional

limitations on the use of military power, Japan is now the world's second economic power and has developed a different and more positive image. There is perhaps still some distance to travel in terms of transforming in its image with its closer neighbours but arguably it has played its cards well in the West.⁴⁷

Thus, even from this brief look at a few countries, it is apparent that nations have historically and continually placed great importance on public diplomacy and image. They seek to improve international understanding of their culture, language, art and sport. Inevitably such public relations activities widen and deepen understandings about a particular nation; the aspiration is that knowledge will create a better image which can be sustained over the long term.

The Way Forward

The main recommendations are based on the assessment the solution to Pakistan's image problem can only be found in a long term, sustained approach based on a clearly defined outcome. In order to dismantle the old negative image and foster a new positive image of Pakistan following steps are recommended:

- Conduct a strategic analysis of the problem, involving all the key stakeholders, senior editors and external consultants.
- Focus on the weak areas in administration and policies and try to improve those weaknesses; in other words, bring your own house in order.

- Pakistan needs to respond to the almost universally negative media coverage by branding⁴⁸ its image with the following four objectives in mind:
 - Balance the negative media image.
 - Create a new and positive image.
 - Consistently generate ‘good’ news at home to overcome the effects of any ‘bad’ news.
 - Promote the achievements of Pakistanis
- Develop key messages for media campaigns and promote them while applying the basic lesson of advertising.⁴⁹
- Build capacity for public diplomacy within all relevant Ministries which includes media training for all senior government officials, military and civilian.
- The government may seek professional help from a few reputable public relations firms abroad that could keep a close watch on the important electronic and print media sources and respond to any negative comment in real time. The response should be delivered promptly, consistently, widely, and at least as forcefully as the attack.
- Use “indirect approach” of cultural visits and displays, sporting events and sports stars, influential people in worldwide Diaspora and educational visits. In other words work on the many positives of Pakistan.

- While projecting position on political issues such as democracy, human rights, nuclear weapon and Kashmir is a challenging task, promoting Pakistan's culture is a much easier and least controversial job. It is, however, equally necessary.
- The cultural presence could be increased through: promoting Pakistani music; organizing exhibitions of Pakistani paintings sculpture and handicraft; and translation of Pakistani literature in foreign languages.
- Continue to increase freedom of press and TV and to improve access for foreign journalists. The aim is to build trust.
- Consistent improvement in socio-economic indicators through economic policies that would create a balance between development and welfare.
- Restore/improve law and order situation through adhering to the principles of rule of law.
- Educate the people through mass media in tolerance to other ideologies, religions and cultures. Its practical manifestation would be extended over a broad spectrum from denouncing all kind of violence against 'the others'.
- Project Pakistan as a moderate state and victim of extremist and terrorist ideologies as a consequence of Russia Afghanistan war and GWOT. Also promote the Pakistan's sincerity in participation in GWOT and the

sacrifices it made in terms of casualties suffered by its troops.

- Engage and mobilise Pakistani Diaspora.
- Develop long term global public diplomacy network, build trust and avoid short term expediencies.
- Develop an institutionalised system to pre-brief all young Pakistanis before they embark on overseas educational courses of one year or longer.⁵⁰

In a nutshell, although there is no “silver bullet” available to fix ‘Pakistan’s image dilemma’ there is a clearly identified way forward. The essence of success is to set and maintain a consistent long term course towards the new image of Pakistan; building on the many positives with which the nation has been blessed.

Conclusion

To conclude the issue, it must be based on real events and harness the power of the key stakeholders within the nation. The most significant conclusion is that there is no quick fix or silver bullet for Pakistan’s image problems. Not only do perceptions take a long time to be altered but the evidence indicates these perceptions are based, for the most part, on ground realities in Pakistan. Changing the root causes will take time, patience and bold government policies.

There is also a dire need to harness all the resources to formulate a media policy which would not only project Pakistan’s perspective internationally but could also bring about national integration and counter hostile propaganda.

The government will have to make the media responsible and accountable, while allowing freedom. There is, however, a need to strike a balance between freedom of media and public interest within the purview of our national ideology and strategy.

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DEMAND FOR NEW PROVINCES IN PAKISTAN

Muhammad Usman Asghar

Abstract

There is an increasing demand for the creation of new provinces among the masses, due to uneven socio-economic growth in the less developed regions of Pakistan which seems to be reasonable enough considering their basic right to prosper. This sense of trust deficit in provincial setup has made voice louder in the concerned public, for new and small administrative units in the form of new provinces. It is also a fact that the people of Pakistan are credulous which threatens the rationality and causality of this demand. This may affect the desired outcome of social and economic uplift of common man in the backward regions. A just principle in the form of a policy decision is the need of hour, taking on board all the parties, ensuring the division to satisfy the grievances of all stakeholders. This paper surfaces critical questions and proposes a model for the new provinces, resting on the premise that welfare of the population should be the prime concern in this process.

Introduction

Pakistan emerged as an independent state in 1947, on the partition of British India into two sovereign states in South Asia. The dominion which consisted of modern-day Pakistan and Bangladesh was created for the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent, theoretically with majority areas of the Muslim population. The territory of Pakistan was a federation of five

provinces, namely East Bengal, West Punjab, Balochistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) along with princely states within the geographical boundaries of the provinces and others willing to accede to Pakistan. Bangladesh separated from Pakistan in 1971 and at present, Pakistan consists of four provinces, Gilgit-Baltistan, Islamabad Capital Territory and Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

Four Provinces Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan¹ constitute present day Pakistan. These provinces are administered by their respective provincial assemblies and governors, and comprising of multiple ethnicities, speaking variety of languages, possessing cultural and social norms and traditions, having diverse religious affiliations and lifestyles in the provinces. The socio-economic situation and level of development also varies in the provinces, even within a province, level of prosperity and growth is uneven. This is a natural phenomenon that some regions possess more potential to develop as compared to other ones. State is responsible for equitable distribution of resources to develop all regions of the country. . State is also supposed to take care of its units regardless of any discrimination. Government plays a vital role in this regard, as the economic development at national and provincial level has become one of the major public policy concerns in Pakistan during the past decades.

This partial failure at the government's end has led to frustration and disappointment among the public due to their deprivation in terms of regional development and access to

political power. Pakistanis, being credulous, are more attuned to the political motives of the ruling class being clueless about their share in the Development pie.

In this background, the demand for the creation of new provinces is on full swing at present in the political spheres of Pakistan. Despite the 18th amendment in the 1973 constitution regarding more provincial autonomy, there are masses who demand the division of existing provinces for their economic rights at national level. The demand for creation of new provinces is stirred due to local socio-economic disparities in the country. A perception is prevalent among the concerned masses that the economic and social development of Pakistan has been uneven in the last few decades. Despite the fact, that the entire country has suffered from the energy crisis, security situation, low foreign investment and strained foreign relations, it is perceived that the provincial capitals and their peripheries have benefited more than other areas of the province.

This paper explores the historical trends and the rationale for the division of provinces in sub-continent in the past, which was meant to achieve the desired level of development and good governance under the different rules. It covers the post-partition era regarding the administrative units till 1971 and then 1971 onwards till present day. This paper also seeks to define the problem as a matter of public policy and discusses the policy criteria to address the demand for the creation of new provinces in Pakistan. The speculative

demands and the lack of any criteria for changing the administrative status of provinces in Pakistan have triggered the expectations in many ethnicities and stakeholders. The paper is purely an academic endeavour to define the problem and seek the policy framework rather favouring or discarding the proposal of demand for new provinces.

Historical Outlook

The administrative system has evolved in India, from the rule of Mughals to East India Company. Modern approach to administration was introduced by the British to cater for the vast apparatus of the government as a colony. Bureaucracy was introduced to govern and administer the large territory of British India.

The British also followed the Mughal precedent of provinces which was headed by the governors. They further divided the provinces into small administrative territorial units called districts. An officer was assigned the duty of administration of each district known as district officer who was assigned the designations of an executive, chief magistrate and a collector of revenue. The British stretched their network of administration to the grass root level for increased control and governance. The motive behind the division of provinces into divisions, districts, tehsils and villages was to manage the state affairs and its administration efficiently.

In the historical perspective of provinces and their division, Partition of Bengal in 1905 is quite important to understand the political, religious and social dynamics of that period. It is described that the first partition of Bengal in 1905 was an administrative initiative to boost good governance in the province. It shows that the administration is a core criterion for the division of provinces in the greater interest of the nation and the state. A brief description of the provinces and their administration in 1907 is given in the table as under:²

Province of British India	Chief Administrative Officer
Burma	Lieutenant Governor
Bengal	Lieutenant Governor
Madras	Governor In-Council
Bombay	Lieutenant Governor
United Provinces	Lieutenant Governor
Central Provinces	Chief Commissioner
Punjab	Lieutenant Governor
Assam	Chief Commissioner

There were also some small provinces like British Balochistan and NWFP. Partition of Bengal and then its annulment is also an important development in the history of sub-continent for the recognition of the public demand and its repercussions in the region.

In 1935, British Raj introduced the Government of India Act 1935, to administer and govern the India in the light of emerging trends of political scenarios. One of the most significant aspects of the Act was the grant of large scale autonomy to the provinces in British India. Pakistan maintains the same pattern of provinces and their structure at present. The administrative and political autonomy vested by the British Raj was in prime interest of the federation, for example, Sindh was separated from Bombay. This was also generally recognized, that the clauses of act relating to the provincial autonomy conferred a great deal of power and responsibility on local politicians to play their role in the local development. Our neighbour, India started with 14 states i.e. provinces and at present it has 28 provinces.³

Criteria for the New Provinces

There are some indicators or variables that must be well evaluated and analyzed in the national interest of Pakistan before undertaking any endeavour to the creation of new provinces. In the absence of a comprehensive and just policy, it will be tough to manage the growing demands of new provinces. A red line has to be defined in a democratic process to further the demands; otherwise it may lead towards a situation of anarchy and further exploitation by the interest groups and influential stakeholders. Meanwhile, acceptance of unending demands for the creation of more provinces can leads towards situation like pre-independence era of more than 560 princely states. Pakistan is not in a position to

undertake a distorted wave of unrest in its internal framework. Any loophole in the policy towards the creation of new provinces, may lead to further deterioration of inter-provincial relations. Furthermore, Federation of Pakistan needs internal strength and unity among its public to cope with the hostile international relations in the backdrop of war against terrorism. Pakistan presently, is striving for providing a reasonable solution to the demand of new provinces. It is observed that in a very recent development, the Punjab Assembly has unanimously approved resolutions in favour of reinstating Bahawalpur province and the formation of a separate province in southern Punjab; both resolutions were tabled by Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz (PML-N) leader and Punjab Law and Parliamentary Affairs Minister Rana Sanaullah, in a session of the provincial assembly and a commission is proposed to be established for this very purpose.⁴

There are some questions which come to mind being a public policy analyst in the wake of demand for the creation of new provinces in Pakistan such as following:

- Is it sure that the justified social and economic growth is impossible with the existing system/ provinces?
- Does the division of large provinces empirically project the road map to quicker growth and development in Pakistan?
- Does the salvation of the demanding stakeholders lie only in the division of provinces?

- Is there enough homework being done to constitute the genuineness of demand based on the evidences by the government under some competent authority or commission?
- What are policy options and alternatives available with the government to furnish the demand of new provinces in the light of uneven economic and social development?
- What will be the acceptable criteria in the democratic government for the division i.e. Equity, Equality, Justice, Population, Resources, Income Share, Urbanization, Literacy and others?
- What will be the minimal economic and geographical size of a new province?
- Is the calculus for the economic and financial constraints being done or assessed in due course of emergence of new provinces?
- It is also observed that any break-up is always emotionally and politically wrenching for the people involved, hence what may be the remedial or reconstructing measure for the stakeholders?
- How long can the political parties both at provincial and national level afford to ignore the demand of new provinces by the masses in the less developed regions of the country?
- Pakistan has witnessed the partition of Bengal in 1971. Will the creation of more provinces strengthen our

federation or will it lead to further inter-province conflicts?

Keeping in view, a comprehensive and meticulous response is desired by the government and political parties. There are some basic measures that must be considered while devising any criteria or framework for the further division of already existing administrative units.

- Constitutional Amendment
- Political Will
- Ethnic Affiliations
- Linguistic Cohesion
- Social Contract

Constitutionally, a two-third majority is required in the parent provincial assembly for its division into new provinces as per article 239, subsection 4 of the constitution of Pakistan. This is mentioned as:

“A bill to amend the Constitution which would have the effect of altering the limits of a province shall not be presented to the President for assent unless it has been passed by the Provincial Assembly of that Province by the votes of not less than two-thirds of its total membership.”⁵

This interprets that in case of Punjab, a two-third majority is mandatory out of its total 370 members for the further division into small provinces. A resolution has also been passed on May 09, 2012 unanimously in the Punjab Assembly for the creation of two new provinces out of it.

Political will for the creation of new provinces is enthusiastic at present, especially the ruling party and some of its coalition partners in the government. This is a good sign that political high ups are concerned about the demand of public. But this enthusiasm should not override the national interests in greater benefit for the state and its sovereignty. Moreover, demand for new provinces should not be merely based on the political scoring in the country. The motive should be the improvement of social and economic uplift of the general public. This situation also surfaces the questions, whether the demand for new provinces is nationalistic or people oriented by the political parties. The political mobilization and articulation along caste/ethnic/language-based social cleavages need to be evaluated unbiased. There is a difference of opinion in the national parties and regional parties regarding the demand for new provinces.

There are also different ethnicities living in the existing provinces. The creation of new provinces may lead to ethnic demands for more recognition and self-centred isolation in the national landscape. Demand for new province, on the basis of regional identity, culture and geographical differences, is more evident in Saraiki and Hazara regions. Moreover, precedence of language based division in the Sub-Continent is also prevalent; however, this criterion of division may neither be suitable nor fruitful. There is also a change in populace criterion on division of province, now new provinces are being demanded on the basis of good governance, efficient

administrative management and economic development. Now, new provinces are being demanded on the basis of good governance and economic development rather than on the language principle.

Social contract of the people living in one province is important in the current demand for new provinces. There have been such events in the past, which stirred the social sentiments of the concerned regions. Economic exploitation is the core concern in the social disparity among the masses. Punjab province is the largest, with almost 60% of total Pakistan's population. At times, it becomes difficult to address the problems of the entire public due to larger size of the province. This brings us to a question, is it the size of the province that becomes a hurdle in efficient service delivery or is it lack of efficiency in delivery system in the local administration and political end? As the state declares unprejudiced and priority based administrative setup exists all over the country. Moreover, political system with representation in the national and provincial assembly is also ensured by the state.

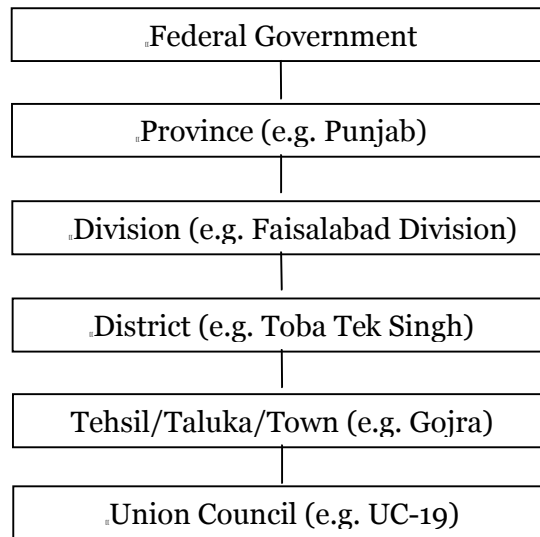
In broader context, it is also necessary to define the exact problem which can solve the grievances of the concerned population. As a matter of case study, if new provinces are carved as per demands then what is the surety that there will be social and economic uplift of the ordinary public? There is also fear that this division may lead to further exploitation by

same interest group who already have the positions in the high ranks of both civil and political domains.

Pakistan's Administrative Structure

Since colonial era, administrative divisions had formed an integral tier of the government structure in the sub-continent. At independence, Pakistan comprised of two wings – eastern and western, separated by a distance of thousand miles of Indian Territory.

From 1955 to 1970, The One Unit Policy meant that there would only be two provinces in Pakistan, namely East and West Pakistan. After the Fall of Dhaka in 1971, Eastern wing separated from the western as a new state, known as Bangladesh. The remaining portion of western wing comprises Pakistan at present. Pakistan consists of four provinces, Islamabad Capital Territory and Federally Administered Tribal Areas with a total area of 796,096 sq. km. at present and its administrative structure is shown in the chart below:



It also raises the question about level of efficiency of the existing system, because the very same system will work under the new provincial administration if new provinces are carved out. In this way, what will be the real change to acquire the desired results? This is a big question which needs to be answered by the competent authorities.

Legal Perspective

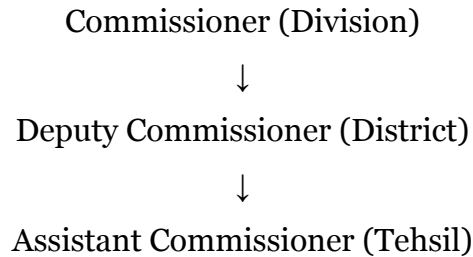
The Organization structure of the federal and Provincial Governments in Pakistan is governed by the provisions in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan. In a federal setup, where both the Federation and the Federating Unit (Provinces) derive their authority from the same Constitution, both are independent of each other's control in the spheres assigned to each by the constitution.⁶

- As for the governance of provinces, each province will have a governor, appointed by the President of Pakistan.
- Each province will have Provincial Consolidated Fund comprising all revenues, loans etc.
- Each province will have a Public Accounts of the Province.
- Executive authority of the province shall extend to all matters in respect of which the Provincial Assembly may make laws.
- Provincial Government may make rules of business regulating the procedures.

Above mentioned are a few salient features of a province in Pakistan. It is perceived that through the demand for the creation of new provinces, all the stakeholders are also seeking such a setup for their respective regions and ethnicities. Moreover, this will bring the desired level of development and progress to their respective areas. Although there is no harm in having positive perceptions and aspirations but these should be realistic and well-evaluated.

Administrative Perspective

Pakistan already maintains comprehensive administrative setup at different levels. There are three tiers of administration at division level, also shown below:



This system of administration already exists at each district level.⁷ With the creation of new provinces, it is vital to ascertain the level of improvement which will be yielded resultantly. It is the believed that this system can be developed to the highest level of output and service delivery by enhancing the people's skills and training.

Administrative reforms in the existing and proposed provinces may be considered on a three point agenda i.e. a) measure for improvement in service provisions, b) an

instrument for political/ideological control and c) a condition for economic development in Pakistan.

Policy Options

Government should seek multiple policy options regarding the demand for new provinces to reach a democratic solution, catering all the stakeholders. The ultimate goal should be the national interests of Pakistan along with the fulfilment of public demand.

Model for New Provinces

A model was applied in “Papua New Guinea” for creation of new provinces, which is a four tier process model. The same model can be applied in context of Pakistan for creation of new provinces.

The resolution regarding creation of new provinces in Punjab Assembly also accompanied the demand for the establishment of a commission to process in a comprehensive way. This depicts the difficulties involved in the process, as it is very sensitive, and precautionary measures are indispensable. Government of Pakistan may put together proposals for administrative criteria and processes for consideration on the creation of new provinces:

- One option can be the establishment of new provinces either by amalgamation or separation between existing provinces or
- By the variation to existing Provincial Boundaries

In this background, a Four Tier Process Model may be proposed. Basically it involves:

- The Initiator which may be a legislative body or some other entity to provide a proposal that must demonstrate how it proposes to meet constitutional, legislative, national policy, financial feasibility, ethnic and geographical cohesion, popular support and other criteria.
- A Competent Commission to screen proposals assesses substantive proposals, advise the legislature on those proposals and assist in the smooth processing.
- Parliamentary Committee with consultation to its supporting institutes like Federal Ministry of Inter Provincial Coordination, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and Establishment Division decide the final acceptability of the proposal and introduce legislation for boundary changes (including new provinces) if so decided or some other decision.
- Parliament to decide on legislation for change of boundaries.

