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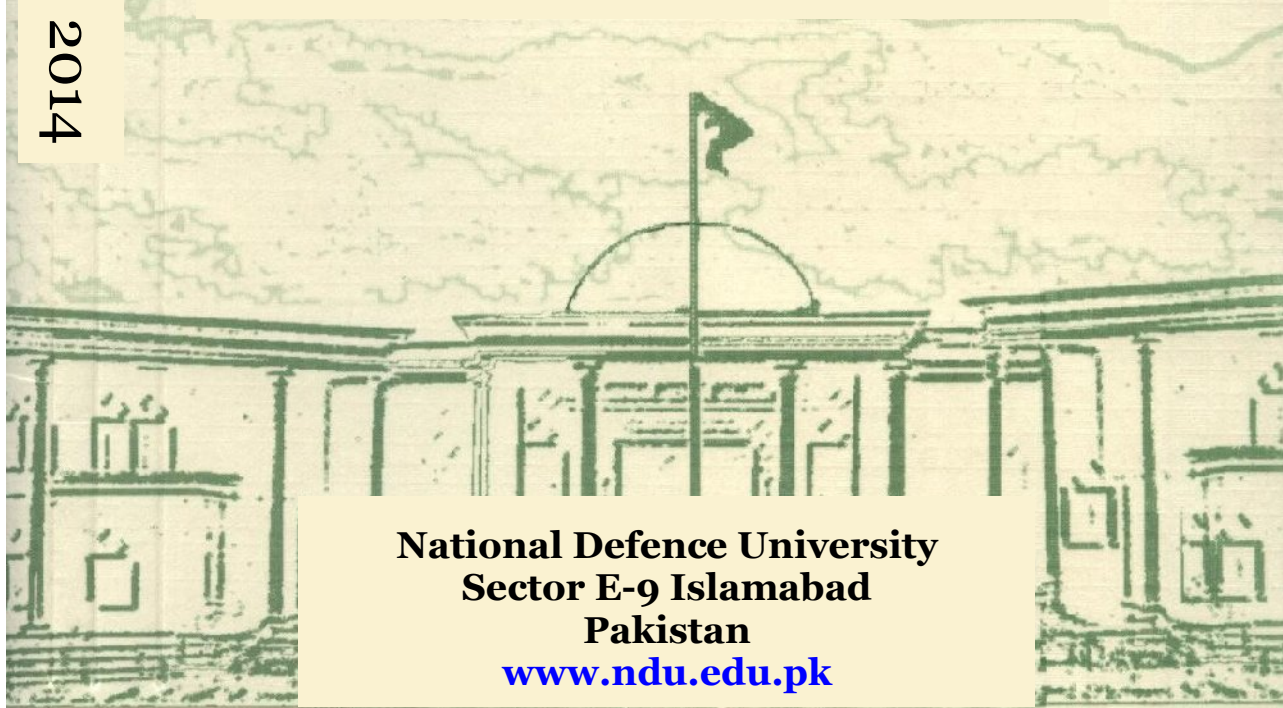


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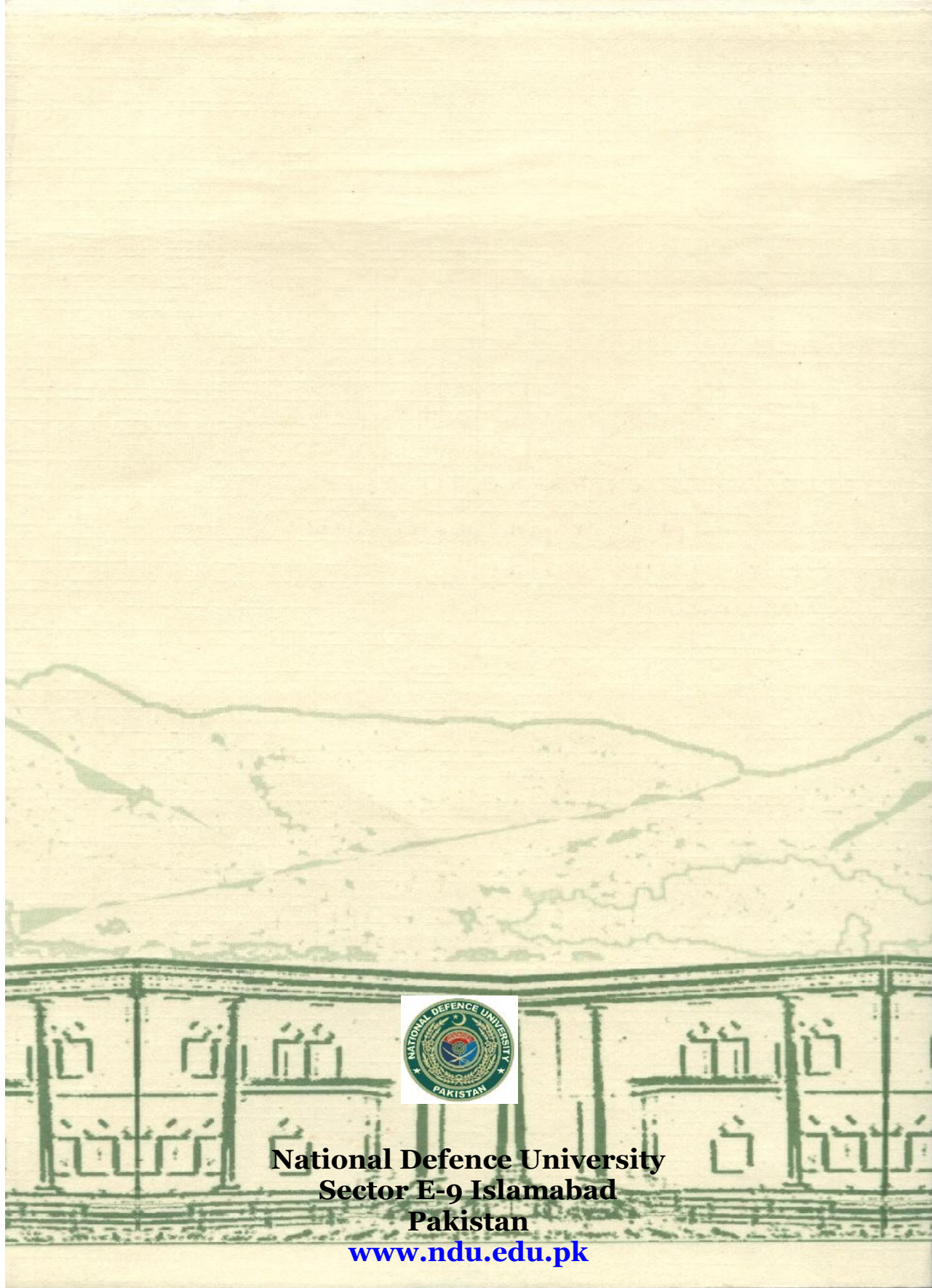
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National Defence University
Sector E-9, Islamabad, Pakistan
Tel: +92-51-9260651-52 (Extn 5285)
Fax: +92-51-9260663

Website: <http://www.ndu.edu.pk>
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GLOBALIZATION - THE NEW IMPERIALISM: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIETIES AROUND THE WORLD

Dr. Mansur Umar Khan

Abstract

The term, globalization has caused more confusion due to its ubiquity and vagueness in social sciences. This article argues that globalization is a new kind of imperialism and is in fact Americanization of the world. Therefore, the term globalization or Americanization has interchangeably been used in this article. It has impoverished and corrupted the social fabric of societies and in some cases even led to mass violence to the point of genocide around the world. Moreover, this article refutes the mass media persistent claim that globalization is a natural and inevitable phenomenon. Rather, it should be seen as a political project driven by the powerful elites of this world with a radical agenda. The paramount priority of this agenda is to ruthlessly dominate the rest of the world.

Introduction

There is hardly another term, in the social sciences, that has caused more confusion due to its ubiquity and vagueness than globalization. Globalization refers to neoliberal processes of increased interconnectedness across the globe¹; this leads to a "shrinking" of territoriality ('a time-space compression')² as capital, people, and goods travel freely across all borders, producing in effect a borderless world. This has a huge impact on states, their economies, the world financial situation, military affairs, cultures, politics, religion, the environment and even private lives.

Back in the 1990s, the West promised a better world. The claim and its seemingly inevitable mantra was that "globalization will lift all boats"³ The mass media in the US and also in the Western nations worked feverishly to

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popularize the immense benefits that globalization would accrue to all. Peace and prosperity would go to nations embracing the “free market” economy; hence, privatization and deregulation was advocated to the point of adulation, not just by the ever fawning mass media but also by prominent academics, scholars⁴ and journalists⁵. It would be no exaggeration to assert that globalization itself was presented to the world as a panacea, a cure for all ills of nations and societies alike.⁶ All they had to do was to open their borders up as wide as possible for a massive injection of privatization, deregulation and capital, and development and progress would follow, almost as if it were akin to a natural law.

Even Presidents and Prime Ministers spoke about the alleged blessings of Globalization. Bill Clinton spoke about the “fact” that the train of globalization cannot and should not be stopped⁷, while Tony Blair praised it equally⁸, and Bush Jr., also extolled its virtues.⁹ According to Mark Engler US President Obama has taken globalization to new heights, even surpassing Bush Jr.’s championing role of it.¹⁰

The idea was simple: “free trade” would naturally see to it that once all borders were open there would not be only more goods and services to go around but that by this fact consumers, all over the world, would have (A) a wider variety of goods and services to choose from, and (B) such a wide variety also inevitably brought with it more competition and would hence bring prices down for all consumers everywhere. As an additional boost, it was argued that the internet would also be a new conduit for conducting e-business globally, which would again bring down costs and make communication almost instantaneous, connecting in the process, billions. As of January 2014, a staggering 2.5 billion use the internet (meaning 35% internet penetration worldwide).¹¹

Globalization and Hidden Hand of the Market

John Perkins in the bestselling autobiographic *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, confesses:

Economic hit men (EHMs) are highly paid professionals who cheat countries around the globe out of trillions of dollars. They funnel money from the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other foreign “aid” organizations into the coffers of huge corporation and the pockets of a few wealthy families who control the planet’s natural resources. Their tools include fraudulent financial reports, rigged elections, payoffs, extortion, sex, and murder. They play a game as old as empire, but one that has taken on new and terrifying dimensions during this time of globalization. I should know; I was an EHM.¹²

When Perkins began his work, in 1971, his trainer and supervisor Claudine told him straight ‘my assignment is to mold you into an economic hit man. No one can know about your involvement – not even your wife.’ only to add ‘once you’re in, you’re in for life.’ Moreover, Claudine never hesitated when it came to describing what John Perkins would have to do. His job would be:

... to encourage world leaders to become part of a vast network that promotes U.S. commercial interests. In the end, those leaders become ensnared in a web of debt that ensures their loyalty. We can draw on them whenever we desire – to satisfy our political, economic, or military needs. In turn, they bolster their political positions by bringing industrial parks, power plants, and airports to their people. The owners of U.S. engineering/construction companies become fabulously wealthy.¹³

Perkins was not only one EHM, he mentioned that the US gave such training to promising candidates and since the publication of his book, in 2004, the numbers of EHMs have increased significantly. He also draws an analogy to the mafia

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when describing EHMs. Asserting what EHMs do best is building global empire:¹⁴

Like our counterparts in the mafia, EHMs provide favours. These take the form of loans to develop infrastructure A condition of such loans is that engineering and construction companies from our own country must build all these projects. In essence, most of the money never leaves the United States; it is simply transferred from banking offices in Washington to engineering offices in New York, Houston, or San Francisco. Despite the fact that the money is returned almost immediately to corporations that are members of the corporatocracy (the creditor), the recipient country is required to pay it all back, principal plus interest. If an EHM is completely successful, the loans are so large that the debtor is forced to default on its payments after a few years. When this happens, then like the mafia we demand our pound of flesh. This often includes one or more of the following: control over United Nations votes, the installation of military bases, or access to precious resources such as oil or the Panama Canal. Of course, the debtor still owes us the money-and another country is added to our global empire.¹⁵

This makes a clear mockery out of the professed and ubiquitously propagated conventional wisdom, usually given to us by the mass media, that the playing field is level for all nations (and parties) when it comes to globalization. It also shows that the alleged business ethics exist only on paper and in oral form. In other words, while claiming to adhere to ethical standards, the norm is that EHMs from huge (MNC's) (Multi-National Corporations) bribe, corrupt, or threaten anyone who's not willing to play by their mafia type of rules. The threats are not without consequences, if leaders of certain nations (usually 3rd world nations) refuse to accept bribes or corruption, death is not an unusual way to dispose off them.

Perkin clarifies this by telling about EHMs: “We seldom resort to anything illegal because the system itself is built on subterfuge, and the system is by definition legitimate. However ... if we fail, an even more sinister breed steps in, ones we refer to as the jackals The jackals are always there, lurking in the shadows. When they emerge, heads of state are overthrown or die in violent ‘accidents.’” “And if by chance the jackals fail, as they failed in Afghanistan and Iraq ... young Americans are sent in to kill and to die.”¹⁶ In other words, when even the assassins (jackals) fail then it can and often does mean war, and the colossal US military machine attacks either overtly or covertly.

Perkins simplified it even more directly in an interview where he stated “we go to world leaders of mostly 3rd world countries and tell them I’ve got a million dollars in this pocket for you if you sign this deal, or I’ve got a bullet with your name on it in my other pocket if you refuse!”¹⁷

Therefore, instead of there being a fair level playing field ensuring prosperity and peace for all, both the US government and its power elite along with the corporate elite are actually waging economic warfare against primarily the 3rd world.

Wars tend to be costly, while economic warfare needs only EHMs & jackals, which are comparatively very cheap. Perkins also writes that this strategy is not only a stealthy one, but that it also deceives by claiming that globalization will do everyone good, as it’s mutually beneficial, or at least so in theory. So while the Europeans were easily condemnable for their blatantly visible imperialism, via the empires they established or tried to build, the US strategy of permanent economic warfare is more difficult to spot, especially as the US government can always claim that it desires no empire or colonies, and since it does not have any this becomes a specious but coherent argument. This argument is also supported via the clever rhetorical claim that the US only aims “to make the world safe for democracy”¹⁸, since it is claimed that democracies are more peaceful in general and specifically toward each other. Numerous political scientists see this as

the closest thing that the field has next to a universal or general law.¹⁹ The logical conclusion is: If all or at least most nations of the world were democracies there would be no more or very few wars. Yet, many other experts see this so-called democratic peace theory as a myth or even as a deception.²⁰

However, it can hardly be denied that USA has historically used the democracy argument for its own advantage. The recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan prove that point amply. As victory remained elusive and global public opinion turned massively against it, the USA quickly proclaimed, now even more vigorously, to be fighting those wars for democracy's sake and human rights. Yet, it did nothing to protect human rights or even democracy in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Abu Graib, Guantanamo Bay and other notorious torture bases show the downright hypocrisy of such cant. And when it comes to supporting democracy the US has a consistent historical record of suppressing democracy, or supporting pseudo democracy and compliant demagogues.²¹ Perkins states that Iraq was a classical case where all three steps were used. First the EHMs tried to persuade Hussein to do the exploitative oil deals; when he refused the second step was implemented by sending in the assassins, but his security was too good; then, in 2001-2003, the mass media lied about his alleged Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) & collusion with Al Qaeda. In March 2003, the USA then attacked Iraq in an utterly devastating war for Iraq in which Hussein was executed.²² This was also a clear warning sign to any leader who refuses the demands of the US power elite.

Globalization: A Tool to Suppress

It was no coincidence that those leaders who praised globalization to the point of adulation are almost without exception from western developed countries. It is also no surprise that along with globalization, the west, and specifically the USA, is demanding from the rest of the world to adopt democracy as its form of government. While both could somehow be gradually adopted to some extent if they

were not simultaneously imposed on the global south, meaning the third world and thus underdeveloped nations; however, the “Washington Consensus” leaves no room for any sort of deviation. Its message is more of a command than a proposal, and it amounts to the following compulsion; take the rawest form of both globalization along with a rudimentary and limitless form of democracy and then deal with it.²³

The first objection to such a dictatorial demand is that the much weaker third world countries are asked to do something that the West (and even Japan) have historically never been subjected to, when even so it could be argued that the western nations were better equipped to take on both simultaneously. Historically, however, there is not one western nation that has ever had to take on the colossal double burden of both simultaneous Globalization and Democratization. As a matter of fact, western nations had countries like Great Britain, France and the Benelux as well and the Scandinavian countries to take them on separately and not simultaneously, in stark contrast to the demand for the third world by the West. Moreover, all the experts and scholars who have written about democratization agree that there are at least two prerequisites for a democracy to be successful: those are (A) a high living standard and (B) a high level of education. The impoverished and mostly backward third world countries have obviously neither a high standard of living nor a high level of education for their usually big and young populations. Furthermore, virtually all experts agree again that democratization takes a considerable amount of time and efforts for it to be successfully taken in, meaning that a culture of democracy has to be developed, and as history has shown this happens, if at all, only slowly and gradually.

Again the dictatorial demand that the panacea to all developing nations is to take both democratization and *globalization* swiftly and at the same time amounts to needlessly putting a lot of pressure on third world societies that already suffer, in stark contrast to the West, from a general lack of the rule of law, and usually many ethnic

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tensions and grievances. Add to that, the usual lack of (high) technology, a backward agricultural economy, high levels of unemployment and underemployment, inflation, religious tension, lack of institutions and facilities, border disputes (deliberately left behind by former colonialists) and a strong brain drain, and the demand of taking in the “free market system” and democracy at the same time translate into a gargantuan burden for such fragile nations.

Amy Chua has consistently proved that both democratization and globalization of third world nations along the US lines has produced violence, ethnic hatred and even genocide. Whenever democratic elections are held usually the majority demands a more or less egalitarian distribution of wealth or at least a decent living standard for all. However, in those nations, almost by default, there exists a tiny minority that has most or almost all the wealth concentrated in its hands: often this minority is ethnically foreign, like the Chinese in South East Asia living outside of China or the Jews in Russia (6 out of the 7 billionaires were Jews in Yeltsin’s era), owning upward of 90% of the major resources & industries while they were only a fraction of 1% of the population. In Latin America anywhere from 7-10% of the fair skinned citizens (usually a mixture of the former colonialists and the indigenous population) controlled roughly 80-90% or more of the wealth. Similarly in parts of Africa, the white population of less than usually 10% owned up to 90% of the land, and an equal amount of its wealth in other resources and its MNC’s. But even in many other African nations a number of minorities usually less than 10% of the nations’ populations were Lebanese, Indian or Jewish, who again were a tiny elite, usually less than 5% of the population that owned anywhere from 2/3 to 90% or more of those nations’ wealth. There are also African indigenous minorities that own the majority of their nations wealth, such as the Ibo in Nigeria, who are a minority and own most of the resources and industries in those countries.

The story, according to Chua, is however, almost inevitably the same everywhere in those third world nations: whenever

democracy reigns, the elites become afraid that either their wealth will be ceased by popular demand, or that they will be forced to either leave the nation, while their wealth is confiscated, or worse still that they will be killed by the enraged masses of the poor. Since there are no prerequisites for democracy in those nations it quickly and reliably degenerates into some kind of mobocracy, where a demagogue makes all sorts of promises to the masses in order to stay in power (i.e. Mugabe in Zimbabwe) and; thus, once the almost inevitable recessions come, since income is totally unjustly distributed and globalization overwhelms those nations with tremendous exploitation of their wealth, the demagogues and politicians realize that a scapegoat has to be found (as one can only blame the West for so long). For strategic purposes, such scapegoats have to be weak in terms of their numbers, and even more important they have to be already hated by the impoverished masses. Hence, the wealthy ethnic minorities pose an almost ideal target, as they are tiny in numbers when opposed by the huge masses, and even more so since they are seen as the main culprits of abject poverty. Their lavish lifestyles and or their foreignness result in all sorts of socio-economic and ethnic hatred. The outrages and violence against them are too numerous to cite here, but it should suffice to say that the 1997-98 recession of South East Asia resulted in a massive campaign to kill the ethnic minority of Chinese in those nations, especially but not only in Indonesia.²⁴ Often, however, the political elites will collaborate with the economic elites because the latter recognizes its vulnerability and thus co-opts the political elite by supporting them lavishly with all sorts of funds and privileges, so that an interdependent, and symbiotic relationship is established.²⁵

Despite such consistent outbursts of violence, hatred and even genocide, i.e. in Ruanda (1994), ex-Yugoslavia (in the 1990s) or Sierra Leone (1999), to mention some of the worst ones, the Washington Consensus is kept firmly in place, and; the third world is told that there is no alternative to it.²⁶

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There is also a huge double standard at work when these advanced Western nations make such domineering and overwhelming demands of the much weaker nations, since their favourite phrase of so-called free trade was and is anything but free in its nature. As an historical example, G.B. only hesitatingly turned to a really limited free trade after it had gotten all possible benefits from actually using protectionism for its industry and markets for 150 years. And the USA followed the same policy. As Noam Chomsky has so aptly written:

Britain did finally turn to liberal internationalism—in 1846, after 150 years of protectionism, violence, and state power had placed it far ahead of any competitor. ...²⁷ After 150 years of protectionism and violence, the United States had become by far the richest and most powerful country in the world and, like England before it, came to perceive the merits of a “level playing field,” on which it could expect to crush any competitor. But like England, the United States had crucial reservations. One was that Washington used its power to bar independent development elsewhere, as England had done. In Latin America, Egypt, South Asia, and elsewhere, development was to be “complementary,” not “competitive.”²⁸

The immense irony of the neoliberal argument is that while weak, poor, exploited and underdeveloped nations are asked to open wide their young fragile markets and industries to the financially powerful predators, thus, in the process being taken over by huge, mostly Western, foreign MNC's and international banks, those same Western countries always made sure to protect their own industries and markets with high tariff walls and quota restrictions, so that their economies could grow and thrive. This infancy industry argument was first fully articulated by Alexander Hamilton in his 1790 Report on Manufactures, was systematically developed by Daniel Raymond,²⁹ and was later picked up by Friedrich List in his 1841 work *The National System of*

Political Economy.³⁰ Alexander Hamilton endorsed it to jump start the US economy, thus, protecting it meticulously from tough British competition. Needless to say, it worked wonders for both countries, as both became vast imperial powers. The British even based their entire trade relations on it, eventually establishing a gigantic empire, while the US more adroitly built up an empire in disguise and denial, with neo-colonialism as its primary additional strategy. But protectionism alone was apparently not enough for the avaricious greed that imperialism brings with it, and so covert interventionism was always a part of the wicked game.

India is an instructive case; it produced as much iron as all of Europe in the late eighteenth century, and British engineers were studying more advanced Indian steel manufacturing techniques in 1820 to try to close “the technological gap”. Bombay was producing locomotives at competitive levels when the railway boom began. But really existing free market doctrine destroyed these sectors of Indian industry just as it had destroyed textiles, shipbuilding, and other industries that were advanced by the standards of the day. The United States and Japan, in contrast, had escaped European control, and could adopt Britain’s model of market interference. When Japanese competition proved to be too much to handle, England simply called off the game: the empire was effectively closed to Japanese exports...³¹

These lines are simply astonishing and mindboggling to say the least, for they mean that India was actually ahead of England in key technologies such as steel manufacturing techniques, ship building, and in other industries, in the 1820s, so that British engineers were forced to copy those techniques to try to close the technological gap; also impressive is the fact that India produced as much iron as all of Europe in the late eighteenth century.

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But one does not have to look into past history, even today the USA and the EU protect their industries and agricultural markets, often leading to rows between these commercial giants. US President Truman's Air Force Secretary said that "we should not use the word subsidy and made sure that the word security was used to justify and promote what was in effect sheer protectionism, which is obviously a flagrant violation of "Free Market" principles". The same pattern prevails in all other important and dynamic US sectors of the economy, be they computers and electronics in general, automation, biotechnology or communications equipment. The irony is once again that the Reagan Administration was notorious for its mastery of the art of extolling the glories of the Free Market to the poor of the world while boasting proudly to the business world that Reagan had 'granted more import relief to U.S. industry than any of his predecessors in more than half a century'—"which is far too modest, as they surpassed all predecessors combined, as they presided over the greatest swing toward protectionism since the 1930s ... Without these and other extreme measures of market interference, it is doubtful that the steel, automotive, machine tool, or semiconductor industries would have survived Japanese competition, or been able to forge ahead in emerging technologies, with broad effects through the economy."³² To finally dispel the theory of "Free Trade" once and for all and its rhetorical nonsense Chomsky cites: "an extensive study of transnational corporations (TNC's) by Winfried Ruigrock and Rob van Tulder found that 'virtually all of the world's largest core firms have experienced a decisive influence from government policies and/or trade barriers on their strategy and competitive positions, ...'"³³ Meaning that protectionism in the West is the order of the day: the rule and not the exception.

As if to add insult to injury, the US government also officially made sure that democracy and real development would be suppressed in the third world. The documents are now available in principle.

George Kennan was obviously not just an advisor as he is credited with the theory of Containment that was used for over 45 years to stop any Soviet or East Block socialism from “contaminating the free West”. Declassified documents show that it was Kennan who wrote, in 1948, that the USA has 50% of the world’s wealth, but only 6.3% of the World population³⁴ but consumes about 25% of world energy, and other precious resources from primarily the third world. “In this situation, Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position of disparity’.”³⁵ Under such conditions the US elite cannot allow such things as democracy or human rights, since that would lead to a huge demand for both and would mean that developing nations would, first of all, strive to improve their economic growth, not just for their tiny upper classes but for everyone. This had to be avoided at virtually all costs, even if terrorism had to be used on such third world nations. Kennan thus called for police states and dictatorships in those nations. Neo-colonial arrangements and collusion had to be forged between the greedy and traitorous elite of those nations and the US power elite.

Globalization and its Dreadful Results for the World

The type of capitalism that Washington and its colluding business elite is demanding for the rest of the world is based on speculative capital and a global banking system that inevitably inflates world currencies. There was, however, a time when the USA was far more productive and also increased wealth globally: these were the 1950s and 1960s when the US economy simply dominated globally due to its sheer size.³⁶ At the end of World War II, the US G.N.P. was about 46-50% of the world G.N.P., while US population was a mere 6% of world population. During this era, the US was not doing the world a philanthropic favour: the simple fact was that with such a huge productive capacity the USA elite needed markets, otherwise a severe recession was on the horizon in 1948, as business leaders, specifically from the aircraft industry lobbied Washington heavily for massive subsidies, much like the banks would do some 60 years later

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during the 2008 recession. In 1948, all the economic indicators showed that a massive recession was due and the fact that people still remembered the great depression of the 1930s scared policy makers and politicians alike. They knew that only massive subsidies for all sorts of industries could prevent another great depression or recession from smashing the American Dream, and being in severe competition with Soviet socialism, the USA could hardly let its economic system fail for the entire world to see. The Soviets would have gladly used such an opportunity propagandistically. However, Washington and Wall Street could hardly proclaim that the “free market system” had come to an end due to its failure, since its whole ideology was based around the propagandistic notion of the virtues of “free trade“. Thus it had to be disguised that Washington was giving all sorts of subsidies to its industries, as mentioned this was covered up by simply referring to all such subsidies as security issues. Thus, a massive recession was averted by pumping vast amounts of subsidies and giving all sorts of support to its aircraft industry at first, and then all other related industries from the late 1940s onward. Truman used the Red Scare of Communism, as former isolationist Senator Arthur Vandenberg advised him “to scare the hell out of the American people” if he wanted his containment foreign policy to work. Frank Kofsky has done a marvelous task of documenting this era, of how fear was used to get Americans to abandon any real Free Trade system and instead to embrace what actually amounts to a garrison state, with a gigantic military-industrial complex (M.I.C.).³⁷ As a matter of fact, ever since 1941, the US economy was in effect a war economy, or a heavily subsidized militarized economy. (Bruce Porter) For obvious reasons the US elite never talks or writes about this factual phenomenon, for to do so would discredit its alleged standing as a true Free Market state and supporter the world over.

