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MESSAGE OF PATRON

The evolving global security environment is though complex and challenging also offers opportunities to those who position themselves correctly. Correct strategic positioning is invariably a result of conceptual clarity obtained through objective research and analysis. To this end, Armed Forces War College (AFWC) in National Defence University promotes knowledge through enhanced research and analysis in the field of national security.

This edition of OPINION e-journal comprises research work undertaken by the course members of National Security and War Course (NSWC) 2013-14. The selected articles are of general interest to a wide range of researchers, scholars and policy makers. We expect the journal to promote scholarly knowledge by inspiring discussions and information sharing with regards to comprehensive national security.

I would like to acknowledge the commitment and hard work of the entire team of OPINION on publication of its 3rd edition. I hope the ideas shared would contribute towards creating awareness on the security matters highlighting need to promote peace and stability.

Major General Hidayat Ur Rehman, HI (M)
Commandant, Armed Forces War College
National Defence University, Islamabad
CHIEF EDITOR’S CORNER

We feel great pleasure in presenting the 3rd edition of our AFWC “Opinion” e-journal, the first publication of this year’s biannual issue. Deliberate efforts have been made by all concerned to maintain the high standard set forth by the University in bringing the well researched work by the panels of NSWC 2013-14 mainly comprising seminars and military history presentations on key issues.

For our new readers, OPINION journal is a publication of Pakistan’s premier institution National Defence University Islamabad. The magazine is a collection of selected researched work of the panels /individuals. Journal is broadly divided into four sections i.e. Global / Regional issues, National Security, Military Strategy and views of individual writers on contemporary issues.

I strongly believe that readers will find new ideas in this edition as well. I am looking forward for valued suggestions for further improvement.

Commodore Ayaz Ahmed Nasir SI (M)
Chief Editor OPINION
AFWC Journal
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PART – I

Global / Regional Issues

- Global Narratives
- Rising China: Geopolitical Implications for the Region
- Central and West Asia (ECO Region)
GLOBAL NARRATIVES

Abstract

Throughout the course of history, states, organisations and groups have used various means to safeguard their core values and further their interests. With specific purpose in mind, these means have taken various forms, from material to abstract. In the current media ecology, the concept of carefully crafted stories, often called as ‘Narratives’ is increasingly becoming fashionable as a function of strategy with states devoting more focus to their understanding and use as a tool to further their own interests. Besides being a propaganda tool, it is through the use of narratives that emerging and great powers project their values and interests in order to extend their influence, manage expectations and mould public opinion. Due to peculiar strategic environment, Pakistan is a victim of plethora of internal and external narratives targeting the ideological foundations and its image in the comity of nations. On the other hand, there seems to be very little conceptual understanding of the existence and purpose of such hostile narratives, thus, a strategy to counter or mitigate the effects of such negative narratives seems lacking. There is, therefore, a need to study and analyse the formulation of narratives, especially in the context of contemporary global narratives, their application in the modern international system with specific reference to Pakistan.

Introduction

“A well-thought-out story doesn’t need to resemble real life. Life itself tries with all its might to resemble a well-crafted story”

Isaac Babel

Throughout the course of history, states, organisations and groups have used various means to safeguard their core values and further their interests. With specific purpose in mind, these means have taken various forms, from material to abstract. The concept of carefully crafted stories, often called as ‘Narratives’ is increasingly becoming fashionable as a function of strategy with states devoting more focus to their understanding and use as a tool to further their interests. Besides being a propaganda tool, it is through the use of narratives that countries project their values and interests in order to extend their influence, manage expectations and mould public opinion. Though strategy is an attempt to get to desirable ends with available means, however strategy does not merely need to orchestrate tactical actions only, but also construct the interpretive structure which gives them meaning and links them to the end of policy. That is, it offers a framework into which participants and observers can fit the facts before them.

In this age of information overload, multiple and complimentary narratives are in circulation, may those be part of propaganda or to foster national cohesion. Due to peculiar strategic environment, Pakistan is the focus of internal and external narratives targeting the credibility and our image in the comity of nations. On the other hand,
there seems to be very little conceptual understanding of the existence and purpose of such hostile narratives, thus, a strategy to counter or mitigate the effects of such hostile narratives seems missing.

With this in view, the study essentially endeavours to focus on developing an understanding of the conceptual contours of narratives, current trends and establishing its linkage to Pakistan.

**Aim**

To study the formulation of narratives including contemporary dominant narratives, their application in the modern international system with specific reference to Pakistan and suggesting a way forward.

**UNDERSTANDING NARRATIVES**

**What is a Narrative?** Narrative in its most simple form means “a description of events.”¹ A more detailed version states that “A narrative is a story of connected events, presented to a reader or listener in written or spoken words, or in a sequence of (moving) pictures.”² In their most basic attire, they represent compelling story-lines that follow literary conventions. Gearoid Ó Tuathail in his description establishes linkage between story and narrative: ‘Storylines are sense-making organizational devices tying the different elements of a policy challenge together into a reasonably coherent and convincing narrative’.³ While the narrative in its simplest form is simply a story, the concept has evolved and found much wider usage in business and international politics in the form of Strategic Narrative or Strategic Communication:

- **Strategic Narrative.** The first published use of the term “Strategic Narrative” was in 2006 by Lawrence Freedman, he identifies “strategic narratives” as a kind of secret weapon of networked combatants fighting irregular wars.⁴ In his view, it is a story that connects people emotionally to an identity and a mission and helps dispersed groups to cohere and guides its strategy. Andrew Linklator, opines that Strategic narratives are state-led projections of a sequence of events and identities, a tool through which political leaders try to give meaning to past, present and future in a way that justifies what they want to do.⁵ Thus, strategic narrative is a function of strategy in the most traditional sense related to the science of war. Moreover, strategic narratives integrate interests and goals – they articulate end states and suggest how to get there.⁶

- **Strategic Communication.** Strategic communication can mean either communicating a concept, a process, or data that satisfies a long term strategic goal of an organization.⁷ According to US Department of Defence, Strategic Communication is defined as: Focused United States Government efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions favourable for the advancement of United States
Government interests, policies, and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages, and products synchronized with the actions of all instruments of national power. Thus, it can be concluded that Strategic Communication is a tool through which Strategic Narratives are communicated to the audience.

Why Narratives are Crafted? A narrative with strategic purpose is essentially crafted with a specific design and purpose. Some possible reasons to craft a narrative(s) can be:

- **Shaping Opinion.** Communication of narrative is aimed towards influencing the attitude of the audience towards some cause or position by usually presenting only one side of an argument. The story is usually repeated and dispersed over a wide variety of media in order to create the chosen result in audience attitudes.

- **Give Meaning and Legitimacy to Events.** Marc Howard Ross states "Narratives are explanations for events (large and small) in the form of short, common sense accounts (stories) that often seem simple. Narratives are especially relevant in times of high uncertainty and high stress when people feel vulnerable and are looking for logical explanations to their worries and fears."  

- **Prelude to a Grand Design.** A narrative may often be a prelude to a grand design, where the actors involved develop and distribute a well laid out story which besides moulding public opinion also prepares the ground for a bigger action which ultimately achieves the grand design. US invasion of Iraq in 2003 is a case in point, where world opinion was constantly fed about the brutality of Saddam regime and its possession of weapons of mass destruction which ultimately justified (in their opinion, though) the subsequent invasion.

- **Justify Follow up Actions – The Justification Narrative.** A simple justification narrative is often needed when an organisation or a government has determined a policy that is beneficial to them, but has no benefit, or even extremely negative consequences, for the majority of people. Thus, in order to make the idea more palatable, a justification narrative is created to mould public opinion, well before the actual idea or policy is made public.

- **Positive or Negative Ends.** Towards the positive side, governments may develop and use narratives to address the public grievances, raise morale, foster integration etc. However, at the same time negative narratives may be created about a group, state, organisations and even governments, which essentially promotes and justifies antagonist approach towards such elements.

- **Gain and Maintain Influence.** Global powers use strategic narratives to establish and maintain influence in the international system and to shape the
system itself. This is particularly the case in periods of transition in the international system when challengers to hegemonic powers emerge.

- **Creating and Maintaining Alliances.** During protracted conflict, political leaders face numerous challenges associated with political communication to maintain alliances. Narratives are important in this process as they set out the story of why a state is involved in a conflict, who is with the state and against the state, and how the conflict will be resolved. Narratives serve as the bridge between images of other states and foreign policy behaviour.¹¹

- **Forging Unity – The Concept of National Narrative.** “A national narrative is a nation’s story, an articulation of its ideology and ambitions that rationalises its existence and provides a sense of community, interconnectedness and shared identities that underpin the structures of nationhood”.¹² The “story” may be constructed and manoeuvred or evolve indigenously through shared experiences and a common history.

**The Paradox of a Narrative – Myth and Reality.** Narratives, especially those crafted and used in international system are not necessarily analytical or evidence-based, they rely on deliberate or inadvertent omissions and selectivity and thus fashion collective blind spots.¹³ Here we must distinguish between story and plot: ‘the story is what happened in life, the plot is the way the author presents it to us’.¹⁴ Narratives are, in effect, ‘structures of attention’ and ‘structures of inattention’ that can draw an audience’s focus away from certain events towards others.

**Countering a Narrative**

- Sudden and knee jerk reaction to a hostile narrative without a strategy is indicative of paranoia, which actually is one of the purpose of hostile narrative itself.

- Repeated claims of innocence in response to a hostile narrative actually give more publicity to the actual narrative itself, which otherwise may not have been noticed.

- This leads to the question that is it really necessary to react to a narrative? Or to just ignore it? Or come up with an alternate strategy?

- Before reacting to or framing a response, it is necessary to identify the narrative itself, its theme, originator and most importantly its purpose.

- One option is to come up with a “Counter Narrative” of one’s own with the primary objective to minimise the effects of the original narrative by diverting public attention through a new theme.
• A counter narrative is a new story altogether which gives a new direction to audience’s imagination.

• A counter narrative does not need to be announced; rather the story telling and dissemination process should adopt a subtle and graduated approach, slowly and gradually administering suitable dozes to the audience. Too much exuberance will always raise eye brows.

Examples From Past. States, powers, and groups have consistently used the medium of strategic narratives to further their interests and justify actions. Four key narratives from the recent past shall be discussed here as case studies:

• Cold War. The concept of competing narratives by the US and USSR remained a key component during the Cold War, wherein both sides maintained the narrative approach to maintain alliances and justify curtailment of each other’s influence.

➢ The primary US narrative was built around projecting own values as US being leader of the so called capitalist Free World and that it would invest in containing the sneaky communists led by the evil empire of Soviet Union. Soviet intentions and actions were portrayed as wicked, like the bait of “Warm Water Theory” in Afghanistan, which justified US actions in containment of communism.

➢ Meanwhile, the Soviet Union also stressed conformity of their people by warning against the greed and corruption of the capitalists. The Soviet propaganda supported the ideals of communism encouraging people to work hard for the common good demonizing the individualism of capitalism.

➢ Each country encouraged their people to be patriotic and vigilant against the evil coming to get them. Doing one’s duties, without speaking out, was the only way to succeed against the looming threat of war.

• US & USSR –Narratives in Vietnam and Afghanistan. It is interesting to note how the US and USSR evolved their narratives and explained their respective military defeats in Vietnam and Afghanistan to their domestic publics and to international audiences. Each began with the claim that order had been disrupted and needed to be restored, for the sake of national interest and the good of the international system. Each then continually offered a narrative of progress; fortitude and inevitable victory, as fighting went on. Finally, as victory seemed impossible, each sought to narrate a form of resolution acceptable both to domestic public opinion and to signify strength and honour to external actors.
• 9/11 Narratives. The narrative theory makes an interesting case study in the context of 9/11 attacks, as to how an event can be narrated in two different ways to mould the public opinion. Consider the two accounts:

➢ First Account. Two huge commercial jetliners smash into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre. Soon after, the buildings collapse. Thousands die as public learns that terrorists willing to commit suicide hijacked planes and turned them into weapons of mass destruction. This is an evil act and an act of war, a sneak attack like Pearl Harbour and the only response to being attacked is to attack back, both to punish those responsible for the carnage and to prevent future attacks. Defending civilization against terrorism requires hunting down the supporters and perpetrators of terror and the regimes that support them.

➢ Second Account. Two huge commercial jetliners smash into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre. Soon after, the buildings collapse. Thousands die as the public learns that terrorists willing to commit suicide hijacked planes and turned them into weapons of mass destruction. This may have been an evil act, but now the suffering Americans know what it is like to live in physical terror. It is an experience many people in third world have known for years. This will lead, once again, to revengeful war and innocent civilians will bear the brunt of the suffering. Thousands of civilians shall die, new refugees will be created in a land that has already suffered from more than 20 years of on-going war.

The two narratives start in the same place, but then head in different directions which evoke far different images. Whereas the first invokes images of justice which resonates for most of the American public, the second predicts uncontrolled revenge and more of an injustice, which reverberates anti US sentiments.

• Narratives of Arab Spring

➢ Many leaders in the West and protestors taking part in the Arab Spring promoted a narrative about the spread of freedom, often blending this with the hope and vigour of youth and potential of social media. These narratives set expectations and defined what the leaders were expected to do, that is to step aside.

➢ Some analysts observe that US has been engaging in narrative control for quite some time in the context of Arab Spring. In September 2011, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton weaved a tale that suggested a certain level of inevitability to the events unfolding in the Middle East. One by one, she contended, authoritarian governments were being overthrown by angry and forward-looking populaces. It will only be a matter of time, Clinton argued, before the entire Middle East goes through a transformation that sees all its countries embrace democracy, secular
institutions, and unprecedented freedom. It is not being suggested that this wasn’t a valid interpretation of events. It very well may be. But what is important to understand here is that the US presented this narrative in a very overt and calculated way. For many of those in the Middle East, the story was most certainly compelling and potentially inspiring. And for those sitting on the fence or considering radical action, this story of apparent inevitability actually compelled them to join the winning team.

Conclusions

Amassing material resources is not the only mechanism a country can pursue its interests. By projecting its narrative and that narrative being comprehensible and appealing to other powers or transnational audiences, a country may meet aims where the use of material resources and capabilities may fail to do so.

