

ISSN 1999-2297

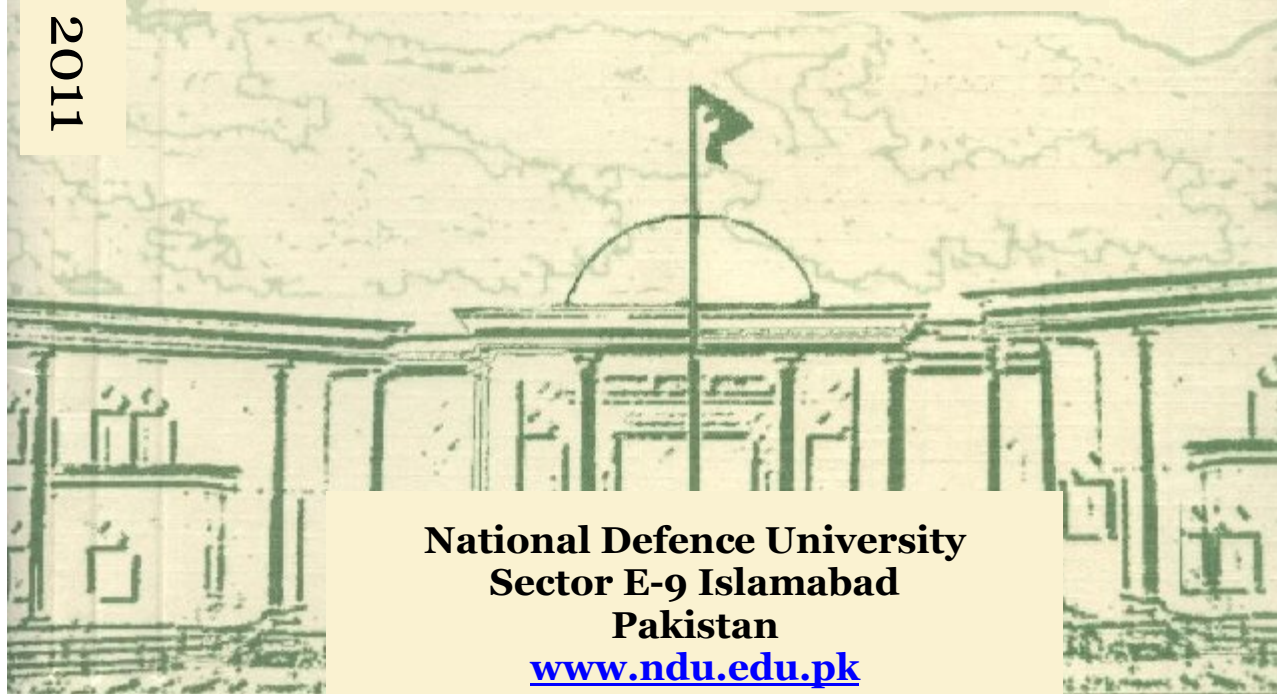


Margalla Papers

2011

Margalla Papers

2011



**National Defence University
Sector E-9 Islamabad
Pakistan
www.ndu.edu.pk**

Margalla Papers

Institute for Strategic Studies; Research & Analysis
National Defence University, Islamabad

Editorial Board

Lieutenant General Agha Muhammad Umer Farooq	Chairman
Major General Ziauddin Najam	Member
Major General Noel Israel Khokhar	Member
Major General Javed Iqbal	Member
Air Vice Marshal Rashid Kamal	Member
Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan	Member
Lieutenant Colonel Dr Saif ur Rehman	Member

Editor-in-Chief

Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan

Editor

Lieutenant Colonel Dr Saif ur Rehman

Assistant Editor

Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal

Advisory Board

Ambassador N. A. Shaikh	Former Foreign Secretary Pakistan
Dr. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema	Dean Faculty of Contemporary Studies National Defence University Islamabad
Lt Gen T.W. Ghazi (Retd)	Former Secretary Defence Pakistan
Dr. Rodney W. Jones	President Policy Architects Int's USA
Dr. Marvin G. Weinbaum	Scholar in Residence, Middle East
Professor Dr. Bulent Aras	Chairman Center for Strategic Research Republic of Turkey, MoFA

Margalla Papers is sponsored and edited by the Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA), National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Manuscripts and editorial communications may be directed to the editor.

Statements, facts and opinions mentioned in Margalla Papers are solely of the authors and do not imply the official policy of the Institution, Editors and Publishers.

Email: ddpubnres@ndu.edu.pk
Website: <http://www.ndu.edu.pk>

CONTENTS

	Page
• Editor's Foreword	i
• Global War on Terror: The Cost Pakistan Is Paying <i>Dr Saima Ashraf Kayani</i>	1
• Prospects of Sino-Pak Relationship <i>Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan</i>	17
• The Royal Indian Army, Evolution & Organisation: An Appraisal <i>Amna Mahmood Sandhu</i>	48
• A Stable Pakistan: Proposed Model of National Security <i>Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan</i>	71
• Role of Citizen Journalism in Strengthening Societies <i>Dr. Saqib Riaz</i>	106
• Social Mobilisation and Online Separatist Movement in balochistan <i>Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal</i>	126
• Conflict and Conflict Resolution <i>Mrs. Tasneem Sikander</i>	151

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

'Margalla Papers' is an annual publication of National Defence University, the premier institution of security and strategic studies at national level. This journal has its own standing as it provides a forum for discussion and debate on contemporary security and defence issues. Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) is continuously engaged in pursuit of serious research and analysis on all current global, regional and domestic security matters, with a view to creating a synergy in the efforts of renowned scholars and security analysts.

Dr Saima Ashraf Kayani, in her article titled 'Global War on Terror: The Cost Pakistan is Paying', has evaluated the 'front line' role of Pakistan in 'Global War on Terror' which has been missed by scholars and analysts. Her research study highlights the role of Pakistan in the GWOT and price it is paying in term of its security besides economy, political strife, and social disruption.

Sino-Pak relationship has stood the test and trial of the history, ever since the establishment of this astounding affinity. Dr Raja Muhammad Khan's article 'Prospects of Sino-Pak Relationship' explores the possibilities of cooperation in the field of bilateral commerce and trade, defence cooperation, Pak-China civilian nuclear deal, and deliberates upon the prospects of Pakistan becoming an energy corridor by reassessing the use of the underutilized Gwadar Port.

Amna Mahmood Sandhu has undertaken an in-depth study about the Royal Indian Army which passed through a complex process of evolution, organisation and re-organisation motivated by challenges confronted by the British Raj in India. Her paper narrates that how British structured a unique recruitment policy to channelize the warrior potential of the people and especially of the Northern India to ensure supply of manpower and earn their loyalty to advance their Imperial interests till 1947.

Pakistan faces serious national security issues encompassing external and internal security threats. Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan has proposed a new model of national security for a stable Pakistan. The author has discussed that Pakistan's pillars of national power are too weak to protect its national aims and objectives. Resultantly, Pakistan has lost control over its decision making and its domestic and foreign policies need to go through a sea change.

'Role of Citizen Journalism in Strengthening Societies' is a scholarly discourse by Dr. Saqib Riaz. The tremendous boost of new media technologies has given birth to the phenomenon of Citizen Journalism which has become an integral part of the modern day societies. An overall view of the citizen journalism and its present situation in Pakistan has been discussed in this paper.

Abdul Rauf Iqbal's article titled 'Social Mobilisation and Online Separatist Movement in Balochistan' unearths a new phenomenon of 'online social mobilisation' in the case of Balochistan. The author has made a hunch that the optimum utilization of social media tools has potential to create upset in the political discourse of Pakistan.

'Conflict and Conflict Resolution' by Mrs. Tasneem Sikander, theoretically evaluates the reasons behind conflict and also provides the methods of conflict resolution. When states seek to preserve and increase their power and stature relative to each other, rather than to cooperate and coexist, they come inexorably into conflict. The existence of conflict in the global system has obliged states to develop techniques for the resolution of their disputes.

_____The Editor

GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR: THE COST PAKISTAN IS PAYING

Dr. Saima Ashraf Kayani

Abstract

According to US bi-partisan report World at Risk 2008, all roads that lead to weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), proliferation and terrorism pass through Pakistan. The impression is created that Pakistan is the only country where terrorism of all kinds is found and nurtured. However what has been missed by scholars and analysts is the role that Pakistan has played as a “front line state” in the ‘Global war on Terror’ (GWOT). It is because of Pakistan that the US and its allies are able to claim any success in the said war. But ironically Pakistan is always accused of supporting the Taliban and al Qaeda. This study aims to highlight the role Pakistan has played in the GWOT and price it is paying in term of its security besides economy, political strife, and social disruption. This not only affects Pakistan’s efforts as a critical ally of the war but also jeopardizes its security, integrity and sovereignty.

Introduction

The phenomenon of terrorism has existed in one form or the others. However it became world wide after the events of 9/11 and the GWOT. A historical survey of terrorism indicates different periods of its occurrence¹ that identified the different groups, methods, individuals and their motives. The French revolution popularized the word “terrorism” and “terrorists”; the anarchists used terrorist activities against the kings and the powerful people and groups in Russia, Austria- Hungary, Italy, USA, France and Portugal;² while nationalists groups in oppressed countries used terrorism to fight imperialist forces.³ According to Arthur H Garrison, “Between the late 1940s and the 1960s, terrorism changed from selectively targeting government officials to targeting civilians and sympathizers of

the occupation in Africa and the Middle East. The 1960s brought an international scope to terrorism”⁴ Terrorism, with the advancement in the means of communication, transportation and technology became transnational in character.

Terrorists can now easily get economic and political support and propagate their cause and motives.⁵ Thus in the 20th and 21st Centuries, terrorism has continuously grown. The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) from 1970-2007 compiled 80,000 events of terrorist attacks at domestic and international level⁶. The dawn of new the century saw novel dimensions and trends of the said phenomenon. Now the terrorists aim to achieve larger casualties with fewer incidents, even as threats of religious, nuclear, biological, chemical and ethnic, state, cyber, economic and international terrorism confront the inhabitants of this world⁷. While new shapes of terrorism are waiting to unfold such as maritime terrorism.

Definition of Terrorism

There are ample chances of the repetition of the definitions. Which reveals that there is no single accepted definition of the term and even the US government has failed to provide a single accepted definition. The old saying that “One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter” is even today an accepted fact. The term is defined as under:-

- **Walter Laqueur.** Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted⁸.
- **FBI Definition.** Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives. ⁹
- Terrorism is the use or threat of violence against small numbers to put large numbers in fear or as stated by an ancient Chinese philosopher: kill one, frighten 10, 00.¹⁰

The analysis of the term terrorism reveals that it's the unlawful use of force or violence against civilian population with some specific aims to achieve. There is a need to explain the traditional, i.e. state terrorism and modern, i.e. revolutionary terrorism.

Global war against Terrorism (GWOT)

The GWOT is the name given to the US - lead operations to eliminate international terrorism, which means “terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country”¹¹; the decision was taken after the events of 9/11 which changed the entire dimensions of the word ‘terrorism’. It came to signify the efforts political, legal, ideological and military against organizations labeled as terrorists and governments/states supporting them. They are recognized as threat to the entire world. Here the focal point is Al Qaeda and all militant organizations and individuals with extremists Islamists ideologies¹².

The GWOT includes both combat and non-combat initiatives, such as intelligence gathering, effective law enforcement, countering narcotics trafficking, efforts to freeze terrorist financing, economic sanctions, disabling known terrorist cells and training camps, and fighting insurgencies. It also involves training military and police forces, reconstruction efforts, strengthening infrastructure and supporting fledgling governments, protecting human rights, and providing humanitarian aid.¹³

It includes the following elements:

- Punish the Taliban in Afghanistan and prevent from coming into power.
- Military campaign to eliminate terrorists
- To end any support for terrorists, including sanctuaries and safe havens
- Try to eliminate conditions conducive for terrorists.

- Acquire Pakistan support to fight Taliban in Afghanistan and extremists elements in Pakistan.¹⁴

The war started with the attack on Afghanistan in October 2001 and later US efforts included its National security strategy 2002 ¹⁵.The war still seems to be far from the finishing line.

Pakistan and GWOT

Pakistan and USA- A friend in need?

Since the time of its inception, Pakistan has had to fight for its “territorial integrity and security”.¹⁶It faced many post independent problems along with the Kashmir issue which resulted in the first war with India in 1948 and later in 1965, 1971 and 1999. Beside this, both India and Pakistan are at loggerhead with each other on number of issues. The situation further deteriorated when Afghanistan immediately after independence started claiming some parts of Pakistan as Pakhtunistan (separate state for the Pashto speaking people). Thus Pakistan’s top priority became its defense, as a bulwark against India and Afghanistan¹⁷ for which Pakistan welcomed help and assistance from all quarters. The desired security umbrella and assistance was provided by the US in 1953 in return for Pakistan’s support for its international coalition against communism in the shape of its membership in SEATO and CENTO. In 1971 Pakistan acted as a bridge between US and China and helped the former to normalize its relations with China. This offended former USSR and Pakistan had to pay the price in term of its dismemberment of East Pakistan as Bangladesh.

Pakistan during the Cold War had to face the brunt of Soviet Union’s hostility for its alliance with US. The growing Sino Pakistan relations were also not welcomed both by India and the Soviet Union. Massive economic, military and political support against Pakistan was provided by USSR to India. On the other side, in the wake of the 1962 Sino- Indian war,the US provided massive military and economic assistance to India, which India used in its war against Pakistan in 1965.

During the war the expected support from the US did not come to Pakistan while all kinds of assistance from the US was suspended.¹⁸ Once again in 1971 Pakistan got a short shrift and was unable to get any substantial help from US when India invaded East Pakistan which culminated in the formation of Bangladesh. At this crucial stage of history, Pakistan's democratically elected leader Z A Bhutto was hanged by General Zia Haq who was welcomed by US as the president of Pakistan. The popular opinion holds General Zia to be the US man and Z A Bhutto was punished by the US for his nuclear policy and bilateralism with Muslim world and USSR. It was a heavy price that Pakistan paid in a sense that the general ruled Pakistan for more than a decade with devastating effects on its politics, institutions, security and promotion of radicalism and extremism in the Pakistani society. The Pak-US relations remained at a lower ebb and anti American sentiments grew in Pakistan.

However the situation changed dramatically, when USSR attacked Afghanistan in 1979 and the US lost its policeman in Iran after the Iranian revolution of the 1979. Pakistan became the front line state for the US to fight against communist onslaught. It's an accepted fact that the US was able to rollback communism with the help of Pakistan only. However the role played by this South Asian country was not fully appreciated and once again the divergence of interests polluted the relations of the two countries. The aftermath of Afghan jihad for Pakistan was destructive: three million Afghan refugees on Pakistani soil, a burden on the country's economy along with the emergence of a plethora of social issues like corruption, kalashnikov culture, extremism and radicalism. The defeat to the Soviet Union ended the US interest in the strategic partnership of Pakistan. According to Maleeha Lodhi:

The end of the Cold War also persuaded the US to re-evaluate and downgrade its relationship with Pakistan on the ground that the new global environment did not warrant the old strategic partnership¹⁹

Sanctions were imposed on the nuclear issue and there was a threat that Pakistan could be declared as a terrorist state and the relations got further strained with the US getting closer to India. The event of 9/11 changed all this.²⁰

The US had to look towards its old neglected ally for its war on terror. Now Pakistan became the most favored collaborator of the US in the war, but once again Pakistan is paying the price.

GWOT and Pakistan: Indispensable Partners

The war on terror was aimed at eliminating international terrorism punishing the perpetrators of the 9/11. The US targets are states that support the terrorists and terrorist organizations. To achieve this aim the US desperately needed the support of a regional partner and Pakistan was the natural choice. However, this hip joined is based on the war because of the following divergent interests:

For US the GWOT meant war against adversaries like “rogue states, weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferators; terrorist organizations of global, regional, and national scope; and terrorism itself”²¹. Out of these the al Qaeda with Osama Bin Laden, in Afghanistan was at the top priority. The US strategy to achieve its aim was laid down in The National security Strategy of United States of America 2002 and 2006 and National Strategy for Combating Terrorism 2006 respectively. The GWOT started with “Operation Enduring Freedom” in Afghanistan, the main objective was to smoke out the terrorists responsible for 9/11, followed by Operation Iraqi Freedom²². For its success among the coalition partners,²³ Pakistan was the best option due to its geographical location, ethnic affiliation and the role it had played during the Afghan Jihad 1979 against the former USSR. Thus Pakistan was selected as the front line collaborator of the US in the war.

However, the post 9/11 circumstances did not prove to be much helpful for Pakistan. (Among the three countries that recognized the government of Taliban in Afghanistan in 1994

Pakistan had to take a U turn in its foreign policy, and had to fight against own supporter.) The northern-western belt of Pakistan has the tribes with historical, ethnic, cultural, political, religious and linguistic ties with the people on the other side of the Afghan border. As a result the people of Pakistan generally do not approve of the GWOT.²⁴ According to a Gallup poll of Pakistanis in urban areas, 83 per cent sympathize with the Taliban rather than the US and 82 per cent consider Osama bin Laden a holy warrior, not a terrorist, although 64 per cent also believe the attack on the US was an act of terrorism.²⁵

In view of these factors it was expected that Pakistan would say no to the war. The question that needs to be answered is that why Pakistan decided to join the war? The answer to this is:

- The widely held view accepted reason is that Pakistan joined the war under gargantuan pressure from the US who declared categorically that “either you are with us or are supporting the terrorists”.
- However this is not the only reason, Pakistan joined the war because the country itself had been the victim of terrorism in the wake of Afghan jihad and Pakistan’s support for Mujahhiden. The terrorism took the shape of religious extremism, sectarian violence, drug trafficking, cross border terrorism from India over the Pakistan support for the Indian-held Kashmiris and bomb blasts.²⁶
- The image of Pakistan among the international community had been tarnished over the issue of acceptance of Taliban regime 1994-2001, nuclear explosion of 1998, Kargil episode of 1999, the overthrow of the democratically elected government in 1999.²⁷ This war could provide Pakistan the opportunity to improve its image and get respect from the international community.

- Provide opportunity to clear off the label of being a terrorist state.
- Most important. the collaboration was to provide economic, political and other related benefits to the country.

The reason why Pakistan joined the war was best explained by the former president Musharraf on 19th September 2001. There are three important things in which America is asking for our help. First is intelligence and information exchange, second support in the use of our Air space and the third is that they are asking for logistic support from us...we know that whatever are the United States intention they have the support of the UN Security Council and the General Assembly in the form of resolution for war against terrorism and this is a resolution for punishing those people who support terrorism ... If we take a wrong decision in this crisis it can lead to the worst consequences. On the other hand, if we take a right decision, its results will be good. The negative consequences can endanger Pakistan's integrity and solidarity. Our critical concerns can come under threat. When I say critical concerns, I mean our strategic assets and the cause of Kashmir... On the other hand we can re-emerge politically as a responsible and dignified nation and all our difficulties can be minimized ²⁸

However in this decision one cannot ignore Indian readiness to support the GWOT.²⁹

The US, demanded from Pakistan:

- Access to Pakistani air and land bases
- Action against anti American and pro terrorists elements in Pakistan
- Stopping every kind of support to Taliban.³⁰
- Closing Pak-Afghan border
- Freezing the assets of al Qaeda and Taliban

- Providing intelligence with the help of intelligence agencies of Pakistan.
- Support for US future endeavours.³¹

Immediately after 9/11, Pakistan used its good offices to persuade the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden to the US “...General Musharraf sent the ISI chief with his personal letter to Mullah Umar for the extradition of Osama. It was an effort that failed to persuade the top hard-core Taliban leadership to consider the consequences...”³². Pakistan provided full support to the US operations in Afghanistan. It provided air space; logistic support at Dabandi, Pasni, Zhob, Jacobabad, Shamsi and Khot; naval support; intelligence support. In addition Pakistan armed forces actively guarded the border with Afghanistan. Now Pakistan armed forces are operating in FATA. Pakistani armed forces started chasing transnational terrorists after the 9/11 in FATA, Therefore, elaborate this part and also discuss the major military operations in FATA Pakistan has been pressurized to curb the religious organizations in the country along with Madrassa reforms- Madrassas are the religious school. Although Pakistan is paying a high cost for its alliance in GWOT in every field, only security dimension is mentioned in this research work.

Security of Pakistan

As mentioned earlier, the main targets of the OEF were to end Taliban government and al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. It was because of Pakistan support that US was able to capture Kabul without bloodshed but it installed a pro Indian Karzai as the president of Afghanistan. It is very strong statement. You can say Karzi had inclination towards India. The visit of Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to Afghanistan in 2009 is of great significance. India, the supporter of the Northern Alliance, opened its consulates in all the important cities of Afghanistan which Pakistan considers as a threat. Also India is massively supporting Afghanistan in its reconstruction projects³³. Now Pakistan,

with growing Indian influence in Afghanistan, has to keep a vigilant eye on its western border also.

In the wake of the US led military campaign in Afghanistan, Afghan refugees entered Pakistan. In the cloak of Afghan refugees many Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters also sneaked in to Pakistan³⁴. The process is further facilitated by the porous border between the two countries. FATA, particularly North and South Waziristan became the safe haven for the al Qaeda, Taliban and foreign terrorists from Central Asia, Caucasus, Middle East and Africa. The situation was fully exploited by India when it moved its forces on the eastern borders of Pakistan in 2002³⁵. The question to be seriously answered is would Pakistan be in a position to go for any terrorist adventure in India? And open a new security front on its eastern border also, when it's already facing a security threat on its western border. Pakistan has to keep an eye on two fronts- east and west. Not only that It's a security threat but also a huge burden on the exchequer of Pakistan. Pakistan government moved its army in FATA for the first time in its history. This is resented by the locals. To remove the terrorists form these areas, a military operation was launched in Pakistan's tribal areas in 2002³⁶. Rahe Haq, Rahe Rast and Rahe Nijat are the military operations launched by the Pakistan army in the tribal areas of Pakistan with the aim to catch the terrorists, local and foreigners from the area. These operations appeared to be a double edged sword for Pakistan.

Firstly, these operations invited the anger and resistance form the local tribes and "...turned into an undeclared war between the Pakistan military and the rebel tribesmen"³⁷ and US forces and Pakistan army were declared "equal enemy"³⁸. Also there is a strong belief among the locals and the citizens of Pakistan that US forces are present on the soil of Pakistan and that whatsoever is happening in the tribal areas its all under the supervision of the US forces. The situation has been further aggravated by continuous drone attacks by NATO forces on the territory of Pakistan. This is not only resented by the tribesmen but has also resulted in anti American feelings

among the general public. According to A.Z. Hillali “Military camps, patrolling vehicles, army installations and scout forts have become targets of heavy militant attacks. These military operations may result in unleashing events in which the U.S. could be a loser and Pakistan’s security and stability may be jeopardized”.³⁹ The insurgency by the pro-Taliban tribes, Taliban militants and al Qaeda members is attributed to army action in FATA⁴⁰.

Secondly, realizing the growing of pro-Taliban, anti-government sentiments and fearing that a same kind of situation might also develop in the adjacent areas, government decided to negotiate with the Tribes.⁴¹ The first agreement was signed in April 24, 2004, the second on 7th February 2005: both agreements pledged, not to support foreigner terrorists, not to attack government personals and security posts! in return government would announce pardon to the pro-Taliban forces and withdraw their cases⁴². The third agreement Waziristan accord was signed between the government and the seven militants of the Taliban Shura, on 5th September, 2006. The accord was a peace agreement to stop any cross border movement and stop attacks over government security forces. ⁴³ Government on its side agreed not to attack the militants and solve the issues according to the tribal customs and traditions. ⁴⁴ Another peace deal was signed in August 2007, but it also failed. Why these deals failed? Explain

However, these agreements one considered to reflect Pakistan government incapability to the Taliban and Al Qaeda⁴⁵. They also provide opportunity to the extremists elements to reunite and further strengthen themselves. However the point that is missed by the analysts is the ground realities. The people of Pakistan and the religious political parties like Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), strongly criticize any military operation in the area along with the continuous attacks by the NATO forces on the territory of Pakistan. Parties like Awami National Part (ANP) equate it with the racism against the Pushtun and compare it with the

1971 East Pakistan disaster.⁴⁶ By signing the peace accord with the Taliban, Pakistan wanted to achieve the following aims:

- Government cannot afford the growing criticism over the military campaign in the country.
- It also affects Pakistan's active role in GWOT and can endanger the entire war on terror.
- The agreements can pacify the opposition on the one hand and, on the other, can wean the support of moderate Taliban. To Keep the communication channels open with Taliban and build trust.
- It helps
- to reduce the security threats to Pakistan.
- Also reduce the economic burden of war on Pakistan.

In the present day world, one cannot solve problems by force, one has to go for other options also and the best option is negotiations. This is what is now realized by the US government that they cannot win the war. Now the US also contemplate a negotiations with Taliban⁴⁷

Pakistan is a developing country with multifarious internal problems and external threats. This has severely affected the desired performance of the economic sector of the country – political instability, rising poverty, unemployment, inflation, corruption, and minimum foreign investment, balance of payment problem, ailing agricultural and industrial sectors, with no option for Pakistan but to get hold of loans from IMF, WB, and other monetary institutions on strict and austere terms and conditions. This paragraph seems misfit. It is better that Author should focus on economic cost as well.

The situation for Pakistan became worst when it decided to join GWOT. The GWOT has hit Pakistan very hard. The *News* reported on March 24, 2010 that “during the period from 2002 to mid March 2010, a total of 7,739 terrorist incidents had occurred in Pakistan which had resulted in 8,875 deaths

of both security personnel and civilians. Some three million people had been displaced because of the fighting inside Pakistan.”⁴⁸

Conclusion

Pakistan presently is caught in a vicious circle: Internally, extremism and radicalism is on the rise and it has become the victim of growing terrorist activities within the country. The militants and extremists have now moved from the FATA towards the more settled urban areas of Pakistan, thus reorganizing themselves and creating more security threats to the country. In the tribal areas, growing dissatisfaction against the military campaign has created a situation in which the writ of the government is challenged, Pakistan is threaten by the prospect of being as a terrorist state alongwith growing misperception and propaganda by its enemies that Pakistan is not committed on the GWOT. These are some what foreseeable threats to Pakistan. However this war is now on the nerves of every Pakistani: they are facing sense of insecurity, fear, depression, low level of tolerance, growing law and order situation and hopelessness. Mostly affected are children.

The need of time is to stop the blame game: the international community is also responsible for the rising menace of terrorism. Try to find out the real causes behind this threat rather than just pointing towards Pakistan and do more, do more mantra.[Come forward, admit Pakistan role, Fence the Pak afghan border, accept Pakistan nuclear parity with India, provide access to Pakistani manufacturers to European markets and write-off all the loans of this country. The US has to support Pakistan diplomatically and politically and with latest weapons and technologies. Pakistan must be acknowledged as the most important ally in the GWOT rather than as a terrorist state. With limited resources, political instability, natural calamities, Pakistan has already contributed enormously to the war. Now it's the international community to acknowledge Pakistan needs and efforts and provide it the unconditional support if the war against

terrorism is to be controlled or combat the transnational groups effectively and to end protracted the war on terrorism.

Author

Dr Saima Ashraf Kayani is the head of Defence & Diplomatic studies Department at Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi. She did her PdD from Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad in the discipline of Asian Studies and produced variety of articles in different journals of social sciences at home and abroad.

Notes

¹ Arthur H Garrison, Terrorism: The nature Of Its History, Criminal Justice Studies, Vol. 16(1), 2003. p 43. Also see terrorism Research. <http://www.terrorism-research.com/history/early.php>

² Ibid., pp 44-45.

³ Ibid. pp. 46- 47.

⁴ Ibid., p. 47.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>

⁷ Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, Emerging trends in terrorism ,Sep 6, 2002 <http://securityinnovator.com/index.php?articleID=556§ionID=27>

⁸ Jewish Virtual Library, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Terrorism/terrordef.html>

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Clutterbuck, R., (ed), The Future of Political violence, London: macmillan RUSL, 1986 cited in Muhammad Imtiaz zafar, Violence Terrorism and Teachings of Islam, Islamabad: HEC 2007, p 9.

¹¹ Definition of terrorism under US Law, http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/ss/DefineTerrorism_5.htm

¹² War on Terror, <http://www.freebase.com/view/guid/9202a8c04000641f8000000006eb3b23>

¹³ What is GWOT? <http://www.wisegeek.com/what-is-gwot.htm>

¹⁴ Dr Noman Omar Sattar, Terrorism: dynamics of the New wave, Margalla Papers: 2009, Islamabad: NDU, 2009, p34.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Foreign Policy, <http://countrystudies.us/pakistan/82.htm>

¹⁷ Rekha Datta, *Why Alliances Endure: The United States-Pakistan Alliances (1954-1971)*, New Delhi: south Asian Publishers, 1994.

¹⁸ Hayatullah Khan Khattak, "US Pakistan strategic Partnership: A Track Two process for long term security Cooperation and Stability, analysis", ISSRA and National Defence University, Feb 2007.

¹⁹ The Pakistan-US Relationship. <http://www.defencejournal.com/april98/pakistanus.htm>

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Jeffrey Record, Bounding the Global war on Terrorism, Dec 2003, <http://www.rbvincent.com/pdf.files/bounding.pdf>

²² Michael Stohl, The Global War on Terror and State Terrorism, *Perspectives on Terrorism*, http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php?option=com_rokzine&view=article&id=56

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ This paragraph needs more explanation. The author needs to explain why Pakistan did a U-turn in its Afghan policy. Second, it's too simple that Pakistan has to fight against its own supporters, because prior to 9/11 on August 14, 2001, President Musharaaf banned to militant organizations in Pakistan, whose fugitives were residing in Afghanistan.

²⁵ Christopher de Bellaigue, "The Perils of Pakistan," *The New York Review of Books*, November 15, 2001, cited in Amy Zalman, Terrorism Timeline: Pakistan and the Global War on Terror Pakistan Plays Friend and Foe to U.S. <http://terrorism.about.com/od/globalwaronterror/tp/Pakistan---Terror-War-Timeline.htm>

²⁶ Fazal-ur-Rahma, Pakistan and the War on terrorism, Strategic studies, Vol.XXIII, No.2, summer 2005, p 65.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ www.un.int/pakistan/14010919.html. Also see, Dawn, September 20, 2001. cited in Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Masood Khan, Pakistan's Role in Global War on Terrorism: and Areas of Clash with United States, *Pakistan Defence*, <http://www.defence.pk/forums/strategic-geopolitical-issues/29111-pakistan-s-role-global-war-terrorism-areas-clash-united-states.html>

³¹ Tariq Rauf, 'US Seeks Pakistan's Assistance', Center for Non-Proliferation Studies, Monterey Institute for International Studies, <http://cns.miis.edu/research/wtco1/pak.htm> cited in Fazal-ur-Rahma, op.cit.

³² Fazal-ur-Rahma, op.cit. p. 5.f

³³ Jayshree Bajoria, India-Afghanistan Relations , Council On Foreign Relations, July 22, 2009 http://www.cfr.org/publication/17474/indiaafghanistan_relations.html

³⁴ Fata Recent Developments, Global security.org, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/fata-recent.htm>

³⁵ Indian Parliament was attacked in Dec 2001. India blamed jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba, religious organizations, and blamed Pakistan secret service ISI for supporting them. India moved its troop on the international border with Pakistan. Pakistan denied the charges.

³⁶ Masood Khan, Pakistan's Role in Global War on Terrorism: and Areas of Clash with United States, *Pakistan Defence*, <http://www.defence.pk/forums/strategic-geopolitical-issues/29111-pakistan-s-role-global-war-terrorism-areas-clash-united-states.html>

³⁷ Syed salem shahzad, "Unlearned Lessons from Waziristan," *Asia Times*, July 22, 2004 cited in A.Z.hillali, US policy Towards Pakistan After Sept 11 2001 and Its Implications, Institute of Policy studies(IPRI), Vol. ix, No1, winter 2009, p. 143.

³⁸ *Nation*, March 7, 2007, cited in Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁰ Evagoras C. Leventis, The Waziristan Accord, global Politicians, 12/18/2007 <http://www.globalpolitician.com/23893-pakistan>

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Pazir Gul, Waziristan Accord Signed, DAWN, 6th September 2006.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Evagoras C. Leventis, op.cit.

⁴⁶ A.Z.hillali, op.cit., p. 145.

⁴⁷ The jang Urdu, 3 May 2010.

⁴⁸ Sohail Mehmood, The Strategic Dialogue between Reluctant Allies: The United States and Pakistan Today, <http://www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org/profiles/blogs/the-strategic-dialogue-between>

PROSPECTS OF SINO-PAK RELATIONSHIP

Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan

Abstract

“The founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 was a truly historic event, and so was the independence of Pakistan in 1947.”¹ Sino-Pak relationship has stood the test and trial of the history, ever since the establishment of this astounding affinity. There has been convergence of views and of both neighbours and mutual support at all the tiers: bilateral, regional and global. Both countries are cooperating with each other on a number of bi-lateral projects currently underway. In addition, both countries continue to explore opportunities to cooperate on various projects of mutual benefit. Strengthening the Sino-Pak relationship is a pivotal pillar of the long-term foreign policy objectives of both countries, aiming at promotion of global peace, respecting each other’s sovereignty and building of a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity. The paper attempts at evaluating the prospects of further bolstering Sino-Pak relationship in the context of the changing global scenario. It also explores the possibilities of cooperation in the field of bilateral commerce and trade, defence cooperation, Pak-China civilian nuclear deal, and deliberates upon the prospects of Pakistan becoming an energy corridor by reassessing the use of the underutilized Gwadar Port.

Sino-Pak Historical Linkages and Pakistani Geopolitics

Emerged from the fertile basin of the Yellow River (Huang He), before 4000 BC, today, the People’s Republic of China is a country of 1.3 billion people.² It has in its surrounding; the great Himalayas, a huge ocean, the Gobi desert, Tibetan Plateau and world’s most significant regions and civilization-rich countries.³ The Pacific separates its heartland to an “area about a quarter the size of the continental United States.”⁴ Its economic growth rate is one of the world’s highest, thus

enabling it to emerge steadily as a major power in the global power politics. During the times of China's Tang dynasty, an eminent Chinese monk Hsuan-Tsang⁵ studied Buddhism in Taxila on his pilgrimage to the west. His sojourn in Pakistan, recounted in a book entitled "The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions"⁶, is a popular account in the history of exchanges between the Chinese and Pakistani people. Indeed, at a time when Europe was in the dark ages, China was one of the world's most advanced civilizations.⁷ Tales of Chinese fabulous wealth and sophistication have been narrated by traveller like Marco Polo. Likewise, under the Confucian Government, China reached to the remarkable level of scientific and technological advancement much ahead of Europe.⁸ There has been a gradual downfall of this giant for centuries, but, the modern China under Chinese Communist Party (CCP) is likely to overtake⁹ the sole super power in another two decades of 21st Century.