Today and particularly since the demise of the Soviet Union, the USA is by far the biggest seller of weapons worldwide (about 57% as of 2013), but its form of capitalism has fundamentally and even radically changed. As mentioned back in the 1950-60s, the USA was still a real economy,

meaning that the overwhelming part of its G.N.P. consisted of tangible material goods and related services supporting such good. Today, however, the situation has reversed with catastrophic consequences for not only the USA economy but the whole world. The statistics do not lie, as Chomsky shows in his important book *Profit over People*:

The most important changes took place twenty-five years ago, when the Nixon Administration dismantled the postwar global economic system, within which the United States was, in effect, the world's banker, a role it could no longer sustain. This unilateral act ... led to a huge explosion of unregulated capital flows. Still more striking is the shift in the composition of the flow of capital. In 1971, 90 percent of international financial transactions were related to the real economy—trade or long-term investment—and 10 percent were speculative. By 1990 the percentage were reversed, and by 1995 about 95 percent of the vastly greater sums were speculative, with daily flows regularly exceeding the combined foreign exchange reserves of the seven biggest industrial powers, over \$1 trillion a day, and very short-term about 80 percent with round trips of a week or less. Prominent economists warned over 20 years ago that the process would lead to a low-growth, low-wage economy and suggested fairly simple measures that might prevent these consequences.³⁸

Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 was to take the USA off the gold standard which opened the flood gates to global inflation. History has shown with remarkable consistency that whenever a nation or kingdom goes off a gold or silver standard not only does debasement of currency follow but even moral degeneration becomes reality.³⁹ What the USA has now has been aptly described as casino capitalism: a degenerative form of capitalism that thrives on inflation, which is then used to speculate on virtually anything in the world at huge stock markets. However, the immense new cash

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made in this scheme benefits only a few bankers and speculators, who often use illegal inside information. Even if they were not to use such information, this type of casino capitalism only produces cash based on derivatives, and put options and other exotic inventions. Thus, billion and trillion are made in cash but the real economy remains stagnant and even declines in overall living standard.⁴⁰ The reason is that such highly inflated cash doesn't produce more cars, aircraft or computer or other material goods for society off the mass assembly lines; it only bloats the pocket of the very few super rich, and they obviously have as single individuals only limited needs, hence, they don't need 100,000 new car or homes, but the majority of the population do need and want such goods. This means ultimately that US capitalism has been producing, especially since the 1990s, when over 90% of G.D.P. was solely based on the virtual economy, huge profits for the few, while the masses struggle to make ends meet. Yet, the US economy is desperately dependent on mass consumption, accordingly 75-80% of economic growth is relying only on mass consumption. Such consumption is not possible given that only a fraction of the US population has the necessary cash for it. The result are devastating both for the US economy and the rest of the world, since the US Federal Reserve (FR) is printing dollars in a surfeit and at the same time this money is coveted by nations and people all over the world.⁴¹ The reason is simply that 2/3 of world trade is still done in dollars. More and more the nations of the world have to earn those dollars by actually providing goods and services to the USA, but the USA can simply tell the FR to keep printing dollars, meaning that the USA doesn't have to actually earn them.⁴² This has the double negative effect that all other countries are not only cheated out of their hard work for those dollars, since massive printing of them inflates them, thus making them less valuable over time. Moreover, a few nations with huge surplus capital is lending this back to the USA, like China and Japan who have become the biggest financers of the USA, but these nations only get 1% interest over period of 10 to 15 years on the US treasury and bonds that they buy. They know that by the time that the interest of only 1% is paid that it is actually a negative deal for them, as the dollar gets far more devaluated

due to inflation. Yet they are willing to play this losing game because they have huge dollar reserves, and if they were to dump them on the international money markets the dollar would almost by default take a huge tumble (losing anywhere from 40-50% of its value almost immediately), however, due to the fact that they themselves have some many dollars they don't want to see the dollar declining so drastically; they are also trapped due to them needing the US market, as it is usually the biggest market for those export driven nations. Thus, China had considered back in 2007-2008 about dumping their dollars, since 60% of their surplus capital which amount to over 3 trillion US dollars is actually held in dollars. Also, if the dollar were to take such a sudden tumble the political and economic consequences may easily result in China and Japan bashing, meaning that the USA might once again go into massive protectionism, as it did during the great depression, when the Harley-Smith Act was passed in the 1930, making over 20 000 foreign goods more expensive by 50 to 100%.

The end results of such highly speculative and inflationary US policies are not only devastating leading to recession and depressions in the USA but also impoverish the rest of the world, especially the global South. The famous saying that if America sneezes the rest of the world catches a cold, is not far removed from the truth. Since the FR is basically running global monetary and trade policies the USA has still a huge impact on the world financially.

Immanuel Todd, the French historian and demographer who predicted the demise of the Soviet Union in 1976, wrote a striking analogy of the USA's relationship with the rest of the world, comparing the USA to a black hole that continually sucks, goods, services, labour (brain drain), precious resources, and money (China and Japan) out of the rest of the world, and giving in return only devalued (inflated) paper bills in the form of dollars.⁴³ Such a predatory and highly exploitative relationship had to be hidden and justified by propagating the myth of mutually beneficial relations due to Globalization.

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When the US security analyst and preeminent futurist Herman Kahn was told of this scheme he is cited as having laughed and calling it the greatest swindle in human history. The effects of this swindle are easy to see everywhere. According to a new *Oxfam* report, in the U.S., the financially privileged – the wealthiest 1% – have "captured 95% of post-financial crisis growth since 2009, while the bottom 90% became poorer ..." Moreover, this translates into the fact that the richest 1% of world population own 46% of global wealth.⁴⁴ The headline of that report read: *85 richest people as wealthy as poorest half of the world*: and "It warned that those richest 85 people across the globe share a combined wealth of £1tn, as much as the poorest 3.5 billion of the world's population."⁴⁵

Globalization is the ideology that is driving this gargantuan inequality to ever continuing dizzying heights, and Wall Street and the US power elite are its main supporters as well as glaring beneficiaries.

Notes

¹ Kiely, Ray: *Empire in the Age of Globalisation – US Hegemony and Neoliberal Disorder*, Orient Longman, London 2005, p. 1.

² *Ibid*, pp. 9-10. Here Ray Kiely is briefly citing David Harvey (1989).

³ Chua, Amy: *World on Fire – How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*, William Heinemann, London, 2003. This book, first published in 2003, is now a classic in terms of showing how the *Washington Consensus*, meaning the simultaneous exporting of a "Free Market" economy system and Democracy, destabilizes especially 3rd world nations and leads to violence, and at times even to genocide. It produces a stunning and shocking narration and list of countries where ethnic hatred and violence and even genocide resulted directly from the *Washington Consensus*. Another book, with a similar theme, that has become a classic is *The Globalization of Poverty*, by Michel Chossudovsky. The facts and figures of both books speak a clear language and can't be denied!

⁴ In terms of academics most notable was Francis Fukuyama with his thesis of "The End of History", which he published in the summer of 1989, even a few weeks before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Francis was, however,

not just an innocent academic: before this publication he was in a leading official position in the State Department. His 1990 book by the same title as his article became a world bestseller and had decisive influence on massively promoting & globalization (in his words the “free market” system) and democratization.

⁵ The most influential journalist persistently pushing for globalization is Thomas L. Friedman, who’s wrote the bestseller *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* in 1999.

⁶ As expected, there were a few critical voices on Globalization coming from the West, but these were far and few between and could thus not overturn or have any sustained effects on the eulogy of the mass media mantra. In retrospect this was only possible when the Neo-Liberal order was besieged by crisis coming directly from Globalization’s many failures. See for instance, the South East Asian Crisis (1997-98), Seattle 1999, Genoa 2001, Argentina in 2001,

⁷ Ethan B. Kapstein, "A Global Third Way Social Justice and the World Economy," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. XV, No. 4 (Winter 1998/99), cited from: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kapstein.htm>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Bush's Globalization, by Mark Engler, Distributed to *Knight-Ridder/Tribune* newspapers by the Global Beat Syndicate, Published on Tuesday, June 8, 2004 by CommonDreams.org, cited from: <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0608-09.htm>

¹⁰ President Obama Takes Globalization to New Heights - President Obama has surpassed George W. Bush as a champion of globalization, by Mark Engler, July 2, 2012, *Foreign Policy In Focus* - A project of the Institute for Policy Studies, cited from: http://fpif.org/president_obama_takes_globalization_to_new_heights/
See also: *Dissent Magazine - A Quarterly of Politics and Culture*, President Obama: Corporate Globalizer, by Mark Engler - June 28, 2012, cited in: <http://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/president-obama-corporate-globalizer>

¹¹ <http://adelinapeltea.com/2014-the-state-of-worldwide-internet-social-media-and-mobile-penetration/>

¹² Perkins, John: *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man – The shocking inside story of how America REALLY took over the world*, Ebury Press, London 2006, p. ix.

¹³ Ibid, p. xi.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. xvii.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. xxi.

¹⁷ Documentary *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph. Part 2 has an interview with John Perkins where he explains how the whole range of economic warfare works, via Hit Men, Assassins & War if necessary. I have paraphrased the “quote” in order to convey briefly the quintessence of what Perkins said into one sentence; thus, the “quote” is a condensed summary of the rather long interview that he gave.

¹⁸ This was of course the rallying cry US President Wilson used to convince the US public, which was about 90% isolationist, to get the US into WW I. Revisionist Historians later uncovered that Wilson had already committed the US to join G.B. See the Documentary *Zeitgeist I*, 2006 & Lens, Sidney: *The forging of the American Empire – From Revolution to Vietnam: A History of U.S. Imperialism*, New Ed., Chicago 2003, pp. 260-268. & Khan, Mansur: *Die Geheime Geschichte der Amerikanischen Kriege* [English title would be: *The Secret History of America's Wars*], Grabert Verl., Tübingen 2003.

¹⁹ Levy, Jack S. / Thomson, William R.: *Causes of War*, 1st ed., Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, 2010.

²⁰ Greis, Anna / Brock, Lothar / Müller, Harald (editors): *Democratic Wars: Looking at the Dark Side of Democratic Peace*, Palgrave, 2006.

²¹ Blum, William: *America's Deadliest Export: Democracy – The Truth About US Foreign Policy and Everything Else*, Zed Books, London/New York, 2013. Chomsky, Noam: *Deterring Democracy*, Vintage, New Ed., N.Y., 2006

²² Documentary *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph. Part 2. Khan, Mansur: *Die Geheime Geschichte der Amerikanischen Kriege*, Grabert Verl., Tübingen 2003.

²³ As stated in Amy Chua's book *World on Fire*, 2003.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, pp. 34-35.

²⁸ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, p. 36.

²⁹ Chang, Ha-Joon. "Kicking Away the Ladder: How the Economic and Intellectual Histories of Capitalism Have Been Re-Written to Justify Neo-Liberal Capitalism". Post-Autistic Economics Review. 4 September 2002: Issue 15, Article 3. Retrieved on 8 October 2008.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, p. 35.

³² Ibid, pp. 37-38.

³³ Ibid, p. 38.

³⁴ Engdahl, William, F.: Full Spectrum Dominance – Totalitarian Democracy in the New World Order, Third Millennium Press, Louisiana 2009, p. 1, 10.

³⁵ Burach, Roger/Tarbell, Jim: Imperial Overstretch – George W Bush & The Hubris of Empire, Zed Books, London/New York, p. 56.

³⁶ Todd, Emmanuel: After The Empire –The Breakdown of the American Order, Constable & Robinson Ltd., London, 2003.

³⁷ Frank, Kofsky: Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948: A Successful Campaign to Deceive the Nation, St. Martin's Press, 1995. This is a crucial book for understanding how and why the USA decided to make the Soviets into the new enemy, an enemy that provided the M.I.C. with trillions of Dollars of profits and proxy wars that were equally lucrative for the US business elite, while politically it unified the USA and made NATO possible as a military alliance of crucially important Western nations that would from then on be under the immense influence and guidance of the USA's power elite.

³⁸ Chomsky, Noam: Profit Over People – Neoliberalism and Global Order, Vanguard, Lahore/Karachi/Islamabad, 2004, pp. 23-24.

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³⁹ Goyette, Charles: *The Dollar Meltdown*, Portfolio, New York, 2009, pp. 46-48.

⁴⁰ See among other things the Documentaries: *Capitalism – A Love Story*, by Michael Moore, 2009 & *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph. (The Literature is simply too numerous to cite.)

⁴¹ *Zeitgeist II Addendum*, 2008, directed by Peter Joseph.

⁴² Prestowitz, Clyde: *Rogue Nation – American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*, Basic Books, 2003, New York, pp. 70-72.

⁴³ Todd, Emmanuel: *After The Empire –The Breakdown of the American Order*, Constable & Robinson Ltd., London, 2003.

⁴⁴ Kim Hjelmgard, *USA TODAY* 3:05 p.m. EST January 20, 2014, cited from: <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/01/20/davos-2014-oxfam-85-richest-people-half-world/4655337/> [The research was compiled using data from Credit Suisse's World Wealth report and the Forbes' billionaires list.]

⁴⁵ Graeme Wearden, *The Guardian.com*, Monday 20 January 2014 09.24 GMT, Oxfam: 85 richest people as wealthy as poorest half of the world - As World Economic Forum starts in Davos, development charity claims growing inequality has been driven by 'power grab', cited from: <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/jan/20/oxfam-85-richest-people-half-of-the-world>

EMERGING REGIONAL SECURITY MILIEU IN POST 2014 AFGHANISTAN

Raza Muhammad & Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman

Abstract

Due to their geographical contiguity to Afghanistan, the Central Asian Republics (CARs) became strategically significant for the policy ends of USA and countries comprising the coalition that invaded Afghanistan Post 9/11. A number of Central Asian States provided bases, air passage and ground lines of communications commonly known as the Northern Distribution Network (NDN). Consequent fiscal advantages helped CARs shelve their mutual differences. In 13th year, the Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) seems to be coming to an undesired end: claiming victory without completely achieving the stipulated objectives. Afghanistan is far from being stable and cohesive. Its economy depends upon foreign aid. Albeit the newly formed National Unity government is a ray of hope, it is still grappling with teething problems. Al- Qaida, Taliban, ETIM, IMU and Hiz-bul-Tahrir and now IS, are the major threats to the Regional stability. Afghan National Security Force (ANSF) is not considered sufficiently trained, equipped and motivated. Competing interests of internal and external forces engender intrinsic threats to stability of Central Asia. Therefore, establishment of a consensus based governing mechanism in Afghanistan,¹ capacity building of Afghanistan² and CARs with sustained military and economic support shall be important for the regional stability.

Historical Perspective

Afghanistan, a war torn country, has suffered through centuries of aggressions. In her contemporary history, Soviet Union invaded it in 1979, which provoked an international reaction. Almost whole world with US in lead, less Warsaw Pact countries, joined hands to push the Soviet Union out of

Afghanistan. Islamic concept of Jihad was to be the 'Means' to attain this 'End'. Pakistan became the main 'enclave' to execute this strategy, which succeeded. 1989 saw Soviets and West retreat simultaneously, albeit in diverging directions. Afghanistan and Pakistan were left alone to deal with the residual mess. Afghanistan, deficit on everything specifically central control descended into chaos.

In this vacuum the powerful warlords, who had guns and money gained strength. The drug mafia also exploited situation to their advantage³ and a new phenomenon Taliban evolved, who captured Kabul in 1996. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, accepting the fait accompli, recognised Taliban government. Initially, US also considered them as an option to control the anarchy. Till 1996, Taliban were not anti West but 1997 onwards, Osama Bin Laden was thought influenced them, and they started hosting Al Qaida (AQ)⁴. Their support afforded AQ a sanctuary to train, equip and plan attacks on various parts of the world including 9/11⁵.

Consequential wrath fell upon Afghanistan in shape of OEF; an invasion by a Coalition comprising 42 countries⁶, lead by USA and legitimized by United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution Number 1267⁷. In the backdrop of environment prevailing at that time a discourse⁸ ensued in Pakistan, sequel to which Pakistan decided to support the OEF, predominantly to avoid international isolation and also accrue strategic dividends including ridding itself of the menace of terrorism.

CARs significance for coalition's operations in Afghanistan, their potential of exacerbating terrorism with attendant consequences for ISAF and their historical, politico-economic, social and security linkages with erstwhile USSR, made them vital objectives of US and Western diplomacy; to secure their alliances for supporting OEF and also wean them away from Soviet influence.

Central Asia became popular destination for economic and security assistance by regional and extra regional

stakeholders. The CARs were quick to grasp the historic opportunity. For their support to OEF, these were rewarded with aid and assistance that was direly needed during their initial years of independence. The rents from NDN, a crucial line of communication for ISAF, acted as glue for Central Asian States and helped them put their mutual differences at back burner. Presence of extra regional forces, availability of experts along with huge sums of aid helped their rulers to control internal rivals and perpetuate in power. Ruling and political elites of Central Asia also benefitted from the war economy.

After 13 years of OEF, Afghanistan still remains restive with increasing uncertainty on its future, tenuous security and growing violence. Despite spending trillions and significant loss of lives, the ISAF has not been able to achieve its perceived ends.⁹ Therefore, they look for scapegoats to blame for their failures and Pakistan, despite its sufferings, is the easiest choice. Regardless of ground situation, after projecting a notion of victory, they plan to start withdrawing bulk of forces and equipment by end of 2014.

CARs

In late 19th Century, the Russian Tsars annexed the last of Khanates and nomadic lands of Central Asia. After Bolshevik revolution in 1917 these states went under Soviet rule. By 1936, Central Asia was divided on ethnic lines to carve out five socialist republics namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. After fall of Soviet Union, these states became independent in 1991.¹⁰ During Soviet era, these states received special attention for their socio-economic development. The welfare got added attention, which revolved around the concept of "cradle to grave welfare by the state"¹¹. After independence, these states did not experience any serious turmoil as apprehended by many analysts and preserved their Soviet heritage, in political structures and policy legacies¹².

The economy of central Asian states is interwoven. Despite collapse of U.S.S.R their economic linkages remain intact. Southern Kazakhstan is still supplied electricity by Kyrgyzstan, and northern Kazakhstan helps service Siberia's energy grid. Turkmenistan continues to send part of its oil to Russia, to be converted into jet fuel, but it processes Siberian crude in her own refineries. However, vacuum is felt due to absence of coordinating institutions that regulate this activity¹³.

CARs and Pakistan

Despite decades of sacrifices and losses, Pakistan is still considered as part of the problem¹⁴. Pakistan's Economy has been badly impacted by excessive expenditure on counter terrorism efforts, human and material losses, decades long burden of Afghan refugees and now its own Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)¹⁵, whose exodus occurred due to military operations against the militants. It has lost 55473 citizens by now¹⁶. A huge cost of \$102.5 billion has been incurred by it¹⁷ on fight against terrorism already. Due to threat of terrorist attacks, the foreign investments have been deterred. Precious resources are diverted to counter terrorism, pay compensations and rehabilitation etc. Rising unemployment due to these factors makes the unemployed youth susceptible to exploitation by the exploiters; terrorist masterminds. Recent terrorist attack at an education institution, 'Army Public School, Peshawar' massive killing of innocent students and staff is the most serious crime even uttered by terrorists. In spite of this, Pakistan is not a trusted and respected ally. It's being blamed for all the ills in Afghanistan. In a recent report of US Department of Defence of 31 October 29, 2014 Pakistan has been accused of using non-state actors for its sway in Afghanistan.

Afghanistan Invasion and the Region

Though the initial gains were quick, Afghanistan has been a tough take for US, and ISAF. Despite losing thousands of lives, and spending trillions of dollars, ISAF has not been able

to achieve her war aims. US strategy on Afghanistan kept seeing changes and modifications. The current and third American strategy, as alluded to by the US President in his West Point address on 28 May 2014, is “to more effectively partner with the countries where terrorist networks seek foothold”¹⁸. This shift indicated that US would transfer whole operational responsibility on to Afghanistan. However, recently it has been reported that US will undertake combat missions as well, which is considered to be a positive re-modification of US strategy on Afghanistan, as US’ reduced engagement in Afghanistan has direct consequences for the regional peace and stability.

The aims of the OEF as deduced from various sources were; unseating Taliban regime, destruction of Al Qaeda and Taliban, removal of terrorist safe havens, punishing alleged perpetrators of 9/11 attacks on twin Towers and bringing a broad based, democratically elected government in Afghanistan. These objectives have not been achieved completely. Killing of Osama Bin Laden and a number of Taliban leaders, degrading Taliban and installation of an acceptable national government in Afghanistan might help USA to project a Notion of Victory. The fact remains that Taliban leader Mullah Omer is still alive. Many rural areas of Afghanistan are witnessing severe contest between Taliban and ANSF, Al Qaeda has proliferated to other continents and its splinters has mutated into Islamic State (IS); an evolving threat. This point is further supplemented by General Dunford’s views during his 12 March 2014 testimony to the US Senate Armed Services Committee. He acknowledged that even after 13 years of War, there is a possibility that Afghanistan could revert to being a safe haven for terrorists and AQ could return after drawdown¹⁹. He defined winning in Afghanistan as: an operationally ineffective Al Qaeda, capable and sustainable Afghan security forces, a successful election political transition, and a constructive Afghanistan-Pakistan military to military relationship. This reflects reconciliation of US leadership for depreciated war aims.

Afghan and neighbours' destinies have become increasingly interdependent. Post 2014 Afghanistan is going to have a direct bearing on their security and economy. Afghanistan will inherit large military bases and sufficient military equipment, but does not have capable ANSF to make good use of these. As a society, it is in shambles. Taliban, who were unseated in 2001, have become major stakeholders in future power sharing of Afghanistan.

Former President Karzaie remained a main impediment in creation of environment essential for the drawdown. His unwise and unfounded criticism and allegations on Pakistan and USA, his retarding attitude towards intra Afghan reconciliation harmed Afghanistan's interests²⁰. Taliban's Qatar office was closed due to their unreasonable attitude. Karzai did not hesitate in publically blaming USA for collusions with Taliban for terrorist attacks in Kabul²¹. The Afghan- US relations went into tailspin when he refused to sign the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) and said, "I don't trust them and they don't trust me. The last 10 years have shown this to me. I have had fights with them and they have had propaganda against me"²².

Brokering of power sharing deal between President Asharaf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah by USA, after an impasse due to complains of election fraud, is seen as a ray of hope. While many foreigners have no hopes for Afghan prosperity, the Afghans are optimistic that these elections would bring good days for them²³. It is also expected to be a catalyst for improving tense relations between USA and Afghanistan and Afghanistan and Pakistan.

After lot of efforts, Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) between USA and Afghanistan and Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) between NATO and Afghanistan were signed on 30 September 2014, which have been termed as long-term security pacts. 9800 US and up to 4000-5000 (presently 2500-2700) NATO troops shall be stationed in Afghanistan after ISAF mission ends in Afghanistan on 31 December 2014²⁴. These troops would reduce to half by end

2015 and by 2016 these will be reduced to “Vestigial Force” to protect US Embassy in Kabul and help Afghanistan with military purchases and other issues²⁵. The BSA promises training, advice and aerial support and Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) assistance to the ANSF.

One of the most important pre-requisites of the drawdown is strong ANSF. Afghan National Security Forces are being projected as so trained, equipped and organized that they will be able to control the inner front. In fact, they still lack in training and equipment²⁶. The ANSF suffered 4634 fatalities in 2014 as compared to year 2013, 4350²⁷. The ANSF could, at best be termed as partially capable. They will continue to need intelligence support, professional guidance, equipment and financial support to sustain them. This opinion is further strengthened by the fact that General Joseph Dunford, ISAF Commander till 26th August 2014, in his confirmatory hearing as 36th Commandant of the US Marine Corps, told the US Senate Armed Services Committee that he was not confident if the Afghan Security Forces would be able to sustain themselves after the drawdown. He added Afghan military does not possess intelligence capabilities and a developed aviation, which would affect ANSF ability to undertake operations effectively²⁸. The multi-front offensive launched by Taliban during Summer 2014, has also raised serious questions and concerns on the ability of ANSF to control the situation post US drawdown.

Therefore the ANSF are not sufficiently cohesive and capable to effectively control internal situation and stop external interference efficaciously²⁹. More so, ANSF and the local militias created by USA on the basis of ethnicity and tribes etc are likely to split on ethnic lines and fuel intra Afghan fighting³⁰. It's therefore that, the perceived post draw down dilemmas, haunt the thinkers and policy makers alike³¹; a destabilized Afghanistan could yet again become a safe haven for terrorist and AQ and also serve as a conduit for exporting terrorism to the Region and beyond.

Deteriorated Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations

The challenges of restive inner front, paradoxical and clashing interests of its own and her friends' China, Saudi Arabia, UAE, USA and neighbours; India and Iran make Pakistan's choices complicated and precarious. Pakistan wishes a stable, friendly and prosperous Afghanistan. Therefore, it tried best to play a constructive role by helping in intra Afghan reconciliation efforts, which did not materialise in desired time frame and spirit because of Karzai intransigence and decelerated approach of USA. Pakistan believes that chaos in her neighbourhood will directly impact its internal stability and socio-economic progression, therefore, it has renewed the efforts to allay Afghan complains and reassured help to bring Afghan Taliban to the negotiating table.

In fact Mr. Karzai and his team developed serious misunderstandings and housed deep-rooted distrust for Pakistan. Karzai's deteriorating relations with USA, allegations and counter allegations of housing Taliban by each other, who were conducting terrorist attacks in both the countries, further compounded the situation. Use of Afghan soil by India for anti Pakistan activities had been a sour point that was not heeded to by Karzai and Coalition. These factors had brought the relations between both countries to an all times low, which affected the attainment of war objectives related to long term solution of the Afghan problem for a sustainable peace and stability in the Region.

Change of guards; civil and military in both the countries, signing of BSA, recent positive developments in Sino-Afghan relations, ongoing military operation in FATA by Pakistan, to destroy sanctuaries of terrorist networks operating in neighbouring countries exude hope for better relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. There is no alternative to developing bilateral understanding. If Afghanistan's misgivings and apprehensions are allayed, both could complement each other's and international efforts to overcome the expected negative fallouts of post 2014

Afghanistan. Recent visit of Afghan President, his warm reception in Pakistan and aura of mutual understanding generated at all levels of leaderships can be taken as a major step for better understanding evolving between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Though Pak- Afghan border region comprises a very difficult terrain with high mountains having innumerable crossing places. The issue of Durand Line, and centuries old custom and practice of “Easement Rights” for the tribes inhabiting both sides of the Durand Line makes the dividing lines between Afghanistan and Pakistan virtually non existent; hence a soft border without a formal control. Pakistan’s efforts to make this a formal international border have always been discouraged by Afghanistan.

Pak-US Relations; Impacts on Regional Stability

Pak – US relations have seen multiple crusts and turfs. Both have grievances against each other. Striking a balance between Pakistan’s own interests, and US demands has been a tight ropewalk for Pakistan. The US military and economic help to Pakistan have been contingent to US policy ends that are mostly event and short term based. US’ vivid tilt towards India is not taken well by the Pakistanis. It also needs to understand Pakistan’s internal compulsions, which Pakistan has to balance out against cooperation with USA³². The new marriage of convenience that began sequel to coercion by President Bush ‘you are with us or against us’ is going through similar experience. US/ISAF quick triumph in occupation of Kabul could not have been possible without Pakistan’s help and support. However, soon the distrust started setting in, primarily due to US’ short-term focuses³³. Not realizing that US-Pak interests are interlinked and a rupture could compromise US Counter Terrorist (CT) objectives³⁴. There is a dichotomy on part of US officials, thinkers and writers, who blame Pakistan publically, and praise its contributions in private. Biggest blows to the relations were raid on Osama Bin Laden, attack on Salala Post and accusations by Admiral Michael Mullen, terming Haqqani Network as ISI veritable

arm³⁵. Another unpleasant factor for bilateral relations was CIA covert operation in Pakistan. Mark Mozzetti in his book “Way of Knife” wrote that Pakistan was “the most penetrated country in the World”³⁶. Pakistan can not develop better relations with Iran due to US reservations.