There is a set of principles for the process in the Model which may be negotiated according to the domestic requirements. The principles for the process are:

- To establish a baseline set of requirements for establishing new provinces and boundary variations.
- To put the onus on Initiators of Proposals for new provinces/boundary variations to “make the case”.

- To force initiators of proposals to provide sufficient information for informed decision making, especially costing and funding information.
- To give a rational basis to the commission to make a decision on whether to approve introduction of legislation for a new province/boundary variations.

Development Strategies for Pakistan

Pakistan needs to review the development strategies to attain the desired level of equal growth among its existing and contingent proposed provinces to boost the local economic system and pro-business climate. China provides an absolute case study of such development in recent decades. Chinese leaders developed several incentive policies to encourage productivity in their economic system, resulting in the uplift of social and economic conditions of respective regions.⁸ In Pakistani context, the less developed or deprived regions should be accorded incentives for economic activities i.e. direct subsidies, quotas and investment.

Case Study of China and Turkey

China also suffered from bureaucratic problems as inefficiency, unresponsiveness, lack of innovation and corruption but as a response Chinese granted greater authority at various tiers of government including provincial, county, city and village, over issues relating to their jurisdiction along with local economic planning, resource management and even foreign trade.⁹ The 18th amendment appears to be a very progressive and the results will be even

fruitful for Pakistan. The purpose of new provinces should be very clear to the public on logical grounds rather than mere political pledges. Pakistan seeks growth and development, no matter if it undergoes the division of its provinces or status quo.

Turkey has an area of 783,562 km² being 37th largest state on globe whereas, Pakistan is at 36th position with 796,096km² but it is quite astonishing to mention that there are 81 provinces in Turkey and only 4 in Pakistan. Turkey is ranked 16th in terms of GDP (PPP) as per 2011 estimates with the total of \$1.073 trillion.¹⁰ Whereas, Pakistan is merely estimated a total \$488.580 billion GDP (PPP) in same period.¹¹ It shows that division of provinces as per respective requirements and national interest can be beneficial for the nation as in the case of Turkey.

Conclusion

Pakistan is the only Islamic nuclear power in the world and at the same time, it is the second most affected state after Afghanistan due to the war against terrorism in the world. Pakistan needs strong and united federation to cope with the international and internal security threats in the course of this war against terrorism at present. Energy crisis, low foreign investment, political maturity in democracy, low growth in Gross Domestic Product and internal security situation are the big problems for Pakistan which needs priority and long term response by the government. In the light of all these concerns, this is perhaps not the right time to involve the masses in the

quest for new provinces in absence of any justified criteria or formula. It is also suspected that the motivation behind this demand is merely political rather than in the national interest of Pakistan. This paper emphasizes the need to critically evaluate and analyse the political/ administrative decisions regarding the creation of new provinces and suggest a well-articulated policy which may answer all the concerns in the due course of division.

This does not suggest in any sense that there should not be demand for more provinces or division of existing large units. The crux of the study is that this demand should be rationale and logical in its nature and application and its core motives should be the adherence to the national interest of Pakistan, unity amongst provinces, increased collaboration, communication at each level, harmony in the nation, strong federation and most importantly the welfare and well-being of the ordinary citizen of Pakistan on equal basis. If the populace is to remain in the same suppression even after the creation of new provinces then the purpose of this whole effort is void.

It is also observed that the administrative and political setups already exist then what will be the new power or motivation factor to realize the demands of public in the wake of new provinces. The determination of the direction is vital as it may lead towards the opposite side of the path to success.

Despite the fact, Pakistan is abundant in resources, new administrative facilities, technical equipments and staff working in the new provinces will still require a large amount

of governmental financial sources. It will be in greater interest of Pakistan and its national integration if democratic concerns like economic growth, social development, welfare, decentralization and good governance are given priority rather than the religious, ethnic, linguistic, caste to be the valid bases for conceding the demands for the creation of new provinces.

End Notes

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INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS IN BALOCHISTAN CONFLICT

Abdul Rauf Iqbal

Abstract

Five times since independence of Pakistan, Balochistan has caught with insurgency by nationalist forces. Some Balochs are demanding autonomy and some are raising slogans of independence. The province is in turmoil and dissenter elements are targeting non Baloch population along with governmental installations. The insurgents appear expert in military tactics as well as appear to be heavily armed. An insurgency of this magnitude cannot be continued without assistance of internal and external actors. This essay tends to explore internal and external actors in Balochistan crises.

Introduction

Balochistan, after an uneasy peace of almost three decades, is constantly witnessing the violent insurgency. The province has been in turmoil for the past several years and has conventionally been a difficult province to govern and the province seems to be on the brink as the simmering insurgency has escalated.¹ Target killing, bomb blasts, attacks on law enforcement agencies (LEAs), acts of sabotage and kidnapping have become routine matter. Complaints relate to “self rule, ownership of resources, political participation and control over the economy”.² Baloch insurgents are firing rockets, exploding bombs and even targeting common masses.

Five times since independence of Pakistan, Balochistan has caught with insurgency by the dissident Baloch, demanding “greater autonomy or even an independent state, which would reunite the Baloch population of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan under one flag”.³

The central government has always used ham handed approach to curb Balochistan situation while setting aside the fact that use of force always grants most awful implications and in some cases it also paves the way of disintegration. The successor rulers of Pakistan have ignored the rights of different communities and regions, and the worst example of such discrimination is Balochistan. Although rich in mineral resources, yet the province is suffering lots of problems and the common Balochs are living in very shabby and poor conditions. The Baloch, who are by nature nationalist, started a political movement against this discrimination. But, with the passage of time, hatred emerged against central government and it changed their demands and methods. Most of political and nationalist parties, which earlier were demanding “provincial autonomy”, are now raising the slogans of “total independence”. Nationalist turned militants started an insurgency by targeting non Baloch civilian population along with attacking governmental installations. Media has reported many times that there is foreign involvement in deteriorating Balochistan situation, but no concrete steps have been taken so far. Balochistan has been simmering for years now, and it seems that successive governments’ lack of action and apathy

has pushed the situation to the tipping point.⁴ Pakistani flags are being taken down, schools are being threatened against singing the national anthem and non Baloch residents are scared for their lives. Walls of Quetta are full with anti state slogans and militants are attacking LEAs. In the wake of such bitter situation, the central government has to consider the seriousness of the issue and should take bold political, economic and social policy measures instead of only employing force. In this premise, this essay explores the major fault lines which are directly or indirectly surfacing violence in Balochistan. The paper also highlights both internal and external factors behind these fault lines along with suggesting some suitable policy measures.

Literature Review

Scholars interpret current violent protest mobilization by applying different academic explanations. Alok Bansal considers the Baloch movement as a result of perceived Punjabi hegemony.⁵ Adeel Khan argues that Baloch nationalism results from the struggle for power between the Pakistani state and the Baloch people.⁶ Robert G. Wirsing concludes the context of today's Baloch insurgency in terms of energy resource developments.⁷ Frederic Grare relates the uprising to revival of nationalistic sentiments whereas Mir Ghaus Bizenjo attributes the current violent outburst as an outcome of military operations of 1973.⁸ Feyyaz defines the insurgency as greed phenomena⁹ while Surendra discusses it in terms of opportunity based motives.¹⁰ Notwithstanding

significance of other scholarly explanations, this paper discusses the internal factors which have given space to the external actors.

Historical Background

Balochistan, the largest province of the country, is sparsely populated. With an area of 347190 kilometres, it covers 43.6 percent of the total area of Pakistan. Extraordinary verities of climate can be witnessed in different parts of the province.¹¹ According to 1998 census, its population was 6.51 million, but now, the estimated population is 7.914 million with 76.1 percent rural population¹². Strategically important Balochistan covers nearly the country's entire coast – 756 kilometres of coastline.¹³ Balochistan is blessed with gold, copper, coal, natural gas, oil and other mineral resources and also possess underdeveloped coastline with an abundance of ocean resources.¹⁴ It has also been proposed as a “transit site for the natural gas pipelines that would carry gas from either Iran or Turkmenistan to Pakistan and from there, potentially, to India”.¹⁵ Despite of all these natural resources, the province is still less industrialized and underdeveloped. Its social system revolves around the traditional tribal system in which *Nawabs* and *Sardars* enjoy autocratic powers. Theoretically speaking, the province is Pakistani rule, but in reality the real power resides in the hands of local tribal leaders, who most often have their own laws, armies, and jails. Therefore, one can blame central government for marginalizing Balochistan, but equal responsibility lies with the *Sardars* who enjoy

immense powers in their tribes, and in central and provincial governments. The ethnic composition of Balochistan is mixed, with 45% Baloch, about 38% Pashtun, and 17% of the population composed of other ethnic groups. Earlier to the partition of British India in 1947, the region was divided into four major states: Makran, Kharan, Lasbela, and Kalat.¹⁶

Resurgence of Uprising

The present wave of violent uprising has been surfaced after an interval of almost three decades. Fuelled by a long list of grievances, “it has long faced acute discrimination and neglect at the hands of the central government”.¹⁷ Among the grievances is the perceived exploitation of gas and mineral resources by the central government, development of mega projects and military presence within the province.

So far the province has witnessed five insurgencies during 1948, 1958, 1962, 1973-77 and 2002 to date.¹⁸ The current Baloch-Islamabad conflict started during the efforts of developing Balochistan. The Gwadar port proved as a bone of contention between the Islamabad and the Baloch nationalists. This upsurge intensified in March 2005 when the then president General Pervez Musharraf declared an all-out war on Balochistan.¹⁹ In the wake of these developments, chief of the Bugti tribe, Nawab Akbar Bugti along with other tribesmen led an insurgent movement against the central government. Nawab Akbar, ex Chief Minister and ex Governor of Balochistan, was killed on 26 August 2006 in a military operation. Afterward, Nawabzada Balach Marri, leader of the

banned Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), was killed in an ambush while crossing Afghanistan to Pakistan in November 2007.

The Balochistan crises took a new shape in early 2009 when UNHCR representative, John Solecki was abducted from Quetta. Soon after, three Baloch nationalist leaders were found brutally murdered in Turbat in April 2009. Afterward, a new wave of violence touched urban areas of province. The insurgents started attacking developmental activities and hatred against non Baloch residents of province took the shape of target killings. This violent situation of target killing has taken lives of more than 200 civilians in the first half of 2009.²⁰ Academicians are also being targeted and so far six academicians have become victims of target killings during the last couple of months. Besides targeting non Baloch population, some religious extremists are also spreading sectarian violence through target killing. The former Capital City Police Officer (CCPO) of Quetta has alleged Lashkir-i-Jhangvi for sectarian target killings.²¹ Brutal abduction and target killings have become a routine matter and former Senator Habib Jalib Baloch, secretary general of Balochistan National Party (BNP), has also lost his life in July 2010, sparking violent protests in different parts of the volatile province.²² According to a former Senator, Sanaullah Baloch, systematic and slow motion “genocide” is taking place in the province.²³

Violence has become a routine matter in Balochistan. Various groups of dissident Balochs are fighting guerrilla war against the state. Numerous groups have been surfaced in the province which claim for the attacks and blasts on the LEAs and the common masses. Among these groups, the Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) is supposed to be the main force behind present crises in Balochistan. The name BLA first became public in summer 2000, after the organization claimed credit for a series of bomb attacks in markets and railways lines.²⁴ Ex Chief Minister of Balochistan Jam Muhammad Yousaf formally accepted the existence of BLA after the bomb blast in Quetta in December 2004.²⁵ Previously it was allegedly headed by late Nawabzada Balaach Marri, but now it is alleged that Nawab Brahamdagh Khan Bugti is heading it while Marri and Bugti tribesmen are believed to comprise its backbone.

Causes of Insurgency

The government of Pakistan attributes the ongoing wave of violence in Balochistan to the trepidation of the area's feudal lords; mega developmental projects would expose the submissive local population to the outside world and would weaken their hold on them. It is also alleged that the political elites contrive to capture rents from the extraction of gold, minerals, and other developmental projects by seceding the province from Pakistan and establishing hegemony in the province. However, a careful analysis of the history of the conflict reveals that "ethnicity, intertwined with a sense of

political isolation and relative economic deprivation, has been a potent force in inducing the Baloch mobilization”.²⁶ This feeling of deprivation is more intense amongst the Baloch as compared to any other ethnic group in Pakistan for various historical and economic reasons. In this premise, some major internal and external factors are appended below:

Economic Development and Resource Exploitation

The Balochistan province in general provides an excellent example of poor governance in almost every sphere of life. The years of internal unrest and ill-conceived development policies and priorities on the part of the federal and provincial governments have resulted in backwardness of the province. According to the Balochistan Economic Report, “Balochistan has the weakest long-term growth performance of all provinces in the country. From 1972–3 to 2005–6 the province’s economy grew by 2.7 times in Balochistan, 3.6 times in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), and Sindh, and 4 times in Punjab.”²⁷ At present, 90% of the Baloch towns and villages are underdeveloped, where people are living in absolute poverty and experience the worst possible inequality.

Balochistan also scores lowest in the 10 key indicators for health, water, and sanitation, and education for 2007–8.²⁸ The province has a maternal mortality rate as high as 600 per 100,000, compared to Pakistan’s overall maternal mortality rate of 350 per 100,000. Balochistan also has the lowest literacy rate. Seventy-six percent of primary schools in the province are without shelter, and 60% of primary schools have

only one untrained and unqualified teacher.²⁹ The systematic denial of basic education and education-related facilities to the lower classes of Balochistan has caused anger and frustration among the Baloch youth.³⁰ Due to a lack of basic facilities and infrastructure, the Balochistan province contributes just one-fifth to the national mining GDP and leads only in the production of coal. At present, 70% of the population of the province lives without gas facilities, 78% without electricity, and 62% without safe drinking water.

Gwadar Deep Sea Port

During the last decade the government of Pakistan started developing a deep sea port at the coastal town of Gwadar on the Arabian Sea with Chinese collaboration. Development of the Gwadar district will provide a port, a warehousing facility, and industry to more than 20 countries. Its completion is expected in 2011, when the port will be able to receive oil tankers of over 200,000 tones.³¹ Along with an associated industrial development and free-trade zone, Gwadar will be linked to Central Asia by a road and rail network which is currently under construction. China has also discussed with Pakistan the possibility of building an oil refinery of 60,000 barrels per day at the Gwadar port. The development of the Gwadar port has opened the possibility of an emerging free port in Balochistan, which is expected to create a massive economic windfall for the province.

The Baloch nationalists allege that the contract between the government of Pakistan and the Chinese company for the

development of the port is classic evidence of misuse of Baloch wealth. Islamabad and the Chinese company are taking 50% and 48%, respectively, leaving only 2% profit for the Balochistan province. Additionally, all construction contracts for developing the basic infrastructure have been made with non-Baloch firms. Consequently, the majority of the technical positions on the port were filled largely by Punjabis and other non-Baloch workers. In this regard no effort has been made by the central government to train the local population for jobs at the Gwadar port. The Baloch also fear that once the government's plans for the port are complete, the population of Gwadar and the surrounding districts is expected to rise from 70,000 to approximately two million, overwhelmingly transforming the ethnic makeup of the region as more and more Punjabis, Sindhis, and other workers will move into the area. The anger of Baloch nationalists has sometimes been directed against China. A number of Chinese nationals have been the target of violent attacks in the province during the last eight years, some of which resulted in fatalities.

In essence, the following have worsened the situation in the province: displacement of a large number of poor Baloch by the construction of the Gwadar deep sea port without adequate compensation from the government; the lack of preference to the sons of the soil for work in the developmental projects; violation of the labour rights of the people employed by the Chinese construction company that is building the port; and the setting up of three new

cantonments by the army in Balochistan.³² Baloch nationalist leaders insist that they are not opposed to development but are against the exploitation of natural resources that do not benefit the local communities. They also insist that the province, not the Sardars or the centre, should be the main beneficiary of the income from Balochistan's natural gas and oil reserves and other mineral resources.

The federal government of Pakistan, however, blames the current unrest in Balochistan on vested tribal and political interests aimed at creating instability and drawing benefits. It asserts that the Baloch nationalist Sardars and the tiny middle class of the province want to gain maximum economic benefits from the development projects, instead of losing all benefits to investors from other parts of Pakistan. Moreover, Balochis are fragmented by tribal loyalties and it cannot be assumed that they will function as a coherent identity, even if they acquire greater autonomy in controlling the resource base.

The Baloch in Gwadar fear that they will become a minority in their own land. The Sardars follow the contention that these projects will change the demography of the province³³. When Gwadar port will become full fledged functional, it will raise the population of Gwadar and it is likely to hasten the arrival of two million people³⁴. The Baloch are convinced that the majority will be of non Balochs and hence they will become a minority.

The Political Situation

The weak political government in Balochistan is unable to establish writ over the province due to friction between various parties included in the coalition government. The nationalists have been left out of the power game after boycotting the 2008 elections and worried about their future in politics. Hence, they are trying to portray certain issues as anti Baloch, mainly to gather public support. Absence of mature and enterprising local media also helps these nationalist forces to increase frustration and exploitation in the common masses. Moreover, absence of genuine federalism and the lack of any worthwhile decision making powers with the provincial government have also accentuated the alienation of the population.

External Factors

History reveals that an insurgency of this magnitude cannot be continued long without foreign assistance. Pakistani media has time and again reported of foreign involvement in the insurgency. Many of the Pakistani media reports have mainly accused India and Iran of being behind the violence. The reports are based on the fact that the two countries do not want Gwadar to emerge as a rival to Chabahar port, which the Indians are developing in Iran as a gateway to Central Asia. However, most of the Indian writers deny these facts and argue that Iran with a substantial Baloch population is unlikely to stroke Baloch nationalism. They also highlight that India does not have a rationale to support an insurgency in

Balochistan at a time when the relations with Pakistan are moving forward and such a support would undermine India's interest in the gas pipeline project from Iran to India. Contrary to Indian involvement, they allegedly overemphasize US as the 'only country with a capability and reach to influence local politics'³⁵. One can question the share of India, Iran, Afghanistan, the US and Russia but, the fact is that all these foreign actors are behind the ongoing violence in Balochistan.

In fact, some of the regional countries have developed interest in Balochistan due to changing geopolitical and geoeconomics environments. And a new dirty game of geopolitics has started in Balochistan. To understand the recent wave of violence in Balochistan, one must understand the vested interests of the foreign actors. The root cause of violence in Balochistan is not internal poverty or lack of development but the covert operations of foreign intelligence agencies³⁶. Internal issues might act as catalysts to inflame the situation but the root cause is foreign interference in internal affairs of Balochistan. Covert operations by CIA and RAW in Balochistan began in January 2002 and the interior province was badly subverted in three years. Necessary infrastructure put in place in the form of contacts, 58 training camps, provision of all sorts of arms and ammunition, sophisticated communication system and huge funds³⁷.

Recommendations

Present crises can be settled through dialogue based on an open mind and heart. There must be a surety that the policy measures will be enforced honestly and completely so that lack of distrust may be removed.

➤ **For Internal Issues**

- Although some Balochs are waging armed struggle, yet some regional parties still seek provincial autonomy. They give little support for secession but militant sentiments could grow if Islamabad does not reverse its policies of exploitation of natural resources, construction of military garrisons and centrally controlled economic projects, such as the Gwadar deep sea port. These policies do not benefit locals but raise fears that the resulting influx of economic migrants could make the Baloch a minority in their homeland.
- The unemployment in Balochistan has taken a very horrible shape and it must be coped immediately and effectively. The federal government should treat Balochistan as 95% instead of 5% for some time. It is suggested that five hundred to one thousand Baloch youths selected on merit basis may be recruited and posted in Islamabad and Lahore. Such a step will ensure the participation of the Balochs in federation and Punjab. Due to this step, their

relatives and friends will visit them and their exposure will open up the gates for Baloch youth.