By virtue of being the, "geographical pivot of history"¹⁰ as described by Sir Halford J. Mackinder, the geo-political location of Pakistan essentially makes it impossible for the adjoining countries and regions to ignore it. Traditionally this piece of land has been used as a linkage between Central, West, South, and East Asia and ties the surrounding regions into a web while acting as the hub. This significance was adequately highlighted by, the former President Pervez Musharraf in June 2006, in a statement; "Pakistan provides the natural link between the SCO states to connect the Eurasian heartland with the Arabian Sea and South Asia---We offer the critical overland routes and connectivity for mutually beneficial trade and energy transactions intra-regionally and inter regionally".¹¹

Traditionally, being part of the Indus Valley Civilization, the geographical positioning of Pakistan has always been used as a trade route. Mostly, this area has been used as an extension of 'Silk Road' between the great Chinese Empire and rest of the world. With the increase in the means of communication and diversification of the transportation routes, this region has acquired significance in the globalized

world under the concept of a global village. On the economic facade, Pakistan is surrounded by emerging economic giants like; China and India who are in dire need of energy, whereas its next door neighbours include oil rich Central Asian States and Middle Eastern countries. The geo-political significance of Pakistan is linked with trade, geopolitical configuration, minerals and energy wealth of its surrounding regions and states. Its 600 kms long Makran coast lays a beam of the energy and trade routes out of the Straits of Hormuz and overlooks the strategically volatile gateway to the Gulf region having more than 60% of oil and 25% of world gas reserves, thereby making Pakistan as an attractive location both for East and West. Neighbourhood of Central Asian States having over 23 billion tons of oil and 3000 billion cubic meters of gas has further enhanced geographic imperatives for Pakistan, as it offers these landlocked energy affluent states the shortest route to the warm waters, the Arabian Sea.

The Strategic Foundation of Sino-Pak Relationship

Following the rich history shared by two ancient civilizations, Sino-Pak entente has strengthened and solidified with the passage of time. Under the dynamic leadership of Chairman Mao Zedong, People's Republic of China came into being from the ashes of civil war between Communists and Nationalists on October 1, 1949. Pakistan was the first Islamic country, second Commonwealth and the third non-Communist country which recognized the People's Republic of China on January 4, 1950¹². Diplomatic relations were established on 21 May 1951, sequel to the negotiations with Pakistan's first Charge d' Affaires who had arrived in Beijing in April 1951.¹³ Thereafter, the first Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan made his arrival in Karachi, then capital of Pakistan in September 1951 and Pakistan's first Ambassador to China reached Peking in November 1951.¹⁴ After having established bilateral diplomatic ties six decades ago, the year 2011 has been declared by both nations as the year for the celebration of Pak-China diplomatic relationship. Both countries are holding a series of "commemorative activities covering fields like politics, economy, culture, education, sports, etc."¹⁵

Owing to the compulsions of the Cold War alliances, there could not take place a meaningful progress in the bi-lateral relationship of Pakistan and China in the decade of 1950s. Gradually, a solid foundation was laid for this strategic bilateral engagement between Pakistan and China in the subsequent years. Apart from establishing the diplomatic relationship, in 1955, during the Bandung Conference, Pakistani Premier Mohammad Ali Bogra and Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, formally agreed to enhance their bilateral ties in regional as well as in global context. Visualizing the strategic significance of this relationship, Chairman Mao Zedong, expressed his desire for a better and cordial relationship between Pakistan and China during his meeting with Pakistani Ambassador to China, Mr Sultan ud Din Ahmed, on, May 23, 1955. The historic visit of Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai to Pakistan in December 1956 was of a great significance.¹⁶ The visit enabled both countries to understand viewpoints of each other. In the joint communiqué, it was agreed by both countries that, there is no conflict of interests between two neighbours. It was further reiterated that, divergence of views on many problems at international level should not prevent the strengthening of friendship between Pakistan and China.¹⁷ Earlier Prime Minister Suhrawardy made a 12 days long trip to People's Republic of China.

The gradual cementing of this relationship during 1950s brought both the countries closer as manifested in 1961 when, "Pakistan voted for restoration of China's seat in the United Nations."¹⁸ Pakistan not only supported but strongly lobbied for the restoration of China's legitimate right to the permanent seat of Security Council in the United Nations Organizations.¹⁹ While supporting the permanent membership of China in UNSC, Pakistan's Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan said in 1950, "China is not applying for admission to the United Nations. It is a member state, a permanent member of Security Council, one of the 'Big Five'."²⁰ Both countries signed the boundary agreement in 1963. This was a significant milestone as it displayed the growing confidence between the two neighbours. From the Pakistani side, the agreement was

signed in February 1963 in Beijing by then Foreign Minister Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Later China helped Pakistan in the construction of Karakoram Highway, commonly referred as friendship highway, linking China's Xingjian region with Gilgit-Baltistan through Khunjerab Pass, at the height of 16000 feet. Successful completion of this project was the biggest demonstration of mutual support and amity between both neighbours.

While reiterating the historical wordings of Chairman Mao Zedong, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao described the friendship between Pakistan and China as, a "lush tree with deep roots and thick foliage, full of vigour and vitality,"²¹ during his historic visit to Pakistan in December 2010. The initial relatively slow pace of mutual understanding got an impetus in the era of Field Martial Muhammad Ayub Khan, when the then Foreign Minister (later Prime Minister), Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto advocated and helped devising a strategic dimension to this bilateral partnership. Through his strategic vision, Bhutto advocated Pak-China relationship as a vital pillar in the Foreign Policy of Pakistan. The same vision exists today as a shared-belief in Pakistan's policy-making quarters and Pakistan has maintained this strategic relationship as an inalienable part of its diplomatic relationships. This strategic partnership between both countries was initially driven by the mutual need and the bilateral alliance was termed as an alliance of necessity. However, with the passage of time, both countries have acknowledged the shared unrelenting affinity and closeness in their relationship. Apart from the political connections, both countries had developed military relationship which subsequently led to the creation of a Joint Committee for Economy, Trade and Technology in 1982.²² Upon establishment of the first ever trade agreement for mutual benefit and cooperation of both countries in 1953, Sino-Pak bilateral trade, which initially stood at \$10 million, is now expected to touch the target of \$15 billion in next few years.

Earlier Pakistan played a very crucial and pertinent role in bringing United States and China²³ closer to each other in

early 1970s by catalyzing and providing logistics for the Sino-US secret diplomatic linkage, in the height of the cold war. Consequently, these developments provided opportunities and allowed China to step out from the close-door policies and isolated economy, thus allowing it to interact and explore new avenues and opportunities in the international markets, especially U.S and Europe. This facilitation subsequently enabled China to mould its political outlook, trade and industrialization on modern lines. Consequently, in prevailing times, China has emerged as a major economic and military power, second to US only. During the cold war era as well as thereafter, Pakistan indeed acted as a bridge between China and the Western world led by the US. America, on its part, was able to minimize the number of its adversaries especially in the Communist world by engaging with China, for which it should give Pakistan the due credit. Indeed the Sino-Pak friendship has matured into a comprehensive strategic partnership for peace and development in the region and abroad. Due to this mediatory role of Pakistan, today, America is the biggest trade partner of China.

During the critical stages like 1965 and 1971 wars, China whole heartedly supported Pakistan. After Indian aggression on Pakistan in September 1965; China declared that, Indian aggression on any single neighbour, concerns all of its neighbours. It was clearly said in the Chinese official statement that, “the Chinese Government sternly condemns India for its criminal aggression (and) expresses firm support for Pakistan----.”²⁴ On September 9, 1965, Premier Chou En-lai declared: “India’s armed aggression against Pakistan has thoroughly exposed the Indian reactionaries’ most publicised nonsense about their policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. How can there be a peaceful and neutral country that arbitrarily commits aggression against its neighbours?”²⁵ In 1971, China however, was confronting nuclear-armed Soviet troops along Sino-Russia border,²⁶ thus could not divert its troops on Sino-India border, however, “China did what it could to support Pakistan in the United Nations, and after the war, it helped to pick up the pieces.”²⁷

At the international stage, China continues to second Pakistani point of view on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, considering India as an illegal occupant of the state's territory. In 2005, Pakistan and China signed a landmark treaty dubbed as "Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation and Good Neighbourly Relations."²⁸ According to the treaty, both countries have committed that "neither party will join any alliance or bloc, which infringes upon the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity"²⁹ of both nations, and "would not conclude treaties of this nature with any third party." This treaty is a key instrument which enables both countries to strengthen their strategic, economic and cultural relations. A total of twenty-two agreements (for cooperation in defence, politics, trade and economy) were signed between Pakistan and China under this friendship treaty, during the visit of Chinese Premier. In fact, the treaty has, "institutionalized the broad-based and multi-faceted relations between Pakistan and China".³⁰ As per Mr. Salman Bashir, the current Foreign Minister, (then Ambassador to China), the "most important" aspect of the treaty was the "clear and unambiguous, categorical assurance by China to defend Pakistan's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity."³¹ This commitment is also evident from the Chinese response on the eve of US raid in Abbotabad on May 2, 2011, when it asked US to respect Pakistani sovereignty.

Sino-Pak Areas of Bi-lateral Cooperation

The common feature of Sino-Pak strategic relationship is based on promotion of both, regional and global, harmony and peace. Despite its global stature and overwhelming economic and military strength, China has not resorted to aggressive posturing towards its neighbours, states in its regional periphery or towards any extra-regional country. Indeed peaceful co-existence is the hallmark of the Chinese foreign policy,³² and so is the main objective of the foreign policy of Pakistan.³³ As per the vision of the founding father of Pakistan, together with other sister nations, Pakistan has to make "greatest contribution for the peace and prosperity of the world."³⁴ Chairman Mao Zedong, also founded the

People's Republic of China on similar principles of; "equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,"³⁵ adopted in the First Session of the "National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference"³⁶ on 29 September, 1949. It embodied the major content of the "Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence."³⁷

Apart from protection of its own independence and territorial sovereignty, the main principles of the Chinese Foreign policy are; "upholding of lasting international peace and friendly cooperation between the peoples of all countries, and opposition to the imperialist policy of aggression and war".³⁸ Even being a major power in the historical perspective, China has demonstrated itself as a none aggressive and soft power towards its neighbours. Neutral analysts today have accounted that the Sino-India War of 1962, was thrust upon China by India. Revelation from the Chinese studies of the Sino-India War, published in 1990, also embark upon the similar finding; "Indian border policies derived from an Indian effort to weaken or overthrow Chinese rule over Tibet-- -- to seize Tibet, to turn Tibet into Indian colony or protectorate or to return Tibet to its pre-1949 status"³⁹ eventually compelling China to finally opt for a military solution. Indeed, being the successor state of British India, Nehru wanted to persuade the same policies, as British India used to employ. India followed a similar policy to destabilise Pakistan by invading Kashmir and convincing Afghan Kingdom to raise the issue of Pakhtunistan. As per Professor Hu Yan of PLA National Defence University, Indian Premier Nehru worked throughout in 1950s to turn the Tibet into a, "buffer zone"⁴⁰ between India and China, while apparently keeping a friendly policy.

In December 2010, Chinese Premier Mr. Wen Jiabao, visited Pakistan for three days. This visit has been indeed of a unique significance, as it covered all aspects; strategic, political and economic. During the visit, Premier Wen Jiabao made sure to meet all stakeholders in Pakistan. Apart from the traditional meetings with the President and Prime Minister, Chinese Premier met with leaders of all political parties of

Pakistan. Rather, it was a rare mosaic of Pakistani political, religious, and territorial leadership gathering to welcome their all-time friend in Islamabad. This gathering was indicative of the fact that, there exists no second opinion about Pakistan's relationship with the People's Republic of China. No foreign leader has ever received such a massive reception and united response with a spirit of love in Pakistan. Together with political leadership, Premier also held a meeting with the Armed Forces heads under Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee and assured further enhancement in the ongoing cooperation in the field of defence. On this occasion, Premier Wen Jiabao declared that, "Beijing would never give up on Pakistan."⁴¹ The major areas of Sino-Pak multi-layered relations are discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

Political Linkages

One of the most significant features of Sino-Pak bilateral relationship is the respect for territorial sovereignty; none of the two have indulged in each other's internal affairs. Unlike United States, China has not meddled in the domestic affairs of Pakistan, be of any nature. This indeed is a cornerstone of Chinese foreign policy and so is the case with Pakistan. Despite the ties that Chinese Communist Party (CCP) enjoys with Pakistani based political parties, included among which are religious groups, China supports and firmly follows its relationship with the government of Pakistan. It is worth mentioning that, CCP is world's largest political party, having membership of over 70 million people.⁴² On its part, Pakistan considers that the East Turkistan Islamic Movement in its autonomous region, Xinjiang, is unlawful and has detrimental effects on the sovereignty of the China. It is a declared view of Pakistan that it believes on One China policy and considers both Taiwan and Tibet as integral parts of China. Similarly, Chinese position on Kashmir has also been absolutely clear with Beijing reaffirming the disputed nature of Kashmir. China has advocated for the resolution of the matter as per UN resolution and as per the wishes of its people, a stance Pakistan has held since 1947. Despite being part of SEATO and CENTO, Pakistan has decided against sending troops for

UN mission in Korea, and also abstained from voting in a UN resolution aimed at tagging China as an aggressor country.⁴³

During the 2010 visit in his address with the Joint Session of the Pakistani Parliament, Chinese Premier assured Pakistan an unflinching Chinese support on the issue of Kashmir as per UN resolutions. As a courageous display, while recognizing the disputed nature of Kashmir, China does not stamp visas to the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir on Indian passport. Rather, it attaches a separate page to stamp the visas for Kashmiris, considering them as a separate entity. China always desired a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue, as per the wishes of its people. Chinese Prime Minister also appreciated Pakistan's role and sacrifices, in fighting out the terrorism. While pointing towards myopic global response towards Pakistan, the Chinese Premier said, "Pakistan has paid a heavy price in combating the terrorism. The fight against terrorism should not be linked with any religion or ethnic group and there should be no double standards."⁴⁴ Indeed, in conformity to the national interests of the peoples of both countries, this strategic partnership would promote, "peace, stability and prosperity of the region."⁴⁵ Furthermore, China also assured Pakistan for its wholehearted support to Pakistani position on the Afghan issue. Both countries believe that, ISAF forces should vacate the region and the Afghan issue should be resolved through a regional approach by amalgamating all Afghan groups and factions, and not through dictation of extra-regional powers. China, like Pakistan, has its concern over Indian bid for the permanent membership of UNSC and its hegemonic designs and discriminatory treatment with the regions' smaller countries.

On a recent episode of the US raid on Pakistani soil to kill Osama Bin Laden, China showed her unflinching support to Pakistan and emphasized United States to respect the sovereignty of Pakistan. Indeed, the repeated visits of leadership from both countries have proved that. Pak-China relationship is higher than mountains and deeper than oceans, in letter and spirit. In the wordings of the Pakistani Ambassador to China, "The entire Pakistani nation was deeply

touched by China's forthright, principled and staunch support to Pakistan, expressed by Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Jiang Yu, following the killing of Osama bin Laden. Pakistani media applauded China's reiteration of the principle that independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country should be respected; and its reaffirmation that Pakistan Government was determined in its resolve and strong in its action in the fight against terrorism."⁴⁶ This is a reality that, Pakistan's relationship with China is not "based on expediency, but on careful assessment of Pakistan's national interests."⁴⁷ Under the transforming international environment, China is undertaking a number of Confidence Building Measures with connected regional and neighbouring countries. China has been holding security dialogues and regular meetings including track-2 routes with all neighbours including India.⁴⁸ Another added feature in overall Chinese diplomacy, in the prevailing times, is the conduct of military exercises with regional countries as part of military diplomacy.

Economic Cooperation

Sino-Pak bilateral trade started in 1950, initially through a barter agreement, when China had started supplies of coal to Pakistan in exchange for jute and cotton. By 1952, this Pakistani export had reached \$4 million.⁴⁹ It was a time when India was all out to undermine the nascent Pakistani economy. Thereafter, both China and Pakistan further boosted these initial linkages. Analysts believe that, "China's rapid economic growth and emergence on the world stage in recent years appear as signs of a country that is growing ever more powerful"⁵⁰ Chinese economic growth rate is one of the highest in the world. Indeed, in its economic development and rapid growth rate, Chinese human resource and enabling environments like; facilitation in the form of tax exemptions and providing provisions for cheaper energy has played a very significant role. China is the main engine of global economic growth, contributing no less than one third of the world's total growth.⁵¹ Chinese rise has been equally felt in the East and West. Traditionally, both countries have strong economic

bonds and China continues its economic assistance to Pakistan without attaching undue strings. Apart from the traditional cooperation, in December 2010, during the visit of Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, Pakistan and China concluded economic deals worth \$35 billion in total.⁵²

These deals include; 17 agreements, four memorandum of understanding (MoU) and a joint venture. Around 83 Chinese companies are already working in Pakistan in various fields like; exploration of oil and gas, information technology, telecommunication, power generation, engineering, automobiles, infrastructure development and mining sectors. Currently over 100 Chinese enterprises are working in Pakistan under the Five Year Programme for trade and economic cooperation. These Chinese companies have identified sixty-two projects, out of which twenty-seven have already been launched, twenty-six are being examined and remaining ones are being reviewed. This indeed is a new record of the economic deals and agreements in the Sino-Pak bilateral history. Like other major powers, China also supports countries it considers significant via political, military and economic assistance.⁵³ However, unlike US, it does not exploit those countries under the garb of provisions for assistance.

During this visit of Chinese Premier, with a view to further enhance the economic cooperation, Prime Minister Gillani and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, attended the Pak-China Business Cooperation Summit, which was participated by 260 Chinese delegates together with 150 Pakistani counterparts. On this occasion, Chinese Premier, reiterated his resolve to further enhance the bilateral trade with Pakistan in the coming years with an aim to further improve the flow of investments between both countries. He said that, “his country would increase investment in Gwadar Port”. Chinese Premier also promised that his country would remove the trade barrier between Pakistan and China by improving trade infrastructure and promoting Pakistani exports to Chinese markets. Apart, there exists a ‘Free Trade Agreement (FTA) on goods, investment and services between both countries and

the Free Trade Commission (FTC) having members from both sides who meets regularly.

By 2010, the Sino-Pak bi-lateral trade has risen to \$8.7 billion from just \$1.8 billion in 2002, which is a remarkable improvement. In 2010, “Pakistan’s exports to China have increased by 37% while import from China grew by 25%. The overall growth rate is a promising 28%.”⁵⁴ There is an increased likelihood that, this bi-lateral trade, through a constant growth rate, can tap the threshold to \$15 billion, by 2015. In this regard, FTC has already started its consultations “to enhance trade liberalization and promote economic and trade growth of the two countries. It will also look into the issues of dispatch of official purchase missions from China to Pakistan, visa facilitation measures and development of an Electronic Data Interchange (EDI) system.”⁵⁵

Sino-Pak Defence Cooperation

Over the years, “China has emerged as Pakistan's single most trusted and enduring military ally.”⁵⁶ Contrary to Indian perceptions, this is mainly because of their mutually shared complementarities, as opposed to being based on animosity towards India or any other country. This is clear from the fact that Pakistan did not attack India to lift its occupation over Kashmir during Sino-India war-1962. On its part, the Chinese military has, traditionally, been defensive⁵⁷ in nature, though it remains combat ready at all times. Despite the huge military power of the PLA, there are no heavily guarded garrisons along the Chinese frontiers; instead, the Chinese military is displaced internally, exceptions being made in case of a real threat. During the 30th Anniversary of Reform and Opening, President Hu Jintao urged PLA to take part in ‘non-war related operations’.⁵⁸ This is clear evidence that China is not in favor of power projection. Indeed, in the case of Sino-Pak ties, “the depth and the nature of defense relationship is exceptional. This relationship goes far beyond the buying and selling of weapons.”⁵⁹ While it is a reality that Pakistan has been the most allied ally of the US, it is also a fact that Pakistan has been the most sanctioned ally of the US in its

history. Under these sanctions in the most difficult times, China provided a steadfast support to Pakistan's defense and security. Most recently, once the US decided to withhold Pakistan's military assistance (\$800 million), to pressurize Pakistan, China offered Pakistan much more than this suspended US assistance.⁶⁰ India welcomed this action against Pakistan, while getting for itself the most sophisticated weaponry, including stealth aircraft from US. In stark contrast to Pakistan's self-centered friends, "China is not just a source of conventional and non-conventional arms, but has been a provider of critical technologies that, in turn, have enabled Pakistan to develop an indigenous nuclear and missile Programme."⁶¹

Right from the beginning, Pakistan and China have been closely co-operating in the field of defense and defense production. China has been a high-value guarantor and a reliable supplier of conventional military equipment to Pakistan, providing, for instance, F-7 fighters and the T-85 main battle tank (the new version of which is the ZTZ96). Through a Military Deal in May 1967, China agreed to deliver military arms worth \$120 million to Pakistan, which included 100x T-59 tanks, 80x MiG-19 and 10x III-28s aircrafts.⁶² From 1972 to 1974, China provided Pakistan with \$300 million⁶³ worth of military equipment, and helped Pakistan in the establishment of defense factories. China has subsidized the future construction of four frigates for the Pakistan Navy. Apart from this, there is a joint production of 'JF-17 Thunder' aircraft between Pakistan and China, which has strategic significance for Pakistan, and is a unique example of the deep-rooted Sino-Pak friendship. On the eve of Prime Minister Gilani's state visit to China in May 2011, China offered Pakistan fifty JF-17 Thunder aircrafts, to be delivered over the following few months. The aircrafts are being manufactured jointly by both countries.

In June 2010, heading a 17-member defense delegation, the Chinese Defense Minister, General Liang Guanglie, visited Pakistan and concluded three Memoranda of Understanding with his Pakistani counterpart. Apart from agreeing to

enhance Pakistan's counter-terrorism capabilities, both countries decided to conduct joint exercises of their armed forces. Both sides "agreed to strengthen the military cooperation and strategic communication at all levels to overcome challenges being faced by the two countries."⁶⁴ In the entire process of Sino-Pak defense cooperation, China has supported Pakistan whole-heartedly. This is the "only country that has provided transfer of technology, soft loans and even technical expertise with no strings attached."⁶⁵

As per Ambassador Masood Khan, "Our two Armed Forces have very close cooperation. Early this year, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee of Pakistan held the 8th round of Defence and Security Talks with the PLA Chief of General Staff. The joint statement issued after the talks stated: "We have unanimity of views to pursue peace and security in the region and to defeat the evil forces of terrorism, extremism, and separatism. Our active collaboration in this regard has produced results."⁶⁶ Sino-US military cooperation covers "high-level military exchanges, structured defense and security talks, joint exercises, training of personnel in each other's institutions, joint defence production, and defense trade."⁶⁷

From the SCO Forum

Representing over 60 percent of global land mass and half of the world populace, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), showed its willingness to open its membership⁶⁸ for other regional countries in its annual meeting held in Tashkent, on June 11, 2010. The 11th Summit of SCO was hosted by Kazakhstan in its capital, Astana, on June 14-15, 2011. Pakistan is undertaking earnest efforts to acquire membership and has presented a sound case for it, whenever such an opportunity may be made available. Pakistan feels that, by virtue of its geo-political location, it has the potential to play a pivotal role in development of its relationship with the SCO countries. It is located at the crossroads of South, Central, West, and East Asia, thus potentially becoming a bridge between the various regions and civilizations of Asia.

Through the attainment of the SCO's membership, Pakistan can fully accrue the benefits from this inter-regional and inter-continental harmony. Apart from the bi-lateral relationship, the SCO forum can best be utilized for further cementing the Sino-Pak ties. Over a period of time, the SCO has established "over twenty large-scale projects related to transportation, energy, and telecommunications and held regular meetings of security, military, defense, foreign affairs, economic, cultural, banking, and other officials from its member states."⁶⁹ Apart from strengthening unity and cooperation, among the members, the SCO Summit, has finalized strategies, for fighting the "three evil forces," namely terrorism, separatism and extremism; safeguarding security and stability; and advancing pragmatic cooperation among the members of SCO. Pakistan has been a victim of all these evils, especially terrorism. This step would facilitate Pakistan in overcoming these evils through cooperation of other SCO member states. During the 11th SCO Summit, the member countries signed a declaration, "condemning any unilateral build-up of missile defences."⁷⁰

Nuclear Cooperation

Through a deal, initially signed in 1986, China had agreed to export four nuclear power reactors to Pakistan for nuclear energy. Two had already been installed, whereas the remaining two, with an approximate cost of \$2.375 billion, were finalized in 2010. There has been much hue and cry over this agreement, from the United States and India. However, China clarified that it was providing nuclear reactors to Pakistan under the years old nuclear deal. According to Mr. Qin Gang, the spokesperson of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, "the nuclear cooperation between the two countries was for peaceful purposes and are 'totally consistent' with its international obligations and safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency."⁷¹ New Delhi and Washington had maliciously objected that the deal would breach international protocol, regarding the trade of nuclear equipment and material. The U.S ploy was to assert that the deal would overstep "the guidelines of the 46-country Nuclear Suppliers

Group (NSG), which bars nuclear commerce between Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) members like China and non-member states like Pakistan”.⁷² However, the Pak-China Nuclear Deal was concluded in 1986, when China was neither a member of the NSG nor it had signed the NPT by then. China signed the NPT in 1992 and became a member of the NSG in 2004. Therefore, the objections were considered irrelevant and prejudiced. Nevertheless, the ‘Indo-US Nuclear Deal-2005,’ later finalized in 2008, otherwise provided the precedence, and actually opened the floodgate for any similar deal in the future. Indeed, after having set a precedence themselves, it was neither legally justified nor morally prudent for Washington and New Delhi indeed to object to the Pak-China Nuclear Deal.

For its part, the Pakistani Foreign Office rejected Indo-US concerns over the Pak-China civil nuclear deal. The spokesperson said that, “Pakistan-China civil nuclear cooperation is going on for years. Our cooperation is under the relevant IAEA safeguards. Therefore concerns, if any, were misplaced.”⁷³ While tracing the history of Pak-China civil nuclear cooperation, it is pertinent to note that, a Comprehensive Nuclear Cooperation Agreement between then Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan and his Chinese counterpart was signed on September 15, 1986, at Beijing in the presence of the Chinese Premier and the PAEC Chairperson Dr. Munir A. Khan.⁷⁴ According to this agreement, China was to construct four nuclear plants in Pakistan, namely Chasma 1, 2, 3 and 4, by 2011.

The NSG, however, was created after the nuclear test conducted by India in 1974, once India diverted the fuel meant for the atom for peace to its weapon programme. If India, the significant proliferator, could be given such a concession by the NSG, why should Pakistan be deprived of it. US officials believe that those countries which have not signed the NPT thus far cannot be granted the facility. The super power seems to be overlooking the fact that India is also a non-signatory to NPT. The US has also asserted: “Additional nuclear cooperation with Pakistan beyond those specific projects that

were grandfathered in 2004 would require consensus approval” However, Pakistan and China reject this notion, since it is akin to the pot calling the kettle black. Indeed, “US had not only violated the NPT, but had also violated the Hyde Act 2006, (by finalising a similar deal with India regarding cooperation on nuclear energy for peaceful purposes).”⁷⁵ Since the Pak-China deal would be under the IAEA safeguards, therefore, there would be no legal hurdle in its finalization. In the mean time the Chinese Foreign Ministry asserted that the deal was in accordance with the international law and, therefore, it rejected the Indian and American objections.

Energy Cooperation

Earlier, Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani appreciated Chinese investment in Pakistan, especially in the energy sector. Prime Minister Gillani stated, “We would encourage Chinese companies to consider investments in the energy sector, which assures certain returns. Our energy requirements are expected to increase from 20,000MWs to more than 160,000MWs by the year 2030.”⁷⁶ In fact Pakistan is not a resource-deficient country; the problem lies with the lack of technical expertise, infrastructure development and finances. Today, in addition to the huge amount of unexplored oil and gas, “Pakistan has 185 billion tonnes of coal reserves, which would be converted into energy to satisfy Pakistan’s growing demand.” Pakistan encourages Chinese experts for the exploration of its oil and gas resources. Prime Minister assured Chinese investors special economic incentives, such as “duty-free import of plant and machinery, exemption from sales tax and income tax.”⁷⁷

Pakistan and China are already working for the development of the Pak-China Trade Corridor along the Karakoram Highway (KKH). In this regard, the highway is being upgraded and the feasibility for the laying of a railway track along the KKH is currently under study. The development of this overland route would provide a further boost to the economic relationship. It would link Gwader with the semi autonomous Chinese region of Xinjiang through an

all weather highway. The Gwader port and communication infrastructure would, upon completion, enable China to have easy access to the Middle Eastern countries via the Indian Ocean, thereby enabling it to further boost its economic ties with the hydrocarbon rich region. Pakistan is otherwise becoming a hub for the oil and gas from Central Asia and Middle East to China and India. With the improvement of the communication infrastructure, oil and gas from these regions can easily be transported to the Chinese territories either through oil tankers or through an overland gas pipeline. Premier Gillani assured his counterpart of the safety of Chinese nationals working in Pakistan. He asserted, "Besides a comprehensive Free Trade Agreement and the Joint Five Year Economic Programme, we are now jointly endeavouring to establish closer financial and banking sector cooperation."⁷⁸

Future Prospects

Pakistan as an Energy and Trade Corridor

In the initial years of the 21st century, there emerged a strategic thought among the leadership which considered the exploitation of Pakistan's geographical location as an energy passageway for the developing economies of Asia. This concept envisioned three main possible oil and gas transportation passageways from the hydrocarbon-rich zone to the energy-ravenous regions of Asia. These potential routes include the North-South Oil Corridor, which would connect the Middle East and Central Asia with China through the Gwadar deep sea port in Pakistan, and would have the potential to serve as a transit and supply route for India and other regional countries as well; the East-West Gas Corridor, which would connect Iran and other Middle Eastern countries with India through Pakistan, and would also have the potential to supply gas to China; and the North-South Oil and Gas Corridor, which would be able to connect India with the Central Asian States through Pakistan, with potential to supply the oil and gas to China.

In fact, Pakistan had been considering the construction of a gas pipeline from gas-rich Iran to Pakistan since 1993. Later

on, it was proposed by Iran to extend the facility to India via Pakistan. The concept aims to benefit all three countries and was named as the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) Gas Pipeline. Later it was christened as the 'Peace Pipeline'. The pipeline was to traverse over 2,775 kilometres (1,724 miles) from Iran's South Pars gas field in the Persian Gulf through the Pakistani city of Khuzdar, with one branch going on to Karachi and a second extending to southern Punjab near Multan and then on to India. Pakistan and Iran have been pushing the project to its immediate implementation but, unfortunately, over the years, India, the main beneficiary of the pipeline, has dilly-dallied the progress of the project over insignificant differences, primarily because of its engagement with the US over the Indo-US Nuclear Deal or perhaps due to perceptible security reasons in some Pakistani areas. On its part, the United States stressed that India should not have any sort of economic cooperation with Iran, owing to its serious differences over Iran's nuclear programme. In February, 2009, Pakistan and Iran again negotiated the project and agreed to finalize the gas pipeline without Indian participation. With Iranian backing, Pakistan has suggested that China be part of the project as well. China, which has otherwise been viewing Iran as a significant node in its energy security, has welcomed the offer and is desirous of extending the IPI pipeline up to the Chinese territory to obtain additional gas to feed its growing economy. Furthermore, China is interested in developing an overland means of transportation of oil and gas as opposed to a sea route, sea-routes mostly being dominated by the United States and now, potentially, strategic partner India as well.

Another gas pipeline project from Turkmenistan to Pakistan via Afghanistan (TAP) was finalized in 2002. The project could not be implemented owing to serious internal security disturbances in Afghanistan. The project has the potential to provide gas to India and China. With the backing of the United States, in May, 2007, India also expressed its desire to join the project through the Asian Development Bank (ADB). With Indian participation, the project was later renamed as Turkmenistan– Afghanistan–Pakistan–India

(TAPI) Gas pipeline. Now this pipeline would run from the Dauletabad gas field in Turkmenistan to the Indo–Pakistani border with an approximate cost of \$7.6 billion. This pipeline project can possibly be extended to China as well at a later stage.

Analysts say that the Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline, previously known as the Iran-Pakistan-India Pipeline (IPI), has the potential to be taken across the Khunjerab pass and into Chinese territory, thus renaming it as the Iran-Pakistan-China (IPC) pipeline. Similarly, the pipelines from Central Asia have the potential to be taken to the Southern Chinese autonomous region of Xinjiang through Gwadar. Currently over 50 % of Chinese oil is being imported from Middle Eastern countries, having religious and historical links with Pakistan. This oil transportation through oil tankers can take the form of the transportation through pipeline via Gwadar, the nearest overland route to Chinese soil. The proposed concept, if materialized, would enable Pakistan to utilize 20–30% of the corridor capacity while leaving 70–80 % of its capacity to be used by energy deficient China and possibly other countries such as India. The concept would also categorise Gwadar port as the Asian Energy Hub.