On the other hand, Pakistan also needs to admit its follies and undertake such steps that blame of ‘double game’³⁷ and having “American blood on its hands”³⁸ are alleviated. The international relations, in today’s Realists World are to be based on this hard reality that every state strives for advancement of its own national interests³⁹. USA is a World Power; both military and economic, whose interests in this Region are linked to Pakistan⁴⁰. Pakistan requires military, technological and fiscal help, so essential to overcome the damages and retardation in development caused by the events of past decades, hence it has to develop a mutually beneficial relationship with USA, not compromising the core national interests. Pakistan and US’ better relations are also important for countering international terrorism and regional stability⁴¹

Pakistan apprehends that USA will walk away from Afghanistan without helping reconciliation amongst Afghans and between Afghanistan and her neighbors, which may lead to re-eruption of the war⁴². Understandably Pakistan does not want USA to leave midway, with a destabilised neighbourhood with colossal negative fallout for it⁴³. The USA should understand that it is incumbent upon her to leave Afghanistan in a better shape with sustained military and economic support to safeguard Afghanistan’s inner front from an implosion that would have sever negative fall outs for Pakistan, China and Central Asia.

Intrinsic Dangers to the Stability of Central Asia

Central Asian Region's intrinsic threats are poor governance and weak state institutions, which, if exacerbated, could bring them to the brink of failed states category. CARs in general and Tajikistan in particular have comparatively softer borders and weaker state institutions. Tajikistan has

become a popular transit route for terrorists and drug traffickers. Potential for Islamic militancy, rampant corruption, autocratic rules and human right violations are considered to be major threats for their internal stability⁴⁴. These states also have multiple irritants between them. Uzbekistan tries to act as a big brother, which the others do not like it. While Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan are closer to Russia, the Uzbekistan struggles to unshackle from the legacy of Russian dominance. Kazakhstan tries to assert itself as regional military power. Disputes on water sharing of Amu Darya are another contentious issue. Claims on sharing of Caspian Sea riches are yet to be decided within CARs and also with Iran. Caspian Sea is considered to be a potential flashpoint for confrontation amongst its littoral states⁴⁵. All these issues, unless resolved appropriately, have the potential to precipitate into interstate conflicts⁴⁶.

Threat of Extremism and Terrorism

US has a great role and history in creation of religious extremism in this region. The foundations of Jihad economy were laid decades ago when Gulbadin Hikmatyar and Burhanuddine Rabbani were invited to Washington by the then US President.⁴⁷ President Putin also blames US for sponsoring Islamic extremism for which he sighted the example of creating and using Mujahedeen to fight Soviet Union in 1980s. He said that USA and West were destabilizing Ukraine and were turning a blind eye toward the encroachment of international terrorism in Russia and Central Asia.⁴⁸ Though the CARs also have potential of religiosity based extremism, however, few analysts contend that threat of Islamic extremism in CARs is overstated by Russia for seeking a larger role and establish greater hold on Central Asia through Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Few also opine that Heads of CARs take shield of the bogey of religious extremism to suppress their rivals.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the potential of exploitation and germs of extremism cannot be ignored in Central Asia.

AQ claims that her leadership had safely moved out of Afghanistan to Middle East, Africa, Chechnya and Central Asia before the Coalition operations in Afghanistan⁵⁰. AQ 2020 Strategy, to establish Caliphate in Central Asia, by launching Pincers of Jihadist Movements from "Jihad Triangle of Horror"⁵¹ Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, Iran, northern Turkey, Lebanon, Chechnya and from within CARs converging in heart of Asia to capture Khorasan⁵² and then move northwards to Russia has to be taken seriously⁵³. Frank Shanty in his book, *The Nexus; International Terrorism and Drug Trafficking in Afghanistan*⁵⁴, has also written about AQ such long-range regional and global ambitions⁵⁵. Their ambitions are too high and perceived ends too catastrophic for the regional stability.

AQ Shura has claimed sufficient progress in the groundwork. AQ Shura also endorsed Iran's Oil Strategy in 2005 (to attack and burn all the oil field in the region if Iran is attacked), which indicates AQ-Iran collusion, regardless of sectarian differences between Shia Iran and Salafi AQ and Wahabi Taliban for Global Jihad against non-Muslims.⁵⁶ The Islamic State in Iraq and Islamic state in Levant can already be seen as the strands of AQ strategy.

USA and CARs

Post 9/11 USA and CARs developed mutually beneficial relationship, which continued improving. US maintained Manas Base in Kyrgyzstan till June 2014⁵⁷, Karshi Khan Abad (K II) Base in Uzbekistan till May 2005. ISAF made use of Termez Base in Uzbekistan, which is rented by Germany. USA is now looking for new bases in Central Asia to deploy its drones⁵⁸. After closure of passage through by Pakistan in post salala incident, the NDN became a lifeline for ISAF and USA. For its use bilateral agreements between USA and concerned states were concluded in January 2009. In 2010, these were supplemented by agreements between NATO/ISAF and the CARs. However, cost of shipment per container, rose from \$ 7200 to \$ 17500 over NDN⁵⁹. In 2012, the Governments of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan signed bilateral

agreements with NATO for Reverse Transit as well.⁶⁰ The US has been providing security and economic assistance over and above the rents and taxes being paid to them as well.

Central Asia is destined to become less central to US foreign policy and security ends after its drawdown. It is however, considered that it will remain relevant to the US and as well as her concern for multiple reasons like Internal fragility of these states and potential for state break down. Crimes and rampant corruption, drug trafficking and weapons smuggling. Fears of radicalization and consequent export of extremism. Rivalry of regional powers, especially Russia and China that could evolve into yet a new Great Game. More importantly for integrating CARs into Regional and global economic systems for developing a long-term self-sustaining security and stability environment in Central Asia⁶¹.

There are indications that the US funding will not remain assured at present level and for a longer term. This cut reflects US lawmakers' anger at Karzai's on his refusal to sign the BSA – and also US taxpayer's apprehension for large portions of US aid lost to corruption and incompetence⁶². Similarly the CARs, which gained multi faceted advantages from their support for OEF, shall also experience depreciated fiscal gains and a security vacuum in the region with obvious consequences. They and Afghanistan will therefore, need continued security and economic support.

Foreign presence in CARs has been acting as a balancing factor for contending states and as well as for factions within these states.⁶³ US' depreciated military presence and reduced fiscal assistance will impact negatively the collective regional security arrangements.

Biggest Dilemma for USA; is to maintain a balance between pursuit of her strategic objectives in the region and receding domestic support and constricting fiscal space due to recessionary economy.⁶⁴ More so, the USA cannot stay relevant without ensuring requisite military presence and providing security and economic assistance for a sustainable

peace in Afghanistan, and Central Asia. The vacuum created after US withdrawal from the region shall be filled by China and Russia, which if not well regulated, may draw a regional competition and prove detrimental to long term US interests.⁶⁵ These countries also foresee increased Russian and Chinese influence impinging upon their sovereignty and internal dynamics. Most of them, therefore, want Extra Regional Forces (ERF) to stay in the region for a longer term.⁶⁶ The non-state actors, who would be competing for their personal and group stakes, shall further fuel the instability.

Therefore, it is considered obligatory that USA, Coalition Partners and regional countries must draw a suitable plan and continue supporting Afghanistan till it becomes capable of sustaining itself economically, socially and militarily⁶⁷. Cooperation and commitment of China, Russia, India, Pakistan and Iran shall be essential for enduring stability not only in Afghanistan, but in Central Asia as well. In the whole matrix, Pakistan can, and must play a constructive role⁶⁸.

Converging and Diverging Interests of Stakeholders

There are multiple stakeholders including the states and also the non-state actors who have convergence of views and also competing interests related to post 2014 Afghanistan, Central Asia and their neighbours.

Current Chinese interests in Afghanistan and Central Asia are primarily economic oriented. It is investing in minerals, oil and gas, rail, road and social sectors; consolidating influence in Central Asia through no-strings attached lending policies, financial investments and infrastructural projects⁶⁹. It allocated \$5 billion credit to Kazakhstan's state owned development bank and \$5 billion to Kazmunaigaz a state run gas company. China lent Turkmenistan \$ 4.1 billion loan for developing South Yolotan gas field. China is also funding several major energy and transport projects in Tajikistan⁷⁰. Chinese President Xi-Jiping has envisioned 6437 Kilometre long Silk Road comprising economic belt connecting Far East

with Europe via Central Asia⁷¹. These investments have and are likely to give Afghanistan sufficient influence in these countries. While it does not exhibit military ambitions and vision to export political reforms into Central Asia, yet it will. In no case, like increased US presence and enhanced Russian influence in the region⁷². Similarly, it will not like the drugs and extremism plaguing her territory from the bordering regions. The US policy makers are earnestly working to prop India as counter weight to China in hope that India will be able to contain Chinese expansion in the region, especially in Asia pacific. Obviously, it concerns China. In China, America, Japan Australia and India are routinely referred to as "Eastern NATO"⁷³. USA has to be careful in this quest, as India is not a country that would act only for the US interests in the region.

NATO has participated in all the ISAF operations and EU spends ample money in the region. It is already facing criticism for not taking appropriate measures against Russian reassertion in Europe, annexation of Crimea being a case in point. In view of reducing domestic support for out of area engagement, it is likely that post 2014 drawdown, major interests of Europe would be to benefit from trade and riches of Afghanistan and Central Asia. However, they will continue to worry about and participate in international counter terrorism efforts for saving their countries from terrorism. At grand strategy level, they will stay under US umbrella and will also support the post 2014 processes.

Moscow has greater stakes in CARs and Afghanistan, hence it worries about post 2014 Afghanistan and Central Asia. On August 1, 2012 Russian President Vladimir Putin said, "It was regrettable that countries who are participating in operations in Afghanistan are thinking about how to pull out of there"? He added "since NATO took up the burden, should carry it to the end"⁷⁴. Although Russia worries about visualised post 2014 instability around her that could threaten its inner front and even Federation, yet it will not endorse excessive military presence and influence of USA in the region. Expanding Chinese influence in Central Asia and Afghanistan also rings alarm bells in Moscow. Russia has been

trying to re-assert militarily in the region, manifested by holding "Rostock Military Drills 2010"; the biggest military exercise post USSR.⁷⁵ Recent annexation of Ukrainian Crimea and sponsoring of separatist in Ukraine, Russian Presidents' recently expressed views implicating USA for starting sponsoring of Islamic terrorism during 1980s also indicate Russia's change of posture.

Russia's main concerns revolve around saving her inner front from negative fallouts of instability, extremism and drugs from her neighbourhood. It will like to re-establish and safeguard her erstwhile traditional influence in security and economic spheres of Central Asia. Furthermore, Russia would not like increased military presence of USA and enhanced dependence of CARs on China⁷⁶. Benefitting from Central Asian riches, especially energy resources and 'New Silk Road Project' is a natural desire of Russian leaders and masses. If Russia desires to counter extra regional influence in Central Asia and establish hers, then it will need requisite military capability and economic capacity to do so. Presently, Russia lacks the economic capacity to return to erstwhile Sovietisation⁷⁷. The next important aspect is, that if Russia do this without US help and consent or will USA allow it desired space? It is opined that US will have to develop some understanding on Russian role in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

Iran has ethno- Religious linkages with Central Asia, especially with Tajikistan. It will not like a major United States military presence in the neighbourhood. At the same time, it likes to expand her sphere of influence through trade and economic ties. To attract trade with Central Asia through her territory, it has developed road and rail links with Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Iran has strong links with few Taliban commanders in Afghanistan. It also enjoys closer contacts with Afghan Hazara community, which is predominantly Shia⁷⁸. Few analysts and writers also hint at Iranian support to extremists in Tajikistan and other CARs.⁷⁹

Turkey nurtures ethnic and historic bondages with Afghanistan and CARs. She has cultural and linguistic affinity with Turkmenistan. She has been playing a constructive role in the reconciliation process and would like to be recognized as one of the major stakeholders. Her apprehensions also stem from envisioned unrest in the region after US withdrawal. She also wishes to expand her sphere of influence. In the same effort, it tried to export Turkish model of governance in Kazakhstan in 2007,⁸⁰ which created differences between both countries. However, Turkey was quick to re-adjust her policy and resolve the contentious aspects. Turkey is presently more focused on the issue of Syria that impacts its security and economy.

The Afghan Taliban consider themselves a legitimate stakeholders in Afghanistan's power matrix and any future dispensation. They were given due recognition by establishment of their office in Qatar. China, Turkey and Pakistan also tried to help bridge differences between them, Afghans and Americans. Due to factors like Karzai intransigence and US wavering attitude the process did not succeed. However, the new Afghan President is expected to restart negotiation with them. Their integration into the corridors of power and governance is considered essential for a durable peace in Afghanistan and neighbouring countries. Pakistan is, and must continue to help intra-Afghan reconciliation.

Conclusion

Understandably, the future of a post-2014 Afghanistan is very difficult to predict. It's a complex situation with multiple catalysts; evolving continuously with quite an unpredictable future. Most of the solutions are hypothetical. It is also not easy to evaluate this intricate military operation; distinguishing victory from defeat is very difficult. Many writers opine that it can at best be termed as a "partial" success. Competing interests of Regional and Extra Regional players and the non-state actors will continue to make it a battleground for Proxy War(s) with obvious negative impacts

on its neighbours. In opinion of Abdul Kuddus, “Afghanistan will still be a failed state with a potential of increased chaos, sporadic incidence of violence and bloodshed when the Afghan Security Forces take charge”.⁸¹

The situation offers international community an opportunity to integrate nascent CARs and war torn Afghanistan and turn a liability into an asset. Major challenge for regional and extra regional powers is the capacity building of Afghanistan and CARs in political, economic, social and military fields for self-sustenance in post drawdown environment. Stability in Afghanistan is considered important for the interest of the whole world and the region, as turmoil in Afghanistan could evolve into trans-border threats embodying extremism, terrorism, drug trafficking, and separatism for CARs, Iran, Pakistan, Russia, China and even beyond.

Unless a finely carved out transition, duly backed up by long term, well considered support system takes place, Afghanistan may collapse into chaos.⁸² Therefore Pakistan, Afghanistan, USA, Russia, China, Turkey, Iran, India and CARs must develop a consensus-based solution for handling post 2014 Afghanistan and Central Asia⁸³. Inclusion of warring factions in the process of reconciliation shall strengthen it further. Frank Shanty, in his book *The Nexus; of International Terrorism and Drug Trafficking from Afghanistan*, stresses that every solution for Afghanistan shall require a regional approach, in which Pakistan’s role and support shall be important.⁸⁴ For CARs, the CSTO may be a suitable body for implementing future plan of stability, however, CSTO dominance by Russia may draw criticism by Uzbekistan and others. The other suitable forum for execution of a long-term solution for CARs could be SCO, which has a broader membership and acceptance. For Afghanistan possibility of using SAARC or some UN mandated body comprising the major stakeholders, to oversee the Post 2014 arrangements could be considered.

Promotion of regional trade by institution of softer regulations, operationalization of New Silk Road concept and early development of road and rail network through Iran and Pakistan shall also be important⁸⁵ for integration and long term stability of the region.

Notes

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Role of USA in cobbling the whole effort together for a regional solution post its withdrawal emerges out to be very important. USA will have to remain engaged not only in Afghanistan but also in Central Asia for sustained peace by helping ensure agreements for intra-regional cooperation and capacity building of the weaker states. If chaos prevails in Afghanistan, the regional and extra regional countries are likely to bear the brunt with severest fall out for immediate neighbours.

NEED FOR ENHANCED COOPERATION AMONG THE MUSLIMS IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Dr. Shahid Ahmad Hashmat

Abstract

In contemporary world of interdependence, it is essential to promote global cooperation, peace and stability. Nations cooperate with each other in their national interests. The post-Cold War era has opened many new avenues of cooperation. The Muslim World has a natural propensity for cooperation within itself. However, a prolonged period of subjugation and slavery, under the colonial and imperialist rule, has incapacitated the Muslim world to cooperate with each other. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has tried to develop a collective consciousness among the Muslim world but their achievements are very limited.

Introduction

If the Muslims all over the world, develop cooperation in political, diplomatic, economic, educational, social and cultural fields, and promote their commercial relations amongst themselves, they can emerge as a one of the most powerful and cohesive group, in the world. By doing so, they will bring stability in international political, economic and security systems as well.

In the contemporary age of interdependence, cooperation at regional and international level is essential for promoting peace and stability in the world. Nations cooperate with each other in their national interests. When national interests of nations coincide with or complement each other, cooperation amongst these nations is a natural outcome in their interstate relations. Such cooperation is manifested in the form of regional or international organizations in the field of politics, commerce and trade, defence and security, and environmental protection etc. The cooperation in defence and security is manifested in the shape of various alliances, coalitions,

collective security and collective defence arrangements / pacts.

The post-Cold War era has opened many new avenues of cooperation at regional levels, in a far more independent environment, as compared to the constraints imposed by the Cold War. However, the United States, as a pre-eminent power, has tried to impose its policies in various regions through her economic and military power. The United Nations, besides preventing and resolving international disputes and maintaining global peace and security, is encouraging multi-lateral regional and international cooperation through international protocols and agreements. Moreover, it also works to control proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, countering international terrorism, mitigating the damage caused by natural disasters and handling refugees and internally displaced persons.

The Muslim World, which comprises almost one fourth of the world population, has a natural propensity for cooperation within itself. Despite many differences, it has a rich historical and cultural affinity within all Muslim communities. Muslims have ruled major part of the world for a long time. However, in the last two centuries, most of the Muslim countries remained under occupation of foreign powers. Many Muslim states have emerged in second half of 20th century but the prolonged period of subjugation and slavery, under their erstwhile colonial and imperialist masters, has incapacitated the Muslim world to fully realize and utilize its true potential. Having suffered a great deal of suppression during this time, Muslim world fails to determine its rightful status and position in the world. Therefore, it lacks the ability to formulate and implement independent policies pertaining to foreign relations, national security and international trade. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), despite many organizational shortcomings, structural inadequacies and resource constraints, has tried to develop a collective consciousness among the Muslim world.

A major part of the Muslim world is still being ruled by dictators, despots and hereditary monarchs, who have always followed the policies facilitating accumulation of maximum wealth. Their sole aim is perpetuation of their personal and family rule in their countries. Consequently, absence of democracy and freedom of expression have resulted into social, political, economic, academic, technological and intellectual decadence in the Muslim societies. Therefore, feelings of helplessness and general apathy have engulfed the Muslim world. The tide of frustration and resentment is now turning against the corrupt and incompetent rulers. Muslims need to resort to serious introspection, which could help them to develop cooperation, in order to protect their freedom, liberty and independence.

Muslim countries possess enormous human and natural resources, which can be used for collective development of the *Ummah* resulting into progress and prosperity for the Muslim world. Foregoing in view, this paper aims at analyzing socio-political and socio-economic conditions in the Muslim world with a special focus for fostering greater cooperation amongst the Muslim countries at regional and international level.

The Contemporary Muslim World

There are over 1.6 billion Muslims living in the world. Accordingly to a study conducted by 'The Pew Forum', 1.57 billion Muslims live in the world, which represents approximately 23% of the world population estimated in 2009¹. Most of the Muslims live in 57 countries, which are members of the OIC. More than 60% of the global Muslim population lives in Asia and about 20% in the Middle East and North Africa. Four Muslim counties: Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan are among the most populous ten countries of the world.² Roughly 300 million Muslims live as minorities in different countries. Amongst them "about 240 million – about three quarters – live in five countries: India (161 million), Ethiopia (28 million), China (22 million), Russia (16 million) and Tanzania (13 million)."³ Such a large Muslim population in the world provides enormous workforce and the

resultant positive contribution to the world economy. Availability of such large youth enhances the military capability of the Muslim world as well.

Muslim countries occupy large areas in Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Many are blessed with significant geo-strategic advantage, which allows them the ability of exercising commercial control over the world's most important sea, land and air routes/lines of communication. The Muslim world also owns enormous hydro-carbon energy resources, which is the life line of modern day world economy. However, the Muslim world has not been able to utilize its potential for the collective benefit of the Muslim *Ummah*. Many Muslim countries have been arbitrarily fragmented and artificially divided into smaller countries, with no regard for their historical and cultural common heritage. As a result of prolonged colonial occupation and post-colonial control, most of the Muslim countries have not been able to exploit their economic potentials. Therefore, many Muslim countries are still dependent on their erstwhile colonial masters. They have neither been able to develop their national institutions nor have allowed the civil society to grow and progress. Some countries still face unresolved territorial disputes with their neighbouring countries. Moreover, ever increasing number of Muslim countries is suffering from internal political disturbances, turmoil and violent conflicts.

Most of the Muslim countries are economically poor, technologically and scientifically under-developed and academically backward. The democratic process in many Muslim countries has been nonexistent or unstable. Most of these countries have suffered (are still suffering) from authoritarian rule, which makes them politically volatile and unstable, leading to internal chaos and anarchy. Many countries are victims of unprecedented corruption, cronyism and mismanagement of resources, which can be termed as resource curse. The human development index of these countries indicates that they lag behind very badly from rest of the world.

The Muslim countries have not developed an effective mechanism for cooperating with each other. Resultantly, due to lack of collective wisdom and political will, the Muslim world is failing to meet the contemporary challenges. Some of them are under foreign occupation by the Western countries for over a decade and many face the similar threat. As no common economic markets exist within the Muslim world, many foreign countries have exploited their economic resources. Similarly, personal and familial interests of the self centred rulers of many Muslim countries have allowed more powerful countries of the world to dictate their decision to them. The decisions of the OIC, a sole representative of the Muslim world do not have any binding authority. Therefore, it has been not been able to play an effective role in the Muslim world. Many Muslim countries have expressed keen desire for enhanced unity and cooperation amongst the members of the OIC but prospects of Islamic unity are still a distant dream. However, notwithstanding prevailing disarray and dismal state of affairs in the Muslim world, many optimists still consider that enhanced cooperation and unity amongst the Muslim world is a natural reality, which would ultimately materialize sooner or later. It is clearly evident that progress in political and economic cooperation among Muslim countries would be somewhat slow and arduous. Nonetheless, it is hoped that such cooperation will help the Muslim world to develop their human and material resources, which is essential for their economic progress, political stability, development of national institutions and general prosperity.

If correct decisions are taken by the Muslim leadership to mobilize the Muslim societies in a positive direction, the Muslim countries can become a unified force in international politics and world economy. Hence, it can play an important role in global peace and security. Most importantly, the Muslim world will emerge as an effective political force in their respective regions and at international level. It is in the natural interest of the Muslim countries that they should cooperate with each other at bilateral and multilateral levels. They should also enhance their cooperation in the field of international peace and security and counter terrorism so as

to find out a permanent, long lasting and sustainable resolution of numerous intra-state disputes and international conflicts prevailing in the Muslim world, which will provide desired environment of political stability and economic progress.

Conceptual Framework for Unity of Mankind

Islam is a religion of peace, patience and tolerance, which teaches unity and cooperation amongst the whole mankind and amongst the Muslims in particular. The word 'Islam' is derived from an Arabic root word '*salima*', which means to have peace, harmony and tranquillity. A renowned Islamic scholar, Abdullah Yousaf Ali, describes that "*Salam*, translated as 'peace' has a much wide signification. It includes a sense of security and permanence, which is unknown in this life."⁴ When anyone accepts Islam, he/she enters into the fold of a peaceful world, which provides him/her the protection from all forms of insecurity, fear, uncertainty, frustration and exploitation. Islam also forbids the Muslims to indulge in any form of violence, aggression, belligerence, antagonism, enmity, animosity, greed, lust, brutality, cruelty and viciousness. Islam, besides its basic teachings with its creed of monotheism – *Tauhid*, i.e. believing in the Oneness of the Allah, the Almighty and the finality of the Prophet-hood of Muhammad (may Allah's blessing and peace be upon him) lays great emphasis on compassion, mutual kindness, tolerance, mercy, sympathy, forgiveness and cooperative coexistence. These precepts and principles come from the basic concept that Allah is the sole Creator and Sustainer of the universe. He is one, absolute one, and He created mankind from one common ancestry. The Quran emphasizes this concept repeatedly in many verses. For instance, it declares: "Say; He is Allah, the One; Allah, the Eternal, Absolute; He begetteth not, nor is He begotten; and there is none like unto Him."⁵ In another verse, it says: "And your God is one God: there is no god but He, most gracious, most merciful."⁶

Islam deals with issues pertaining to human life at three different levels: the individual, the communal and the

universal. Whereas belief, faith or creed may primarily pertain to an individual, Islam lays great importance on those deeds which affect the collective life of the community. Therefore, where Quran mentions belief and faith (*Iman*), it also lays emphasis on good deeds (*Aa'mal-e-Salihah*), which are beneficial for the mankind at large. In fact, good deeds are integral and intrinsic part of Islamic belief and religious teachings.

Islam is a religion for the whole human race; in all times and places. It is not meant for any particular people, race and region or restricted to a specific time period. For this reason, Islam speaks of human unity and dignity, which transcends all bounds of divisions defined by race, colour, gender, language, ethnicity and religious denominations. Islam preaches respect for human unity and equality. The Quran explains: "O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other (not that you may despise each other). Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most righteous of you."⁷

Islam considers all human beings equal and judges them by their deeds alone. It values the righteous deeds. This is a clear message from the Creator of the universe for the whole mankind for universal unity and brotherhood. Abdullah Yousaf Ali explains: "this [verse] is addressed to all mankind and not only to the Muslims brotherhood, though it is understood that in a perfect world the two would be synonymous."⁸ Having declared the equality of mankind, Allah declares the status and responsibility of the Muslim *Ummah* among the human race: "Ye are the best people, evolved for the mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in Allah."⁹ These teachings lay the foundation of unity of mankind and respect for all human beings irrespective of any other consideration. "Over the centuries, Muslims all over the world have shown a degree of religious tolerance which can hardly be equated in any other religion. When the Islamic state was at its height of power, the religious communities were able to practice their religions

without fear of any persecution or disturbance.”¹⁰ Islam emphasizes respect for religious beliefs and does not accept any kind of discrimination on such basis.