- All federal departments may be directed to provide acute representation to Baloch youth immediately. The Baloch population must be given a huge representation in Gwadar project through jobs.
- Total reliance on mega projects is not the solution. Instead of it, due attention must be paid to resolving day to day concerns of people such as their need for employment, a decent wage, facilities of safe movement, satisfaction of basic needs and guarantees of security of life and due protection of law.
- Employment in province is totally dependent on public sector and it is impossible to adjust everyone in government sector. The province is blessed with numerous mineral resources but scarcely any work has been done to use them, which can house huge masses. Hence, immediate and proper attention must be paid to create employment in these areas.
- A special emergency cell for education may be established at Federal and Provincial level for ensuring quality education. Also, there is no worth mentioning degree college in the province. Therefore, attention must be paid to degree level

education by establishing federal colleges at Tehsil level ensuring qualified faculty and full monitoring.

- The very important areas of Sibi and Naseerabad Divisions, which are abode of famous Baloch tribes Marri and Bugti, and are at present the hub of tribalism, have no college and university. This area is breeding violence against the federal government and only education can stop the youth of these area to not to go to violence. Therefore, it is need of time to establish their cadet colleges, degree colleges and a university.
- Mega projects are important for economic development but the central government should also accommodate the provincial demands. Whatever step is taken, it must be strictly in accordance with the wishes and priorities of the local people that are ultimate prospective beneficiaries.
- Successive government used to deviate from their mandate and instead of imparting the civil rights; they brutally use force to curb the Baloch demands. Hence, there is a need for partnership between the civil society and the media to grow pressure on rulers not to depart from their mandate and also to act as counter pressure to those external forces who try to influence the government policies.

- Negotiation and Reconciliation can be used as guiding principles for ending the problems of the Baloch. There must be created a conducive environment for reconciliation and after creating an enabling environment, efforts should be made to restore the confidence of the people and then we can negotiate with the local people.
- Balochistan is now facing intensive law and order situations as well as sectarian violence. Its causes may be located and very effective system may be adopted to improve this grave situation.
- Majority of the feudal chiefs of Pakistan have damaged the interests of Pakistan. Generally, they have shown little commitment or sense of nationalism with their homeland. For the said reason, Pakistan needs to immediately abolish the Sardari System in the province. The government should also register cases against terrorist tribal leaders. They should be charged for murdering the poor Pakistani citizens.
- Balochistan's political system led by feudal politicians has been failed and the issue of Balochistan is part of this wider problem. This system needs to be changed and new system should focus on economic development and providing opportunities to the Baloch citizens.

- Pakistani politics should be localized to prevent the destabilization of state. Hence ethnic based provinces need to be abolished.
- Imparting democracy to Balochistan, which remains an alien concept there, is the only way forward that can liberate the common masses of the province from their economic miseries and help in determining their future.
- The writ of the government cannot be established with gunship helicopters when there is actually no writ of a civilian government. The former government had made a mistake by killing tribal chief Nawab Akbar Bugti. Indeed his killing and military operations in the province have widened the gap between Balochistan and the centre. Therefore, use of force is not a solution.
- All political activists who were detained by the government should be released and if there are any cases against these activists, they should be tried in a court of law. But it is very important that extra judicial arrests should be stopped.
- The construction of cantonments in Balochistan should be halted for some time and after convincing the Baloch population central government can construct it.

- The local youths should be given first priority in job opportunities in development projects. It is also important to fill the vacant seats of Balochistan's quota in the federal services in order to eliminate the sense of deprivation among the people of this province.
 - And the decision to merge the Levies force with police should be withdrawn.
 - The Concurrent List from the 1973 Constitution should be abolished and there must be greater autonomy for all provinces. The matter of gas royalty is an old Baloch grievance and it should be reviewed after a debate on the matter.
- **For External Issues**
- The U.S. is undoubtedly functioning against Pakistan's vital security and economic interests in the region. Islamabad should demand from the U.S. to cease the usage of Afghan soil to destabilize Pakistan.
 - Islamabad should also face up to the Americans and the Indians with the evidence that both are exporting terrorism into Pakistan and fostering insurgencies using the Afghan soil. Pakistan should let the world know what the Americans and their Indian partners are doing in the region.

- Islamabad should contact the British government not to hold one sided cheap propaganda based seminars. An official complaint must be logged in this regard.
- Effective measures should be taken to counter RAM and RAW involvement in Balochistan.
- Media should also act as a pressure tactic to those external forces that are influencing the present crises. Media men should portray the true picture of external powers.

Conclusion

Insurgency in Balochistan is neither a new phenomenon nor any single central or provincial government can be blamed for creating reasons of violent uprising. Rather, it is the failure of successive political and military governments which did not respond to the real grievances of the Baloch people. This continuous process of marginalisation and under development of the province had resulted in creating internal and external fault lines which were further exploited by the dissident nationalists as well as external powers. Theoretically speaking, development can reduce the common people's grievances, but in Balochistan the practical implications of starting mega projects is very much different. The Baloch nationalists are very much against to the development of Gwadar Sea Port which is considered as a catalyst for peace and development in the region. This negative inclination about the mega projects

reflects the mistrust between the Islamabad and the Baloch nationalists. There is an immense need to bridge this trust gap so that the fault lines of the province can be removed. Furthermore, the volatile situation of the province is being exploited by the foreign powers. But before putting blame to the other states, the Pakistani government (both provincial and central) has to think that they themselves have provided opportunities to the outsiders for exploitation. Hence, sincere and consistent efforts are needed to overcome this serious problem.

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UNITED STATES INTERESTS IN ASIA-PACIFIC IMPLICATIONS FOR PAKISTAN

Asma Sana

Abstract

Asia-Pacific region has significant importance for USA. After the financial crisis, the region emerged remarkably as an active economic and political player in the world politics. The United States policy towards Asia-Pacific is to maintain and expand the network of security and economic relationship with her long-standing allies and partners, at the same time to meet the most powerful rival and competitor, China in the region. Prevention of nuclear proliferation, maintenance of safe and secure sea lanes of communications, promotion of free trade and open markets are the core interests of the United States in the Asia-Pacific.

Introduction

“The most important tasks of American statecraft over the next decades will therefore be to lock in a substantially increased investment-diplomatic, economic, strategic, and otherwise- in the Asia-Pacific region.”

Hillary Clinton, Foreign Affairs, November 2011

The Asia-Pacific region has emerged as a key driver of the world politics. The region is strategically significant; it comprises three major economic powers, Japan, United States and China. Geographically, Asia-Pacific is an area in or part of Pacific Ocean. In simple terms, it refers to Asia including Australia and the West Coast of North America. It covers

approximately 22 percent of the global land area. The concept of Asia-Pacific was emerged in 1960s and 1970s, endorsed by the United States, Australia and Japan. They have endeavoured to construct a region which includes East Asia and the Pacific. From a political perspective, the concept 'Asia-Pacific' legitimizes the United States involvement in the East Asian affairs.

Till late 2000, the Europe and the US continued to remain hub of economic activities and centre of gravity. However, with the change of century, it has been realized that the centre of economic activities is shifting from West to East and accordingly, the US has also starting focusing its energies towards this region. The financial crisis of 2005 and the Chinese help in bailing out the Asian market from collapse made the US realize that the real threat may come from China for the US interests in Asia-Pacific in coming decades. But in reality, the threat is not one sided. The US presence and proactive role in containing China in the South China Sea, Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf with the help of India, Australia, Japan and other regional countries is a serious development and a matter of concern for China. Pakistan being one of the key players in Asia, which has 90 percent trade through Persian Gulf, cannot remain oblivion to the emerging security environment where China and US may have to stand in two opposite camps. Striking a right balance between the two would be challenging task for the policy makers in Pakistan.

In this backdrop, this piece of writing evaluates in the United States interests in the Asia-Pacific and reviews Obama administration's approach to key allies in the region, regional powers and multilateral institutions. It further analyzes the future implications for Pakistan in the emerging geopolitical landscape.

Geo-Political and Geo-Strategic Significance of Asia Pacific Region

The world has entered into the age of globalization, the transmission of European capital and trading experience matched with the abundant resources in the Pacific. The centre of gravity is shifted from Europe to Pacific. Inagaki was the first who indicated that the next century would be the Pacific Age (*Taiheiyò jidai*).¹ As an oft-repeated aphorism has put it, "the Mediterranean is the ocean of the past, the Atlantic is the ocean of the present and the Pacific is the ocean of the future".²

One-third of the world population is settled in the countries of East and Southeast Asia which produce about one-fourth of global exports. The producers in Asia have captured considerable share of global production chains. The state controlled institutions have seized \$6 trillion-plus foreign exchange assets that are about two-third assets of the world.³ The region is also conducive to free trade agreements. It is further reaffirmed with the findings of Goldman Sachs (2005) report that the economic centre of gravity will be shifted decisively to the Asia Pacific by 2050. Three of the

world's four biggest economies will be Asian: China, Japan and India.⁴ According to International Monetary Fund "World Economic Database Outlook", the Asia-Pacific economy is projected to be at 6 percent in 2012 before rising to 6½ percent in 2013.⁵

Asia Pacific is at the crossroads between North America, East Asia, Middle East and Europe. Therefore, it provides an ideal trade route to international trade. Six largest ports of the world are also located in the region. Five main routes that pass through the chains of island are the Straits of Malacca, Lombok, Ombai-Wetar, Makassar, and the South China Sea of which the Strait of Malacca is described by the US Energy Information Administration (EIA) as the key maritime chokepoint in Asia.⁶

The Strait of Malacca, centred between the coastlines of Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore from the East and the Sumatra Island of the Indonesia from the West, is one of the most important shipping routes in the world with around 600 vessels passing through it per day. Major Victor Huang of the Singapore Navy wrote in his article 'Building Maritime Security in Southeast Asia', "A third of the world's trade and half of its oil transits through the Straits of Malacca and Singapore alone".⁷ Moreover, in a report entitled 'Maritime Law and Policy for Energy Security in Asia' by Jin Cheng and Kevin X.Li's, the importance of the Strait is highlighted as, "Nearly 50 percent of the world's crude oil, 66 percent of its

natural gas and 40 percent of the world's trade is transported through this narrow waterway".⁸

The dependence on the route for oil transportation is expected to increase in the near future. According to EIA, about 11 million barrels currently pass through the Strait of Malacca per day, but according to the growing demand of energy, this number will increase in near future.⁹ The additional supply may come from the Middle East and Africa which will also go through the strategic Strait of Malacca.

While in terms of security, Southeast Asian waters are the ideal place for military bases. By controlling Strait of Malacca, forces can be deployed from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and then to Gulf in a short span of time. In addition, it is ready to lend a hand for the make-available logistics to the fleets operating in the Pacific, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea. It also helps to prevent an enemy from operating freely in this region.¹⁰ The territorial conflict over hydrocarbon rich Sea between China and East Asian States and the US interference has brought the South China Sea dispute on the limelight of the world politics.

Politics of Asia-Pacific Region

When we try to turn out the pages of history, we find that few issues have really altered the geo-political landscape of the region like the fall of Soviet Union, the new World Order, the Asian financial crisis, the rise of China, and the War against Terrorism.¹¹ The changing dynamics of relationship between China-Japan and North Korea-Japan forced Japan to advance

her armed forces and defence posture to prove as an assertive power in global affairs. Rapid economic growth has made India a key player in regional and global politics. In Korean peninsula, US administration is more focus on building strategic ties with South Korea. After facing years of economic and political instability, Indonesia has now been able to democratize herself.¹² These developments have posed challenges and opportunities to the US in the region. However, the politics of Asia-Pacific region is broadly revolved around four basic themes. These are as following:-

- **Major Powers in Asia-Pacific Region:** The Asia-Pacific has become the dynamic centre of the world economy, politics, and diplomacy. The simultaneous 'rise' of China and India, the drive for 'normalcy' of Japan, and the 'return' of the United States has brought about great uncertainties in the region, making the Asia-Pacific the critical flashpoint of the twenty-first century. The relations between these major powers have immense implications for peace and prosperity at the regional and global level.¹³
- **Inter-State Conflict in Asia-Pacific:** Three main hot spots of the region are Korean Peninsula, Taiwan Strait and South Asia-Pakistan and India.¹⁴ The conflict between the states is also reflected in the arms sales. Over the last two decades, China, India, Taiwan, South Korea, and Pakistan are among the top ten leading

recipient of arms in the developing world.¹⁵ The South China Sea is another emerging area of conflict in Asia.

- **Nuclear Proliferation in Asia-Pacific:** The nuclear proliferation in Asia-Pacific is a major concern for the US. The presence of three non-NPT nuclear weapon states, India, Pakistan and North Korea can trigger an arms race in the region. China and India are continuously modernizing their nuclear and conventional capabilities. Russia is also embarking on strategic modernization program. The fear of proliferation of WMD to non-state actors is an international threat.
- **Multilateralism in Asia-Pacific:** The strength of Asia-Pacific lies in its economy. The economic interdependence has paved the way for multilateral cooperation. The region is a blend of multilateral political, economic, and security mechanisms. The interstate conflicts have so far failed to bring a successful multilateral organization such as European Union (EU). However, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is a successful sub-regional organization of Asia Pacific.

Obama Administrations' Security Strategy 2012

“Rebalancing towards the Asia-Pacific”, the new US strategy towards Asia-Pacific has changed the global scenario. The process of “rebalancing” is apparent from America’s warming relationship with India and Vietnam, policy shift

towards Burma (Myanmar) and planned deployment of 2,500 Marines at a new forward-staging base in Darwin, Australia, to serve as a launching pad for Southeast Asia. The US is also building up its forces at Guam, a key strategic base in the Pacific Ocean.¹⁶

New US administration policy in Asia-Pacific is mainly linked with “the foundation of the US alliance system and bilateral partnerships, building a common regional economic and security agenda, the importance of result-oriented cooperation, the need to enhance the flexibility and creativity of multilateral cooperation, and the principle that the Asia-Pacific’s defining institutions will include all the key stakeholders such as the US”.¹⁷

United States Interests in Asia Pacific Region

There is a global shift in world power from Europe to Asia. The Asian market economy and resources have attracted the US towards the region. The regional actors now play more influential role at international level. The emergence of China as an economic competitor has alarmed the US that has traditionally dominated the region with bilateral alliances. It is further aggravated with China’s surge to strengthen militarily, particularly increasing her naval forces.

Following Second World War, the US entered into series of bilateral treaties with Japan, the Republic of Korea, Australia, the New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and Taiwan for the protection of its interest in the region. Previous Bush administration also tried to boost alliance politics in Asia-

Pacific by including India and Vietnam in the network. The strategy of the US towards Asia is designed to achieve three sets of objectives. Firstly, maintaining balance of power in Asia favourable to American interest. Secondly, safeguard of economic interests in the region. Thirdly, spread of democratic values and human rights etc. Since the terrorist attack of 9/11, US policy towards Asia has been changed by the wide range of new developments. It has included two more objectives in its wish list to include, elimination of terrorist organizations and curbing nuclear proliferation. The interests of United States in Asia Pacific can be summarized as under:-

- **Power Projection:** Asia Pacific has always been the centre of gravity for the US military power. The US objective is to maintain balance of power in the region by playing the role of a balancer.¹⁸ It also maintains a forward-deployed military in the region with the purpose of power projection. Only two states South Korea and Japan are hosting about 100,000 foreign footprints. Deployments of these forces are primarily concerned with security requirements of the East Asia, Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.¹⁹ Additionally, the US policy in Asia has been compelled to take account of China's and India's rising power, Japan's growing assertiveness, Russia's increasing activism in the Asian affairs, and Indonesia's return in politics after the collapse of the Suharto government.²⁰ The US aspires

to create equilibrium among China, Japan, India, Russia, South Korea, and Indonesia.

- **Maintenance of Safe and Secure Sea Lanes:** The US core interest in Asia Pacific is maintenance of safe and secure sea-lanes that connects the US with its allies in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.²¹ The control on sea-lanes is strategically significant for US in maintaining a bargaining position with China, as scholar Teo has rightly pointed out, “Whoever controls the Straits of Malacca and the Indian Ocean could threaten China’s oil supply route. For now 60 per cent of its oil import from the Middle East and Africa pass through the Straits”.²² The open navigation of routes is in greater economic interest of the US, as in case of closer, the alternate route that passes through Torres Straits, situated between Papua New Guinea and Australia, will entail far longer transit time. Hence, Asia-Pacific provides a crucial bridge for the United States. It is equally significant from the military point of view, as in a very less time frame the US forces can reach to the East Asia, Japan, the Red Sea, Indian and Pacific Ocean, Persian Gulf and even to the Europe. Besides the above two reasons, perhaps equally significant is the US interests in securing the free flow of oil to her strongest East Asian allies, South Korea and Japan.²³ On the issue of addressing the threats of piracy and maritime terrorism, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore

have different points of view about cooperation with the US. Singapore, a country highly dependent on seaborne trade, would like to have assistance from the powers outside the region such as US and Japan. On the other hand, Indonesia and Malaysia are not in favour of external interference.

- **China Syndrome:** The emergence of China as an economic giant and its impact on regional dynamic has threatened the US. The economic development of China has given her access to international markets and resources. China is adhering 'Low Profile Strategy', and as a first step she has transformed her relationship with neighbours making them more productive and cooperative one.²⁴ China's strengths in Asia lies in its burgeoning economy. It has become a leading trader and the largest recipient of foreign investment. It also holds largest foreign exchange reserves. Moreover, China's rapidly advancing military has become the region's leading force.²⁵ The US attempts to encircle China by strategic partnership with India and alliance with Japan and Australia have threatened regional stability. Conflict in South China Sea and the US support to littoral states would engender negative impact on security environment of Asia-Pacific. Besides, the deployment of additional US troops and strong US naval presence in the region has alarmed China to play more assertive role in the region for

safeguarding its interests. Similarly, the Taiwan issue remains a potential flashpoint for Sino-US relations.

- **South China Sea:** The South China Sea has been considered as a cause of conflict and instability in East Asia. The most contested archipelagos of the South China Sea are the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands. According to the reports, these are rich in hydro-carbon resources.²⁶ Strategically and politically, they are important for the extensive maritime resource ownership and territorial space that they could potentially generate.²⁷ China claimed the South China Sea as its 'historical waters', which collides with US interests, including the traditional emphasis on freedom of navigation. It appears to be part of China's 'access denial' strategy aimed at keeping the US Navy from operating freely in the South China Sea. The Chinese Navy is also transforming itself from a 'sea-denial' to 'sea-control' force. Thus, the South China Sea has become the hub of a 'new Great Game' between the two states. The two cornerstones of US policy in the South China Sea deals with ensuring smooth navigation of trade and halting any maritime terrorism. In this regard, Bush administration initiated the Container Security Initiative (CSI), the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and the Regional Maritime Security Initiative (RMSI).

- **New Bamboo Curtain:** The Chinese strategy of ‘String of Pearls’ is the manifestation of China’s growing geo-political power which extends from the South China Sea across the Indian Ocean and reached to the Persian Gulf. This will challenge US naval supremacy in the Pacific Ocean and control over sea-lanes of communication. In response, the US aspires to contain China through a ‘New Bamboo Curtain’ which extends from South Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Australia, Vietnam, India and beyond. Through it, US seek to disrupt energy supplies in the straits of Malacca. To counter this strategy, China has started construction of the Chinese Myanmar pipeline, yet it remains under threat. Here, Pakistan provides another short distance energy corridor to Arabian Sea and the West. The distance shortens to only 3500 kms from Gawadar to Urumqi in Xinjiang province. Provision of this corridor would enhance relevance of Pakistan to China.
- **Regional Allies - Power Play:** The US has been engaged in the region with the bilateral alliances from the Cold War period. The US alliance with Japan is a key foundation of her rendezvous in Asia-Pacific. The US is providing Ballistic Missile Defence to Japan. Both have also convergence of interests in containing growing Chinese influence in the region, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, climate change and energy security. The US has also developed a network

of bilateral alliances with Republic of Korea (ROK), New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand. The two emerging powers with which the US has recently engaged in are India and Indonesia. The Obama administration has focused on maintaining purposeful relationships with both states. It will ensure the access to the world's most vital energy and trade route.²⁸ Moreover, India and Indonesia are home of one-fourth of the world's population and are major drivers of the global economy. Indo-US Strategic partnership has produced a negative impact on South Asia. It stimulated India's hegemonic ambitions and paved the way for adventurism in the region. The US policy objectives are to establish India's strategic leadership in the region to contain rapid economic and military development of China. India has also included China into her new military doctrine 'Cold Start', along with Pakistan that will seriously threaten the regional stability by disturbing balance of power. It will further lead to a regional arms race between the three nuclear weapons states.