Crucial Chinese Role Needed to Make Best Use of Gwadar Port

The only strategically significant deep sea port in Pakistan, namely Gwadar, was developed by China, through an initial investment of \$248 million, in record time. The port is located at the mouth of Persian Gulf just 150 nautical miles from the Strait of Hormuz, through which nearly 60% of the world's oil supplies pass. The port is of great strategic value as it adds to Pakistan's importance in the region, while allowing China to diversify and secure its crude oil import routes and simultaneously gain access to the Persian Gulf. The port was aimed to become, a regional and global maritime hub. Domestically, the fundamental factor behind the development of the port was to stimulate the economic growth in the northern and western parts of Pakistan. Regionally, the port

provides the shortest possible approach to the Arabian Sea to the landlocked Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan for their transshipment facilities. Globally, it is the best alternative and a storage port, owing to its potential to handle major ships and oil tankers. It can handle, “up to fifth-generation ships, including Panamax and mother vessels.”⁷⁹

Unfortunately, upon its completion in March 2007, the administration of the port was handed over to the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA), with corporate tax exemption for a period of forty years. The otherwise concessional agreement delimited the PSA to investing \$3 billion, with \$550 million in the first five years.⁸⁰ However, after the passage of four years, PSA has not invested even a fraction of this amount on the port, and not a single commercial vessel has been able to reach the Gwadar port to date. The problem is likely to persist for the foreseeable future if the administration of the port remains with the PSA. In the words of the former Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission Sardar Aseff Ahmed Ali, “the Gwadar port project is a disaster, as the 40-year concession agreement with the PSA has not yielded any results in its first three years.”⁸¹

Indeed, “The government and the PSA are in default of commitments,”⁸² and, as was clearly asserted by Naval Chief, Admiral Noman Basheer, the port is not serving the purpose for which it was built; therefore, the agreement with the PSA should be cancelled. Otherwise, the agreement was “one-sided and a lot of incentives have been given to the PSA,”⁸³ in March 2007, which did not develop the port any further as agreed. In converse to the basic design of the port, still there exist “no facility for supporting the oil industry---even though the port was on the mouth of Gulf. Due to this, Pakistan is unable to attract investment in Gwadar from Gulf countries ... in the oil and gas sector”.⁸⁴

There is a growing acknowledgement on part of Baloch population that development is essential to bolster prosperity and domestic stability, a notion that contrasts with the interests of forces whose declared objectives are to destabilize

this zone. As per a local Baloch nationalist Sardar, Mr. Rauf Khan Sasoli, “The port should have gone to the Chinese, who built it largely from their own investment, in the first place.”⁸⁵ Another prominent Baloch journalist, Mr. Behram Baloch, said that, “China may be the only country which can work under the difficult Balochistan conditions.”⁸⁶ By not fulfilling any commitment, the PSA has provided sufficient grounds to revoke the agreement made in March 2007. Since our own expertise is limited in this field, therefore, it would be prudent to return to China – which, in addition to being the basic developer of the port, is also Pakistan's all-weather friend - and engage it in making the port fully operational. Keeping the port for three years without paying any revenue to Pakistan should otherwise bind the PSA to pay compensation. It is a fact that, apart from the think tanks, intelligentsia and the masses of Pakistan, the Baloch sub-nationalists who have been used against the Chinese in the province, have developed a feeling that it is China only that can develop and run the Gwadar Port. The Chinese have the experience, the will and the capacity to expand the port by increasing the existing three berths to eighteen by 2014 and completing the road and railway network. Above all, there is a commonality of Pak-China interests in the development of the port.

The Port provides China (especially its Western autonomous region) an access to the Arabian Sea which is not only easy but is also the shortest one. Economic experts concur that, “The volume of the Chinese trade is so much that Gwadar can beat other regional ports, if China could divert only a fraction of its trade to pass to its burgeoning western regions through the mighty Karakorum.”⁸⁷ Since Chinese experience of industrialization and economic growth is enormous, therefore, we can expect that given the tax exemption and cheap electricity, Gwadar would become an industrial, trade and economic hub in the days to come. Establishment of oil and gas refineries and a communication network would further boost the uplift of the area. Through a Pak-China deal, initial planning to build a railway line across the Khunjerab pass alongside the Karakorum highway has already started.

Regarding the vitality of the Gwadar port, Robert Kaplan, the US analyst, says; that, Gwadar's development would either unlock the riches of Central Asia, or plunge Pakistan into a savage, and potentially terminal, civil war.⁸⁸ It appears that Pakistan's desires to unlock the riches of Central Asia and the conversion of the port to a global economic hub, has invited the wrath of the global conspirators. However, we have to logically counter the growing conspiracies for the promotion of our national interests. In order to do that, the nation will have to differentiate between adversaries, and true allies. The misperception that China is developing strings of harbours⁸⁹ in South and Southeast Asia to contain India is part of deliberate propaganda campaign designed to put China on defensive so that its role in these regions could be cut down. Like Pakistan, other regional countries such as Sri Lanka and Myanmar are appreciative of the positive Chinese role in their development. Seeing this, other regional countries are also showing their willingness to collaborate with China in order to acquire assistance for their own developmental projects. China has indeed emerged as a role model for the regional countries. The biggest advantage China has over other global and regional powers is that, it harbours no hegemonic designs against any State. In South Asia, the smaller states are wary of Indian domination and exploitation; even Nepal, the only Hindu state in the world harbours serious reservations against Indian imperialism.

Commonalities for a Way Forward

Deng Xiaoping once advised the future leadership that China should, "observe development soberly, maintain our position, meet challenges calmly, hide our capabilities, and bide our time, remain free of ambition, never claim leadership."⁹⁰ Following the same policy, China has amazingly developed without creating a ripple in the world and has exhibited a "peaceful rise."⁹¹ Peaceful co-existence is the hallmark of the Sino-Pak relationship. According to Mr Masood Khan, Pakistani Ambassador to China, "Pakistan supports China's vision of a harmonious world a world that works for win-win partnerships instead of win-lose

paradigms.”⁹² Indeed, despite the difference in the social setup, ideology and religion, the Sino-Pak bilateral relationship has stood the test of time. The main feature of this tie is that, irrespective of the internal situation and the form of government in Pakistan, “leaders of both the countries attach great importance and give personal care to the relationship.”⁹³ In the words of the former Chinese ambassador to Pakistan, both countries in fact observe “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We respect each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. We never interfere in each other’s internal affairs. We always consult each other about major issues on an equal basis. And, we conduct cooperation to mutual benefit. There is no clash of interests between China and Pakistan.”⁹⁴

Pakistan deeply appreciates the support and assistance China has provided in contribution of our economic and social development. We fully support China’s principled stand on Taiwan, Tibet, Xinjiang, and its human rights issues. The Chinese Government and people reciprocate these sentiments and consider Pakistan to be their most reliable friend and partner. Developing relations with Pakistan is high on China’s diplomatic agenda. China supports Pakistan’s efforts in safeguarding its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. The fuel for this relationship comes from the hearts and minds of the people. The prudent, farsighted policies of their governments buttress it through multiple frameworks.

Conclusion

In July 1960, the Soviet ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Mikhail Kapitsa said, “We support India and Afghanistan against you, because they are our friends, even when they are in the wrong. But, your friends do not support you; even they know you in the right.”⁹⁵ The statement was right. Pakistan later found a friend in the form of China, a trusted friend unlike its Western allies, who never supported Pakistani interests. There exists an unparalleled harmony of interests between the people and both the governments on political, diplomatic, economic and security aspects. In order to face the

rapidly changing global politics, both countries need to “overcome challenges and carry forward our traditional friendship.” The Sino-Pak all-weather friendship is based on complete trust, mutual understanding and a convergence of views on all issues. This sentiment resounds in the psyche of our people and is being passed on from generation to generation. Our relationship has evolved into a long-term strategic partnership aimed at promoting peace, stability and prosperity in the region. “Pakistan plumes the great achievements of the Chinese people which attest to the genius, wisdom and talents of the Chinese people and their sagacious leadership.” Right from the beginning, the bilateral relationship between the two countries has remained a relatively uninterrupted, trust-bond and all weather. It is said that the friendship between Pakistan and China is “deeper than the oceans, and higher than the mountains.” Over the years, this friendship has survived numerous geo-political and geo-strategic changes which took place at the global and regional level.

At the global level, there is a need of “reciprocity in dealing with China”.⁹⁶ It has an optimistic and positive behaviour towards the world; therefore, it should not be misunderstood and negatively propagated. It is sustaining the US economy considerably and has substantive bilateral trade with India. It is the considered view of political analysts that “Pak-China friendship is based on four pillars; geography, history, economics and necessity.” Indeed, owing to the geographical contiguity, we are neighbours, whereas history has made us friends. Likewise, economics has made us partners, whereas, necessity has made us allies. In the words of Mr. Luo Zhaohui, the Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, “China-Pakistan relations have become an example of harmonious coexistence between countries of different civilizations. We view our relations with Pakistan in strategic terms and from a long terms perspective. Let’s join hands and work hard to usher in a much brighter tomorrow of Sino-Pak friendship and cooperation”.

Author

Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan is the Head of International Relations in the Faculty of Contemporary Studies National Defence University. He did his Ph.D in International Relations. He has been Deputy Director Regional Studies in Institute for Strategic Studies; Research and Analysis (ISSRA) NDU. He has been Senior Research Scholar in the Research Wing of former National Defence College. His area of expertise includes South Asia, Asia-Pacific, Foreign Policy of Pakistan and Global Energy Resources.

Notes

¹ Masood Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan to China, "Pakistan-China friendship: a lush tree," *Beijing Review*, May 25, 2011, accessed May 31st, 2011, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/special/2011-05/25/content_360552.htm

² Barry Turner, ed. *The Statesman's Year Book-2011*, (England: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2010), pp. 313.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Stratfor, *China: Power and Perils*, ed. Michael McCullar, (USA: Grant Perry, 2010).

⁵ "Classical Encyclopedia (11th edition)," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed July 26th, 2011, http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Hsuan_Tsang

⁶ Paul Theroux, *The Tao of Travel: Enlightenments from Lives on the Road*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2011), pp. 12.

⁷ John Farndon, *China Rises*, (London: Virgin Books Ltd, 2007), pp. 4.

⁸ Ibid. P 7.

⁹ Ibid. p. 5.

¹⁰ E.W. Gilbert, "The Right Honourable Sir Halford J. Mackinder P. C 1861-1947," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 127, No. 1, Mar., (1961).

¹¹ Meena Singh Roy, "Pakistan's Strategies in Central Asia," *Strategic Affairs*, Volume: 30, Issue: 4, (2006), accessed July 26th, 2011, http://www.idsa.in/strategicanalysis/PakistansStrategiesinCentralAsia_msroy_1006

¹² Aparna Panda, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), pp. 117.

¹³ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy-1947-2009*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), P. 13.

¹⁴ Masood Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan to China, "Pakistan-China friendship: a lush tree," *Beijing Review*, May 25, 2011, accessed May 31st, 2011, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/special/2011-05/25/content_360552.htm

-
- ¹⁵ Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan, A broader perspective of Sino-Pak relationship, *The Frontier Post*, May 30, 2011.
- ¹⁶ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy-1947-2009*, (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 76.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 78.
- ¹⁸ Lin Shanglin, "Pakistan-China Relation", *Pakistan Horizon* (Karachi), vol. 54, no. 3 (July 2001), p. 13.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Aparna Panda, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), pp. 114.
- ²¹ Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's address with the Joint Session of Pakistani Parliament, dated 19 December, 2010.
- ²² "Key developments in Sino-Pakistani relations," *China Daily*, November 25, 2006, accessed at http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-11/25/content_742817.htm.
- ²³ Jeffrey T. Richelson, ed., *China and the United States: From Hostility to Engagement, 1960-1998*, (National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Books No. 18, 1999), accessed July 26th, 2011, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB19/>
- ²⁴ Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, (Karachi: Council for Pakistan Studies, 1980), pp. 151.
- ²⁵ Ibid. p. 152.
- ²⁶ Mohammad Ahsen Chaudhri, "Chinese World Strategy and South Asia: The China Factor in the Indo-Pakistan relations," *Pakistan Horizon*, vol. 39, no. 4, p. 23.
- ²⁷ Niloufer Mahdi, "Sino-Pakistan Relations: Historical background," *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 39. No. 4. pp 68.
- ²⁸ "China, Pakistan sign treaty for friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations," *People's Daily*, April 6, 2005.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Daily Dawn, April 6, 2005.
- ³¹ Noor ul Haq, ed., "China-Pakistan Relations: A Profile of Friendship," Fact Files, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2005, accessible at <http://ipripak.org/factfiles/ff60.shtml>.
- ³² Pauline Kerr, Stuart Harris, and Qin Yaqing, ed., *China's "New" Diplomacy: Tactical or Fundamental Change?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 223.
- ³³ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy-1947-2009*, (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.13.
- ³⁴ Mohammad Ali Jinnah, "Speeches as Governor General, 1947-48," Ferozsons, Karachi. P. 11.
- ³⁵ Documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "China's Initiation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence", November 17, 2000.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, ed., *New Direction in the Study of China's Foreign Policy*, (California: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 89.

⁴⁰ Xu Yan, Zhong Yin Bianjie Zhi Zhan Lishi Zhenxiang, *True History of the Sino-Indian Border War*, (Hong Kong: Cosmos Books, 1993), pp. 28-29.

⁴¹ Daily Dawn, December 16, 2010.

⁴² John Farndon, Op Cit., P. 39.

⁴³ Aparna Panda, Op. Cit. P.116.

⁴⁴ Prime Minister Wen Jiabao Address with the Joint Session of Pakistani Paliament, December 19, 2010. Covered as "China Praises Pakistan's Efforts in Fight against Terrorism" The Express Tribune, 20 December 2010.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ambassador Masood Khan, "Pakistan-China friendship: a lush tree," *Beijing Review*, May 25, 2011, accessed May 31st, 2011, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/special/2011-05/25/content_360552.htm

⁴⁷ Mohammad Ahsen Chaudhri, *Pakistan and the Great Powers: A Study of Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1954-1970*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2000), pp. 107.

⁴⁸ Pauline Kerr, Stuart Harris, and Qin Yaqing, ed., *China's "New" Diplomacy: Tactical or Fundamental Change?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 225.

⁴⁹ Aparna Panda, Op. Cit. P.115.

⁵⁰ Micheal McCullar, China: Power and Perils Stratfor, Grant Perry; 2010.

⁵¹ Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World*, (New York: Allen Lane, 2009), pp. 187.

⁵² "Beijing will 'never give up' Islamabad: Wen," *Daily Times*, December 19, 2010, accessed May 26th, 2011, http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2010%5C12%5C19%5Csitory_19-12-2010_pg1_1

⁵³ Alex Mackinnon and Barnaby Powell, *China Counting: How the west was Lost*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.204.

⁵⁴ Masood Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan to China, "Pakistan-China friendship: a lush tree," *Beijing Review*, May 25, 2011, accessed May 31st, 2011, http://www.bjreview.com.cn/special/2011-05/25/content_360552.htm

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Michael R. Chambers ed., "South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances," *Strategic Studies Institute*, November 2002, accessed at

<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/pub108.pdf>

⁵⁷ Alex Mackinnon and Barnaby Powell, Op Cit. P.187.

⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 202.

- ⁵⁹ Swaran Singh, ed., *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspective*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2007), pp. 132.
- ⁶⁰ Daily Dawn, July 10, 2011.
- ⁶¹ Swaran Singh, Op Cit., P. 132.
- ⁶² Aparna Panda, Op. Cit. P.123.
- ⁶³ Ibid.
- ⁶⁴ “Enhanced Pakistan-China Defence Cooperation,” *Islamabad Times*, June 6, 2010, accessed May 28, 2011, <http://www.timesofislamabad.com/2010/06/06/enhanced-pakistan-china-defence-cooperation/>
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Swaran Singh, Op Cit., P. 132.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ “SCO Tashkent Summit Concludes,” *China Daily*, June 11, 2010, accessed May 26, 2011, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010sco/2010-06/11/content_9968146.htm
- ⁶⁹ “Shanghai Cooperation Organization, an introduction,” Can be accessed at; <http://shanghai-cooperation-organisation.co.tv/with>
- ⁷⁰ Sara Star. “SCO Summit Meeting, China backs Russia against US missile shield,” *Digital Journal*, June 15, 2011, accessed June 18, <http://www.digitaljournal.com/article/307987>
- ⁷¹ “China says Pakistan’s nuclear deal 'peaceful',” *BBC News*, June 17, 2010, accessed May 25, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10340642>
- ⁷² Raja Muhammad Khan, “Hampering Pak-China nuclear deal,” *Pakistan Observer*, June 28, 2010.
- ⁷³ Kaswar Klasra, “Pak-China N-coop to continue: FO,” *The Nation*, June 18, 2010, accessed May 5, 2011, <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Politics/18-Jun-2010/PakChina-Ncoop-to-continue-FO>
- ⁷⁴ Mohammad Jamil, Pak-China N-cooperation, *Pakistan Observer*, July 3, 2010.
- ⁷⁵ “US Objects to Pak-China Nuclear Deal,” *The Express Tribune*, June 16, 2010, accessed May 20, 2011, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/21509/us-objects-to-pak-china-nuclear-deal-report/>
- ⁷⁶ The News, December 18, 2011.
- ⁷⁷ The Dawn December 19, 2010.
- ⁷⁸ The Nation, December 19, 2010.
- ⁷⁹ Daily Times, January 24, 2007.
- ⁸⁰ “Aziz approves handing over Gwadar operations to SPA,” *Daily Times*, January 24, 2007, accessed April 15, 2010, http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2007%5C01%5C24%5Cstory_24-1-2007_pg7_20

-
- ⁸¹ Kalbe Ali, "Govt urged to scrap Gwadar port deal," Dawn, January 3, 2010, October 10, 2010, <http://archives.dawn.com/archives/43948>
- ⁸² Ibid.
- ⁸³ Ibid.
- ⁸⁴ Raja Muhammad Khan, "Making an Apt Use of Gwadar Port," *Pakistan Observer*, October 4, 2010, accessed May 17, 2011, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=55419>
- ⁸⁵ Daily Mail, October 5, 2010.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ "B. Raman, China's Okinawa in Indian Ocean Region," *South Asia Analysis Group*, Paper no. 4048, September 19, 2010.
- ⁸⁸ Mark Schumacher, "Pakistan and India – Water, Oil, Shipping, Energy, and China – A Lethal Mix," May 20, 2011, accessed May 27, 2011, <http://fromthetrenchesworldreport.com/pakistan-and-india-%E2%80%93-water-oil-shipping-energy-and-china-%E2%80%93-a-lethal-mix/4199>.
- ⁸⁹ Dr. M.L. Sali, *India-China Relations*, (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2009), pp. 195.
- ⁹⁰ John Farndon, *Op Cit.*, P. 103.
- ⁹¹ Ibid. p. 103.
- ⁹² Masood Khan, Ambassador of Pakistan to China, A Lush Tree: Pakistan-China Friendship Thrives over the Past Six Decades, *Beijing Review*, May 26, 2011.
- ⁹³ Ibid.
- ⁹⁴ Abstracted from the text of the speech delivered by H.E. Mr. Luo Zhaohui, former Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, on 'New China's Foreign Policy and Sino-Pak Relations' at the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), on October 1, 2009.
- ⁹⁵ G. W. Choudhury, *India, Pakistan, and the Major Powers*, (New York: University of Michigan, 1975), pp. 35.
- ⁹⁶ Alex Mackinnon and Barnaby Powell, *Op Cit.* P. 205.

THE ROYAL INDIAN ARMY, EVOLUTION & ORGANISATION: AN APPRAISAL

Amna Mahmood Sandhu

Abstract

The military power was the major source of British supremacy as a colonial power. But in India a different pattern was emerged when an indigenous force officered by the British was used to colonise its own motherland and then its role was extended as the guarantor of the Imperial rule. As it was predominantly an army of natives officered by the British, therefore a special pattern of recruitment was followed to use the warrior potential of some of the classes and to ensure uninterrupted supply of the loyal manpower. This force started as the presidency armies of East India Company and was developed into a modern, well organised and well equipped army in the course of evolution as the Royal Indian Army. It passed through a complex process of evolution, organisation and re-organisation motivated by challenges confronted by the British Raj in India. The revolt of 1857 made them scared of imparting such a training which could endanger their rule therefore they did not equip it with sophisticated arms and training equivalent to that of their British counterparts. It was only due to expediency of the World War I and II that they had to review their policy to meet the challenges to the Imperial rule all over the world. This paper studies the importance of the Indian Army to the British rule, the process of formation, evolution, organisation and Indianisation of the Royal Indian Army under the British rule. It also studies that how British structured a unique recruitment policy to channelize the warrior potential of the people and especially of the Northern India to ensure supply of manpower and earn their loyalty to advance their Imperial interests till 1947.¹

Introduction

The Indian Army performed dual functions for the British Raj: one was the security of the Empire on the Indian borders as well as on the international fronts; the other as the instrument to help the civil administration to maintain law and order and to deal with communal and political violence. The emergence of the Indian political parties in the late 19th century demanded more representation in government. The rising level of political awareness among the educated people, trained under the western education system, aggravated the feelings that the state institutions including both the military and bureaucracy should have more Indians in the decision making positions. The British were aware of the need of a sophisticated force but it was difficult for them to absorb the idea of a well equipped Indian Army controlled by the Indians themselves. It would have been a direct threat to their rule in India. Therefore the Indian Army was reorganised again and again but the process of Indianisation remained awfully slow.

Evolution

The force which proved itself a strong instrument in colonisation process later launched by the East India Company (EIC) was the Bengal Presidency Army of the EIC. It won the first landmark victory when it unexpectedly defeated Nawab Sarajudaullah, the Viceroy of Bengal in the Battle of Plassy in 1757. After 1857, when British Crown took over India as a colony, it worked as the custodian of the British Raj inside and outside India. In fact India proved a source of cheap manpower to fight for the Imperial designs at the cost of the Indian revenues.²

The EIC employed watchmen and armed guards to protect its trading posts. The number of post increased with the increasing number of trade facilities, which required reorganisation of these armed guards into companies and battalions. The presence of the British armies in Europe was imperative therefore the only alternative was to raise native units and train them on European lines. Raising local armies

was originally a French idea³ which was taken up by Lord Clive, an Englishman who first raised a regular army battalion in India. This first battalion was consisted of the soldiers recruited from various factions of the Indian society together with the old company guards. Due to the non-availability of the British officers initially those battalions were commanded by the Indians who were later replaced by the British officers.⁴ The Indians were then reduced to the lower ranks only. The name of *Sepoahy* armies was actually the anglicised version of the local word *Sepoahy* used for soldier. The *Sepoahy* armies were trained, well equipped and organised. They basically served the two purposes; one was the strengthening of the EIC's three main fortified trading posts in India; and secondly they dealt with the unorganized and poorly trained armies of the local rulers and provided solid grounds to the establishment of EIC's rule in India.⁵

Each of the EIC post had to maintain its own independent force due to the distant location from each other. As each trading post was called a Presidency, therefore its army was known to be the Presidency army. The Bengal Presidency⁶ Army covered the area from the Bay of Bengal to the northern borders of India up to Afghanistan. The Madras Presidency⁷ Army covered the main trading facility in St. George (Madras), Hyderabad and central provinces. Burma was also included in its area after its annexation with British India. The Bombay Presidency army⁸ included Bombay, Sindh, Rajputana and Aden. Eden commission also recommended the amalgamation of these presidency armies but it could not be implemented and despite heavy criticism they maintained the separate existence. It was not before 1895 when they were combined together.⁹ Before 1848, all armies were having separate commands till the time when General Stinger Lawrence was designated as the first Commander-in-Chief to these armies. He organised, trained and armed these '*Sepoahy*' armies officered by the Europeans and earned the well deserved title of the Father of British Indian Army.¹⁰ However he was not having any defecto control over the two armies other than the Bengal Army was due to the distance involved.

Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema wrote that the *Sepoahy* armies were small in number but superior in training, discipline and arms as compared to the large, indiscipline and corrupt armies of the local rulers. They were trained on regular basis for using arms and fighting in formations. They were also looked after, while the soldiers of native armies were under paid and poorly manned. The British officers were trained in British Military academies while the officers of the native armies used to be the members of the local royal family and their close associates. In most of the cases the Commander-in-Chief used to be the ruler himself or the Crown Prince of the state. There were no arrangement of any comprehensive training for both officers and ranks compatible to that received by the British officers and even the *Sepoahy* armies. The outstanding performances by some local rulers were owed to their personal traits and not the outcome of discipline or training.¹¹ However it was not true for Hayder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan.¹² Both were outstanding generals and trained their army on the professional lines. Marathas¹³ and Nizam¹⁴ also established well trained armies with the help of the French.

Colonisation by the EIC

Weakening authority of the Mughals and the consequent autonomy of different provinces of their empire, anarchy, mismanagement, palace intrigue, poor administration and weakness of local armies soon tempted the EIC to take advantages of the local situation and extend its rule beyond their trading facilities. The defeat of Nawab Sarajudaulla in Plassy was the first outstanding success attributed to the shrewdness of Robert Clive¹⁵ as well as strength of Bengal Presidency army. This victory was followed by the conclusive battle between the EIC and the French which ended in the French eviction from India. After that the EIC troops, which were consisted of the Royal troops, Company's European troops and Indian troops, were reorganised into a regular army. It was sizably grown to 46,000 personnel.¹⁶

The dawn of 19th Century saw a much expanded territorial control of the EIC in India. It was the result of political manoeuvring, manipulation and active military campaigns were kindled by discontentment in the army in one form or the other. These feelings were due to EIC's trade oriented policies which generated grievances among the Indians serving as ranks in the EIC army. There were four small scale eruptions in the army during the period of 1844-1857 which were handled easily by the authorities. The first large scale uprising which transferred India into a Crown Colony was the War of Independence in 1857. It was the proclamation of a new era of authority and conciliation.¹⁷

Having confidence, sense of superiority and some fear of local revolt again, the British decided not to provoke the religious sentiments of the Indians. They took certain measures to create a class of vested interest as their collaborators. One move was the confirmation of the land settlements of Lord Cornwallis¹⁸ and other was to give due recognition to more than 500 princely states, which were scattered all over India, to use them as breakwaters against any possible attempt of revolt in future. The rest of the country was controlled through a very professional civil service which was mainly consisted of the Englishmen and the subordinate posts were filled with the locals.¹⁹ Despite all these arrangements, the British realised that India could not be administered without an organised military again officered by Englishmen with sub-ordinate native force. Thus the first task they took after 1857 was the reorganisation of the armies.

The armies of the EIC had to pass through a major organisational change in the post-War of Independence period with the transformation of India into a Crown Colony. First in 1859 Peel Commission and then in 1879 Eden Commission was established to provide guideline to conduct those changes. These commissions laid a stress on the need of maintaining a professional and loyal army to rule over India. As the Bengal Army was largely involved in 1857's uprising, therefore, it had to face major organisational changes. The distinction between European and British troops ended

gradually. These armies were maintained separately but the position of the Commander-in-Chief was strengthened. Since the presence of large number of Indians proved to be a threat for the British rule, therefore it was also recommended to raise the strength of the British troops and giving them full control over fighting arms specially the artillery.²⁰ Prior to 1857, the ethnic composition of the army was five Indians to one European. On the recommendation of Peel Commission this proportion was readjusted to about two to one. Therefore the Royal Indian Army was adjusted with slightly over 60,000 British as compared to 120,000 Indians.²¹ The War of Independence 1857, generally regarded as a *Sepoahy* Mutiny in military slang, transformed all the company's European regiments to the service of the Crown. The decision was resisted by both officers and ranks against the transfer of their services without being consulted before taking decision. These protests were called as white mutiny.²²

In addition to these residency armies the EIC also raised two frontier forces to defend some of the problematic areas of India. To deal with Baloch tribesmen, the Sindh Frontier Force was set up in 1846 as a part of the Bombay army for the control and command purposes.²³ North-western border was the most sensitive area of the empire. The Punjab Frontier Force was established in 1849 to deal with the situation in that area. Initially it was controlled by the Foreign Department of India through the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.²⁴ Later in 1886, it was included in the Bengal Army. Its separate status was ended in 1903, when it was merged into the Indian Army.²⁵

The joint army was divided into four commands, each headed by a Lieutenant General with a strong control of Commander-in-Chief. The areas of Bombay and Madras armies were maintained under the Bombay and Madras command respectively while the Bengal army was divided into two: Punjab command and Bengal command. The three staff corps were abolished and the title Indian Army was officially adopted from 1st January, 1903.²⁶ The *Sepoahy* and officers

were also re-designated as the officers and ranks of the Indian army.²⁷

Recruitment Policy

Initially the recruitment in EIC army was not restricted to any particular class or religion. The Madras and Bombay armies were recruited mostly from their presidency areas. The Bengal army also followed the same pattern until the 2nd half of the 18th century when the recruitment policy was shifted from the territorial to the class composition. There was a major shift in recruitment policy in the post-War of Independence period. The previous centres of recruitment like Bengal, Bombay and Madras were discarded and North-Western region of India became the new source of recruitment. This pattern continued during the last three decades of the 19th century and later in the early decades of the 20th century. The selection of a few classes and the rejection of the previous stock for recruitment shaped the Martial Race Theory²⁸ which was consciously popularised and publicised by Lord Roberts (1885-1893), then the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army.²⁹ It is one of the most debated theories in India, abandoned by the British themselves in the World War I and the World War II, but restored again after the end of wars.³⁰

The new pattern facilitated the recruitment of the high caste Hindus both Brahmins and Rajputs from Agra, Oudh and Bihar. Later the Punjabi and Ghurkhas also served as the major sources of strength for the Bengal army making caste and religion biases quite prominent in this army.³¹ The Indian society was already divided in the castes and classes. The division was based on their functions and status in the society. The caste consciousness was more in Northern India as compared to Southern India. The Brahmans were the ruling class and Khashtriya were considered to be the warriors. Both belonged to the landed elite, much before the start of the imperial rule.³² Noor-ul-Haq contended that this policy was adopted “to ignore the politically conscious Indians and favour some selected lower status groups, such as Jats, by

taking them into the army.”³³ However, it was designed to get rid of those classes who remained involved in uprising in 1857 and replaced them with the more loyal classes. The intention was to use their potential as a warrior maintaining a dependable army for the defence of the Northern borders against Russia and served the imperial goals without questioning the British authority.

The argument that some of the classes were exhausted their warrior potential and required to be replaced by the other one was also not acceptable because history is evident that after the battle of Plassy ,the EIC continued to be in a constant state of war in India in its conquest of territory. Though their successes were not fully attributed to its powerful military only but fact remained there that it served as a major source that was why it was called as the sword of British Raj. Therefore how the warrior potential of their soldiers could be exhausted.

Tan Tai Young gives another explanation of the motives to emphasise the Martial Race Theory. He argues that it was introduced to maintain a social base and permanent supply of manpower for the army in India, since it was a native army performing duties for a foreign rule. The soldiers in uniform were not motivated by the sense of patriotism and sacrifices but their services were hired against material gains, therefore it was crucial to maintain a social base for such mercenary force. Therefore they established a political economy to integrate military men with his home as a source of strength for his services in the army. It was not only to ensure flow of the recruitment but also to protect the interests of the military population as a whole including recruits, soldiers, pensioners and their families.³⁴ This is true for the Punjab especially because it was having a central position in the security policy of the Raj to face the threat from Russia. Though the list of martial races included those from central India also but since the Punjab was the front line state in the Imperial security designs, its society was more integrated as a source of recruitment for the Indian Army. The special economic treatment and administrative structure was also followed to

ensure the recruitment and loyalty of the soldiers through a special culture of pride which came through military services generation after generation. The province was already militarised being on the major route from Central Asia to the India but the assurance of loyalty and permanent supply of the man power for mercenary services was actually a crucial task successfully done by the British.

Indianisation

The term Indianisation as defined by Lieutenant General G. MacMunn referred to that of giving command positions to the Indians and enabling them to share the higher ranks hitherto held by the British officers.³⁵ Those positions were with the Indians at the time of irregular troops of the EIC. They were successful against the Indian forces but when they had to fight with the great Maratha forces trained by the French; there was a need to have more Europeans to command. The British government continued the pattern after suppression of the rebels of mutiny in the form of irregular frontier force when old Sikh officers and their sons were serving in a brilliant manner. The sharing border with Russia posed a serious challenge demanding a modern and scientifically trained army led by the British officers. Indo-Afghan war 1878-80, further enhanced the realisation of Russian threat. But now the enemy was not internal. Therefore British did not dare to take any risk as far as the Indian defence on northern border was concerned.³⁶

Indianisation of the Royal Indian army was a long awaited goal which could partially be materialised till the end of the British rule in India. A complete Indian force accountable to the Indian legislature was not the idea absorbable to the British rulers sitting in London. They were hardly convinced to accept that the Indians could effectively command the army. The Report of the Political and Military Committee of the Council of India stated that the Indians should be commanded by the British officers.³⁷ It was due to the fact that the Royal Indian Army was used to advance the imperial policy goals at the cost of Indian revenues and they were sent

for military campaigns outside India even during the period of the EIC. Before the World War I they fought in Abyssinia, Afghanistan, Burma, China, Egypt and East Africa.³⁸ While in the World War I the Indian army performed duties in Egypt, Palestine, Persia, France and East Africa. The same pattern continued in the World War II and Indian troops were sent to Burma, Malaysia, Iraq, Abyssinia, Syria, North Africa, Hong Kong and Italy.³⁹ Though the Government of India under Lord Dufferin,⁴⁰ Lord Elgin⁴¹ and Lord Curzon⁴² raised objections repeatedly but the reason was not to raise any voice against that worse form of imperialism or demand for decolonisation. It was merely due to financial considerations on the part of the Government of India about the military expenditures.⁴³ British had this realisation that a more Indianised force responsible to the Indian legislature would pose more resistance against its use as an imperial force.

Lord Curzon, a strong supporter of colonialism, defined three functions of the army:

- To Preserve internal peace;
- The defence of Indian borders; and
- To get ready for imperial services round the globe.