Narratives and counter narratives have a time span, with the change in environment, the context or paradigm may change. Thus, for a narrative to be successful, it must evolve and keep pace with the environment. A recent example is that of US military narrative in Afghanistan which gradually moved to ‘counter terrorism’ from ‘counter insurgency’. There was a realisation that the word insurgency does not resonate well with the people and has a semblance of defeat in it, thus a more lucrative and receptive word of counter terrorism was chosen which appeals more to local and international audience.

Narratives of the powerful with more resources at their disposal tend to be more effective and acceptable. Moreover, electronic media is not the only medium for communicating the narrative, academia and think tanks play an equally important role. US is estimated to have over 1400 think tanks, thus, her ability to communicate a narrative to a wider audience is much effective than others.

The concept of narratives is not new; it has been there in some forms for quite some time with the names of Information Warfare, Propaganda, and Perception Management etc. It has become more fashionable with a new fancy name.

The idea of narratives opens up another dimension of military operations. Instead of being geared to eliminating the assets of the enemy, we might need to be focused on undermining those ideals on which that enemy bases its appeal and which animates and guides its activities. Thus, it can be argued that narratives form an important tool of fifth generation warfare.

Narratives help provide "an alternative way of thinking about the world." Whereas rationality is seen as dependent on facts and logic, narrative rationality depends on an audience's desire to align their own values to a depiction of an event.

A counter narrative shall not be effective unless it is superior to the actual narrative, thus attracting more attention and acceptability. Therefore the concept of counter narrative must be seen in the context of having a “Superior Narrative”.

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The concept of narratives is not restricted to states and governments only. In the current media ecology, especially with the power of social media, narratives of non-state actors can be equally powerful, if not less.

Strategies unfold in a context, not in isolation from the events occurring around them. There is a historical and cultural setting to strategies; as to all forms of narrative that many people have struggled to understand. A powerful strategic narrative ultimately defines a world that others can step into.

CONTEMPORARY DOMINANT NARRATIVES

Great powers use strategic narratives to establish and maintain influence in the international system and to shape the system itself. The purpose is either to quell a future challenger or to maintain/strengthen its hold on international structure. Thus, strategic narratives are a tool through which countries can articulate their interests, values and aspirations in ways that offer the opportunity for enhancing its share of power avoiding violent struggles. Analysis of international political communication within media ecology of today is central to evaluating how strategic narratives are projected and the interactions that follow.

General Strategic Narratives

- **Irresponsible State.** The narrative is largely used against states/ regimes that are alleged to have behaved or continue to behave in irresponsible manner. The states/ regimes are maligned of being irresponsible in their conducts hence, is utilised to isolate those or to condition their behaviour as per own desires/interests e.g. against Iran during the regime of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

- **Human Rights.** The narrative is principally used to keep such governments under pressure which have/had faced certain degree of disturbance, whether indigenous or surreptitiously created in countries. The incident could range from benign Tiananmen Square demonstration to a full blown insurgency. However, its use has been highly selective as countries like Thailand, Philippines, Uzbekistan, India and Israel seem to be ignored.

- **Just War/Intervention.** The narrative of just war or intervention depicts an implicit desire of global power(s) to either initiate war or to intervene into an already simmering conflict. The most cited reason has been to protect its interests/universal human values. Mantra of ‘Legitimate Security Concerns’ is misused and abused, when there are no other plausible reasons for aggression. Examples include Korean War, Vietnam War, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan etc.

- **Pre-Emption/Preventive War.** Though pre-emption has theoretically been a choice of a weaker country, yet it has lately been employed by the stronger on pretext of ‘preventive war’. Second Gulf War is a case in point.
• **Environmental Concerns.** Notwithstanding their own share of environmental pollution, developed countries have been using this narrative to check development of various projects in developing countries e.g. creating hindrances in construction of Three Gorges Dam in China.

• **Religious Extremism.** Though relatively recent in origin, this has been made synonymous with actions of various Muslim groups. The term is hardly coined for Christian extremist elements of Northern Ireland or Basque separatists of Spain or Militia of pre-partition South Sudan. However, it is generously used for groups operating in FATA, MILF in Philippines, Al-Shabab in Somalia, Boko Haram in Nigeria etc.

• **Rogue State.** States that are perceived to be behaving in a manner that would presumably threaten regional / global peace are termed as rogue states. The narrative is employed to coerce and isolate these states on various accounts i.e. economically, militarily, culturally etc. Few examples are of North Korea, Qaddafi’s Libya, Iran etc.

• **Cyber Threats.** The narrative of cyber threat is employed to pressurise such states which are perceived to be conducting cyber espionage. However, it is mainly used against Asian / developing countries like China, Russia etc.

• **Balance of Power.** Countries with legitimate security concerns are denied access to much needed defence military hardware / software on the pretext of mantra of maintaining regional ‘Balance of Power’. Though, the adversary may be exponentially stronger yet a weaker country is deprived in the context of narrative.

• **Energy Supply and Security.** The beginning of it can be traced back to Oil Embargo of 1973. In order to keep one’s energy supply secure, world powers resort to several means from overthrowing less cooperative regimes to continue attempting or destroying entire countries on various flimsy pretexts. Examples include Iraq, Venezuela, Libya, CARs through Afghanistan etc.

• **Democracy and Freedom.** This arguably has been the most widely used but abuse of the narratives. Considering oneself to be the universal custodian of such values, West has been found colluding to interfere in internal affairs of countries. Regimes once considered relevant and beneficial were ignored of the same practices that were later deemed abominable, reprehensible and punishable. Regimes of Saddam Hussein and Syria’s Asad Family are recent examples.

• **Nuclear Proliferation.** The guiding principle has been to maintain hegemony over nuclear military technology. The narrative is largely used against states that are required to be kept under constant pressure for either their ambitions or ability to make a nuclear bomb. It has been selectively used
to prevent states from acquiring nuclear weapons. However, where deemed appropriate, states like Israel have been assisted in its pursuits. Recently, it was used against Pakistan while concluding a civilian nuclear deal with India. With no clear evidence to support their assertions, westerners have largely been found casting a dark shadow over Pakistan’s nuclear program. Though, the same opinion makers seem perfectly at ease with Indian and Israeli bombs.

• **Global / Regional Peace, Stability and Security.** Another largely misused narrative is of regional peace, security and stability. Usually employed to portray actions / intentions of certain countries to be detrimental to global / regional peace, security and stability. Syrian conflict and Iraqi occupation of Kuwait are some of the examples.

• **Women’s Rights and Emancipation.** In addition to Human Rights, narrative of women’s rights / emancipation is also going round. Used against those who do not believe / practice these as defined by the western beliefs. UNSC resolution on the issue provided a potent leverage to enforce it on various countries albeit selectively. Indian foeticide of girl foetus and killing of infant girls are hardly mentioned internationally.

• **Conspiracy Theory.** Easiest of ways found to negate presence of narratives and wrong doings is through the narrative of ‘conspiracy theory’. The use of this narrative implies that usurper is not required to clarify the position and term the whole affair a conspiracy theory.

• **Child Labour.** This is another example of thrusting self perceived universal values on countries where children are forced to work on various pretexts. The background of it is considered less in children welfare and more in economic interests, whereby it was framed to deprive competitor economies of cheap labour, and children being the cheapest. The narrative is, however, accruing positive effects as well.

• **Harbouring and Exporting Terrorism.** Countries perceived or depicted to be abodes of terrorists are labelled as states sponsoring or harbouring terrorism. In its garb, India quite deftly has been able to hide her own doings in Kashmir and labelled Pakistan for the menace, instead. West, quite deliberately and hypocritically, has turned a blind eye to Indian atrocities, perhaps because it is not happening with Christians as was in South Sudan and East Timor, neither it is about oil or dictators who would support the West in its business around the globe.

• **Failing States.** Such countries that experience down slide in economy along with poor law & order situation for a protracted period of time are labelled as a failing states.
• **Rights of Minorities.** The narrative of violation of minority rights is crafted / propagated to portray a country as a violator of basic rights of minorities living in its boundaries.

• **Gender Equality.** Another narrative with its origin in western beliefs and life styles is that of gender equality. It implies providing equality to women in all walks of life. The fact that the religion of Islam already lay emphasis on gender equality is not known to the proponents.

• **Free Trade.** The narrative is based on economic interests rather than political ones. The purpose is to open markets of developing countries to goods of developed countries. With advanced countries able to provide large subsidies to various sectors, less developed countries are largely found grossly lagging in trade equivalence.

**PAKISTAN AND THE PREVALENT NARRATIVES**

**External Narratives Against Pakistan.** Narratives that are considered to be active against Pakistan on global plane are enumerated in succeeding paragraphs.

• **Rogue State.** Pakistan is sometimes regarded as such owing to apprehensions with respect to irresponsible behaviour towards nuclear proliferation, belligerency towards India, siding with China on occasions etc. The allegations get greater attention in the event of Pakistan deciding against towing a desired line. Although, that may be in Pakistan’s national interest.

• **Irresponsible State, Harbouring and Exporting Terrorism.** The allegations are made despite Pakistan losing the most to terrorism than the entire world combined. Yet, West for implicit reasons e.g to please India accuses Pakistan of doing exactly the contrary to what is actually true on ground.

• **Failing State.** The narrative is used to cast a dark shadow on Pakistan’s internal situation. The situation though, bad is in no way hopeless or edging towards failing. The mantra is often repeated in the wake of a serious attack by terrorists on an important public installation. Sometimes the federal government is attributed weak and inapt to handle and control its Army and intelligence agencies who are accused of engaging in acts of supporting terrorism.

• **Nuclear Proliferation / Security.** The narrative of Pakistan exporting nuclear weapons or Pakistan’s nuclear weapons under threat of being stolen by terrorists keeps making rounds every few years. This despite the fact that Pakistan’s nuclear safety and proliferation record is among the best in the world and acknowledged as such.
• **Minority Rights.** Law and order situation has hit across length and breadth of Pakistan. Some extremists have found an excuse to maltreat minorities by exploiting, misusing and abusing blasphemy law. Moreover, LEAs who are always found lacking in response are found to be even more callous in case of minorities. Thus, giving fodder to this ill intended narrative to malign Pakistan. The same pundits of minority rights completely ignore the happenings in India, Israel, Philippines, Thailand, Myanmar etc.

**Internally Active Narratives.** Along with external narratives, there are certain local elements, which have been targeting Pakistan’s state, nationhood, ideology, norms & culture and beliefs. Such elements and their narratives need to be identified, understood and neutralised.

• **Narratives by Miscreants and Anti State Activists**
  
  ➢ **Terrorists (TTP and its Allies)**
  
  ▪ **Western Agenda.** The narrative implies that a person or an entity is propagating agenda of ‘infidels’ in the country. Every Government of Pakistan, projected as a stooge of US, has been played out to attract the hard line segments of society.
  
  ▪ **Imposition of Shariah.** Terrorists have been propagating imposition of Shariah as their overtly stated goal. Their justification of use of violence is promulgated as a legitimate tool against western sponsored government/army. Though, their actions are largely contrary to shariah teachings.
  
  ▪ **Democracy / Constitution of Pakistan are Un-Islamic.** Hard liners criticise Pakistan’s constitution and associated practices as un-Islamic and contradictory to teachings of Islam. They claim to be fighting to establish Khilafat in Pakistan, in line with the teachings and practices of Islam, as they perceive to be correct.
  
  ➢ **Sub Nationalists and Anti State Elements**
  
  ▪ **Deprivation of Smaller Provinces.** Some disenchanted elements of the society along with main stream political groups have been using this narrative for their political gains. The fact, which is deliberately ignored, is that such negative assertions by one federating unit against another could weaken foundations of the Federation.
  
  ▪ **Persecution of a Particular Race / Group of People.** The narrative is largely played out in the context of sufferings of people of Balochistan. The local system of governance is acquitted and fault is squarely placed at the federal government.
  
  ▪ **Provincialism over Nationalism.** Proponents of provincialism / sub nationalism propagate the narrative of working for the masses of a
particular province vis-a-vis the larger interest of Pakistan. Sentiment such created proves detrimental to the interests of Pakistan as a state.

• Narratives Vectored by Media, Academics etc

  ➢ Military above Government. Aim of this narrative is to publicise military in negative light. De-motivating effects of such practice are not discerned by its proponents. The extent of its negative impact on military’s efficiency is also overlooked.

  ➢ Dubious Role of Intelligence Agencies. Pakistan’s intelligence gathering agencies are another easy target of the fire-mongers. The nation’s intelligence agencies, whether military or civil, have a secretive role to play. Not understanding the task they have to perform, proponents tarnish the image of these vital public institutions.

  ➢ Military Acting Against Regional Peace. The narrative originated in India, where Indian media blames Pakistan’s military to be scuttling the peace process. It is propagated that the politicians desired peace but the military is opposed to it. Unfortunately, the narrative has also found some receptive ears in Pakistan, who act as mouth pieces of Indian propaganda machinery, whether knowingly or unknowingly.

  ➢ Security Institutions Failing. Notwithstanding the declining trends in terrorists’ related activities, the narrative is used to create a doubt about military’s ability to defend the citizens. The propaganda of narrative ignores the successes made by the armed forces.

  ➢ Defence Budget. Another narrative going around is the size of defence budget. The budget is propagated to be growing which on the contrary has actually shrunk both; in real terms as well as share of GDP, despite the fact that the defence forces are involved in a massive and protracted campaign against terrorism.

• Narratives about Two Nation Theory. The most lethal way to shake state’s foundations is to strike at its ideology. Two nation theory being racist or getting drowned in Bay of Bengal have started making rounds lately. Such people would have made Indira Gandhi very proud, as it was she who stated it in 1971.18 People with little or no understanding of ideology fall prey to carefully crafted stories related to the narrative.

ANALYSIS AND WAY FORWARD

Pakistan like many other states has not been immune from being a target of hostile narratives. Therefore, it can be concluded that:-

• Pakistan seems to be the target of a well conceived and executed 5th Generation Warfare. Anti Pakistan narratives are abuzz and are targeted at the very foundation of the State.
• With narratives in play around us, our rulers and local population seems ignorant of their presence, and have no understanding of their handling and mitigating. The tendency results in people not only falling prey to the propaganda, but also involuntarily supporting them.

• The leadership at large seems to have no knowledge or awareness of this 5th generation warfare being conducted in our backyard.

• Our media, which is already attracting so many allegations on its motives and integrity, seems to be in some sort of collusion to propagate the narratives. This may primarily originate from the desire to look for and broadcast sensationalising news.