- **Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons:** Proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region is a threat to the US homeland security and for the regional stability in Asia as well. The US provides nuclear deterrence to two of its allies Japan and South Korea. It is also engaged in multilateral negotiations with North

Korea on dismantling its nuclear program. If North Korea is able to explode its nuclear device then the chances of Japan to re-evaluate its nuclear policy would increase. She can even consider having a ballistic missile defence system and modifying their command and control doctrine.²⁹ North Korea remained a threat in Obama administration's security strategy.³⁰

- **US-Asian Multilateralism:** The increasingly interdependent world has changed the entire dynamic of world politics. This trend in states has opened markets in Asia to present the US with unparalleled opportunities for trade, investment and access to advance technology.³¹ Two ways trade between Asia and United States is about \$1 trillion that is about 27 per cent of the total trade.³² The US is promoter of free trade and open markets in Asia Pacific as it will help US to cope with the economic crisis. The East Asia market has successfully sustained 2007- 2012 financial crisis. The prosperity of the US lies in maintaining economic links with Asia. It is having FTAs with Singapore and Australia, one with South Korea is in pipelines and has membership of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). President Obama participated first time in the East Asia Summit 2011. To pave the way, the US has also set off a new US mission to ASEAN in Jakarta and signed the 'Treaty of Amity and Cooperation' with Southeast Asia. The US has also proposed to bring

economies from across the Pacific into a single community by including New Zealand, Chile, Singapore, Brunei in the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership (TPP) in Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum. APEC is a leading regional economic forum, bringing emerging economies to promote open trade and investment along with building capacity to enhance regulatory regimes. It also helps the US to expand the exports and create high quality job opportunities in the US that will consecutively foster growth in the region.

An Overview of Emerging Politics of Asia-Pacific

The 21st century is an age of globalization and economic interdependence. The world is becoming more complex and interdependent. The transmission of knowledge and capital has made it impossible for the United States to contain the rise of China. The financial crisis of 2005 was enough to realize US that to maintain their hegemony they have to regain their lost energies. The war on terror and invasion of Iraq has damaged US economy. The rise of China and its economic out-reach to the world markets challenged the US hegemony. The US Security Strategy 2012 is an attempt to refocus their priorities. The economies of East Asia and China have successfully sustained the pressure of financial crisis. Thus, it is vital for the revival of the US economy to gain from the Asian economy. Secondly, the rise of China is a threat to US hegemony. The new military doctrine of concentration of

60 percent of naval force in Asia Pacific till 2020 is manifestation of containment syndrome.

These developments have serious implications on the region. The countries previously comfortable with the status quo are looking toward the emerging situation with anxiety and fear. China is more anxious with the emerging situation as its neighbours across East, South and Southeast Asia are building up their military capabilities and boosting their security links with the US and forming alliances. Even Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei are expected to move towards the US. The competition for resources, territorial conflicts and mutual distrust has a potential to wage a new Cold War in Asia.

China is currently following the 'Low Profile Strategy' and not ready to take leadership role but the development in the region will not allow China to remain committed to his strategy and ultimately it will become an assertive power. The matter of fact is that since the mid-1990s, the national security establishments of China and US have considered each other as serious potential threats. The China's 'area control' strategy and United States' Air-Sea Battle response are the two countermeasure strategies against each other. China is also expanding its Maritime presence in the region to protect its interest and counter the threat of US encirclement. China's Navy submarine repeatedly intruded into Japan's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and the Chinese Navy fleet regularly passed through the Okinawa and Miyako Islands, the

Japanese Archipelago, for anti-access/anti-denial operation against the US Navy.

Another step China has taken is to sponsor anti-US alliance in the Asia-Pacific. China is historically in alliance with North Korea, a critical buffer state between the China and the US. It is also increasing economic ties with Myanmar, the gateway to the Indian Ocean and the Malacca Strait. The strengthening of relationship with Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Sri Lanka through economic aid, arms sales, building road link via Burma etc is also an attempt to counterbalance India and sponsor anti-US alliance system. Such Cold War developments in the region will bring the region on brink of war and any breach of hostilities can trigger large-scale war in the region. The countries of Asia-Pacific would be victim of major power rivalry in that case.

Moreover, the tension between North Korea and South Korea has been increased due to American factor. The North Korea is more offended by the rhetoric from South Korea and United States. The increasing US presence in the region, regular large-scale military exercises conducted on the country's borders by the US and ROK has threatened the security of the North Korea. Moreover, the pressure for reform and demand for opening the economy will increase in the coming years. In that case the reaction from North Korea is evident. Resultantly, the security and stability in the Korea peninsula will be jeopardize.

In the prism of Liberalism, the Asia Century could be more harmonious. The economic interdependence of states, economic dependence of Asia-Pacific countries on the China and US-China economic relations could prevent war and conflict. The shift in global structure of powers could be multipolar one. In that case, the ASEAN regional forum, ASEAN+3, the East Asia Summit, China-Japan-South Korea and the Shanghai Cooperation could bring harmony and integration in the region.

Implications for Pakistan

These significant developments in the geo-political landscape of the world politics have created new threats and opportunities for Pakistan. Pakistan has to manoeuvre policies for maximizing opportunities and minimizing threats. The US has announced the withdrawal of its forces till 2014 however; they will maintain their presence in the region. The new strategy emphasizes the role of India as a key partner in the region. In this scenario, the short term and long-term implication for Pakistan are as following:-

- The US attempts to encircle China by strategic partnership with India, alliance with Japan and Australia is threatening for regional stability. India has emerged as a responsible power in international politics. Therefore, the balance of power in South Asia is favourably tilted towards India.
- Indo-US Strategic partnership has produced a negative impact on South Asia. It stimulated India's hegemonic

ambitions and paved the way for adventurism in the region. India is continuously modernizing its nuclear and military capabilities. It has also expanded its naval power in the Indian Ocean to establish its supremacy in the Indian Ocean. Hence, Pakistan's security concerns have been increased from its Eastern border.

- Pakistan's geographical importance in South Asia cannot be ruled out. Pakistan stands at the crossroads of Central Asia, the Middle East, South Asia and the Gulf region. The US drive to maintain the control over oil and trade routes and Pakistan's central position to the main routes will never diminish the importance of Pakistan. US proposed New Silk Route which will connects East to West will pass from India-Pakistan-Afghanistan, however, this route partially delinks Gawadar Port with the old traditional Silk Route that also had North-South connections.
- The Chinese have started construction of the Chinese-Myanmar pipeline to reduce the dependence on Strait of Malacca. In case the US succeeded in containing China with the help of 'New Bamboo Curtain', Pakistan can provide an alternate energy corridor to China and open the way for 'Pak-China Maritime Strategic Cooperation' agreement.³³
- For the success of Gawadar port, peace and stability in Balochistan is necessary. There are clear evidences of involvement of foreign hands in destabilization of

Balochistan.³⁴ The purpose is to stop the access of China towards Gawadar. The Chinese refusal to provide money for construction of Iran-Pakistan pipeline and refusal to bid for the third development phase of Gawadar port due to insecurity is success of vested powers.

- Pakistan, China and India, have an economic and security interdependence equation. The bilateral trade between China and India stands at US\$60 billion. China is India's' leading trade partner and trying to engage India economically. The Chinese dependence on the oil is another factor of Sino-Indo cooperation. India is emerging as a strong naval power of Indian Ocean. Thus, for the accesses of Persian Gulf oil transportation, amicable relations with India are necessary for China. Moreover, the US policy of encirclement and inter-state rivalry has failed to bring successful multilateral institution.

Conclusion

The centre of gravity is shifted towards Asia Pacific. The region is the hub of major political and economic developments in the world. The Obama administration remained committed to strengthen her alliances to balance the emerging threats emanating from the region. Therefore, the US has to maintain military presence up to the extent that it will not endanger the stability in the region. The US and China has to work together to ensure strong and balance future

global growth. The US need to have more pragmatic and realistic approach towards China.

Multilateral approach is the best way forward for the development and prosperity of the region. China cannot sustain its current pace of economic growth if its neighbours do not benefit from its rise. Similarly, US economic gains are associated with development in the region. Asia Pacific has a window of opportunity to press forward with truly effective regional economic institution.

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CHINA'S CONTAINMENT SYNDROME: REVISITING THE ISSUE FROM PAKISTANI PERSPECTIVE

Afifa Kiran

Abstract

The US and China's foreign policies towards each other carry a great importance for international as well as regional politics. The world is moving towards multi-polar world and the focus is shifting from West to East with China coming up as balancing power in the regional and at the global level in medium to long term. This brings the new era of mutual interests and risks in the global politics. The US is adopting a new strategy of both "containment" as well as "engagement" since President Obama revealed his new strategy for Asia Pacific. In this game of chess between the US led allies and China, Pakistan seems the biggest loser. China should on one hand speed up defensive modernization, and on the other hand, continues to rise peacefully using its economic power. In Post-September 11, Pakistan has emerged as the most vulnerable country in South Asia. A constructive US-China-Pakistan triangle could be a decisive factor in regional stability and the balance of power in South Asia. Confrontation would bring nothing but devastation which is detrimental to the security and the economic interests of the regional countries and the international community at large.

Introduction

During the Cold War era, there were four main approaches to maintain strategic security and stability. The important factors that impacted the global security/stability included balance of power, bipolar world, containment and deterrence. The approaches maintained during the Cold War can be traced back to the dominant theoretical traditions in international relations and the continuing competition between these different traditions.

Amongst them, one important approach is “containment policy”, which means a policy of checking the expansion or influence of a hostile power or ideology, by creation of strategic alliances or support of client states in areas of conflict or unrest. According to another definition, containment policy is an act or condition of containing, especially of restraining the ideological or political power of a hostile country or the operations of a hostile military force.¹

Military history defines containment as a foreign policy strategy followed by the United States (US) during the Cold War intended to check the expansionist designs of the Soviet Union through economic, military, diplomatic and political means. It was conceived by George F. Kennan soon after the World War II.² It was perceived that communist expansion would allow the Domino Theory to take hold, meaning that if one country fell to communism, then each surrounding country would fall as well, like a row of dominoes. Thus, the perceived threat ultimately led to the US intervention in

Vietnam, as well as in Central America and Grenada.³ However, an early application of containment was the Truman Doctrine of 1947, which enabled the US to provide aid to Greece and Turkey with a view to contain Soviet expansion.⁴

As we glance through the Cold War history, it appears that the first test of 'containment' came in Korea in June of 1950 when communist regime of Kim Il Sung, with the approval of Stalin and Mao Tse Dong, sought to forcefully reunite North and South Korea.⁵ The US, quickly responded to the communist aggression and sent its troops located closed by in Japan to assist the withering South Korean army.⁶ For this purpose, the US was able to garner the support of the United Nations, and a multinational force with troops from several Asian nations was sent to Korea. With the involvement of China, eventually, a stalemate was reached in 1953, with the lines near the 38th parallel, from where they began the operation. The Korean conflict demonstrated the US resolve to back up its containment policy with force.⁷

During the Cold War, China did not emerge as a player in the global security arena, even though it became nuclear weapon state during 1964. Containment of the Soviet Union remained central to American foreign policy throughout the Cold War. Thereafter, the commentators have also changed their focus from former Soviet Union to Iraq and more importantly China. Currently, it looks very obvious that containing China has become central to the US foreign policy.

Nonetheless, we are not living in Cold War era any more.

While the US continues to enjoy the status of the only super power, but it is also confronted with many challenges which are more acute in nature. In author's considered views, the world is moving towards multi-polar world and the focus is shifting from West to East with China coming up as balancing power in the regional and at the global level in medium to long term. This is the new era of mutual interests and risks in the global politics.

Currently, the US and China's foreign policies towards each other carry a great importance for international as well as regional politics. The US is adopting a new strategy of both "containment" as well as "engagement" since President Obama revealed his new strategy for Asia Pacific. America is avoiding making any declarations to contain China because of very high economic stakes, such as the Truman or Eisenhower doctrines or Churchill's Fulton speech however, in practical terms; it is already in process of implementing its strategy of containing China by strengthening its allies around China.

Whether or not the US would succeed, the Chinese containment policy has serious security repercussions for Pakistan both in the medium and long term. It will limit Pakistan's options both in terms of economic development as well as security enhancement. Though, Pakistan's geostrategic location provides great opportunities nevertheless, the real objectives can only be realized when it has the options to take independent decisions, free of coercion. But as occasionally said, one may change his friends but can't neighbor.

Unfortunately, hostile environments prevail all around Pakistan.⁸

Pakistan's 90 percent trade and energy lifeline is seaborne which is expected to rise thus, protection of coastline, territorial waters, exclusive economic zone (EEZ), and Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs), is vital for its economic and maritime security.⁹ Thus, being a small country having no power to dominate the relevant part of the sea, it might fail to get full advantage of the mineral rich EEZ if there is no check on the US led collusion in Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Thus, the evolving trends in South Asia and South East Asia security paradigm indicate that there would be a serious challenge for Pakistan in protecting its mid and long term objectives especially while dealing with its time tested friend China and the only super power the US.

In this backdrop, this paper focuses on China's dynamics of 'Containment Syndrome' with its new dimension which China is facing today and revisiting the issue from the perspective of Mid-Term Pakistani interests while addressing following factors: First, A new dimension: engaged containment; second, options available to China; three, the emerging strategic security environment and its implications for Pakistan and finally, proposed way forward. The opinion expressed in this paper is solely of the author's own and does not necessarily represent government or institutional stance.

A New Dimension: Engaged Containment

Before we focus on 'engaged containment' policy, it is important to bring out the fact that because of the economic interests, the US interests in Asia Pacific has increased manifolds thus, it remained engaged in the region with the bilateral alliances. The US-Japan alliance is a key foundation of American engagement in Asia Pacific. They have convergence of interests in containing growing Chinese influence in the region, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, climate change and energy security. The US has also a network of bilateral alliances with Republic of Korea (ROK), New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand.¹⁰

The two emerging powers with which the US has recently interacted are India and Indonesia, the Obama administration has pursued broader, deeper, and more purposeful relationships. The stretch of sea from the Indian Ocean through the Strait of Malacca to the Pacific contains the world's most vibrant trade and energy routes. Together, India and Indonesia already account for almost a quarter of the world's population. They are key drivers of the global economy and important partners for the US.¹¹

Thus in view of the importance of Asia Pacific, the old theory of 'containment' has reemerged with a new statecraft at the shell of international politics. In post Cold War period, there were two key components to the containment strategy: the formation of regional alliances and providing economic and military assistance to other nations to prevent communist

expansion.¹² However, presently, non-military measures have turned into and called as "Engaged Containment", a policy that builds on the gains that have been achieved in the US-China relationship. The US would wish to remain engaged with China in all areas excepting the military domain¹³ which means that while supporting a country in her efforts to flourish in the economic, social, and political arenas, the power projection capability of same must be discouraged. From the US perspective, "Engaged Containment" policy might be maintained through follows¹⁴:-

- **Diplomatically:** Encourage and assist, if asked, in the process of reunification between China and Taiwan, with Taiwan becoming a Special Autonomous Region similar to Hong Kong and Macao. This would eliminate a major barrier between the US and China. The reunification is a matter of time which is likely to occur with or without the US participation. However, if the US cooperates, it would gain influence in other foreign policy issues.
- **Economically:** Facilitate China in getting into the World Trade Organization. The US positive gestures would enhance its influence.
- **Socially:** Realize that social change in the Chinese culture does not move at the same speed as that in the Western World, but China is changing. Thus, be less critical and more patient with the speed of social reforms. A democratic, industrialized, yet militarily

provocative China could be a significant challenge to global stability.

- **Militarily:** Ensure that appropriate forces (US and allied) are positioned forward so that they automatically become committed should China use force. The forward presence would establish the credibility of a US response and should prevent Chinese aggression. A carrier battle group presence in the South China Sea region which is regarded as a source of conflict and instability in East Asia would be a significant containment. The most contested archipelagos of the South China Sea are the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands. Strategically and politically, they are important for the extensive maritime resource ownership and territorial space that they could potentially generate. China claimed South China Sea as its “historical waters”, which collides with the US interests, including the traditional emphasis on freedom of navigation. Thus, the South China Sea has become the hub of a new Great Game between the US and China.¹⁵

Thus, with a view to maintain dominance over Asia Pacific and South China Sea, the US has been consolidating its power in Australia and Singapore, and there are plans to begin military assistance to countries in the Asia-Pacific region. One may safely draw a conclusion that efforts are in hand to contain China from becoming a maritime power because of

the coordinated efforts of these countries. Accordingly, the regional states especially India, Japan and Australia are being patronized and promoted as a front line states against Chinese expansionist designs as visualized by the US which is likely to challenge its hegemony.

These countries under the US umbrella seem prepared to take a chance and establish first ring around China which effectively prevents the country from being a maritime power. Today, the Chinese navy's access to open water is controlled by Americans. However, there is also a second circle (based on Guam and Hawaii), as well as a third, reserve one, the base for which is California and Alaska¹⁶ and China's reaction to it has significantly impacted its direction and even perhaps its realization and success.

Containment of China in Secret Connivance

Serious competition has come up between the two key players in the geostrategic landscape of Asia pacific region. Therefore, the coming decades are crucial for global security after the US policy shift in the said region. China is certainly a country with this potential. According to demographic forecasts, the population of China in 2020 will be 1.45 billion¹⁷ as compare to the US demographic calculation of 337.1 million by 2020. It is opined that China has come up as one of the strongest countries in the world in terms of national income per capita. At this stage, China is using economic potential to its full extent which the US sees as serious challenges.

China economic growth along with military modernization in the post Cold War area has become worrisome issue for the US. At economic front, the US and eight other countries (Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore and Vietnam) have agreed on the outline of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a free trade agreement that should benefit 500 millions consumers on both sides of the Ocean excluding China however, Japan too has finally decided to join the TPP, a very reasonable economic choice in light of the increased competition on the US market expected from the US-South Korea Free Trade Agreement (FTA)¹⁸.

The US has recently unveiled a new military strategy that aims to strengthen the country's military presence in the Asia-Pacific region despite fiscal constraints, adjusting troop structure to a new era of austerity¹⁹. The US has been bolstering its major military alliances in the Asia-Pacific region (Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia and Taiwan) and is adjusting the positioning of its five major military base clusters, while also seeking more entry rights for military bases around China. Intense negotiations are taking place on re-establishing the US naval base in Subic Bay in the Philippines. It has been confirmed that the US and Vietnam have begun informal talks on leasing the former US military base in Cam Ranh.²⁰ The southern transit route, which runs through the strategically important Strait of Malacca, is vital for China. If it were closed, China's economy would not be able to survive even for a month. That is why the US created a

permanent group of warships that will be located in Singapore.²¹

In addition, the most serious challenge for the China is that the US military presence in Central, South and South-East Asia may undermine Chinese influence in these regions and make it more difficult for China to achieve its security, economic and energy objectives in the future.²² Nonetheless, India perceives the regional security paradigm in different perspective and projects an alliance between China, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Iran and Pakistan as a balancing power to India, the US and even Russia.²³

Major Features of the Contemporary US Military Strategy

Following pillars of US strategic moves have set the foundation for a containment strategy aimed at China:-

- Maintenance of US military presence in South Korea and Japan.
- Safeguarding international sea lanes as a key priority.
- Supporting China's neighboring countries through soft power and providing them security protection in the time of conflict through agreements (Philippines, Indonesia and Vietnam).
- Forbids technology transfers.
- Deployment and enhancement of more unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV's) and cyber-war technology in pacific region.