Curzon's efforts to consolidate the military for serving the imperial power and recruitment of nobility through the Imperial Cadet Corps proved to be the first step towards the Indianisation of the officers corps of the Royal Indian Army. He and General Viscount Kitchener took the task of reorganisation of the army to enable it to meet the perceived Russian threat from the western border. He introduced many reforms which could be categorised first move towards the Indianisation, though not motivated by any sympathy with Indians but purely in the interests of the British imperialism. An important step was the unification of the four commands and the Indian soldiers were rearmed and allowed to use 303 Magazine rifle. The artillery consisted of locals was reorganised into four battalions having two companies each. For internal administration local officers continued to be the

in-charge but in war and parade the British officers were the commanders.⁴⁴

Almost all the departments of the army were reformed including departments like the Remount Horse Breeding, the Army Medical Corps, the Army Bearer Corps, the Field Artillery and the Infantry. Lord Curzon also organised an imperial cadet corps in 1901⁴⁵ to build up a portion of Indian officers coming from the previous ruling class and nobility of India. These members of nobility who were educated in chief collages were inducted through a special form of Kings Commission in His Majesty's Native Indian Land Forces and were entitled to command the Indian troops only. Knowing the importance of education for the army officers, Lord Kitchener also established a Staff College on the pattern of Camberley Staff College and it was shifted to Quetta next year. They also recommended Rupees Seven Carors for expansion of the Indian Ordnance Factories.⁴⁶

Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener were working with harmony and they had done a lot in the limited time but later a disagreement developed over the issue of the unification of the army administration under the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Kitchener was of the opinion that the dual system in which departments of the Supply, Transport, Remount and Ordnance was under one command while fighting arms under another command would be a failure. He strongly supported the abolition of the dual system and combining all the military administration under one person who had to serve as the Commander-in-Chief and the War Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.⁴⁷ Since Curzon was against concentration of powers in one hand, he resigned in 1905 after a tussle which was settled against his will by the British authorities in London.⁴⁸ That incident established the supremacy of the Commander-in-Chief in the internal matters of the military, a practice which continued in the Pakistan army after 1947 as a legacy of the Royal Indian Army.

Lord Kitchener continued the process of reorganisation of the army by changing the army's four commands into the army corps command, each comprising of two or more divisions. He also reorganised the army headquarters under the direct control of the Commander-in-Chief and divided it into 5 sections. Every section was headed by a Principal Staff Officer, a Quarters Master General, an Adjutant General, a Principal Medical Officer and a Military Secretary. In fact these reforms transformed the Royal Indian Army into a modern military and also enabled it to fight in the World War I in Europe.⁴⁹

The World War I gave Indians confidence to demand more concessions from the British government towards more self-government which the latter accepted under the War pressures. They announced to increase more Indian participation in the self-governing institutions which would be progressively developed in India as a part of British Empire.⁵⁰ The Indians were inducted in the services of India in civil sector but amazingly they were kept out of the Indian Army's officer corps till 1917. This announcement sanctioned the induction of more Indians in administration.⁵¹

The British were so much sensitive for the Indian Army that they did not want even to empower the Viceroy of India to appoint the Commander-in-Chief of India despite the fact that the office was reserved for the British only. He was appointed by the His Majesty Government on the recommendation of the Chief of General Staff of the Imperial Forces.⁵² While the Indian members of the Legislative Council wanted to transfer this control from the Indian government to the Indian Legislature.⁵³ The Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommended that keeping the expanded size of the Indian Army in the post-World War I position, it was imperative to grant commission to a considerable number of Indians. As a result of these recommendations a cadet school was established at Indore for Indian cadets and ten vacancies were also allotted to Indians at Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst.⁵⁴ But this spirit eroded at the end of war and the cadet school at Indore was closed.⁵⁵ Later the Eisher Committee rejected the broad-

based recruitment policy while totally ignoring the question of Indianisation.⁵⁶ This report practically placed the process of the Indianisation into cold storage.

The second wave of reorganisation was undertaken after the World War I when transport corps, medical corps, territorial and auxiliary forces were reformed. By amalgamation of existing units of cavalry, the number of regiments was reduced from 39 to 21. Infantry was also reorganised. In 1930 there was a controversy among the British officers for the mechanisation of the Indian Army. Around half of the officers were in favour and the others were against, not considering Indian soldiers competent enough for that purpose. The Chatfield Commission gave positive recommendations to resolve the controversy proposing mechanisation of the army. The army was reverted to the pre-war strength in that reorganisation. They also proposed that much of the cost of mechanisation would be paid by the British government.⁵⁷ But this report could not be implemented because of the World War II.

The Indian Legislative Assembly passed a resolution in 1921 that at least 25 per cent of the King's commission should be granted to the Indians.⁵⁸ In another resolution they demanded the establishment of a military college in India at par with Sandhurst.⁵⁹ The Indian political parties demanded more Indians in the officer cadre.⁶⁰ In response to these demands, Lord Rawlinson, the then Commander-in-Chief, established a committee in 1923 for this purpose in his headship. Rawlinson Report presented an idea of Indigenisation of 08 units within a period of 30 years, an early formulation of the Indian Military College (IMC) and a gradual decrease of the British officers and the Viceroy Commission officers. If the Indian officers would be recommended commission equivalent to dominion commission, they would be trained in the IMC. This report was rejected by the British Prime Minister Lloyd George when Sir Claude Jacob (Military Member of the Council of India) explained that Government of India's proposals were based on the assumption that India should be ultimately handed over to

the Indians.⁶¹ The Prime Minister clearly assigned that duty to Sir Jacob to convey to everyone in India that “It was the irrevocable intention of the HMG to see the British ascendancy and British rule in India are maintained.”⁶² Lord Robinson also justified his support for the territorial Indian Army instead of early indigenisation of the Royal Indian Army.⁶³

The British Prime Minister hastily responded by taking it against the imperial interests in India. This plan was practical but awfully slow since the scheme covered just eight units to be indigenised over a period of three decades.⁶⁴ Nonetheless it was ballpark almost a century’s period to Indianise the whole army. According to this plan, all junior officers would be the Indians and through the course of promotion all the officers would be Indians with the passage of time.⁶⁵ Though it practically started the indigenisation of officer cadre of the army but the Indian political parties did not consider the pace of the process satisfactory. The policy of creating an Indian territorial force as European auxiliary force also created a serious controversy.

Esher committee was formed to improve the situation but its report totally ignored the question of the Indianisation of the officer corps and recommended to facilitate the sons of officers having Viceroy’s Commission at the Prince of Wales College at Dera Dun before selection at Sandhurst, to reward their loyalty. By September 1920, the auxiliary force was established through law as it was considered inevitable for the maintenance of British authority in India.⁶⁶

The Simon Commission, its response by the Indian political parties and Nehru Report caused second wave of local pressure for Indianisation of the institutions. Nehru Report demanded self governing, dominion status and transfer of the Indian Army under the control of the Indian Defence Minister.⁶⁷ Rejecting Nehru Report on the account of anti-Muslim clauses, Jinnah advocated the Muslim cause in the form of his Fourteen Points and demanded adequate share for the Indian Muslims in all the services of the state.⁶⁸ The

British government also rejected Nehru report, so as the demand to hand over the military under the control of civilian Defence Minister.

To investigate the problems of Indianisation of the military, Skeen committee was appointed under the chair of Sir Andrew Skeen. The report was unanimous this time (in contrast to that of Esher Committee where both Indian members were maintaining opposite views) because its sub-committee consisted of the Indian legislators M. A. Jinnah, Moti Lal Nehru and three others who wanted to work for the Indianisation of the army and not let the opportunity go in vain. The Skeen Committee submitted its report with radical recommendations including the abandonment of the eight unit scheme, increasing vacancies for the Indians at Sandhurst from 20 to 38, the grant of King's commission to the Indians, formation of an Indian military college by the end of 1933, scholarships provided for expansion of the Indian Officers Corps and provided the chances of upward mobility for the rural classes which were the source of soldiery for the Royal Indian Army. It also recommended 08 vacancies for the Indians at the Royal College of Artillery at Woolwich and 25 for Cranwell to create an Indianise artillery and air force.⁶⁹ The Council of India and the Government of India were already committed to 20 seats for the Indians in Sandhurst and some seats at Cranwell and Woolwich. What made them alarmed was the demanded principle of the racial equality.⁷⁰ Therefore most of the recommendations of Skeen Committee were ignored by the Government of India and even the Indian Military Academy could not be established before October 1932 in Dera Dun, that too on the recommendation of the Defence sub-committee of the Indian Roundtable Conference. The graduates of Indian Military Academy were designated as Indian Commissioned Officers and that commission was valid only in India carrying low salary and allowances as compared to the Indian Officers with King's commission passed out from Sandhurst.⁷¹

The outbreak of the World War II was a crisis for British. The Japanese advances in Asia, Subahsh Chander Boss's

Indian National Army (INA), Gandhi's Quit India Movement and Muslim League's 'Divide and Quit' were all challenges on the internal front at the time when the British government needed desperately the Indian cooperation on the external front. Therefore the HMG offered concessions to the Indian political parties by sending Cripps Mission to India. But its proposals were rejected by both the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League. One of the positive outcomes of Cripps Mission was the new Defence Department of India.⁷² Though Lord Wavell, the Commander-in-Chief, was showing distrust on the issue of handing over the defence department to an Indian, Sir Feroz Khan Noon was appointed its first minister.⁷³ But this department was virtually having no control over the army, its operational capacity and strategic planning. It was merely concerned with the areas which were laid in the periphery of defence like military land, garrison, printing, distribution of medals, civil defence and air raid precautions etc.⁷⁴

In June 1943, Sir Claude Auchinleck and then after a few months Lord Wavell took over the offices of the Commander-in-Chief and the Viceroy of India respectively. Sir Auchinleck accelerated the pace of dreadfully slow process of Indianisation of the military. He also pointed out that the HMG had already announced the independence of India after the World War II, then what was depicted by giving the British officers permanent commission in the Indian Army. In place of permanent commission to the British officers he proposed a system of secondment to them as an alternate. He proposed to sustain limited number of the Indian officers who were granted emergency commission during the World War II as permanent commissioned officers. The British Prime Minister Winston Churchill wanted to reduce the Indian army around at least half a million and was cautious about the quality and loyalty of the military personal. Nonetheless he wanted to revert to the Martial Race Theory which was abandoned under the expediencies of the World War II.⁷⁵ Lord Attlee, the Prime Minister of the Labour government in London approved the Auchinleck proposals immediately which enabled Auchinleck to accelerate Indianisation process and the reorganisation that

could facilitate in case of the liberation of India. The division of the Indian Army into two successor states was beyond vision of Auchinleck. All the efforts of Auchinleck and the senior British command could not stop the division of the Indian Army into the armies of the two successor states India and Pakistan as an ostensible part of partition plan of India in 1947.⁷⁶

Conclusion

The formation and development of an army as an imperial force was inevitable to establish and maintain colonial rule in India. This Army played an important role in establishment of British rule in India and then acted as the custodian of *Raj*. It also played as a supporter of the civil administration from time to time.

The process of evolution of the Royal Indian Army was long, complex and motivated by defence requirements of the British Imperial rule in India and around. The ultimate product was a strong force which not only guaranteed the British rule in India but also served its interests all over the world. The process of the reorganisation continued in the 20th century to enhance the fighting potential of the organisation which facilitated the process of indigenisation of the army in a limited way as a by-product. The World War I and the World War II were the testimony of the British power and without the Indian Army it was not possible for them to claim a victory.

The British wanted to maintain their strategic interests in the Indian Ocean and also keep their borders secure against any threat from Russia. They wanted to use Afghanistan as a buffer zone between India and Russia. After proclamation of the former USSR, it became more important as it shared almost direct borders separated by a narrow strip of the Afghan territory with a Communist Empire which had already exhibited its expansionist designs. The agreement of peace with Russian and Afghanistan did not reduce the need for a strong military to protect the borders. Moreover the role of the military to curb the law and order problems in India in the

wake of rising political activity, ethnic and religious polarisation between Hindu and Muslims, demand for self-government and uprising of tribes on northern border became highly significant for maintenance of the Imperial rule in India.

The British established a unique type of civil-military relations in which principally the military was subordinated to the civilian government but at the same time they were supporter of their policies and acted as an instrument of policy. In the absence of sovereignty the military was accountable to the HMG in London while operating in India as almost the equal partner of the civil government. Though the Commander-in-Chief was responsible to the Governor General but as a member of the Indian legislative member and sole administrator of the Indian Army, he was all powerful in the military affairs. As the Indian legislature could exercise no control over the military strategic planning and expenditures, the military affairs were virtually out of bounds for the Indians, leaving the Governor General and the Commander-in-Chief all in all in the military affairs. Even the Government of India Act 1935, which provided a semi-self government in the centre and provinces, kept defence department under the Viceroy's control directly along with the foreign affairs.

The peculiar feature of the British Imperial Rule in India was the evolution of an Indian force which not only colonise India but later helped to maintain the imperial rule in their motherland. It was hard to maintain the supply of manpower for an army service which was not motivated by the patriotism, defence of cast, clan and region. But the British raised a social base for the recruitment of this army and ensured the permanent supply of loyal man power through Martial Race Theory. The Royal Indian Army as a professional organisation served successfully till 1947 as the sword of British rule.

Authors

Amna Mahmood, is an Assistant Professor of Political Science, in International Islamic University, Islamabad. She

did her M.Phil from Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad and submitted her Ph.D dissertation to Pakistan Studies Centre, University of the Punjab, Lahore. She has published many research papers in national and International Journal. She is author of book, *Emerging Interdependence between China and U.S.: Trade & Technology Transfers*, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, Germany, 2011.

Notes

¹ Since India was given dominion status on 14/15 August 1947, dividing into two successor states India and Pakistan, therefore like bureaucracy the military was also divided.

² Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Power, Politics and The People* (London: Anthem Press, 2002), pp. 22-23.

³ Duma was the first French who employed local Indians as “Sepohy.” See Major General Sir Dashwood Strellell, “The Indian Army before and after 1947,” *The Journal of Royal Central Asian Society* Vol. 35, 1948, p. 121.

⁴ Sir Wolesley Haig, “Armies of East Indian Company” in H.H Dodwell, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 153-66.

⁵ Hassan Askari Rizvi, *Military, State and Politics in Pakistan* (Lahore Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2003), p. 35.

⁶ Papers relating to the Bengal Army, Public Record Office (PRO) 30/9/4/3; PRO 30/12/33/7, National Archives London (NAL).

⁷ Ibid, PRO 30/12/30/11, NAL. See also Patrick Robert Cadell, *History of the Bombay Army* (Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1938).

⁸ Ibid, PRO 30/9/4/47, NAL. See also Byron Farewell, *Armies of the Raj: From the Mutiny to Independence, 1858-1947* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1989), p. 2.

⁹ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990), pp. 13-14.

¹⁰ Colonel J. Biddulph, *Stringer Lawrence: The Father of Indian Army* (London: John Murray 1901).

¹¹ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990), p. 12.

¹² Hyder Ali and his son Tipu Sultan remained the King of Mysore, a state covering present day's central and southern Karnataka and even beyond. Tipu was defeated by the combined forces of the British and the **Nizam of Hyderabad in 1799**. They were excellent military generals and the defeat was not due to the military supremacy of the rival forces but due to the backdoor conspiracies of his generals and shrewdness of EIC's

leadership. For detailed study see Philip Mason, *A Matter of Honour* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 18-19, 67-8.

¹³Marathas emerged as a strong military power in 1674 in Deccan Peninsula and they kept engaged Aurangzeb Alamgir, the last of the great Mughals for twenty seven years. They were having strong military along with considerable navel power to defend its strong coastal line. They fought three major wars with the EIC and lost the third one in 1818. It extended British rule to a vast territory in South India.

¹⁴Nizam was the title of the ruler of the princely state of Hyderabad that emerged in 1724 as the breakaway of the Mughal Empire. It was the richest state in India and Nizam had maintained a well equipped army with the help of the French officers.

¹⁵He was the person who established the political and military supremacy of the EIC in India and defeated Nawab Sarajudulla, the Viceroy of Bengal in 1757. He along with Warren Hasting established the British Empire in India.

¹⁶S. T. Das, *Indian Military: Its History and Development* (New Delhi; Sager Publications, 1969), pp. 81, 159-160.

¹⁷Authority in a sense that the India officially was taken over by the British Crown and conciliation in a sense that the British Crown in order to maintain peace and order in the new colony, started policy of some accommodation of the sentiments of the local people.

¹⁸[Lord Cornwallis](#) was the first Governor-General under the new Act who held office between 1786 and 1793 as a representative of the British government. He was answerable to the Board of Control. He defied the mercenary interests of the EIC when they conflicted with the British state policy. He reorganized the whole administrative structure of EIC, introduced British law system and Europeanise the Civil services in India.

¹⁹Dr. Noor-ul-Haq, *Making of Pakistan: The Military Perspective* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, 1993).

²⁰Report of the Peel Commission, as submitted by the commissioners appointed to acquire into the organisation of the Indian Army together with the minutes of evidence and appendix, London: His Majesty's office, 1859, IOR:L/Mil/17/5/1622.

²¹Lord Lawrence to Lord Cranborne, January 4, 1867, IOR: Lawrence Papers, Letters to the Secretary of the State (1867), no. 2. Available in printed form in C. H. Philips, ed., *The Evolution of India and Pakistan 1858 to 1947: Selected Documents*, London reprint, 1964, 509.

²²Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990), 12.

²³S.L. Menezes, *Fidelity and Honour: The Indian Army from the Seventeenth to the Twenty-first Century* (New Delhi: Viking, 1993), p. 22.

²⁴T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army: The Garrison of British Imperial India, 1822-1922* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1974), pp. 27-29.

²⁵Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab 1849-1849* (Pakistan: Vanguard Books, 2005), pp. 45-49.

²⁶ See also T.A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army*, pp. 27-29.

²⁷Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State*, pp. 45-49.

²⁸Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and authoritarian in South Asia* (Lahore: Sang-a-meel Publications, 1995), 203-209. The martial race phenomenon was already there in the Punjab and it was observed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The British structured it formally and declared some of the factions of the society as the warriors and used their loyalty and potential for the advancement of their imperial designs. In this way they excluded the politically conscious classes from the military to avoid politicization of the forces. This theory affected the social structure and produced a class of the beneficiaries of the British rule. These classes which were declared the martial races acquired a sense of superiority and strengthened the culture of exploitation established by the British through distribution of land to these and some other classes and deprived of some others on the assumption of this theory. In the Potohar region, these castes served as the main recruitment source for the Royal Indian Army since there were less economic opportunities in the region. In central Punjab these castes also joined army especially in the two World Wars. But generally they continued with the culture of violence instead of refining themselves through education and civility. By virtue of being the martial races these classes despite some of the good traits are still lagging behind and just staying proud on their status as a martial race. Those who had come out of the villages and settled in the urban areas have become enlightened by virtue of their education and exposure to the other factions of the society.

²⁹ Lord Frederick S Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. II (London, 1897), p. 383.

³⁰Tan Tai Young, *the Garrison State*, p. 64.

³¹Lieutenant Colonel J. M. Wideley (ed.) *Hand Books for the Indian Army: Punjabi Mussalmans* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915), p. 125 and Major R. T. Ridgway (ed.), *Hand Books for the Indian Army: Pathans* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915), p. 125.

³²Ayesha Jalal, *Democracy and authoritarian in South Asia*, pp. 203-209.

³³Dr Noor-ul-Haq, *Making of Pakistan: the Military Perspective*, p. 7.

³⁴Tan Tai Young, *The Garrison State*, pp. 25-26.

³⁵Lieutenant General G. MacMunn, *Martial Races of India* (London: Sampson Low & Co, 1933), p. 231.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 232.

³⁷Report of the Political and Military Committee of the Council of India, 30 June 1859, IOR: L/Mil/17/5/1625, pp. 7-8.

³⁸ Douglas M. press, *Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial Armies and Garrison state in India, 1819-1835* (London: I.B Taris, 1995), p. 1.

- ³⁹Hassan Askari Rizvi, *The Military and Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1997* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000), p. 31.
- ⁴⁰He remained Governor General of India from December 1884 to December 1988.
- ⁴¹He served as viceroy of India March 1862 to November 1863.
- ⁴²He served as the Governor General of India from January 1899 to November 1905.
- ⁴³Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Power, Politics and the People*, p. 219.
- ⁴⁴V. D. Mahajan, *Constitutional History of India* (India: S. Chand Publishers, 1971), p. 238.
- ⁴⁵This scheme was started to reward the princely states' rulers and the nobility of India for their loyalty to British rule. This commission was valid for India only. V. Longor, *Red Coats to Olive Green: A History of the Indian Army 1600-1974* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1974), p. 135.
- ⁴⁶Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58*, p. 14.
- ⁴⁷V. D. Mahajan, *Constitutional History of India*, p. 239.
- ⁴⁸Stephen. P. Cohen, "Issues, Role and Personality, Kitchener Curzon Dispute," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10 (April 1968): pp. 20-29.
- ⁴⁹Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58*, pp. 14 -15.
- ⁵⁰E. S. Montague, Secretary of State for India's announcement, 20 August, 1917, Hansard, Commons, 5th Series, vol. 97/1917, pp. 1695-6.
- ⁵¹Ibid.
- ⁵²Political and Military Committee's report.
- ⁵³Resolution no. 3, 29 March 1921 by Sir Shivaswamy Aiyar, India, *Legislative Assembly Debate*, 1921, vol. I, part II, p. 1687.
- ⁵⁴*Montague-Chelmsford Report*, 1918, Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, Cmd, p. 9109.
- ⁵⁵Dr Noor-ul-Haq, *Making of Pakistan: the Military Perspective*, p. 18.
- ⁵⁶Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army*, p. 77.
- ⁵⁷Sir Dashwood Strellell, "The Indian Army before and after 1947," p. 125.
- ⁵⁸Resolution no. 7, 28 March 1921, India Legislative Assembly Debates, 1921, vol. I, p. 1753.
- ⁵⁹Resolution no. 8, 28 March 1921, India Legislative Assembly Debates, 1921, vol. I, p. 1753.
- ⁶⁰Dr. Noor-ul-Haq, *Making of Pakistan: the Military Perspective*, pp. 18-19.
- ⁶¹Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Power, Politics and the People*, p. 224.
- ⁶²Ibid.
- ⁶³Chief of Imperial General Staff, Sir Henry Wilson's Comments on 12 January 1922 at a meeting of Indian Military requirements sub-committee of the committee of Imperial defence (Cab 16/38 PRO.)
- ⁶⁴Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army* (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), p. 107.

- ⁶⁵Lieutenant General G. MacMunn, *Martial Races of India* (London: Sampson Low & Co, 1933), p. 346.
- ⁶⁶Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Power, Politics and the People*, p. 222.
- ⁶⁷Nehru Report: All Parties conference, report of the committee appointed by the conference to determine the principles of the constitution of India (Allahabad: All India Congress committee, 1928), pp. 13-14.
- ⁶⁸Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 22-23. Point. 11.
- ⁶⁹*Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee*, 14 November 1926, IOR: L/Mil/17/5/1784, p. 5.
- ⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 227.
- ⁷¹R. C Majumdar, H.C Ray Chaudri and Kilikindar Datta (London: Macmillan, 1953), p. 938.
- ⁷²*New York Times*, 2 April 1942.
- ⁷³Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Power, Politics and The People*, p. 243.
- ⁷⁴Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, *Pakistan's Defence Policy, 1947-58*, p. 17.
- ⁷⁵Partha Sarathi Gupta, *Power, Politics and the People*, p. 294.
- ⁷⁶A note by Auchinleck on the strategic implications of the inclusion of Pakistan in the British Commonwealth (with attached map) dated 11 May 1946, Auchinleck papers MUL/1152.

A STABLE PAKISTAN: PROPOSED MODEL OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Brigadier Muhammad Khurshid Khan

Abstract

In global politics, relevance and importance of a state depends upon its geo-strategic location, economic military strength and political and diplomatic influence in the world. There are external and internal dimensions to the national security. In Pakistani context, it has serious national security issues encompassing external and internal security threats. There is a consensus opinion that currently the national security challenges to Pakistan primarily comes from “within”. Pakistan is a country that has been gifted with tremendous resources, if utilized correctly can usher its national interests without being subjected to international pressure and coercion. But unfortunately, despite having tremendous potentials, Pakistan’s pillars of national power are too weak to protect its national aims and objectives. Resultantly, Pakistan has lost control over its decision making thus its economic policies have been taken over by money landing agencies including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Its domestic and foreign policies need to go through a sea change. Externally, its policy must be independent based on mutual interests. Internally, the leadership has no option but to deliver to the poor masses by providing equal opportunities to all for prosperity and economic development. National security of Pakistan is also linked with population control, energy and water security and strategy to tackle with natural calamities. Good governance and long term sustainable external and internal policy is a key to take this country out of the current mess.

Preface

Security landscape is more complex and unpredictable due to interconnected set of challenges, dictated by strategic culture of the countries/regions. While the external

dimensions create security environments in and around a country, the internal stability primarily hinges upon the state's economic health. Among the international dimensions, dependency on foreign aid makes the country susceptible to foreign pressures and sanctions.¹

No nation in the world can prosper without a road map clearly defining as to what they are and what they want to be. The progressive nations that live in present and think and plan for the future have minimum security risks. Despite current crises Pakistan has tremendous potentials to play important role in the international comity. Given its location and capability to influence regional and extra regional stability, Paul Kennedy considers Pakistan as one of the world pivotal state.² Due to its importance, 21st Century "Great Game" revolves around this region with a focus on oil and gas however; the untold wealth is also buried in the triangle where the borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan meet with Iran's. Therefore, Pakistan's location offers opportunities as well as confronts with host of challenges.³

Externally, the strategic security environments around Pakistan are far from satisfactory. As a consequence of ongoing war on terrorism (WoT) in the region, its economy is sinking, forcing it to rely on the United States (US) and other money lending organizations for economic support. This dependency has resulted into complete loss of economic sovereignty and flexibility. Pakistan is in a geopolitical Catch-22 which is only partly of its own making. Some western observers opine that Pakistan is "at best a reluctant supporter of the US goals and at worst a potential long-term adversary. This is the kind of strategic relationship that the US and Pakistan currently enjoy."⁴

Politically, Pakistan is fortunate enough to have democracy back on track which guarantees political stability, social and economic development and national cohesion. But regrettably, undemocratic culture within the political parties and the culture of taking whimsical decision by the decision makers

without institutional inputs are likely to continue which are detrimental to Pakistan's long term security interests.

With respect to Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and Balochistan, Pakistani nation is apprehensive as the security situation in both cases is uncertain and fragile. "A century of neglect" is how a participant described FATA's isolation and marginalization while speaking at three-day conference on "Advancing policy implementation in Fata" held at Wilton Park. Additionally, Pakistan is still unable to erect strong barriers against the ongoing trends of funding and fuelling of the sectarian war within country that started of sometime during late 1970s. Pakistan is paying very heavy price of its last 63 years of flawed domestic policies.⁵

Pakistan is vulnerable to a number of threats related to civil emergencies which warrants a proactive approach based on comprehensive planning and viable strategy. Its national security is also linked with energy and water security and in the absence of long term plans to have reservoirs of these elements, Pakistan's stagnant economy is likely to remain in logjam. Pakistan is already under intense pressure due to rapid increase in population/urbanization. Major General Sunil D. Tennakoon, a Sri Lankan officer, views that while large population is a key pre-requisite but not an absolute guarantee for national strength.⁶ Additionally, the climate change is a phenomenon which is potentially dangerous having serious implications for Pakistani population residing along the coast line.⁷

A careful study of contemporary Pakistan presents a bleak picture where insecurity prevails all around. The pillars of its national power potential are not sufficiently robust and compatible to protect and promote its core national interests and objectives. The analysts have been sounding alarms about Pakistan's overall economic, social and political health and the issue of radicalization, dividing the society along religious and ethnic lines.⁸

In this backdrop, this paper focuses on the dynamics of Pakistan's national security while concentrating on following

factors: First, defining national security, second, national interests, goal and objectives, third, efficacy of the pillars of national security potential visa-v-vis security challenges and finally proposed model of national policy of Pakistan. The opinion expressed in this paper is solely of the author's own and does not necessarily represent government or institutional stance.

Defining National Security

Every independent nation strives to protect its core values, aim at enabling people to lead their lives in free and secured environments according to their shared common belief and values by preserving their national identity, sovereignty and territorial integrity. From author's perspective, national security is an umbrella under which these core values are well protected and promoted through application of well thought out national security strategy.

Literally meaning, national security is a collective term for the defense and foreign relations and protection of the interests of a country. *The national security policy is a comprehensive concept which at the strategic level used interchangeably with national security strategy which enables the states to maintain their independent identity and integrity.* When modern social scientists talk of "national security" as a concept, they generally mean, the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats.⁹

The concept encompasses the element of political independence, territorial integrity and internal stability and national unity. Dr Shireen M. Mazari views that at minimal level, a state may include within its security parameters, territorial integrity, national sovereignty, and the absence of fear of threat to these values. Barry Buzan, a renowned scholar describes national security as the security of a whole socio-political entity all encompassing external threat, economic challenges and internal security.¹⁰

The approach to national security is clearly grounded in a set of core values. Strategic culture plays important role in defining and perceiving threats and suggesting security apparatus which varies from nation to nation and region to region. All states have core interests which generally revolve around security/prosperity but generally interchangeable, as one country might assign greater importance to one over other as explained by Irfan Hussain.¹¹

National security takes into account a wide range of factors that contributes towards stability or stimulates conflict. The national security policy is framed based on national purpose, aim and defined objectives. Besides many other factors, demographics, health; natural resources and environment; science and technology; the global economy; national and international governance; and future conflict are the drivers which impact in shaping the national security as described by John C. Gannon.¹² In Pakistani context, its domestic conflicts stemming from religious, ethnic, or political disputes are also the drivers which impact its national security calculus.

National security is usually defined as the ability of a state to protect its people from internal and external threats by applying all available national power potentials. In 21st century, the economic dimension takes precedence over all other factors. Due to the changing character of the security concept, the definition may also include other drivers, the way rival nations would compete with each other regardless of their location on the globe. According to another approach, national security is rephrased as “the ability of government to protect its people and national interests by using economic, military and political means build and supported by human capital equipped with most advanced knowledge in all statecraft”.¹³

Stephen E. Sachs views that since 1945, the threat perceptions have changed where the most significant threats to state security have been internal, rather than external, which may have profound consequences for the conduct of international relations. The new approach identifies a new

definition of national security which at times is given the name of "human security," which has been suggested to express the need of individuals for safety in other arenas of basic need-access to clean food and water, environmental and energy security, freedom from economic exploitation, protection from arbitrary violence by the police, gangs, or domestic partners, etc.¹⁴

The growing reach and sophistication of international terrorism poses a further threat of intra-state violence that can't easily be countered by traditional military organizations. This kind of threat can also be termed as irregular or "Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW)". Thomas Hobbes opines that none of the other goods in life could be achieved without security, so to him, security was an absolute value. Richard Ullman an eminent write views that defining national security purely in military terms is not correct which draws the attention away from the non-military threats that undermines the stability of many nations during the years ahead.¹⁵

Pakistan's Core Values/Interests

The contemporary strategic security environments within the country, in the region and around the globe, warrant that Pakistan may review its national security policy and make adjustments according to the dictates of the ground while protecting its core values and supreme national interests. Though, Pakistan is confronted with multidimensional challenges, but it can't compromise on its national purpose which is "A progressive and democratic Pakistan, based on principles of sovereignty and social justice as enunciated in Islam". Some of the important national interests and objectives to be protected by Pakistan internally and externally may include: One, sovereignty and territorial integrity including Azad Jammu and Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, second, nation unity/cohesion, three, elimination of extremism/radicalism and terrorism, fourth, socio-economic development through good governance, fifth, elimination of corruption and safety of strategic assets.

In addition, the other important objectives includes: One, peaceful resolution of Jammu and Kashmir issue, two, water, food, health and energy security, three, human resource development through technical and industrial development, fourth, promotion of regional and extra-regional relationships on the principle of “friendship with all, enmity with none”, with special emphasis to Muslim countries, fifth, development of natural and maritime resources, sixth, appropriate planning to address natural calamities including environmental protection, population planning, development of tourism and promotion of culture and sports.

A comprehensive national strategy should be the next step to ensure that the underlined objectives are achieved in medium to long term. Within the existing resources, the economic indicators do not do fully support that Pakistan will be able to attain its objectives in a given timeframe therefore; the managers/planners at various levels may prioritize the objectives and pay special attentions to the relevant areas first without compromising on Pakistan’s vital interests.

Efficacy of the Pillars of National Security vis-a-vis Security Challenges

National power potentials are indicative of national strength that helps in formulating policies and strategies to mitigate the domestic as well as foreign threats to its core values. These components are closely inter-linked and even if one of them is weak, national security as a whole will be correspondingly weakened.

Pakistan currently deals with host of challenges both external as well as internal. While it’s external challenges are real and visible but its internal threats are interchangeable and dynamic in nature. The pillars of Pakistan’s national security do possess potentials to mitigate both internal as well external challenges but currently their strength is incompatible vis a vis the threats. Some of the threats both ‘external’ and ‘domestic’ with possible role of Pakistan’s national power potentials to diminish their impact are explained in succeeding paragraphs.