Cooperation amongst the Muslims

Allah the Almighty desires that Muslims should remain united and cooperate for doing good deeds for the benefit of the entire human race. He also commands them to refrain from those acts, which are harmful for the mankind or which jeopardize and endanger peace and tranquillity of human race. Allah says in the Quran: “And hold fast, all together, to the Rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves; and remember with gratitude Allah’s favour on you; for ye were enemies and he joined your hearts in love, so that by his grace, ye became brethren; and ye were on the brink of the Pit of Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus doth Allah make His Signs clear to you that ye may be guided.”¹¹ Abdullah Yousaf Ali, explaining this verse, elucidates: “The simile is that of people struggling in deep water, to whom a benevolent Providence stretches out a strong and unbreakable rope of rescue. If all hold fast to it together, their mutual support adds to the chances of their safety.”¹²

Unity and cooperation among Muslim communities, nations and governments need to be developed in order to promote peace and prosperity for Muslims and to protect their political, social, religious and economic rights. Therefore, Muslims must make deliberate efforts at all levels to promote such cooperation. Allah also lays the methodology for its practical implementation. Quran says: “Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong: they are the one to attain felicity. ”¹³ Allah also warns Muslims against the curse and malaise of division and disunity amongst themselves. Allah says: “Be not like those who are divided amongst themselves and fall into disputations after receiving clear signs: for them is a dreadful Chastisement.”¹⁴ Islam does not teach dogmatic beliefs or utopian concepts which cannot be practiced in real lives. The Quran enjoins that the Muslims

practice Islam in totality in practical life when it says “O ye who believe! Enter into Islam whole-heartedly; and follow not the footsteps of the Satan for he is to you an avowed enemy”.¹⁵

For their belief in Allah, the Almighty, and for cooperating in doing good righteous deeds and forbidding others from committing acts of injustices, Allah, the Almighty, tells Muslims that “Ye are the best of people, evolved for mankind. Enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in Allah”¹⁶. The Quran also clarifies that cooperation amongst the Muslims is neither based on any bias or prejudice nor it is unconditional. It demands that cooperation amongst the Muslims must be for attainment of high moral objectives and for betterment of the mankind. The Quran ordains: “Help ye one another in righteous and piety, but help ye not one another in sin and rancour; fear Allah: fro Allah is strict in punishment.”¹⁷

The Quran provides guidance to mankind in all spheres of life. Whereas the Quran preaches peace and harmony among the human race, it also prohibits any transgression even in war-like conditions. It teaches unity, steadfastness, fortitude, and resilience in conduct of war and asks Muslims to remain firm during war. The Quran says, “O ye who believe! When ye meet, a force be firm, and call Allah in remembrance much (and often); that ye may be prosperous.”¹⁸ It also announces, “Truly Allah loves those who fight in His cause in battle array, as if they were a solid cemented structure”¹⁹ and denounces any act of indiscretion and recklessness. Islam lays down a basic principle in this regard and ordains: “Deal not unjustly, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly.”²⁰ In another verse, it declares: “But verily the wrong-doers never shall prosper.”²¹ The Quran repeatedly mentions that Allah (God) is ‘Most Gracious’, ‘Most Merciful’, ‘Oft-Returning’ and ‘Oft-forgiving’. It also announces that Allah does not like those who are transgressor, oppressors, wrong doers and rebellious people. Islam believes in just and fair dealings in life. The Qur’an clearly declares: “O ye who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allah, even as against yourselves, or your parent, or your kin and whether it be (against) rich or

poor. For Allah can best protect both. Follow not the lust (of your heart), let ye swerve, and if ye distort (justice), verily Allah is well acquainted with all ye do.”²²

Islam lays enormous emphasis on reconciliation and conflict resolution in case of any disagreement, dispute or conflict. Conciliatory (peace-making) efforts to defuse and resolve a conflict/dispute by other Muslims are considered a religious obligation. In this context, the Quran lays down a general principle that “the Believers (*Muslims*) are but a single brotherhood: so make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers; and fear Allah, that ye may receive mercy”²³ Abdullah Yousaf Ali says: “The enforcement of the Muslim Brotherhood is the greatest social ideal of Islam. On it was based the Prophet’s Sermon at his last pilgrimage and Islam cannot be completely realized until this ideal is achieved”²⁴ Islam commands the Muslims to make all efforts to establish peace among conflicting parties. It also instructs them to stop aggression even by using force (peace-enforcement), if any party continues aggression or opts to transgress the established limits. The Quran says: “If two parties among the Believers fall into fight, make ye peace between them: but if one of them transgresses beyond bounds against the other, then fight ye (all) against the one that transgresses until it complies with the command of Allah”.²⁵

The concept of stopping aggression and violence, especially against the weak opponent is very noble. Human history is replete with numerous examples where weak and poor minority groups have been subjected to aggressive adventurism. Their lands have been conquered, innocents people killed and their resources looted and plundered. Such unjust and immoral conflicts are commonly pursued even by today’s so called enlightened and civilized world. Wars for access to and domination of resource rich areas are conducted on deceitful pretexts such as global response against terrorism, support for democracy, operations against weapons of mass destruction, right to protect civilian population in conflict zone, regime change and maintenance of global peace and security.

Most of these ideas are certainly appreciable, if these are implemented with real noble and just intentions. But reality of real 'politick' is quite different than lofty ideals/ideas. Islam had introduced the concept of real 'collective security' more than fourteen hundred years ago. The concept of stopping the aggression through reconciliation efforts, or even through use of force, if aggression cannot be stopped through reconciliation and negotiations, was certainly novel at time. It is equally applicable in today's world as well. However, its selective and biased application by international community in contemporary era has eroded the confidence of majority of poor and weak countries. Abdullah Yousaf Ali, many years back, had clearly pinpointed this issue in an accurate and incisive manner.²⁶ As mentioned repeatedly, Islam is a religion of peace and its teachings are meant for establishing peace and harmony in human life. The Qur'an says: "But Allah doth call to the Home of Peace (*Salam*): He doth guide whom he pleaseth to a way that is straight."²⁷ Abdullah Yousaf Ali adds that "*Salam*, Peace, is from the same root as Islam, the Religion of Unity and Harmony."²⁸

Islam preaches peace, kindness and compassion for whole mankind even during periods of war and hostility between Muslims and non Muslims. It encourages termination of hostilities in favour of peace, provided the other conflicting party/parties also show inclination for terminating hostilities. The Quran provides clear guidance in this regard. Allah says: "But if the enemy inclines towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is the One that hearth and knowth (All things)."²⁹ This is a golden principle for early termination of hostilities among fighting groups. Muhammad Asad explains, "The implication is that 'even if they offer peace with a view to deceiving thee, this (offer of) peace must be accepted, since all judgment [of their intentions] must be based on outward evidence alone'. In other words, mere suspicion cannot be made an excuse for rejecting an offer of peace."³⁰ The Muslim armies even if they are winning a battle must accept an offer for peace by their opponent(s), whenever and at whatever stage it is made. If some Muslims feel worried to be deceived by such offer of

peace, they have been advised to 'have trust in Allah Almighty.' The Qur'an, say: "Should they intend to deceive thee, - verily Allah suffieth thee: He is that hath strengthened thee with His aid and with (the company of) believers."³¹ Abdullah Yousaf Ali explains: "In working for peace there may be certain risk of treachery on the other side. We must take the risk: because the men of faith have Allah's aid to count upon and the strength of the united body of righteous."³² This principle, if applied by all nations, especially by Muslims, in their intra-state and international conflicts, provides enormous possibilities for early termination of hostilities, instead of further escalation and thereby resolution of conflicts at their initial stages.

Islam lays emphasis on being truthful, up-keeping the promises and fulfilling obligations, which form the basis of fair and long lasting relations among the people/nations. Be it a covenant between two individuals or an accord between two groups of people, or bilateral and multilateral treaties among nations, Islam demands that all such commitments must be honoured at all cost. The Qur'an teaches us: "O ye who believe! Fulfil (all) obligations."³³ It also says: "And cover not truth with falsehood, nor conceal the truth when ye know (what it is)"³⁴ and highlights the importance of remaining just in dealings with others. "O ye who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah, as witness to fair dealing, and let not the hatred of the others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to piety: and fear Allah. For Allah is well-acquainted with all that ye do"³⁵

The teachings of unity, cooperation, tolerance and mutual coexistence are the hallmarks and cornerstone of Islamic belief. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) emphasised unity and cooperation among the Muslims. The books of *Ahadis* (sayings, practices and consents of the Holy Prophet) are full of his sayings in which he has emphasized the importance and necessity of brotherhood, mutual respect and cooperation among Muslims. He also stressed the just and fair dealing in all activities of human life including social and economic undertakings.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that:

- Islam teaches equality of mankind and does not differentiate between human beings on the basis of ethnicity, colour, ancestry, creed, religion or any other consideration.
- Islam preaches unity amongst Muslims in all walks of life, especially in enjoining each other in doing righteous, just, fair and good deeds, and forbidding the wrongful, unjust and unfair acts.
- Islam advocates and demands cooperation amongst Muslims, in order to promote healthy communities, which should make peaceful and prosper nations.
- Islam demands that all commitments and obligations must be fulfilled, and all treaties, agreements and accords must be honoured and respected.
- In case of disputes and conflicts, all efforts must be made to resolve them through peaceful means. Even in an armed conflict, Muslims must assist the conflicting parties to reach peaceful settlement. However, if any group continues to commit aggression, the whole Muslim community must force the aggressor to abandon aggression and follow the path of peace and harmony. This is much closer to modern concept of 'collective security'.
- Islam condemns all forms of oppression, tyranny and despotism. In fact, it preaches human freedom, liberty and independence in all walks of life, within specified limits.
- Islam denounces all forms and manifestations of terrorist acts. It rejects all kind of exploitation and does not permit any abuse of power and authority. In particular, Islam opposes misuse of state authority. Islam does not allow violence and terrorism by any individual or by any group. Similarly, it does not allow any kind of state terrorism or state sponsored terrorist activities.

The Islam accords highest priority to human dignity and equality. In fact, Allah has appointed man as his vicegerent on

the earth³⁶ and has created him in the best possible form (best of mould).³⁷

If the Muslims follow the teachings of Islam in true sense and practice these teachings they can be the best models of social living. They can be beacon light of hope, peace and prosperity for the whole mankind acting as a catalyst for much bigger change towards global peace, security and prosperity. Allah says: “Thus we have made of you an *Ummah* justly balanced, that ye might be witness over the Nations and the Messenger a witness over yourselves.”³⁸ Explaining the meanings of ‘justly balanced’ Abdullah Yousaf Ali writes: “The essence of Islam is to avoid all extravagances on either side. It is a sober, practical religion. But the Arabic world (*wasat*) also implies a touch of the literal meaning of Intermediary.”³⁹

Undoubtedly, today Muslim world is badly divided on ethnic and sectarian basis. They take more pride in calling the Sunnis, Shias, and Salfis etc. One also finds ethnic and national divisions, such as Arabs and non Arabs; the Iranians, Turks, South Asian (Pakistanis, Indian and Bengalis), Afghans and Central Asian (Tajiks, Uzbeks and Kirgiz etc). On the political side, Muslim world is suffering from complete decadence. Most government and ruling elite have no real concern for the masses. Democracy and representative elected political system has neither been promoted nor allowed to flourish. The vested interest groups in respective countries managed to their ruling position either through favours (or deals) showered by erstwhile colonial masters or brutal forces and blatant denial of basic fundamental rights of the masses. All this happened during the last century because it suited to global colonisers, while the colonies were being abandoned for one reason or the other, and those traditionally powerful countries because such arrangement served their national interests. The dawn of twenty first century has unleashed unprecedented political awakening and social awareness. The forces of status quo, at national, regional or international levels, which have exploited the poor masses for a long time, are striving hard to retain their dishonest control and authority over national resources and political system. On the

other hand, more aware, educated and enlighten youth is striving for better political freedom, just and transparent distribution and utilisation of economic resources and participatory and consultative decision making system. Who wins, only time will decide? But it is clear that old rotten system of, tyranny, despotism, oppression, exploitation and abuse of power cannot prolong any more. The change is inevitable. Smoother it comes better it would be. Otherwise, the oppressed segments of the Muslim societies would resort to violent means, which may be termed as or linked to terrorism. In short, most of the Muslim world is starving for good governance and fair and just rule of law.

There are fifty seven Muslim countries at present, which represent approximately one fourth of the world population. If Muslims living in these countries develop cooperation in political, diplomatic, economic, educational, social and cultural fields, and promote their commercial relations amongst themselves, they can emerge as a one of the most powerful and cohesive groups in the world. By doing so, they will bring stability in international political, economic and security systems as well.

Notes

¹. *Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population*, Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, Washington D.C., October 2009, p. 1, www.pewforum.org., Accessed on 28 April 2010.

². World Top 10-Most Populated Countries, <http://www.mapsofworld.com/world-top-ten/world-top-ten-most-populated-countries-map.html>. Accessed on 12 May 2010.

³. *Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population*, op.cit, p. 7.

⁴. Al Quran Al Kareem (The Quran), Translated by Abdullah Yousaf Ali, King Fahd Holy Quran Printing Complex, P.O. Box 3561, Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah, Saudi Arabia, 1410 H, p. 869.

5. Ibid., p.2028, [*Surah al-Ikhlās* (112), A. 1-4] . Also, see *The Message of The Qur'an*, Translated by Muhammad Asad, Dar Al-Andulus, Gibraltar, 1997, p.985 and *Al Qur'an Al Kareem (The Easy Quran)*, Translated in English by Imtiaz Ahmad, Tawheed Center of Farmington Hills, Farmington Hills, Michigan, 2010, pp. 848, 849.
6. Ibid., p. 65, [*Surah al-Baqarah* (2), A.163]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p.33 and *The Easy Quran*, p.42.
7. Ibid., p. 1593, [*Surah al-Hujurat* (49): A.13]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p.794 and *The Easy Quran*, p.697.
8. Ibid., Note 4933.
9. *The Quran*, p. 173, [*Surah Aal-e-Imran* (3):110]. Also see Muhammad Asad, *Islam at the Cross Roads*, Talha Publications, Lahore, Pakistan, p. 16.
10. *Islam: Preaches Tolerance* , “*Our Dialogue*”, the Religious Editor Arab News, Jeddah, Vol. 1 [A-M], apkar pk [Muhammad Arif], 404 Qamar House, M.A. Jinnah Road, Karachi – 74000, Pakistan, p.
11. *The Qur'an*, p. 171, [*Surah Aal-e-Imran* (3): A.103]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 82 and *The Easy Quran*, pp. 87, 88.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., pp. 171, 172, [*Surah Aal-e-Imran* (3): A. 104] . Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 83 and *The Easy Quran*, p. 88.
14. Ibid., p.172, [*Surah Aal-e-Imran* (3): A. 105]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 83 and *The Easy Quran*, p. 88.
15. Ibid., p. 88, [*Surah al-Baqarah* (2): A.208]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 45 and *The Easy Quran*, p. 52.
16. Ibid., p.173, [*Surah al-e-Imran* (3): A. 110]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 83 and *The Easy Quran*, p. 89.
17. Ibid., p.278. [*Surah al Maeda* (5): A. 2]. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 140 and *The Easy Quran*, p. 142.
18. Ibid., p. 481, [*Surah al-Anfal* (8): A.45].. Also see *The Message of The Qur'an*, p. 246 and *The Easy Quran*, p. 236.

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19. Ibid., p. 1737, [*Surah as-Saff* (61): A.4]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 860 and The Easy Quran, p. 756.
20. Ibid., P. 128, [*Surah al-Baqarah* (2), A-279]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 62 and The Easy Quran, pp. 68, 69.
21. Ibid., p. 343, [*Surah al-An'am* (6), A.21]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 174 and The Easy Quran, p. 169.
22. Ibid., pp. 259, 260, [*Surah al-Nisa* (4): A.135]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 130 and The Easy Quran, p. 134.
23. Ibid., p.1591, [*Surah al-Hujurat* (49): A.10]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, pp. 793,794 and The Easy Quran, pp. 696,697.
24. Ibid., p.1591, [Note 4928 - *Surah al-Hujraat* (49): A.10]. .
25. Ibid., p. 1590, [*Surah al-Hujraat* (49): A.9]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 793 and The Easy Quran, p. 696.
26. Ibid., [Note 4927, *Surah Al-Hujraat* (49): A.9].
27. Ibid., p.555, [*Surah Yunus* (10): A-25]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 294 and The Easy Quran, p. 270.
28. Ibid., [Note 1413, *Surah Yunus* (10)].
29. Ibid., p. 487, [*Surah al-Anfal* (8): A.61]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 249 and The Easy Quran, pp.238, 239.
30. The Message of The Qur'an, p. 249, [Note 67 to *Surah al-Anfal* (8)].
31. The Qur'an, p. 487, [*Surah Al-Anfal* (8): A-62]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 249 and The Easy Quran, p. 239.
32. Ibid., [Note 1229, *Surah Al Anfal* (8)].
33. Ibid., p. 276, [*Surah al-Maeda* (5):A.1]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 139 and The Easy Quran, p. 142.
34. Ibid., p.19, [*Surah al-Baqarah* (2): A.42].. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 10 and The Easy Quran, p. 20.
35. Ibid., pp.282, 283, [*Surah al-Maeda* (5): A.8]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 143 and The Easy Quran, p. 144.

³⁶. The Qur'an, pp. 15, 395, [*Surah al-Baqarah* (2): A.30 and *Surah al-An'am* (6): A.165]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, pp. 8, 201 and The Easy Quran, pp. 18, 195.

³⁷. Ibid., p. 1978, [*Surah at-Teen* (95): A.4]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 961 and The Easy Quran, p. 836.

³⁸. Ibid., p. 57, [*Surah al-Baqarah* (2): A-143]. Also see The Message of The Qur'an, p. 30 and The Easy Quran, p. 39.

³⁹. Ibid., Note. 143, p. 57.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION – PAKISTAN’S PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman

Abstract

Evolution of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) from Shanghai Five in 2001 was a noticeable development at the arena of contemporary global politics. Organizations world over viewed SCO as a challenging forum to the player(s), posing threat to their mutually agreed agenda. On the other hand, the regional stakeholders conceived SCO as a window of opportunity to combat security threats and consolidate peace and sustainable development. Pakistan, being a key player in South Asia, geopolitically positioned ideally, perceived the organization as a big opening to encase its geostrategic interests and pursue her legitimate agenda towards peace and security for the long term economic prosperity of the region. Dividends to Pakistan under the aegis of SCO are immense and quite significant in the wake of foreseeable North – South trade and energy corridor. Pakistan’s entry into the organization, as an observer, is the first step in right direction. Nevertheless, grant of admission as a member is fraught with multiple challenges, linking with complexed geopolitical environment. This paper evaluates Pakistan’s perspective towards SCO, coupled with cost-benefit analysis for all stakeholders.

Introduction

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) formally Shanghai Five appeared in the arena of world politics in June 2001. Evolution of SCO from Shanghai Five, which was established in 1996, was solely an initiative of China. China implicitly intended to have some check on the emerging great powers’ row in the region over the strategic cum economic gains. Also, to exercise influence over the growing radicalized elements as a result of the improvised financial condition, poverty and unstable politico-economic condition. This

grouping provided an opportunity to resource rich the neighbouring states of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Russia to chalk out mutually beneficial policies.

Long outstanding Sino-Russia border dispute became a multilateral issue with the disintegration of former Soviet Union and emergence of Central Asian Republics (CARs) in 1991. Russia, China and its three bordering states – Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, initially framed an agreement and later in 1996 signed the Shanghai Agreement on confidence building in the military field focusing the border area.¹

With the declaration of organization as SCO in 2001, formulation of new goals set a new dimension for the organization. Nevertheless, China took lead role by devising mechanism to combat three viz evils separatism, extremism and terrorism waged by the radicalized elements, while promoting economic ties.² This development gave a new dimension to the organization towards multilateralism; meant for tackling security issues especially in Xingjian. This arrangement also addressed the concerns of CARs regarding territorial integrity and committed concerted efforts against perceived common threats from the extremist forces especially to curb nationalist sentiments among Turkish speaking Uyghur's.³ The sole motive behind this move was to negate establishment of East Turkistan.⁴

SCO provided China an opportunity to make ingress in Central Asian region to meet her ever growing energy needs and to dominate Central Asian markets through extensive commercial activities. Russia, on the other hand, conceived SCO as an opportunity for preserving its strategic interests in CARs and to maintain her traditional influence over 'near abroad'. Over the passage of time, China and Russia realized convergence of their priorities to complement each other's national interests. Regular conduct of joint military exercises under the aegis of SCO is the manifestation of their mutual concerns to combat security related issues on perpetual basis.

So far Central Asians are concerned, being a victim of seventy four years long iron curtain and aspirant to improve domestic economies, welcomed this grouping for seeking foreign direct investments (FDIs). Security vulnerability was their another area of concern, hence, the leadership of CARs felt strengthened by associating themselves with this organization. Though socio-economic issues do not fall directly under the preview of SCO, however, it is a viable forum to prevent interstate conflict among member states and to make Confidence Building Measures (CBMs).⁵ As per the SCO's charter adopted in 2002, its main objectives are to strengthen mutual trust, good neighbourliness, develop effective cooperation in political affairs, economy, trade, science and technology, transport and environmental protection, maintain regional peace, security and stability.⁶

Pakistan being at the crossroad of Central Asia, South West Asia and South Asia very keenly monitored the emerging regional grouping and conceived it as an opportunity to play a responsible, constructive and positive role. Since Pakistan, in the aftermath of 9/11, badly suffered on account of terrorism and extremism, she decided to join the SCO in any capacity considering the converging interests. With this premise, this paper will be developed on hypothesis; that is, "notwithstanding the multiple regional issues, Pakistan and SCO have the potential to play a tangible role in bringing peace and stability in the wake of Post 2014 Scenario". In order to develop this paper, yet there is a need to address certain queries like; evaluation of SCO's potential and achievements; stakes of various regional and extra regional players; rationale for Pakistan to join SCO; on admitting Pakistan into SCO, what prospects and challenges are ahead for either side; will SCO succeed in Afghanistan; can SCO play a constructive role to mitigate Pak-Indian terrorism; and can SCO integrate economically and promote trade activities.

Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with all members of SCO. Geographic contiguity, shared cultural and historical bond have added depth and dimension to the relations. Pakistan also shares the ideas of peace and progress as well as the

common values and aspirations. Pakistan supports the principles, purposes, objective and the activities of SCO. Pakistan has vital stake in the security, stability and well being of the region. It was, therefore, natural that Pakistan was amongst the first countries to seek an association with the SCO. Pakistan continued to attach high priority to expanding and strengthening the cooperation with the SCO. Pakistan enjoys a unique geo-strategic position with regard to relations with the SCO countries.

Significance of the SCO

The intergovernmental SCO, comprising six members Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, constitutes a huge mass of area almost 60% of Eurasia and a quarter of the world population.⁷ Pakistan, India and Iran as observer countries, while Sri Lanka, Belarus and Turkey as a contact group certainly multiply the profile of the organization. Therefore, SCO has become a very significant forum addressing multi-dimensional concerns including politico-security and economic etc. The SCO's charter is quite meaningful in making the region peaceful including respecting each other's independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, non interference in internal affairs, not to use force against each other and settlement of issues through consultations.⁸ SCO, being endowed with massive fossil reserves, has rapidly grown by the rising global energy market. SCO combines China, the second largest energy consumer of the world, with the high profile energy producers of the world like Kazakhstan and unmatched hydal power producer Tajikistan.

Apart from China, Russia, Iran, Pakistan, India, EU countries and even US, all are inclined toward resource rich CARs for diplomatic overture. Over the passage of time, SCO has evolved into a powerful regional grouping and an effective stability factor across the vast Eurasian continent. Approaching of number of countries to SCO is the manifestation of its viability at global level in general and at regional level in particular. SCO has chalked out a tri-

dimension roadmap for regional economic cooperation focusing to channelize trade and investment to strengthen economic cooperation and materialize free flow of goods, capital, services alongwith a network of energy, transportation and communication.⁹

Achievements of the SCO

SCO has successfully devised a strategy to promote regional security and domestic stability. SCO's security paradigm rotate around supporting military cooperation and collaboration as countering inter regional and intra regional threats including drug trafficking, arms trafficking, organized crimes and terrorism.¹⁰ The alliance regularly undertakes joint ground, air and naval exercises to enhance efficacy while conducting operations against terrorism, separatism and extremism. These military drills are indication of cooperation among the member states to fight a common enemy collectively or individually. Since 2002 till 2012, so far ten joint military exercises have been held with different code names as given in the table:-¹¹

Table: The SCO's Joint Military Exercises

Code Name	Year	Participants	Number of Participants Armies Hundreds	Place	Organized by
"Collaboration-2001"	2002	China, Kyrgyzstan		Border regions of China and Kyrgyzstan	Defence Ministries
"Union-2003"	2003	China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan]	About 1,000	Kazakhstan	Defence Ministries
"Peace Mission-2003"	2005	China, Russia	10,000	Russia and	Defence Ministries
"Tianshan-1"	2006	China, Kazakhstan		China's Xinjiang	Enforcement Organs (Police)
"Collaboration-2006"	2006	China, Tajikistan	450	Tajikistan	Defence Ministries
"Peace Mission-2007"	2007	China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan	4,000	Russia	Defence Ministries
"Peace Mission-2009"	2009	China, Russia	2,600	Russia, China	Defence Ministries
"Peace Mission-2010"	2010	China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan (no army sent)	5,000	Kazakhstan	Defence Ministries
"Tianshan-2"	2011	China, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan		China's Xinjiang	Enforcement Organs (Police)
Peace Mission-2012	2012	China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan	Personnel	Khujand, Tajikistan	Defence Ministries

Source: Asian Survey, Volume 53: Number 3, May/ June 2013, 443.

Establishment of Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) initially in year 2002 at Bishkek, later on shifting its Headquarters to Tashkent in 2004,¹² is considered to be a milestone in history of SCO. RATS Headquarters is a nucleus of intelligence sharing regarding 'three evils' among the member states. It also serves as a data bank about the terrorist outfits organizing seminars on curbing terrorism, rendering specialized training and maintains contact with other international security organizations.¹³ Besides RATS, there is a collaboration among the institutions of judiciary and law enforcement agencies, Chief Procurators, Presidents of the Apex Court, Secretaries of the State Security Council, Defence Ministries, Interior Ministries and Chief of General Staff.¹⁴ SCO has equally marked its relevance at the arena of regional politics as well. China for having a lead role, got advantage to use SCO as a means of ingress into resource rich Central Asia thus securing not only economic interests rather security as well. Central Asians also took this development as a window of opportunity to safeguard their economic interests by gaining massive Chinese investment in multiple projects mainly energy and minerals. This development seems interesting as China-Russia have emerged as a collaborator to bridge the security lapses and vacuum in Central Asian region. Russian policy makers might express their reservations in case the SCO attempts to project a Sino-centric order by extending outreach to other organization like NATO and Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).

In the regional politics, Russia will never accept a status undermining its traditional power and standing in the region. Moscow may appear as a competitor, if felt apprehensive of dominating Chinese role in the regional as well as global politics. Therefore, Moscow and Beijing will be pacing at parallel footing considering their economic and military strengths.¹⁵ To pacify the Russian's apprehensions, Chinese seem to be quite accommodative and have no designs to bridge the security vacuum/vulnerabilities in Central Asia especially in the post 2014 scenario. So far military cooperation is concerned, SCO provides legitimacy to Chinese

overture to Central Asia in view of its multilateral and bilateral drill with CARs along with Russia.¹⁶

In the backdrop of SCO's potential, capacity and capability, it is envisaged to be a noticeable addition to the existing world multilateral organizations in the foreseeable future. While reviewing the 'Modern Great Game', the SCO is emerging significantly to contain US influence in Central Asian region. Therefore, US watchdog might be seriously monitoring the activities of the SCO.

SCO and Afghanistan

SCO states, like other countries of the world, are very much concerned about the upcoming developments as a result of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014. Afghanistan being a breeding ground of militancy, terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, transnational crimes and weaponization; convergence of all these factors lead to the security fragility not only in Afghanistan but the neighbouring states including SCO are equally vulnerable to its fall out. In this regard, SCO has to develop two prong strategy, that is, to beef up security measures alongwith borders, particularly Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and China to strictly restrict the move of undesirable activities and elements to SCO countries.

Secondly, this alliance can support future Afghan government in the domain of security by training Afghan National Army & Police and also play a proactive role in the development of energy and communication infrastructure. This will be a meaningful support towards peace and stability for Afghanistan and equally for regional countries. Therefore, SCO states believe that the SCO – Afghan contact group can positively contribute to this motive. The creation of a legal framework for the formulation of a comprehensive security doctrine to combat threats emanating from the precarious socio-politico-economic environment is the group's main task.¹⁷

SCO countries, in line with the framework of international programme for providing assistance to Afghanistan, are already actively involved in the uplift of social sector, economic and humanitarian assistance as well as training of government personnel from the departments of law enforcement agencies.¹⁸

Pakistan's Rationale to Join SCO

Pakistan is an ideally positioned country on the globe being at the crossroad of Central Asia, South West Asia and South Asia. Pakistan's credentials are quite bright on account of geo-political, geo-strategic and geo-economic aspects. Pakistan is a natural link between SCO countries, especially land locked CARs, Afghanistan, Xinxiang Province of China towards South i.e. Arabian Sea and the Middle East. Therefore, Pakistan's unique geography offers critical over land routes for interconnectivity for mutually beneficial trade and commercial activities; intra regionally and inter regionally. Nevertheless, besides trade flow of energy will be the top priority area. Pakistan can play a pivotal role in materializing North – south trade and energy corridor with the promising opportunities of road-rail and pipelines link upto Gwadar. Recently concluded Pak-China MoU on establishing of Kashghar – Gwadar road-rail network is an encouraging development in the right direction for the advantage of all regional stakeholders. Pakistan being an energy deficit country, her energy demands is growing gradually. At the moment 'energy crisis' is one of the most serious issues of the country. By joining SCO, Pakistan intends to meet her energy deficiency on perpetual basis. In this connection, trans-afghan pipeline project generally known as TAP (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan) will act as a milestone.