• The narratives unless countered with all possible means available may prove to be more destructive than a conflict, as conflicts unite nations, yet the narratives are striking at our very foundations.

Thus, there is a need to build and frame a comprehensive response which not only counters the existing narratives but also addresses the root cause. For this purpose, three key areas are being identified in which our response should focus.

**National Narrative of Pakistan**

The question of the “National Narrative” of Pakistan, representing our collective history, identity, values and aspirations as a people, remains unanswered. Contesting ideas of the meaning and the purpose of Pakistan are held across the class spectrum, and by different ethnic and linguistic groups. Amidst all the economic and political tensions plaguing Pakistan today, some scholars have argued that the most potent issue facing the country is the absence of a unified national narrative.

• **Using Narrative as a Political Slogan.** Different slogans are raised from time to time to protect and advance each partisan societal narrative. Political leaders and parties offer new and catchy slogans for their interests and so called betterment of the people.

• **Selective Use of History.** While building the narrative for the future and inventing slogans, the political leaders and intellectuals make a selective use of history and sometimes engage in re-writing history in order to justify their projected notions of the present and the future. They selectively pick up historical events and out of context statements made by past leaders, in a manner that strengthens their political agenda.

• **Plurality of Narratives.** Even the writers and intellectuals do not seem to agree as to how many narratives of Pakistan are in circulation. Different figures and narratives are quoted in various writings, some of these are:

  ➢ The original narrative of Muslim League.
The Islamist vision that sees Pakistan as an ideological enterprise.

Islamic-sectarian Pakistan.

Narrative of the liberal elite.

The regionalist and sub nationalist narrative.

External narrative, which describes Pakistan according to external viewpoint, and the latest additions like New Pakistan Jinnah’s Pakistan

Use of religion in our historical narratives has had a more of a divisive effect instead of gluing the nation to a single identity. Thus, there is a need for a more pluralistic and more inclusive national narrative which does not exclude the people represented by the white colour in our flag.

Way Forward

It is because of this plurality of narratives propounded in a vacuum left unattended by a unifying national story, that Pakistan is bereft with anti-state, anti-nationalist, extremist and terrorist forces. Plurality is not the issue, rather the inability to accommodate such pluralism and re-articulate it in a cohesive, unifying national discourse, which does not silence discontent, critique and diversity. It is earnestly felt that there is a dire need to define, articulate and draft a consensus narrative for Pakistan to define our past, present and future. One view in this regard has been described by Dr. Hassan Askari as:

“The original grand narrative of Pakistan was advocated by the Muslim League leadership in the first decade of independence. They acknowledged the relevance of Islam to nation and state building because they had advocated a new nationalism as alternate to the Congress-led, secular one-nation theory. This narrative assigned the highest priority to representative governance, constitutionalism, the rule of law and equal citizenship. Islamic history and traditional Islamic laws were viewed as one of the sources of law that was to be made by an elected assembly. They agreed that no Pakistani law should violate the basic teaching and principles of Islam but the religious leadership was not given the final word to decide if the legislation conformed to the teachings and principles of Islam. This matter could be decided by the superior judiciary or parliament itself”.

Narrative to Define the Current State of Affairs

There is a confusion in the masses about the events that confront Pakistan today may it be Taliban threat, drones, relations with US, India etc. The war on terror is a prime example which can be taken as a case study, where our argument suffers from a degree of incongruity, if there is any argument at all. There are a number of questions unanswered:

- Is this war our own? While there may be a variety of opinions, our leaders especially those in government have failed to come with a comprehensive narrative which defines the ownership of this war.
• Are the motives and actions of TTP simply a blowback of US actions and when the US is gone from Afghanistan, the Taliban will suddenly become law-abiding citizens. Or there is a larger agenda with which they are working for?

• While everyone knows, or thinks he does, most do not understand the complexity of this war. In the absence of a unified narrative the strategy of dislocation, isolating the insurgent/terrorist from the context that strengthens him, has not been effectively put in place.

• Finally, communication is an essential element in a conflict. While the Taliban are effectively addressing the Pakistanis, the state has to realise that it, too, is supposed to do that. The Taliban narrative is clear, concise and precise. It creates and exploits the fault lines within. The state’s narrative (If there is any) is weak and confused.21

Way Forward

• Government backed up by academicians must come up with an equally powerful counter-narrative against terrorism and extremism which should address following areas:-
  ➢ Ownership of this war.
  ➢ If this is our war, Why so?
  ➢ Why are we in it?
  ➢ Who is the enemy?
  ➢ What are the motives of miscreants, TTP etc.
  ➢ This is a complex war, why is it so?
  ➢ What are we doing now and where we want to go from here?

• There is a need for a clear policy about what we want to do and then need to define whose war we are fighting, who are our enemies, who are these terrorists, whose side are we on and whose agenda are our enemies propagating.

• Efforts to create a narrative against extremism that need to move away from crafting the “right” message from the practitioners’ point of view and move towards focusing on emotionally engaging the audience.

• In a deregulated ecosystem, the conventional definitions of war and peace, victory and defeat do not apply. This also means that there can be no real timeline of when this will end. Relative periods of peace will be shattered by a terrorist act or an insurgent attack. So, we must be very clear that there is no return to the old world and the same very thing needs to be conveyed in a subtle manner to our public.
Countering the Prevalent Narratives

Besides addressing the issue of a National Narrative and narrative on current state of affairs, strategy to mitigate the effects of the negative narratives which are in circulation seems missing. We need to consider the following:-

**Way Forward**

- Our image is negative, but these are mostly own doings blown up with outside propaganda. Our failure to take steps for alleviation of issues plaguing us today has created a vacuum where others are stepping into.

- We need stories and good story tellers. For this, there is a need to harness the media potential and redirect their efforts.

- While the negativities in our society dominate the local media landscape, there is a need to promote and portray positives in our country and society. There is a need to give people hope and pride in our national identity.

- Simple denial of the theme of hostile narratives is inherently flawed as it gives more publicity to the narrative we intend to counter. This raises the question; do we really need to counter all the negative narratives? Our efforts should focus on formulation of own narratives without formally announcing it as such. The finesse in narratives is that they are proclaimed and distributed without the audience discovering it.

- Notwithstanding the conspiracy theories, there is a need to identify the larger agenda within a hostile narrative, which may be a prelude to grander design. This should lead to appropriate counter measures. Amongst many others, narrative of nuclear insecurity and proliferation is one example which is not without a larger agenda against our nuclear capability.

- The external narrative about Pakistan is stated as bleak and indicative of chaos, wherein, Pakistan is stated as a dangerous country, one of the most frightening in the world. One way to challenge these entrenched narratives is through promotion of arts and culture. Cultural activities can build new narratives, send out signals of hope and progress. The more art and performance a country produces, the more likely it is to be seen as progressive. Our immediate neighbour being one example.

- Besides exploiting the potential of media in positive direction, there is a need to garner, encourage and support academia and think tanks to help formulating and distributing the positive narrative of Pakistan.

- Finally, a narrative will not be able to stand on its feet for long if it is not grounded in reality. While narrative is a story, which may not be based on
whole truth, but some semblance of truth has to be there, which can be reinforced by practical actions. Words do speak, but words backed up by actions speak louder.

Conclusion

Narratives have always been there, that is to say, there will always be someone telling a story, making sense of different events, giving them a beginning, a middle and an end. A powerful strategic narrative ultimately defines a world, but it’s vital to listen to multiple narratives and be able to discern reality from fiction. If we don’t, we risk having false perceptions crystallize into the version of events that best suits our needs, intentions, and purposes. To simply put it, narratives matter because they feed our imagination. But the question arises, where is our narrative?

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RISING CHINA: GEOPOLITICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE REGION

Abstract

The reforms of Mr Deng Xiaoping, China’s former President, acted as a catalyst for China’s rapid economic growth that in turn is propelling her way up in the international power structure. Never-the-less multilateralism remains the bedrock of Chinese foreign policy. She maintains economic engagements around the world and is the largest trade partner of most countries including US, India, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan. Despite deep differences, China and USA have cooperation in many areas. China being the second largest global economy is a key player in Asia. China views US policy of rebalancing in Asia-Pacific as ‘neo-containment’ and is following Anti-Access / Area Denial strategy (A2/AD) and multilateralism to safeguard her interests. Increasing Indian influence coupled with US policy of rebalancing, is likely to make the atmosphere in Asia Pacific more competitive adding to uncertainties. Hence, the country needs to be analyzed in terms of her comprehensive national power to ascertain her future aspirations along with geopolitical implications for the region with focus on Sino-Pak relations.

Introduction

“If GE’s strategy of investment in China is wrong, it represents a loss of a billion dollars, perhaps a couple of billion dollars. If it is right, it is the future of this company for the next century.”

Jack Welch, Ex CEO General Electric

Strong and socially advance china is not a new phenomena, China has been relatively very advance society during many of her dynasties with well developed culture and technological base. Specially, Tang Dynasty witnessed advancement in science and technology like mechanical engineering, medicine, structural engineering, cartography, and alchemy. Hence, the notion of being on top of the world and the name "zhōngguó" (Mandarin) which means the ‘Center of the World’. Later, from mid 18th century onwards, due to internal weaknesses, the nation had to suffer humiliation of western oppression as a consequence of opium wars and Japanese aggression, till Kuomintang (KMT) and China’s Communist Party (CCP) were able to gain control. CCP struggled hard to revive country’s economy; however, the country really took off once Mr Deng Xiaoping, China’s former President, introduced the reform of industrialization and opening up. Since then, China has been riding the road of rapid development and has maintained her growth rate in double figures. This rapid and sustained growth of economy has been the single most influential factor in propelling China upwards in the international power structure.

Aim

To analyze China’s rise and its geopolitical implications for the region.
Peaceful Development

A broader overview of Chinese rise indicates that by 2012 she is the world’s second largest economy and the second largest trading nation\(^2\), the second largest exporter, the largest holder of foreign exchange reserves, and the largest attractor of FDI.\(^3\) This Chinese rise is not confined to economic domain only. China has successfully launched its manned spacecraft and also conducted space walk in September 2008.\(^4\) According to a study by the Georgia Institute of Technology, China may soon rival United States for world technological leadership.\(^5\) While in a backgrounder of the Council on Foreign Relations, it is argued that China since 1990s has dramatically improved its military capabilities on land, sea, air, and space and is likely to become a peer competitor to US military soon.\(^6\) The question arises whether this rise is peaceful or otherwise? Power shifts are always dangerous for world peace. However, Chinese rise so far is an exceptional case, as there is no evidence to predict that China will grow in a non-peaceful route, especially due to increasing economic interdependencies. Taking an internal and an external view; Ikenberry points out that, “China not only needs continued access to the current global capitalist system but also wants to protect the system’s rules and institutions because China has thrived in such a system”;\(^7\) while, Mr Jiang Zemin states, “China now very much needs a peaceful and conducive external environment in which she can grow stably during the current ‘important period of strategic opportunity’.”\(^8\)

Hence, it could be concluded that China’s rise is peaceful, albeit for the time being.

Soft Power

Having determined the Chinese future course through an external scan it would be pertinent to take a deeper look at China internally. The major contributors towards a country’s Soft Power are its political values, economy and culture besides intellect and foreign policy.

Political System

It must be appreciated that the Chinese political system though much criticized has actually delivered more than envisaged. The ‘People’s Congress System’ is China’s fundamental political system. Constitution provides that the state power belongs to the people. Multi-party cooperation and political consultation, under the leadership of CPC, constitutes the basic party system in China. The CPC acts as the ruling party while other parties participate in the discussion and management of state affairs within the scope of constitutional rights and obligations. The system has offered following dividends:-

- It allows for focused long-term planning and implementation.
- Highly efficient, prompt and effective in reaction to emerging challenges and opportunities.
- Accountability of officials responsible for incompetence, negligence of duty or
mistakes at any time.

- Conscious personnel training for higher political posts.

Though it is not the type of democracy as the world knows, it is a democracy with Chinese characteristics.

Economy

Some of the major indicators of China’s economic rise are:

- **Gross Domestic Product (GDP).** In 2012, China’s GDP reached ¥ 50.6 tril, an increase of 2 times compared with ten years ago, ahead of France, Britain, Germany and Japan and is 10% of total world share.

- **Trade Volume.** China's total trade in 2012 reached $3.8667 tril, slightly short of United States.

- **Foreign Investments.** By mid 2013, China’s foreign investments are $688.1 bn. Her ranking has risen from 24th to 6th.

- **Foreign Exchange Reserves.** China’s foreign exchange reserves in 1994 were $51.62 bn; in the third quarter 2013, it was at $3.66 tril.

- **Disposable Income.** The Economic rise is positively improving the living standards of her citizens. Disposable income of urban residents has reached $3,330 in 2011. Lately, Chinese government has pledged a number of socio-economic reforms including abolishing one child policy that would bear positively on her human-rights standing.

Comprehensive National Power (CNP)

Chinese economic rise has significantly improved her CNP. Current Affairs, in December 2011, giving list of top 15 countries with the highest CNP scores, placed China at number 3.

*China has emerged as a global economic giant, it’s just a matter of time that this economic might would be transformed into global influence.*

China’s Achievements

Some of the areas where China has started to stand out are:

- **Science and Technology.** China is the third country to conduct extravehicular activity in space; involved in indigenous research space station program; successful test of anti-satellite missile system; test flight of Stealth fighter etc.

- **International Prominence.** China has settled most of her territorial disputes such as with Russia, Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan etc, and has joined a
variety of regional organizations. It appears that “Beijing consensus”, especially in developing countries, is gaining more prominence compared to “Washington Consensus”.19

- Global Responsibilities. China has started positive contributions towards global issues, such as combating Somali pirates, and in dealing with the global financial crisis. China has contributed more peace-keeping personnel than other permanent UN Security Council members.20

- International Events. China successfully hosted the mega event of Beijing Olympics 2008, a one of its kind. Besides, she also held three major events in 2010 in rapid succession i.e. World Expo, Asian Games and International Aviation Exhibition.

China’s progress in science and technology, economy and other elements of soft power is continuously enhancing her international stature. Hence, China is on a fast track towards attainment of leading global power status.