Security Challenges: External Factors

Geo-strategic location provides great opportunities to Pakistan being the energy corridor located at the mouth of the oil rich Gulf region as well as a gateway to land lock Afghanistan and Central Asian States (CAS). Its over 1000 km coastline with mineral rich exclusive economic zone (EEZ), generally termed as “Fifth Province” of Pakistan. However, as occasionally said, one may change his friends but can’t neighbor. Unfortunately, hostile environments prevail all around Pakistan. India remains a primary threat to its solidarity and sovereignty.¹⁶

India’s upward defense budget indicates its intentions in changed regional security environments. Allocation of \$200 billion over the next two decades and its decision to acquire state of the art technology primarily Pakistan centric including anti ballistic missile system (ABM) will thus create a serious conventional imbalance in the region.¹⁷ It’s Cold Start strategy further adds on the security problems for Pakistan. Similarly, it is also bent upon acquiring huge naval capability to enhance its “strategic reach and out-of-area capabilities” to protect its interests against China. The lethal combination of India’s conventional military based on the concept of “Cold Start” strategy, duly supported by naval forces and reinforced by its second strike nuclear capability brings serious security challenges for Pakistan.¹⁸

While on the western front, Pakistan’s relations with Afghanistan remained below the comfort zone on one or the other pretext. Regrettably, since late 1970s, Pakistan is in a state of war from “within” and along its Afghanistan border. There is no visible sign that the US would succeed, the security situation in Afghanistan is unpredictable and far from satisfactory, and so is the security environment in Pakistan and especially in Khyber Pakhtunkwah (KPK) and FATA.¹⁹ The security situation further gets blurred as the US national security strategy has already named Pakistan interchangeably with Afghanistan which refers to Pakistan as the “*epicenter of*

violent extremism”, despite extensive sacrifices in human and economic losses.²⁰

With regards to Iran, till late 1970s, both countries enjoyed good brotherly relations that went bottom low during 1990s when both sides remained engaged in Afghanistan through proxy war. Since then, the relations between them did not improve beyond certain level as Iran continues to consider Pakistan as the US ally. Terrorist acts by non state actors (NSAs) and terrorist organizations across Iran-Pakistan border and Pakistan’s occasional statements on Iranian nuclear program also contribute towards trust deficiency between the two countries. Iran’s inclination towards India is seen negatively in Pakistan.²¹

Pakistan’s national security is also linked with its over 1000 km coastline which provides both opportunities as well cause challenges. EEZ, the ‘Fifth Province’ of Pakistan is extremely rich in natural resources which are vulnerable to intervention. Pakistan's 90 percent trade and energy lifeline is seaborne which is expected to rise thus protection of coastline, territorial waters, EEZ, and Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs), is vital for its economic and maritime security.²²

The significance of Arabian Sea/Indian Ocean is growing tremendously. India’s futuristic vision indicates its hegemonic designs in Indian Ocean thus domination by one is detrimental to the security interest of others. Another significant challenge to Pakistan's maritime interests is its unsettled Sir Creek maritime boundary dispute (MBD) with India. Pakistan Navy (PN) along with Maritime Security Agency (MSA) and the Coast Guards’ limited capacity to protect its maritime interests would undermine the full utilization and control of the EEZ.²³

The next serious threat to Pakistan’s stability and security relates to irregular or 4GW. The threat is both external as well internal. While the terrorists/extremists being employed are primarily locals however, the expertise and logistic backup is external. The 4GW being conducted by the terrorists has already blurred the lines between soldiers and civilian and

between state and non-state. The 'ungoverned spaces' in mega cities, already over flooded with population, provide them sanctuaries. The satellite and reconnaissance sensors may find it difficult to separate "terrorists" from "ordinary citizens" among these teeming masses.²⁴

The next uncalled security concern relates to Pakistan's nuclear program which is very well protected through an institutionalized approach. The US Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral Mike Mullen expressed his views and said, "These are the most important weapons in the Pakistani arsenal... they go to extraordinary efforts to protect and secure them. These are their crown jewels".²⁵ However, despite extensive safeguards in place, Pakistan's nuclear activities are still considered unsafe by the Western lobby. A former CIA analyst Bruce Riedel views that growing trends of extremism in Pakistan and to some extent political instability within the country are exerting mounting pressure on the Pakistani military's ability to secure its nuclear assets.²⁶

Nonetheless, the common masses of Pakistan have already made a perception that the CIA led intelligentsia if given an opportunity would not hesitate to coax a plan to launch an attack against any one of Pakistan's nuclear facilities so as to make a case. Mere firing of few shorts by the terrorists at the outer ring of a nuclear facility or even of a dummy site will attract international media to put pressure on Pakistan. Scholarly world led by the US is playing negative role which is not in their interest too.

But it does not mean that there is no nuclear terrorism related threat to Pakistan. As the threat of global terrorism has grown so is the threat to Pakistan's nuclear program. Though, Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority takes due care of accounting and disposal of radioactive sources still, nuclear power plants and high activity radioactive sources, used commercially are vulnerability to nuclear terrorism. Like other countries, the possibility of disrupting/ or seizing a container of a high activity radioactive sources by the terrorists while in transport within Pakistan can't be ruled out.²⁷

Finally, foreign policy is another important factor that protects the national interests on exterior fronts and also play important role in promoting economy. Foreign policy can't work in vacuum as its success and failure is linked with the strength and weaknesses of other pillars of national power potential including leadership and public opinion. While efficient Foreign Office (FO) cadre does make a difference however, foreign policy can be effectively applied only from a position of strength.²⁸

Presently, Pakistan's foreign policy cadre is under tremendous pressure because of domestic as well as international developments related to conventional and nuclear terrorism. The impact of IMF and the WB is limiting Pakistan's foreign policy options. In addition, FO is also under immense pressures on the issue of proposed Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty and seems isolated in the Conference on Disarmament (CD). The FO has also failed to attract foreign investment due to unstable domestic security environments and also failed to acquire requisite funds from friends of Pakistan in the context of its leading role in WoT.

These are the security environments in and around the country in which Pakistan's armed forces alongside other law enforcing agencies (LEAs) have to operate and protect their national interests. In comparison with China and India, Pakistan maintains well organized small conventional force reinforced by nuclear capability that presents symbol of stability and unity. Its role in ongoing WoT alongside other agencies has been above the board.

Above notwithstanding, it is absolutely logical that there would be no war when two neighborly states have balanced military power. There would be no war when one of the two neighboring states is too weak to resist. However, the likely possibility of war does exist when two neighborly states though possess imbalance power structure but still sufficient enough to carry on independent and sovereign national status and policies.²⁹ In such environments, the stronger is likely to cause embarrassment for the weaker that may invite war in

which no one is likely to win, especially when both have nuclear weapons.

Till date, Pakistan has been fortunate enough that the nuclear factor did not allow the two countries to go beyond redlines. But since Pakistan would be unable to match India on conventional side therefore, the flexibility to protect its supreme national interests would be limited to maintaining 'credible minimum nuclear deterrence'. As the conventional gap grows the risk factor of the nuclear weapons' involvement in future wars between them would also increase. The ABM factor and assured second strike capability with India would further add on the risk of nuclear weapons being drawn in the conflict.

Additionally, due to prevailing security situation, the LEAs of Pakistan including its army are stretched from Khyber to Karachi. The hostile security environments along its eastern and western borders have put more stress on them. Due to economic stress, Pakistan remains dependent on foreign support even for day to day operations against WoT. A strong nexus between Taliban from both sides of Pak-Afg border and domestically organized terrorists groups duly sponsored by foreign hands would be a nightmare for Pakistan to tackle with. It may or may not be a 'long drawn war' for the US, but regrettably, it will be a 'long war' for Pakistan to clean up the mess after the US has withdrawn its forces from Afghanistan. Pakistan army does not possess the capability to fight on two fronts as its LEAs are under strength, ill equipped and ill trained to undertake their primary role of dealing with internal security alone.

Security Challenges: Internal Factors

Pakistan is a society in transition but still maintains a strict adherence to more traditional values. It is unfortunate that the period during late 1970s and 1980s marked the steady rise of religious and militant forces in Pakistan which was encouraged not only by the West but also by its friendly Muslim countries to serve the US interests. This era set the downward trends in cultural norms encouraging religious

indoctrination as a state policy, curbing all democratic norms and notions of freedom of thought.³⁰

The contributing factors towards Pakistan's internal instability are primarily 'Home Grown'.³¹ Alexander H. Rothman and Lawrence J Korb from the Centre for American Progress in their recent analysis point out that while relation between Pakistan and India are far from cordial, the most immediate threats to Pakistan's stability is 'domestic'.³²

On political and social sides, Pakistan has fairly developed political structure having a formal constitution which provides guidance and sets directions for all institutions. Although, political maturity will take some time, but it is very encouraging that democratic culture is likely to sustain pressure to discourage non-political forces to come in. Democratic culture would also help in furthering cultural cohesion. The national unity was amicably observed during the last year flood and earthquake of 2005 in which the people of Pakistan successfully overcome the crises while working as a team.

But political structure based on democratic norms is best served by educated masses which is lacking in Pakistan. Resultantly, non democratic culture within political parties and impact of feudal/elite on the political system cause serious weakness in democratic process. Regrettably, though less talked about but a hard reality is that frequent interference of the military in national politics has caused serious damage to its democratic institutions.

All these factors have led to polarization and consequent deterioration of state's institutions that allowed all kind of terrorism to flourish in Pakistani society. So called Jihadi organizations have developed connection with organized crime. The nexus between NSAs, terrorists, drugs and smuggling mafias and organized crime is another aspect of insecurities. In addition, due to inconsistent/ill conceived government policies, its society stands divided on ethnic, sectarian, linguistic and territorial lines thus threatening the solidarity of Pakistan.

As pointed out earlier, large population is one of the pillars of national security but the unmanageable and unskilled population in Pakistan has become a drain on its ailing economy. Besides, population concentration in Pakistan's mega cities is a grave threat to its national security. The poverty in these mega cities already exist which is subject to exploitation. The recent report by the World Food Program of the United Nations reinforces the argument. According to a survey, Karachi has already been declared among worst ten livable cities in the world.³³ From author's perspective, even the best intelligence network in the world would fail to effectively control and monitor these unmanageable cities like Karachi, Lahore and Faisalabad.

Pakistan's agrarian based economy is sufficiently robust to take care of its food demand which could be further increased as sufficient arable land is still available, provided water resources are well managed. The country possesses a hardworking work force, fairly well established industrial and communication infrastructure linked with two main ports which have the potentials to be linked with China and CAS. In addition, Pakistan has great potential to develop tourism as industry. The country is blessed with terrific economic resources provided these are well taped and the country is guided in right direction with sense of purpose.

Economic factor that has now assumed the most vital linkage to internal security and stability of Pakistan is unmoved. The bulk of the natural resources remain untapped/under-developed that impinges on Pakistan's economic development. Internationally, Pakistan industry is not competitive due to its poor quality and cost effectiveness. There have been unfavorable investment climate over the past two decades. Dr Sania Nistar views that to provide enabling environments for investment, three factors are important: social/legal security, law and order and policy consistency.³⁴ But unfortunately, none of them exists in Pakistan. Mass scale corruption, high inflation, and culture of subsidy; debt servicing and maintenance of large conventional military force are other contributing factors.

The government officials including the Prime Minister (PM) have occasionally indicated bleak picture of Pakistan's economy. Regrettably, national financial policies and institutes have been handed over to IMF and WB thus Pakistan lost its control over vital economic policies. For Pakistan, "pulling out of the IMF program is not an option", said a senior official.³⁵ Dr Farrukh says, "All the admirals, vice admirals, rear admirals,....put together are either unwilling or incapable of making midcourse corrections-no correction, more leaks. And, there are two things that sink ships: loose lips and leaks...just a little leak can eventually sink as great a ship as RMS Titanic".³⁶

Economic depression coupled with uncontrolled population generates a number of interconnected problems. The issues like social justice, poverty, unemployment, health and literacy which flow from economic strength are amongst the major destabilizing factors in Pakistan. We can't have a healthy nation without education and healthcare and both have been the most neglected sectors since the last three decades. The health services vis a vis population in Pakistan is pathetic due to less than 2 percent spending of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on this important sector. By shedding away the responsibility to respective provinces, it is highly unlikely that a positive change in health sector would come in foreseeable future.³⁷

Similarly, Pakistan's existing education system which continues to spend just only 1.5 percent of the GDP is yet another factor which is detrimental to its national security. The existing model of Pakistan's education system helps creating further classes in youth other than sectarian and ethnics division. The author fully endorses the views of Zirgham Afridi who says that the imported foreign syllabi by the private schools and blindly imparting it to the children of the privileged class will only be available as skilled labor to the developed countries.³⁸

The agriculture sector serves as spinal card for Pakistan's sustained economy and is vital to strengthening its food

security. The water scarcity has raised Pakistan's stakes very high. According to a study, Kalabagh, a technically sound and economically viable dam has been made hostage to the politics.³⁹ The tension is likely to grow with time as the water shortage is likely to persist and the situation may further worsen as India is likely to continue its water reservoirs construction work on disputed sites without caring for Pakistan's concerns.⁴⁰

The next serious threat comes from increasing trends of radicalization of the society. The widespread poverty, failed expectations and the prevalence of militant Islamic religious schools have contributed to growth of radicalization and extremism. Well laid out infrastructure of terrorist groups inside the country is pivotal in transforming radical tendencies into violence.⁴¹ Such violence gets encouragement when society keeps quiet and the state institutions do not react promptly. The coldblooded murder of two important personalities in recent past is indicative of state's failure to control extremism. Babur Sattar suggests that "without the state taking a firm position backed by action, citizens alone can't confront proliferation of violence in the name of religion".⁴²

Pakistan has managed to control terrorists' activities in FATA and elsewhere, but it is far from achieving the objective of eliminating the menace of terrorism from the society. It is a long drawn war that would require colossal resources and political will and national unity. Security situation in Balochistan is also a point of concern. Presently a stalemate persists but political settlement of the problem is not in sight. In the absence of nation cohesion, anti state elements are very active in encouraging and exploiting the communal /regional cards like Sindi, Balochi and Saraike etc thus the country no longer presents a homogeneous Pakistan.⁴³

As a sequel to the underlined factors, the national morale and character are fading away. The societal harmony is cracking due to ethnic and sectarian divide and religious intolerance. There are many societal ills being promoted

without any fear as the society behaves indifferently, mass scale corruption at all tiers is one such example. The displayed behavior of Pakistani nation is detrimental to its national character. The vacuum that has been created between the state and society is being fully exploited by NSAs and foreign elements.

Media is another important national security pillar that impacts across every aspect of life in Pakistan and across the globe. The electronic media is being used nationally and internationally as a tool to galvanize public opinion. In the presence of weak political and parliamentary institutions in Pakistan, the media power is even more pronounced that sets the public agenda which is relatively new factor shaping political discourse in the country. While Pakistani media has been instrumental in putting breaks against many of the regime's unlawful decisions, it has also occasionally caused harms to the national interests. Shafqat Mahmood, an eminent writer opines that media focus more on state and politics, and pays less attention on societal role that contribute massively towards community welfare. Unfortunately, a coordinated effort by the international media is being pursued on many fronts to spoil Pakistan's image abroad.⁴⁴

National security of Pakistan is also linked with energy and water security. The global demand for energy is likely to continue increasing, barring revolutionary developments in alternative energy, the competition for energy supplies will also increase. The rising risk of energy shortages will increase the potential for disputes and conflict.⁴⁵ The author like many other common Pakistani citizens does not foresee a major shift in government policies to address these two interlinked challenges. Dr Sania is of the view that shortage of water and energy in Pakistan is directly linked with mismanagement, bad governance, lack of policy consistency, lack of will and sincerity.⁴⁶

Additionally, Pakistan is not fully prepared to deal with civil emergencies. Despite establishment of a number of white elephants in the form of various organizations from center to

district levels, Pakistan clearly lacks strategy, credibility and infrastructure to deal with crises may it be natural disasters or civil unrest. The National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) formed in the aftermath of 2005 earthquake too lacks a pro-active approach and transparency, two of the most important elements required for disaster management.⁴⁷ There are no long-term, inclusive and coherent institutional arrangements to address disaster issues with a long-term vision. Disaster management, institutions operate in isolation and largely remain under-resourced and untrained. Unfortunately, even the NDMA remains hostage to political actors during crises.⁴⁸

Lastly, the climate change is potentially the greatest challenge to global stability and therefore, to Pakistan's national security. The impact of climate change is already being felt, in higher global temperatures and changed weather patterns. Rising temperatures together with extreme weather will increase pressures on water supplies. Climate change causes potential danger in foreseeable future to Pakistan's population along the coastal line and its Mega City Karachi unless sincere efforts are put in by the most advanced industrialized countries.⁴⁹

National Security Policy: Suggested Model

An in-depth study of Pakistan presents a bleak picture where insecurity prevails all around. The immediate threat to Pakistan's national security comes from "within". Pakistan can't afford to remain oblivious to emerging challenges linked to its depressing economy, intolerable society, cultural values, national character and morale, the factors affecting its national unity. Pakistan desperately needs a course correction and change of "strategic culture" by taking a holistic approach to safeguard its independence, sovereignty and integrity and protect peace and promote security.⁵⁰

Revival of institutional approach is a must to take Pakistan out of the current mess. The institutional process will enable the system to position the competent and sincere people at the right place for the collective prosperity of the

country. For an effective Defence Council (DC) and the Defence Committee of the Cabinet (DCC), the government should restructure them by providing secretariat and requisite staff with compactable standing. Alternately, the government may consider re-visiting the concept of National Security Council (NSC) which could be modified into a genuinely functional body which might become factor of stability as all stake holders would be on board.⁵¹

Pakistan's security policy should commensurate with its power potentials based on well articulated national priorities. Its security strategy should be sufficiently robust so that when it is forced to engage, it should be able to prevent conflict and counter potential regional aggressors as necessary. To achieve the underlined objectives, Pakistan should continue to maintain existing level of conventional forces with combination of "credible minimum nuclear deterrence". However, in the long term, it should take additional security measures including development of second strike capability to counter India's massive conventional buildup to ensure that nuclear threshold does not get disturb.⁵²

With regards to Pakistan's foreign policy, it should be based on mutual co-existence on the principle of "friendship with all enmity with none". On nuclear side, Pakistan should continue to support nondiscriminatory international nonproliferation efforts. However, while Pakistan does not have to match India's nuclear weapon by nuclear weapon, even so, to maintain strategic stability in these changing and adverse ground realities, it will need to continue its modest fissile material production in the foreseeable future and oppose the initiation of negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, unless international community is willing to give assured guarantee to protect its supreme national interests. Pakistan can't afford to sign nuclear nonproliferation treaty in its current form unless Pakistan is taken on board as a nuclear weapons possessor state. And finally, Pakistan may not oppose entry into force of the comprehensive test ban treaty when other stakeholders have ratified it.⁵³

In order to have an adequately analyzed implementable long term foreign policy, an input from various public institutions and private independent think tanks is important. The tendency of putting all eggs in one basket must be avoided by having equitable relations with all regional and extra regional countries on the basis of mutual gains. However, it's economic and security stability is linked with regional approach involving emerging economic players while taking due cognizance of global factors. While resolution of Afghanistan issue is extremely important for stability of this region nonetheless, Pakistan's cordial relations with India are vital for long term peace and prosperity of South Asia. Resolution of all outstanding disputes through constructive dialogue can steer this region towards economic prosperity and peaceful coexistence.

As discussed earlier, FO has an important role in economic development of Pakistan. While bringing in foreign investment is one area, exploring markets for Pakistani goods in Europe and the US is another factor that would help in balancing the trade. Dr Akmal Hussan proposes that if Pakistan is to focus on fighting the extremists within, who pose the principal national security threat, we need to defuse tensions with India if only to avoid a two-front military dilemma.⁵⁴ In author's candid view, Pakistan may consider large scale trade with India for mutual benefit without compromising on its principle stand on core issues.

As highlighted earlier, Pakistan's geographic location offers immense economic opportunities. Availability of peaceful security environments along its eastern and western borders is paramount to accrue the benefit of economic opportunities. The FO should explore the possibility of getting full membership of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the two forums which are the upcoming hub of economic activities. In addition, Pakistan should also persuade all members of SAARC to make this forum a mutually beneficial organization.

Pakistan had have enjoyed fairly good relations with all Muslim countries in the past with some up and down. Pakistan should continue to improve its relations with all of them without being biased with anyone. Pakistan can't afford to have cold relations with Iran being the next door brotherly country. It should continue to monitor the changes being pursued by the people in Middle East and prepare its responses accordingly. In addition, Pakistan can still play an important role in removing mistrust between the Muslim states by energizing the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), an important forum to unite the Muslim Ummah. However, Pakistan must clearly ask its friendly countries to stop interfering in its internal affairs and stop direct funding to various factions in Pakistan.

With regards to the US, "there is a lot in our past to be grateful to America", said Bokhari, but it paid very heavy price. The US being the strongest military and economic power would continue to assert its influence globally and it can't be kept away from the regional affairs especially due to ongoing WoT. Nonetheless, Pakistan must seriously think and evolve an independent national security strategy and regain its lost political and economic space without that its sovereignty is at stake. There are still many areas in which both Pakistan and the US can continue to cooperate without compromising on their respective national policies.⁵⁵

Lastly, the FO needs to raise the vice at every forum including the UNGA for the cost that Pakistan is paying while fighting WoT as a frontline state to protect wider interest of the international community. International community must be made to realize that Pakistani nation has already suffered on many accounts including the financial losses of over \$40 billion therefore; they must come forward and support Pakistan economically in concrete terms so that the "causes of the causes" are addressed in non military way to bring permanent peace regionally/globally.⁵⁶

Pakistan's economic and social progression is linked with democratic system therefore; the national stakes are very high

in maintaining this system. Therefore, it is democracy that must reform itself to stand up to foreign pressure in the 21st century "Great Game."⁵⁷ If the democracy is to prosper and get mature, integrity of both person and purpose is fundamental to being able to rally and galvanize people. As a first step, the leadership of all political parties must bring the culture of democracy within their parties so that the legitimacy of their being leaders is not questioned, their displayed behavior will strengthen the democratic culture.

As explained earlier, a nation that lives in present and think into future does not fail. Humans have never been perfect and even in the future, there will be mistakes. So, it is time to be honest with Pakistan which is in the middle of crises. An assessment is needed about the future course, otherwise, the situation will continue to get difficult, mistakes will keep on frustrating the country and one day, the country will run out of options. Pakistan's leadership should therefore, sit together to develop a cohesive and pragmatic plan to stop the country's slide toward anarchy.⁵⁸

On economic side, unless financial discipline is injected at every tier, no one can rescue Pakistan from bankruptcy. Pakistan can ill afford to provide subsidies and would also require reviewing its policy of providing free electricity to PEPCO and WAPDA. Dr Lodhi suggests that without structural reforms on the revenue and expenditure side, the economic slide can't be halted. Pakistan should not simply be to qualify for another IMF installment; more borrowing will also start depleting foreign exchange reserves, put pressure on the exchange rate and erode confidence in the country's currency. The possible remedy is to have domestic resource mobilization and specific tax measures, but people will only accept additional taxation if credible steps are taken upfront to reduce nonessential expenditure, impose official austerity, and stop tax leakages through corruption and also avoid the lofty promises which frustrate the nation.⁵⁹ However, there is no alternative to self sufficiency; there is no dearth of resources in Pakistan, what Pakistan need is to toiler theses resources in right direction.

The threats and drivers related to terrorism are increasingly trans-national, and domestic both. The most effective way to tackle all the security threats involves early engagement and the most effective way to reduce the long-term threat from terrorism is to tackle the causes of violent extremism in non military way. Greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction therefore; Pakistan's strategy must gear up to cater for preemptive actions against the threat before it becomes too grave to be tackled later while avoiding collateral damage. The strategy should be able to work on alternative options when needed. Without conceiving Plan B and C as alternative options, Plan A must not be put in action. Pakistan has succeeded in stabilizing the state in terrorism hit regions like Swat and South Waziristan, but its Plan C is still not fully in place thus the risk of these regions sliding back to square one is still there. Presence of the terrorists in Pakistan's mega cities and FATA notwithstanding, large concentration of such groups in southern Punjab is a reality and a point of concern which must be addressed sooner than later.

Non-military approach is more important to address the menace of terrorism on permanent basis. The core causes are well registered and the list is too heavy to be tackled with in short term. But the author fully agrees with a Pakistani scholar who views that "We can't reasonably expect that problems that took decades to build up be resolved in a matter of weeks, months, or even years. But the work must begin and be sustained now. It's time to start digging our way out of the cave".⁶⁰

The radicalization of society is a very serious threat to Pakistan's stability and image abroad. The author is of the view that the state has to take lead and encourage the society to come forward and help the government. Restoration of Judiciary through public pressure is one example that can be replicated to eliminate radicalization trends from the society. Ms Sherry Rehman, a former Federal Minister suggests that "state must be the driver in countering radicalization, extremism and terrorism through improving miss-governance and promoting quality public education system".⁶¹

With regards to the menace of corruption, the key is focus attention on building institutions and systems including accountability mechanism that limit opportunities of collusion graft, and arbitrage in first place. Furthermore one of the effective anti-corruption strategies has to do with building safeguards against a state capture and the legacy of patronage; this can be attempted by upholding in governance so that systematic manipulation by vested interest groups can be circumvented. The country's anti-corruption strategy unveiled during 2002 that has gone into hibernation must be implemented in letter and spirit.⁶²

Without taking full account of the health and education sectors, a healthy and visionary nation can't be produced which is an important part of human development. It is suffice to highlight that if Pakistan wish to give right direction to its nation, it will have to revive its education policy. Discrimination in education will serve as catalyst to promote hatred and intolerance in the society. In addition to Madaris, Pakistan's public school sector deserves much more attention than it currently enjoys. Nonetheless, without substantial increase in the budget for these two sectors, namely education and health, one may not expect a drastic positive change in these important pillars of the national security.

To meet the 21st century security challenges, investing in academia including science, technology, engineering etc is paramount; one may take a lead from the national security strategy document released by the US government recently. A new body, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) that was formed during 2002 with a task to overhaul higher education in the country must be revived and requisite funding must be made available to encourage the younger generation to enter into PhDs program in various fields.⁶³

With regards to the issue of unmanageable population and its concentration in mega, there is no readymade recipe however, for a deliberate medium to long term planning, following may be considered: Alpha, create incentives for the population to stay away from mega cities by providing them

equitable facilities like education, health and employment opportunities within their own localities. Bravo, a road map for new small towns/cities away from mega cities, encompassing all amenities needed for development and prosperity of the people. Charlie, while the proposed towns/cities would take time, the existing small cities should be upgraded to ensure that they take care of population demand which would reduce the mounting pressure on mega cities considerably.

With regards to energy security, it is a jihad to be launched to make every consumer and sector realize that there can be no national security if there is no energy security. Extreme caution in management, improvement in governing system and policy consistency with sincerity is a key to address the ongoing problems of energy security. While domestic consumers may be persuaded to scarpify to promote and support industrial sector which has ultimate bearing on them, the concerned departments must address the issue of line losses and energy theft. Though, the author is fully conscious of the right of population residing in rural areas nonetheless, since the energy shortage is a serious problem therefore, at the political/decision making level, the leadership should avoid making fake promises to provide energy beyond certain limits of the cities till the time the situation is improved by adopting all possible medium to long term measures. Similarly, the domestic consumers can also contribute towards national cause by applying austerity measures while using standardized and efficient home appliances.⁶⁴

On similar lines, there is a need for optimum utilization of available water by creating reservoirs and maximizing cheap hydro-electric generation to support economic and agriculture growth. Austerity measures are also required to be ensured with regards to water usage. The author without getting prejudice may also suggest that while we should continue to make fresh and maintain existing public parks to provide healthy environments to general masses however, we may have to do away with creation of new and maintenance of existing golf grounds spread over kilometers, consuming a

enormous quantity of water that may be made available to the most needy people. Massive awareness campaign to conserve energy/water using all means is a must to achieve the desired results.

At the individual level, the proposed steps seem insignificant but their accumulated impact at the national level would be huge provided, we undertake this exercise sincerely. A top-down transparent approach at all tiers will make the difference. Nonetheless, the proposed steps are interim measures to take out the nation from the ongoing crises, the real key of the issues lies in long term sustainable investment in these two important sectors without which the economy, the strong pillar of the national security is bound to ditch thus taking other along. Therefore, the leadership has no other option but to keep water issue paramount over political issues. Unless Pakistan create reservoirs on the rivers on which it enjoys full right and some storage capacity downstream Kabul River, it would be difficult for it to make a strong case against India and may be subsequently against Afghanistan if it decides to make use of Kabul River at later stage.

With regards to the future of FATA, the encouraging news is that only 7.9 per cent people wants things to remain as they are, according to an opinion poll carried out last year by the Community Appraisal and Motivation Program (CAMP), it means people are for change and now it depends on Pakistani leadership as how sincere they are to bring that change according to the wishes of the people. We have already wasted one century for which the nation is paying very heavy price. While the process might take some time but the first step may be initiated now by undertaking an in-house debate so as to create environments needed for the proposed change. Meanwhile, security and development needed to be tackled simultaneously through an integrated policy approach so that the two were mutually reinforcing.⁶⁵

Similarly, steps taken in recent past in Balochistan including employment opportunities are encouraging that will

help creating a more cohesive nation.⁶⁶ *Nonetheless, anti state elements and NSAs irrespective of their background and location must be dealt with iron hands and no group should be allowed to make Pakistan hostage to their petty demands. Pakistan's intelligence network needs to stay a step ahead of conspirators to protect Pakistan's security interest. Presences of Raymond Davis and dozens of other CIA agents with valid visas in Pakistan with drastic intents have already raised serious questions about the abilities and commitment of those involved in the relevant matters. National interests are supreme and should always remain supreme at all cost without any compromise.*

The growing economic dependence on sea and benefits of EEZ requires construction of a whole new set of modern infrastructure of ports, harbors, shipbuilding, and ship breaking. Scientific exploration of the EEZ and continental shelf is also very important for economic development of Pakistan. Cooperation with other states is also necessary to avail the true benefits of the high seas. In order to fully protect the investors both inland and outside the country, Pakistan's existing security mechanism needs to be enhanced. For better coordinated results, Pakistan Coast Guard may be integrated in MSA. Resolution of the MBD with India is desirable for lasting peace and economic benefits.

While the natural calamities of high intensity can't be managed efficiently even if Pakistan has an elaborate infrastructure in place however, NDMA should remain conscious of the potential challenges. To manage the available resources efficiently and to avoid duplication of effort in terms of disaster preparedness, its emergency responses must be coordinated with other forces working in private sector including the NGOs.

National Disaster Management Commission's (NDMC), representatives at various tiers should respond proactively to disaster risks. Government's commitment to allocate requisite financial resources must be honored. It must also be noted that armed forces might not be available in all possibilities due

to other national exigencies therefore, establishment of a disaster management system with stronger infrastructure is extremely crucial for the country.

Last but not the least is the media which also require major overhauling. Shafqat Mahmood expects that the media has to do a lot to restore Pakistan's global image which is at the lowest ebb. He suggests that while the bad should not be hidden, there is a need to balance it with true stories of courage, fortitude and caring. In author's candid view, Pakistani media must learn from others' to reach that level when it should be able to draw redlines between constructive criticisms while still protecting national interest at all cost. With regards to the code of ethics for media, the author agrees with Babar Ayaz who suggests that the Press Council of Pakistan should be made operational.⁶⁷ The author sincerely proposes that media must come forward to play its role in harmonizing Pakistani society which is at the verge of collapse. Positive and immediate steps are needed now; the late response even if it is well thought out will not yield the results.

Conclusion

Pakistan's security challenges are multidimensional with diverse internal and external dynamics for which Pakistan must have cohesive grand strategy. The country has been trying ad-hoc and containment measures in one form or the other for its entire history. Consequent to its past national policies, it lost one half of the country; the hostile forces are still around looking for similar opportunities to complete their unfinished agenda therefore, it can't afford to lower its guards. Pakistan must have the ability within the executive branch an institutionalized decision making process to formulate a coherent and integrated manner, the mid and long term strategy necessary to defend and further its vital national interests domestically and externally.

Pakistan's domestic and foreign policies need to go through a sea change. Isolated and whimsical decisions to safeguard national interest like the ones it saw in the past are

a recipe for failure in future. Pakistan's leadership must be mindful that they are in 2^{1st} century which is the century of new opportunities provided they have will and vision to exploit them. Fortunately, thanks to communication technology, Pakistan's leadership's appetite for loot and plunder that has yet not satiated can't be sustained anymore, so they have only two options: serve the nation honorably or 'exit' honorably before it is too late and let the sincere and well read people to come forward and take seat to steer this country out of the current crises which possesses all symptoms of a failed state.

Pakistan should be able to think forward and look beyond the present security challenges to consider what might threaten it in future. The national security policy once evolved must be followed by well thought out national security strategy that should explicitly call for tackling the root causes of instability and conflict especially in domestic context. However, Pakistan should be mindful that any policy selected will not entirely be under its control due to global influence, and the selected option will also have to be acceptable to all other actors and cater for all other factors. In addition, it will have to be sufficiently flexible to adjust to modifications resulting from the factors and actors that Pakistan can't control.⁶⁸

Author

Muhammad Khurshid Khan is a serving Brigadier in Pakistan Army. He is a Fellow from Stimson Center Washington D.C. and a student of M.Phil Program in Strategic & Nuclear Studies, National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad. The officer has five years experience of serving Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs (ACDA) Directorate, Strategic Plans Division (SPD) of Pakistan as Deputy Director and later as Director Additional. Currently, the officer is serving in Institute of Strategic Studies Research and Analysis (ISSRA), NDU, Islamabad.

Notes

¹ B.M. Udgaonkar, "The International Dimension of National Security: Some Observations", *Strategic Analysis, Monthly Journal of IDSA*, VOL. XXIV NO.10, January 2001, pp.1773-1794. See also The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom Security in an interdependent world, presented to Parliament by the Prime Minister, by command of Her Majesty March 2008, Printed in the UK for The Stationery Office Limited on behalf of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office ID5732621 03/08, p.10.

² Ahmed Faruqi, "Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan", *Defence Journal*, May 2003, pp.21-30.) See also Dr S.M. Rahman, "National Propensity to Rise in Crisis", (www.friends.org.pk/rahman/National%25...), accessed on December 15, 2010.

³ Ikram Sehgal, "21st century 'Great Game'" *The News International* (Islamabad), Thursday, November 25, 2010.

⁴ Ahmed Faruqi, Op.Cit. See also Mosharraf Zaidi, "Kicking the habit", *The News International* (Islamabad), February 22, 2011. See also Leon T. Hadar, "Pakistan in America's War against Terrorism Strategic Ally or Unreliable Client?", *Policy Analysis Cato Institute*, no. 436, 8 May, 2006.

⁵ Dr Maleeha Lodhi, "Fata: continuity or change?", *The News International* (Islamabad) November 02, 2010. See also Fasih Bokhari, Pakistan Needs a home grown national security strategy", *The VOICE*, 135th Edition, July 2010, pp.18-20.

⁶ Major General Sunil D. Tennakoon, "Demography as an Element of National Power", *NDC Journal*, Winter 2003, pp.57-70). John C. Gannon, Op.Cit.

⁷ "UN praises Pakistan for climate change efforts", *The News International* (Islamabad), e-PAPER, February, 2011. See also John C. Gannon, "Defining US National Security for the Next Generation", Conference on the Role of Foreign Assistance in Conflict Prevention US Agency for International Development, 8 January 2001, National Intelligence Council (www.dni.gov/nic/speeches_definingsecur...), accessed on January 24, 2011.

⁸ Bilal Qureshi, "Simple Solutions for Pakistan", November 22 8:13 pm EST (pakistan.foreignpolicyblogs.com/ -) accessed on February, 2, 2011.

⁹ "National Security", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1968 (<http://www.encyclopedia.com>), accessed on March 2, 2011.