To avoid these US maneuvers, in 2002 through various agreements, China showed the willingness to refrain from use of force as an instrument of policy as Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea; Joint Development Zones in South China Sea; SE Asia declared a Nuclear-Free Zone and close military ties with Russia. This made the US to adapt protectionist policies against China either in trade or military.²⁴

However, it is believed that alliances are not reliable. They remain intact only when their common interests are served amicably. While the allies may have common objectives, but they may have difference of opinion as well that is what makes an alliance weak and unreliable. So while every state in the region is looking as what is there for it, and so is the US. The US is of the view that by protecting its strategic interests in the region against China, its policy will have an inbuilt advantage for others as well. By maintaining strong alliance, the People Liberation Army (PLA) will have to fight enemy after enemy and will be weakened. There is a whole nest of enemies; the PLA will have to fight in the Asia Pacific. So the US is supporting its allies to reinforce their current positions and creating newer positions.

This is primarily demonstrated in the US increasing focus on the Asia-Pacific region or, more accurately, in the emergence of an integrated military strategy for the Europe-Atlantic region and the Asia-Pacific region. India and the Indian Ocean are expected to play an important role in such a geo-strategy. In the closing days of the Clinton administration,

the containment of China gradually increased in importance as a factor influencing America's Asia-Pacific strategy. In addition to causing trouble on the Taiwan issue, the strategy of containment included reliance on Japanese and Indian Forces, and especially on the trend of enhancing India's capabilities to contain China.²⁵

Options Available to China

China has to find a way to evade the containment ring by the US in Asia Pacific region. The US allies are all intensely pursuing containment less engagement strategies with China, driven principally by an economic logic. They want to benefit from China's large and growing economy, especially during the current global recession. But these goals exist alongside concerns about China's long-term intentions, particularly its military modernization plans. The potential for economic cooperation between China and its neighboring countries is great.²⁶ China should learn to use this to protect its political interests. Any country which chooses to be a pawn in the US chess game will lose the opportunity to benefit from China's economy. This will surely make the US umbrella less attractive.

Regardless what China does, the US will look at it as a threat because it challenges its dominance and hegemony status. In a near term, China should not do anything which might force it to get into confrontation with the US at this stage when it is aiming at achieving the economic dominance. But despite the US encirclement policy, China has the

options/opportunities to balance out the US and prosper in all fields. Some of the areas may include: -

- Active diplomacy: Creating premeditated partnerships with the second-tier powers.
- First-rate neighbor foreign policy in the Asian Pacific region.
- Seeking cooperation and fending off war of words with the US.

China may also consider reducing its cooperation with the US while dealing with other countries at the UN forum, like Iran and North Korea. The Chinese displayed behavior would make the US realize its importance while dealing with international security challenges including nuclear non-proliferation and terrorism issues and the emerging problems in the Middle East.

In addition, increase more funding in R&D and military modernization while taking following steps:-

- China may decide to increase the number of nuclear warheads from its current 400 to close to what US has (about 8500). It is considered that the US only understands the language of mutual destruction.
- Pour more money into space research and have a plan to weaponize it if required. Compatibility in space technology would enable China to take stronger position at the international forums.
- The US seems scared from the Chinese expertise in cyber field. Thus, China may continue to make further

improvement so as to create deterrence sufficient enough to keep the US guessing as to how its satellite based communication infrastructure would behave if there is an open war between the two countries.

- Get desired objectives in the above 3 areas, it can prevent the invasion from the US. However, in order to get parity in the military field with the US, it may have to wait for another five decades despite its potential to surpass the US on economic fronts by 2030.

Emerging US-China Tension: Implications for Pakistan

The China-Pakistan relationship is underpinned by traditional geo-political interests. These include concerns about India, about terrorism and religious extremism, economic cooperation and about domestic and regional stability. Prospects of the Pakistan's engagement with China are very high in view of the emerging scenario in Asia Pacific. China's economic relations with Pakistan offer immediate benefit to Pakistan and longer-term benefit to China. China's investments in the Gawadar deep sea port, the Karakoram Highway, and planned rail lines have the potential to open up China's West to further development by providing landlocked western China with its only ocean access.²⁷

Additionally, China-Pakistan relations have a strong military component, which some participants' alleged makes the PLA a key player in China's decisions involving Pakistan. Bilateral military cooperation ranges from naval cooperation,

to past nuclear assistance, to arms sales, to combined military and anti-terror exercises. The two governments habitually describe their ties in glowing terms as an “all-weather friendship” that is “higher than the mountains and deeper than the oceans.” Pakistan offers China strategic grip on Pakistani considered areas. Pakistan has all the potential to fulfill China’s growing dependence on maritime commerce through Gawadar port, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf and outside the Strait of Hormuz. It is near the key shipping routes used by the mainline vessels that have connections to Africa, Asia and Europe, and it enjoys a high commercial and strategic significance.²⁸ This new development would also help China to avoid the Straits of Malacca, encompassing the key SLOCs that Chinese oil imports must transit otherwise.

Moreover, Pakistan might be asked to offer military bases either in the FATA or Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) to China as their borders the Chinese Xinjiang province. The Chinese central government website stated the following:

“Setting up overseas military bases is not an idea we have to shun; on the contrary, it is our right. It is baseless to say that we will not set up any military bases in future because we have never sent troops abroad. As for the military aspect, we should be able to conduct a retaliatory attack within the country or at the neighboring area of our potential enemies. We should also be able to put pressure on the overseas interests of potential enemies. With further development, China will be in great demand of military protection”.²⁹

While both China and the US would like to see a stable and secular Pakistan fighting against extremism and terrorism and supporting both in their respective domains but the approach seems different. Chinese support for Pakistan on the issue of terrorism was firm and wholesome when it reacted on the issue of the US raid that killed Osama bin Laden in the garrison town of Abbottabad in Pakistan. China was the first country that expressed support and attempted to rescue the country from the current distress. Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu remarked, “Pakistan has made very important contributions in international counterterrorism cooperation as well as rendered great sacrifices...Indeed, Pakistan is a victim of terrorism.” Undoubtedly, one of the most important aspects of their bonding is their mutual interest in containing India and its influence in the region.³⁰

As indicated above, while the Chinese seems more cooperative and friendly, the US maintains a hostile approach and wish to see Pakistan as a client state working in close coordination with the US as well as with India. In author’s considered views, any move that may bring Pakistan closer to China beyond certain limits would be considered detrimental to the US interests in the region and is likely to be dealt aggressively in close coordination with its regional allies including India and even Afghanistan.

The indicators are clearly visible where the intelligence agencies of the US and its allies seem intimately involved in Balochistan with a view to stop the Chinese access towards

Gawadar Port as alternative option to protect its economic interests especially if the containment policy of the US succeeds. Apparently, Pakistan does not have the option to take a hard stance to curb the ongoing tendencies in Balochistan. Therefore, a greater cooperation between China-Pakistan involving the role of Chinese military inside Pakistan may have very serious repercussions for Pakistan. Balancing the relations between the two at this critical juncture would be a daunting task for Pakistani policy makers. Recently, it has been reported that some soldiers of the PLA are present in northern part of Pakistan.³¹ However, the news has not been reconfirmed through other independent sources.

From a geopolitical perspective, the subcontinent and the Indian Ocean connect Washington's European-Atlantic strategy with its Asia-Pacific strategy. The US began to contemplate the need for a new European-Asian strategy to deal with potential threats stemming from the uncertain futures of both Russia and China. The US decided to choose India that could play a key role in this new strategy because their strategic interests converge as both share the common view of China as a potential and major future threat; and both have common interests in circumscribing the rise of China. The US strategy to have close relations with India served two purposes: First, it may help the US in containing China and secondly, it was the best way for the US to break through a possible Sino-Russian-Indian strategic triangle.³²

It is generally observed that both the US and China would continue to support India and Pakistan respectively. The Chinese support is focused on containing India while the US support is aimed at containing China and forcing Pakistan to toe its line with that of India. In author's considered opinion, while the US support is massive in the form of state of the art military hardware, nuclear and space technology, the Chinese support can make no material difference to balance out India's growing military might. Though, the US may not succeed in creating serious impediments for China having one of the most advanced military however, its wholehearted support to India will have serious implications for the regional stability where Pakistan may be forced to lower its nuclear threshold to regain the balance.³³

Proposed Way Forward

Pakistan must desist from oscillating between one super power to another and invest in a truly respectful, trustful and economically beneficial relationship with its immediate neighbors. The latest development of declaring India as a favorite nation and subsequent interaction on the economic front is a good sign. However, the core issues including the issue of the Jammu and Kashmir can't be sidelined which is a pre-requisite for long term sustainable peace and stability in the region.

Pakistan can't afford to put all eggs in one basket as it has done in the past. It can't afford cooperation with one at the cost of other. It should remain open and cooperative with all

regional as well as extra regional states. Therefore, Pakistan Foreign Office must reach out to all countries to establish good friendly relations. In addition to others, Pakistan should continue to create environment for better ties with Russia which can play very important role in creating good will between India and Pakistan and reduce the US influence in the region. A close alliance between China-Russia and Pakistan can change the perception that this region can still live peacefully without the US influence.

Pakistan should adopt the policy of “friendship with all-enmity with none”. The solution to the regional problems should be found regionally where the stakes are very high. Since the last six decades, the outsiders have done nothing in resolving the local/regional issues and they are unlikely to play any decisive role in future as well. Therefore, interacting and cooperating with each other at the regional level might help in medium to long term in finding amicable solutions to the ongoing problems.

As suggested by the Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan, “The international community should encourage direct dialogue between India and Pakistan in a more balanced and fair manner, which is the most effective way to lead South Asia towards peace and stability”.³⁴

History shows that the Indo-Pakistan conflict can't be resolved without the help of the United Nations and big powers such as the US, Russia and China. Considering the dangers and possibility of conflict in Kashmir escalating to a

nuclear war in South Asia, both India and Pakistan should take active and concrete steps to ease the tensions and seek ways to solve the long-standing conflict. But before a final resolution is reached, India and Pakistan should respect the Line of Control and not to change the *status quo* unilaterally.

The US policy towards South Asia aims at maintaining cooperative ties with Pakistan in countering terrorism while transforming strategic relations with India and connecting non-proliferation with regional stability. The success of the policy in large part depends on whether Washington and Islamabad can find more common interests beyond counterterrorism and whether New Delhi develops more open-minded and responsible policies in relation to Pakistan.

Warming US-India cooperation and the profound US military presence in South and Central Asia, in conjunction with increasing US military influence in South-East Asia and long-held military bases in East Asia, make China more concerned about the US intentions in these areas. Improving US-Pakistan relations, however, present a good chance for China to cooperate with the US in South Asia where Beijing shares many of the same goals as Washington including preventing terrorism; promoting Indo-Pakistani dialogue and escalation control measures; and curbing proliferation throughout the region.

China's principal interests and key goals in South Asia are regional stability and a balance of power. It is necessary—and possible—to carry out a 'constructive, balanced and

independent' strategy towards South Asia by developing constructive relations with India while improving traditional friendly relations with Pakistan. A close understanding between China-India and Pakistan can bring lot of prosperity and economic development in the region.

China should invite both India and Pakistan to join the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which would provide an institutional framework to engender cooperation. It would also be helpful from the perspective of countering US military influence in South and Central Asia.

Conclusion

To secure the regional security architecture, China won't follow a path to war but that does not mean that China will surrender to US strategic containment. China should on one hand speed up defensive modernization, and on the other hand, continue to rise peacefully using its economic power. US will continue its containment policy to maintain its military muscles in the Asia pacific region against China. Therefore, for China, preclusion is must in present scenario through creating strategic partnerships with the second-tier powers in Asia pacific.

The US should simply strive to maintain the military status quo and be content with Chinese protestations. The US and its allies should involve in constructive competition with China in the economic field rather than the military field. Confrontation would bring nothing but devastation which is detrimental to the security and the economic interests of the

regional countries and the international community at large. In this game of chess between the US led allies and China, Pakistan seems the biggest loser.

In Post-September 11, Pakistan has emerged as the most vulnerable country in South Asia. While the future of the US-Pakistan partnership seems murky, the future of the US-India strategic relationship, however, is bright in the long term which goes against Pakistan's security interest. Unfortunately, there are unresolved issues between India and Pakistan and the prospect of eventual peace between New Delhi and Islamabad is quite low, especially if the former keeps its hard stance on the Kashmir issue. And finally, a constructive US-China-Pakistan triangle could be a decisive factor in regional stability and the balance of power in South Asia.

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**NARCO-TRADE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION:
A CASE-STUDY OF AFGHANISTAN**

Mehwish Nigar Qureshi

Abstract

Although the financial channels do not hold a significant position in inter-state wars as their finances are drawn from the state directly but in case of insurgencies, the financial support forms the backbone of insurgency as it cannot flourish without viable financial channels. With increased focus on devising strategies to use hard-power to crush the insurgency in Afghanistan, other dimensions of the conflict, calling for use of soft power have been neglected. Among these, the major area of concern is the role of narcotics industry and its impact on the central dynamics that underpin the quagmire in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, drug industry has gained a pivotal role by becoming the funding source for insurgency with the passage of time. It is therefore necessary that Narco-traders, forming the financial vein of insurgency, be treated as core parties in U.S-Taliban negotiation process. Therefore, eliminating drug trafficking in Afghanistan equals rooting out terrorism from the region.

Introduction

The havoc of United States' negotiations with Taliban which is stated officially as a U.S supported Afghan-led negotiation process with Taliban insurgents seems to have grave prospects of accomplishment. These talks initially aimed to "create conditions in which a more sustainable and possibly

internationally endorsed--process of negotiating led by the Afghan government, and including players such as the Pakistan government, can take place."¹ But unfortunately, with much of the recent shifts at the strategic levels to tackle insurgency in Afghanistan by peaceful means, the focus has been narrowed down to the primary players only thus neglecting (intentionally or unintentionally) the secondary actors and other dimensions of the conflict have faded from view. According to Peter Mandaville, the most critical factor among these is the role played by narcotics trafficking in sustaining insurgency in Afghanistan and its impact on the central dynamics that underpin the quagmire in South Asia. He states, "The situation that the United States and U.S. international allies face on the ground is driven by factors that far transcend al Qaeda and its regional affiliates".²

Although the financial channels do not hold a significant position in inter-state wars as their finances are drawn from the state directly but in case of insurgencies, the financial support forms the backbone of insurgency as it can not flourish without viable financial channels. An insight into dynamics of insurgency and terrorism in Afghanistan shows that unstable security environment for last three decades, with periods of civil unrest and foreign interventions have made the conflict more complex.

In order to resolve a conflict in an effective manner, it is necessary to identify the stakeholders first, and the basics of conflict resolution (parties, motives, interests and attitudes)

need to be studied carefully which in turn help in resolving a conflict.³ Identification and involvement of all stakeholders is a key issue in conflict resolution. A clear understanding of the nature and interests (long-term as well as short-term) of all stakeholders is necessary in order to anticipate and address the issue and design pragmatic patterns of conflict resolution.⁴ In case of Afghanistan, with gradual evolution of conflict, the stakeholders have increased not only in number but also some of them seem to be transformed in status from embedded parties to core parties in the conflict.

With increased focus on devising strategies to use hard-power to crush the insurgency in Afghanistan, other dimensions of the conflict, calling for use of soft power have been neglected. Among these, the major area of concern is the role of narcotics industry and its impact on the central dynamics that underpin the quagmire in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, drug industry has gained a pivotal role by becoming the funding source for insurgency with the passage of time. It is therefore necessary that Narco-traders, forming the financial vein of insurgency, be treated as core parties in U.S -Taliban negotiation process for attaining long-term peace in Afghanistan as financial cord of an insurgency is the most critical factor. Therefore, eliminating drug trafficking in Afghanistan equals rooting out terrorism from the region.

The difficulties to achieve tangible results in curbing insurgency in Afghanistan compel to review the conflict's dynamics to devise effective counter measures. Moreover, the

connection between the insurgency campaign of Taliban and their relationship to the drug economy in Afghanistan needs to be studied in detail to reach tangible conclusions which will help in conflict resolution using political, economic and military means.

The essay aims to explore the dynamics of narco-industry in Afghanistan with a perspective to analyze its relevance and influence on the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan and to draw pragmatic conclusions regarding its role in the de-stability of Afghanistan.

Theoretical Framework

A conflict is essentially a situation in which interests, values and needs of different parties are seen to be in collision. It may involve two or more actors, who have positions based on conflicting needs, values, and interests who perceive their positions to be incompatible. The goal of conflict resolution is to bring the conflicting parties to a shared understanding of the problem and thereafter use that shared understanding to arrive at a settlement of dispute.⁵ In order to resolve a conflict, it is therefore necessary to have an awareness of the background of a conflict, needs of conflicting parties, their capacity to sustain a conflict (financial base), number of actors involved (core, embedded, and marginal parties), and the nature of conflict in terms of destructive or constructive outcomes. Today, conflicts do not limit to inter- state level, but extend to intra- state as well as regional and global levels (keeping in view nature of the conflicting parties). With the

inclusion of non state actors (in the form of multinational organizations and terrorist organizations etc) in international political system, the nature of conflict has also been affected. Thus due to transformation in nature and dynamics of conflicts, conflict resolution has become a very complex and intricate mechanism and mal-handling at one step can derail the whole process.

According to the conflict tree model, as a conflict prolongs, stakes as well as stakeholders in the conflict increase like the branches of a tree.⁶ There appear parties who are not actively engaged in fighting but from a closer look, it is revealed that they are gaining most from the anarchic situation in the country or region. These stakeholders mostly have economic aims and work for prolonging the conflict by supporting the fighting parties. These also at times become the prime source of funding to conflicts, especially in insurgencies, and work to spoil all peace deals as the negotiation process starts. Spoilers in a conflict can be defined as parties who have incentives in the continuation of violence, public disorder and political economy of war.⁷ They exploit the political economy of conflicts for material gains. Paul Collier states that civil wars afford opportunities to profit which are not available during peacetime and incentives to engage in high-risk, high profit activities of an illegitimate nature proliferate during civil unrest and insurgencies, facilitated by weak governance. He divides these opportunities into different categories - opportunistic behavior, criminality, profiteering and rent-

seeking predation.⁸ According to Collier, cycles of violence benefit actors involved in these activities in positive ways.

Afghanistan's Narco-economy and Genesis of Afghan Opium Trade

Violence and crime are inter-related social phenomena and flourish in unstable security environment as discussed above. Countries coping with domestic unrest, civil wars and foreign interventions always end-up having worst social profiles. The cycles of civil wars and foreign invasions in Afghanistan followed by terrorism, have affected the country's licit economy adversely and provided space for narco-economy to flourish.⁹ According to UNODC estimates, revenues from the Afghan opiate industry at 61% of licit GDP in 2004 and 52% in 2005.¹⁰ This vast pool of resources outside the hands of a legitimate government represents a significant threat to present efforts towards the creation of a stable and effective state where drug economy continues to be a central source of funding for terrorists operating.¹¹

An explanation of Afghan history and opium cultivation will follow as the knowledge of recent Afghan history is necessary to understand the rise of the Afghan drug trade. The last three decades of Afghan history are marked by "chronic civil war", which has resulted into dysfunctional form of state authority and institutions. Unfortunately this period served the narco-traders most, who benefited from weak governance. This period can be referred to as the genesis of the Afghan opium trade.¹² The Afghan wide-scale opium cultivation for

export began after 1979 when the Soviet and Afghan Government of that time relied upon the elimination of rural support in order to starve the (U.S funded) Mujahideen insurgency in Afghanistan through destruction of rural property in the form of livestock, food supplies, wells, irrigation projects and the mining of agricultural lands.¹³ This led to alienation of rural population from the urban bound central government, disruption of traditional agricultural practices, and minimized area of productive lands.¹⁴ Then in 1990's, the era of warlordism began after Soviet withdrawal and the descent of Afghanistan into factional civil war,¹⁵ as US interests in the region were served and funding of the Mujahadeen was ceased. This was an era of no outside funding and the inability of any faction to assert control beyond regional powerbases. The warlords paved their way by introducing taxation on local economic activity (irrespective of legal and illegal economic activity) in return for providing protection to them. The practice still continues in most of Afghanistan's rural areas and helped narco-traders in a positive manner.