The likely extension of this pipeline to India, will further enhance the viability and importance of the project. That is why Pakistan proactively supports SCO's 'energy club'. Pakistan being cognizant of its security imperatives, is always mindful of maintaining strategic balance vis-à-vis India. SCO

will be an appropriate forum to initiate security dialogue with India. By being admitted to SCO, Pakistan would get an opportunity to improve Russia-Pakistan relations. Pakistan intends to play a constructive role in Afghanistan in the wake of US/NATO troops' withdrawal in December 2014. SCO will provide an opportunity to Pakistan to play a meaningful role towards peace, stability, security and rehabilitation under the platform of SCO while focusing on communication infrastructure, social sector (health & education) as well as training of personnel from public sector organizations.

Lastly, terrorism is a common enemy for all and challenging the security environment of the region. While joining hands with SCO, Pakistan will be able to strengthen its security apparatus with renewed vigour.

Opportunities for the SCO

By extending membership to Pakistan, there are numerous opportunities for the SCO as well to benefit from Pakistan. Pakistan being a very prominent regional player, can offer her expertise in certain areas albeit supporting SCO agenda. SCO can benefit from Pakistan in the following areas:-

- Pakistan in the aftermath of 9/11, has been constantly and effectively contributing her role to curb the menace of terrorism and extremism. Pakistan's achievements are noteworthy especially for successful launching of counter insurgency operations in Swat and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). SCO countries are also vulnerable to security issues particularly Russia facing Chechens, Chinese are apprehensive about the rise of Uyghur's in Xinxiang province and the CARs concerned about the upsurge of extremist elements in Farghana Valley of Central Asia. SCO can immensely benefit from the achievements made by Pakistan.
- Pakistan has had unique expertise at her credit to handle disasters and natural calamities like earthquake and floods etc. SCO members can enhance their

efficacy in this regard through the expertise and capabilities of Pakistan.

- Pakistan provides shortest route to SCO countries especially CARs for an access to covertly desired approach to Arabian Sea (warm waters), Persian Gulf and Middle East. Gwadar Port and proposed Kashghar – Gwadar road rail link in this regard will play a pivotal role.
- Growing Indo-US Strategic Partnership and emerging US Pivot Asia Strategy is a matter of concern for the SCO countries. This region is exposed to strategic imbalances. Additionally, US clear tilt towards India and Indian geo-political ambitions can be counter balanced with the support of Pakistan.
- Pakistan, being an active member of ECO, can play a facilitator role in promoting a link between the two organizations to boost up economic activities. Both the organizations represent a sizable geostrategic community for having many common members. Their economic collaboration will and definitely has a favourable impact on the overall security environment of the region. Therefore, collaboration of both organizations can help improve world peace and security and prosperity of over half of the humanity living in both the ECO and SCO regions.
- Pakistan has signed free trade agreements with ECO, SAARC and later China. Pakistan being a potential candidate of SCO, would serve as a trade multiplier factor particularly via Silk Route.

Opportunities for Pakistan

Pakistan's stakes and interests in SCO are equally important. Opportunities for Pakistan vis-à-vis SCO are outlined in the succeeding paragraphs.

Strategic Imperatives and Security

In the wake of withdrawal of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) from Afghanistan by December 2014,

the emerging regional security environment warrant immediate attention of all the stake holders. Keeping the principal security agenda of the alliance, that is, avoiding conflict through mutual confidence building and countering the menace of terrorism; Pakistan can gain advantage from both goals of the organization for following strategic gains.

- Pakistan is the major affectee being part of war against terrorism, and as a result of fragile security environment in Afghanistan, SCO countries are vulnerable to the threats of extremism and terrorism from neighbouring Afghanistan. In order to contain this phenomena, tactical expertise gained by SCO security personnel under the forum of RATS, can be extended to Pakistani security agencies. Pakistan can benefit from the diversified operational training to further beef up security measures.
- At the moment, SCO military personnel are experiencing all types of military operations. Likely participation of Pakistan in such type of joint operations can augment its joint services planning capabilities.
- Weapons and equipment at the inventory of Pakistan armed forces are mostly manufactured in the West, which are quite scare and costly as well. Under SCO framework, Pakistan will have an opportunity to look for other avenues for transfer of technology and expand defence collaboration with SCO alliance particularly Russia. Pakistan's Ex Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani's visit to Moscow in October 2012 is an explicit indication of this possibility.¹⁹
- The world's largest share of drugs are driven from Afghanistan and transited to different parts of the world mainly via Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. SCO's joint anti drug trafficking drills can help Pakistan not only through training of personnel (Anti Narcotics Task Force), but also intelligence sharing can help to expose the network of drugs barrens.

Economic Opportunities

Pakistan's admission to SCO can open many vistas of mutually beneficial economic cooperation between two sides. Economic opportunities will aim at earliest possible materialization of trade & energy corridor in the form of laying oil & gas pipelines (TAP) and road-rail link upto Gwadar. Trade and commerce, science and technology will be other potential areas of cooperation.

Political Imperatives

- The foremost political imperative is the improvement of bilateral relations with India. By admitting to SCO, Pakistan can use the leverage through SCO platform to resolve long outstanding disputes with India including the core issue of Jammu & Kashmir. It is hoped that SCO will play a vital role to convince both sides ending 'blame game' and channelizing energies for resolution of issues amicably. Correspondingly, India will also reap the dividends of Pak-India's bilateral relations in the form of her access to Central Asia via Lahore – Kabul and ultimately can linkup with the New Silk road project.
- The SCO forum can provide Pakistan an opportunity to further solidify its relations with China and improvement of bilateral relations with CARs. Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) will provide an edge to Pakistan in this regard.
- Pakistan's entrance into SCO grouping would lead to opening of new dimensions of cooperation with other countries of the region. It would also result in enhancing diplomatic activities and dignified place in the comity of nations.

Challenges for Pakistan

- The major challenge for Pakistan is to maintain strategic balance in her relations with US and China. Pakistan needs to be extra vigilant to pursue

geopolitical interests focusing economic development proactively engaging SCO countries. The concepts of 'Long War vis-à-vis Rising Peacefully' propagated by US and China respectively, combines the forces of 'conflict and peace' finding a new discourse in the world order contrary to the era of cold war.²⁰ Therefore, Pakistan has to chalk out a pragmatic diplomatic course, which is the real challenge.

- Pakistan has a very special role in the prevailing regional as well as global environment. Finding a rightful place in the emerging world order, indeed, is a challenge for Pakistan's foreign policy. The decade plus period of time after the tragic incident of 9/11, has been very distressful for Pakistan at internal and external front. Therefore, Pakistan has an urge for a rightful place in the comity of nations where its sacrifices against war on terrorism need to be acknowledged.
- Pakistan, despite playing a leading role in global war against terrorism, yet is the one of the biggest sufferer of terrorism and perceived abroad with suspicions. By actively joining forces against terrorism, Pakistan itself has become the target of terrorism, extremism and militancy. The initiatives taken by Pakistan to confront such tendencies required to be projected in true letter and spirit for improving image abroad. To meet these challenges, Pakistan's resolve needs appropriate projection.
- The political institutions could not attain maturity so far to function properly and to yield the fruits of democracy at gross root level. Governance, law and order, socio-economic justice is the utmost requirement to overcome the domestic failures and weaknesses. Also, there is a need to promote its image as a moderate, tolerant and progressive society.
- The statutes of SCO are not well elaborative for expansion of organization. Two leading members China and Russia do not seem to be in a hurry for its expansion. SCO's Secretary General has also argued that its expansion might affect the interverification of the cooperation.²¹ It is apprehended that Pakistan's

membership to SCO is subject to admission of India into the organization. Nonetheless, in view of Indo-US strategic partnership, India does not seem to be keen to join SCO.²² Twice absence of Indian Primer from SCO's summit is the clear reflection of Indian's non-seriousness towards organization. Considering these aspects, Pakistan's membership to SCO appears to be uncertain. It is the test of the diplomacy how to address such a paradoxical situation.

Recommendations

Considering the vitality and futuristic politico-economic outreach of the organization, a few recommendations from Pakistan's point of view are proffered.

Pakistan must reconfigure its priority area and improve relations with Russia, setting new goals and leaving behind the mistrust of the cold war era. Russian support to Pakistan for grant of observer status in SCO and conversely Pakistan's backup for Russia's bid for observer status in organization of Islamic Conference in 2005 is an explicit manifestation of urge of both sides for more cooperation. The potential bilateral areas in this regard are and Pak – Russia need to enhance political cooperation to develop strategic partnership while strengthening the regional cum international security order in preview of being SCO member status. There is a heavy potential to improve economic cooperation by boosting bilateral track and commercial activities especially energy, heavy industry, automobiles, aircraft industry, textile and agriculture etc. Russian expertise in energy export and pipeline projects can be exploited to promote regional economic integration of the region. Russian petroleum giant gas promotion has shown interest in laying of Iran – Pakistan and TAP pipeline projects.

Pakistan's presently heavy dependence on the US/West for her defence weapons & equipment can considerably be reduced by promoting defence ties with Russia. Russian's advancement in science & technology would enable initiation

of long term projects of mutual benefit. Russian expertise in space and armament could help Pakistan to further develop its defence industries. Continuation of Pak – China relationship based on the principles of mutuality of interests and shared perception is the utmost requirement. China’s tacit support to Pakistan for her admission to SCO is of great significance. Pak – China ties serve as bedrock for its foreign policy agenda and pursuing solidification of relations with China in the consensus of the people of Pakistan across the board. These will orchestrate/frame foundations of relations warrant to transform into strategic partnership through. The fast changing geo-political environment in the region, proposed US drawdown from Afghanistan, rapidly growing security threats amid Indo-Pak continued row, demands further cementing strategic cooperation among both the countries. Interaction at senior level civil-military leadership can enhance cooperation and coordination at both globally and regionally and leading to deeping strategic cooperation between both the nations. The first ever trade agreement for mutual benefit and cooperation between both countries in 1953, Sino-Pak trade, which initially stood at 10 million dollars is now likely to increase upto 15 billion dollars.²³ The existing trade volume is likely to multiply manifolds with the materialization of Kashghar-Gwadar trade corridor. Five year development programme on trade and economic cooperation coupled with urge for enhanced energy resource development, information technology, infrastructural development will boost the existing economic cooperation between both the nations. Establishment of Chinese Confucius Institute at National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad and Pak-China Friendship Centre, Islamabad have led to enhance socio-cultural and educational exchanges. Exchange of youth festival, cultural troupe, tourism, sports and media have given a new direction to Pak-China ties. Promotion of tourism and playing of movies/dramas with subtitling in languages of respective countries will further boost closer understanding at people to people level. Pakistan is the major beneficiary as a result of defence cooperation between the two countries. There is a further need to consolidate the existing defence ties by promoting joint ventures especially towards production of

weapons and equipment including avionics, main battle tank, naval frigates to attain the goal of self reliance in defence production. Central Asia is of great importance to Pakistan due to its prime geostrategic proximity and hydrocarbon potential. Pakistan being the closest approach for CARs towards South, Persian Gulf, Middle East and rest of the World, would be better served on the SCO platform. In order to transform the existing interaction of political leadership of both sides into a meaningful cooperation, establishment of road rail link is the most appropriate way to end the land locked position of CARs. This will bring a new dimension to trade and commercial activities not only between both the nations but with the rest of SCO nations as well. Since security situation in Afghanistan is likely to remain fragile even after the withdrawal of ISAF troops, so the alternative options are required to be considered. In this connection, the construction of only 36 km long road connecting Pak-Tajik border via Wakhan strip seems to be a feasible direct link with Central Asian region.²⁴After the up-gradation of Karakoram Highway, Pakistan will be linked up with CARs, however, connecting Central Asia through road-rail link even via Iran needs to be evaluated. Nevertheless, it is hoped that multiple road-rail links via Afghanistan will remain the most desirable options subject to peace and security in Afghanistan. Few steps will facilitate further enhancing relations between both the side like; enhanced cultural exchanges, tourism, media managers and experts in trade & commerce, monetary and financial institutions and agriculturists, scientists, educationists and students; facilitating visa and travel restrictions for both sides; Closed cooperation in security issues to curb the menace of terrorism, extremism and radicalization; extending defence cooperation by offering more vacancies to CARs Defence Forces Personnel in Pakistan training academies; and offering training to CARs' young diplomats, also helping CARs to establish financial institutions to pace with the practices of market economy.

The continued sensitivity, fragility and strained relations between Pakistan and India amid unresolved multiple issues posing a potential security threat not only to South Asia but

rest of the regional countries are likely to be affected with no exception to SCO bloc. SCO can play a meaningful role to bring both countries closer to each other under its ambit. A few suggested measures in this regard are indeed trade is the engine of growth and prosperity in the era of geo-economics. Indian urge to linkup with Central Asia, through Afghanistan/silk route, extension of proposed oil & gas pipelines from Central Asia and Iran are only possible via Pakistan. For this, SCO can pursue India to settle the long outstanding issues with Pakistan including the core issue of Kashmir. India being the biggest supporter of promoting trade & commercial activities at all levels, needs to seriously ponder upon resolving issues with Pakistan for sustainable peace and stability in the region.

Conclusion

Consolidation of SCO in the wake of a unipolar world is a blessing in disguise for regional countries in general and Pakistan in particular. SCO has provided a meaningful opportunity to develop confidence among the member states as well as regional countries for the promotion of peace, security and stability by addressing the irritants among intra regional and inter regional states. Now, it is imperative for SCO to positively engage the world media to project its policies and objectives and achievements ever since its evaluation to the present day. The organization must realize the world especially the West that despite possessing a strategic power potential, the alliance has no design to emerge as a 'NATO of the East or a Club of Authoritarians'.

Pakistan's admission to SCO as a full member will be significant both in regional and global context. Pakistan could serve as a hub for promotion of trade and energy corridor, hence possesses capability to make a yielding contribution to SCO and provide a feasible link between SCO states and South Asia. Nevertheless, Pakistan's membership to SCO is fraught with number of challenges and foremost is its relations with India. Ironically, India does not seem to be keen in joining SCO after conducting strategic partnership with USA. Now the

choice is with Indian policy makers either to settle the issues with Pakistan for access to Central Asia to materialize its ambition of 'North-South Trade Corridor' or go for status quo. Pakistan needs to keep pursuing consistently its policy towards Russia for promotion of politico-strategic interests in the region. Also, focus should remain on Afghanistan in the post 2014 scenario. SCO with the collaboration and support of Pakistan can tangibly play a crucial role in reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan. A secured, stable and peaceful Afghanistan will be in the interest of all stake holders including regional and extra regional players and ultimately leading to a peaceful world.

Notes

¹Liselotte Odgaard, “SCO’ Multilateralism in Central Asia”, Peter Dahl Thruelsen (ed.) *International Organizations: The Role in Conflict Management*, (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Defence College, 2009), 182.

² Ibid.

³Shulong, 2003, 187.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Sznajder, 2006, 99.

⁶Nivedita Das Kundu, “SCO, BRIC and RIC: Bringing together Two Asian Economic Powers India and China”. Sudhir Kumar Singh (ed.). *Sino-Indian Relations: Challenges and Opportunities for 21st Century*. (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2011), 142.

⁷Mehmoodul Hassan Khan, “Dynamics of SCO and Diversified Opportunities for Pakistan”, *Defence Journal*, July 2006, 60.

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¹²Zhao, 2013, 440.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

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¹⁶Ibid.

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¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Sergei Strokan, Kommersant, “Pakistan and Russia move closer toward military cooperation,” *Russia Beyond The Headlines*, October 10 2012, http://rbth.ru/articles/2012/10/10/pakistan_and_russia_move_closer_toward_military_cooperation_18965.html (accessed November 6, 2013).

²⁰ Shamshad Ahmed Khan, “SCO and Prospects for Peace”, *National Development and Security*, Vol XIV: No. 1 (Autumn 2005), 15.

²¹ Shamshad, 2005,17.

²² Shamshad, 2005,18.

²³ Potential of Pak-China trade not being exploited, *The Express Tribune, with The International New York Times*, December 24, 2010, at <http://tribune.com.pk/story/93721/potential-of-pak-china-trade-not-being-exploited/> (Accessed November 4, 2013).

²⁴ The point highlighted by Prof DrKamoludinAbdullaev, Independent Hisotiran/Academic Researcher on Central Asian/Afghan Security Issues: Self Employed, Tajikistan Center for Citizenship Education, Tajik Scholar during his talk at a seminar titled *The Heart of Asia* held at National Defence University, Islamabad on 17 September 2013.

REBALANCING ASIA – PACIFIC: AN ANALYSIS

Muhammad Khurshid Khan & Fouzia Amin

Abstract

In view of the economic importance, the regional as well as extra-regional powers seem eager in making ingress in Asia-Pacific. Due to the US absence from the region for quite some time, Chinese managed to fill the vacuum to improve its economic ties with its Southeast Asian neighbours. Nonetheless, despite being Chinese trade partners, ASEAN states have welcomed the US re-engagement that has multiple interests in this region including the prevention of nuclear proliferation and maintenance of safe and secure Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOC). The US renewed strategy aims at achieving its strategic objectives through partnership instead protection of its allies and by selectively deploying its troops rather than occupying the region. The mistrust that prevails between China and the US could lead to tension if the regional disputes remain unresolved. Protections of trade routes are also the Chinese priority goal. Therefore, it would brush aside any pressures coming from the US and its allies, a scenario that must be avoided in the larger global interest. Lastly, while Pakistan does not figure out in the emerging great game in Asia Pacific, but because of its strategic location, it might be sandwiched between China and the US especially, in case the crises are expanded beyond Asia Pacific.

Introduction

Till late 2000, Europe and the US continued to play a nucleus role in economic activities having global impacts, but with the change of century, it is opined that the centre of economic activities is shifting from the West to East. Asia-Pacific region is emerging as a key driver of the world politics and economic activities. Chinese initiative to bail out Asian market from collapse during global financial crisis of 2008,

made the US realize the upcoming nature of threat to its interests in Asia-Pacific.¹

Professors Graham Allison and Joseph Nye have equated the challenge that two great powers are facing as ‘the Thucydides trap’ who explained the cause of the great Peloponnesian War of the 5th century BC. Thucydides pointed out that the rise of Athens caused fear of being elimination in Sparta. Since then, scholars continue to ponder how power shifts leads to competitive tensions, which sometimes may be managed and sometimes may lead to conflict.²

Economically, Asia Pacific which is home to some of the most important trade and energy corridors, maintains a persistent growth rate.³ From security perspective, the region is fast developing and modernizing its war fighting machines. China having second largest economy as well as second-largest recipient of foreign direct investment in the world, maintains an edge over other regional states both in term of economic development and military buildup.⁴

In view of its growing significance, the US is in the process of making necessary adjustments to its priorities in the Asia Pacific. In view of its importance, President Obama during his address to Australia’s Parliament in November, 2011, stated, “As President, I have therefore made a deliberate and strategic decision-as a Pacific nation, the United States will play a larger and long-term role in shaping this region and its future...”.⁵ In the same context, the US former foreign secretary Hillary Clinton expressed, “The most important tasks of American statecraft over the next decades will therefore be to lock in a substantially increased investment-diplomatic, economic, strategic, and otherwise- in the Asia-Pacific region...”.⁶

It is understood that the foreign policies of China and the US carry great importance for the world peace and economic prosperity. The US new policy for the Asia Pacific clearly indicates its intent of adopting a new strategy of both ‘containment’ as well as ‘engagement’. It is believed that the

US presence and projected role in containing China in the South China Sea, Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf is a serious issue and a matter of concern for China.

As a part of the strategy, outlined by the Department of Defence (DoD) Strategic Review 2012, Defence Secretary Leon Panetta told at Shangri-La Dialogue in Singapore that the US would assign 60 percent of its fleet to the Pacific Ocean by 2020. Additionally, four new US Littoral Combat Ships designed to fight close to shorelines would be placed in Singapore while Philippines is seeking to host more US troops on a rotational basis.⁷ Moreover, the US air force is also fully involved in its preparation.⁸ Pakistan being one of the key players in Asia alongside India, which has 90 percent trade through Persian Gulf cannot remain oblivion to the emerging security environment where Chinese and the US may have to stand in two opposite camps.⁹

In this backdrop, this piece of writing focuses on growing Chinese influence in Asia Pacific and the US approach to rebalance China and its impact on the power balance and regional security including its relevance to Pakistan. The paper will unfold in following sequence: First, strategic significance of Asia Pacific, second, the US perception of Chinese growing influence in the region, third, the US counter-balancing efforts and its possible fallout impacting on strategic security and stability of the region, fourth, Asia Pacific issue in theoretical framework. Fifth, great power games in Asia Pacific and its relevance to Pakistan and finally, the conclusions and recommendations.

Geo-Strategic Significance of Asia Pacific

Inagaki was the first to indicate that the next century would be the Pacific Age. As an oft-repeated maxim has put it, “the Mediterranean is the ocean of the past, the Atlantic is the ocean of the present and the Pacific is the ocean of the future”. The findings of Goldman Sachs report clearly indicate that the economic centre of gravity will be shifted decisively to the Asia

Pacific by 2050 wherein three of the world's four biggest economies will be China, Japan and India.¹⁰



Map of South East Asia¹¹

Asia Pacific provides an ideal international trade route; five of them pass through the chains of island including the Straits of Malacca which is considered as the key maritime chokepoint. It is only 1.5 nautical miles (2.8 km) wide at its narrowest point. The region also contains six largest ports of the world.



A report entitled 'Maritime Law and Policy for Energy Security in Asia' prepared by Jin Cheng and Kevin X. Li, expresses, "Nearly 50 percent of the world's crude oil, 66 percent of its natural gas and 40 percent of the world's trade is transported through this narrow waterway". From strategic security perspective, Southeast Asian waters provide suitable locations to establish military bases, the one who would control the Malacca Strait would have distinctive leverages over its rival.¹² Additionally, South China Sea that contains clusters of Iceland is seen from two angles; one, it provides freedom of action to the state that maintains control over this Sea and secondly, it contains natural resources like hydro-carbon.¹³



Source: UNCLOS and CIA¹⁴

The Core Interests of the US in Asia Pacific

Following World War II (WW-II), the US entered into series of bilateral treaties with Southeast Asian countries for protection of its interest in the region.¹⁵ In the emerging politico-strategic scenarios, the US interests and objective in Asia Pacific can be outlined as follows:

Firstly, the core objectives in the region is to protect its national interests by maintaining balance of power through power projection. Japan and South Korea are already hosting about 100,000 US troops. Chinese rising military pressure over the regional countries has compelled the Washington to come up with its re-balancing strategy that includes placing some troops at Darwin, Australia and it is also in process of adjusting its forces at Guam.¹⁶

Secondly, the US would ensure smooth flow of its trade across the globe by securing Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOC) which is also significant to maintain a bargaining position with China.¹⁷ While quoting Teo, Harnit Kang highlights, “Whoever controls the Straits of Malacca and the Indian Ocean could threaten China’s oil supply route...”.¹⁸ As stressed earlier on, controlling this region is equally significant from military perspective.

Thirdly, since the end of the WW-II, Washington has been maintaining its strategic alliance with Japan. In order to promote their common interests, the US is likely to go all out to support Japan in case of a Chinese military aggression. Besides, India and Indonesia are also considered major drivers of the global economy, thus, Washington would wish to give India a strategic leadership role in the region.¹⁹

Fourthly, since 9/11, the US has identified two more objectives to include nuclear non-proliferation and war against terrorist organizations in the region. The US is persuading North Korea to give up its nuclear option while engaging it at a multilateral forum and it would not let lose the control to allow any other country to become nuclearized including Japan.²⁰

Fifthly, the complex interdependency has changed the dynamic of the world politics. It has opened markets in Asia to present the US with ample opportunities for trade and investment.²¹ The US would thus, like to explore all options peacefully and if need so, would also achieve its economic

objectives through power projection, coercion as well as threat of use of its military might.