¹⁰ Abdul Sattar, "National Security Issues", *Margalla Paper* 1/97, p.1. See also Dr Shireen M. Nazari, "Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan", *Margalla Papers*, pp.13-26. See also Barry Buzan, "People State and Fear: The Security Problems in the Third World, National Security in the Third World" ed. By Edward E Azhar and Chug-In Moon, *Center for*

International Development and Conflict Management, University of Maryland, USA, 1988, p.16.

¹¹ Irfan Hussain, “National interest and ideology”, Pakistan defence, Saturday, 6 Mar, 2010.

¹² John C. Gannon, Op.Cit.

¹³ Redefining National Security in 21st Century (www.riseuppakistan.com/%3Fp%3D108), accessed on March 5, 2011.

¹⁴ Stephen E. Sachs, “The Changing Definition of Security”, International Relations Merton College, Oxford Week 5, Michaelmas Term 2003 (www.stevesachs.com/papers/paper_secur...), accessed on February 11, 2011.

¹⁵ Richard H. Ullman, “Redefining Security”, International Security, Vol.8, No. 1(Summer), 1983, pp.129-153. See also Stephen E. Sachs, Op.Cit. See also “An Introduction to National Security - Defining Threats To National Security - Risks, Citizens, Country, Potential, Vital, and Military”, (<http://www.libraryindex.com/pages/1878/An-Introduction-National-Security-DEFINING-THREATS-NATIONAL-SECURITY.html#ixzz1Ekc848wO>), accessed on January 26, 2011.

¹⁶ Abdul Sattar, Op.Cit. See also Pakistan: NATIONAL AECURITY (www.mongabay.com/reference/newprofil...), accessed on January 15, 2011.

¹⁷ Ahmad Faruqui, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003, Page 196, (ipripak.org/journal/winter2004/bookre...). See also “Indian Defence budget hiked to \$34 billion”, The News International (Islamabad), March 1, 2011. See also “India’s Unending Defence Expenditure”, Pakistan Defence (www.defence.pk/forums/india-defence/4...). See also Two Days Workshop on Strategic Stability, Escalation Control, Nuclear CBMs and Indo-Pak Peace Process, Feb 03-04, 2011, organized jointly by DSS-QAU, Carnegie & Stimson Center). See also “India upgrading ballistic missile defence system,” (http://www.domain-b.com/aero/mil_avi/miss_muni/20090605_upgrading_ballistic_missile.html), 05 June 2009.

¹⁸ Ibid. See also Sajjad Shaukat, “India initiates deadly arms race”, *The Frontier Post*, August 3, 2009 (<http://www.thefrontierpost.com/News.aspx?ncat=ar&nid=476>). See also Shahzad Masood Roomi, “4th GW, Indian Cold Start & Future Pak-India Conflict”, (brasstacks@dsl.net.pk), accessed on February 11, 2011.

¹⁹ Dr Raja Muhammad Khan, “Afghanistan: Security Environment and the US Exit Plan”, Pak-Turkey Joint Seminar on “Afghanistan Issue and Energy Crises”, held in NDU from 22-24 Dec 2010.

²⁰ Zainab Jeewanjee, *Obama’s Wars-Not Planning to Fail, but Failing to Plan*, *Foreign Policy Blogs Network*, Tuesday, September 28th 2010. See

also Dr Shireen M. Mazari, Op.Cit. See also Ikram Sehgal, "South Asia Review 2010", *The News International* (Islamabad), December 30, 2010.

²¹ Dr Raja Muhammad Khan, "Towards Harmonization of Pak-Iran Relationship", *Margalla Papers* 2010, ISSN 1999-2297, pp. 88-111. See also PAK IRAN RELATIONS: Pakistan's Basic Policy toward Islamic Republic of Iran (www.cssforum.com.pk/css-compulsory-su), accessed on December 18, 2010.

²² Malik Qasim Mustafa, "MARITIME SECURITY: THE ROLE OF PAKISTAN NAVY" (http://www.issi.org.pk/ss_Detail.php?dataId=372), accessed on December 15, 2010.

²³ REAR ADMIRAL K R SRINIVASAN, India-Pakistan maritime boundary: Issues and approach", (http://www.mycoordinates.org/india_pakistan_maritime.php), accessed on December 15, 2010. See also Malik Qasim Mustafa, Op.Cit.

²⁴ Amos, "A Response to Fourth Generation Warfare", *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS Working Paper)*, Singapore, No, 211, 14 October, 2010. See also "Redefining National Security in 21st Century", Op.Cit. See also John Robb, "4GW-Fourth Generation Warfare", *Global Guerrillas*, 08 May 2004 (http://globalguerrillas.typepad.com/globalguerrillas/2004/05/4gw_fourth_generation_warfare.html), accessed on January 23, 2011.

²⁵ Muhammad Khurshid Khan, "Nuclear Technology Proliferation: Challenges and International Response, *IPRI Journal*, Volume VIII, Winter 2008, Number 1, pp.33-36. See also Bryan Bender, "Pakistan, U.S. in Talks on Nuclear Security," *The Boston Globe*, May 5, 2009.

²⁶ Dr. Bruce G. Blair, "What if the Terrorists Go Nuclear?", Terrorism Project, *Center for Defense Information (CDI)*, updated Oct. 1, 2001, (www.cdi.org/terrorism/nuclear.cfm). See also Feroz Hassan Khan, "Nuclear Security in Pakistan: Separating Myth from Reality", *Arms Control Today*, July/August 2009. See also Pakistan "fully capable" of securing nuclear arms, *The Sun Daily* – November 11, 2009.

²⁷ Abdul Mannan, "Preventing Nuclear Terrorism in Pakistan: Sabotage of a Spent Fuel Cask or a Commercial Irradiation Source in Transport, *The Henry L. Stimson Center* (www.stimson.org/southasia/pdf/VFMannan.pdf), April, 2007.

²⁸ Mark R. Amstutz, *International Conflict and Cooperation (The Nature and Significant of International Relation)*, McGraw-Hill College New York, p.193-195.

²⁹ Albert Wohlstetter, "The Delectate Balance of Power", *Foreign Affairs*, xxxvii, vol 2, January 1959, pp.212-222.

³⁰ Mobeen Chughtai, "Social transitions and value patterns of Pakistan"(redtribution.wordpress.com/2007/11/22...), accessed on 1 March, 2011. See also Fasih Bokhari, Op.Cit.

³¹ Abdul Sattar, Op.Cit, p.1.

³² “Pak N-arsenal unlikely to shift power balance: US Experts”, updated on February 17, 2011 (ZEENEWS.COM). See also *The News International* (Islamabad), February 18, 2011.

³³ Major General Sunil D. Tennakoon, Op.Cit. See also *The National Military Strategy of the United States of America, 2011, Redefining America’s Military Leadership*, Department of Defence, the United States of America, 8 February, 2011. See also John C. Gannon, Op.Cit. See also Mansoor Ahmad, “Economist Livability Ranking Report”, *The News International* (Islamabad), March 2, 2011. See also “Pak govt has pushed food prices too high: UN, *The News International* (Islamabad), March 24, 2011.

³⁴ Dr Sania Nistar, Founder and President of Heart life Pakistan made her comments while addressing the participants of National Security Workshop held in National Defence University Islamabad on March 22, 2011.

³⁵ Dr Muhammad Yaqub, “Economic management: promises vs performance” *The News International* (Islamabad), February 23, 2011. See also S Iftikhar Murshed, “Crisis of Credibility”, *The News International* (Islamabad), March 5, 2011. See also Mehtab Haider, “PM showed bleak picture of economy”, *The News International* (Islamabad), December 25, 2010.

³⁶ Dr Farrukh Saleem, “So let it be”, *The News International* (Islamabad), December 26, 2010.

³⁷ Ikram Junaidi, “Pakistan continues to spend less on health”, *Daily Times*, Thursday, July 22, 2010. See also Health care system (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Health_care_system), accessed on January 20, 2011. Mehtab Haider, “Govt to endorse poverty figures of Shaukat reginme”, *The News International* (Islamabad), June 11, 2008, See also “Survey of the Economy”, *The News International* (Islamabad), June 11, 2008. See also Dr Sania Nishtar, “The vanishing ministry”, *The News International* (Islamabad), December 25, 2010.

³⁸ Zirgham Afridi, “Not just any good education”, *The News International* (Islamabad), October 14, 2010. See also www.pkcolumnist.com/zirgham-afaridi/no..., last accessed on January 12, 2011.

³⁹ The News Economic Correspondence, “Kalabagh dam could have averted energy crisis: SDPI study”, *The News International* (Islamabad), December 30, 2010. See also Dr Maleeha Lodhi, “Pakistan's leaderless moment,” *The News International* (Islamabad), July, 14, 2009.

⁴⁰ Seminar on Pakistan’s Water Security Dilemma: Re-Visiting the Efficacy of Indus Water Treaty, held in National Defence University, Islamabad on January 19, 2011.

⁴¹ Helpdesk Research Report: Under-development and Radicalisation in Pakistan 11.01.08 Query (www.gsdr.org/docs/open/HD500.pdf), accessed on February, 2, 2011.

- ⁴² Dr Qaisar Rashid, “Raging intolerance”, *The News International* (Islamabad), March 4, 2011. See also Babar Sattar, “Tolerance for intolerance”, *The News International* (Islamabad), Wednesday, January 12, 2011. (www.chitraltoday.com/index.php%3Fopti...), accessed on January 12, 2011. See also Babar Sattar, “Wages of hypocrisy”, *The News International* (Islamabad), March 5, 2011.
- ⁴³ Mobeen Chughtai, Op.Cit. See also *The News Editorial*, “Bombers’ madness”, *The News International* (Islamabad), March 4, 2011.
- ⁴⁴ Dr Maleeha Lodhi, “The limits of power”, *The News International* (Islamabad), July 28, 2009. See also Khurshid Khan, “Analyzing Domestic Terrorism as a Threat to Pakistan’s Security and the Policy Response”, *IPRI Journal*, Volume IX, Number 2, Summer 2009, p. 54. See also *Shafqat Mahmood, Media and the nation*, *The News International* (Islamabad), Friday, December 24, 2010. See also Babar Ayaz, “ROVER’S DIARY: No new media guidelines needed”, *Daily Times*, July 06, 2010.
- ⁴⁵ John C. Gannon, Op.Cit. See also Lt Col Muhammad Inam Ul Haq, “Water Based Conflicts”, *NDC Journal*, Winter 2003, pp.134-152. See also *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom*, Op.Cit.
- ⁴⁶ Dr Sania Nishtar, Op.Cit., March 22, 2011.
- ⁴⁷ National Disaster Risk Management Framework Pakistan, Published by: National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), Government of Pakistan (http://www.preventionweb.net/files/2952_NationalDisasterRiskManagement.pdf), March 2007.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid. See also Sana Saleem, “Pakistan: Abysmal state of disaster management – drowning, burning and bleeding”, 5 Aug 2010 (<http://sanasaleem.com/2010/08/05/pakistan-abysmal-state-of-disaster-management-drowning-burning-and-bleeding/>), accessed on December 28, 2010.
- ⁴⁹ *The National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom*, Op.Cit. See also John C. Gannon, Op.Cit.
- ⁵⁰ Bilal Qureshi, Op.Cit.
- ⁵¹ *Shaukat Qadir*, “COMMENT: Formulating a national security policy”, *Daily Times*, Saturday, February 14, 2009). See also Ikram Sehgal, “National Security Strategy”, *DEFENCE Journal*, July 2002, pp.85-86 (Earlier published in *The Nation*).
- ⁵² Tariq Osman Hyder, “Strategic stability in South Asia”, *The News International* (Islamabad), Saturday, August 01, 2009.
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Dr Akmal Hussain, “For Pakistan’s economic survival,” *The Express Tribune*, November 25th, 2010.
- ⁵⁵ Bokhari, Op.Cit. See also Ahmad Faruqu, Op.Cit.

-
- ⁵⁶ Dr Sania Nistar, Founder and President of Heart life Pakistan made her proposal while addressing the participants of National Security Workshop held in National Defence University Islamabad on March 24, 2011.
- ⁵⁷ Ikram Sehgal, “21st century 'Great Game'” *The News International* (Islamabad), Thursday, November 25, 2010.
- ⁵⁸ Bilal Qureshi, “How to solve Pakistan’s Problems”, Wednesday, November 17 10:28 pm EST (pakistan.foreignpolicyblogs.com/).
- ⁵⁹ Dr Ashfaq H Khan, “Fiscal discipline beyond RGST”, *The News International* (Islamabad), December 28, 2010. See also Dr Maleeha Lodhi, “Moment of truth”, *The News International (Islamabad)* Tuesday, February 08, 2011. See also Dr Akmal Hussain, Op.Cit. See also Dr Muhammad Yaqub, Op.Cit.
- ⁶⁰ Mosharraf Zaidi, “Digging our way out of the cave”, *The News International* (Islamabad), December 28, 2010.
- ⁶¹ (www.chitraltoday.com/index.php%3Fopti...), accessed on March 4, 2011.
- ⁶² Dr Sania Nishtar, “Anti-corruption strategies”, *The News International* (Islamabad), January 15, 2011.
- ⁶³ Redefining National Security in 21st Century, Op.Cit.
- ⁶⁴ Faridullah Khan, “No National Security in the absence of Energy Security”, *The VOICE*, 124th Edition, June-July 2008, pp.22-23.
- ⁶⁵ Dr Maleeha Lodhi, “Fata: continuity or change?”, Op.Cit.
- ⁶⁶ Balochistan: One More Step Towards National Integration (www.pakistanarmy.gov.pk/awpreview/pDe...), accessed on February 16, 2011.
- ⁶⁷ Shafqat Mahmood, Op.cit. See also Babar Ayaz, Op.cit. See also Khurshid Khan, Op.Cit., p.72.
- ⁶⁸ Shaukat Qadir, Op.Cit.

ROLE OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM IN STRENGTHENING SOCIETIES

Dr. Saqib Riaz

Abstract

The tremendous boost of new media technologies has given birth to the phenomenon of Citizen Journalism which has become an integral part of the modern day societies. For people who formerly had no chance of being heard, citizen journalism is a great opportunity of participation for them. Moreover, the common people cannot only comment on stories, they are providing resources and information beyond the scope of the mainstream media. Especially in countries without a free press bloggers, photo and video journalists can give underrepresented and underprivileged segments of society a voice and add to the media diversity. They are making their ways through censorship and enable cross-border dialogue. As in Iran, as in Zimbabwe or in Kenya and even in Pakistan during the last elections, they have made a real difference. This paper presents an overall view of the citizen journalism (CJ) in the world and its effects on traditional media as well as on society at large. The paper also presents the situation of CJ in Pakistan. The paper concludes that the best quality news can be produced with the mutual cooperation of traditional journalism as well as citizen journalism.

Introduction

One of the most important things in this regard is that due to the evolution of Citizen Journalism, the big media organizations have lost their monopoly over news. Whereas earlier citizen journalists were discouraged by professional media, now bloggers, amateur journalists – Citizen Journalists – are not only invited to provide feedback on articles, but also to take part in the research that goes into them. Newspapers and online magazines publish readers'

articles and photographs. Sometimes, TV channels provide technical support to citizen videographers who provide their reports to them. So big media houses have taken a U-turn and have opened up their doors to the public to share information and views.

But this new phenomenon has raised several questions. These questions are yet to be answered. For example, what are the underlying risks of citizen journalism? Is information gathered through “street reporting” reliable? Is this in fact a new more participatory form of journalism? And how do people participate who have no access to computers and internet? To make this mutual journalism a success it is, therefore, essential to promote media literacy in society and to provide guidance to citizen journalists. These questions and their possible answers will be discussed in this article.

Active Role of Audience

Earlier the audiences were considered as passive receivers of media messages but technological development changed the situation. The invention of internet and its gadgets enabled the public to express their voices publically. Kolodzy (2006) stated that in 1990s, the Web changed the news audiences from passive consumers to interactive consumers¹. Then Briggs (2007) endorsed the concept, as readers are no longer passive receivers of messages. They create, share and comment.² The sense of users’ participation and active role rather than passive in the news process raises the ‘idea’ of citizen journalism.

Kolodzy (2006) stated the definition of citizen journalism as noted Lasica (2003) “A citizen or citizens playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information”(p.220)³. People without proper journalistic experience can use the modern technology like computer, software and internet to share their creations, arguments, criticism and disseminate on available media outlets. According to Allan (2006) “Anyone with something to say and access to the right software can be publisher, a pundit and observer of events great or small”(p.121).⁴

After, the successful launching of Web in 1990s the rapid growth of blogs, ease up the passive audience to switch their role as active participants. Blogs hold a significant part on the realm of journalism, social networking and especially in citizen journalism. Blogs provided the accessible platform to ordinary public to communicate their voices and beside the mainstream media journalism, Lasica (2003) described, that we have the mixture of commentary and analysis from grassroots, as ordinary people find their voices and shared to the media mix⁵. Now, people are uploading their audio & videos clips, reports, pictures on different blogs and forums captured or created through their PCs, mobiles, iPods, and Cam coders. Practically, people are enjoying the blessings of blogs, forums, independent news sites like *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Flickr*, *Twitter*, *AOL*, *Google*, *MSN* & *Yahoo* Messengers etc.

This active participation in news process changed the definition of news consumers into the 'participatory or citizen journalism' and according to Gillmor (2003), "enormous new power is devolving into the hands of what has been a mostly passive audience."⁶ Free, diverse and neutral voices on communication podiums enhance the standards of democracy according to the Bowman & Willis (2003) as summarized by Flew (2008) the intent of this citizen participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, widespread and appropriate information that is required to strengthen the democracy⁷. Now many established news organizations launched their online portals for citizens to assist, guide and comment on news stories and patterns with their self-created contents. One of the most famous media scholars of South Africa Mr. Steven Lang expressed his views about Citizen Journalism (CJ) as under:

"It is journalism produced by non-professionals. It can take various forms including text, images, video and audio. It can make use of a wide range of tools such as cell phones, computers, audio recorders or even just a pen and paper."⁸

Background

Citizen Journalism is a new sort of news creation, which has been discussed by various scholars. Citizen journalism has been associated with the development, dissemination, and usability of web publishing software. Flew (2008) described the initial inauguration of the citizen journalism in 1999 after the development of open publishing architecture by Matthew Arnison and other involved in the 'Active Sydney group' and in the same year their adoption of open source models like Independent Media Centers (*Indymedia*), was a milestone to enable the new forms of news production⁹. Then in 2000, a Korean website *OhmyNews.com* launched by a veteran journalist Oh Yeon-Ho stating the dissatisfaction about Korea's conservative traditional media. Kolodzy (2006) noted the Oh arguments that "journalists aren't some exotic species; they are everyone who has news stories and share them with others.¹⁰" *Ohmynews*, motto is: "Every Citizen's a Reporter". The web service started with 727 citizen reporters and 4 editors and after 5 years, this quantity raised up to 38,000 citizen reporters and about a dozen editors.

In the year 2001, the incident of 9/11 brought substantial worldwide changes in social, political and economic affairs. At the same time, media got broader alterations in news-reporting styles and approaches. Mainstream media and particularly TV was portraying the nonstop news about the incident and then "another kind of reporting emerged during those terrible hours and days. Through emails, mailing lists, chat groups, personal web journals -all nonstandard news sources- we received valuable context that the major American media couldn't, or wouldn't, provide".¹¹

At the occasion of 9/11 citizens accessed the internet to share their exclusively captured material with masses, however then the term citizen journalism was not publically renowned. The two later on incidents first Tsunami devastations in Indonesia on December 26, 2004 and secondly, the suicide bombing in London on July 7, 2005 increased the role of citizens' participation in the news

process. People with cell phones and digital cameras became some of the first citizens on the scene to report on these two terrible events. Citizens reporting on these incidents represent a new stream for journalism, where journalists and their public work together to provide information about what happening in the world.

After 7/7 bombing when BBC was looking forward for the exclusive and significant information about this important incident of the day then Kovach & Rosenstiel (2007) noted the fact as, “the BBC received unprecedented help from London residents. Just after the six hours of this attack, the organization counted more than 1000 photographs, 20 video clips, 4000 text messages and 20,000 emails-all sent in by citizen”(p.245).¹²

Currently, number of independent blogs, networks, forums and websites are working under the usual practice of citizen journalism and beside this expansion; traditional media organizations are sparing their spaces for the citizens to take part in their news process.

CJ's Potential

Unbiased, positive reporting, debates and discussions are real soul of journalism, which enables to build an optimistic and healthy democratic society. Citizen participation in news process exchanged overall attitude of the conventional news media, which considered as the gatekeeper of information. Kolodzy (2006) believed that “participatory journalism takes the act of convergence a step further and requires sharing between producers and consumers; it requires audiences to be part of the team, part of the conversation. And audiences are sometimes deciding to share among themselves, leaving traditional journalism out of the loop”(p.218).¹³ Franklin (2009) stated that it is as “giving a voice to the voiceless”¹⁴. Many segments of the society were unrepresented by the mainstream media. However, all the technological advancement is providing an expansion to possibilities of citizen participation in journalism. Through blogs, citizen journalists have wrecked the stories about political corruption,

police violence and about other concerning issues to local, national and international communities.

Being the part of news process people feel a sense of representation and pride, they share sometime valuable and distinct contents. In the crises like 9/11 and 7/7 it was hard for professional media especially TV reporters to get the access in targeted areas and mostly media men are not allowed getting in with their gadgets and team. In such circumstances, citizens perform journalist's role with their devices like mobiles and camera. They do not angle the incident under the government or organizational policy; they just capture and portray what they see on the site. Citizens' involvement in the news process breaks down the sense of media hegemony. Versatility and freedom of voices is beauty of journalism comprising the basic features of democracy.

A recent example of this freedom is the Iran's presidential election in 2009. During the course of election, journalists were banned for reporting and a blog service "Twitter" played a vital role for press. Goode (2009) added that citizen journalism has the basic characteristic of democracy. Conventional media's reporters play a role of 'gatekeepers' and comes with the makeup news stories along the political, social and advertisers' pressures while, citizen journalists use a radical approach and without any pressure play a role of 'watchdog' over the 'gatekeepers'¹⁵.

"Citizen Journalism" is almost free of charge journalism because non-journalists express their views and share their knowledge online without any financial reward. With the advent of this phenomenon, new communities have found their place in modern societies. It is an expression of the fundamental democratic principle of freedom of speech. More voices in the public arena can add to a more lively democracy. The contribution of citizens who comment on issues of public concern is appreciated all over the world. Especially in countries without freedom of expression, the world wide web plays a crucial role in informing the people. The most important thing is that the digital media are opening up the

sphere to those who previously had no means to make themselves heard.

Media and Good Governance

Free access to media is a key requirement for a diverse civil society. A well-informed and critical civil society is the prerequisite for good governance. Today, Communication is becoming more individual and people's opinions are being shaped less and less by the media. Communication theory explains that there is one information sender, and there are media and information receivers. Nowadays, the recipients themselves have become senders. They have become disseminators of information and, of course, opinions. There is sufficient opportunity in this scenario. However, when scrutinized more critically from the standpoint of what is true, the truth here can be a bit cloudy. It is sometimes difficult to navigate one's way through these vague truths.

Independent media do not only provide information but also critically question and reveal and, in doing so, make governmental action more transparent to the general public. Unprivileged social groups are especially able to express themselves and participate in politics by means of independent media. Freedom of expression is necessary for a free, democratic civil society. The Former German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher once said it quite ominously "The press is the artillery of freedom."¹⁶

New media like the internet or mobile communication provide many new possibilities, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, especially in developing countries. Twitter and YouTube, for example, enable us to express ourselves in public and gain access to information and public opinions. New media open the doors for participatory journalism. They give a voice to those who previously went unheard, those who had to remain in the shadows. This phenomenon has been seen in action in Iran, where individual Iranians published information via Twitter, which the Iranian government could no longer ignore. An audience of more than 20,000 people was reached and the mainstream media used the Twitter news

to report on the situation in Iran at a global level. Twitter created a means for evading censorship. It is especially new media which allow for new forms of civil protest. New media enable global access to information from within dictatorships that would otherwise be inaccessible. New media foster participation, transparency and thus democracy.

However, there are always two sides of a coin. New media have generated a new information overload that for many of us is a strain. We are all confronted with the overwhelming challenge of filtering relevant information out of this overflow of news. People need a lifeline in this flood of information. They need media literacy, something which needs to be promoted.

Transparency and Participation: Two qualities of Citizen Journalism

Transparency and participation in particular are promoted by new media which transmit high quality and reliable content. This makes further education so important. Further education provides users with the journalistic tools and thus the specific quality standards we also need in citizen journalism. In developing countries there is also the question of freedom of information. According to a recent study by the organization "Reporters without Borders," the internet is censored in 60 states worldwide. Last year 120 bloggers were arrested and convicted. This is a distressingly new all time high for something as simple as expressing one's opinion. 120 convicted bloggers and internet dissidents are currently in prison¹⁷. Freedom is a very precious gift that should not be destroyed by censorship.

Barriers of New Media

Access to internet and new media varies heavily in different countries. In South Africa for example a large part of the population has internet access. But according to estimates by the International Telecommunication Union, the situation is very different in Sub-Saharan Africa. About 55 percent of the rural population still does not have access to any

telecommunication media. Another example: a DSL connection in Germany costs about 30 euros per month. In Nigeria a comparable connection costs about 600 euros – this is nearly 900 percent of the per capita income. Thus the poorer of the global population have to pay more for the internet than the richer. This constitutes a barrier for the freedom of the world wide web and for the freedom of internet access. Thus the digital revolution reveals further forms of exclusion.

The majority of the global population is not yet able to participate in the global political debate by means of new media due to their financial situation, social status or geographic position.

Citizen Journalism: a Challenge or Complement to the Mainstream Media

For many people Citizen Journalism (CJ) is a challenge to the mainstream media because the mainstream media have lost their news monopoly. While some scholars and media experts think this phenomenon as a complement to the mainstream media. Both groups have their own arguments.

The people who believe that CJ is a threat or challenge to the traditional media argue that with the passage of time CJ may take over the place of traditional media. Because of a variety of views and unbiased reporting the CJ will be more powerful than the newspapers etc. Especially in countries without freedom of expression, the world wide web plays a crucial role in informing people. These people are worried about the future of the traditional media. On the other hand, many media scholars and journalists believe that CJ is not a rival of the traditional media rather it complements them and extends a big support to them. This is a fact that conventional media reporters are not available on each and every place but citizens are present everywhere. Solana Larsen, (2010) the Editor of the Global Voices stated citizen journalists and conventional media reporters can work together to produce high-quality content. She says that her organization Global Voices was able to complement what the BBC was doing when

they were fast and when they were different. She stated “We were different, for instance, from a straight news story about a women’s bill in India. The BBC story made you feel as though if you were for women’s rights you should be for this bill, because it would bring more women into parliament. Global Voices added depth of perspective through blogger voices that showed why even some feminists were against the idea. Because, that was one of the many arguments we heard, the bill was not making the representation more diverse. It was benefiting women from certain families, wives of former politicians.”¹⁸

Lessons from the Global Voices

Global Voices is a project of the Research Centre of the Harvard University of the USA and it was created to help and encourage people to read one another and to share their reports with one another. Its slogan is: “The World is talking - Are you listening?”

It has a global community of more than 200 bloggers and translators who work with part-time editors. It includes the reports on the activities and the topics that concern bloggers and citizen journalists worldwide, with special emphasis on developing countries and marginalized voices within them. Global Voices also created an advocacy organization that keeps watch of bloggers who have been censored, threatened or arrested. “On the advocacy website we try to keep track of online repression of free speech. We also try to motivate activists to work together to fight censorship. We also created yet another website called Threatened Voices. It is a world map on which we track cases of threats or arrests against bloggers” Solana Larsen stated in the International Media Conference held on March 18, 2010 in Berlin Germany¹⁹.

Global voices conducted training workshops in several countries for the training of the citizen journalists emphasizing how to write a good news story for the blogs. Their trained citizen journalists have written some of the best news reports on their blogs. Solana argues that sometimes, the

CJ reports change the media agenda of the mainstream media. She stated as follows:

“The Global Voices office in Malawi for example has had many of its blog posts republished in local newspapers. There were also bloggers’ stories which made their way into radio broadcast media in France, Taiwan and the United States and even into television in Egypt and Paraguay.”²⁰ The Global Voices believes that citizens and journalists can do a lot of good by working together because journalists are citizens too. With their collaborative efforts, they can produce the best media content.

Some lessons from South Africa

Like other parts of the world, Citizen Journalism is passing through new horizons in Africa, especially in South Africa. Grocott’s Mail is one of the oldest independent newspapers in South

Africa and it is a platform for experimental journalism. It is owned and run by the Journalism Department of the Rhodes University since 2003. The newspaper launched a project of Citizen Journalism called as “Lindaba Ziyafika” which encourages journalism which is produced by nonprofessionals.

Steven Lang and his team at Grocott’s Mail realized that their newspaper profits from citizen journalists’ stories. In South Africa, though, they do not only have to support citizen journalists as such, but see to it that the poorer residents are involved as receivers and contributors to the mass media, as well. They teach their students how to become good CJ reporters and also conduct training workshops and short courses for citizens to prepare themselves to write reports for their newspaper. The citizen journalism project is funded by the US based Knight Foundation. According to the statement of the Chief Editor, Steven Lang, “it is only one of several experimental projects that we conduct at Grocott’s Mail. “Lindaba Ziyafika” means “The news is coming” – is the title of our project that is characterized by two major thrusts:

Firstly, the innovative use of mobile phones and information within the community of Grahamstown. Secondly, we try to equip media producers in the town and – more broadly – in the country, and to a certain extent in the rest of the continent, so that they, the producers, can fully utilize this media. The main objectives of “Lindaba Ziyafika” include the involvement of the poorer residents as receivers and contributors to Grocott’s Mail’s multiple platforms.²¹ Steven Lang further stated that they were developing a body of knowledge about cell phones as media platforms. Their CJ reporters were using cell phones to receive news via text messages and were also using them to produce news, again via text messages and photographs.

One of the main objectives of “Lindaba Ziyafika” project was to teach people, mainly residents from the underprivileged sections of the community, how to become citizen journalists. The management has focused on initial training for the young people, high school pupils, because many of them already use cell phones for texting and other social media. It is believed that the younger generation will be far more willing to new ways of using technology. The newspaper management believes that it is important to maintain close contact with the community. Citizen journalism and innovative use of new media technology are helping what was essentially for an old media organization to achieve this goal. Steven further states that “By developing citizen journalism in our newspaper, we are strengthening our relationship with our readers. This is good for the community, and that really is good for us, the newspaper, as well.”²²

These were some useful lessons from South Africa which can be replicated in other parts of the world, especially in the developing countries.

Challenges to Citizen Journalism

Citizen Journalism is passing through its evolutionary stage in different parts of the world and is facing a lot of problems, pressures and criticism. In CJ we listen more and more voices but more voices in the public arena do not

necessarily add to a more lively democracy. The decisive question is: how do people or companies best serve the common good? If bloggers express their anger or offer their personal views rather than facts striving for the most possible objectivity, then the common good is not well served. The same is true if the extremists promulgate their own convictions and try to prevail over those interested in objective problem solving. This is why readers should always ask the one but essential question: is the text opinion-based or is it fact-based reporting?

Moreover, citizen journalism does not necessarily extend to the masses. There are a lot of marginalized people in poor countries. The illiterate people can hardly make use of the web. The goal therefore must be to establish civic liberties throughout society, and not only in the world wide web. Illiteracy, poverty and non-availability of the internet and other new technology is yet a big hurdle in the development of Citizen Journalism. CJ does not represent all of the citizens rather it represents only a limited class of citizens.

A market economy depends on professional business journalists. Individual statements by shareholders and various stakeholders are no substitute for company profiles delivered by independent professional journalists. Healthcare reform is another example. It is such a complex issue. Citizens who make the effort to express themselves might be angry about the costs they must bear, be it in form of insurance premiums, taxes or other healthcare costs. Only professional journalists can perform their duties with a sense of responsibility and credibility.

The credibility of the CJ reporters has always a big challenge worldwide. Many people believe that this kind of 'street reporting' is not reliable. They argue that CJ reports are most of the time exaggerated and biased and the facts presented are not trustable. Sometimes, these reports are based on opinions. Lasica (2003) narrates that many newspapers and TV stations had passed many years to establish the trust of their audiences. However, participatory

news sites, with their obvious and more cherished nature, are attracting citizen journalists that contribute and collaborate with one another and most of the times, their content is not reliable.²³ Therefore, citizen journalism needs potential to develop a more reliable relationship with their audiences.

Moreover, citizen journalists usually don't obey any code of ethics which is a requirement for the mainstream media. Itule & Douglas (2000) described the code of ethics and responsibility for journalists, as the issue was highly concerning since 1970s. They noted, "A code of ethics hanging on the wall is meaningless; a code of ethics internalized within the journalist and guiding his actions is what is meaningful. Ethical values are acquired all thorough life from a number of sources, such as Church, family and friends. Reporters can't separate the ethics of journalism from the values they hold as individuals" (p.201).²⁴

Considering the ethical boundaries in practical journalism citizens' involvement in news process sometimes produce ambiguity with their shared contents. During 2009, a mobile video clip on national TV channels in Pakistan, portrayed the brutality of the "Taliban" (religious extremists) by beating a women captured by the others was launched abruptly and then discussed internationally without checking the authenticity about video. Later on investigations proved the fakeness of video but until the negative intuition of the nation and the religion stretched worldwide. Many other reports of the citizen journalists are against the media ethics and the basic norms of the society.

Lack of proper training is yet another problem of the Citizen Journalism and that's why their reports don't fulfill the basic journalistic requirements. There should be some proper arrangement of the training of the citizen journalists. If they are trained properly, they can produce better reports.

CJ in Pakistan

Although citizen journalism is passing through evolutionary phase in Pakistan, yet its role is highly appreciated. Regarding print media, almost all of the major Urdu and English newspapers provide opportunity to their readers to express their views in the section called as “Letters to editors”.

In Pakistan, citizen journalism is a relatively new phenomenon. Social networking and blogging tools such as WordPress, Blogspot, Flickr, Orkut, Facebook and Twitter have been used as platform for freedom of speech and expression. But even then Pakistani portals specifically designed for citizen journalism are few and far between. Yet, citizen journalism websites are beginning to gain popularity within the country – primarily in Pakistan’s urban areas by literate and semi-literate Pakistanis who understand the technological usage of mobiles, computers and the Internet. On a macro scale, it is only over the past two to three years that local media organizations have really woken up to the importance of getting ordinary citizens to be an active part of the news, rather than just consumers. For example, local dailies such as DAWN and The Express Tribune now have separate blog sections for their websites that encourage submissions from Pakistanis who need not necessarily be journalists.