China’s National Defense Policy

World tends to see China through the prism of ‘capability verses intent’. China pledges to pursue a national defense policy that is defensive in nature. China, so far, has strived to build a harmonious socialist society internally, promoted the idea of a harmonious world, lasting peace and common prosperity externally. The goals and tasks of China’s national defense in the new era are defined as:21

- Safeguarding national sovereignty, security and interests of national development.
- Maintaining social harmony and stability.
- Accelerating the modernization of armed forces.

People’s Liberation Army (PLA)

PLA, with strength of approximately 2.25 mil is the world’s largest. Beginning in the 1980s, PLA started to transform itself from a land-based power, to a mobile, high-tech force capable of mounting operations beyond its borders.

This new vision has shifted resources towards the Navy and Air Force.

Defence Budget

The 2013 defence budget stands at $112.6 bn, Making China second-largest defence spender after US.22 PLA is rapidly and continuously modernizing, both in hardware and training.

With the operationalization of her aircraft carrier and expansion in her amphibious assault force, she would be able to project power well beyond her shores.
Evolution of Chinese Foreign Policy

The effect of rising Chinese soft / hard power needs to be seen in relation to her foreign policy. Since the Revolution of 1949, three distinct phases can be recognized in the evolution of Chinese Foreign Policy:

- **1949-1959.** In the post revolution decade, China relied on Soviet politico-economic support while the West saw China in an adversarial light. However, the “five principles of peaceful co-existence” which still form the bedrock of China’s foreign policy were formulated in this phase.

- **1959-1978.** The Sino-Soviet rift of 1959 marked the second phase. It was during this period that the Sino-Pakistan partnership developed on solid foundations.

- **Foreign Policy 1978 Onwards.** The third and ongoing phase started in 1978 when Mr Deng Xiaoping launched China on the path of reforms. Far reaching policy changes were made which were:-
  - Reform of the economy along capitalist lines.
  - Opening China to the outside world.
  - Focus on economic development and non involvement in regional or global disputes.
  - Increasing its role in the multi-lateral sphere.

- **Current Trends of China’s Foreign Policy**
  - **Good Neighbor Policy.** It is based on the concept of “befriending and maintaining good relationships with neighbors” aimed at enhancing regional cooperation.
  - **Peaceful Rise and Harmonious World Policy.** It was presented by President Mr Hu Jintao in Sep, 2005. The salients were multilateralism, harmonious co-existence, cooperation and necessary reform of the UN.

- **Salient Conclusions**
  - China’s ‘Good Neighbor’ approach encompassed within the ‘harmonious world’ concept became the basic strategy for its international engagement. China has developed pragmatic relations with all countries despite differences.
  - She believes in regional stability and peaceful rise.
  - She is opposed to hegemonic tendencies of any country.
  - Despite its economic development, China sees itself as a developing country.

  *In a nutshell, the entire thrust of Chinese Foreign Policy is geared towards stability and peaceful rise.*
COOPERATION AND COMPETITION IN ASIA PACIFIC

“Nature does not hurry, yet everything is accomplished”.23

Lao Tzu

Theory of strategic patience has rightful place in Chinese strategic culture. It has a long term orientation, emphasizing persistence, thrift and flexibility.24 Chinese strategic culture supports their endeavors to engage in cooperation and competition with other nations and win at the end.

China-US Relations

In the political sphere, China is strong advocate of nuclear non-proliferation as it opposed North Korea’s nuclear tests and displayed discomfort with Iran’s efforts to develop a nuclear bomb.25 China’s role has been pivotal in keeping North Korea on negotiating table during Six Parties Talks.26 Both the powers cooperate with each other on the issue of terrorism. China has supported US War on Terror and US recognized East Turkestan Independent Movement (ETIM) in Xinjiang as Terrorist Organization.27

• Cooperation. In the economic field, China and USA have strong trade ties. Bilateral trade has reached US $ 536 bn. China is second largest trading partner and third largest US export market.28 Besides, establishment of Bilateral Strategic Economic Dialogue, both are active members of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation which aims at development of complete trade free zone by 2020.29 In the security cooperation, China has supported peace keeping missions under UN. Chinese strength in peace keeping at present is 1900.30

• Competition. Policy of ‘rebalancing in Asia-Pacific’ is widely considered as a policy of containment of China. Rebalancing in Asia-Pacific’ aims at creating and sustaining an international order led by USA which would not only ensure its leadership in years to come but also benefits its allies. USA is not only strengthening its relations with long time allies such as Japan, South Korea, Australia and Singapore but building new allies such as India, Indonesia and New Zealand. US prompt action for manifestation of policy hints at US intent of long term and comprehensive engagement in Asia Pacific. As per the policy, Global Hawk UAVs and F-35 B Fighters will be deployed in Japan, planned transfer of 9000 troops from Japan to northern Pacific territory of Guam, building of Advanced Command Post in Philippines, and stationing of 2500 US Marines at Australian Port of Darwin by 2017. Besides, redistribution of US forces in “Atlantic-Pacific” from 50/50 percent to 40/60 will be completed by 2020.31

• China fears neo-containment efforts from United States, more so in the wake of ‘rebalancing in Asia-Pacific’.32 Anxieties expressed by ex President Mr Hu Jintau are:

“The United States has strengthened its military deployments in
Asia-Pacific region, ..... They have extended outposts and placed pressure points on us from the east, south and west. This makes a great change in our geopolitical environment”.33

- To mitigate the impact of neo-containment, China is actively engaged in Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and East Asia Summit as policy of multilateralism to forestall establishment of anti-China NATO like security alliance in Pacific Rim.

- China has also embarked on an asymmetric naval strategy to mitigate American naval power. China’s Anti-Access Area Denial strategy (A2-AD), is aimed at restricting the interference of any third party in a conflict involving Taiwan. Strategy focuses on a ‘triple D’ approach i.e. to deter, delay and defeat its opponents in a theatre of operation.

- China’s A2-AD strategy led to the response from US in the form of Air-Sea Battle Concept. As per the concept, air and naval forces attack in depth to disrupt its opponent’s intelligence collecting mechanisms and command and control systems. US Air-Sea Battle Concept can be manifested against anti access strategies whether China, Iran or any other country.

- These pressures coupled with Malacca dilemma has forced China to enhance presence outside South China Sea through development of ports facilities in Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar termed as ‘String of Pearls’.34

- Other areas of diverging interests include South China Sea, US withdrawal from Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and China’s fears of external interference within its society on the lines of “Colour Revolutions” and “Arab Spring”.

Having seen the cooperation and competition vis-à-vis engagement and containment, it appears that:

- China will continue to focus on economic development and transform its economic might into greater influence.

- Multilateralism will remain China’s priority in regional and international interaction to counter neo-containment efforts.

- US will retain its influence in Asia-Pacific; Rebalancing is likely to further accentuate the regional uncertainties.

- Defense spending will increase with more focus on enhancing naval capabilities.

**China-Japan Relations**

Relations have been frosty due to Japan’s role during WW-II as well as Korean War.
**Cooperation.** Since the restoration of bilateral relations in 1997, Japan is now the 4th largest trade partner of China. Bilateral trade volume is currently US $ 174 bn.35

**Competition.** Nationalization of Senkaku Islands by Japan in East China Sea, Exclusive Economic Zone claims and Chinese drilling near disputed area have led to tensions.36 Other areas of friction include China’s opposition to Japan’s bid for permanent membership of Security Council, participation in Theater Missile Defence, role in US policy of rebalancing in Asia-Pacific, India-Japan security cooperation, Japanese trade deficit besides Japanese Prime Minister’s eagerness to lift a self-imposed ban on collective self-defence.37

*As a whole, China-Japan relations can be described as ‘warm economic ties and cold political relations.***

### Relations between China and Republic of Korea

The relationship remained strained in the wake of Korean War and stationing of thousands of troops in the Demilitarized Zone after the war.

- **Cooperation.** Areas of cooperation include bilateral trade which has risen to US $ 215 bn with South Korea’s trade surplus of US $ 32 bn.38 Both the nations share the strategic goal of nuclear free Korean Peninsula.

- **Competition.** Areas of diverging interests include, China’s policy of accommodation towards North Korea and Chinese historians’ assertion that Kingdom of Koguryo which existed from the first century BCE to the seventh century BCE at Korean Peninsula, was a tributary of Imperial China.39 This assertion is taken as Chinese hegemonic approach in South Korea.

*China’s relations with South Korea will remain economic driven only.*

### Relations with North Korea

In Asia Pacific, another significant player is North Korea. China and North Korea have been formal allies since 1961.

- **Cooperation.** North Korea provides an important buffer zone between China and Western allies in Northeast Asia. China remains North Korea’s only major financial backer and trade between the two sides has reached over US $ 6 bn.40

- **Competition.** North Korea became ninth de-facto nuclear power in 2006. The conduct of nuclear test despite Chinese pressure, hinted at erosion of Beijing’s diplomatic influence over North Korea.41
**China and ASEAN**

ASEAN countries are central to Chinese Policies in the region:-

- **Cooperation.** China’s reconciliation with ASEAN led to 1989 Peace Agreement to end fighting in Cambodia. Thereafter, cooperation became the theme of relations. China’s role in dealing with ASEAN financial crisis of 1997 strengthened its role as a stabilizer. Bilateral trade between China and ASEAN has reached US $ 400 bn, indicating 23 % rise in last 10 years. Milestone of creating ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement; which is world’s largest free trade area in terms of population, was achieved during 2010, which will further enhance economic cooperation. However, US policy of rebalancing in the Asia-Pacific has given a new dimension to ASEAN-China engagement. ASEAN nations particularly Vietnam, Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia have welcomed US engagement in the region and Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and Vietnam have joined Trans Pacific Partnership without China. India is also increasing bilateral trade and relations with ASEAN nations.

- **Competition.** The main issue since 1991 between China and ASEAN members has been the South China Sea and administration of small island chains within it. China claims two main island groups in the sea namely Spratly and Paracels. Vietnam claims the Paracels, whereas, Taiwan, Brunei, Malaysia and Philippines lay claims on Spratly. Official Chinese maps roughly claim 80 % of the waterway. During 2009, Philippines and Vietnam approached UN for extension of their territorial waters in the South China Sea which led to criticism from China. Availability of fossil fuel in South China Sea makes issue of territorial waters more competitive. Territorial disputes in South China Sea will keep casting shadows on China’s durable relations with its South China Sea neighbors. *Relations with the neighbours will further come under stress as US involvement deepens and Indian ties increase with ASEAN nations and region as whole resultantly enhanced momentum of competition.*

**ENGAGEMENT IN SOUTH ASIA**

Sharing land frontiers with five South Asian countries, China is placed firmly in South Asia’s geo political dynamics. Accordingly, rising China’s existing relationship and engagement with the South Asian countries, their respective perceptions and perceived courses of action in future need to be analyzed.

**Chinese Perceptions on South Asia**

Post revolutionary China’s experience of South Asia was based on the dealings of British India and its legacies especially relating to border disputes. These had to be settled with the successor states, mainly India and Pakistan. In assessing China’s perceptions of South Asia, this historical context must be kept in mind. India considered itself as the successor to the British Raj while Pakistan, the weaker of the two states, was
pulled into a conflict by India soon after independence. The Indo-Pak enmity and Sino-Indian friction had a direct bearing on the outlook of China’s foreign policy in South Asia. Therefore, China’s relations with India and Pakistan assumed a triangular character. Chinese perceptions of South Asia take into account the existing as well as likely trends in its constituent countries, notably India and Pakistan.

Framework of Engagement in South Asia

China’s policy in South Asia as well as bilateral relations with individual countries are in conformity with its foreign policy concepts highlighted earlier:

- The policies of “Good neighbor” and “Peaceful Co-existence” are the guiding principles.
- China pays great importance to maintenance of peace on its periphery.
- China supports anti hegemonic aspirations of all countries in the region.
- Security of Sea Lines of communications and arrangements for alternate routes for energy transportation.

Relations with Pakistan

“The friendship between China and Pakistan is deeply rooted in the hearts of the two peoples. It is in our blood, and has become our noble and firm conviction.”

Premier Wen Jiabao,
Addressing the Pakistani Parliament
19 December, 2010

The Sino-Pakistan strategic partnership has been a remarkably enduring relationship and has continued despite change of governments in the two countries.

Key Aspects of Sino-Pak Strategic Friendship

Historically, the key aspects of the relationship are as follows:-

- China’s support for Pakistan in the latter’s various conflicts with India.
- China’s economic and military support for Pakistan to develop adequate national strength.
- Frequent high-level consultations/exchanges between the two countries Civil-Military leadership.
- Pakistan’s assured diplomatic support to China at international forums.
- Pakistan serving as a bridge for China in its dealings with the Muslim World.
Sino-Indian Rapprochement - Review of Pak-China Relations

The Sino-Indian rapprochement in the late 1980s led many analysts to believe it would result in a lessening of the Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship. However, the relationship has retained its essential strength with some adjustments. A critical review of the key areas of cooperation is as follows:-

- **China’s Politico-Diplomatic Support to Pakistan vis-à-vis India - A Subtle Shift.** During Deng Xiaoping’s period, Beijing’s foreign relations underwent a shift from ideology centric to a pragmatic approach. China while continuing being supportive to Pakistan, began urging improvement of India-Pakistan ties and sought a more balanced stance.

- **Balanced Official Visits.** In recent years, China has orchestrated its official senior-level visits with Pakistan and India, pairing them since 2005.49

- **China’s Support for Development of Pakistan’s National Strength.** China has continued to assist Pakistan in the development of its economic and military strength. Chinese assistance in some major projects is as under:

  ➢ **Infrastructure**

    - **Renovation of KKH and Ata’abad Diversion.** Scheduled to be completed by 2015 and 2016 respectively.50

    - **Gwadar Deep Sea Port.** Agreement for handing over Gwadar Deep Sea Port to China Overseas Port Holding Authority (COPHA) was signed on February 18, 2013. COPHA has pledged to invest $ 750 mil for improvement of infrastructure.51

  ➢ **Energy**

    - **Major Hydro-Electrical Projects.** Currently, Chinese companies are working on fifteen mega projects in AJK and Gilgit-Baltistan. Some of which are: 52

      o Neelum-Jhelum Hydro Power Project (estimated cost US $ 12.6 bn).
      o Diamer-Bhasha Dam - $ 12.6 bn.
      o Kohala Power Project - $ 2.155 bn.
      o Dasu Hydro Power Project - $7.8 bn.
      o Raising of Mangla Dam by 60 ft. 53
- **Chashma Nuclear Power Plant** – New Unit C-2 became operational *w.e.f.* May 2011. Construction work on Units C3/C4 is in progress.54

- **Military-Industrial**
  - Building of four F22P Frigates at Karachi Shipyard along with technology transfer.
  - JF-17 aircraft Project.