Sixthly, a single track approach to deal with China is less likely to work. The US would therefore, like to maintain a new set of priorities towards China called 'Engaged-Containment Policy' by applying both 'soft and hard' power.²²

Chinese Growing Influence: The US Perspective

Washington perceives that China's rise as a major international actor is likely to stand out as a defining feature of the strategic landscape in the early 21st century. Its military which spends around \$ 100 billion annually, is now venturing into the global maritime domain. The increase in defence spending provides her with flexibility to acquire everything that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) may like to include in its weapons' inventory.²³ While China may have no aggressive designs as it has been occasionally expressing but mere possession of military power is sufficient to make a country aggressor, if it so decides.²⁴

Both China and the US think differently with regards to the world politics. There is a serious 'identity gap', the US is looking forward for a 'liberal international order', while Chinese disapprove 'democratic peace theory', says Gilbert Rozman.²⁵ From the US perspective, China's military developments and lack of transparency in its defense budget creates doubt about the sincerity of the rhetoric of "peaceful rise" that underpins China's great power identity.²⁶ Condoleezza Rice, the US former Secretary of State opines, "The United States, along with many other countries, remains concerned about China's rapid development of high-tech weapons systems". She further explains that Washington's relations with Russia and China are complex and portrayed simultaneously by 'competition and cooperation'.²⁷

China would wish to maintain its hegemony over South China Sea and prefers a map which was drawn up before the UN was formed which gives it claim over nearly the entire

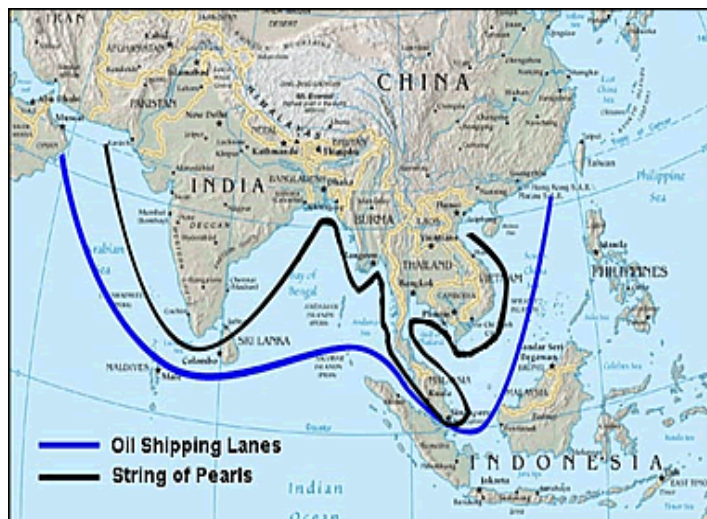
South China Sea. Huy Duong from the *Diplomat* wrote, “China started to draw a mysterious U-shaped line on their maps that are expanding to include the economic zones of other countries”. In view of the Chinese massive naval build up, the US analysts expect China to push further into the South China and beyond.²⁸

The majority of Chinese analysts are convinced that China should adopt a more proactive and assertive strategy. They are of the view that China should develop itself as a maritime power if it was to protect its economy by protecting its trade routes passing through the Strait of Malacca. Lexiong believes that “China would suffer a miserable defeat, as Germany did, if it were to be afraid of developing its sea power”.²⁹ It is opined that in response to nation’s aspiration, China has come up with first ever aircraft carrier the *Liaoning*. It has adopted ‘anti-access area denial’ strategy focusing on a triple D approach i.e. to deter, delay and defeat its opponents in a theatre of operations. It aims at restricting the meddling of any third party in a conflict involving Taiwan which remains one of China’s core interests.³⁰

China aims at limiting the US forces to the Western sphere of the Pacific by employing a multi layered and multi dimensional attack strategy which calls for an integrated response by using advanced systems such as ballistic and cruise missiles, anti-ship weapons, 4th generation fighters, manned and unmanned combat aircraft, as well as space and cyber warfare capabilities.³¹ It does not mean that China remains un-concerned about rising Japan as ‘normal’ state from ‘system supported’ culture, Bhubhinder Singh calls it a “shift in security identity from a peace-state to an international-state”, aspiring to undertake active role at the global level.³²

The Chinese perceived strategy of ‘String of Pearls’ is the sign of its growing geo-political power which stretches from the Chinese mainland and goes up to Port Sudan. The ‘String of Pearls’ refers to the network of Chinese military and commercial facilities and relationships along its SLOC. Ever

since the term "String of Pearls" has been invented by Booz Allen in 2004, a team of experts at the US-based consultancy, journalists/academics have overplayed China's supposedly malicious involvement with countries along its SLOC in the Indian Ocean, including Bangladesh, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, there is no indication that China was ever involved in such an ambitious planning.³³



The map is taken from Booz Allen report³⁴

However, the perceived strategy will challenge US naval supremacy in the Pacific Ocean and control over SLOC. According to Kiracofe, "...the rise of China is the issue that these military deployments and debates on war fighting strategy seek to address".³⁵ Micheal Auslin opines that there is an enormous terrain between maritime bullying and full-scale war, but the steady decline of a sense of stability and security could lead to greater tension. Though, the Asia-Pacific is presently in the early stages of that spiral but it could still lead to full scale conflict as China has been encouraged over the past one decade.³⁶

Ever since China has developed its military capabilities, it seems more aggressive and maintains an assertive stance over contested territory, and might take an adventure to change

status-quo. As the tussle between China and its neighbours goes on, the chances of a slip-up could lead to clash rise. Washington views that protection of this region against Chinese exploitation is crucial not only for the US but also global peace at large.³⁷

On economic front, the US feels threatened too. Though, currently, ASEAN collectively remains the largest destination of the US investment in Asia, and represents its 4th largest overseas market, but its market shares continue to decline as China has become the region's economic behemoth.³⁸

Counter-Balancing China: The US Initiatives

During the initial years of 21st century, the US remained struck in Iraq and Afghanistan thus, could pay less attention towards this region. The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 2009 set the pace for cooperation which was followed by Obama's presence at the November 2011 East Asia Summit (EAS), for the first time. The US appointed a dedicated mission to Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), announced the Lower Mekong Initiative, forged strategic partnerships with Indonesia and Vietnam, strengthened its military cooperation with Philippines and Singapore, appointed an ambassador to Myanmar and engaged Brunei, Laos and Cambodia.³⁹

As indicated earlier, in January, 2012, a new defence strategic guidance titled, "Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defence", was announced by President Obama in which he chalked out the salient features of the US military strategy for Asia Pacific. The guidelines call for a shifting focus from fighting and winning wars to preparing for future challenges, particularly those within the Asia Pacific region and acknowledges the need to focus more on its naval fleet. Another important aspect of the review is the emphasis laid on the term 'partnership', which would require its partners to share the burden of responsibility. The strategic review calls for strengthening its relations with its

long time allies and also builds on new ones such as India, Indonesia, Vietnam and New Zealand.⁴⁰

To counter Chinese area denial strategy, the US has already prepared its plan by introducing ‘Air Sea Battle Concept (ASBC)’ as well as the ‘Joint Operational Access Concept (JOAC)’ published in 2011 and 2012 respectively. The strategy calls for a coordinated response from the US air and naval forces.⁴¹ According to Global Times report published by Clifford A. Kiracofe, “to begin with, the US military aircraft will be deployed in Thailand, India, Singapore and Australia”. General Herbert Carlisle, the Chief of US Air Force operations in the Pacific says that such deployments include fighters, tankers, and bombers applying Cold War model in Pacific theatre as it expands its presence in the region.⁴²

As pointed out earlier on, Pentagon is placing more troops in the region more than at any time since the WW-II. With immediate effect, Australia will host a deployment of over 200 US marines which would eventually go up to 2,500 which is called Amphibious Readiness Group (ARG). From another perspective, Washington also takes into account other regional players like India, a rising power, Japan’s growing assertiveness, Russia’s increasing activism in the Asian affairs, and Indonesia’s return in politics.⁴³



United States Military Bases in Asia Pacific⁴⁴

In response to Chinese ‘String of Pearls’ strategy, the US aspires to contain China through a ‘New Bamboo Curtain’ which extends from South Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Australia, Vietnam, India and beyond; with a view to disrupt Chinese energy supplies in the Straits of Malacca if need so. Alternative routes become too expensive and time consuming as well. Currently, Chinese naval forces are handicapped both in terms of number as well as technology and they are incapable of confronting the US naval ships. Presence of a permanent group of the US warships in Singapore could thus pose serious security threats to Chinese commercial ships, in case there is tension between the two.⁴⁵ Chinese access to Gwadar Port as an alternative option, will pose a serious security risk for Pakistan.

There is yet another ring to contain China that is based on Guam and Hawaii.⁴⁶ To demonstrate their power potential, the US along with its allies held biennial Rim of the Pacific Exercise, the world's largest naval exercise, consisting of 25,000 personnel from 22 nations. China, Pakistan and North Korea were kept away.⁴⁷ The US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta during his last visit to China received strong criticism from Chinese side that strongly objected to the US rebalancing strategy and the resultant growing military presence in Asia and the Pacific.⁴⁸

The above arguments notwithstanding, Michael Auslin during his testimony before the House Armed Services Committee has observed that the US Pacific Command already consists of 325,000 strong military personnel remains a credible deterrent. He believes that the announced strategy of increasing its naval forces up to 60 percent is unlikely to make a material difference as there is nothing new in the proposed strategy. Half of America’s aircraft carriers and over 50 percent of the Navy’s cruisers, destroyers, and submarines are already in the Pacific. Similarly, the US air assets are also in position throughout the region, only few mores are unlikely to make a marked change. He opines that in view of the Chinese, Russia and North Korea influence, “America’s

margin of error for maintaining a credible military posture in the vast Asia-Pacific region is steadily shrinking”.⁴⁹

Notwithstanding the Auslin views, in addition to Japan, the US has also developed a network of bilateral alliances with South Korea, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines and Thailand. The two emerging powers with which the US has recently engaged are India and Indonesia which will ensure the access to the world’s most vital energy and trade route.⁵⁰ Moreover, the US strategy is not limited to security parameters only. Military moves were supplemented by diplomatic and economic push as well. Washington formed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) to take full advantage of rapidly growing Asian economic system. It is a major free trade initiative, and therefore, efforts were made to expand it by encouraging the addition of other members to participate. Currently, there are nine negotiating parties including Australia, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam.⁵¹

On a diplomatic front, the TPP would convey a commitment on part of the US for long term and sustained engagement. Another benefit of concluding such an agreement would be that all members of the TPP would have a common interest to safeguard and maintain the free flow of goods through strategically important sea lanes in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Though, the TPP carries a number of benefits for the US, but it has not been fully appreciated by many of the negotiating parties which raised concerns about the issue of intellectual property rights, investor-state disputes and protecting domestic markets etc.

Though, China intends capturing Asian market, still the trade between Asia and the US is about \$1 trillion that is about 27 per cent of the total trade.⁵² The US enjoys free trade agreements (FTAs) with Singapore and Australia. It has membership of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) which is a leading regional economic forum. It brings emerging economies to promote open trade and investment along with building capacity to enhance regulatory regimes. The US has also set off a new US mission to ASEAN in Jakarta

and signed the ‘Treaty of Amity and Cooperation’ with Southeast Asia.

ASEAN likely Response to the US Scheme

The ASEAN was established on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok, Thailand, with the signing of Bangkok Declaration by the founding members namely Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Currently, the organization consists of 10 members including Brunei Darussalam, Vietnam, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Cambodia besides the founding members. Unlike the NATO, ASEAN remains an economic forum. The economic interdependence has paved the way for multilateral cooperation including political, economic and cultural. However, together they do not possess a unified policy on various issues because of inter-state conflicts. It has failed to bring a successful multilateral organization such as European Union (EU). Despite differences, it is a successful sub-regional organization of Asia Pacific which continues to cooperate on economic front and respect United Nations Charter.

Generally speaking, ASEAN responded positively to the US initiatives. But frequently, the states have come up with reservations on the basis that while the US presence in the region would provide them leverage vis-a-vis that of Chinese aggressive policies, but many fear that the region could become a high ground for strategic competition between the two great powers. While ASEAN would like to benefit from both, but they would not like to be placed in a scenario where they would be asked to make a choice between the two. Moreover, the individual ASEAN states exercise independent national policies therefore, the US cannot have uniformed policy towards them. The US would therefore, have to maintain state-to-state relationship.⁵³

In the regional context, Philippines continue to enjoy the strongest relationship with the US, which stems from the US colonial period (1898-1946).⁵⁴ Both sides continue to pursue joint military and economic cooperation especially in the backdrop of growing threat of terrorism. The ties between the

two have been further strengthened because of the maritime dispute between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea and the US rebalancing strategy towards Asia Pacific. 'Manila Declaration' on November 16, 2011, reaffirmed the bilateral security relationship.

Singapore, despite being small in size, has transformed itself into a major player in the Southeast Asia and a supporter of a strong US presence in Asia. Today, the city-state is America's 13th largest trading partner. It hosts US naval ships in its waters. However, while the US traditionally enjoys strong relationship with Singapore, but still both have differences in certain areas. Singapore has an apprehension that the US strategy towards Southeast Asia may provoke a backlash from China if the relationships are not managed delicately.⁵⁵

While majority of the regional countries have been trying to tread the fine line, without annoying China, nonetheless, Vietnam has been more open and continues to oppose Chinese 'South China Sea' policy which she considers a breach of its sovereignty. Military ties between the two have increased especially after their first 'Defence Policy Dialogue' held during 2010.⁵⁶ Thailand has been one of the US oldest strategic partners since 1833 in the backdrop of the 'Treaty of Amity and Commerce'.⁵⁷

Except for Philippines and Vietnam which are vocal and favourably inclined towards the US re-balancing strategy, the remaining ASEAN countries including Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Brunei, Cambodia and Laos are looking for a balance approach while dealing with both China and the US. Their future relationships with them are seen from economic prism and their military relationship with the US seems symbolic. Despite their close relationship with the US, none of them is prepared to openly offend China.⁵⁸ Moreover, because of economic disparities and differing national policies, the US would be unable to engage all regional states in a comprehensive manner.⁵⁹

While the US would wish to retain its leadership role in Asia Pacific, but the responses that have come from the regional countries can best be described as ‘cautious engagement’ because many still feel that the US may not have the capacity to meet its rebalancing strategy. Secondly, in view of the Chinese deep rooted ingress in economic domain (China-ASEAN Free Trade Area), which is now the third largest in the world by trade volume, the US wish to take lead role in economic front too seems a distance dream.⁶⁰

Nonetheless, the US seems inclined to retain the initiative by relying on its all weather allies like Japan, South Korea and Australia. As a strategic partner, the US might also trust India which has its vested interest to contain China as well as Pakistan. The presence of US boots in the region and its support to littoral states engenders negative impact on security environment of Asia-Pacific. China views the US presence in its own backyard as a threat and truly, a matter of concern.⁶¹

Emerging China-US Tension and its Relevance to Pakistan

21st century is an age of globalization, and no country, despite its limitation, would be able to stay in isolation. Pakistan is one of the main players in South Asia which is likely to be affected directly or indirectly in case of an upheaval in Southeast Asia. Though, unlike India, while Pakistan does not figure out in the ongoing game between the great powers in Asia Pacific, but the emerging scenarios might drag Pakistan within its fold, despite its desire to stay away. Through its propaganda campaign, India is already trying to implicate Pakistan in great powers’ game by projecting an alliance between China, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Iran and Pakistan as a balancing power to India, the US and even Russia.⁶²

In the changing politico-security landscape, development of the Gwadar Port largely funded and constructed with Chinese expertise, has come up as an independent naval

station. It is likely that Chinese Navy would be enjoying full access to dock service and may be allowed to station its future naval fleets at this base. With the courtesy of Pakistan, Chinese submarine presence in the Arabian Sea and its potent role of securing its maritime shipping which could at a later date, be augmented with a dedicated 'Indian Ocean Task Force, might synergize Chinese and Pakistani efforts to secure the Straits of Hormuz-Arabian Sea maritime domain. It would pose a challenge to the present dominant Indian naval presence.⁶³

It is viewed that though, the great powers' game which mainly focuses on Asia Pacific, providing China, an access to Gwadar Port would definitely have direct implications for Pakistan's security on two accounts; one, Chinese presence at Gwadar would influence Indian Ocean which would impact India's security. Secondly, in case of any future conflict in Asia Pacific between China and the US, allowing China's Navy to operate from Gwadar naval base means Pakistan has become a party. In the recent past, some newspapers have claimed that some soldiers of the PLA are present in northern part of Pakistan, though the news remains unconfirmed.⁶⁴ Presence of Chinese naval forces as well as foot soldiers in and around Gwadar in any future scenario, Pakistan is likely to receive more attention though in negative sense.

Critical Analysis: A Possible Upcoming Scenario

In the backdrop of the above debate, one might conclude that Asia Pacific has been securitized; a theory that was developed by Buzan and Waever which deals not with security per se, but the process of securitization whereby the security label is attached to certain phenomena.⁶⁵ Territorial disputes including the contested claims on exclusive economic zones between the regional players which are unlikely to be resolved in near future, these problems have become source of concern that can lead to open conflict between China and the US and her allies.

It is opined that despite the ongoing disputes, China seems more accommodative, and looks for ‘absolute gains’ in the region while the US maintains a hostile approach towards rival and wish to achieve ‘relative gains’. Alternatively, one may also conclude that the US, being the sole super power, considers China a threat to its hegemonic power therefore; it is striving to maximize its relative power vis-a-vis that of China by applying means like the threat of use of force, maintaining alliance and through blackmailing, the power maximizing tools as outlined by Mearshemier.

On the contrary, China is well aware of its limitations. It remains isolated and in fact, encircled by the US and its strong allies despite the fact that majority of ASEAN would not like to offend China. Therefore, it appears that because of its shortcomings, China aims at protecting its long term national interests in the region by ‘maximizing its security’. Chinese wish to control South China Sea is also seen as an attempt to maximize its security by pushing the US and its allies away from China’s mainland as well as secure free flow of its trade. Chinese investment in defence sector is taken negatively by the US and its allies and is considered as a threat to the security and sovereignty of the regional players. If the trends continue, both China and the US are destined to be an arena of relentless security competition, following the Cold War model, a situation that leads to ‘Security Dilemma.

Notwithstanding above concerns, despite the clash of interests in Asia Pacific, China remains the second-largest trading partner of the US, its third-largest export market, and the largest foreign holder of US government debt. Both countries are trapped in a ‘complex economic interdependency’ a theory promoted by Joseph Nye.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is believed that despite differences on a number of accounts, the two are likely to accommodate each other not by choice but because of economic compulsions, even at the cost of compromising on certain security issues relevant to regional players. Additionally, India too is intimately involved in bilateral trade with China which stands at over \$ 60 billion per year. Therefore, ‘complex economic interdependency’ is

further expanding across various regions that would discourage any adventure that may affect the trade and resultant economic prosperity.

Lastly, though the possibility of a physical confrontation between China and the US and its allies are less likely in short to medium term, but outrightly cannot be ruled out. Therefore, if such a situation emerges in near future, China would run short of options to protect its national interests unless, it gets an access to India Ocean and Persian Gulf through Gwadar Port. The perceived scenario would complicate the situation further which would encourage India to jump in as the US ally to contain both China as well as Pakistan. In this game of chess between the US led allies and China, Pakistan seems the biggest loser. It is likely to be caught in crossfire between the two great powers, a development that will have serious security implications at the regional as well as global levels. Balancing the relations between the two would become a daunting task for Pakistani policy makers.

Conclusions and Possible Way Forward

The window of economic opportunity that Asia Pacific offers must be availed by all without involving in 'zero-sum game'. A de-militarized and de-securitized region is in common interest of all regional and extra-regional players. Creating a win-win situation is important if all have to benefit from the economic opportunities of this region.

Kiracofe views who suggests that though Washington's policy of retaining, and even increasing, its allies within a tight military and economic framework are nothing new, but, in the evolving multi-polar world, the provocative projection of hard power should be avoided that only increases tension and may lead to war as pointed out by Kiracofe. Washington should therefore, must avoid zero-sum thinking and a costly and unnecessary policy of hard power provocation.⁶⁷

In 21st century security paradigm, the options with the two great powers are limited. Kevin Rudd, former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Australia, suggested a need for reinforcing dialogues and cooperative efforts. Chinese President has also emphasized and suggested to the US president, “We should prove that the traditional belief that big powers are bound to enter into conflict is wrong, and [instead] seek new ways of developing relations between major countries in the era of economic globalization.” This vision can be translated into practical manifestation, provided both sides concede respective grounds.⁶⁸

Rice suggests, “It is incumbent on the United States to find areas of cooperation and strategic agreement with Russia and China, even when there are significant differences”. Fareed Zakaria’s opinion also goes in line with Rice thinking who suggests, “The US must adjust with the changing realities and concede some of its own power and priorities and be prepared to accept a world with diversity of voices and viewpoints”. China is rising power therefore, earlier it is realized by the US; the better it may be for stabilization of the emerging world order.⁶⁹

Interdependency, though an important factor that might push the two countries to extend more cooperation but probably, interdependency in isolation without taking into account security might not fully work. One needs to strike a balance between the two important factors, economics and security interconnectedness; both should prosper simultaneously without compromising one at the cost of other. Therefore, both China and the US should respect each other’s sensitivities and must not cross the ‘redlines’ which become detrimental to regional as well as global security.

There is no way that two great powers could continue playing ‘zero sum game’ in the region indefinitely. Maintaining long term peace and stability is in the common interest, both from the perspective of security as well as economic prosperity therefore, it makes sense for them to adopt a more collective approach, remove misperceptions by

having frequent interaction at the highest level so as to mitigate regional insecurity. China has already suggested to the US side for developing cordial relations on the basis of mutual respect, trust, equality and reciprocity.⁷⁰ In this context, the US being the global leader, may have to take a lead.

It is believed that things generally go wrong in vacuum. At no stage, the US allies or Chinese partner i.e. North Korea should feel threatened in the absence of full time backing from their senior partners. Scholarly world suggests that both the US and China should continue to extend full support to their respective allies to reassure them that they will not be left alone in case of an aggression from either side, a clear message/signalling would take away the incentive for adopting an aggressive posture by either side.⁷¹

Their cooperation on economic front notwithstanding, both sides also need greater cooperation on a number of other issues which have global repercussions including climate change, terrorism/piracy, drugs trafficking and nuclear non-proliferation. Moreover, a greater understanding is also needed to resolve the issue of Korean Peninsula as well as Taiwan, two of the most challenging issues that the 'new type of great-power relations' must accommodate.

With regards to the settlement of territorial disputes in Asia Pacific, the approach has to be a distinctly Asia-Pacific. Authors intend supporting Chinese thinking which lay emphasis that major power relations should be based on the principle of multilateralism. One Chinese analyst goes even further, arguing that any structure cannot go without balance of power or equilibrium, an important security mechanism dating back to ancient times, and has also been an important constituent part of the present-day international security mechanism.

While better relations between China and the US are important, but in order to achieve long term sustainable peace in the region, China and Japan would need to get closer and

face each other directly at the heart of the delayed transition in East Asia, a long awaited action that both should have carried out long time ago. Being the regional players, both China and Japan should bypass the US and negotiate a great power bargain directly.

With regards to Pakistan, it must desist from oscillating between one great power to another and strike a balance while dealing with regional and extra-regional countries. It cannot afford to put all eggs in one basket as it has done in the past. It cannot afford closed cooperation with one at the cost of other. It should remain open and cooperative with all regional as well as extra regional states.

Moreover, Pakistan should continue to create environment for better ties with Russia which can play very important role in creating good will between India and Pakistan and reduce the US influence in the region. A close alliance between China-Russia and Pakistan can change the perception that this region can still live peacefully without the US influence. Pakistan's commercial and strategic relationships with Malaysia and Indonesia, the two strong organs of ASEAN and Japan would also help Pakistan in dealing with the US in crisis environment.

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

Conclusion

Following Vietnam War, the US stayed away from this region for quite some time and realized only after having observed Chinese ingress in the region. While Chinese presence and dominating role on economic front in the region has not been a problem for the ASEAN, but because of its rapid military modernization and flare-ups in the South China

Sea, ASEAN also feel, threatened and has welcomed US re-engagement with the region.

The current regional security environments seem heading towards the Cold War model of the US-Soviet rivalry. The international order which has long been monopolized by the West is being challenged by rising China which the West would not like it to happen. Resultantly, a new Cold War in the Asia-Pacific might emerge. To avoid such an emerging scenario in the larger global interest, the decision makers in China, Japan, and the US would require adopting a constructive approach in shaping the process of national identity construction.

To secure the regional security architecture, China is less likely to follow a path to war but that does not mean that she will surrender to US strategic containment. The US therefore, should simply strive to maintain the military status-quo and be content with Chinese protestation. Confrontation would bring nothing but devastation which is detrimental to the security and the economic interests of the regional countries and the international community at large.

Finally, in the emerging geostrategic environment, Pakistan should also reach out to Asia Pacific countries especially Japan, Indonesia and Malaysia, establish and expand its economic as well as military relations with them so that during the crisis situation, Pakistan still has some leverage against the US led aggression. It will help Pakistan diversifying its security related options in case it is brought under pressure by the US and possibly India.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF AL QAEDA'S DRONE COUNTERMEASURES

Dr. Hans Krech

There are areas in the Pakistani tribal territories and in Afghanistan that have been under round-the-clock monitoring by US MQ-1 Predator and MQ-9 Reaper combat drones for years now. The video cameras on the drones record every move made by the entire population, every detail of daily life in the area of operations. This data is saved for years and analyzed for indications of potential hideouts of Al Qaeda terrorists. The population concerned lives a second life on the screens of the CIA analysts in the United States. As soon as a suspicious movement in the area of operations is observed, the drones attack. In most cases, these are tactical attacks against individual presumed fighters or their sympathizers. Only rarely can a high-ranking leader be killed on these occasions.

On 19 October 2013, a UN inquiry report on US drone operations stated that there had been more than 376 drone attacks in Pakistan since 2004. 3,613 people were killed and 600 people severely injured in these drone attacks. There were also 407 to 926 civilians among the dead. The UN demanded the US administration surrender all documents about the US drone attacks in other countries, too, such as in Somalia, Yemen and Libya to be able to determine the number of killed civilians in these countries, as well.

The number of countries where US reconnaissance and combat drones operate continues to increase. Since 2009, the big US drone fleet has borne the brunt of fighting Al Qaeda all over the world. The US forces left Iraq in 2011, and by the end of 2014 the majority of the ISAF combat forces will be withdrawn from Afghanistan, too. Then combat drones will have to be employed against the terrorist groups even more than today.

Al Qaeda is the first global non-governmental terror organization in the history of our planet and has cells in about 70 countries with a total strength of more than 40,000 fighters. During the years between 2009 and 2014, Al Qaeda operations have been conducted in 58 nations. The CIA's combat and reconnaissance drones are turning more and more into a lethal daily threat for all Al Qaeda units all over the world.

How has Al Qaeda responded to this existential challenge?
How are Al-Qaida's drone countermeasures organized?

In 2013 only one high-ranking Al Qaeda leader was killed by US drone attacks

Date	Location	Target
22 JAN 2013	Yemen	Said al-Shihri, deputy Al-Qaida emir in the Arab Peninsula (AQAP)
29 MAY 2013	Near Miranshah in North Waziristan	Wali-Ur Rehman, Number 2 of the Pakistani Taliban (TTP), military leader of the TTP
28 OCT 2013	Training camp 50 km east of Binswor in southern Somalia	Ibrahim Ali Abdi (code name: Anta-Anta), one of the Al Shabab's leading bomb construction experts
31 OCT 2013	North Waziristan	Hakimullah Mehsud, leader of the Pakistani Taliban (TTP)

US Drone Operations against Al Qaeda in More than Twelve Nations in 2013

Country	Beginning of the Attacks/ Reconnaissance Flights
Afghanistan	February 2002
Yemen	3 November 2002

Iraq	23 December 2002
Pakistan (only FATA)	2004
Libya	Since 24 April 2011 during the course of the war in Libya against Gaddafi's regime. Official request of the US government submitted to the government of Libya in early August 2013 seeking permission to employ US combat drones against Al Qaeda terrorists on Libyan territory.
Tunisia	Being prepared for 2014
Somalia	Late June 2011
Philippines	2 February 2012
Syria	Mid-February 2012
Sahel region	Early June 2012 (only reconnaissance with an unarmed MQ-9 Reaper)
Northern Nigeria	Mid-2013 (only reconnaissance)
Indian Ocean	Since 2009 (only reconnaissance operations against pirates and Al-Shabab in Somalia)

Al Qaeda's Central Drone Countermeasures Research Group

The various versions of Predator and Reaper being employed belong to the first generation of combat drones. They are almost omnipotent in areas of operations where the US Air Force has absolute control of the airspace. This will change in Afghanistan and in Pakistan when the ISAF combat forces withdraw. In the Sahel region or in Somalia, the protection screen provided by US combat aircraft does not exist anyway.

The Predators and Reapers will then increasingly prove to have their weaknesses, too: They are capable of aerial combat only to a limited extent and can be easily shot down by helicopters and small aircraft. Drones also rarely carry air-to-air missiles. In addition, they are vulnerable to bad weather conditions. They can also be caused to crash by the gusts

caused by the rotor of a helicopter. They are not agile enough. They lack swarm intelligence. They cannot identify threats facing them. A well-organized air defense is very likely to be able to engage drones effectively.

Over the last few years Al Qaeda has established a Central Drone Countermeasures Research Cell which is attached to the operational command level. Scientists, engineers and students doing research for Al Qaeda look for weaknesses of the drones and try to develop countermeasures. Edward Snowden disclosed the NSA's knowledge about this Central Research Cell.

On 5 September 2013 the "Washington Post" reported that research was focused on interrupting the data flow between the drone and the satellite by means of jammers, causing the drone to crash. If the Central Research Cell managed to make this drone countermeasure system operational and to provide it to all regional organizations, this would become a game changer in drone warfare. However, there is no evidence available yet to suggest that Al Qaeda may have managed to shoot down a US drone by using jammers. (Fig. 1)

Additionally, the Central Research Group is also working on methods to blind the sensors of drones by means of lasers which can damage the highly sensitive sensors, thereby disabling the drone.

Another drone countermeasure method is to introduce viruses into the drones' data flow by means of hacking. In early October 2011 several US drones were non operational due to a virus disabling their control systems.

Moreover, most of the 14 Al Qaeda regional organizations have additional research cells of their own, some of which are presumably also working on drone countermeasure methods. On 22 October 2010, the Turkish police succeeded in arresting five Turkish students who were working on a computer program on behalf of Al Qaeda in the Aegean (a sub-organization of Al Qaeda in Europe) to hack the drones' data

flow and then be able to control the drone. The following example shows that this could be a promising drone countermeasure approach. In 2011 the Iranian secret service managed to hack a US RQ-170 "Sentinel" reconnaissance drone that was then brought down in a controlled manner to land on an Iranian airfield.

Drone Countermeasure Security Measures at the Strategic and Operational Levels of Command – Osama bin Laden's Seven Abbottabad Letters

On 2 May 2011, the US Navy Seals seized more than 6,000 documents in Osama bin Laden's house in Abbottabad. These were analyzed by the Combating Terrorism Center CTC at the US Military Academy West Point, where all documents that have ever been captured from Al Qaeda are collected in the "Harmony" database and made available to NATO.