Private television channels are highly encouraging citizen journalism offering citizens to become journalists and send them their reports etc. Until 2002, there was only one state-owned Pakistan television channel (PTV). By now there are 83 private television channels licensed by the government, although some of them are not working. But those which are working encourage citizen journalism. It is the same with radio. Until 2002, there was only the state-owned Radio Pakistan. Now there are 124 private radio stations, there are dozens of newspapers which meet international standards, in English as well as in Urdu. The problem is that all media are working under strict control of the government. But private

TV channels are encouraging citizen journalism reports. However, different channels have different policies. Some TV channels require that the citizen journalists identify themselves if they send reports via email. This delays the process for several days. For example, Dawn News requires the proof of identification of the citizen journalist who submits some report to them. There are certain other TV channels who accept the CJ-reports, screening a disclaimer saying “this TV channel is not responsible for the facts of the CJ-report.” The most popular television channel in the country, GEO-TV, has a program which is called “GEO Dost,” meaning “friends of GEO.” They require the citizen journalists to send their reports to their local bureaus. The local bureau journalists verify the facts of the report and, after verification, send the CJ-report to their central office, after which it is displayed on the television channel.

Although citizen journalism is in its initial stage in the country, it is already playing a big role in promoting and conveying the problems of the society to the government. It has played a great role in combating terrorism, because the country has been badly affected by the wave of terrorism. Moreover, citizen journalism is playing a very important role in fighting corruption. But the most important area is the range of social problems of common people, including the energy crisis, the food crisis, air pollution, water pollution or contamination of drinking water. There are the pathetic conditions of roads, unemployment, inflation, and so on and so forth. Citizen journalists are conveying these issues and highlighting them. A big corruption scandal was detected in July 2009 in Lahore, the second largest city of Pakistan only because of citizen journalism report. Ms. Shamaila Rana, a politician and member provincial assembly tried to buy jewelry with a stolen credit card which was detected and the whole act was recorded in the film of the close circuit TV camera. The film was released to GEO TV and it gone on-air. The lady had to resign from the seat of Punjab Assembly after her alleged involvement in credit card scandal. After the release of the video showing Shumaila Rana shopping with allegedly stolen credit card, her political party Pakistan

Muslim League-N demanded her resignation. Hence citizen journalists are playing their role in eradication of corruption from the society.

Conclusion

Citizen Journalism has become an integral part of the modern-day society because it has given voice to the voiceless people in the society. This newly emerged phenomenon has really played its role in strengthening the civil societies in different parts of the world. Citizen journalists are doing the things which were beyond the control of traditional media because citizen journalists are everywhere while traditional media journalists are unable to be everywhere. Traditional media have lost their news monopoly. Social media like blogs, Twitter or simply SMS have passed the power to publicize news to citizens with internet access or mobile phones. All of a sudden, everybody can publish stories and be a citizen journalist. But citizen journalists are rarely trained. Most of them do not even know about the ethical standards which are important values of traditional media houses. In spite of all of its strengths, CJ has certain limitations. There are valid questions on the credibility and reliability of CJ reports. The lack of professional training is also a big deficiency of the CJ reporters. The problem can be solved by gathering the potentials of citizen journalism and traditional media. The mutual cooperation and collaboration of the two types of journalism can produce the best results. Both should not be taken as rival rather they should complement each other. Traditional media should encourage and train the citizen journalists who can be an asset for them. Their reporters cannot be available everywhere. This deficiency can be overcome by encouraging and engaging citizen journalists. They can complement the traditional media organizations in obtaining the best quality news stories.

Author

Dr. Saqib Riaz is Assistant Professor in the Department of Mass Communication, Allama Iqbal Open University (AIOU), Islamabad. He got higher education in Journalism from International Institute of Journalism (IIJ) Berlin Germany. He is author of four books on Journalism and three dozen research articles in national and International research journals. He received a number of awards and honors during his professional career. Dr. Saqib has the honor to represent Pakistan in International Media Conference held in Germany in March 2010.

Notes

¹ Kolodzy, J. (2006). *Convergence Journalism: Writing and Reporting Across the News*

Media. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc.

² Briggs, M. (2007). *Journalism 2.0: How to Survive and Thrive*. Retrieved from:

http://www.kenn.org/images/uploads/Journalism_20.pdf [Accessed on: 26-12-2010]

³ Lasica, D. (ed.) (2003). *We Media: How audiences are shaping the future of news and*

information. Retrieved from:

http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/download/we_media.pdf [Accessed on: 27-01-2011]

⁴ Allan, S. (2006). *Online News: journalism and the internet*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

⁵ Lasica, D. (2003) *Blogs and Journalism Need Each Other: The transparency of blogging*

has contributed to news organizations becoming a bit more accessible and interactive.

[Online]

Available

from:

<http://nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitem.aspx?id=101042>

[Accessed on: 26-04-2010]

⁶ Gillmor, D. (2003). *Moving Toward Participatory Journalism: If contemporary American journalism is a lecture, what it is evolving into is something that incorporates a conversation and seminar*. Retrieved from

<http://nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitem.aspx?id=101062> [Accessed on: 26-12-2010]

[Accessed on: 26-12-2010]

⁷ Flew, T. (2008). *New Media: an introduction*. 3rd Ed. South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford

University Press.

- ⁸ Steven Lang, (2010) “Water polo vs. no water: Citizen Journalism has to support marginalized communities” paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany on March 18, 2010.
- ⁹ Flew, T. (2008). *New Media: an introduction*. 3rd Ed. South Melbourne, Victoria: Oxford University Press.
- ¹⁰ Kolodzy, J. (2006). *Convergence Journalism: Writing and Reporting Across the News Media*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc.
- ¹¹ Gillmor, D. (2004). *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People*. Sebastopol, CA: O’Reilly.
- ¹² Kovach, B. & Rosenstiel, T. (2007) *The elements of journalism: what newspeople should know and the public should expect*. New York: Three Rivers Press
- ¹³ Kolodzy, J. (2006). *Convergence Journalism: Writing and Reporting Across the News Media*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc
- ¹⁴ Franklin, B. (ed.) (2009). *The Future of Newspapers*. London: Routledge.
- ¹⁵ Goode, L. (2009). *Social News, Citizen Journalism and Democracy: New Media & Society*. [Online] 11 (8) p.1287-1305 Retrieved from: <http://nms.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/11/8/1287> [Accessed on: 19-12-2010]
- ¹⁶ Hans-Jürgen Beerfeltz (2010). Inaugural speech in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany on March 18, 2010.
- ¹⁷ Solana Larsen (2010) World is Talking- Let it be heard. Paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany by International Institute of Journalism (IIJ) on March 18, 2010.
- ¹⁸ Solana Larsen (2010) World is Talking- Let it be heard. Paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany by International Institute of Journalism (IIJ) on March 18, 2010.
- ¹⁹ Solana Larsen (2010) World is Talking- Let it be heard. Paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany by International Institute of Journalism (IIJ) on March 18, 2010.
- ²⁰ Solana Larsen (2010) World is Talking- Let it be heard. Paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany by International Institute of Journalism (IIJ) on March 18, 2010.
- ²¹ Steven Lang, (2010) “Water polo vs. no water: Citizen Journalism has to support marginalized communities” paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany by International Institute of Journalism (IIJ) on March 18, 2010.

²² Steven Lang, (2010) “Water polo vs. no water: Citizen Journalism has to support marginalized communities” paper presented in International Media Conference held in Berlin Germany by International Institute of Journalism (IJ) on March 18, 2010

²³ Lasica, D. (ed.) (2003). *We Media: How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*. Retrieved from:

http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/download/we_media.pdf [Accessed on: 27-01-2011]

²⁴ Itule, B. & Anderson, D. (2000). *News Writing and Reporting for Today's Media*. 5th Ed. Boston : McGraw-Hill College.

SOCIAL MOBILISATION AND ONLINE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT IN BALOCHISTAN

Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal

Abstract

Social media has become an important tool in the communication framework of modern political history. It is being used for campaign purposes by the political parties, pressure groups and sub-nationalists etc. Same situation is being witnessed in the case of Balochistan which has undergone insurgency five times since independence of Pakistan. Resultantly, a new wave of mobilisation has been started which can be called as 'online social mobilisation'. Although, at the moment, a scanty number of individuals are part of online social mobilisation yet the optimum utilization of social media tools has potential to create upset in the political discourse of Pakistan. In this backdrop, this paper tries to unearth the pertinent motivations behind the Baloch mobilisation and impact of social media to accelerate the mobilisation process. Also, the study provides some policy measures in order to provide Baloch youth a level playing field.

Introduction

Green flags are hosted in all over the country on 14th August each year which is celebrated as Independence Day of Pakistan. National anthem and national songs are played in a louder voice and people send independence greetings to each other through cards, messages, emails, blogs, Facebook and Twitter etc. While the Facebook page was full of greetings, there was a black flag of *Voice of Baloch*¹ celebrating 14th August as black day instead of Independence Day. It is to be noted that black colour is considered as a symbol of mourn and regret in the Islamic culture of Pakistan. Millions of

Pakistani use Facebook everyday and may be a small number of users have witnessed the Baloch black flag and have neglected it considering it as less important. But it raises serious questions about the use of social media by the Baloch educated class as only an educated person can use Facebook – in order to mobilize the dissident youth against the state of Pakistan.

Baloch insurgents are using every tactic from guerrilla war to internet blogging for the sake of their autonomy. Pro-independence websites were also launched but Pakistan Telecom Authority (PTA) blocked it and thus common Pakistani was denied to know the dissident Baloch voice. After banning these websites, rebel youth turned towards social networking sites like Facebook, twitter, YouTube etc and started disseminating their political ideology. Their campaign has been so successful that their Facebook pages are not only getting more and more fans but also foreign sympathy, although a little is being attracted. It means that a new wave of mobilisation has been started which can be called as online social mobilisation. Although, at the moment, a scanty number of individuals are part of online social mobilisation yet the optimum utilization of social communication has potential to create upset in the political discourse of Pakistan. In this backdrop this paper tries to unearth the pertinent motivations behind the Baloch mobilisation and impact of social media to accelerate the mobilisation process. Also, the study provides some policy measures in order to provide Baloch youth a level playing field.

Theoretical Perspective – Mobilisation

Scholars interpret current violent protest mobilisation by applying different academic explanations. Alok Bansal considers the Baloch movement as a result of perceived Punjabi hegemony.² Adeel Khan argues that Baloch nationalism results from the “struggle for power between the Pakistani state and the Baloch people”.³ Robert G. Wirsing concludes the context of today’s Baloch insurgency in terms of energy resource developments.⁴ 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 1973.⁵ Feyyaz defines the insurgency as greed phenomena⁶ while Surendra discusses it in terms of opportunity based motives.⁷ Notwithstanding significance of other scholarly explanations, this paper essentially examines the existing theoretical mobilisation patterns and concludes a new theoretical framework which can be applied to Balochistan case. My hunch is that mobilisation in Balochistan is occurring because there exists “mobilisational prerequisites.” The thriving mobilisation in the province involves some precise essentials which can be called as “rudiments of mobilisation.” A number of prerequisites and ingredients are required for a successful mobilisation. These include “political opportunity, ethnic identity and its formation, leadership, organizational capacity, ideology, profile and program, financial resources, communications, and symbols”. In the remainder article, I evaluate the variables of mobilisational prerequisites – a theory given by Zoltan Barany.⁸

Theoretical Perspective – Social Media

Since the increased access of internet in 1960s, the networked population of the world has increased from the millions to the billions. This increased use of internet also brought a new revolution in the use of social media. Social media emerged as an important part of life and it involved many actors from citizens, political workers and activists to nongovernmental organizations, software houses, telecommunications firms, and governments etc. Resultantly, the communication canvas became more complex, denser and participatory owing to the involvement of many actors. Also, the networked population is now able to get more access to information, public speeches, and a better facility to undertake collective actions.⁹ Thus, social media has become an important tool for increased political freedom that can help to connect slackly coordinated publics to demand for a change.¹⁰ In consequence, all over the world, social media is being used as a forefront of political success. Social media

tools like email, text messages, Facebook, Twitter, MySpace, YouTube and Flickr etc have become basic communications tools in every aspect of life. Political parties use social media for media campaigns, funding, participation, mobilisation, and creating enthusiasm in the general public. The social networking sites are also being used to communicate a targeted political message. In the recent past, social media has also been used for to increase political dialogue. Existing literature on the subject reveals that email was widely for political purposes in 1996.¹¹ In 2006, the catchword ‘Think’ was circulated through MySpace.¹² Another study of 2007 shows that about 40% of the US’s internet users have used social networking sites for political information and 20% people discovered the political interests of their friends.¹³ It has also been suggested that social networking sites are so effective that it can be used for any political campaign.¹⁴ This empirical data shows the relationship between social networking sites and political interest.

There are two basic types of political groups; disciplined and undisciplined. Disciplined groups can easily engage in any collective action while undisciplined groups can not go for a collective action in a coordinated manner. “Shared awareness” is a key element of coordination for the success of any political movements.¹⁵ Shared awareness is a capacity of members to understand the contemporary situation.¹⁶ The social media is being used to increase the shared awareness by broadcasting specific messages. Shared awareness creates “the dictator’s dilemma” which can be more precisely explained in Briggs words as “the conservative dilemma.”¹⁷ This dilemma has been posed by the new media which not only amplifies community access to the information but also multiplies the spread of such information. In this increased access situation, state’s monopoly over media has also undermined and therefore, state finds itself in conservative dilemma. This dilemma anticipates two types of responses; propaganda and censorship but neither of these is more effective. The state censors the critics or circulates propaganda as it needs to, but both of these measures require higher costs. It is worth mentioning that shutting down internet access or banning cell

phones radicalize the pro-regime citizens and also harms the economy. Dissident websites are easy to block but it is very hard to censor the social media. Ethan Zuckerman of Harvard's Berkman Centre for Internet and Society calls this "the cute cat theory of digital activism." Explicit tools intended to overcome state censorship like proxy servers are easy to shut down but the social media tools like sharing the pictures of cute cats are harder to shut down. Due to these reasons, promoting self-governance demands more investment in social media as general, rather than specifically political.

Balochistan – A Prelude

Five times since independence of Pakistan, Balochistan has undergone insurgency, "demanding greater autonomy or even an independent state, to reunite the Baloch population of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan under one flag".¹⁸ Violent protests in the form of bomb blasts, target killings and acts of sabotage have become routine matter. Situation in the province has reached to a level where now Pakistani flags are being taken down, schools are being threatened against singing the national anthem and non Baloch residents are scared for their lives. Grievances relate to "self rule, ownership of resources, political participation and control over the economy".¹⁹

Sparsely populated Balochistan is the largest province in Pakistan. With an area of 347190 kilometres, it covers 43.6 percent of the total area of country. Naturally, the climate of such a vast territory has extraordinary varieties.²⁰ According to 1998 census, its population was 6.51 million, but now, the estimated population is 7.914 million with 76.1 per cent rural population²¹. The amount of Baloch population living in the province has been calculated to be a total of 54.7 percent, whereas, the remaining amount compiles the non-indigenous population, settled from other various parts of the country.²² Strategically important Balochistan covers nearly the country's entire coast – 1700 kilometres of coastline.²³ Economically, the land of Balochistan is rich in mineral resources, range of lands and gas deposits. However, despite

possessing so much, it still remains to be the most backward province in Pakistan. Being relatively less industrialized and underdeveloped – it receives a very minor share from the vast revenue it generates. It is a tribal land that was ruled autocratically by its *Nawabs*. Although these tribal areas are under Pakistani rule, 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. Ethnically and linguistically, it is the most diverse province of Pakistan. Baloch are the largest ethnic group in their province but do not constitute majority. Their number is closely followed by *Pakhtoons*. The third largest ethnic group is *Brahui*, followed by a substantial number of non Baloch residents. Interestingly, the majority of Baloch live outside Balochistan, mostly in Sind and Punjab.

Balochistan is blessed with abundant natural resources such as gold, natural gas, copper, coal, iron ore and marble.²⁴ There is a little farming in the province because of the dry weather and little irrigation. Hence, the social mode of province is more nomadic because of harsh weather and shortage of fertile land. Also, there are some patches of settled agriculture; around which, a tribal life was organized. The livelihood of the people has been dependent on a numerous economic activities such as growing crops on small pieces of land, tending pasture land, cattle breeding, especially sheep and goats, trade and work in mines. The social organization of the province continues to be based on tribalism until this day.²⁵

Resurgence of Current Uprising

The current wave of violence has been manifested after an interval of almost three decades. Balochistan is the largest but also the least developed province of the country. Fuelled by a long list of grievances, it has long faced acute discrimination and neglect at the hands of the central government. 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.

The political and economic marginalization has given rise to five insurgencies in the province during 1948, 1958, 1962, 1973-77 and 2002 to date.²⁶ The current Baloch-Islamabad conflict started due to the government's efforts to develop the area by undertaking a series of mega projects, most importantly the Gwadar port. This upsurge intensified in March 2005 when the then president General Pervez Musharraf declared an all-out war on Balochistan.²⁷ In the wake of these developments, chief of Bugti tribe, Nawab Akbar Bugti along with other tribesmen led an insurgent movement against 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), killed in an ambush while crossing Afghanistan to Pakistan in November 2007.

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 2009.²⁸ Academicians are also being targeted and so far six academicians have become victims of target killings during the last couple of months. Besides of 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.²⁹ 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,

sparkling violent protests in different parts of the volatile province.³⁰ According to a former Baloch Senator, Sanaullah Baloch, systematic and slow motion “genocide” is taking place in the province.³¹

Use of Social Media– A New Wave of Online Separatist Mobilisation

Internet has become a major open source of information and social media has emerged an important platform to coordinate publics. In the political discourse, it has become a coordinating tool for nearly all of the world’s political movements and same enabling environment is being created in Balochistan. Dissident Balochs are on Facebook, using pseudonyms, real names, and busy friending like-minded activists and sympathizers. They are creating Facebook pages, groups and coordinating events. They’re on Twitter, disseminating information, articles, blogs and videos in support of their cause. They have their own daily updated YouTube channels and stations, their own Yahoo! mailing lists chock-full of their leaders, their own crowd both inside and outside Pakistan – and they are angry.³²

Keeping in view the view the importance of Facebook than other social media websites, this study has collected the empirical data of Facebook pages by the dissident Baloch. Following table narrates the number of likes, political ideology, activeness status and foreign fans of randomly selected thirty pages. It is evident from the table that eighteen out of thirty pages are busy in spreading online separatism while only two pages represent federal ideology. The numeric value of separatist is also larger than the federalists. Although the total number of rebels is just in thousands yet the increasing number of dissident pages signifies a radical trend in social media especially in the case of Balochistan. This alarming trend needs serious consideration.

Balochistan Facebook Pages (07 Aug 2011, 11:33 AM)

Ser	Page Name	Total Likes	Ideology	Status	Foreign Fans
1.	Balochistan	3822	Federal	Active	No
2.	Balochistan Pakistan	341	Federal	Active	No
3.	Balochistan	1561	Mix	Active	Yes
4.	Balochistan	16	Mix	Active	No
5.	Balochistan	25	Mix	Active	No
6.	Balochistan	16	Mix	Active	
7.	Balochistan	13	Mix	Active	
8.	Balochistan	03	Mix	Active	
9.	Balochistan	50	Mix	Not Active	Yes
10.	Quetta Balochistan	150	Entertainment	Active	No
11.	Balochistan Hotel	407	Entertainment	Active	No
12.	Balochistan Hotel	297	Entertainment	Active	No
13.	Balochistan	84	Separatism	Active	Yes

14.	Balochistan	38	Separatism	Active	No
15.	Balochistan	39	Separatism	Active	No
16.	Free Balochistan	2096	Separatism	Active	No
17.	Balochistan Online	1698	Separatism	Active	Yes
18.	ShAuda Balochistan	422	Separatism	Active	No
19.	Azad Balochistan	67	Separatism	Active	Yes
20.	Free Balochistan	42	Separatism	Active	Yes
21.	Balochistan Zindagbaat	49	Separatism	Active	No
22.	Azad Balochistan	37	Separatism	Active	No
23.	Voice of Baloch	252	Separatism	Active	No
24.	Baloch Liberation Movement	614	Separatism	Active	No
25.	Martyred Balochs	959	Separatism	Active	No
26.	Stop Curse	35	Separatism	Active	No

	On Balochs				
27.	Dr. Allah Nizar Baloch 'The Steel Nerved Man'	909	Separatism	Active	No
28.	Balochistan Units Baloch	51	Separatism	Active	No
29.	Baloch Liberation Army	30	Separatism	Active	No
30.	Greater Balochistn	89	Separatism	Not Active	No

Mobilisation Prerequisites

Ethnic mobilisation is a “process by which groups organize around some feature of ethnic identity (for example, skin colour, language, customs) in pursuit of collective ends.”³³ Political mobilisation, according to Charles Tilly is a “process by which a group goes from being a passive collection of individuals to an active participant in public life.”³⁴ It represents the purposeful movement of a group for political gains. It is attitudinal insofar as there is a firm commitment to action and requires “means of translating this commitment into action or observed behaviour.”³⁵ These goals include better representation; the termination of political, social, and economic discrimination; and the improvement of collective’s conditions and social standing. It also aims at producing and maximizing political resources that will amplify the group’s influence including magnetizing votes, gaining sympathy from third parties, and making coalitions. Such resources also

entail political goods like disruptions, protests, and violence, all of which may be used as bargaining chips.³⁶

Successful mobilisation needs some ingredients as it does not occur in a vacuum. Below are the prerequisites of mobilisation which has been specifically applied to Balochistan case.

Political Opportunity

Political opportunity is the important prerequisite of mobilisation: if the dominant group does not grant marginal groups the chance to pursue their political mobilisation, even the ethnic group possessing all other mobilisational criteria will fail. Doug McAdam, Herbert Kitschelt, Sidney Tarrow, and others associated with the political opportunity structure approach have called attention to the critical importance of the external environment to social movements.³⁷ The state's perception of the ethnic group's capacity to mobilize, the potential threat it poses to the state's stability, and the resources it marshals to support or oppose state policies are always important to ethnic movements. Nonetheless, as Tarrow cautions, political opportunity is not a single variable but rather is a cluster of several, such as the presence or absence of influential allies and realignments in the party system.³⁸ Kitschelt has noted that social movement organizations are much more influential in open and strong political systems than in closed and weak ones.³⁹ Tarrow writes that "political opportunities provide the major incentives for transforming mobilisation potentials into action."⁴⁰

Coming over to case of Balochistan, one comes to know that political opportunity is strongly present in the province. Ethnic Balochs are in power i.e. provincial government belongs to ethnic Baloch elite but the dissident Baloch are away from the political discourse. Some nationalist parties also go for parliamentary politics and some have opted for militant tactics. Student organizations are also working in the academic institutions of the province hence; all segments of Baloch population are enjoying the political opportunity to

mobilize the public for a certain goal. Also, this political opportunity allows the parties to recruit militants through disseminating their ideology.

Ethnic Identity and Its Formation

The second fundamental requirement of political mobilisation is a clearly formulated identity that members of the ethnic group share, accept, and uphold. Ethnicity, like all identities, is relational; it attests to an awareness of collective identity consisting of several attributes like shared history, traditions, culture, and language. Though the importance of ethnicity among the other factors that constitute identity⁴¹ is contextually determined, for most people ethnic belonging tends to be one of the most important markers of identity. In Joseph Rothschild's words, the great advantage of ethnicity over other emblems of personal identity is "its capacity to arouse and to engage the most intense, deep, and private emotional sentiments."⁴² David Laitin's recent book, basically equates "language communities" with ethnic communities, in effect reducing identity to linguistic identity.⁴³ Ethnicity is one of a cluster of identity options whose value is enhanced in some circumstances and diminished in others. Ethnic identity "is developed, displayed, manipulated, or ignored in accordance with the demands of particular situations."⁴⁴

The determination of ethnic identity is an important factor in a group's success in coping with adaptation to outside forces and circumstances. For a cohesive and homogeneous ethnic group like the Balochs, the formation and articulation of its identity is easier. Identity and collective memory are closely connected with each other.⁴⁵ The character of the Baloch identity is affected and shaped by the province's geography and geopolitics that also creates their vision about the world and their cultural traditions. The Baloch myths and memories persist over generations and centuries, forming contents and contexts for collective self-definition and affirmation of collective identities in the face of the other.⁴⁶ The purpose of identity formation is to make them appreciate their collective past. Max Weber believes that "wherever the

memory of the origin of a community . . . remains for some reason alive, there undoubtedly exists a very specific and often extremely powerful sense of ethnic identity.”⁴⁷ It is obvious from the work of Weber that the mobilisation process itself contributes to the formation of the ethnic group’s political identity and same is being witnessed in Balochistan. The nationalist leaders are proud of their history and they appraise the contribution of their ancestors. They do not accept the Pakistani identity rather their mobilisation process aims at reviving separate identity of the Baloch. Ex Senator Sanaulah Baloch – a famous nationalist leader – always traces the Baloch identity from history.⁴⁸

Leadership

Leadership is another crucial factor to make credible political claims. The leaders who enjoy authority in their community can only give organizational form to the group. Intelligentsia also provides ordinarily individuals as the future leaders. The quality of leadership determines the success and failure of the organization or movement. Those heading the social movement might be natural leaders whose academic qualifications, economic position, social standing, and political background make them obvious candidates for leadership. If the group is divided, leaders need to negotiate compromises and achieve a consensus on at least the elemental goals and tactics of the mobilisation process. Rifts within ethnic elites generally impede, while cooperation fosters, the ethnic group’s chances for mobilisation.⁴⁹ One of the key tasks of leaders is to forge links with elements of the population hitherto uninvolved in politics.⁵⁰ How successful the individual leader will be in enlisting the participation of the population depends to a large extent not only on the level of popular support he receives but also on the number of rivals who challenge him.

Nationalist leadership of Balochistan consists of tribal landlords and educated middle class. Three major tribes Bugti, Mengal and Muree provide militant groups for an armed insurgency while the rest of educated middle class

provides political facet to this mobilisation. The Baloch leadership is successful enough in forging links with elements of the population who are not involved directly in the politics. These leaders are also not only receiving popular support from the Baloch community but also strong rivals form other areas of the country – thus fulfilling the theoretical explanation of successful leadership.

Organizational Capacity

A principal condition of any ethnic organization's political effectiveness is raising the communal consciousness of its members.⁵¹ Donald Horowitz notes that in many ethnically divided societies parties tend to organize along ethnic lines.⁵² The number of institutions involved in an ethnic group's political representation is also a decisive organizational issue. It would appear logical that a single organization that acts as the sole representative of the ethnic group would increase cohesion in the community. In fact, Paul Brass has argued that it is essential "that one political organization be dominant in representing the demands of the ethnic group against its rivals."⁵³ Still Balochistan is so deeply split along ethnic, occupational, tribal and other lines that one organization could not possibly articulate all their interests. If more than one party represents an ethnic group, it makes these parties to cooperate. The establishment of an umbrella organization or electoral coalition that represents the entire ethnic community can be very effective in increasing the ethnic group's political voice. Although alliance structures are often governed by the political conditions of the moment, they can nevertheless yield increased political representation, stability, support, and strength for the ethnic party.⁵⁴

Numerous nationalist parties are working in Balochistan on ethnic lines. They do cooperate with each other on some issue but mainly they are working on parallel lines. All of these parties are pursuing one agenda for the future of Balochistan but their course of action differs from the others. Eventually, ever since the Baloch's struggle for self determination has launched, pro Islamabad parties have not faced a single strong

nationalist party in the electoral process. It means that the Baloch nationalists lack organizational capacity in their political discourse yet it is worth mentioning that the dissident Baloch who are waging armed struggle possess some kind of institutional capacity for their militant agenda. Although the militants are also divided into small groups yet their organizational capacity allows them to spread terror in the province and also allow them to flee after attacking individuals and other installations. Further, organizational advantages involve favorable terrain that physically supports rebellion and social cohesion through which mobilisation gains legitimacy.

Favourable Terrain: Organizational advantages for the insurgents also encourage contentious behaviour. Methods of communications and access to facilities are affected by the physical and the social environment of the region. Further, the favourable terrain for rebels becomes a disadvantage for government forces. This is evident in the case of Balochistan where low dense population and low urbanization encourages mobilisation of rebel groups. Balochistan is an area of widespread harsh mountains and severe desert. Nomadic life of local population gives them an advantage over the state machinery. Hence, low population density coupled with its huge size, challenging terrain, and lack of development becomes a breeding ground for contention. Insurgents use different tactics like target killings for urban areas as the city centers are not favourable for insurgents.

Social Cohesion: Another source of insurgency is social cohesion which can be reduced by ethnic and religious diversity.⁵⁵ Balochistan has a legacy of autocratically ruled by its Nawabs. Ethnically and linguistically, it is the most diverse province of Pakistan. Baloch are the largest ethnic group in their province but do not constitute majority. Their number is closely followed by Pakhtoons. The third largest ethnic group is Brahui, followed by a substantial number of non Baloch residents. Interestingly, the majority of Baloch live outside Balochistan, mostly in Sind and Punjab. It is to be noted that the present upsurge is only found in the Baloch dominated

area which shows a certain level of cohesion in the Baloch population. The structure of tribal networks within the Baloch further encourages the formation of rebel groups since their social cohesion allow clearer communication among insurgents. Moreover, tribal leaders' support for the current movement also fuels the fire as they play important role in mobilizing their people.

Ideology, Profile, and Program

Milton Esman notes that “ethnic mobilisation is facilitated by and indeed usually requires an ideology, a coherent set of articulated beliefs” about collective identity, interests, and aspirations – the reasons that justify collective action.⁵⁶ Although such group's philosophy is useful in shaping the movement and encourages cohesiveness, successful ethnic mobilisation can occur even in its absence. More important is how a mobilizing ethnic group chooses to define the *profile* of its activities. Mobilisation also requires the identification of the collectivity's shared objective. Consensus about certain goals can be expected to increase an ethnic group's ability to take united action.⁵⁷ The reasonableness of an objective is primarily determined by situational factors. In exceptional cases, however, setting unrealistic goals or exploiting the appeal of an archaic, mythic past can be essential to mobilisation and can even be more effective than the identification of a more practical goal.⁵⁸

Ideology of rebel Balochs is very much clear and all the nationalists' elements have same voice about the future of Balochistan. Their demand is for larger autonomy or self determination for the region. Although the demands seems to be unrealistic, as their problems can be solved within the federation of Pakistan, yet the slogan of betraying the federating principles of Pakistan is becoming more effective for the increased social mobilisation.

Financial Resources

Deprivation is the key element behind social mobilisation. Indeed, the reason for mobilizing is often to reverse their

economic deprivation. It takes money to publicize activities, print newspapers and campaign materials, maintain offices and lines of communication, and pay employees. Baloch militants enjoy some kind of “economic viability”⁵⁹ – which can be better understood through four variables; financial gains from the exploitation of natural resources, foreign involvement, conflict-specific capital and low cost of involvement. It is evident through the history that natural resources of the province have been exploited for the financial resources and interior minister of Pakistan has repeatedly claimed about the foreign involvement in the province⁶⁰ which in result provides conflict specific capital for this armed insurgency. Also, the bulk of population is uneducated and unemployed; hence, cost of involvement to the individual is very low.

Communications

Communication is an important factor for the mobilisation process. Effective communications require high literacy rates and a common language. Given that the dominant group usually supervises national media that is typically prejudiced toward ethnic minorities, it is particularly important that there should be minority group control media outlets exist. The state owned media and private media tries to keep itself somewhat neutral and hence it narrates the real situation of the province. But, conversely to the desires of the rebel Baloch leader, national media does not become a communication vehicle for their political ideology. In this situation, role of social media gets more importance. Dissident Balochs are free to use internet as a communication tool and therefore social media is being harnessed for social mobilisation.

Symbols

The mobilizing group is assisted by shared symbols that are widely recognized and esteemed by the community.⁶¹ The flag, monuments, and public spaces endowed with historical meaning, poems, anthems, and anniversaries of historical events can also be used to cement the group’s cohesion. When there is no such symbol or tradition readily available to the

ethnic group, it must be “invented,” that is, it has to be created afresh.⁶² Symbols are extensively used in social mobilisation process of the province. The insurgents have drafted their own flag for independent state of Balochistan. Balochi national anthem is also available at YouTube. Death anniversaries of Baloch martyrs are also celebrated to enhance the social cohesion of the Baloch community.

Conclusion

Social mobilisation in Balochistan is getting more and more support within the province because there exists mobilisation prerequisites in the said area, especially in the Baloch populated area. As already noted, social mobilisation does not occur in vacuum, there are number of historical factors involved which have gradually taken the province to the present worst situation. The volatile situation of the province provides political opportunity to the ethnic Balochs. The dissident leaders are using this political opportunity to mobilize the common people for their specific goal of self determination. The Baloch leaders are proud of their history and through appraising the contribution of their ancestors, their mobilisation campaign aims at reviving separate identity of the Baloch. Baloch leadership is a mix of tribal landlords and educated middle class and through a successful campaign, these leaders have forged links with elements of the population who are not involved directly in the politics, therefore receiving popular support from the Baloch community. Rebellious Balochs also enjoy organizational advantages including favourable terrain that physically supports rebellion and social cohesion through which mobilisation gains legitimacy. A clear ideology is the most important thing for a successful social mobilisation campaign and nationalist leadership is intelligent enough in drafting a clear and shared ideology for an independent Balochistan. Every social movement demands financial resources and the Baloch are using their natural resources for economic gains. Also, some kind of external support is also present in the province. As the national media is hostile towards rebel Baloch, the former has turned to social media for an effective

communication. Lastly, independent Balochistan struggle is assisted by the shared symbols which have been drafted and crafted time to time. All of this shows that Islamabad's ignorance about the province has created a vacuum which is being exploited by the rebel Baloch leadership. It is also worth mentioning that dissident voices have shifted to social networking sites which are used by billions of user across the world. Internet is the cheaper source of information and disseminating rebel's ideology on these sites is creating a new wave of online social mobilisation. Although, at the moment there number is relatively less yet the optimum utilization of social networking sites can create an upset in the political discourse of Pakistan.