- **Frequency of High Level Visits and Military Support.** The frequency of High level bilateral visits and strategic coordination has remained unchanged.

**Economic Relations**

The volume of Pak-China bilateral trade has been constantly growing from $5.25 bn in 2009 and has now crossed 12.4bn.55 Although, the trade volume is in favour of China, Pakistan’s share of exports has constantly been increasing.56

**Future Trends**

Despite Pakistan’s current internal and economic problems, and China’s improving relations with India, Sino-Pak bilateral relations are likely to grow as these are based on commonality of interests and are friction free.

Pakistan retains importance for China as a reliable ally internationally and a factor of security for China’s South and western periphery. The Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship is in China’s interest in maintaining the existing balance of power in South Asia. China is likely to remain committed to building Pakistan’s national strength.

Pakistan is important to Beijing’s ambitious plans of development of its western region. China’s interest for gaining energy security provides convergence in development of Gwadar-Kashgar energy route.

**Pakistan’s Perspective**

“Our friendship is higher than the Himalayas and deeper than the deepest sea in the world, and sweeter than honey”.

*Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Jul 2013* 57

From Pakistan’s perspective, due to the existing Sino-Pak strategic relationship, “Rising China” provides Pakistan with an advantageous position in the region to maximize advantages especially in economic areas. Some conclusions in this regard are:-

- Regional peace is the bedrock of current Chinese foreign policy. In case of any major Indo-Pak crisis, Chinese support will be in line with its
Unlike US-India relations, China does not view Pak-US relations with suspicion. Therefore, while enhanced Indo-US relations are likely to strengthen existing convergence of Sino-Pak interest, it also allows Pakistan necessary space to enhance relations with the US as per own interests.

China would encourage improvement of Indo-Pak bilateral relations including improved trade relations.

Internal stability and better economic performance is essential to remaining relevant, and optimally benefit from Chinese economic support.

Translation of agreements/MOUs etc into definite projects is essential to retain credibility.

The proposed China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) serves mutual long term strategic interests. However, the onus of implementation lies primarily on Pakistan.

From Pakistan’s perspective, China’s involvement in Afghanistan’s reconstruction will be a significant factor for stabilization.

China’s Relations with India

The core Chinese perception has been that India is an aspiring hegemonic power seeking to dominate the entire South Asian–Indian Ocean Region. Since late 1980s, both countries have successfully attempted to reignite diplomatic and economic ties. India and China signed a Treaty of Peace and Tranquility in Sep, 1993.58 While increased cooperation with India is in line with Beijing’s policy of “Good Neighborliness”, it is also calculated to contain the formation of a close US-India relationship.

Economic Relations

The year 2006 was designated as the year of Sino-Indian friendship. Two way trade volume rose from $271 million in 1989, reached $73.9 billion in 2011 and both countries aim at enhancing it to US $ 100 bn by 2015.59 Although the increasing adverse trade imbalance ($20 billion in 2011) has been a matter of concern for India, in the foreseeable future, it will suit both India and China to maintain normal trade and cultural relations.

Areas of Concern

India’s great power aspirations and hegemonic tendencies in the region are in contrast to China’s policy enshrined in the “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence”.

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India’s strategic partnership with United States, Indo-US nuclear deal and enhanced defense cooperation indicate the “China Containment” role which the US may entrust to India in the region.

Unresolved boundary disputes remain a concern. Chinese claims on Arunachal Pradesh and Indian claims on Aksai Chin region are likely to persist in the long term.

China sees Indian support for the Tibetan Government in Exile (TGIE) and the Dalai Lama as conflicting with China’s “One-China” Policy.

India’s increased strategic cooperation on security issues with Japan, Australia and some of the ASEAN states.

Future Trends

China is likely to continue building strong political and economic relations with India despite their disputes. The year 2012 was declared as "The Year of India-China Friendship and Cooperation." However, there is latent competition in their relations and China does not see India as an ally in the geo-political sense.

India’s Perspective

A brief review of Indian perceptions on “Rising China” and their perceived course of action is given below:-

Although India cited ‘the China threat’ as the reason for her nuclear explosions in 1998, an appraisal of her actual policies and views of the leadership does not suggest that India considers China as a real threat.  

India considers that the rise of China is masking “Rising India” and aspires to carve out space for herself in the new power shifts/alignments without disturbing the status quo.

While pursuing closer relations with the United States, India does not desire to make a choice between its relations with China and the United States. However, India believes that a strong US-India relationship gives it greater leverage with China.

USA’s China policies either of containment or engagement will provide sufficient room for Indian diplomacy. India is likely to adopt a “hedging” policy aimed at drawing maximum benefits without unduly antagonizing China.

Indian hegemonic tendencies have caused its smaller neighbors to develop closer relations with China leading to growing Chinese influence on India’s periphery. This is frustrating Indian policy makers who accuse China of attempting to confine India within South Asia. China’s influence is likely to grow in future and cause a check on Indian hegemonic designs.
India is trying to make full use of major aspects requiring multilateral cooperation in the Indian Ocean. However, it is likely to remain cautious so as not to antagonize China.

China’s Relations with Rest of South Asia

China’s broad objective in South Asia is to expand multi-dimensional cooperative relations with all the countries of the region.

Nepal

Beginning from 1949, India and China have viewed the status of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim very differently. India has insisted on establishing a special relation with these regions while Beijing has viewed Indian assertions as acts of hegemony. The 1950 Indo–Nepal Peace and Friendship pact placed limitations on Nepal’s room for maneuver in its external relations. Economic ties have been used by India as an effective instrument to further its security interests vis-à-vis China. China has been a reliable partner in Nepal’s development endeavors. The Year 2012 was announced as ’Nepal-China Year of Friendly Exchanges’. China is Nepal’s largest investor which is growing at a steady pace. Chinese strategy of providing assistance without any conditions is enhancing China’s role and image of a benign neighbor.

Bhutan

The Indo–Bhutan Treaty was signed in 1949, under Article II of which Bhutan is ‘guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations’. This constraint is reflected in the Sino-Bhutan relations. There is not much trade or economic interaction between the two. Bhutan is the only of China’s neighbors with whom it doesn’t have diplomatic relations, and has an unresolved boundary dispute. However, China has conducted negotiations with Bhutan on the border issue since 1984 and is also working on possibility of establishment of diplomatic relations.

Bangladesh

Since the early 1980s, China has emerged as an important economic, diplomatic and military partner of Bangladesh. China is currently Bangladesh’s biggest trade partner. Bilateral trade increased from $1.1 billion in 2002 to $6.76 billion in 2012. The two countries are also cooperating in the field of energy and China is helping Bangladesh in the construction of a deep water port at Chittagong.

Sri Lanka

Geo strategically, Sri Lanka sits astride the Asia–Pacific SLOCs and is of deep interest to both India and China. India’s military involvement in Sri Lanka (1987–1990) was opposed by China who viewed it as “regional hegemony”. During Sri Lanka’s Tamil insurgency, Beijing supported Colombo and provided significant arms supplies which
were critical in the victory against the LTTE. China has also displaced Japan as Sri Lanka’s major aid donor with an annual package of $1.2 billion and also emerged as her largest trade partner. China is financing more than 85% of the Hambantota Development Zone and other projects.

**Afghanistan**

China signed a “Treaty of Friendship” and good neighborly relations” with Afghanistan on June 19, 2006. China desires to see peace and stability in Afghanistan which is also necessary for the protection of China’s investments in Afghanistan and security of its nationals. China has made major investments to develop the Aynak copper mine in District Aynak, Logar province and is also a major investor in oil and gas exploration.

**Regional Countries Perspective**

Remaining countries of South Asia are constrained in varying degrees due to Indian influence in the matter of pursuance of independent policies with China. However, all these states have developed significant ties with China and will continue to forge closer relations within the space available to them.

**CONCLUSIONS AND WAY FORWARD**

**Conclusions**

China’s current priority is to gain world economic power status and to increase the standard of living of her citizens. China is likely to continue to foster good and friendly relations with all countries and avoid disputes and confrontations.

China has benefited from the existing international system and has taken measures to project her rise as “peaceful”. It is in China’s interest to contribute towards global peace for sustained development as well as projecting itself as a responsible stakeholder in the global system.

China’s growing CNP is likely to ensure transformation of her economic might into greater global influence. None-the-less, complex and growing economic interdependence is likely to remain the main driving factor in the emerging global power structure.

PLA has undergone rapid modernization and a doctrinal shift from a land based force to one having force projection capabilities. Yet, China’s National defense Policy is defensive in nature and in line with the defined national interests of maintenance of peace for national development. Therefore, while China will continue her force modernization, it is not likely to unduly invite confrontation except where its vital interests are threatened.
China’s primary strategic orientation remains towards the Asia-Pacific. Therefore, peace on her Western periphery is especially important towards her long term interests.

**China and USA**

Despite differences with US over various issues, China is committed to developing good bilateral relations for mutual benefits and economic interdependence. Economic compulsions have caused both countries to sideline their differences and to avoid any direct confrontation.

- Chinese efforts for development of its military capabilities are aimed at improving her own security rather than entering into an arms race with USA. However, beneath the mutual desire of developing good relations, both countries are wary of military intentions of each other.

- China’s economic-military growth has led to US military planners view it as a future peer competitor. USA’s declared policies (Strategic Guidance 2012 and US Marine Corps Vision and Strategy 2025) leave no doubt that the US considers Asia-Pacific as the new arena of interest/future confrontation, if any.

- United States’ policy of ‘rebalancing in Asia-Pacific’ is viewed with concern by China as part of an overall neo-containment effort.

- China’s territorial disputes in the South China Sea have a potential for escalation but due to the mutual interest in non-confrontation by both US/China, there is less likelihood of its escalation.

- Despite the latent mistrust on both sides, mutual economic factors are likely to ensure non-confrontation.

In view of her economic priorities, China is not likely to take on the role of a challenger to the US in the long term. However, it is likely to put constraints on USA’s hegemonic exercise of power on selective occasions in concert with Russia or other emerging centers of power.

**China and ASEAN**

China’s growing influence and possibility of major power rivalry has created some security concerns in the region. All regional countries are likely to avoid confrontation and adopt a “hedging attitude” for the time being. China and Southeast Asia are likely to continue engaging in areas of cooperation with increasing politico-economic interdependence.
China and South Asia

In South Asia, China’s policy is likely to remain that of improvement in Indo-China relationship and simultaneously containing Indian hegemony in the region through her relations with Pakistan and growing ties with other South Asian states.

China’s quest for energy security and her plans of development of Western region provide strategic convergence with Pakistan’s interests long into the future. However, it must be borne in mind that the window of opportunity is not unlimited. China is already implementing her plans with Central Asia.

Way forward for Pakistan

Unlike the rest of South Asian countries, Pakistan not only enjoys the advantage of a solid strategic relationship with China but also independence in her affairs vis-à-vis India. The opportunity provided by Chinese plans of opening of her Western Region and alternate routes for energy has already been alluded to. However, in order to fully capitalize on these opportunities a well thought out, multi-dimensional policy addressing both internal and external dimensions is required.

- **External Dimensions.** Sino-Pak interests converge in Afghanistan regarding its stability. A closer coordination with China in our Afghan policy especially after 2014 is likely to bring more dividends for all countries concerned.

- **Resolution of Internal Issues**
  
  - Improvement in internal stability and security situation is the key precondition of realization of major policy initiatives and retaining a meaningful relevance in the future.
  
  - Pakistan has taken necessary steps for security of Chinese nationals. However, this aspect requires constant attention well into the future.
  
  - A comprehensive resolution of energy crisis is important for own economic development and to attract investor interest.
  
  - Easy implementation of bilateral agreements and avoiding preventable delays.

Areas with Potential of Improvement

- **Economic**
  
  - The proposed CPEC (China Pakistan Economic Corridor) should be pursued as a matter of national priority. The proposal has strategic ramifications and can shape our relevance and importance well into the future.
Chinese development plans of its Western Region provide convergence of interests well into the future and a great economic opportunity for Pakistan. Pakistan must capitalize in areas where capacity exists.

Establishment of an office of Commerce and Trade at Beijing and Xinjiang for enhancement of bilateral economic activity and investment will help in a coordinated response.

Pakistan should develop institutionalized mechanism to translate MoUs into practical actions. Concerns on security of investments, terrorism, security of its nationals and weak trade practices in Pakistan also need to be addressed.

- **Trade.**  Pakistan-China trade imbalance is heavily in favor of China. The orientation of our business community still remains towards Pakistan’s traditional markets. This can be changed by:-
  - Organizing awareness and facilitation programmes.
  - Identification of the demands of Chinese market especially in the western region and improvement in production capacity.
  - A comprehensive exercise in tariff reduction negotiations in the existing FTA through consultations with relevant stakeholders.

- **Energy**
  - Early completion of Iran-Pakistan pipeline can open opportunities for further expansion towards China.
  - China is working on securing alternate energy routes. Development of the CPEC which is also envisaged as an energy corridor presents Pakistan with a great opportunity to provide an alternate Gwadar-Kashgar energy route.

- **Defense.**  The defence ties between the two countries should include more people to people contact via increase in courses/joint exercises / military expeditions.

- **Maritime.**  Development of Gwadar Port and the economic corridor dictate that Pakistan should start paying more attention towards building up her maritime assets so as to present a wholesome and attractive package as a handler of regional trade.