Narco-Economy in Afghanistan: Post 9/11

In the post 9/11 era, the symbiotic relationship between drug-lords and war-lords flourished and the distinction among terrorist movements, insurgencies and organized crimes particularly drug trade got blurred in the absence of a strong central government in Afghanistan. The control of the central government did not extend far beyond Kabul. It was

the local warlords and tribal chiefs who controlled the territory at the regional levels and earned revenues by providing protection to narco-traffickers.¹⁶ Afghan governments' counter-narcotics efforts with a multi-pronged approach for combating cultivation and trafficking through eradication, interdiction and by providing alternative livelihoods to farmers failed to achieve positive outcomes because successive International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) commanders in Afghanistan have been focusing more on use of military power to crush the insurgency instead of making it face death through suffocation by cutting down their financial sources. Consequently, Taliban's ability to sustain losses and buy weapons is going unnoticed.¹⁷ The illicit drug economy in Afghanistan is believed to be fuelling terrorism and insurgency in the country.¹⁸ According to United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Report 2009, the actors involved in destabilization of Afghanistan are explicitly or implicitly linked to the narco-industry.¹⁹

The analysis of Taliban attitude towards drug industry in the post 9/11 era reveals that the financial capital and the political capital are the two main drivers which compelled them to indulge in narco-trade. A conservative estimate about the exact number of Taliban fighters is 5,000-10,000 armed insurgents; however other estimates report it to be 30,000.²⁰ Affording such a large number of fighters by a non-state entity requires a viable and uninterrupted financial channel. According to Raphael Perl, a major chunk of Taliban's income

comes from their involvement in drug-trade.²¹ Other sources of Taliban income include taxation of all economic areas where they have a strong presence, illicit logging, illicit trade in wildlife and donations. But apart from funding from other sources, afghan opium industry provides the most appropriate option to supplement the organizational income through partial involvement.

Political capital is another pertinent factor which means legitimacy with and support from the population and the willingness of the population to deny intelligence to the government. As in Afghanistan the illicit drug economy underlies much of the economic, social and hence political life of the country. The Taliban derive substantial political capital from their sponsorship of the illicit drug economy.²² Being more revenue generating as compared to licit crop economy,²³ narco-economy became more preferred source of funding and on the other hand, the insurgency became the most preferred situation for the narco-trade to flourish as there were no governmental obligations to follow in the absence of a strong central government.

According to UNODC Report 2009, there are strong affiliations among drug-lords and war-lords in Afghanistan. It also traces the chain of links among international drug traffickers, insurgents and weapon suppliers.²⁴ Alfred McCoy in his book writes that in the aftermath of 9/11, the CIA revived its relations with the warlords involved in the narco-trading to seize towns and cities across eastern Afghanistan to

create ideal conditions for reversing the Taliban's opium ban and reviving the drug traffic. It is evident from sudden outburst of poppy planting in the heroin-heartlands of Helmand and Nangarhar and rise in opium production figures in 2002-03.²⁵ According to Michel Chossudovsky Afghan narcotics economy is a carefully designed project of the CIA and it is supported by US foreign policy and surprisingly it is not being mentioned in any official UNODC publications, which focus on internal social and political factors only.²⁶ He further states, “US foreign policy supports the workings of a thriving criminal economy . . . heroin business is not filling the coffers of the Taliban as claimed by US government and the international community: quite the opposite! The proceeds of this illegal trade are the source of wealth formation, largely reaped by powerful business/criminal interests within the Western countries. These interests are sustained by US foreign policy. . .”²⁷

Significance of Narco-Traders in Conflict Resolution and Proposed Way Forward

An overview of the parties, involved in conflict (with direct and indirect stakes), reveals that major issues confronting the international community in crushing insurgency in Afghanistan and reconstruction and rehabilitation of its society is narco-trading. This connection became more evident in the Presidential elections of 2009, when there have been news about the undemocratic forces in Afghanistan that have constantly gained power and wealth over the past several

years, seemed to be hijacking the election process to ensure their future interests and legitimize their grip on political and public institutions. These forces include former and current warlords, militia commanders and human rights abusers who have money, power and influence across the country which make them incomparably stronger than the ordinary voters with demands not only limited to future power sharing.²⁸ The ARM Report states that the fallacy that elections cannot be won without the support of influential warlords and other political heavyweights has become a political realism and a social reality in Afghanistan.²⁹ In these circumstances, U.S efforts to resolve the conflict through peaceful means need to incorporate narco-industry stakeholders as direct party to negotiation process. Some of the suggested measures are as following:

- There is a need to involve all stakeholders in the negotiation process. An effective conflict resolution model requires involvement of all stakeholders ranging from fighters, policy planners and financial beneficiaries of the conflict. In order to win a counter-insurgency campaign, it is necessary to trace the financial channels and devise a strategy to cut these channels or either convince the stakeholders in financial chains through political dialogue to stop their support to insurgents. Without taking all the stakeholders into consideration, a successful conflict resolution model can not be devised.

- There is a need for a more aggressive counter-narcotics offensive and formulation of terms of trade more favorable to legal crops to discourage the cultivation of crops which are more revenue generating and fuel the insurgency. The parties with primary intent of economic aggrandizement need to be addressed by tactics, which should be different from conventional conflict resolution methods. It is necessary to buy the insurgency's logistic capacity to starve the internal support and re-supply structures of the insurgency.
- There is a need to create alternate livelihood opportunities by rebuilding Afghanistan's rural economy with its orchards, flocks, and food crops. This will help young farmers to begin feeding their families without joining the Taliban's army and illicit drug chains. This needs to be done through a sustained process in a slow pace as any rapid drug eradication without alternative employment would simply plunge Afghanistan into more misery, stoking mass anger and de-stability. This can be done through small-scale projects until food crops become a viable alternative to opium.
- There is a need to adopt a regional approach by involving governments of all regional countries to devise measure for effective control of illegal drug trafficking through their territory to western markets.

This will help in curtailing the strength of narcotics chain.

- Moreover, while dealing with the negotiation process, Afghan government needs to play a more proactive role in setting the terms with Taliban and narco-industry stakeholders instead of entirely depending on solutions from abroad.

Conclusion

An insight into the factors behind insurgency in Afghanistan and their influence, it seems evident that it is actually the power of narco-industry and not of the Taliban alone, on which the insurgency flourished and imbibed. It is believed that heroin trade was part of the war agenda as this war has achieved nothing except restoration of a compliant narco-state, headed by a US appointed puppet and there are powerful financial interests behind narcotics.³⁰ Therefore, the conflict resolution process should not only limit itself to the armed opposition groups but the unarmed groups should also be identified and involved. If these narco-traders are not taken on board, they will not let any political move succeed, because they may resume the role of spoilers in conflict, keeping in view the opportunities available to them in the conflict. Consequently, role of narco-industry in political settlement of conflict is very important as they may hamper negotiations between government officials and Taliban because of the fear that settlement of conflict will eventually lead to fall of narco-industry which flourishes in unstable security environment.

The above discussed factors suggest that narco-industry has emerged as a chief economic driver of the insurgency as well as an issue of common concern, in which the greatest number of relevant players in the conflict have a direct stake. These relevant players range from opium poppy producers, traffickers, Taliban, all levels of the afghan government, law enforcement agencies, unofficial power brokers and the tribal elite.³¹ Ahsan Ahrari writes that narco-jihad in Afghanistan is being sustained by the iron triangle of warlords, corrupt government officials and the Taliban- al Qaeda nexus.³² Narco-industry has become the economic lynchpin that connects the key players in the region,³³ thus any solution isolating narco-industry from insurgency in Afghanistan will not work and no ideal conflict resolution map can be formulated at political level without involvement of narco-traders as stakeholders in the conflict.

End Notes

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Criminality: Military spending increases during civil wars which leads to decrease in spending on constabulary forces and law enforcement agencies, resulting in increase in criminal behavior as police with less manpower and material/weapons poses less of a threat and the potential costs of engaging in a crime get lowered.

Profiteering: Civil wars affect markets by driving up marketing margins, increasing the cost of information and raising barriers to entry which contribute to a decrease in competition, increase profit margins among incumbents and an increase in the cost of living for consumers. Traders seek to maintain these high profit margins by instituting illegal barriers to market entry and market behavior becomes increasingly monopolistic.

Rent-seeking predation increases among all actors capable of violence. According to Collier, even Government officials are no less prone to engage in such behaviors.

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US REBALANCING TOWARDS ASIA PACIFIC: SOUTHEAST ASIA RESPONDS

Sobia Hanif

Abstract

The Asia Pacific region has become the centre of global attention owing to the region's dynamic growth and its appetite for military aggrandizement. In the absence of US attention to the region, China seized upon the golden opportunity to restore fractured ties with its Southeast Asian neighbours and succeeded in building a comprehensive net of deeply integrated multilateral arrangements. The most significant achievement was the establishment of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement, which is currently the world's third largest in terms of trade volume. While China has stringently opposed US interference in the regional affairs, ASEAN states have generally welcomed US reengagement with the Southeast Asia, especially amid China's recent activeness in the South China Sea. Nevertheless, they are also faced with the daunting task of maintaining the delicate balance in their relations with the existing and aspiring super powers to ensure China's role as a major trading partner and the US as the region's primary security provider.

Introduction

The Asia Pacific region is the World's most dynamic and vibrant region and therefore it comes as no surprise that the United States has adjusted its foreign policy in a manner

which accords greater relevance to it than ever before. The region has exhibited remarkable economic growth over the years, especially in the backdrop of the economic crisis that has adversely affected the United States economy as well as economies of the Eurozone. The International Monetary Fund's (IMF) most recent regional economic forecasts project over 6.75% real growth in 2012 for the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, higher than any other region.¹ In terms of security, the region has seen rapid development and modernization of military capabilities of individual states, as such due attention is warranted to developing the security architecture of the region. It is also home to some of the most important trade and energy corridors and strategic lanes such as the Malacca Straits. At the heart of the economic and military ascendancy is a thriving China. China is widely seen as the engine for regional growth. Not only has its own economic thrust invigorated economies of neighbouring states, but it is driving economies across the globe. In the given circumstances, the United States is in the process of making necessary adjustments to its priorities and strategies in the Asia Pacific by strengthening existing partnerships and building on new potential ones.

In a speech to Australia's Parliament in November, 2011, President Obama stated that:

“As President, I have therefore made a deliberate and strategic decision - as a Pacific nation, the United States will play a larger and long-term role in shaping this region and its

future, by upholding core principles and in close partnership with allies and friends.”²

Furthermore, the initiatives undertaken by the Obama administration are aimed at reassuring allies of the United States long lasting commitment to the region, which was otherwise being put into question by regional leaders in the face of growing Chinese influence in the region. However, many worry that current adjustments to the existing strategies are too little, too late. Asian countries have developed a number of platforms for cooperation and the United States ‘rude awakening’ is bound to do more damage than good.

Relevance of the Term: Pivot to the Pacific

The term “pivot” was initially used to showcase the proclivity of US preferences towards Asia Pacific. But since then, the term ‘pivot’ has come under scrutiny and analysts have begun to question the relevance of the term. The idea of the 'Asian Pivot' was meant to convey a turning point in US strategy. It implied that the US would be winding up its missions in the Middle East and harnessing the potential of the Asia Pacific which is destined to be the theatre of future economic, political, diplomatic and military activities. But some argue that the term ‘pivot’ suggests the inconsistency within the US strategy since it could pivot away from Asia at a later stage. Since then, the Obama administration has instead used the word ‘rebalancing’ which is less dazzling but conveys the essence of the US strategy towards Asia Pacific.

The Department of Defence Strategic Review 2012

In January, 2012 a new defence strategic guidance entitled “Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defence.” was announced by President Obama. The review aimed at outlining priorities of the Department of Defence, highlighting its future activities and evaluating budget restraints and requests for future activities.

The Review highlights the primary missions of the US armed forces. As some officials have suggested, these missions are presented in a loose priority order and not a strict one.

- Counter Terrorism and Irregular Warfare.
- Deter and Defeat Aggression.
- Project Power despite Anti-Access/Area Denial Challenges.
- Counter Weapons of Mass Destruction.
- Operate Effectively in Cyberspace and Space.
- Maintain a Safe, Secure, and Effective Nuclear Deterrent.
- Defend the Homeland and Provide Support to Civil Authorities.
- Provide a Stabilizing Presence.
- Conduct Stability and Counterinsurgency Operations.
- Conduct Humanitarian, Disaster Relief, and Other Operations.³

The Review also highlights salient features of the US military strategy for Asia Pacific. It calls for a shifting focus from fighting and winning wars to preparing for future

challenges, particularly those within the Asia Pacific region but at the same time retaining emphasis on the Middle East. The strategic review calls for a reduction in army and marine forces and acknowledges the need to focus more on its naval fleet. It also calls for giving greater importance to intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR).

The DOD states that “China’s rise as a major international actor is likely to stand out as a defining feature of the strategic landscape of the early 21st Century,” and that China’s military “is now venturing into the global maritime domain, a sphere long dominated by the US Navy.”⁴

Another important aspect of the Review is the emphasis laid on the term “partnership”. The US strongly believes that in order to create and sustain an international order led by the US which would not only ensure its leadership in the years to come but would also benefit its allies would require its partners to share the burden of responsibility. The Strategic review calls for not only strengthening its relations with long time allies such as Japan, South Korea, Philippines and Australia and Strategic partners such as Singapore, but also for building on new ones such as India, Indonesia, Vietnam and New Zealand.

As part of that strategy, Defence Secretary Leon Panetta told a conference in Singapore the US would assign 60 percent of its fleet to the Pacific Ocean by 2020. Currently, the Navy divides its roughly 285 ships equally between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.⁵

Anti Access/Area Denial Strategy

China's Anti-access area denial strategy is aimed at restricting the interference of any third party in a conflict involving Taiwan. Taiwan remains one of China's core interests and China's quest for Taiwan has been complicated by US support for Taiwan's government. The Anti-access area denial strategy, also referred to as A2-AD strategy, focuses on a triple D approach i.e. to deter, delay and defeat its opponents in a theatre of operations. Though China does not specifically name its opponents in this regard, it is quite clear that its contingency planning is aimed at limiting the US forces to the Western sphere of the Pacific.

China is employing a multi layered and multi dimensional attack strategy which calls for an integrated response by using advanced systems such as ballistic and cruise missiles, advanced air defence systems, anti-ship weapons, missiles, 4th generation fighters, manned and unmanned combat aircraft, as well as space and cyber warfare capabilities specifically designed to disrupt US communications and intelligence systems.

Air-Sea Battle Concept

Apparent from the name, the concept calls for a coordinated response from the US air and naval forces to conduct both offensive and defensive operations. According to the ASB concept, the air and naval forces attack in depth to disrupt its opponent's intelligence collecting mechanisms and in turn, attack its command and control systems. Then they are

to neutralize the A2/AD weapon systems within the range of US forces and eventually to defeat the opponent's weapons systems and its forces thus allowing freedom of access to US forces within a theatre of operations.

The main purpose of the DOD is to increase the joint operating effectiveness of the US naval and air force against the threats of emerging anti/access forces. The ASB concept emerged as a prominent concern during the 2010 Quadrennial Defence Review. While DOD officials continue to assert that it is not aimed at a certain rival, most observers argue that it is in direct response to China and Iran's anti access strategies.

Transpacific Partnership

The United States strategy for addressing challenges in Asia Pacific does not focus only on the security architecture of the region but also encompasses economic initiatives. One of the main reasons why the US proposed the idea of the formation of the TPP was the mushroom growth of multi-lateral economic arrangements which have successfully created a highly proficient, deeply integrated and rapidly growing Asian economic system. Asian regional economic integration has been affected by a number of arrangements such as the ASEAN+3 (an FTA between ASEAN+ China, Japan and South Korea), ASEAN+6 (ASEAN+ China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand), APEC and developments for the formation of the ASEAN Economic Community by 2015.

The nine negotiating parties are Australia, Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, US, and Vietnam. Recently, Canada and Mexico have also signalled willingness to join the TPP, while Japan is weighing on its options. Japan faces domestic pressure to protect its local industry particularly the agriculture and automobile sector. However, since Japan is the world's 3rd largest economy, its membership would be a major boost to the TPP.

The TPP would increase US access to Asian markets, increase exports, and thus in turn, help in the revival of its strained economy. On a diplomatic front, the TPP would convey a commitment on part of the US for long term and sustained engagement. Another benefit of concluding such an agreement would be that all members of the TPP would have a common interest in safeguarding and maintain the free flow of goods through strategically important sea lanes in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. While the TPP carries a number of benefits for the US, it has not been received too well. Many of the negotiating parties have raised concerns regarding the issue of intellectual property rights, investor-state disputes, protecting domestic markets, demanding greater access to US markets and maintain high standards of production and exports.

Managing Relations with China

While top US officials have gone out of the way to suggest that the United States 'rebalancing strategy' is not aimed at containing China, not many have been likewise convinced by

the veracity of these statements. The Chinese, in particular, have watched on grudgingly as members of the Obama administration have gone on orchestrating their new policies. For many in China, the US' new strategy further emboldens the China Threat Theory and implies that the U.S' strategy is aimed at safeguarding the region against potential Chinese aggression. To see the Americans strengthening their presence in China's own backyard is truly as matter of concern for the Chinese government and the PLA. Such an approach certainly risks a backfire from the Chinese government. China is the United States' second-largest trading partner, its third-largest export market, and the largest foreign holder of US government debt. It is also the world's second largest economy, with an increasingly influential voice in debates about global economic management.⁶

US-China Trade Statistics and China's World Trade Statistics

China's Trade with the United States, 2001-11 (\$ billion)											
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
US exports	19.2	22.1	28.4	34.7	41.8	55.2	65.2	71.5	69.6	91.9	103.9
% change*	18.3	14.7	28.9	22.2	20.5	32.0	18.1	9.5	-2.6	32.1	13.1
US imports	102.3	125.2	152.4	196.7	243.5	287.8	321.5	337.8	296.4	364.9	399.3
% change*	2.2	22.4	21.7	29.1	23.8	18.2	11.7	5.1	-12.3	23.1	9.4
US balance	-83.0	-103.1	-124.0	-162.0	-201.6	-232.5	-256.3	-266.3	-226.8	-273.1	-295.5

*Calculated by USCBC. US exports reported on a free-alongside-ship basis; imports on a general customs-value basis.

Source: *US Department of Commerce; US International Trade Commission (ITC)*, retrieved from <https://www.uschina.org/statistics/tradetable.html>, accessed on July 14, 2012.

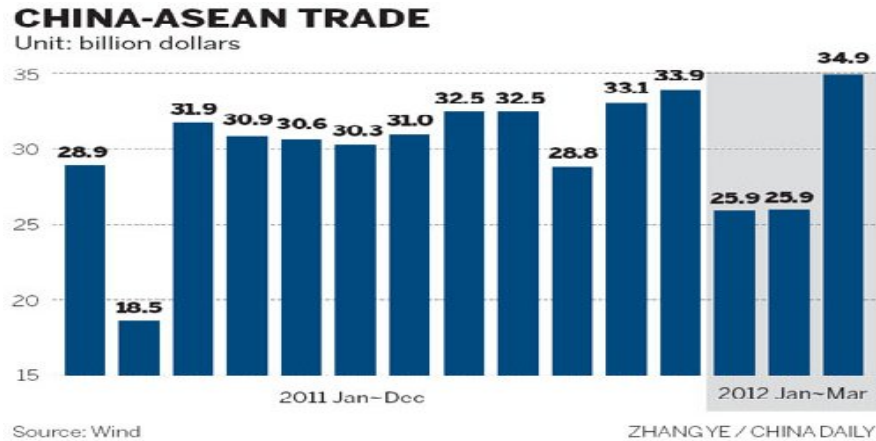
Despite such concerns, the US has been prompt to follow its words with actions to convince its allies in the region that the US shift in policy is not just bloated rhetoric, but that it has both the ability and the determination to sustain a long term and comprehensive engagement in this part of the world. The U.S. behaviour at best points to a strategy, the purpose of which is to maintain its supremacy in world affairs and to check the rising power of China.