The documents captured in Abbottabad also included Osama bin Laden's seven "Abbottabad Letters" concerning the organization of the security measures to be taken at the strategic and operational levels of command.

The Al Qaeda leaders were to respond to the permanent surveillance of areas by moving to cities or into densely wooded mountain areas. All Al Qaeda leaders were recommended to withdraw from the villages in North Waziristan, with the densely wooded Kunar and Nuristan provinces in Afghanistan and the Shawal Valley in North Waziristan being recommended as alternatives. Many leaders and fighters withdrew to big cities such as the 15 million metropolis of Karachi in Pakistan due to the threat posed by drones. Important Al Qaeda leaders as well as some 7,000 fighters of the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) have allegedly gone into hiding there. There are no US drone attacks at all in the big cities. Some Al Qaeda leaders are also purported to have withdrawn to Iranian territory, since no US drone attacks are conducted there, either.

Additionally, Al Qaeda leaders and fighters are said to have adopted the living habits of the population in their individual areas of operations, generally wearing the local style of clothes to avoid being detected by drones.

Communication at the strategic and operational levels of command has been changed to messenger communication. The messengers are only allowed to meet at busy bazaars under roofs or tent sheets to avoid the threat posed by drones. The training camps have been de-centralized, better concealed and moved to the peripheries of cities. Now exercise marches may only be conducted in small groups.

Since the drones with their “Hellfire” missiles attack vehicles of the Al Qaeda leaders, public transportation means should be used. Additionally, leaders and fighters are instructed to walk or to use bicycles and motorbikes.

Minor and major operations are increasingly conducted using the uniforms of the security forces and in captured vehicles. This also applies in general to all Al Qaeda combat brigades that often move hundreds of kilometers in army uniforms and vehicles and then attack targets. In Yemen, for instance, there are illegal tailor shops producing army and police uniforms for Al Qaeda.

Since drones generally only attack when the sky is clear, important operations are conducted when visibility is reduced by rain, clouds or sandstorms.

Al Qaeda tries to protect itself against drones by constructing extensive tunnel systems under villages and cities. When the Pakistani military conquered about 80 percent of Miranshah in North Waziristan on 10 July 2014, a tunnel system of about 40 km in length was discovered. The tunnel system had been built by Al Qaeda in Khorasan.

Since it is often native CIA agents who look for the targets and illuminate them with lasers to enable the drones to attack

with their missiles even when visibility is impaired by clouds and rain, Al Qaeda has established special units to hunt down the CIA agents. There are two such special units in the Pakistani FATA tribal territories that are assigned the mission to find and kill the spies within 24 hours: 1. Lashkar-e-Khorasan (Khorasan Mujahideen) and 2. Saif ul-Furqan commanded by Gul Bahadur.

On 9 October 2012 Al Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula (AQAP) tortured three Yemenites in Marib Province because they had attached GPS transmitters to the vehicles of Al Qaeda leaders on behalf of the CIA so that they could be targeted by drones. The Yemenites were decapitated, and their heads were thrown to the dogs for food. On 13 February 2012, three AQAP fighters were publicly decapitated in the Abyan and Shabwa provinces because they had spied out targets for drone attacks on behalf of the CIA. The corpses were then exhibited in public.

Al Qaeda has been trying to force an end to the US drone attacks by taking hostages. In Lahore Al Qaeda abducted the US citizen Warren Weinstein in 2011. In 2012 Ayman al Zawahiri demanded the termination of all US drone attacks in Afghanistan, in Pakistan, in Somalia and in Yemen in return for his release.

Revenge Attacks after Drone Attacks

On 4 June 2012 the then presumed No. 2 of Al Qaeda, Abu Yahya al-Libi (real name: Hasan Qaiid), was killed in a US drone attack in Suhail village near Miranshah in North Waziristan. In the night the drone fired a missile into a house in which Abu Yahya al-Libi was assumed to be. Thereupon a crowd gathered on the village square. However, the drone then discovered the Al Qaeda leader in the crowd using its face recognition sensors system and fired a second missile fifteen minutes after the first attack. Abu Yahya al-Libi and fifteen passers-by were killed.

Then, on 10 September 2012, Ayman al Zawahiri announced a revenge attack for his deputy's death. Only one day later, on 11 September 2012, about 50 Al Qaeda fighters of the Libyan-Islamic fighting Group (LIFG) raided the US consulate in Benghazi, Libya. US ambassador Christopher Stevens, three other US citizens and three Libyan guards were killed. Five US citizens were wounded.

Al Qaeda recommends its followers in the US to set fires in US forests as revenge attacks for US drone attacks. In the Al Qaeda magazine "Inspire", issue No. 9/2012, a fatwah issued by Harith Al Nadari was published which explicitly calls for fires to be set in US forests. For this purpose, detailed suggestions on how to set fires were published on several pages: Where should the incendiary material be placed? In the tree tops or on the ground? Which kind of kindling should be used? How do the direction of the wind, the time of day and the season influence the development of the fire?

The Structure of Al Qaeda Drone Units

Al Qaeda has begun to establish a drone fleet of its own. As early as 14 September 2005, Pakistani soldiers managed to capture a Chinese reconnaissance drone in a raided Al Qaeda camp in North Waziristan that can also be armed with weapons. However, Al Qaeda is more interested in procuring micro-drones that are transported concealed in a backpack and can also be launched in big cities from balconies or house roofs. These drones are able to hack computers, to tap telephones, to observe target persons and to engage them, too, with weapons that are easy to install. Drones armed with weapons of mass destruction such as anthrax, for instance, can also be expected above conurbations.

On 1 June 2013, an Al-Qaeda research cell in Iraq that produced the toxic gas sarin was neutralized in Baghdad. The sarin was intended to be sprayed over big cities in the US or in the EU by remotely controlled model aircraft.

As early as 28 September 2011 the FBI announced that a US engineer had been arrested who had loaded three commercially available remotely controlled model aircraft (two F-86 “Sabre”, one F-4 “Phantom”) with C-4 explosive and planned an attack against the cupola of the Capitol in Washington. The model aircraft were intended to be launched and guided to the target from a nearby park in the US capital. Then the engineer, who had been inspired by Al Qaeda to conduct the attack, intended to follow this up by launching an infantry assault with a Kalashnikov rifle and hand grenades.

Tactical Drone Countermeasures on the Battlefield

Al Qaeda of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) was preparing itself as early as in the autumn of 2012 to deal with the threat posed by US combat drone attacks to be expected. All combat units were withdrawn from the cities of Kidal, Gao and Timbuktu and deployed under camouflage in rugged mountains. Only the Islam Police remained in the cities. A drone countermeasures information leaflet comprising 22 suggestions was distributed to the Al Qaeda fighters. Recommendations included listening out for interference noises in mobile phones and other electronic devices such as radio sets since these are often caused by drones. Protection against drones was to be sought under densely leafed trees. Drones could be deceived by means of mirrors. In addition to this, French soldiers captured small transportable radar sets in Mali by means of which AQIM had established an airspace surveillance system in some areas to be able to identify and engage drones.

Al Qaeda has several thousands of “Strela” man-portable air defense systems (MANPADS) at its disposal for the purpose of air defense, most of which were captured in Libyan arsenals. Fortunately these missiles are operational only to a limited extent since the maximum storage period of the batteries has been exceeded and the sensors of the weapon occasionally fail. However, skilled operators are able to shoot down drones with the “Strela.” (Fig. 2) Shooting down drones is also possible with the mostly Russian anti-aircraft

machineguns and twin antiaircraft guns that Al Qaeda also often uses. Predator drones often operate at an altitude of up to 5,000 meters where it is possible to shoot them down. The Reapers fly at altitudes of up to 15,000 meters, where they are safe from MANPADS and light antiaircraft guns.

The fact that Predator drones can be shot down even by simple tribal fighters is shown by an example from Yemen that was reported in the Al Qaeda magazine "Inspire." In the spring of 2011 the tribal fighters near Lawdar in Abyan province shot down an MQ-1 "Predator" with their small arms. (Fig. 3)

In addition to this, Al Qaeda has identified one of the key deficiencies of the drones. The drone responds with a time delay of two seconds due the long transmission path of the control signal from the base in the US to the area of operations, i.e. when the drone warrior in the US launches the Hellfire missile, the target continues to move in the meantime. This is the main reason for the deaths of many civilian passers-by as a result of US drone attacks. If they spot a drone, the Al Qaeda fighters switch off their mobile phones and jump into their cars; then they speed off zigzagging in different directions. As a result, it is almost impossible to engage them accurately with the drone.

Drone countermeasures at the tactical level also include attacks against airfields where drones are based.

Crashes and Downings of MQ-1 "Predator" Drones from 2007 to June 2013

Country	Quantity
Iraq	18
Afghanistan	45
Total	63

The reasons for the crashes were technical malfunctions, pilot errors, bad weather conditions and countermeasures

taken by insurgents. There is no data available yet about crashes of US combat drones in other areas of operations.

Al Qaeda Adjusting Increasingly Successfully to the Drone Attacks

It should be noted that Al Qaeda has been adjusting itself ever better to the existential threat posed by US drones. The number of Al Qaeda leaders killed by US drones continued to decrease in 2013. Only one high-ranking Al Qaeda leader died in Yemen from the wounds he had already suffered in a US drone attack in 2012. Consequently, in formal terms not a single senior Al Qaeda leader was killed by a drone in 2013. However, the two killed leaders of the Pakistani Taliban (TTP) must be added since the TTP closely cooperates with Al Qaeda and may also have secretly joined Al Qaeda.

The majority of the terrorists killed in US drone attacks were simple fighters or presumed Al Qaeda sympathizers.

In North Waziristan, in Afghanistan and in Yemen the US combat drones were increasingly employed in "free hunt" missions against armed insurgents due to the lack of high value targets. If this trend is confirmed in 2014/2015, the drone force will have become less important for the engagement of Al Qaeda. This could have dramatic consequences for the domestic security of numerous Islamic nations. The example of Syria shows how strong Al Qaeda units can become without the threat posed by US combat drones.

Source: Pletschacher, Peter (Ed.): *Fliegerkalender 2015. Internationales Jahrbuch der Luft- und Raumfahrt*, Hamburg/Berlin/Bonn 2014, p. 60-68.

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Fig.1: The research carried out by Al Qaeda's Drone Countermeasures Central Research Cell is focused on interrupting the data flow from the drone to the satellite by means of jammers. If the drone loses contact via satellite with the pilot in the US, it crashes.

Image: Hans Krech



Fig. 2: AQAP fighters with "Strela" man-portable air defense missile system (MANPADS), Source: Inspire, 6/2011, p. 50.

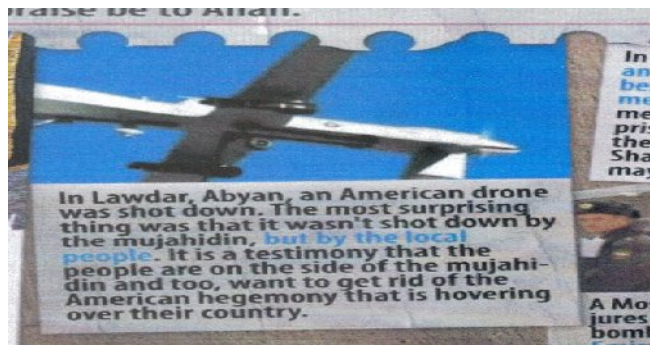


Fig. 3: Report on the downing of the MQ-1 Predator drone over Lawdar in Yemen in the spring of 2011. Source: News Flash, in: Inspire, 5/2011, p. 6.

CONCEPTUALLY ANALYSING AND PROPOSING A NEW DYNAMIC FRAMEWORK FOR HUMAN SECURITY

*Dr. Muhammad Zia-ur-Rehman, Safdar Nazeer &
Dr. Muhammad Saif ur Rehman*

Abstract

This study examines the perceptions on current situations of Human Security (HS), and expectations on new proposed setup for human safety in Pakistan. This research offers substantial inferences for HS and its management perspective. Focusing mandatory consideration to the attitudes of four different groups having same role and concerns in HS and through understanding for shaping the definitive success in such area. Questionnaire was used to collect data from four types of experts and analysis has been done by using Statistical Package for the Social Studies (SPSS) – 21. Results recommend that experts perceive there is much deficiency in six dimensions of HS in terms of its satisfaction from performance, also people expect that the proposed setup will fulfil its desired and stated objectives. It is recommended that experts and policymakers in Pakistan can actively use this model to commence the actual determinations that can make a genuine transformation in Human Security.

Introduction

Sustainability of states in today's dynamic and uncertain environment is a great challenging task. Security at internal and external levels have equal importance while developing countries need more care and attention on the matter. These challenges are generating the significance of the security organizations at various levels. After September 11 attacks, USA and European countries opened the debate on homeland security to review the strategy formulation regarding security and the structure of security organizations¹. Developing countries like Pakistan face many challenges internally like

ethnic or sectarian conflict and terrorism within the national boundaries or even externally. These internal and external security threats create destabilization and destruction amongst the residents of the country.

In Pakistan, it has been proved during last two decades that state organizations and security agencies dealing with homeland security are inapt to stop or at least reduce terrorist attacks and save inhabitants all over Pakistan. Previous attacks and unhappy events raised a question on the formation, structure and functioning of these security agencies. As an outcome of this requirement, Pakistan's homeland security structure requires numerous changes in upcoming years.

Government of Pakistan has been making its utmost efforts to handle the situation. For this purpose the government utilized various methods like reforms and significant structural and functional changes in security and law enforcement agencies, maintaining special budgets, creating new courts (like anti-terrorist courts) and empowering the courts. But present government is still facing the problems of insufficient resources, poor training facilities, outdated equipment, and political intervention in these institutions. Along these significant changes there is an urgent need to create a new organization.

The main purpose of establishing this organization is to establish synchronization amongst several security agencies and related intuitions to augment the proficiency from the viewpoint of making various policies and enabling its operationalization towards anti-terrorism policy formulation and establishing strategies at country level. The foremost challenge of this new setup is to produce optimal results as an optimistic reaction to the challenges and basis of Pakistani security management system. One more need of this study is to explore and investigate the perceptions and expectations about the formulation of this new organization. To explore the perception of employees and general public dealing with these institutions and expectations from new proposed organization

will be the central point of this study. The main purpose of this study is to make the current and existing system more effective and other one is to propose a new set up that will also improve the overall efficiency of the system.

In this research contribution, first phase comprises of a literature review with respect to the concepts of Human Security.² The research focuses on the gaps on HS with respect to specific issues e.g. economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, and political security. On the basis of this, objectives of the study are to develop a national policy based on Pakistan's ideology; establishing a network which will increase the connection, coordination and communication among various stakeholders and abolishing the political interference in working of law reinforcement agencies.

Human Security: Conceptual Understanding

Security has a crucial role and place in national security policy of any nation. Pakistan has been suffering from many extensive threats and challenges (ranging from drone attacks to criminal corruption and societal crimes) to its physical holdings and HS of its public. These threats and challenges (militancy and terrorism) mounted the cost (social, economic, infrastructural and human cost) and damaged the image of country. In international media, Pakistan is considered as one of the most unsafe place in the world ³, in line with the countries like Iraq and Afghanistan. This pathetic condition requires refreshing and reengineering the prevailing security situation by formulating a comprehensive strategy. This study is an effort to contribute in this area of HS.

Human security is a modern concept of national security about the worldwide defenselessness. Followers of HS criticize the outdated view of national security. It is a people-oriented vision of security, which is compulsory and requires stability at global, national, and regional levels. The purpose of Human Security is to "safeguard the vital core of all human lives from

critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfilment”⁴. There are many institutions, which are working on HS and also for the advancement of some aspects of human well-being but not all, although there must be a protection of some fundamentals (core) of people’s lives. This study proposes an organization in Pakistan, which will deal with the issue of HS, based on this modern and dynamic concept, and also the perceptions and expectations about the new proposed organization. This proposed organization would deal with core aspects of human lives.

a former Pakistani Finance Minister, Dr. Mahbub ul Haq, highlighted the importance of HS as a human development factor in one of his reports with Amartya Sen in United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)⁵. Dr. Mahbub ul Haq and several other proposed that after cold-war, globe needed an innovative notion which is global in terms of its conceptualization, policy formulation and implementation on later development stages. This approach was positively broadened to embrace the security and safety of persons both at individual and at group level. Challenges like hunger, various diseases, economic and political instability and protection from sudden incidents like earthquakes, add on to the difficulty for HS. Many countries focus on the demobilizing various forms of armed forces, re-engineering military resources and processing for the welfare of societies, through education, training and mentoring. Currently the notion of HS has become a central subject for a number of governments in various forms and shapes. Some countries like Canada, and Japan tried to institutionalize the HS.

Human Security Vs Traditional Security

The grassroots of the traditional security concept is in the security and safety of a state and expression of its power to do so. Although the foundation of HS is dealing with an individual, it is very clear that both state and individuals are living in same security environment and influence each others too, that is why these two notions also need to be harmonized in a way that HS is not neglecting the traditional aspects of

security. These two concepts have the conceptual differences but focusing on human beings, which means HS is representing the concept of international security and national as well, beyond the restrictions of regions. Pakistan is suffering multidimensional security threats which are disturbing the social texture of society, resulting in destabilization ⁶. Now Pakistan is in deep trouble in terms of security and reputation on various important areas like religion. People of Pakistan have a very strong perception about the external attacks (like drone attacks and direct or indirect surgical attacks) due to internal instability in the country.

Measuring Human Security

The measurement of HS is a really challenging task but, not impossible. Researchers debated that HS is potentially open to operationalization, within the restrictions and limits of the existing data ⁷. They proposed an operational definition that is intended to contain only vital elements which are 'important and adequate for the concept of HS. They categorized five key indicators of HS: poverty, political freedom, education, health, and democracy.

Other parallel efforts are also in the pipeline to build an index, which is based on the concept of HS, that have pooled a range of indicators available at the national level. Till now, even it remains vague which indicators should be included or excluded in its micro and macro perspective, how these should be combined and weighted. Based on level or threshold, it establishes a threat or fear of threat which should be the part of list ⁸. Based on the argument developed and supported by literature there are six indicators we considered in the study⁹. There are various dimensions of people-centered Human Security¹⁰ which have been identified in this study as:

Economic Security

It is a greater turn, over the last quarter of a century which twisted the economic security concept as a part of national security on permanent basis which also turns its importance into HS arena¹¹. “Economic weapons” are threatening the economic equilibrium of various countries and perhaps expose vital strategic benefits across the borders. Sustainable factors need to be considered and require close monitoring and emphasis by the government or agencies nominated by the government. According to historical precedents, countries have gone to confrontation over natural competitive advantages such as water or food. Pakistan was troubled (internally or externally) on economics insecurities and researchers sensed that the public wanted its concerned uncertainties to be addressed and performance of government faced criticism under various forums. In this scenario, economic security is needed to affirm Human Security.

Food Security

Shortage of food to eat, equally in terms of quality and quantity, will push the life in danger, therefore, it is considered that food and its security is essential for survival¹². Mal-nutrition and under-nutrition are harmful for humans. Capability to work and opportunities for healthy living can be at hazard, and this deficiency can lead to insecure society in all its means. Accessibility to basic least food basket in terms of both quantity and quality can supplement the facets of HS, in terms of overall security. The importance of food security also explores the avenues, which need the attention of higher ups in government, as this study is one of the efforts to bring this problem in their attention and also to provide a solution of this problem.

Health Security and Fostering Growth

Good health is an imperative indicator of growth and development. It is an essential forecaster of growth for both an end in its means. The context of the recently reviewed

International health regulations (IHR) is a significant driver in the struggle to reinforce worldwide public health security¹³. Health security places distinct emphasis on prevention of infectious sicknesses comprising cholera, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, dysentery and alike. Individuals and families may lose their all lifetime reserves because of hostile health. Being healthy is not only the non-appearance of disease but it is a positive state of physical, mental and social well-being; good healthiness is straight forwardly related to good for individuals and society. Pakistan is one of those countries where health and its security in terms of all arrangements, is very poor.

Environmental Security

Dreadful conditions of all natural resources may impend the base of livelihoods - concerned resource and possessions and can intimidate at its origins. Climate change can also intimidate HS. For example, growing trends of majority of natural disasters as an outcome of change in climate, can create the disaster for the base of local assets and also can damage the health of those affected and even can shrink HS prospects over a period of time¹⁴. Many factors created threat for environment in various shapes in case of Pakistan that is ultimately leading to problems in HS. This research would focus the attention of officials by offering a new setup to solve the problem through the measurement of perception on current performance and expectations of proposed setup.

Personal Security

Personal security is a vital standard for HS¹⁵. Although it is very difficult to measure, it's all in the mind as far as HS is associated in other words; it is a matter of personal feelings in terms of security considerations. Society members may feel less secured even when most other measures are satisfactory. Traditionally, climate change may upset the personal equation on HS¹⁶, but in case of Pakistan there are several factors which are under consideration for personal security. Law and order

conditions of Pakistan, now a days, are one of the major reasons, which are diverting concentration of researchers on Personal Security.

Political Security

Political security is one more imperative viewpoint of HS, as the law of the land assures human rights. Sometimes, judicial system of a country is placed on higher peaks than HS¹⁷. When human rights are guaranteed by a country's constitution but are seldom respected in practice, then HS becomes weak in that sense. But history of Pakistan is full of constitutional violation in various eras, that is why this area has been capturing the attention of various thinkers and researchers.

Proposing a new Set Up for Human Security

Till now, some major considerations had been made for the human security in Pakistan. Unfortunately those arrangements are not meeting the requirements or fulfilling the purpose of its existence, that is why this new set up has been proposed. Here, a portrayal of the organizational formation and mission of the new proposed organization, is as follows:

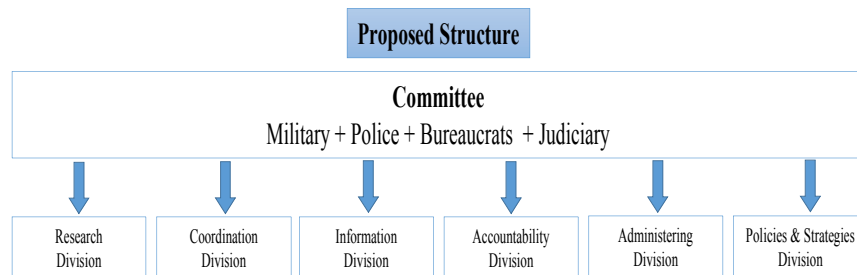
- The legal justification is based on the supposition that violence and connected factors have got such a peak that it is vulnerable for public and HS. That is why, the participation from all major actors, is necessary to formulate such set up which will present various dimensions and worldwide collaboration and harmony.
- After having a strong argument on the insufficiencies of the current organizations to provide security, it has been specified that a new proposed set up should be framed for policy making and formulation of strategies to counter terrorism, violence and also to uphold the synchronization amongst the associated organizations for HS¹⁸.

- New organizations would be backed by the power of the new legislation too, so that they may articulate the policies and strategies by retaining the coordination within the existing organizations¹⁹.
- An advisory committee of parliament (formulated by parliamentarians) coupled with one nominated member from Pakistan Army, one nominated member from intelligence services, one member from Judiciary and one from police can work as Foundation Body (FD) for the proposed setup and this may be answerable to the parliament²⁰.

Mission of the proposed setup is as follows:

- To be involved in shaping the policies and strategies associated for struggling against terrorism/Violence and administer its applications.
- To evaluate the intelligence of strategic nature coming from intelligence, security agencies and share it with the concerned organizations.
- To conduct the compulsory systematic research, analysis, and assessments on concerned areas. Also gather public opinion, conduct public relations for feedback, continuous improvement, and send advisory committee for review and for necessary actions.
- To follow up and control.

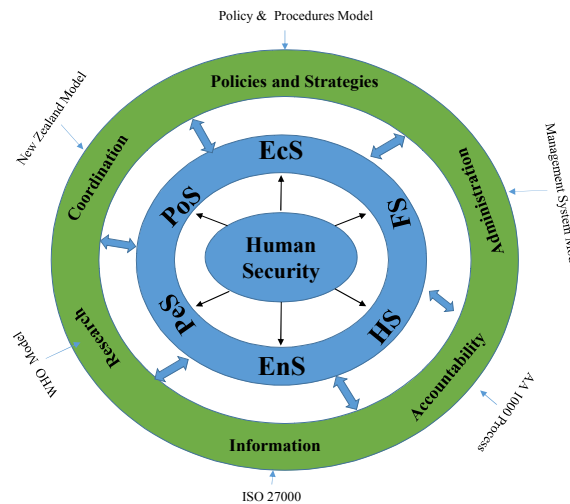
Proposed organizational structure is as follows



Objectives for purposed setup can be based on following broad aspects:

- Policies and Strategies: Formulating the policies and strategies of HS for all concerned organizations.
- Administering: Keeping a follow up and control on the implementation of formulated policies and strategies.
- Accountability: Formulating and conducting effective appraisal for all concerned organizations.
- Information: Assessing the information and sharing it with concerned and relevant organizations
- Research: Conducting research, analysis, and assessments, to upgrade own and other concerned organizational efficiencies. Acquire opinions and to establish public relations for better results.
- Coordination: Building effective and maintaining the coordination among all concerned organizations including Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other concerned agencies.

Functioning of Proposed Divisions



This research is an effort to integrate all the facets of human security into an unified model, encompassing all the essential elements of security mechanism. Thus, it is proposed that human security is not a phenomenon with isolated factors

but it requires a centralized policy making with distributed decision making options for the operations - because it is the quality of human life which is the ultimate concern at the end of the line.

The proposed model conceptualizes security into gender dimensions of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security and political security²¹. These security dimensions are to be ensured by the vibrant operational collaboration between the entities of policies and strategies, administration, accountability, information, research and coordination.

Furthermore, to make sure that these entities work under systemized and tested mechanism it seems appropriate to suggest the relevant industry practices and standards which can work as the guiding principles. policies and strategies would be working based on the policy procedure model; administration based on the management system model; accountability according to the AA1000 process; information security is proposed to be working according to the standards of ISO-27000; research based on the WHO model and coordination is based on the extension of the model applied in the New Zealand government setup. It must be mentioned that these isolated practices and standards themselves would require some fine tuning and optimization when put into a new mechanism²². This optimization is beyond the scope of this study which can be an important contribution for future researchers.

The data for this research was acquired via the survey technique to find out the point of view on newly proposed model. To guarantee the privacy, identification was not required. The insufficiency of the size of sample and restrictions in establishing such a research, data collection from the officials of security institutions, organizations having a confidential culture for their setups were considered the limitations of the current study.

A sample size of 200 (out of approximately population 950) was obtained from four different groups of people concerning the security: These respondents were from above 18 grade officials from all capital cities of all provinces and federal capital of Pakistan. Provincial capitals were selected because these cities are closer to the policy formulation and implementation of security concerns, while the respondents were selected on convenience basis, as the confidentiality was the major barrier. A questionnaire was created on the basis of the theoretical research intentions. To generate an appropriate instrument, the experts were contacted to formulate the basic constructs of the idea in their related fields. After having a detailed discussion 7 questions were formulated in a way that each question was essential to answer the required dimensions of HS and its practical implication. The instrument was refined on the basis of recommendations of the experts, as they also suggested attaching one paragraph explaining the proposed model and its functionality with its graphical presentation.

In order to investigate the research, questions were asked about participants' level of satisfaction towards the human security of Pakistan, and the level of expectations from new proposed set up based on one Turkish model of UPOS²³. Before conducting the actual study, the instrument was pilot tested, which shows good reliability and validity - the Chronbah's Alpha was higher than 0.7. Some sample items from the instrument were like:

- Is there a need to establish a new organization for human security (HS) aspect in Pakistan?
- Were the steps asserted to establish new organizational setup for human security organization (HSO) of Pakistan meet the expectations of its beneficiaries/officials?
- What is the central tendency of the respondents towards the new proposed set up?