**Conclusion**

China has managed its rise in a manner that it causes as few disturbances as possible in the existing world order. Due to the US, China’s primary strategic orientation will remain in the Asia-Pacific theatre. While the US allies in that region as well as those
countries having territorial disputes may continue to watch China’s rise with suspicion, the rise of China is a positive development for South Asia especially in view of the Indian factor. For Pakistan, it opens up new opportunities for further enhancement of bilateral relations and mutual benefits. However, it is primarily up to Pakistan to optimally benefit from areas of mutual convergence by improving its internal stability and through deliberate efforts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Researchers:</th>
<th>Air Cdre Abdullah Tawhidi, Lt Col Muhammad Shafique, Lt Col Sajid Muzaffar Chaudhry, Mr Aftab Ahmed Pathan (DIG of Police)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor:</td>
<td>Cdre Muhammad Shafique</td>
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CENTRAL AND WEST ASIA (ECO REGION)

Abstract

Central Asia, together with energy-rich Caspian Sea, owes its significance to vast economic potential and superior geo-strategic orientation. This sprouting wealth provided impetus to the leading global and regional players to reach out to these resources for securing their future energy needs, thus unfolding the New Great Game of resources in the region. Geo-economic potential of Central Asian States can be judged from the fact that, GDP growth rate of the region is about 8% annually, which is one of the world’s best growth performances. The production and export of oil and gas is the dominant economic activity, which makes Central Asia gateway to power in the region. Notwithstanding, being landlocked region, routes connecting Central Asia with rest of the world traverse through neighbouring Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, thus virtually binding them into one single region. The region is not only located at the crossroads but is abundantly rich in hydrocarbon resources as well. While starting with an impression of historical and interplay of cultural evolution of the entire Central and West Asian region, the paper endeavours to analyse geo-economic and geo-strategic significance of the region with focus on Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) countries. The paper than goes on to assess the viability and future prospects of the ECO as an organisation and highlights the opportunities for reinvigorating the organization. Finally, it presents challenges and opportunities for Pakistan to accrue benefits from this copiously rich and affluent region of the world.

Introduction

“In the lands that lay between the west and the east, have come together ten countries for the cause of peace; Borders can’t keep them apart, for the love they feel in their hearts”

Extract from ECO Anthem
Composed by
Niavaran Artistic Creations Foundation

Asia, the largest mass of unified land on earth, is shaped by a wide variety of societies, religions and ethnicities. The core of Asian society is based on diverse customs, traditions and social values that geographically transform the entire land mass of the continent into sub-regions. Age-old travelling and trade through silk road have created deep-rooted and strong cultural kinships between these sub-regions of Asian Land Mass. Historically, the areas that make up Pakistan acts as a cultural bridge between South, Central and West Asia, as it geographically lies at the crossroad of these Asian sub-regions.

Central Asia being landlocked is connected with rest of the world through neighboring Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, virtually binding them into one single region. Geographically, Pakistan provides Central Asian states the shortest route
to link their economies with Arabian Sea. After the disintegration of USSR, newly independent Central Asian states were quick enough to realize this potential and joined already existing trilateral organization ECO in 1992. With Afghanistan also joining in later, a new chapter in the ECO's history was opened and the ECO became a ten member organization, representing a vast area of seven million square kilometers with rich economic resources and population of over 300 million people. Though, the status and power of the ECO is growing day by day, yet the organization faces many challenges, those needed to be overcome to make it an effective and potent body.

Aim

To analyse the geo-economic and geo-strategic significance of ECO Region (CARs, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan), with a view to identifying challenges and opportunities for Pakistan.

OVERVIEW OF HISTORY AND CULTURE

General

Asia, the geographic regions also known as Central, West and South Asia, formed the 'Heartland' of the World; as per the theory propounded by Mackinder in 1904. Asia has witnessed the rise and fall of numerous empires and has seen world powers battle for hegemony. In its history, Asia has witnessed the invasion of Huns, Islamic Chilaphate and has seen the spread of both capitalism and communism. This battleground continues even today as the New Great Game between the global and regional powers unfolds.

To understand Central and West Asia it is imperative to define their past. History of the area is recognized as both Eastern and Western, but within its boundaries these two worlds collided and bringing inevitable challenges. An examination of both the historical and cultural background of the region and its neighbours does much to unravel some of the mysteries.

Overview of Regional History - Geo-Strategic Chessboard

Historically, there is no all-embracing term for the region or its peoples. The ties of clan, tribe, status, locale, or religion were the primary components of this region’s identities, and these were often multi-layered. The history of Central and West Asia as a single and integral region began with the Kushanas and Hun Empires and unfolded through the consecutive changes of geopolitical actors.

During the 19th and 20th Century, a covert and overt conflict of strategic rivalry waged between the British Empire and the Russian Empire for supremacy in Central Asia and expansion towards the Indian Ocean.

As the Russians continued their expansion southward into Central Asia, they were in direct conflict with the British government that continued to push their rule
northward on the Indian subcontinent. Both feared the other would directly confront their regional security and undermine their sphere of influence.

West Asia and more recently Central Asia in the modern day have gained, at least for the moment, an independent identity. Kamal Ataturk established Turkey as the Modern Republic in 1923, Pakistan got her independence in 1947, the Islamic Revolution established Iran as an Islamic Republic in 1979 and CARs got independent in 1991. Afghanistan, on the other hand, is a different story, having always been a region of instability with inter-tribe fighting. Attempts by US Coalition to establish a democratic government since 2002 has totally failed and the upcoming Elections and ISAF drawdown in 2014 is not likely to bring about sustained stability.

Interplay of Cultural Evolution

Geographically, a distinct region but culturally this region has been one of the most dominant in Asia. The chequered history and interplay of different conquerors in this region has left behind a very colourful cultural heritage of many nationalities, societies, and ethnic groups.

The inflow of merchants, artisans and craftsman to the subcontinent in the mediaeval period changed the whole complexion of urban life here. It was this commerce that brought the people to South Asia and linked the people on a common political and cultural platform. The interplay of cultural evolution has been instrumental in evolving historical ties and affinity amongst the cultures.

Advent of Islam. The historical and cultural ties between the Muslim Indo-Pak peninsula, Iran, Turkey and Central Asia are very old and exist on a broad scale. After the 7th Century Umayyad Caliphate, the relations in this region were characterized and bonded with an Islamic Culture.

Sufism. Though Sufism refers to a disparate set of esoteric traditions in Islamic history, Central and South Asia emerged from an existing ‘malamatiyya’ tradition rooted in 9th Century Iran. A proliferation of this mode of mysticism was observed in 12th-century Iran and Central Asia, and began to be associated with the leadership of "Khwajas" or Sufi Masters.

Analysis – Historical and Cultural Affinity

Historically, this region connected the Central Asian horse and silk trade circuit with the Indian Ocean trade economy. In this context, Central Asia was a stepping stone to the maritime trade routes of the Indian Ocean and was hence coveted by Eurasian imperial formations like the Russian Empire. As a result, the movement of people across this region created a larger culture that connects the various Muslim peoples of Central Asia, West Asia and Pakistan. This affinity can be observed in the common use of the Perso-Arabic alphabet, similar genres of high literature, architectural motifs and an Islamic court culture built around the use of the Persian language and a varying adherence to Islamic legal forms.
The existence of non-westernized cultural forms and systems of belief attest to the resilience of this common Perso-Islamic culture. These common features can be observed in birth celebrations, circumcision feasts, weddings, and even in the way women adorn themselves. The existence of survival of this common culture is a testament to the deep-rooted ties between Central Asia and Pakistan and is a symbol of increased in inter-regional cooperation in future.

GEO-ECONOMIC AND GEO-STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE
CENTRAL AND WEST ASIA

ECO Region

Before highlighting the geo-economic and geo-strategic significance of West and Central Asia, it is important to signify the importance and emergence of ECO member states as an ECO Region. The hurdles and challenges being faced by less developed and developing countries in the wake of globalization and emerging geo-political environment has highlighted the need for regional organizations as local protection barriers. In this context, ECO was initially a trilateral organization expanded to include newly independent Central Asian States in 1992 and became a 10 member states regional organization.

Geo-Economic Significance

Central Asia. Geo-economic potential of Central Asian States has placed the region at the center stage of the international power politics. The global and regional powers are all set to exploit the potential of independent yet fledgling states to their own economic and political advantage. The geo-economic potential of the region can be judged from the fact that, GDP growth rate of the region is about 8% annually, which is amongst some of the world’s best growth performances. The production and export of oil and gas is the dominant economic activity in Central Asia, and control of the energy sector is the gateway to power in the region. Geologically, being part of Caspian Sea Basin, Geo-economic potential of region is not equaly distributed among all five states of Central Asia.

West Asia

- Iran. Iran is the world's fourth-largest proven oil reserves and the world's second-largest natural gas reserves; export of oil accounts for over 90% of foreign exchange income. In 2012, Iran saw unprecedented drops in its oil exports primarily due to tightening of sanctions by United States and European Union (EU).

- Turkey. Turkey has shifted rapidly from an economy largely based on agriculture, which still accounts for 24% of total employment, towards an industrial economy. Turkey is now a major European automotive producer, a world leader in shipbuilding, and a significant manufacturer of electronics and home appliances. Due to its remarkable progress, it is being dubbed as one of the 4 emerging economies of the next decade – MINT (Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey).
Afghanistan. Economically, Afghanistan is a weak state, but still has several domestic opportunities that can contribute to long-term economic and political stability in the country, provided, political ramifications of further development are mitigated. There are currently more than 1,400 discovered mineral deposits of gems, copper, iron, ore, gold, and lithium in Afghanistan with an estimated worth $3 trillion. The annual income of Afghanistan from the current tenders with international mining companies is $30 million.10

Geo–Strategic Significance

The interests of global and regional powers in energy rich Central Asia transformed, the 19th century Great Game” into the New Great Game of 21st Century. At present Russia and the United States are the key players of New Great Game;11 whereas China, Turkey, India and Iran, all having economic and strategic interests, are also active in the region. Furthermore, the eastward expansion of the US and NATO and the latter’s presence in Afghanistan has forced Russia and China to forge an informal strategic alliance; with an unstated aim to counter the US influence in the region.

While the major powers like USA, Russia and China are pursuing their strategic and economic objectives in the region, the regional states are attempting to break free of hegemonic shackles to further their own interests. The Central Asian region has the potential to be the linchpin and gateway to West Asia, East Asia, South Asia and Russia from the West. Similarly, its neighbours’ influence on the region is directly related to their ability to provide the region with access to the sea. In this context, Turkey’s advocacy of their modern and liberal model of Islam vis-à-vis Iran’s theocratic model has not really succeeded because of Turkey’s lack of economic clout and the absence of any outlet into the sea. In comparison, Iran and Pakistan are better connected with the Arabian Sea.

Global/Regional Stakeholders. Interests of major stakeholders are also highlighted below:

• USA. US interests in the ECO Region can be summarized in three simple words - Security, Energy, and Democracy. United States is waging an enduring struggle to safeguard the West in general and America in particular, not only from terrorist threats emanating from Afghanistan, but also from overreliance on unstable sources of hydrocarbons in the Middle East.

• Russia. Post September 11, Russian position in the region has been compromised with the increased influence of US and China. Nevertheless, Russia enjoys broad and deep rooted association with Central Asia which gives it a unique advantage over other competitors in the region. Foreign policy objectives of Russia, therefore, are strongly centered at regaining its lost stature in the region in the form of Vladimir Putin’s concept of “Near Abroad” and proposed enhanced framework of Eurasian Bloc.12 Russia’s ability to bring together various Central Asian states in military matters through platform of CSTO has manifested the natural Russian influence on the member states.13
• **China.** China's strategic relationship with the ECO Region especially Central Asia has grown over the past decade. China perhaps is one of the most vital stakeholders in the gambit of the New Great Game.\(^\text{14}\) China is currently driven by one main interest; expanding its own economy by economically uniting the region as a transportation corridor for its goods from China to markets in the Middle East and Europe. Formation of Shanghai Co-operation Organization (SCO) by China, is the manifestation of Chinese aim to contain US influence in the region and to derive economic benefits from the CAS. Nonetheless, it is clear that China’s model of cooperation is economically based and without provisions for political integration, China will not challenge Russia’s official political primacy.

• **India.** India aspires to cement a strong position in Central Asia to fulfill its desire to become regional power. Indian policy focuses on making conscious efforts to strengthen and diversify relations with Central Asia using its historical and strong converging interests with Iran and Russia. Indian policymakers refer to Central Asia as their extended strategic neighbourhood. Iran is a key to India’s Middle East and Central Asian policies. Apart from being a major contributor to India’s growing energy needs, the North – South Corridor via Iran, aims to connect India with Central Asian Republics (CAR) and Afghanistan.\(^\text{15}\)

**Pakistan’s Regional Concerns.** While the major powers like USA, Russia and China are pursuing their strategic and economic objectives in the region, the regional states are attempting to break free of hegemonic shackles to further their own interests. The Central Asian Region has the potential to be the linchpin and gateway to West Asia, East Asia, South Asia and Russia from the West. Similarly, in the ECO Region, the neighbours’ influence on the region is directly related to their inter-dependability to provide the landlocked members access to the sea. It is in Pakistan’s interest to reinvigorate ECO to play an enhanced role in promoting stability and progress in the region. Furthermore, extend its influence in the region by way of new economic and political alliances through engagement with Russia Turkey, Iran and other regional countries.

• **Central Asia**

  ➢ Pakistan and Central Asia relations are based on principles of mutuality of interests. While Pakistan can act as bridge between geographically landlocked Central Asian region and warm waters of Indian Ocean, Central Asian States can meet the ever increasing energy needs of the country. In order to foster the energy cooperation between CARs and Pakistan, following significant agreements and projects are underway:\(^\text{16}\)

  • **TAPI.** A 1735 kilometres gas pipe starting from Turkmenistan running along Herat-Kandahar highway will enter Pakistan near Quetta and pass by Multan; final destination will be Fazilka, near the Pakistan-India border. At least 37 million cu m of gas will be delivered daily via TAPI. Asian Development Bank is the leading coordinating
financial and technical partner and TAPI Steering Committee held its last meeting in Bangkok in February 2013 where primarily American companies Chevron, Exxon Mobil, British Petroleum and PETRNOAS have been short listed to undertake the implementation work on the project. The reason for postponement was Afghan government’s preparation for the withdrawal of troops of the US and NATO out of the country in 2014.

Proposed TAPI Pipeline

- **CASA – 1000.** Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan have been pursuing electricity trade through establishment of a Central Asia-South Asia Regional Electricity Market (CASAREM) for which an intergovernmental agreement has been signed in 2008 in Islamabad. Under the agreement, 1300 MW surplus hydro power will be available during summer (May to September) from Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan to Pakistan (1000 MW) and Afghanistan (300 MW). The project is expected to complete by 2016 at the cost of US$ 197 million.