The United States Engages Southeast Asia

During the Bush era, the US found itself entangled in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Nevertheless, during his second term in office, greater attention was accorded to Southeast Asia. Since President Obama took to office, new life has been instilled in US-ASEAN relations. An acknowledgement that ASEAN is collectively the largest destination of US investment in Asia and it represents America's fourth largest overseas market has contributed to a great deal in promoting ties with the region.⁷ Starting from signing the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 2009 to President Obama's attendance at the November 2011 EAS meeting for the first time, the trajectory in the relations has since seen major milestones being reached. The US announced the US-ASEAN Leaders annual meeting, appointed a dedicated mission to ASEAN,

announced the Lower Mekong Initiative, forged strategic partnerships with Indonesia and Vietnam, strengthened military cooperation with Philippines and Singapore, appointed an ambassador to Myanmar and engaged Brunei, Laos and Cambodia.

While the US has shown a very proactive engagement with the region on the political and security fronts, it has fallen somewhat short on trade and economic matters. Although US-ASEAN trade was \$182 billion in 2011, the US market share continues to decline as China has become the region's economic behemoth.⁸ South East Asian states have responded by generally welcoming the renaissance in US approach to Southeast Asia but there are apprehensions simmering beneath the surface. Many in Southeast fear that the region could become a high ground for strategic competition between the United States and China. They would not like to be placed in a scenario where they would be asked to make a choice between the US and China. In fact, as some analysts have indicated, ASEAN has much to gain from restrained US-China competition as long as it does not hurl the whole region into a state of chaos.



“ASEAN, China to become Top Trade Partners”, *China Daily*, April 20, 2012, retrieved from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/cndy/2012-04/20/content_15094898.htm, accessed on July 14, 2012.

Southeast Asia Responds

Southeast Asian states have adopted a number of arrangements for economic, social and cultural cooperation, but together, they do not possess a unified policy regarding the political objectives of peace and stability. The general trend, however, has been that all Southeast Asian states have welcomed the US renewed interest in the region and are trying to leverage this rediscovered zeal to maximize their bargaining power vis-a-vis China. Owing to the diverse nature of the organization and the intricacies within their individual policies, it would be helpful to briefly analyze each one of them.

Indonesia is the fourth largest country in the world and home to the world's largest, moderate Islamic population.

Relations between the US and Indonesia improved considerably after Barack Obama took to office in 2009. An important curtain raiser in the bilateral relations was the US decision to lift the ban on military contact with Indonesia's military i.e. Kopassus in 2010 and hence opened the door to more comprehensive cooperation between the two militaries. The ban had been put in place due to the atrocities committed by the Indonesian army in Papua and Aceh. Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono visited Darwin, Australia in July this year and agreed to include Indonesian forces within the US-Australian military exercises in northern Australia. However, he downplayed any suggestions that the move was intended to counter or contain China's rise. Earlier, Indonesia was weary of US deployment of marines at Darwin in November 2011. Indonesian Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa expressed concern that the move could lead to greater instability in the region. As such Indonesia is trying to maintain the delicate balance in its relations with both China and the US. The launch of the Comprehensive Partnership Agreement (CPA) in 2010 further signifies the growing strategic partnership between Jakarta and Washington, including in the area of professional military education. A year later, US\$600 million (S\$754 million) Millennium Challenge compact was added to help reduce poverty. Indonesia-US ties have broadened and deepened. Yet military-to-military ties have been slower. Indonesia has been adroit in also managing relations with China to ensure continuing parity.⁹

The US relationship with Philippines is one of the strongest in the region. The United States and the Republic of the Philippines maintain close ties stemming from the US colonial period (1898-1946), the bilateral security alliance, extensive military cooperation, and common strategic and economic interests.¹⁰The US closed two of its important bases in the region; Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base but continued to pursue joint military and economic cooperation in the facing of the growing threat of terrorism. This relationship has been further strengthened by two factors; the maritime dispute between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea and the US rebalancing strategy towards Asia Pacific. In 2011, Philippines complained that Chinese naval forces not only harassed Philippine fishing and oil exploration vessels but also erected structures in disputed waters of the South China Sea near the Philippine island of Palawan. Philippine President Benigno Aquino responded by announcing increases in the country's military budget and welcoming increased security cooperation with the U.S On November 16, 2011, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs Albert F. del Rosario signed the "Manila Declaration," which reaffirmed the bilateral security relationship and called for holding meaningful dialogues between the various claimants to resolve the dispute peacefully.

Singapore is often said to be a country with a punch above its weight. Despite its small size, Singapore has transformed

itself into a major player in Southeast Asia and the broader global economy, and has been a consistent supporter of a strong US presence in Asia. Today, the city-state is America's 13th largest trading partner, hosts US naval ships in its waters, serves as a model for Washington on issues like education and offers valuable strategic advice to the United States on a variety of policy questions.¹¹ While the US has traditionally had a strong relationship with Singapore, the relationship is not without its due differences. On one hand Singapore seeks greater cooperation with the US, but on the other hand fears that Washington's actions may provoke a backlash from China if not carried out subtly. During his visit to Washington earlier this year, Singapore's Foreign Minister K. Shanmugam stated that any US attempt to contain China will only alienate Southeast Asian countries.¹²

Where most of the Southeast Asian countries have been trying to tread the fine line, without annoying China, Vietnam has been more vocal of its support for the US rebalancing Strategy in the region. This has been mostly in response to the actions of China in the South China Sea which are deemed not only provocative but also a violation of its sovereignty. As a result, military cooperation has increased between the US and Vietnam. In 2010, the two held their first Defence Policy Dialogue. Port calls by American military vessels are up and naval drills have been held - said to focus on maintenance and navigation.¹³ According to the moves laid out in the US strategy since early January, US ships are to visit Cam Ranh

Bay in Vietnam. Economic cooperation has also increased and Vietnam has shown interest in joining the TPP, which is yet another milestone for US-Vietnamese relations.

US-Thailand relations are one of America's oldest strategic relationships which were officially inaugurated in 1833 with the Treaty of Amity and Commerce.¹⁴ The relationship between the US and Thailand proved to be one of the most enduring ones particularly during the Cold War era. However, with the end of the Cold war, the nature of the relationship underwent a fundamental change and Thailand also went on to diversify its relations with other states including China. 2013 marks the 180th anniversary of the relationship between the US and Thailand. President Obama is also expected to visit the region once again in November 2012 and Thai Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawtra and her staff are trying to ensure that the President stops over in Thailand during that tour. A suggestion had been put up by the US to set up a permanent regional disaster-response centre at the Utapao base, as well as a research centre for climate change, but the proposition found itself surrounded by controversies. Some argue that it is an attempt to keep an eye on China, while others say that it is linked with Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawtra's condition to grant an entry visa to her self-exiled brother and former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawtra into the US. However, since the date for confirmation has expired, the proposal is no longer on the table. While the alliance remains very much intact, Thailand's reliability as a partner, due to its proximity in

relations with China and its ability to be a regional leader are viewed with skepticism in the Washington.

Myanmar has been a case in point. Officials from the top ranks have been on visits to Myanmar for the past few months now. Reforms in Myanmar are being watched closely around the world to know whether President Thein Sein is really interested in initiating meaningful reforms or this is an effort to hold on to power. While some observers state that the reform process is a result of civil resistance by the monks and students and the government, having seen the uprising in the Middle East, does not want people coming out on the streets protesting against the government, others hold that it is in fact the course of international relations which have had a direct impact on the promulgation of these reforms. President Thein Sein's policies are perhaps a response to the U.S' rebalancing to Asia Pacific, as well as a hedge against China's growing influence in the country. Additionally, being part of the ASEAN Economic Community and expected to hold the ASEAN Chair in 2014 has encouraged Myanmar to get its economy on track through political and market liberalization. With this comes a greater need for security and stability, which the government has decided is better achieved through reform than through oppression.¹⁵ Reforms introduced so far include the release of political prisoners, holding of bi-elections, liberalization of the market, lifting of travel restrictions to and from Myanmar, with a corresponding response from the U.S Hillary Clinton applauding the reforms

said that the 'US will meet action for action'. As a beginning, the government in Myanmar not only released pro-democracy leader with Aung San Suu Kyi, but accepted the results of the April 2012 by elections which highlighted Suu Kyi land mark victory. Ever since she has been allowed to travel abroad, deliver speeches at both home and abroad, collect her belated noble prize and meet top US officials including Hillary Clinton herself.

Laos, being the only landlocked country in Southeast Asia had originally been a battleground for political influence between Vietnam and China. In fact until 2004, it was one of the only 3 countries which did not have Normal Trade Relations with the US, the other two being North Korea and Cuba.¹⁶ But US rebalancing strategy towards Asia Pacific seems to have changed all that. The US is keen to intensify efforts to locate missing American personnel from the Vietnam War. Strengthening its ties with the US, also gives Laos more leeway in terms of its relations with China. Furthermore, as Laos prepares to join the WTO, close interaction with the US can help it brace for the forthcoming developments. Laos is expected to assume the chairmanship of ASEAN in 2016 and therefore, its role is expected to gain more importance in the days to come.

US-Malaysia relations date back to the Cold war era. While relations were not particularly smooth during President Mahatir Mohammad's tenure, trade continued to flourish between both states. Year 2009 proved to be a year for marked

improvement in relations between both states. Prime Minister Najib Razak and President Obama both took office the same year. As a result of the economic reforms introduced by Prime Minister Najib, US firms turned to Malaysia to gain benefit from them. In 2010, the US was Malaysia's 4th largest trading partner after China, Singapore and Japan. It was the second largest export destination among ASEAN countries and largest import source among ASEAN countries.¹⁷ Malaysia is also a negotiating party for the TPP and supports the formation of the broad based Free Trade Agreement. However a point of discord between the US and Malaysia has been US foreign policy in the Middle East and conversely, US perception about the Malaysian government's treatment of political opponents.¹⁸ Nevertheless, US-Malaysia relations are said to be on an all time high.

Brunei, a British protectorate gained complete independence in 1984. However, its relations with the US date back to the 19th century. In 1850, the United States and Brunei concluded a Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, which remains in force.¹⁹ Both countries hold joint exercises and military training programs. Brunei is also a negotiating member in the TPP negotiations. However, Brunei has an equally robust relationship with China. China's interests in Brunei are twofold. Firstly, it has engaged all its neighbouring countries in an effort to assuage the China threat factor and secondly, China is interested in importing oil and Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) from Brunei to sustain its

growing economy. The only note of discord between China and Brunei is regarding overlapping claims in the South China Sea. Brunei supports the establishment of a code of conduct between China and ASEAN for the South China Sea.

US relations with Cambodia have seen several peaks and troughs. The small but strategically important country has been plagued by political instability and armed conflicts for decades. Full diplomatic relations with the US were established after the freely elected Royal Government of Cambodia was formed in 1993.²⁰ The US is the largest destination of textile exports from Cambodia which is the major industry of the country. Cambodia also receives huge amounts of foreign aid by the U.S as well as from China. In 2010, US Agency for International Development (USAID)-administered assistance was approximately \$70 million for programs in health, education, governance, and economic growth.²¹ Most observers agree that since foreign assistance is crucial to sustaining and uplifting Cambodia's economy, maintaining relations with China and the US is not a zero sum game.

Challenges to US Rapprochement with Southeast Asia

- The US has sought to engage regional states in an effort to retain its leadership in Asia Pacific, but most responses can best be described as 'cautious engagement'. Many states question whether the US has the resources to meet its rebalancing strategy.

- The US has proposed the formation of TPP in an effort to engage Asia Pacific states economically. However, the high standards required for the TPP are a challenge which many regional states will find difficult to reach up to.
- The US does not recognize Vietnam as a market economy since it has a history of government intervention in trade and services sector. Similarly, the Malaysian government has also intervened in its services sector such as the banking industry.²²
- China has yet to correspond positively to the formation of the TPP. It is seen as an attempt to undermine the progress that China has already achieved with its Southeast Asian neighbours.
- Southeast Asian economies are deeply embedded within the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area, which is now the third largest in the world by trade volume. Furthermore, Beijing has embarked on other new initiatives such as the Greater Mekong Sub region, the merging Beibu Gulf Economic Rim, the Nanning-Singapore Economic Corridor and the East-West Economic Corridor.²³ The US will find it increasingly difficult to extract favourable responses from Southeast Asian states which are heavily dependent on China for sustaining their own economic lifelines.
- Disparity in economic conditions between regional states does not allow the US to engage all states in a

comprehensive manner e.g. Singapore and Brunei have one of the highest living standards in the world with a Human Development Index (HDI) of 26 and 33 respectively, whereas Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar have a low living standard with an HDI of 138, 139 and 149 respectively.²⁴

- Southeast Asian states have often been menaced with political instability and military takeovers. Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos have all been conflicted with a volatile political environment. US relations with these states may be jeopardized in case of a similar future scenario.
- Lack of proper infrastructure and weak institutions are also obstacles to engagement with regional states.
- Many Southeast Asian states have had a history human rights abuses. Ethnic strife and separatist movements have led to brutal crackdowns, thereby creating a rift between the US and these states on human rights issues. Notable in this regard is the treatment of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar, ethnic minorities in Papua and Aceh in Indonesia, and minority Muslims in Southern Thailand.

Conclusion

Since the US withdrawal from the region following the Vietnam War, it paid periodic and intermittent attention to Southeast Asia, with a greater emphasis on Northeast Asia. Its indifference to the harsh economic realities of the ASEAN

financial crisis opened up a window of opportunity for China, which accommodated the ailing economies of the region and continued to build a net of comprehensive regional arrangements. However, in lieu of China's rapid military modernization and flare-ups in the South China Sea, ASEAN has welcomed US reengagement with the region. Southeast Asian states are now faced with the daunting task of extracting economic benefits from both China and the US, and at the same time engaging the US as a security guarantor for the region. In 2011, ASEAN overtook Japan to become the PRC's third-largest trading partner, with two-way trade valued at \$362.3 billion. The figure is expected to exceed \$500 billion in 2015.²⁵ At the same time, ASEAN was the United States fourth largest export market and fifth largest supplier of imported goods in 2010.²⁶ Latest developments suggest that China and U.S are destined for a fierce battle of supremacy in Southeast Asia, despite recurring claims that the moves of one are not aimed at undermining the influence of the other. Rising tensions in the South China Sea seem to have changed the entire gamut of China's strategic planning on the political chessboard. China's recent activeness in the South China Sea have aroused fears about its future intensions, and the US rebalancing towards Asia Pacific, with emphasis on Southeast Asia, could not have been more reassuring for the Southeast Asian states at such a time.

End Notes

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ON WAR BY DECEPTION-MIND CONTROL TO PROPAGANDA: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

Mahroona Hussain Syed

Abstract

Instead of reaping Pyrrhic victories, the governments all over the world realized the benefits of employing non-kinetic means of warfare, after the two World Wars. A war by deception, provided a more pragmatic and practical solution to the problem. Since then, all the related theories have evolved while being embedded in the idea of deception, from covert action, in the form of diplomacy and intelligence, to different forms of propaganda, in attempts to exercise mind control on the target audience. The idea is only to bring their behaviours, attitudes and decisions in line with the initiator's national interests. In this backdrop, this research paper aims at exploring the interconnection between these intertwined concepts and deriving some conclusions keeping in mind their applications in the prevalent situation in Pakistan.

Introduction

*And thus I clothe my naked villainy,
With odd old ends stolen out of holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.*

(William Shakespeare, Richard III)

In a strictly Darwinian sense, the 'Survival of the Fittest' symbolizes a unique characteristic of mankind in general and the states and societies in particular since times immemorial, leading to a popular belief that this survival can somehow only

be ensured at the expense of others. This distinctive characteristic essentially translates into a burning quest in most human beings to triumph over the 'others', or to get hold of or overpower the 'other', the 'enemy'. Hence, the concept of warfare sets in, satisfying the Freudian primary instincts of mankind in the process. Since ancient times we hear tales of wars and conquests, where the rivals employ ingenious methods to outclass their enemy, conquer its land and property and plunder the bounty. However, with the passage of time, as organized governments started emerging in human societies, the techniques of warfare and engaging with the enemy took new forms and dimensions. Governments realized that arms and ammunition backed by a thriving war industry are not the only means that can ensure the achievement of desired ends; there are other 'softer paths' too, by means of 'covert actions' that can be used to achieve the ends. There was a growing realization that instead of reaping Pyrrhic victories through the force of sheer physical might, other 'non-kinetic' means may be devised to achieve the same results, but somehow in a less costly way. Thus, we see the advent of the art of Diplomacy and Intelligence, the two highly intertwined concepts in the early history which came to be differentiated only after the Treaty of Vienna at the end of Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The United States, for example, raised its diplomatic corps in 1924 and organized specialized intelligence agencies in 1940.¹

According to Dr. Jeffrey T. Richelson, “Covert action, also known as “special activities,” includes any operation designed to influence foreign governments, persons, or events in support of the sponsoring government’s foreign policy objectives, while keeping the sponsoring government’s support of the operation secret. Whereas in clandestine collection, the emphasis is on keeping the activity secret, in covert action the emphasis is on keeping the sponsorship secret.”²

Without delving deep into the ethical debate, whether or not such manipulative machinations symbolize the moral decadence of the *homo sapiens*; and despite increasing demands of the masses on transparency in democracies according to the international norms and treaties; covert actions are still in vogue and performed with varied deceptive actions like mind control and propaganda, politico-economic operations and at the same time espionage, counter espionage and even sabotage. The primary aim of this paper is, thus, to point out basic concepts related with the notion of deception, including, by necessary corollary, the concepts of Mind Control (Brainwashing) and Propaganda; and also come up with some possible recommendations keeping in view the blatant use of these techniques against Pakistan.

Whither Deception?

Deception is evident in many ways in the scheme of working of this universe, be it in the shape of colour changing animals or feigning of death by some insects to protect

themselves against danger, or the illusive mirages in hot deserts. However, the stark difference between this type and the one devised by human beings lies in the nature of intent behind it. The deception found in natural phenomena is largely defensive, only to protect the endangered. On the other hand, man uses deception not only for self-defence but also offensively in order to dupe the enemy. Dr. Michael Handel (1989) defines deception as "the process of influencing the enemy to make decisions disadvantageous to himself by supplying or denying information".³

Deception has been known to warfare since ages and forms the heart and soul of the intelligence activities that are so important for winning battles. Sun Tzu declared it about 2000 years ago, one of the six principles of the art of war⁴. Therefore, it has captivated human imagination in many ways. From the centuries-old tales of Trojan Horses to the romantic fantasies of Pied Piper and the heroic antics of Umro Ayyar, in the fascinating Dastaan- e- Amir Hamza or the ingenious and crafty spy, James Bond 007 or the real life 'Lawrence of Arabia', to the modern day thrillers like the Manchurian Candidate; the art of deception has enjoyed much romantic appeal in the world of fiction. However, one may add that deception is not all about fables and legends. It is a highly sophisticated multipronged art which has become a niche for itself in terms of winning battles. It accentuates intelligence activities and becomes a force multiplier. As its weapons, it

employs both ‘denial’ and pure ‘deception’, with the first cleverly masquerading the reality and the latter presenting the fake in order to manipulate the Target Audience’s (TA) perception of the reality, often playing upon their instinctual fears, hence, jeopardizing their ability to think independently and indulge in rationally informed decision-making. Having both kinetic and non-kinetic applications, in fact, “Military deception is an umbrella term that includes both denial and deception. Denial and deception are operations; propaganda and disinformation are the products” (Department Of Defence, Background Briefing: 3 in Johnson and Meyeraan, 2003). It “occurs when someone manipulates perception. It is much easier to manipulate than to change, and it is easier to play on an existing fear or concern than to create a new fear or concern” (Johnson and Meyeraan, 2003). In case of military deception (MILDEC), it is carried out at all levels, including the operational, tactical and strategic levels⁵. The choice is usually between using active or passive; A-type (Ambiguity Increasing) or M-type (Misleading Variety). Historically speaking, camouflage, decoys and honey pots are among the most popular tactical level means of deception⁶.