Data analysis was conducted with the purpose to explore the perception of different experts of concerning organizations

and institutions on the current situation of HS. While on the other hand expectations of these experts were also considered and analyzed, regarding the new proposed setup. We received 138 filled questionnaire out of which 5 were not meeting the criteria for final selection, for example missing values and incomplete ones. Questionnaires were returned with the response rate of 66.5 %. Out of these 133 responses, we received 32 (24.06%) responses from the federal capital city (Islamabad) of Pakistan with highest proportion. On the other hand 23 (17.29 %) responses were from the city of Quetta and results also reveal that military personnel provided more responses with the rate of 78 % while bureaucrats were at 52%. Frequencies, standard deviations and means, were considered to explore HS of the said sample.

It is reflected that people having grade range of 17-18 provided highest responses (51), while special grade category response was 6 with least rate of response. Respondents having grade range of 17-18 belonging to military provided 20 responses while special grade of bureaucracy contributed 1 reply.

Table # 1

	Bureaucrats				Police Officials				Military Personnel				Judiciary				Total			
	Grade				Grade				Grade				Grade				Grade			
	17-18	19-20	21-22	Special	17-18	19-20	21-22	Special	17-18	19-20	21-22	Special	17-18	19-20	21-22	Special	17-18	19-20	21-22	Special
Islamabad	2	2	2	1	3	4	2	0	7	2	0	0	3	3	1	0	15	11	5	1
Lahore	2	2	1	0	4	2	3	0	4	2	2	0	2	2	2	0	12	8	8	0
Peshawar	1	1	2	0	3	3	1	0	3	3	2	1	2	1	2	1	9	8	7	2
Quetta	1	2	1	0	2	1	3	0	4	2	1	1	2	1	2	0	9	6	7	1
Karachi	2	2	2	0	3	2	2	0	2	1	2	0	2	1	1	2	9	6	7	2
Total	8	9	8	1	15	12	11	0	20	10	7	2	11	8	8	3	51	39	34	6
Grand total	26				38				39				30				133			

The more employment length was reported, ranging from 5 to over 10 years of service with 58 responses out of 133. They varied in four organizations but mostly they were between the range of 5-10 (43.9 percent) with 39 highest response rate

from Judiciary and lowest from bureaucrats (26). Descriptive statistics for the respondents are presented in following table.

Table # 2

	Bureaucrats				Police Officials				Military Personnel				Judiciary				Total			
	Experience				Experience				Experience				Experience				Experience			
	5-10	11-15	16-20	21 & above	5-10	11-15	16-20	21 & above	5-10	11-15	16-20	21 & above	5-10	11-15	16-20	21 & above	5-10	11-15	16-20	21 & above
Islamabad	3	1	2	1	3	3	3	0	4	2	3	0	3	3	1	0	13	9	9	1
Lahore	3	1	1	0	3	2	2	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	10	7	6	5
Peshawar	2	1	1	0	4	1	2	0	4	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	12	6	6	2
Quetta	2	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	5	2	1	0	2	2	1	0	12	6	4	1
Karachi	3	2	1	0	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	2	1	0	11	6	5	2
	13+6+6+1=26				16+8+10+4=38				18+9+8+4=39				11+11+6+2=30				58+34+30+11=133			

Perceptions (Current Situation of HS)

Concerning the questions gathered under perception regarding the various dimensions of HS, questions were asked to the participants to offer their responses by expressing the level of satisfaction on the performance level of government of Pakistan on various security dimensions of HS.

Study sample explored that 39 (29.3%) participants of the study showed their neutral response on the performance of government on economic security aspect of HS, while the respondents reported moderately low levels of satisfaction with the same notion (Mean = 2.43, SD = 1.157), and 38 (28.6%) participants of the study showed their dissatisfaction on the performance of government on food security aspect of HS, while moderately low levels of satisfaction with food security (Mean = 2.48, SD = 1.185). It was also uncovered that 53 (39.8%) participants were having dissatisfied response on the performance of government on health aspect of HS while moderately low levels of satisfaction with health security (Mean = 2.48, SD = 1.132). The neutral responses were 39 (29.3%) about the performance of government on environmental aspect of HS while there were responses showing moderately low levels of satisfaction with environmental security (Mean = 2.82, SD =

1.167). Analysis of responses discovered that 34 (25.6%) participants responded neutrally on the performance of government on personal aspect of HS while moderately low levels of satisfaction with personal security (Mean = 2.65, SD = 1.285). It was also revealed that 40 (30.1%) participants of the study exhibited their dissatisfied response on the performance of government on political aspect of HS while the respondents reported moderately low levels of satisfaction with health security (Mean = 2.50, SD = 1.341).

Table # 3

Human Security Dimensions		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Economic Security	Frequency	36	34	39	18	6	2.43	1.157
	Percent	27.1%	25.6%	29.3%	13.5%	4.5%		
Food Security	Frequency	33	38	35	19	8	2.48	1.185
	Percent	24.8%	28.6%	26.3%	14.3%	06.0%		
Health Security	Frequency	25	53	30	16	9	2.48	1.132
	Percent	18.8%	39.8%	22.6%	12.0%	06.8%		
Environmental Security	Frequency	22	30	39	31	8	2.82	1.167
	Percent	16.5%	22.6%	29.3%	25.6%	06.0%		
Personal Security	Frequency	33	29	34	25	12	2.65	1.285
	Percent	24.8%	21.8%	25.6%	18.8%	09.0%		
Political Security	Frequency	38	40	19	22	14	2.50	1.341
	Percent	28.6%	30.1%	14.3%	16.5%	10.5%		

Expectations (Proposed Setup of HS)

It was observed that the expectations of respondents were significantly different on the various aspects of new proposed setup for human security. Study respondents revealed that 37 (27.8%) participants agreed to set up policies/strategies for new proposed set up response of HS while there was moderately high levels of agreement with same notion of policies/strategies (Mean = 3.15, SD = 1.379). There were 36 (27.1%) participants of the study who exhibited their disagreement response on the administration aspect of HS for new proposed setup, while moderately low levels of agreement with administration (Mean = 3.06, SD = 1.186). It was seen that 42 (31.6%) participants of the study exhibited neutral response on the accountability aspect of new proposed set up of HS. This effort also explored

that 42 (31.6 %) participants of the study agreed on the information aspect of new proposed set up of HS. Research and coordination presented same agreement on new proposed setup with 40 (30.1%) and 35 (26.3%) values respectively.

Table # 4

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies	Frequency	22	25	23	37	26	3.15	1.379
	Percent	16.5%	18.8%	17.3%	27.8%	19.5%		
Administration	Frequency	12	36	34	34	17	3.06	1.186
	Percent	09.0%	27.1%	25.6%	25.6%	12.8%		
Accountability	Frequency	5	30	42	35	21	3.28	1.097
	Percent	03.8%	22.6%	31.6%	26.3%	15.8%		
Information	Frequency	8	26	39	42	18	3.27	1.109
	Percent	06.0%	19.5%	29.3%	31.6%	13.5%		
Research	Frequency	10	26	30	40	27	3.36	1.221
	Percent	07.5%	19.5%	22.6%	30.1%	20.3%		
Coordination	Frequency	15	26	28	35	29	3.28	1.311
	Percent	11.3%	19.5%	21.1%	26.3%	21.8%		

Expectation (Economic Security)

Following table presents that 44 respondents (33.1%) were agreed on new proposed set up which would help to formulate strategies regarding economic security aspect of HS. Study showed that 53 respondents (39.8%) agreed on new proposed setup for better administration of economic security on HS while expectations on the accountability aspect of new proposed setup is not much responsive in terms of disagreement level which is 27.1 percent in this case. On the other hand, people recorded their agreement response on information, research and coordination to improve the economic security values are given in following table.

Table # 5

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies Economic Security	Frequency	16	30	27	44	16	3.11	1.233
	Percent	12.0%	22.6%	20.3%	33.1%	12.0%		
Administration Economic Security	Frequency	5	38	21	53	16	3.28	1.117
	Percent	03.8%	28.6%	15.8%	39.8%	12.0%		
Accountability Economic Security	Frequency	28	36	27	18	24	2.82	1.424
	Percent	21.1%	27.1%	20.3%	13.5%	18.0%		
Information Economic Security	Frequency	9	24	29	63	8	3.29	1.079
	Percent	06.8%	18.0%	21.8%	47.4%	06.0%		
Research Economic Security	Frequency	16	28	27	35	27	3.22	1.316
	Percent	12.0%	21.1%	20.3%	26.3%	20.3%		
Coordination Economic Security	Frequency	17	34	18	38	26	3.17	1.349
	Percent	12.8%	25.6%	13.5%	28.6%	19.5%		

Expectations (Food Security)

Study results revealed that 44 (33.1%) participants exhibited that they were agreed to set up policies/ strategies concerning food security for new proposed set up response of HS, while the respondents reported moderately high levels of agreement with same notion of policies/strategies (Mean = 3.14, SD = 1.142). Analysis of respondents exposed that 45 (33.8%) participants were agreed on the administration feature of HS for new proposed setup. Following table indicates that 36 out of 133 respondents with the response rate of 27.1% expressed their neutral response regarding the accountability concern of food security for enhancing the overall HS, while 38 (28.6%) disagreed on the research aspect of food security. A strong response rate of 58% had been reported on the information of food security dealing with HS.

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Table # 6

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies Food Security	Frequency	11	31	33	44	14		
	Percent	08.3%	23.3%	24.8%	33.1%	10.5%	3.11	1.142
Administration Food Security	Frequency	9	26	34	45	19		
	Percent	06.8%	19.5%	25.6%	33.8%	14.3%	3.29	1.140
Accountability Food Security	Frequency	25	24	36	32	16		
	Percent	18.8%	18.0%	27.1%	24.1%	12.0%	2.92	1.289
Information Food Security	Frequency	10	24	34	58	7		
	Percent	07.5%	18.0%	25.6%	43.6%	05.3%	3.21	1.045
Research Food Security	Frequency	16	38	31	34	14		
	Percent	12.0%	28.6%	23.3%	25.6%	10.5%	2.94	1.205
Coordination Food Security	Frequency	18	35	21	38	21		
	Percent	13.5%	26.3%	15.8%	28.6%	15.8%	3.07	1.315

Expectations (Health Security)

Reported expectations regarding the health security for new proposed setup were diverse as 36.1 % people believed that to improve the HS policies, strategies should be formulated regarding health security issues. Administration, accountability and research in health security under new proposed setup had been reported neutral with response rate of 33.1%, 30.1 % and 26.3% respectively. The 53 respondents also agreed with the response rate of 39.8% on the information concerns of health security while coordination secured mix response as presented in the following table.

Table # 7

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies Health Security	Frequency	14	22	38	48	11		
	Percent	10.5%	16.5%	28.6%	36.1%	08.3%	3.15	1.125
Administration Health Security	Frequency	7	30	44	29	23		
	Percent	05.3%	22.6%	33.1%	21.8%	17.3%	3.23	1.141
Accountability Health Security	Frequency	22	27	10	30	11		
	Percent	16.5%	20.3%	07.5%	22.6%	10.5%	2.90	1.230
Information Health Security	Frequency	9	23	34	53	14		
	Percent	06.8%	17.3%	25.6%	39.8%	10.5%	3.30	1.087
Research Health Security	Frequency	10	31	35	36	21		
	Percent	07.5%	23.3%	26.3%	27.1%	15.8%	3.20	1.186
Coordination Health Security	Frequency	15	32	35	35	16		
	Percent	11.3%	24.1%	26.3%	26.3%	12.0%	3.04	1.202

Expectations (Environmental Security)

Environment security is another important dimension of HS and the expectations concerning the proposed new setup of HS have significance in holistic point of view. New proposed setup obtained good level of agreement (34.6%) regarding the effectiveness of policies/strategies and information components about environmental security, while administration and accountability got neutral responses 37.6% and 27.8 % respectively. With solid response of 35.3% people believed that new setup would augment the research orientation, and 32.3% supported that better coordination was achievable in the same direction.

Table # 8

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies Environmental Security	Frequency	9	27	32	46	19		
	Percent	06.8%	20.3%	24.1%	34.6%	14.3%	3.29	1.147
Administration Environmental Security	Frequency	6	32	50	24	21		
	Percent	04.5%	24.1%	37.6%	18.0%	15.8%	3.17	1.102
Accountability Environmental Security	Frequency	28	19	37	33	16		
	Percent	21.1%	14.3%	27.8%	24.8%	12.0%	2.92	1.312
Information Environmental Security	Frequency	11	33	31	46	12		
	Percent	08.3%	24.8%	23.3%	34.6%	09.0%	3.11	1.133
Research Environmental Security	Frequency	13	30	21	47	22		
	Percent	09.8%	22.6%	15.8%	35.3%	16.5%	3.26	1.255
Coordination Environmental Security	Frequency	7	36	36	43	11		
	Percent	05.3%	27.1%	27.1%	32.3%	08.3%	3.11	1.064

Expectations (Personal Security)

All five aspects of new proposed setup for HS presented the importance of personal security by showing strong level of agreement through good response rates, as 27.8 % people believed that to improve the HS policies/strategies should be formulated regarding personal security issues. Administration, accountability of personal security under new proposed setup had received a mix response rate, and 30.1% emphasized on accountability. Out of 133 respondents, 56

were also agreed with the response rate of 42.1% on the information concerns of personal security, while coordination secured 25.6% response but research got 27.1% neutral support on the same notion.

Table # 9

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies Personal Security	Frequency	17	35	26	37	18		
	Percent	12.8%	26.3%	19.5%	27.8%	13.5%	3.03	1.267
Administration Personal Security	Frequency	20	2	36	36	15		
	Percent	15.0%	1.5%	27.1%	27.1%	11.3%	3.00	1.237
Accountability Personal Security	Frequency	24	20	28	40	21		
	Percent	18.0%	15.0%	21.1%	30.1%	15.8%	3.11	1.344
Information Personal Security	Frequency	24	20	25	56	8		
	Percent	18.0%	15.0%	18.8%	42.1%	6.0%	3.03	1.243
Research Personal Security	Frequency	20	24	36	34	19		
	Percent	15.0%	18.0%	27.1%	25.6%	14.3%	3.06	1.272
Coordination Personal Security	Frequency	16	32	33	34	18		
	Percent	12.0%	24.1%	24.8%	25.6%	13.5%	3.05	1.2336

Expectation (Political Security)

Political security is another pillar to ensure the HS in any part of the world. People participated in this survey presented only one strong disagreement that the new setup would not be helpful in case of the accountability regarding political security with the response rate of 27.1%. People with 36% acknowledged that new set up would be helpful to formulate strategies regarding political security. The detail of the responses is in the following table.

Table # 10

New Proposed Setup		1	2	3	4	5	Mean	Std. Dev
Policies and Strategies Political Security	Frequency	14	24	28	49	18		
	Percent	10.3%	18.0%	21.1%	36.8%	13.5%	3.25	1.209
Administration Political Security	Frequency	15	34	21	34	29		
	Percent	11.3%	25.6%	15.8%	25.6%	21.8%	3.21	1.343
Accountability Political Security	Frequency	36	24	28	24	21		
	Percent	27.1%	18.0%	21.1%	18.0%	15.8%	2.77	1.428
Information Political Security	Frequency	19	18	28	50	18		
	Percent	14.3%	13.5%	21.1%	37.6%	13.5%	3.27	1.259
Research Political Security	Frequency	25	25	27	38	18		
	Percent	18.8%	18.8%	20.3%	28.6%	13.5%	2.99	1.334
Coordination Political Security	Frequency	22	36	27	27	21		
	Percent	16.5%	27.1%	20.3%	20.3%	15.8%	2.92	1.332

Discussion

Pakistan is facing multidimensional challenges of terrorism and threats to human population through-out the country, especially at the tribal belt of the region. The current situation of education, health and environment is worse which is creating many problems at various levels - one of them is increase in illiteracy. Pakistan, now a days requires a thorough analysis of HS. There is a pressing requirement to highlight the concept of HS in terms of its cognizance, policy, strategy formulation and institutional settings²⁴. More importantly, it is also needed to operationalize it with empirical testing across the globe to formulate a more generalized concept. This study contains a relative analysis of perceptions related to the performance of government institutions on HS and expectations on the desired levels through new proposed setup, which could meet the current requirements of HS notion holistically. The empirics of this study offer a framework to augment the capacity and performance of existing institutions. It is suggested that an open dialogue and adopting of public policies would prioritize the importance and usability of this proposed setup in current situation of threat and danger. The analysis and insights of the study also offered some realistic ways to build the ownership of the government on HS.

In this study, four major categories of experts pertaining to the said area contributed across the four provinces and federal capital of Pakistan with diverse experience and backgrounds. Health is a critical fragment of comfort and has important economic paybacks²⁵. Pakistan has guaranteed to advance the excellence of care and to attain the superior health outcomes but majority of the participants reported that they are not happy but they are dissatisfied from the current situation of HS levels in Pakistan. People are more dissatisfied with the health facilities provided by the government and they yearn for improvement in that. People also believe that new setup would improve the level of information to improve the health security and its concerns²⁶. The result reveal that people want to improve the information and its associated system, so that health security may participate in overall HS

Participants also expressed that the new proposed setup would bring changes and revolution in accountability and information levels of HS as a whole. People believed, that handling the related information and implementing appropriate administrative aspect in real framework could improve economic security. In other words poor administration and non-smooth flow of information to its stakeholders are the main reasons of failure of economy and its security in Pakistan. By implementing ISO 27000, as an international standard we can improve Information technology security techniques, information security management systems, which would ultimately lead to HS²⁷. On the other hand, by implementing management system models, administration can be improved regarding economic aspect of security.

Food security and its easy access, influence the nutritional wellbeing and development of human resources. The increasing food prices in recent times, results in high food cost with negative impact on nutrition status of the people, which ultimately leads to an increased crime rate. Therefore, the problem of food insecurity needs to be undertaken through a strategic approach by taking its demand, supply and easy availability factors into account²⁸. Food security can be

improved if government starts focusing on the policies, administration, information and coordination, as people are showing their more and more expectations from these areas.

Pakistan is also meeting environment complications, like many other developing countries, mainly due to hostile planning of urban and industrial extension, demographic evolution, lack of community awareness and illiteracy. Terrible maladministration of water and carelessness of other natural resources are one of the examples in the current pathetic condition of energy²⁹. The findings suggest that people expect that new proposed setup would contribute in the areas of policies formulation, and research to improve the environmental security. This proposed setup would enhance the capacity and functionality of existing institutions, which was the prime mission and objective of the study.

Recommendations

Problems in formulating, implementing and evaluating reforms, create imbalance in power relations among policy-makers, communities and interest groups in Pakistan. Major changes in security, political, economic, and personal life of common man and health conditions have supported many governments to cogitate restructuring in their security concerns and institutions. In addition to this, by reducing the physical conflicts amongst various groups, having their own interests, can uplift the overall human security level in the country. It would also help to formulate a more humble community that can always look for smooth solutions to deal with the problems. The proposed model would help to formulate more refined strategies regarding HS.

Poorly managed and trained people, who are handling security issues can be a critical constituent of the security complications confronted by the countries like Pakistan. Exploration and integration of various groups are needed, who have their direct roles to solve HS issues at national and regional level. However, the proposed model is not restricted

to military but also integrates the entire national decision-making process, by augmenting the relationship of various bodies like civil military relationship as well. This relationship would further strengthen the community input to all dimensions of HS and development. Effective use of all concerns of HS would enhance the overall efficiency and boost the overall image of the country at international level.

Conclusions

The study is leading a sequence targeting to track developments in perceptions of human security to offer thorough information to contribution in approachable policy-making and its full execution. The outcomes proposed here demonstrate numerous vital forms in perceptions of human security through four groups of experts in Pakistan. Lot of work in Pakistan has been already done on the part of human security but to improve the understanding of institutional capabilities and to create trust amongst the population is a vital and core issue. This study yet also specifies that numerous individuals feel that the security providing institutions are undeveloped and there is an influence from external players (such as society members and political concerns). These institutions are lacking the coordination amongst themselves also, they need to improve policy making, in line with the strategic issues of country.

The findings of this effort demonstrate that uncertainty is not an issue of discussion in numerous people's everyday lives, but terror of crime and mistrust in security providing institutions are closely connected with perceptions on human security. Socio-economic aspects also partake a foremost part in defining how protected the public feels, predominantly once Pakistan's future status has been decided, job opportunities and poverty would be key to indorsing up-coming stability and security.

In this study, the perceptions regarding the human security (current situation) of Pakistan and expectations from the newly proposed setup have been examined. The findings

revealed that current arrangements to tackle with human security issues are not sufficient. People are having concerns and they are not satisfied with the performance of the organizations. It does not mean they have all negative perceptions about the organizations, but they also give their positive consent regarding the proposed set up. These conclusions are in line with the review of literature by emphasizing that the proposal of new set up would be a good sign of success and change in human security which also makes the forms of Dr Mehboob Ul Haq in more feasible and practical form.

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*Conceptually Analysing and Proposing A New Dynamic Framework
for Human Security*

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BOOK REVIEW

*Dr. Moonis Ahmar**

Ehsan Mehmood Khan, *Human Security in Pakistan*
(Islamabad: Narratives, 2013), pp. 361. Price in Pakistan,
Rs.1,100/=

Human Security is an innovative and a non-traditional concept which emphasizes on dealing with issues which augment underdevelopment, illiteracy and social backwardness. The post-cold war era transformed the very notion of security and broadened its scope by inducting the human aspect of security. Pakistan, as a developing country is exposed to multiple threats of security. Most of these threats emanate from economic underdevelopment, marginalization of the weaker sections of society particularly women and minorities. It is in this perspective that a book with a comprehensive research on *Human Security in Pakistan* has been published by an Islamabad based security analyst Ehsan Mehmood Khan.

The book is divided into four chapters covering in detail the major themes of the concept of human security; the human security framework for Pakistan; the human security profile of Pakistan and the implementation of the concept and policy recommendation pertaining to human security. The book also contains Annexes dealing with the efforts for human security by the UN; details of journalists killed in Pakistan during the period 1994-2003; provincial makeup of Pakistan along with a comprehensive bibliography and index. The foreword of the book is written by Dr. Thomas A, Marks, Head of Department War and Conflict Studies, the College of International Security Affairs, National Defense University, Washington DC and Preface by Prof. Mijahid Kamran, Vice-Chancellor, University of the Punjab. The author was a fellow at the National Defense University Washington DC where he did the bulk of his research on the theme of his book.

Since the book under review is the first major research study on Human Security in the context of Pakistan, four major questions may be raised: Why human security in Pakistan is neglected by those who are at the helm of affairs? What are the critical issues which deepen the plight of vulnerable groups of Pakistani society? How corruption and nepotism is a source of human insecurity? How state can provide basic security to its citizens in the backdrop of militancy, radicalization and terrorism.

While the author has responded to most of the questions mentioned above he laments that “the predicament with human security is that it involves a greater number of affected parties but received the lowest level of attention. States certainly have the right to secure but not at the cost of people living within its frontiers or in other states. People too have certain frontiers in the form of human rights, needs and aspirations.” Unfortunately, most of the post-colonial states failed to fulfill the expectations of their people and undermined the basic needs of their citizens. Narrow interpretation of security and understanding it only in terms of military security and security of the ruling elites generated crisis at the societal level. Lately, there has been some realization in the developing world about the need to rethink the concepts of security and power and to broaden their scope while including other segments affecting the lives of majority of people.

While tracing the concept of human security, the author rightly argues that, “the Copenhagen School of Security Studies has made a noteworthy contribution in the securitization discipline including human security.” The UN also played its role in further broadening the scope of security as was also done by Dr. Mahbubul Haq under whose name the Human Development Center was established in Islamabad.

Another significant contribution of the book is a discussion on the Islamic Construct of Human Security but it would have been better had the author also examined why the overwhelming majority of Muslim countries have failed to

empower their own people and focus on human development. The fact that social and economic backwardness, lack of good governance and terrorism pose fundamental challenge to many Muslim countries needs to be looked into the perspective of human security. As pointed out by the author, “Islamic social order provides for a complete construct of the human security as it is widely understood in today’s political, social and economic world order” (p. 40). However, the question is why human security is not a priority as far as most of the regimes in the Muslim world are concerned?

The author has responded to the causes of human security predicament in Pakistan when he holds that, “coming to the human security image of Pakistan as a state and society, it is even more appalling. A state, where the rule of law is a missing commodity, and justice, both social and judicial, is the right of the might in general. Economy is surviving on foreign assistance in form of loans and grants. Economic progress has virtually halted if seen in terms of population growth.” (p.55). It is yet to be seen how serious is the present government in terms of human development, eradicating corruption, dealing with the menace of poverty, establishing the rule of law and empowering the vulnerable segments of society.

While going through the contents of book under review, three observations could be made. First, the author has worked hard in compiling facts and data pertaining to the issue of human security or insecurity in Pakistan. The elaboration of Chapter three by examining the issues of political security, economic security, personal security, community security, women security, children security, health security, environmental security and education security is commendable. Second, while the author has made concerted effort in his book to examine the concept of human security while providing relevant facts and data he has not been able to suggest a methodology as to how the issues which compound human plight and insecurity in Pakistan can be dealt with. Hence the book looks more descriptive rather than analytical or perceptive in nature. Third, the author has not mentioned the source(s) of the language map of Pakistan (p.123) table 3.6

on Comparative data of violence against women, 2008-2011 (p. 140). Likewise, most of the tables mentioned in the book lack relevant sources.

On the whole the book is a valuable account of Human Security in Pakistan and can be a source of enormous help and assistance to readers and researchers in the field of security studies. It can also serve as a text book on the subject of Human Security because it discusses in detail the concept of human security while focusing on Pakistan. The book is well documented with a rich bibliography, adequate references and notes.

** Meritorious Professor of International Relations, University of Karachi, Dean Faculty of Arts and Director, Program on Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution.*

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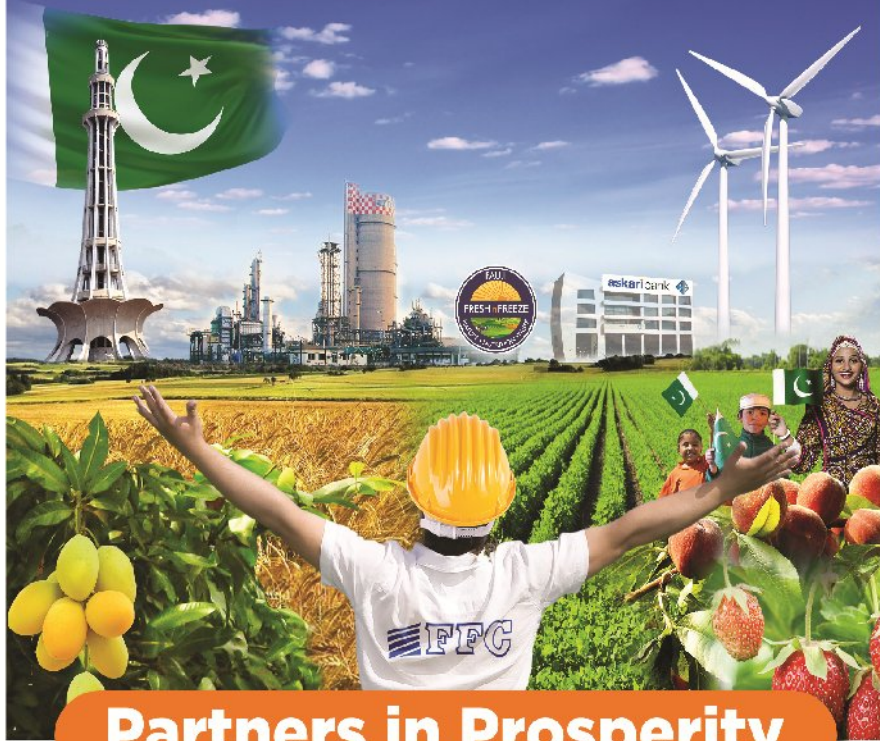
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- International Security Issues
- Nuclear Weapons, Armament and Related Issues
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