- **Trade.** Though existing trade statistics between Central Asia and Pakistan are not very encouraging, yet statistics indicate an encouraging trend. By 2011-12 regional trade had increased to $45.3 million as compared to just $20.16 m in 2003-4. It is estimated that even 5% share of the $80 billion potential market of Central Asia will let Pakistan to earn around $4 billion a year. However, non-availability of direct land routes and continued chaotic conditions in Afghanistan has contributed to the stagnation of Pak-Central Asian trade. Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan had agreed to build railroads and highways that will give Tajikistan access to the sea through the Pakistan. In this context, proposed 1300 Kilometer highway between Pakistan and Tajikistan capital Dushanbe through Durah pass (4550 meter high) and reopening of
Murghab-Kulma road from Tajikistan to China and onwards to Pakistan through the Karakoram highway are significant developments to boost transit trade between Pakistan and Central Asia.

- **Pak – Iran Relations**
  
  - Iran enjoys strong historic and cultural connections with Central Asia especially with Persian-speaking Tajiks. Of late, Iran has started focusing on providing the landlocked Central Asian States access to its ports in the Persian Gulf and has steadily increased trade with its regional neighbors, in particular Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
  
  - Pak-Iran relationship has over the years deteriorated from a cordial level to a formal status. This icing up of the relations can be directly linked to the Post 1979 Revolution and Iran’s concerns over the Pakistan’s ethnic troubles and Afghanistan policy. The relations between two countries are driven by political and strategic imperatives, despite divergence of interests and political outlook.
  
  - Iran’s concerns regarding the perceived dangers of containment by the US, the challenges flowing from developments in Afghanistan, vis-à-vis Pakistan apprehensions about growing Indo-Iran node have deeply influenced the vitality of Iran-Pakistan relationship. Nonetheless, both the countries have tried to reconcile the differences and consolidate their ties and are pursuing convergences in the fields of economy, trade, security, defence, cultural and social sector, to revive their relations.
  
  - Completion of Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline as per schedule is the cornerstone of lasting revival of relations between two countries. Iran has already completed laying of 1100 Km of pipeline in Iranian territory and Pakistan is faced with the challenge of completing its part of the project as per schedule; especially in the wake of external pressure.
Pakistan-Turkey Relations

- Turkey’s interests in the region are based on strong historical and cultural affinities in the ECO Region, emerging as one of the main conduit for energy supply pipeline networks for Europe.

- Turkey and Pakistan, founding members of the ECO, have worked to negotiate a preferential trading agreement, aiming to considerably increase trade and investments, especially in transport, telecommunications, manufacturing and tourism. Turkish private corporations have also invested significantly in industrial and construction projects developing highways, pipelines and canals in Pakistan.

- Relations with Turkey have been very cordial but over the years, other than a few high marks, the rapport has not reached the desired level. Pakistan’s conservative approach vis-à-vis Turkey's secular outlook is somewhat causing hindrance in a potentially very vibrant friendly and brotherly relationship. Cultural and trade activities have continued between the two countries with a special affinity to the historical ties (especially from the Turkish camp).

Afghanistan. Post 2014, the likely departure of ISAF from Afghanistan will create a major void as the war economy shifts out. Being a born again country, Afghanistan’s economic self-sufficiency is confronted with many hurdles due to its lack of economic potential. Furthermore, being landlocked, Afghanistan will be dependent on its neighbours for trade and commerce with the outside world. In this context, its relations with ECO Region will be very vital for its future prospects.

ECO – VIABILITY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Viability. The ECO member countries have been traditional trading partners for centuries, however since early 20th Century; turmoil has affected regional harmony and trade. On the contrary, it is quite interesting to note that historically despite all the regional upheavals and conflicts, the Silk Route trade has rarely diminished. ECO aims at achieving its objectives through linking of economic and development plans in the immediate and long-term context and the region is full of potential which has to be tapped and harnessed through joint effort of the member countries. The current state of intra-regional trade, however, presents a dismal picture of cooperation in the ECO Region. The countries of ECO Region mainly rely on industrial economies for their exports and imports and mutual trade in the region. However despite efforts to strengthen regional ties amongst the ECO countries, intra-regional trade between ECO countries is hovering at just around 7% over the last decade. The main reason for the low levels of trade cooperation is the lack of will and in order to achieve the desired higher intra-regional trade member countries need to devise ways and means to increase mutual trade.
Challenges. Despite high ideals and targets envisioned in the Charter of the Organization, ECO has not been able to fully harness and utilize the true potential of its member States. The Organization’s long-term prospects depend on the Member states recognizing the potential and future viability of ECO Region as the main geo-strategic and geo-economic platform. The states must find common ground in promoting ECO as an effective regional cooperation forum to deliver tangible benefits to all member States:

- **Political and Security Problems.** At present, the geo-strategic and economic compulsion of all member states have relegated ECO into an ineffectual forum. Each member state, considering their own peculiarities have preferred either more dynamic organizations or bilateral agreements, which accrue benefits in the short term. The emergence of CAREC (Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation) with its US $ 21 Billion incentive, may pose challenges for enhancing mutual cooperation between ECO member states.

- **Intra-Regional Trade.** The intra-regional trade of ECO is based upon preferential treatment instead of free trade area of the entire region. The northern states of the organization depend upon Russia and the West for their trade. Southern states are also dependent on external players. Afghanistan continues to survive on minimal foreign aid. No ECO member state is a mutual trading partner, which raises doubts on the potential of ECO’s economic development.

- **Poor Infrastructure.** For the realization of promising trade, development of supporting infrastructure is very necessary. Development of trade and transit routes for the land locked members of ECO is the main stumbling block as it not only isolates CAR’s from other ECO members but also diverts the trade potential to other approachable avenues.

- **ECO Internal Challenges**
  - Nonpayment of outstanding dues by member countries to ECO Secretariat is seriously hampering the administration and future development projects of ECO. The viability of ECO will remain a question if the member states continue this apathetic policy.
  - Political divergences between Iran and Turkey may cause a stumbling block for re-invigoration of ECO.

- **Energy Politics**
  - The most attractive factor of ECO countries is the presence of hydrocarbons in Central Asian Region. The huge reservoirs of oil and gas reserves in the region have attracted energy hungry global powers and the “New Great Game” is on, between powerful countries, to get access of
the energy resources of the region. The main actors of the great game are Russia, China, Iran and the USA.

- The fact that all these countries are land locked further enhances the importance of those countries that can provide transit facilities to pipeline routes.

- Iran and Turkey are the only ECO members offering their territory for transit facilities at the cheapest rates, thus halts any close interaction by the ECO countries.

**Opportunities for Re-invigorating ECO.** Despite having all the potential as a regional organization, ECO never managed to gain the desired impetus. Failure could be attributed to many facets like lack of preferential treatment inside the region, lack of export diversification and poor infrastructure. The region is not only located at the crossroads of the most geo-strategically important regions of the world but also has hydrocarbon resources in abundance. As one of the founding member, Pakistan attaches importance to the efficacious functioning of ECO and alongside Iran and Turkey, exercise a leadership role in the Organization. Therefore, ECO provides a platform for Pakistan to achieve the dual objective of projecting itself on the regional plane and promoting connectivity with regional states.

The Organization’s long-term prospects depend on Pakistan, Iran and Turkey finding common ground in promoting effective regional cooperation; considering the changing dynamics of global politics, an enhanced role of a re-invigorated ECO would deliver tangible benefits to all member States.

Furthermore, Pakistan along with the other member states has the economic potential to play a vital role in developing the economy of the ECO Region through harnessing trade opportunities. Provision of access to the warm waters of Arabian Sea to the land locked Afghanistan and CARs would be another binding factor for furthering ECO Region. The main question arises as to how the potential advantages of ECO Region and the organization can be exploited in the best interests of member countries. Opportunities available for re-invigorating ECO are as follows:

- **Joint Economic/Security Platform.** In geopolitical terms, the economic progress of the region is dependent on the political and security issues, which have to be addressed by forming a **Joint Platform.** The foreign interests in the region have to be tackled by considering options which are in the mutual interest of ECO Region. This needs building of political will based upon thinking in terms of common gains.

- **Resource Potential.** The ECO Region is one of the richest regions in the world, in terms of the opportunities offered by oil, gas and mineral resources, hydro-electric power, and population dynamics. These potentials chart the course of future collaboration among the member countries as the region's rich resource base provides all the ingredients for a sound industrial base.
• **Trade/Energy Access**

  ➢ Central Asia is a resource rich region looking for markets and South Asia, being energy hungry, affords a ready market for its resources. Secondly, if dependence on Russia for energy transportation to Europe is ended and westward route via Turkey is used then Central Asian countries would be dealing with the markets of Europe directly.

  ➢ ECO is suitable to CAR’s as compared to other regional organizations like SCO, CIS or CSTO, because there is no dominating power in it, and the economies of countries are not significantly different.

  ➢ Given her more diverse and strong economy, ECO will prove to be more productive for Turkey. It can play a more dominant role in ECO than in EU. If the energy pipelines take Turkey’s route then she would act like a bridge between Europe and Central Asia and within ECO Turkey’s role and importance would be greatly enhanced.

  ➢ An economically and politically integrated ECO will not only be of mutual benefit for the entire ECO Region but will also help Iran in particular, to overcome her isolation.

  ➢ ECO is more beneficial to Pakistan, as compared to SAARC due to the absence of hegemonic country like India as it will provide a lot of geo-strategic strength as a regional security platform.

**CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PAKISTAN**

**Challenges**

Improvement of economic, cultural and strategic relations with countries of the ECO region is the hallmark of Pakistan Foreign Policy, however, due to prevailing internal and external security dynamics so far Pakistan have not been able to develop any meaningful interaction with ECO member states. In this context, major challenges faced by Pakistan are:

• **Afghan Crisis.** The most significant challenge in sharing the fruits of ECO countries is the security situation in Afghanistan. The future in post US Drawdown Afghanistan is even more uncertain as core of Taliban movement is still intact and ANSF are still unprepared to handle the threat independently. Thus, with prevailing instability in Afghanistan, Pakistan faces serious challenges on its western borders.

• **Pakistan - Central Asia Relations**

  ➢ The regional and global competitiveness and divergent economic interests have made it difficult for Pakistan to shape and implement an independent and coherent strategy towards Central Asia.
Lack of reliable and all weather communication infrastructures is a serious impediment in the furtherance of cooperation between two sides. Geographically, Pakistan has no direct linkage with CARs, all available / possible land links pass indirectly through Afghanistan, Iran or China. However, Wakhan Corridor in northern Afghanistan is the narrowest strip (14 Km wide) that separates Pakistan from Tajikistan.

Lack of financial resources and modern industrial infrastructure coupled with unskilled labor especially in Oil and Gas sector also restrict smooth economic cooperation between CARs and Pakistan.

Deteriorated law and order situation in Baluchistan is severely resisting in making Gwadar Port a hub of commercial activities for Central Asian Republics.

- **Pak-Iran Relations.** Competing interests of US, Saudi Arabia and GCC countries is the foremost impediment in maintaining strong bilateral ties between two countries. Thus making it difficult for Pakistan to maintain cordial relations with US, Iran, Saudi Arabia and other GCC countries concurrently. Beside this, strong Indo-Iranian ties converging on Indian interests in Central Asia and Afghanistan, also pose hurdle in furtherance of the relations between Iran and Pakistan.

- **Pak-Turkey Relations.** Although Pak-Turkey relations are progressing steadily since many years, without facing any major hurdle, yet relations between two countries have not transformed in to strategic economic partnership. Though present trade balance (Exports $873 million in 2011) is in favor of Pakistan, yet absence of any Free Trade Agreement between two countries hinders the smooth economic cooperation between two countries.

**Opportunities**

The opportunity for Pakistan to accrue maximum economic and strategic benefit from Central and West Asia lies in reinvigorating ECO. As one of the founding members, ECO provides a platform for Pakistan to achieve the dual objectives of projecting itself on the regional plane while at the same time can play a lead role in establishing an effective ECO Region, based on principles of mutual cooperation.

**Central Asia.** Opportunities available to Pakistan for furtherance of relations with Central Asia

- **Road Link**

  - **Wakhan Corridor.** The corridor is of strategic significance to Pakistan as it provides gateway to Central Asia. A trilateral agreement for linking Tajikistan (Dushanbe) with Karakoram Highway in Pakistan, through Wakhan Corridor has already been signed in 2009, however, the pace of work on Pakistan side is exceptionally slow. Tajikistan has already
completed its part of the road link and is awaiting Pakistan to complete remaining part. The road link will provide strategic opportunity to Pakistan to link CARs with seaports of Karachi, Port Qasim and Gwadar while circumventing most part of unstable Afghanistan.

- **Tajikistan–China Road link.** Planned reconstruction of Murghab-Kulma road connecting Tajikistan with Karakoram highway in Kashgar China also provides an opportunity to Pakistan for linking Central Asia with Arabian Sea.

- **Bishkek – Kashgar Road link.** Existing road link between Bishkek Kirghizstan and Kashgar China can also be exploited to link Central Asia with Karachi or Port Qasim and subsequently with Gwadar.

**Defence Ties.** Pakistan is already providing military training facility to various Central Asian States. However, Pakistan defense industry has the potential to venture into Central Asian defence market for diversification and modernization of their military hardware.

**Trade and Economic.** Optimum exploitation of vast Central Asian market exists for our consumer goods, textiles, footwear, and light engineering products. Even 5% exploitation of $80 billion trade potential of CARs, can earn Pakistan up to $4 billion a year.

**Energy**

- **CASA 1000.** Completion of CASA 1000 project as per plan can contribute in meeting growing Pakistan energy needs.

- **TAPI.** Central Asia is an energy rich region where as South Asia is energy deficit. TAPI Being a US backed initiative; Pakistan can pursue fast track implementation of this project to secure its own future energy needs as well as to become energy transit hub for the region.

**New Silk Route Initiative.** Proposed US Silk Route Initiative linking South and Central Asia through Afghanistan presents an opportunity for Pakistan to enhance its geo-economic significance in the longer run.

**Iran**

Following opportunities can be exploited for furtherance of relations with Iran:

- **Iran-US Rapprochement.** Recent agreement on US-Iran nuclear standoff offers opportunities to Pakistan in advancement of bilateral trade and materialization of other projects of strategic significance.