History is replete with examples of use of deception by Genghis Khan, Mongols, Indians and Muslims during warfare. However, the siege of Troy by the Mycenaean Greeks “provides us with our first recorded example of deception in warfare, the famous Trojan Horse” (Caddell, 2004).⁷ Subsequently, one finds evidence of Alexander, The Great’s

use of deception tactics to show a size of the army larger than the real and spreading stories of savage brutality of its soldiers to create fear among the enemy ranks. The mysterious tales of the Fidayeen or The Assassins of Hassan Bin Sabah, turned into legend through Abdul Haleem Sharar's novel "Firdaus-e-Bareen" find place in the Muslim history. More recently, as Taveres (2001) explains, the Operation Bodyguard utilizing the Plan Jael led to the strategic level successful deception by the Allied forces during the World War II, ultimately leading to the complete outmanoeuvring of the Germans on the D-Day in the Battle of Normandy⁸. In more recent examples, lavish use of deception during the Operation Desert Storm⁹ has been observed, in which for example, the Task Force Troy successfully outmanoeuvred the Iraqi forces, by giving an exaggerated impression of the total strength of the coalition forces at critical times. Similarly, the US-led invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan¹⁰ owe their successes in terms of the achievement of the desired objectives to a planned use of deceptive techniques, not only in the battle field but also even through the 'embedding of journalists' for propaganda purposes.

Apart from its purely military applications, deception operations or *maskirovka*, as the Russians would call it, is used in numerous ways during peaceful times, on the Target Audience which may be the members of the initiators' own society or other states. It may range from purposeful

disinformation to fabrication (false information presented as true) and manipulation (simply withholding or otherwise an out of context presentation of truth). Examples abound in, from political and economic to the purely military domain. For instance, advertising is a form of economic fabrication for the intended consumers, while economic sanctions are slapped to bring the states to own terms, just like the ones Pakistan faced time and again from international community, under various pretexts and those on Iran these days, in order to force compliance with regards to its nuclear programme; creating dependency in the under developed third world by giving dollars under the garb of foreign aid, dumping etc. On the political front, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's claim in 1941 of having a German-made map, indicating Germany's plans to invade North and South America, only to gain public sympathy is another good example, although he knew well that the map was the brainchild of a British MI6 agent 'Intrepid'. Similarly in cyberspace, through Social Engineering, fundamental characteristics of human psyche are used to get the information that the deceptor needs, using various deceptive techniques, including dumpster diving, phishing (i-e fraud emails), persuasion, reverse social engineering, online scouting/hacking etc.

At this point curiosity makes one wonder how come deception is so effective in achieving its targets even in the modern world, or simply speaking what impairs people's judgement of events. In a layman's language, 'people are

deceived because they do not systematically consider alternative explanations for the evidence they observe' (Johnson et al, 2001).¹¹ Also the natural limitations on human memory lead to being more judgemental about the facts instead of rational and logical weighing of alternative hypotheses, thereby, prematurely discarding often the most valid and relevant evidence (George 2004).¹²

However, "To effectively employ the art of deception, the deceiver must know and understand the mind of the enemy" (Johnson and Meyeraan, 2003). Thus, by necessary corollary, here the role of mind control, crudely called 'Brainwashing' and sociologically put, 'persuasion', rather 'coercive persuasion' comes into action.

From The Theory of Mind Control to Propaganda

In general terms, what a sociologist would call "Coercive Persuasion", is in military jargon known as 'Mind Control' or simply 'Brainwashing'. Scientifically speaking, there is no *a priori* reason to believe that mind control techniques have not been developed over the years and refined in one form or the other because of ample evidence available, beginning from simple 'indoctrination', a common practice with almost all religions, cults, and totalitarian regimes to common street magicians, clairvoyants, hypnotists, orators and ideologues. Russians know it as Psychopolitics, the Chinese as thought reform, however, the earliest accounts of Brainwashing of war prisoners are attributed to the Chinese communists (deemed

by some scholars as alleged propaganda warfare to deride them) during Korean War in early 1950s. In 1955, L. Ron Hubbard¹³ claimed getting hold of *The Russian Textbook on Psychopolitics* or what came to be commonly known as the *Brainwashing Manual*¹⁴. Later on, Dr. Margaret Singer worked on the role of religions and cults in terms of brainwashing.¹⁵

In the modern times, there are several approaches to mind control/ perception management, including medical (for example the use of chemicals like truth serums), psychiatric (techniques like sleep –deprivation, meta communication, diet controls, exposure to stressful and fear- igniting situations), economic and diplomatic approaches to mind control along with the specialized propaganda techniques. The ‘Gunboat diplomacy’ pursued by the big powers over the decades is nothing but an attempt at ‘perception management’¹⁶ which is more of a sophisticated euphemism for ‘mind control’ of masses. Once complemented with the ‘Dollar diplomacy’, it becomes a very effective tool to pool up compliance. For instance, Pakistan has been subjected to this classic ‘carrot and stick’ policy throughout its roller coaster ride in Pak-US relations over the decades. In the words of Harwood L. Childs, “The distinguishing feature of the strategy of persuasion, therefore, is the attempt to bring about favourable responses without bringing into play serious mental activity” (1940).¹⁷

Essentially the purpose of such methods in modern times is to subtly induce the Target Audience into believing that they really ‘want’ to mould their behaviours and policies in line with those of the initiator, most preferably without their ever realizing it themselves. “The most successful tyranny is not the one that uses force to assure uniformity but the one that removes the awareness of other possibilities”, (Alan Bloom, 1987).¹⁸

As Clausewitz would say, “war is an act of violence whose object is to compel the enemy to do our will”, to which Sun Tzu had retorted 2000 years ago that “to subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill”. Therefore, from a synthesis of both the ideologies, we can decipher the true intent of mind control operations, referred to as Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) in military terms i-e “Planned activities of propaganda and psychological actions in peace and war directed towards foreign enemy, friendly and neutral audiences in order to influence attitudes and behaviours in a manner favourable to the achievement of national objectives-both political and military” (US Department of the Army, 1987). For such purposes, Propaganda, in all its shades of black (attributed to wrong source with deceptive lies) , white (correctly identified source with a view to creating biases) and grey(both accuracy and source are non-identifiable)¹⁹; is the most effective tool of non-kinetic warfare; traditionally used not only to subjugate mentally and mould perceptions and

behaviour of the adversary according to the initiator's scheme, but also to mould domestic public opinion in favour of the doctrine and policies of those holding the reins of power in that country. For example in case of media, the famous 'Propaganda Model' developed by world renowned scholars Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman mentions five 'Filters' ²⁰created by capitalist economies through which 'raw' news are passed successively per force in order to churn out the news that is "fit to print, marginaliz(ing) dissent, and allow(ing) the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public."²¹, presenting all things dichotomously, in order to obtain favourable response as for instance in the War on Terror 'with us' or 'against us' dichotomy presented by the US. Chomsky(1998) reveals very analytically the propaganda that is cleverly launched by modern governments all over the world, against their own public when he says that "The smart way to keep people passive and obedient is to strictly limit the spectrum of acceptable opinion, but allow very lively debate within that spectrum – even encourage the more critical and dissident views. This gives people the sense that there's free thinking going on, while all the time the pre-suppositions of the system are being reinforced by the limits put on the range of debate."²²

Needless to say that the term 'Propaganda' is used somewhat pejoratively and means the intentional dissemination of skewed information to manipulate to desired

effect the behaviour, views and decisions of the Target Audience by altering their perceptions of reality. It is essentially a coercive manipulation of the perceptions, opinions, behaviours, attitudes, decision-making power and the Will to fight of the target audience in order to sway them, mould them according to the initiators' favoured stance.

Even in the past, propaganda has worked wonders on many fronts. The Germans' use of propaganda to maintain cohesion and strong bonding among their troops specifically and the people in general, by portraying Hitler as their godfather is well known.²³ Similarly, after the start of the War on terror, in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks in USA, the dropping of leaflets and arranging flying radio stations were a part of grey propaganda operations launched by the US army²⁴. But today, the prime targets of propaganda warfare include the defence, information, politics, economy, cyberspace especially social media and internet etc. For any propaganda operation, usually heterogeneous, secondary groups are recommended to be chosen as target audience, however, in PsyWar, cultural set-up and social systems are equally considered to ensure their effectiveness. Whether through employment of organic or non-organic assets, Propaganda is carried out with a very selective censorship²⁵. Examples include Pakistan being portrayed by international media, as a dystopia instead of utopia and a 'failed state' (once caught in the midst of terrorism and a breakdown of law and

order) on favoured channels. The flagrant use of pamphlets by the US in Afghanistan, launching of Al-Arabia channel allegedly out of US funding and Chinese and US bans on those TV channels not toeing their lines etc. denote selective censorship of information.

Identifying Propaganda

Propaganda is distinct by several characteristics as outlined by John Black (1977)²⁶ which include: dissemination of information by some authority figure (2) heavy use of rhetorics, clichés and jargons (3) dichotomy-ridden determinism (4) instead of multiple, giving unidirectional view of a cause-effect relationship in all events (5) heavy reliance on historical analogies and linking present circumstances to the events of the past in such a way that it seems like a linearly progressing chain of events, thereby, creating severe errors of judgment. In fact most commonly, one may find a deliberate and lavish use of rhetoric in the speeches of public orators, politicians and sometimes even diplomats, without sound logic or supporting quantitative, empirical facts or evidence, deliberately creating ambiguity. In the words of Browne and Keeley (1998), “Political language is often loaded and ambiguous. For example, *welfare* is often how we refer to governmental help to those we don’t like; when help from the government goes to groups we like, we call it a *subsidy* or an *incentive*”.²⁷

Some Implications and Possible Pitfalls

It is pertinent to note that, not all attempts at deception, propaganda and mind control are successful, certainly not always. In such a case as Dr. Caddell (2004) warns, a heavy price is to be incurred. For example, the Soviets had a hay day after shooting down within the Soviet Union's territory and putting on trial the pilot of a U-2 reconnaissance sortie after it had been claimed by President Eisenhower as a weather research flight by NASA in 1960.²⁸ Similarly, loss of vital information on national security plans, intelligence and strategic operations, even cryptographic keys in USA during relatively peaceful times in Cold War through spy networks like the Walker group and the Conrad ring etc as mentioned, for example in the National Counterintelligence Strategy of the United States (2005), alarms us of the vagaries of the art of deception.²⁹

Then, whether the plan turns out to be a resounding success or an exacerbated failure, an overarching, dire cost is the loss of credibility accrued by the government. This credibility gap is detrimental to the long term interests of the state, because it entails that the audience may discount any future stance taken by the government as disinformation.

Also, a Deception may be interpreted incorrectly by the Target Audience, to the advantage of the initiator as for example, the German misinterpretation of a genuine

settlement as deception, following Operation Mincemeat by the Allied forces.³⁰

Self- Deception is another possibility that can wreak havoc to the initiators' plans. In 1938, Mussolini's exaggerated estimates of the size of his army divisions caused him to miscalculate the actual number of his forces on ground³¹.

Jacques Ellul's thesis that propaganda is replacing religion as the uniting force of the society under empiricism and positivism of the West is a warning sign about the looming vulnerabilities we may experience in the 21st century.³² A comparison of both clarifies their role in the society, as John Stempel (2007) writes, "Politics was still very much an elite game, when America's Kermit Roosevelt helped restore Iran's Shah to power in 1953. But, by 1979, the mobilization of that country's Islamic population by Khomeini and others made covert action almost impossible", implying that when masses are united, covert action becomes virtually ineffective.

During conflict-ridden encounters, acts of perfidy may be committed which are illegal, because they undermine the real meaning of genuine symbols of peace, for instance, feigning surrender by raising white flags etc.

Regardless of the fact that the PSYOPS are employed against many states and target audience, the time is ripe for us, to look at this issue from the perspective of the people of Pakistan. It is an open secret that there is no dearth of examples or available evidence to prove that Pakistan is one of the prime targets for such operations, owing to its unique geo-

strategic position. However, instead of opening the Pandora's Box of incriminating evidence, it will be pertinent to look pragmatically into the possible solutions to the issue at hand.

Bailing Out Pakistan

Considering the nature and extent of the propaganda warfare launched against Pakistan, the first safeguard against it can only be provided by a universal access to education, in such a way that the people of Pakistan are able to make rational and informed decisions, especially in those fields which concern the future of Pakistan. On the other hand, although ideally every society would like to have a free media, but it is recommended that this freedom should not be unlimited. The state should identify, through a formal policy directive, specific areas concerning our vital national interests on which the media should exercise extreme caution in the dissemination of information. Media controls are exercised even by those societies which claim to be great democracies. The banning of Al-jazeera in the US, and the Chinese government's ban on certain social media-related websites (e.g. Facebook) offer relevant clues in this connection. Nevertheless, the state should use the media as a vital tool to bring its people on board on all issues of national interest and also to increase national cohesion and promote pragmatic and futuristic approach for the betterment of its people, instead of creating despondency and presenting doomsday scenarios, as the international media is quite sufficient to do the latter job

skilfully. However, the yawning credibility gap needs to be addressed first in case of our government. Similarly, justice should not only be done, it should be 'seen' being done also and the culture of elitism needs to be done away with, as indeed all men are born equal. Pakistan in fact needs a strong middle class, as this class is universally regarded as the real driver of a robust economy.

From a purely academic point of view, it has been observed that no scientific research is being carried out in this field by our learned scholars, although it is directly concerned with the future stakes of Pakistan. The people belonging to academia come up with proper research, in order to find solutions to current problems and also to effectively counter the propaganda launched against Pakistan both domestically and internationally. Pakistan should have trained scholars and researchers, and not only practitioners, working as propagandists, in media and its embassies abroad, to launch defensive and offensive PSYOPS, especially at strategic levels.

Conclusion

The ingenuity and creativity with which modern techniques are being utilized to bring about subtle, albeit friendly changes in the Target Audience, demands that there should be a vertical as well as horizontal integration of economic, diplomatic and military objectives while policies are being framed. National cohesion and unity, coupled with sound socio-economic development, benefitting all and a strict adherence to the fundamental principles of honesty,

justice and Rule of Law will be a guarantee against any malafide intentions of the enemy and the same recipe needs to be adopted in case of Pakistan too.

In the light of the above discussion, it is suggested that uniform, coherent and clear, foreign and national security policies be framed along with national guidelines for all stakeholders on how to manage affairs on national and international fronts, which should be followed at all costs.

End Notes

¹ Dr. John D. Stempel's is a senior Professor at the University of Kentucky and has an experience of twenty three years in the United States Foreign Service. He has also worked as Director of the State Department's Operations Center. John D. Stempel, "Covert Action and Diplomacy", *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 20:1 (2007), 122-135, Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08850600600829924>.

² See Dr. Richelson in *The US Intelligence Community*, (1989)

³ Dr. Michael I. Handel, "War, Strategy and Intelligence" (London: Frank Cass and Co, Ltd., 1989), 361.

⁴ See Sun Tzu on *The Art of War*, translated by Lionel Giles, 1910. Edited version by Robert Cantrell, 2003.

⁵ A detailed analysis is given in the US Joint Staff report on MILDEC, 2006. Major Mark Johnson and Major Jessica Meyeraan, Military Deception: Hiding the Real-Showing the Fake, Joint Forces Staff College Seminar, 2003

⁶ See details with special emphasis on information systems in Fred Cohen's *The Use of Deception Techniques: Honey Pots and Decoys*. Retrieved from: http://all.net/journal/deception/Deception_Techniques_.pdf

⁷ Dr. Joseph Caddell teaches Military History at North Carolina State University in Raleigh, USA.

⁸ See details in the research report "The Closed Loop D- Day Deception Plan" by Jr. Major Ernest S. Tavares, USAF. Retrieved From http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/people/aldrich/vigilant/tavares_fortitude.pdf.

⁹ Deborah A. Headrick of US Navy gives an overview on the subject in her report 'Deception for the Operational Commander' (1994).

¹⁰ Major Mark Johnson and Major Jessica Meyeraan were serving as heads of intelligence -related programmes in 2003.

- ¹¹ Johnson, Paul E., S. Grazioli, K. Jamal, and R. G. Berryman “Detecting deception: Adversarial problem solving in a low base-rate world,” *Cognitive Science* 25(3), May-June (2001).
- ¹² R. Z. George, “Fixing the problem of analytical mind-sets: Alternative Analysis,” *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 17(2004), 385-404.
- ¹³ A few years later, Hubbard was also credited with founding ‘Scientology’.
- ¹⁴ See Brian Ambry’s analysis of Hubbard’s ideologies and work on the subject that later led to his founding of Scientology. Brian Ambry, “Revisiting the Textbook on Psychopolitics a.k.a The Brainwashing Manual”, (2001).
- ¹⁵ Dr. Margret Singer was a world renowned expert on Brainwashing and a clinical psychologist. Her groundbreaking work in this field, won her worldwide accolades. As a professor she remained associated with various institutes including University of California, Berkley, USA.
- ¹⁶ See Siegel’s (2005) analytical piece on Low Intensity Conflicts for the importance of perception management. Pascale Combelles Siegel, Perception Management: IO’s Stepchild?, *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement*, 13:2, (2005)117-134. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09662840500347314>.
- ¹⁷ For an insightful study, read HARWOOD L. CHILDS, *An Introduction to Public Opinion*, 1940.
- ¹⁸ ALAN BLOOM, *The Closing of the American Mind*, 1987.
- ¹⁹ See Jowett and O’Donnell’s definition and explanation of propaganda. Jowett, G.S., & O’Donnell, V (2006). *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- ²⁰ Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 2.
- ²¹ Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, “Noam Chomsky and the Manufacture Of Consent”, *American Foreign Policy, Political Communication* 21, no. 1 (2010), 93-101, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10584600490273308-1780>.
- ²² See NOAM CHOMSKY, *The Common Good*, 1998.
- ²³ David Smith’s (2002) article, ‘The Freudian trap in Combat Motivation Theory’ is insightful for a detailed analysis on effects of primary group relations and propaganda on motivation of soldiers.
- ²⁴ See David Guth’s account on the contemporary uses of propaganda. David W. Guth, “Black, White, and Shades of Gray: The Sixty-Year Debate over Propaganda versus Public Diplomacy”, *Journal of Promotion Management*, 14:3-4(2009) 309-325. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10496490802624083>
- ²⁵ See James Brown on the ‘Techniques of Persuasion’, 1963.
- ²⁶ John Jay Black, “Another Perspective on Mass Media Propaganda” (paper prepared for annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism), Madison, WI, 21-24 August, 1977.

²⁷ M. Neil Browne & Stuart M. Keeley, *Asking The Right Questions: A Guide to Critical Thinking*, 1998.

²⁸ Michael Beschloss gives a detailed account of the episode in *Mayday: The U-2Affair: The Untold Story of the Greatest US-USSR Spy Scandal*, New York, Harper Collins (1987).

²⁹ See “*The National Counterintelligence Strategy of the United States*” by the Office of the National Counterintelligence Executive, March 2005.

³⁰ See Dr. Stech and Dr. Elsaesser’s research paper written under the aegis of the MITRE Corporation for further detail. Frank J Stech& Christopher Elsaesser, Deception Detection by Analysis of Competing Hypothesis, research Project 51MSR111,by MITRE Corporation.

³¹ See Headrick, *Deception for Operational Commander*, 1994.

³² Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The formation of Men’s Attitudes* (New York: Random House, 1965).