Policy Options

Balochistan's alarming situation requires immediate measures by the federal government. Possible workable options are listed below:-

- Federation-believer political parties must be encouraged by the central government. If these parties are funded and they use the fund in a proper manner without corruption, it would increase the common people's sympathy towards Islamabad and parliamentary politics. Resultantly, common people would not be attracted by the militant leaders hence their political opportunity would be restricted.
- The Baloch identity is being used for an independent state as the Baloch think that their identity has been undermined by the centre. This sense of alienation should be removed and Baloch identity should be acknowledged. The government should accept the salient of Baloch identity i.e. struggle and braveness. Also, the government efforts should be employed to muster these positive trends instead of leaving it for separatists to exploit. There can be a number of ways to harness Baloch identity and one important way is to induct the Baloch strength into military and paramilitary forces.

- It is the dichotomy with Pakistan that the popular leaders went against the state because of Islamabad's prejudice policies towards small provinces as it happened in the case of Nawab Akbar Bugti. This episode should not be repeated and the effective leadership of Baloch should be encouraged in the political discourse of country.
- Organizational capacity of rebel Balochs is difficult to end. But the authorities can find other ways to use the social cohesion of the Balochs for their benefits. It is the fact that terrain in the province is very hard but it is also a fact that this terrain covers underneath a wealth of natural resources. Road links are necessary for the mining industry and development of roads would minimize the terrain difficulties. This process will help in two ways; one, that industrial and development sector will be encouraged and secondly, a check on militant can also be kept.
- Any government can not change the ideology of a particular group but the former's good policies can stop the people to go in support of later. This is the only key for limiting the rebel ideology.
- Blocking the internet access is not a suitable option to stop the communication line of dissident Balochs. Rather, healing the grievances of Baloch is the only way to stop disseminating anti-Pakistan literature.

Rudiments of mobilisation are providing strong support to the overall social mobilisation process in Balochistan. After critically examining the Balochistan, one comes to know that major blame goes to the Islamabad which has directly or indirectly provided the reasons for social mobilisation in the province. This alarming situation of province is further aggravated by the use of social media which is being effectively used by the Balochs and thus creating new challenges for the government of Pakistan. The study also shows that carrot and stick policy of Islamabad would not work in this time. Rather, the policy makers should change their attitude while resolving

the Balochistan issue. It is pertinent to note that merely army operations are not solution for the region.

Author

Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal holds MSc degree in Pakistan Studies from Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. He is a researcher at Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) in National Defence University Pakistan. His area of interest includes political economy, peace and conflict studies, insurgent movements and water related issues. He regularly contributes in the different national journals.

Notes

¹ *Voice of Baloch* is a Facebook page which can be accessed at <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Voice-Of-Baloch/208625542504492>.

(accessed 14 August 2011)

² Alok Bansal, "Balochistan: Continuing Violence and Its Implications", *Strategic Analysis*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Jan-Mar 2006, pp. 264.

³ Adeel Khan, "Baloch Ethnic Nationalism in Pakistan: From Guerilla War to Nowhere?" *Asian Ethnicity* 2, 2003.

⁴ Robert G. Wirsing, "Baloch nationalism and the geopolitics of energy resources: the changing context of separatism in Pakistan", *Strategic Studies Institute*, April 2008, pp. 41.

⁵ Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, *In Search of Solutions*, ed. B.M. Kutty, (Karachi: Pakistan Labour Trust and University of Karachi's Pakistan Study Centre, 2009).

⁶ Feyyaz M. Pasha, "If Greed Theory has Visited Nuclear South Asia", unpublished, National Defence University Islamabad.

⁷ Shanna Dietz Surendra, "Explaining Social Mobilization in Pakistan: A Comparative Case Study of Baluchistan and Azad Kashmir", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2009.

⁸ Zoltan Barany, "Ethnic Mobilization Without Prerequisites: The East European Gypsies", *World Politics*, Volume 54, Number 3, April 2002, pp. 277-307.

⁹ Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Bruce Bimber, "The Internet and Political Mobilization: Research Note on the 1996 Election Season", *Social Science Computer Review*, Volume 16(4), 1998, pp. 391-401.

-
- ¹² Ellen Quintelier and Sara Vissers, "The Effect of Internet Use on Political Participation: An Analysis of Survey Results for 16-Year-Olds in Belgium," *Social Science Computer Review*, Volume 26(4), 2008, pp. 411-427.
- ¹³ Zhang et. al., "The Revolution Will be Networked: The Influence of Social Networking Sites on Political Attitudes and Behavior", *Social Science Computer Review*, Volume 28, 2010, pp. 75-92.
- ¹⁴ V. Gueorguieva, "Voters, MySpace, and YouTube: The Impact of Alternative Communication Channels on the 2006 Election Cycle and Beyond," *Social Science Computer Review* Volume 26(3), 2007, pp. 288-300.
- ¹⁵ Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2011.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet*, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002)
- ¹⁸ Wikipedia, "Balochistan Liberation Army", available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balochistan_Liberation_Army, accessed on 14 June 2011.
- ¹⁹ Sanaullah Baloch, "A Lesson to be Learnt", *Dawn*, August 05, 2008.
- ²⁰ Naser Askari, Moghadamahi Bar Shenakht-e Sistan wa Balochistan, (Tehran: Donya-e Danesh, 1979), pp. 3-14.
- ²¹ Population Welfare Department, Demographic Profile of Balochistan, available at http://apnabalochistan.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=4&id=42&Itemid=486, accessed on July 22, 2011.
- ²² Ahmad Marri, " ",
- ²³ Sanaullah Baloch, "Genesis of Baloch-Islamabad Conflict", *Daily Times*, September 05, 2011.
- ²⁴ Sanaullah Baloch, "Exploitation of Mineral Wealth", *DAWN*, November 25, 2010.
- ²⁵ Nadeem Qasir, *Pakistan Studies: An Investigation into the Political Economy 1948-1988* (Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1991), pp. 26.
- ²⁶ Sanaullah Baloch, "Justice Delayed, not Denied", *DAWN*, January 17, 2011.
- ²⁷ Sanaullah Baloch, "Remembering Habib Jalib Baloch", *Daily Times*, July 14, 2011.
- ²⁸ Muhammad Sabir, "Target Killing: 200 Persons Die in Six Months", *Jung Sunday Magazine*, 19 July 2009.
- ²⁹ Rafi Ahmed Pervaiz Bhatti, "Balochistan Insurgency: An Insider Speaks", Letters to the Editor, *Dawn*, 6 July 2009.
- ³⁰ Shahzad Baloch, "Balochistan protests Habib Jalib's killing", *The Express Tribune*, July 15, 2010.
- ³¹ Sanaullah Baloch, "Remembering Habib Jalib Baloch", *Op.Cit.*
- ³² Jahanzaib Haque, "Separatism Online", *The Express Tribune*, July 6, 2011.
- ³³ See Olzak (fn. 2), 355.

-
- ³⁴ Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), 69.
- ³⁵ J. P. Nettl, *Political Mobilization: A Sociological Analysis of Methods and Concepts* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 32–33.
- ³⁶ Michael Lipsky, “Protest as Political Resource,” *American Political Science Review* 62 (December 1968), 1144–58.
- ³⁷ See, for instance, Doug McAdam, John McCarthy, and Mayer Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives of Social Movements* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- ³⁸ Tarrow, “Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article,” *American Political Science Review* 90 (December 1996), 880.
- ³⁹ Kitschelt, “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies,” *British Journal of Political Science* 16 (January 1986), 63–67.
- ⁴⁰ Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 99.
- ⁴¹ Daniel Bell lists five key markers of individual and group identity: national, religious, ethnic, class, and gender. See Bell, “Ethnicity and Social Change,” in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 152–58.
- ⁴² Rothschild, *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 60.
- ⁴³ See Laitin, *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999). For an insightful review of Laitin’s book, see Alexander J. Motyl, “Imagined Communities, Rational Choosers, Invented Ethnicities,” *Comparative Politics* 34 (January 2002), 237–41.
- ⁴⁴ Anya Peterson Smith, *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 1.
- ⁴⁵ Isaacs, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 115–43.
- ⁴⁶ Muhammad Sardar Khan Baluch, *History of Baloch Race and Baluchistan*, (Quetta: Khair-un-Nisa Traders, Third Edition, 1984), pp. 26.
- ⁴⁷ Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 390.
- ⁴⁸ For instance Sanaullah Baloch writes that “They had a long struggle against British colonialism, conflict with Afghans, Iran and encroachers, but they did not experience such a brutal and inhuman repression by any regime and state that they are experiencing by the hands of the “rulers” in Islamabad.” For details see Sanaullah Baloch articles at his website <http://sanaullahbaloch.webs.com>
- ⁴⁹ Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (New Delhi: Sage, 1991), 25–30.
- ⁵⁰ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 19.
- ⁵¹ Cynthia Enloe, *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 160.

⁵² See Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 291–97.

⁵³ Brass (fn. 23), 49.

⁵⁴ Hanspeter Kriesi et al., *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Perspective* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 53.

⁵⁵ Paul Collier and Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance,” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, 2004.

⁵⁶ Esman, *Ethnic Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 34.

⁵⁷ Enloe (fn. 25), 183.

⁵⁸ Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

⁵⁹ Shanna Dietz Surendra, *Op. Cit.* pp.253.

⁶⁰ “Foreign elements planning to destabilise country: Malik”, *DAWN*, September, 10, 2011.

⁶¹ See, for instance, Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); and Ulf Hedetoft, ed., *Political Symbols, Symbolic Politics* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1998).

⁶² See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

CONFLICT AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Mrs. Tasneem Sikander

Abstract

This paper theoretically evaluates the reasons behind conflict and also provides the methods of conflict resolution. When states seek to preserve and increase their power and stature relative to each other, rather than to cooperate and coexist, they come inexorably into conflict. The existence of conflict in the global system has obliged states to develop techniques for the resolution of their disputes. The UN has also taken over the responsibility for resolving international disputes but it has not proved successful in resolving the underlying issues but merely put a lid on extensive violence.

Introduction

The states system is inherently competitive. States interact with each other in the contemporary system in numerous fields such as trade, international security, tourism, cultural exchanges, control of nuclear weapons and the like. When governments of nation states collaborate with each other, some areas of disagreement will arise. Insofar as states seek to preserve and increase their power and stature relative to each other, rather than to cooperate and coexist, they come inexorably into conflict. Enhancement of prestige, aggrandizement of power and promotion of ideology are objectives that have attracted opposition and conflict because of their lack of specific content and clearly defined limits.

The existence of conflict in the global system has obliged states to develop techniques for the resolution of their disputes. The methods have been developed over the centuries for the conflict resolution. It can be resolved either through pacific methods and if not then through forcible or coercive means. The UN has also taken over the responsibility for resolving international disputes but it has not proved

successful in resolving the underlying issues but merely put a lid on extensive violence.

Interactions between states in the contemporary system are numerous and diverse. We often classify them according to issue areas, such as trade, international security, tourism, technical cooperation, cultural exchanges, control of nuclear weapons and the like. Virtually all the relationships contain characteristics of conflict. Even in the most collaborative enterprise between governments, some areas of disagreement will arise. The parties to an international conflict are normally, but not necessarily the governments of nation states. Parties seek to achieve certain objectives such as additional or more secure territory, security, control of valuable resources, access to markets, alliances, world revolution, the overthrow of an unfriendly government and many other things. In order to achieve or defend these objectives, their demands, actions or both will run counter to the interests and objectives of other parties.

Conflict Perception

All states in the process of interaction confront with each other. State A on the input end making demands to the State B on the output end, which is to give response. State A is the demand maker, stressing on certain demands. Both the demand maker as well as decision maker are sovereign states. Decision taken by State B may not be in conformity with the demands of State A and are not binding, they have to compromise and when they fail to do so, conflict arose; e.g, Pakistan being State A demanded that Kashmir should be given independence but State B i.e. India does not compromise thus conflict arose. Holsti has defined conflict as “a situation involving incompatible collective objectives and the possibility of armed conflict between two or more governments”¹

Conflict may emerge due to several reasons. It is likely to result when party A occupies a position that is incompatible

with the wishes or interests of party B and perhaps others. The most traditional cause of conflict is territory, but territorial control is hardly the only condition that gives rise to international conflict. There may also be incompatibilities of position on such issue fields as tariff structures, the price of oil, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, or the treatment of minorities in a state. Conflict may arise in these areas because one government wants the problem solved in a manner incompatible with the wishes of another party or parties.

Conflict may emerge out of misperception. It may emerge because of misunderstanding between two states. Perception is one of the most important factors in studying conflict. Perception is indebted to communicational network Distorted and blurred perception is communicated with defective communication system which may erupt conflict between the two states. Goldstein has defined conflict in the following words: "Conflict may be defined as a difference in preferred outcomes in a bargaining situation."² Thus we can say that root-cause of conflict may be misperception about the other state.

Conflict and Crisis

Crisis is the most intense and dramatic form of conflict in the international system, short of war. Glenn H Snyder has defined the international crisis as: "An international crisis is a sequence of interactions between the governments of two or more sovereign states in severe conflict, short of actual war but involving the perception of a dangerously high probability of war."³

Crisis is not necessarily between international states, it may be domestic and cultural. "Conflict is a situation of crisis domestic or international." The two states may have divergent perceptions about each other. Divergences of outlook give birth to crisis. Divergence means conflicts of interests and conflicts of behavior. When interests of two communities or two states are divergent, crisis situation may erupt e.g, Freedom movement of Muslims was also a crisis situation in which more than one community comes into confrontation.

From the policy maker's point of view, the hall marks of crisis are (a) unanticipated actions by the opponent; (b) perceptions of great threat; (c) perception of limited time to make a decision or response; and (d) perception of disastrous consequences from inaction.⁴ none of these events or perceptions are likely to occur unless there has been a preceding conflict. Thus we can say that conflict emerges out of misperception, disagreement, lack of coordination and confrontation. Disagreement is the lowest level of conflict among the states. Crisis is of higher degree. Crisis situation crops up when states don't agree to compromise. Conflict can, therefore, be defined as "Conflict is a net result of disagreement between two or more than two states."

Models of Conflict

Different models of conflict can be distinguished. Some are core primary models and others are secondary models. Primary models are basically of two types:

- Non-violent conflicts
- Violent conflicts

Non-Violent Conflicts

Non-violent conflicts are those conflicts which are relevant to peaceful settlement and can be resolved through diplomatic channels, international forums like UN, try to build up world opinion in their favour by using propaganda tactics. Indira Gandhi built up propaganda world wide against Pakistan in the war of 1971. Mediation, consultation as well as arbitration are used to settle the dispute.

Non violent conflict has the same rationale as war, with the single exception that the states involved conclude that costs and risks associated with the disputed objectives indicate that the struggle should be carried on at a low level of intensity and commitment. The example of non violent conflict is economic conflicts that do not usually lead to military force and war because the states and companies enter into economic

transactions for profit and use of violence would diminish such profits. Economic competition is the most pervasive form of conflict in international relations because economic transactions are pervasive.⁵

Violent Conflicts

Violent conflicts are those in which war is used as an instrument of peace, source of achieving national interest and employ this tactic to resolve the matter in their own favor. "War, a condition in which two or more than two states carry on a conflict by armed forces is a common form of armed international conflict."⁶ Wars do not usually arise out of disputes concerning the respective rights of the belligerents, but arise from conflicts of interest. These conflicts are about territorial borders, ethnic hatred, revolutions and so forth. All the states value home territory with almost fanatical devotion, border disputes tend to be among the most intractable in international relations.⁷ States do not yield territory in exchange for money or any other positive award.

International conflicts over the control of governments are likely types of conflicts that lead to the use of violence. They involve core issues of the status and integrity of states, the stakes tend to be high, and interests of involved actors are often diametrically opposed. Violent conflicts also arose on the control of governments of other states. When on state wants to alter or replace the government of a second state, a conflict always exist between the two governments. In addition, the first state may come into conflict with other parties that oppose changing the second states government.

Secondary Models

Secondary models constitute more than three categories:

- **Balancing Objective Model** This is relevant to equilibrium restoration and maintenance activity of the two states. They try to maintain military

equilibrium among themselves and by retaining it try to maintain the status quo. "The balancing objective conflict is typical in a multipolar international system characterized by a wide dispersal of power."⁸ Under such circumstances, the participants in an interstate conflict seek primarily to restore the disturbed equilibrium in the system.

- **Hegemonic Objective Model:** It is a recurring phenomenon in international politics. It grows out of the contestant competition of the centre states to achieve effective hegemony over the rest of the system and to gain the economic and political benefits that accompany that position. If balancing objective model allows status quo, hegemonic model presents a situation of hegemony which is more offensive.
- **Revisionism vs Status Quo.** A frequently recurring form of conflict arises when a policy of expansion collides with the interests of a passive status quo state. The objectives of contending states are complementary as compared to the revisionist states. The revisionist state seeks to take away from the passive state a particular object or advantage where as the status quo state seeking nothing new, tries to retain what it already has.

Conflict Resolution

The existence of conflict in the global system has obliged states to develop techniques for the resolution of their disputes. The development and implementation of peaceful strategies for settling conflicts using alternatives to violent forms of leverage is known by the general term conflict resolution.⁹ The methods developed over the centuries for the resolution of international conflict may be classified into three general categories: a) methods of pacific conflict resolution; b) coercive procedures short of war; and c) forcible procedures through war.

Pacific Methods

The methods of pacific resolution make available a variety of peaceful substitutes for violence. In general terms, they may be classified as diplomatic- political or judicial. They are following:

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a means to settle international disputes. It is the art of approaching or persuading the opponent for resolving an issue peacefully. Diplomacy can be used in national politics. It can be used to settle the regional and ethnical disputes peacefully. Diplomacy involves direct government to government interactions, acting upon the people in other governments who are able to do the things we want their states to do. Sir Ernest Satow in his guide to diplomatic practice defined diplomacy as “The application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states.”¹⁰

Diplomacy is the process of conducting communication among states through officially recognized representatives. The communication is almost continuous among states as their representatives or diplomats protect state interests and reduce conflict. Diplomacy has an instrumental value in the settlement of specific conflicts. States may prosecute their differences and intensify their conflicts by a great variety of methods, but tensions between them are most effectively managed and reduced through diplomatic means.

Diplomatic methods of resolving conflict can be attempted through direct negotiations, good offices, mediation, inquiry and conciliation. These different forms of diplomacy less formal than either judicial settlement or arbitration. If the parties to an international dispute are disposed to discuss their differences rather than to threaten one another or to fight about them, they will resort to negotiations as a means of settlement. Direct Negotiations may take the form of bilateral or multilateral diplomacy. Such negotiations may be conducted between heads of states, directly through ambassadors and other accredited diplomats of the concerned parties or through an international conference.

When two states are unable to reach agreement and relations between them become strained it is permissible for outside actors to offer their services in an effort to facilitate a settlement. The technique of good offices may be invoked. A “tender of good offices” is a polite inquiry as to whether the third state can be of service in preserving or restoring peace. It is often extended at the request of one of the parties to the controversy and is frequently made after a rupture of diplomatic relations or in course of war. If it is accepted on both sides, the third state may transmit suggestions for a settlement between the parties or may make suggestions itself. In the latter case true “mediation occurs”. Most conflict resolution uses a third party whose role is mediation between two conflicting parties, according to Goldstein.¹¹

Mediation is a procedure by which, in addition to providing good offices, a third party participate actively in the negotiations. It tries to reconcile the opposite claims and to appease mutual resentments developed by the contending parties. The mediator may not impose its own solution on the dispute but is expected to take a strong initiative in proposing formulas. In the first convention of the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899 and 1907 it is provided that “the function of a mediator was declared to be that of reconciling the opposing claims and appeasing the feelings of resentment which may have arisen between the states at variance.”¹²

Most of the today’s international conflicts have one or more mediating parties working regularly to resolve the conflict short of violence. There is no hard and fast rule saying what kinds of third parties mediate what kinds of conflict. Today the UN is the most important mediator on the world scene. Some regional conflicts are mediated through regional organizations such as the European Community and the Organization of American States. Mediators may actively propose solutions based on an assessment of each side’s demands and interests.

As there is a lack of any procedure in both methods for conducting a thorough investigation into the facts of the law,

hence these steps may be considered as preliminary to the more specialized techniques of conciliation and inquiry. Inquiry designates the resolution of conflict through establishment of a commission of inquiry. Such a group, consisting of an equal number of members from each of the disputing parties plus one or more from other states, acts to facilitate a solution of the conflict. Thus, in case of disputed boundaries, boundary commission may be appointed to inquire into the historical and geographical facts which are the subject of controversy and thus clarify the issues for a boundary agreement. The commission of inquiry does no more than determine the facts of a dispute by means of impartial investigation.

Conciliation is a procedure that combines inquiry and mediation. It signifies the reference of a dispute to a commission or committee to make a report with proposals to the parties for settlement, such proposals not being of a binding character. According to Judge Manly O. Hudson "Conciliation is a process of formulating proposals of settlement after an investigation of the facts and an effort to reconcile opposing contentions, the parties to the dispute being left free to accept or reject the proposals formulated."¹³

Conciliation multiplies the pacifying effects of both mediation and inquiry in the resolution of troublesome disputes. It is the most formalized of the diplomatic and political methods of settling international conflicts. It is particularly useful for serious political disputes because its flexibility makes it more adaptable to varying circumstances than more rigid judicial or legislative procedures. Its object is always peace by compromise not justice by law.

Conflict situation can be resolved through bargaining process between two or more than two states. Bargaining is one of the prepositions for resolving the severe conflict which develop from severe crisis. Deterrence is also a bargaining. Bargaining is the adjustment or syntheses of the divergent perceptions or the divergent vital strategic goals with the main purpose of retaining major self interests." Bargaining may be

defined as “tacit or direct communication in an attempt to reach agreement on an exchange of value—that is, of tangible or intangible terms that one or both parties value.”¹⁴

Judicial methods:

Judicial methods of resolving conflict are an attempt to regularize the terms and procedures that form the basis of the disposal of disputes. The two judicial procedures are arbitration and adjudication. Solutions are reached on the basis of law and in some cases equity but they explicitly exclude political compromise because only legal disputes can be judicially resolved. The awards of arbitration and the decisions of an international court are binding on the disputing parties and hence these procedures are described as decisional or binding.

Arbitration

The procedure known as arbitration is one of the oldest methods used by western countries to settle international disputes.¹⁵ It means reference of a dispute or conflict between the states to a third party, freely chosen by the parties, who make an award. If both sides agree in advance to abide by a solution devised by a mediator the process is called arbitration.¹⁶ In that case both sides present their arguments to the arbitrator who decides on a fair solution. For example the Israelis and Egyptians submitted their border dispute over the hotel at Taba to arbitration when they could not come to an agreement on their own.

In its simplest form, arbitration involves the negotiation by the parties to the dispute of a bilateral treaty, known as compromise, in which they state clearly the question to be arbitrated, name the arbitrators and set forth the rules of procedure and principles of law to be applied. When a dispute is not submitted to the judgment of a single arbitrator, such as the sovereign of a third state, a tribunal is set up consisting usually of one or two nationals of each of the disputing states, plus one or more nationals of outside states. These may be named in the compromise. One of the outsiders usually acts as

umpire. As C.C Hyde defined arbitration as “an impartial adjudication according to a law and that before a tribunal of which at least a single member, who is commonly a national or a state neutral to the contest, acts as an umpire.”¹⁷ The tribunal reaches decision by a majority vote and submits a written statement of the award to the respective disputants. An arbitral award is binding upon the parties. However it can be rejected on certain grounds. The process of arbitration is identical with that of adjudication except as to the method of choosing judges.

Adjudication

The International disputes can be settled by a properly constituted international judicial tribunal applying rules of law. The only general organ of judicial settlement at present available in the international community is the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which succeeded to and preserves continuity with the Permanent Court of International Justice. The court is supposed to decide the case on the basis of international law and jurisdiction usually extends only to legal issues.¹⁸ That government will not agree to this method of conflict resolution which has a weak legal position in a contentious situation.

Most of the conflicts have important legal aspects, but one or both of the parties do not wish to characterize the situation in legal terms because their political objectives and actions are not compatible with existing legal principles or jurisdiction. In other cases, a justifiable dispute is not handled by legal procedures because of greater tensions and conflicts between the two states. There is also problem of the sources of modern international law and governmental attitudes towards that law. There must be considerable common interest between the opponents before the procedure can be used. Both the parties must agree that settlement should be based on rules of international law and it should be an award outcome, whereby one party wins and one loses, rather than a compromise. But

these prerequisites are seldom found simultaneously in conflicts and crises

Coercive Procedures Short of War

States turn to coercive but non violent methods of settling a dispute if pacific procedures fail to produce satisfaction. Among the non violent coercive techniques are the recall of diplomats, expulsion of opposing states' diplomats, denial of recognition of a regime, breaking off diplomatic relations and suspension of treaty obligations. More obviously "unfriendly" is the class of actions involving force short of war: blockade, boycott, embargo, reprisal and retorsion.

- **The Pacific Blockade.** It appears to have been first employed in 1827; since that date there have been about 20 instances of its employment.¹⁹ It is also a measure involving force short of war for the settlement of dispute. However, it is sometimes employed in peace. In times of war, the blockade of a belligerent state's ports is a very common naval operation. It is generally designed to coerce the state whose ports are blockaded into complying with a request for satisfaction by the blockading states.
- **Retorsion.** Another hostile strategy but short of war for resolving the conflict is retorsion which means an unfriendly but legal act by another state. It does not involve the armed force. The best known instance of retorsion is the severance of diplomatic relations, e.g. the US broke off diplomatic relations with Iran when its citizens seized the US embassy in Tehran in 1979. Other acts of retorsion involve revocation of diplomatic privileges or withdrawal of fiscal or tariff concessions. An unusual act of retorsion was President Jimmy Carter's refusal to allow athletes from US to participate in 1980. Summer Olympics held in Moscow. His decision

was a protest against the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

- **Reprisals.** Another hostile method is reprisals. These are methods adopted by the states for securing redress from another state by retaliatory measures.²⁰ It means coercive measures adopted by one state against another for the purpose of settling some dispute brought about by the latter's illegal or unjustified conduct. The coercion can be non violent such as the seizure of property or a naval blockade, or violent as in the case of an armed attack. Reprisals are usually thought of as illegal whereas retorsion consists of retaliatory conduct to which no legal objection can be taken. Reprisals are only justified if their purpose is to bring about a satisfactory settlement of a dispute.

World For A

The UN successor to the League of Nations, has taken over the responsibility for resolving international disputes. One of the fundamental objects of the organization is the peaceful settlement of the disputes between states. According to Article 1 of the UN charter, "The major purpose of UN is to maintain international peace and security and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."²¹

In this connection, General Assembly and Security Council have also been assigned responsibilities. The General Assembly is given authority to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation. The Security Council acts in two kinds of disputes a) disputes which endanger international peace and security and b) cases of threats to the peace or breaches of peace, or acts of aggression. In the former case, the Security Council may call on the parties to settle their

differences through arbitration, judicial settlement, negotiation and conciliation. It may also suggest appropriate methods of settling the dispute. In the latter case, the Council is given power to recommend measures to be taken to restore International peace and security and it may call on the parties to comply with certain provisional measures. Under Article 41 to 47 of the Charter, the Security Council has right to give effect to its decisions not only by coercive measures such as economic sanctions but also by the use of armed force against states which decline to be bound by these decisions.²²

Although this organization has been instrumental in solving colonial conflicts by helping the territories in question, to achieve independence and establish viable governments, but in other case it has not resolved the underlying issues but merely put a lid on extensive violence. It has taken peace supervisory functions in Kashmir, Suez, ME and Cyprus areas, sanctions against Rhodesia but it has not been able to achieve a settlement or compromise outcome. Violence in many crises have been reduced but not completely controlled. It has a much less enviable record in actually resolving conflicts.

Forcible or Coercive Means of Settlement

When states cannot agree to solve their disputes amicably, a solution may have to be found and imposed by forcible means. The principle forcible modes of settlement include war, terrorism etc.

War: The right of state to make war as an ultimate means of self help when other measures of obtaining redress for alleged wrongs were unsuccessful; had until the year 1920, a recognized place in international law.²³ War is not a primary tool to get the conflict settled, states don't indulge deliberately in war, it is a last resort. War has its own instrumental value in the settlement of conflict between more than two states. Until the nuclear era, force was viewed as creative in the right circumstances because it could be employed to resolve outstanding political issues. The scope and functions of wars lent credence to the assumption that force and politics complemented each other. Clausewitz in his book "On War"

comments war and politics by asserting that “war is but continuation of politics by other means.”²⁴

War is illegal under the charter of UN except for self-defense. They wage war in pursuance of their objectives. War may be conventional or nuclear. Conventional war, infact, is time consuming. It takes long time to wage a conventional war and during that period, conflict may be resolved. On the other hand, nuclear war is highly scientific and technological. It is spontaneous and causes total destruction. USA and USSR always abstained from nuclear war because threat of nuclear war was there. Conventional war may be prescription for resolving the conflict.

Wars, like other forms of conflict, may be either balancing-objective or hegemonic objective. In other words, a war may either be fought according to the rules and seek to restore the status-quo or it may threaten to destroy the system by altering relationships drastically and permanently. The balancing-objective form of war is known today as limited war, and hegemonic-objective type is total war.

Terrorism is basically just another step along the spectrum of violent leverage, from total war to guerilla war. Terrorism refers to pol.violence that targets civilians deliberately and indiscriminately.²⁵ Like other violent means of leverage, terrorism is used to gain advantage in international bargaining situations. Terrorism is effective if it damages morale in a population and gains media exposure for the cause.

Outcomes of International Conflict

Outcome means any sort of final result of the conflict, different from procedures which are the formal diplomatic means of arranging some compromise. There are at least six possible outcomes or settlements of conflict. Firstly, is avoidance that when both the states perceive incompatible goals, values , interests, or positions, one possible solution is

for one or both parties to withdraw from physically or bargaining position or to cease the actions that originally caused hostile responses.

Secondly, conquest, which means the final result of the conflict, can be conquest that overwhelming the opponent through the use of force. Thirdly submission or deterrence, one side withdraws from a previously held value, position or interest because the opponent makes effective threats to push him out by the use of force. The fourth outcome of conflict is Compromise in which both sides agree to a partial withdrawal of their initial objectives, positions, demands or actions. A complicated outcome based on compromise is award wherein the opponents agree to a settlement achieved through non bargaining procedures. An award is any binding decision effected by an independent third party or criteria which sets out the substantive terms of settlement.

Often international conflicts have no formal outcome i.e. deterrence, avoidance, compromise, conquest or award, but persist for a long period until the parties accept new status quo as partially legitimate. Most of the international conflicts are resolved by becoming obsolete that is both the sides learn to live with situation over a period of time, even though their formal positions are incompatible.

Conclusion

The critical point in the conflict occurs when the actions of one state lead the government of another to consider the possibility of using force. Mild threats, pressures and reprisals can often be controlled, but if tensions are high enough and the actions perceived as extremely threatening, a crisis situation, where a decision to use organized force may be required, results. In a crisis, symbolic communication often increases while overt bargaining and negotiation decrease; and the behavior of policy makers may well be vitally affected by the pressures of time, perceptions of threat and the need to act quickly. Violence often results. Both the League of Nations and UN have in fact dealt primarily with crises rather than conflicts. In resolving conflicts and promoting peace, the

record of UN is not impressive. Indeed, one of the discouraging facts about international organizations has been their unwillingness to cope with conflicts before they reach the crisis stage. It has proved effective as instrument of peace only in the area of transition from colonialism. It is at the crisis stage probably that formal settlements are least likely to be attained

Author

Mrs Tasneem Sikander is Assistant Professor in Political Science in Govt. Viqar un Nisa Post Graduate College Rawalpindi. She graduated from Lahore College for Women, Lahore in 1990. She did her M.A in Political Science in 1993 from Punjab University as a regular student of Government College University, Lahore. Later on she did her M.Phil in Political Science in 2002 from Government College University, Lahore.

Notes

1. K. J. Holsti., International Politics, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall International Inc, 1995) p-375
2. Joshua. S. Goldstein, International Relations, (N.Y: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1994) p-137.
3. Glenn H. Snyder, "Conflict and Crisis in the International system," in James Rosenau, Kenneth w. Thompson and Gavin Boyd, (ed), world politics, (London: Free Press, 1976) p-683
4. K.J. Holsti, op.cit; p- 349,350
5. Joshua S.Goldstein, International relations, op.cit; p-149
6. Abdul Aziz Said, Charles O.Lerche, Jr., Concepts of International Politics in Global Perspective, (New Jersey: A Sunon and Schuster Company, 1995) p- 120
7. Joshua . S. Goldstein, op.cit., p-143
8. Abdul Aziz Said, Charles O.Lerche, Jr, op.cit., p-122
9. Joshua. S.Goldstein, op.cit., p-171
10. Frederick L.Schuman, International Politics, (NY: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1969) p-170
11. Joshua. S. Goldstein, op.cit., p-171, 172
12. Frederick L.Schuman, op.cit., p-154
13. J.G. Starke, Introduction To International Law, (London: Butterworths. 1984) p-489
14. Srydee, Glenn H. and Paul Diesing. Conflict Among Nations: Bargaining, Decision Making and System Structure in International Crisis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977)

Conflict and Conflict Resolution

15. Gerhard von Glahn, *Law Among Nations*, (N.Y: Macmillan, 1981) p-523
16. Goshua. S . Goldstein, *op.cit.*, p-172,173
17. Frederick . L. Schuman, *op.cit.*, p-157
18. K.J. Holsti, *op.cit.*, p-372
19. (Walter R. Thomas “Pacific Blockade: A lost Opportunity of the 1930s?” in *62 U.S. Naval War College International Law Studies* (1980)197 p 198.
20. J.G.Starke, *op.cit.*, p-495
21. K.J. Holsti, *op.cit.*, p-373
22. J.G. Starke,*op.cit.*, p-493
23. Charles G. Fenwick, *International Law*, (New York: Appleton Century Crofts,1948) p-541
24. Conway. W. Handerson, *International Relation Conflict and Cooperation At The Turn Of 21st Century*, (Boston: Mcgraw Hill Int. Companies 1998) p-130
25. Joshua.S.Goldstein, *International relations*, *op.cit*; p-169