- **Defence Ties.** Both countries have strong potential to strengthen defence cooperation.
- **IP Gas Pipeline Agreement.** Implementation of IP gas pipeline as per agreement is not only vital for meeting the most immediate energy needs of Pakistan but is also vital for furtherance of Iran Pakistan relations.

- **Barter Trade.** Being a neighboring country and leading member of ECO, Pakistan has the opportunity to benefit from barter trade with Iran especially in exchange of electricity and oil.

- **Education / Tourism.** Strong historical, cultural and religious ties between two countries can be exploited to enhance tourism (especially religious tourism) and student exchange programs.

**Turkey**

- **Economic Relations.** There is enormous scope for enhancing cooperation in economy, trade, tourism and science and technology. Turkey manufactures automotive, electronics and other consumer goods, which can fulfill the need of Pakistan against export of Cotton, textile products, organic chemicals and leather products. Expected finalization of FTA between two countries would help Pakistani exporters to have wider access in the Turkish market. To accrue more benefit same needs to be done expeditiously as India is also looking for the same opportunity.30

- **Defence Ties.** Turkey, due to its membership of NATO and proximity with Europe has a well-developed defence sector. Similarly, Pakistan’s defence industry is also treading on the path of self-reliance and has been able to produce defence equipment indigenously. Both countries have enormous potential to benefit from each other’s defence industry. Recently, Pakistan Navy has finalized the deal to construct PN Fleet Tanker at Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works (KS&EW) in collaboration with turkey.31

- **ECO Goods Train.** Optimum exploitation of ECO goods train (Gul Train) service between Islamabad, and Istanbul provides enormous opportunity to explore unconnected European and Asian markets for the country, besides strengthening cash starved Pakistan Railway. So far, only eight trains have been dispatched and the last one ran on November 5, 2011.32

**Recommendations**

**Way Forward for ECO.** Despite high ideals and targets envisioned in the Charter of the Organization, ECO has not been able to fully harness and utilize the true potential of its member states. The Organization’s long-term prospects depend on Pakistan, Iran and Turkey finding common ground in promoting effective regional cooperation and on establishment of efficient and effective institutions that deliver tangible benefits to all member States. Despite ECO’s potential to benefit the ECO Region, the greatest challenge being faced will be the balancing relations with regional powers like Russia and China:
• **Joint Economic / Security Platform.** Existing role of ECO can be expanded to include realm of security, in order to initiate collective response against following security challenges:

- Enhance defense cooperation.
- Terrorism and drug trafficking.
- Eradication of religious extremism.
- Resolving internal differences on regional and global issues.
- Formulate joint investigation mechanism to tackle trans-national threats.

• **Promotion of Trade.** The low trade between ECO region can be improved through:

- Enforcement of free trade agreements and elimination of non-tariff barriers for trade within ECO region.
- Free movements of goods, capital, people & services along with simplification of visa regimes.
- Investment in setting up of labor intensive industries to exploit the potential of both skilled and unskilled youth dividends.
- Development of trade corridor/road links with Indian Ocean, to benefit landlocked member countries.

• **Joint Ventures**

- Member countries can undertake joint ventures for exploitation of rich energy and mineral resources.
- Setting up of value addition industry in food and agriculture sector for better competition in international market.
- Setting up of Joint Industrial Research Centre for optimum exploitation of technological advancements.
- Enhanced cooperation between member states in fields of education, tourism, culture and art.

• **Infrastructure Development.** There is a need for joint efforts by the member states for creation of comprehensive rail and road and energy pipeline network for connecting the land locked energy rich CASs with ports in Iran and Pakistan. Converging Chinese interests for enhancement of trade in the region can be exploited for attracting investment in projects of mutual interest.
• **ECO Specialised Agencies.** Already formed specialized agencies and regional institutes of ECO must be revitalised to accrue maximum benefit from these institutes.

**Regional Relations.** Other recommendations to improve the regional relations are as follows:

- Formulated economic cooperation strategy may be pursued with political will and commitment of the Member States.

- Despite facing irritants and challenges in Central Asia, Pakistan must implement all outstanding economic agreements with the ECO regional states.

- For the purpose of establishing strong bilateral ties, Pakistan Foreign Policy must deal with each Central Asian State on individual basis, instead of using the collective notion of ‘Central Asian States’.

- Private sector participation be encouraged to promote mutually beneficial joint ventures in the region.

- Impediments in development of Chitral-Tajikistan highway through Wakhan Corridor may be removed for early completion of the strategic road link.

- Beside ECO, Islamabad must also fully exploit all other regional and international forums for furtherance of its economic and political interests.

- Frequent exchanges of cultural representatives among all member states be encouraged for perpetual promotion of tourism industry and people-to-people contact.

**Conclusion**

The bond between ECO member states endowed with huge mineral, oil and gas resources is based on the solid foundation of economic complementarities, common cultural heritage, geographical proximity and the absence of serious disputes and hegemonic designs among its members. These kinships provide impetus for common destiny and shared vision of the future for the entire ECO region through mutual cooperation. Hence, ECO must be revitalized as a vibrant forum that provides the opportunity for enormous expansion of intra-regional trade and cooperation among all its member states.

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Endnotes


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Security Challenges in South Asia by Maleeha Lodhi.


PART – II

National Security

- Globalization and State Security
- Emergence of Media and its Impact on Pakistan
GLOBALIZATION AND STATE SECURITY

Abstract

Globalization symbolizes the emergence of a global society in which economic, political, environmental and cultural events in one part of the world have significant impact on people in other parts of the world. Today’s world has become a global village where interdependent nations share money, ideas, information and products with fellow nations across the continents. While offering a lot of opportunities, the globalization has also posed many new challenges to the security of states, like Pakistan. Foresaid in view, the paper analyses the effects of globalization on security of Pakistan so as to suggest measures for evolving a progressive national security construct. The paper covers various concepts of national security and globalization with an emphasis on evolving theories about the subject. It also establishes a framework for analysing the impact of globalization on national security while focusing on its varied dimensions like military security, human security, societal security and environmental security. It then goes on to offer a number of comprehensive recommendations to meet these challenges and exploit the opportunities. The major recommendations include broad policy guidelines for Pakistan’s foreign policy, economic policy, defence policy and domestic policy while suggesting measures for enhancing societal, environmental and human security of Pakistan.

Introduction

Globalization symbolizes the emergence of a global society in which economic, political, environmental and cultural events in one part of the world have significant impact on people in other parts of the world. The World of today being termed as a global villages means, people from all parts of the globe are now more closely connected to each other than ever before in human history. Money and information are flowing quickly and efficiently across continents. With the continuing erosion of trade barriers, more and more people have access to goods and services being produced in different parts of the world. Cultural integration - an important part of globalization, has resulted in diminishing cultural boundaries. International tourism has grown at a rapid rate and the process of globalization has given fillip to greater competition for markets and investments. The developing states and societies are now vulnerable to non-traditional security threats as the developed world has gained greater capability to disrupt the political and economic sovereignty of states in the developing world by employing media and international financial system without resorting to military intervention. The non-state actors pose another major security threat to all the states by employing modern technologies through covert means and access critical security information. There is a growing apprehension in smaller and less developed states that globalization leads to dominance of the weak by the rich and powerful states. However, despite all the misgivings and apprehensions, the fact is that globalization is here to stay. Therefore, it would be in the greater national interest to objectively analyze all the facets of this phenomenon and come up with the strategy to tap the advantages of globalization without any compromise on the security of the country.
South Asia stands unique in the world due to its shared history of the countries located in this region. Globalization for South Asia implies the rapid opening to world markets, entry of new and major competitors and increasing enforcement of free competition through the World Trade Organization (WTO). Pakistan enjoys a key position in South Asia from a strategic and economic point of view. The geographical location of Pakistan makes it a junction of three important parts of the world, South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia. Thus, in the perspective of globalization, Pakistan can provide a corridor for trade to the landlocked countries of Central Asia. An attempt has been made to understand the concept of security along with impact of globalization on various systems of national security of Pakistan in the global and regional context, so as to recommend a framework for National Security Policy.

Aim

To analyze the impact of globalization on security of a nation state like Pakistan with a view to suggest measures for evolving a progressive national security construct.

Nation, State & Nation-State. The terms Nation, State, Country and Nation-State are used to refer to political, economic, social and cultural factors in the international system. The modern nation-state refers to a single or multiple nationalities joined together in a formal political union. A Nation refers only to a socio-cultural entity, a union of people who can identify culturally and linguistically while a State refers to a legal/political entity comprising a permanent population, defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other states.¹

Sovereignty. The Peace of Westphalia became a critical moment in the development of the modern international system composed of sovereign states each with exclusive authority within its own geographic borders. This concept allowed the ruler to make laws for his subjects and enforce them. The ruler was bound by treaties he signed with other sovereign rulers and promises he made to his own people. The conduct of interstate relations is a by-product of the state system, set forth by the Treaty of Westphalia and embedded in this Treaty was the fact that states have internal and external sovereignty. To attain sovereignty, a state must demonstrate internal supremacy and external independence. A sovereign state needs to show political supremacy in its own territory over all other political authorities and actual independence of outside authority. Hence, sovereignty is the assumption that a government of a state is both supreme and independent. Internal sovereignty is a fundamental authority relationship within states between rulers and ruled which is usually defined by a state’s constitution, and external authority is a fundamental authority relationship between states which is defined by international law.²

The Concept of National Security. The concept of national security implies that the referent object is the nation where as central meaning more usually applies to the state. In the case of more-or-less nation-states (Norway, Japan, France) this confusion does not matter much but in the case of multi-nation states (Russia, UK, Afghanistan and Pakistan) or where the nation is distributed across more than one state (Koreans, Russians, Kurds, Palestinians) it does, because the nation and the state may be different and opposed referent objects (Russia and Chechens).³ Barry Buzan has
defined national security as the “ability of a nation to pursue successfully its national interest, as it sees them, at any place in the world”. National security has traditionally been about the survival of the state against military threats posed by other states. However, the United States Defence Dictionary has defined national security as a “collective term encompassing both national defence and foreign relation specifically the condition provided by a military or defence advantage over any foreign nation or group of nations or a favourable foreign relations positions or a defence posture capable of successfully resisting hostile or destructive action from within or without, overt or covert”. In this light, national security may also mean the protection of political, economic, psychosocial, military, geo-ecological and techno-scientific environment of the nation.4

Facets of National Security. National security involves integration of political leadership and all organs of the state to collectively respond to challenges facing the state. Most often, the first and mandatory element of national security is the ability of the state’s defence forces to use the available military means to protect its right to existence. At the same time, it is emphasized that the military alone is not the only organ of state that would guarantee the national security. Other elements like internal security, economic security, resource security, environmental security and socio-economic security of its human capital are equally important to achieve a comprehensive national security model.

The Concept of Globalization. Different authors have described the term “Globalization” as a diffused concept that is still vague, ambiguous and evolving. However, it is generally used to describe the trends of advancing integration, interdependence, and homogenization of the world, very often measured in economic terms. Globalization however, has become one of the most profound forces of our time impacting human societies beyond state structures. The primary idea behind the forces driving globalization encapsulates the notion that ‘events which occur in one place of the globe have an effect on the entire world.

Defining Globalization. There are various definitions of globalization but integration tends to remain the common idea of all such interpretations. Nobel laureate, Joseph Stiglitz, defines globalization as ‘the process of economic integration of countries, through the increasing flow of goods, services, capital and labour’.5 A widely cited sociologist, Anthony Giddens, defined globalization as ‘growing interdependence between different peoples, regions and countries in the world’.6 More thorough interpretations view globalization as a process rather than an event. It is ‘the process whereby political, social, economic and cultural relations increasingly take on a global scale, and which has profound consequences on individuals' local experiences and everyday lives’ (Bilton 1996, 660). It is also ‘the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flow of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and people across borders’

Distinction between Globalization and Interdependence. Globalization is considered distinct from interdependence. Interdependence implies ratified connections and mutually accommodating ties between sovereign states. On the other
hand, globalization is defined not just by the ever-expanding connections between states measured in terms of movement of goods and capital but the circulation and intermingling of people and ideas. The post-cold war globalization has shifted focus of sovereignty, security and peace from state to the individual.

Drivers of Globalization. Prior to evaluating the impact of globalization on national security, it is important to identify the forces driving globalization. These drivers or force vectors behind globalization help us to distinguish globalization from interdependence. The major drivers of globalization in national security spectrum of developing state can be identified as:

- Speed of dissemination and assimilation of technology.
- Explosion in information access.
- Demographic Transition.
- Projected shift in balance of economic power.
- Social and environmental concerns.
- Financial integration.

Schools of Thoughts on Impact of Globalisation. There are generally two categories of scholars; one view security in its narrow or traditional context of old order with greater control of state, the second category contends that security needs to be redefined in harmony with positive drivers of globalization. In post cold war world, capitalism prevailed as the world economic order and the framework of understanding security has since widened; it is not only military but also economic, societal, environmental, and political threats that impact the states all around the world and therefore require greater capacity building through interdependence and dissemination of knowledge.

Impact on Military Security. A shift in the nature of wars from Clausewitzian interstate wars to “wars of a third kind” civil ethnic wars and wars between small states. States, particularly the United States, face the challenge of “post-industrial warfare.” This concept refers to a new kind of threat: global assault by unprofessional, ideological combatants, operating in deprived areas, targeting civilians, and businesses. Globalization theorists contend that the emergence of new threats and the contraction of national military apparatus have eroded the exclusivity of the state as a provider of national security. Instead, national security establishments are increasingly looking both inside and out to form partnerships that can provide security more economically and more effectively. While this might be truer for the states in stable region, the opposite school maintains that these claims are overstated and where the nation states’ behaviour conforms to the globalisation school’s propositions, it is attributable to strategic circumstances rather than globalization. The great powers have adapted to globalization only when it was consistent with their own strategic imperatives. Finally, very weak or failed states such as those in sub-Saharan Africa have had their fragile national security establishments buffeted by the pressures of globalization, adding further impetus for state collapse.
Economic Security. Economic security can be examined in two different contexts i.e. in the context of politics/international relations and in the context of human security at individual level. In politics/international relations milieu, economic security is the ability of a nation-state to follow its choice of policies to develop the national economy in the manner desired. Historically, conquest of nations have made conquerors rich through capture of resources and enlarged trade through controlling of the conquered nations' economy.

Societal Security. It concerns the sustainability of traditional patterns of language, culture, religion, national identity and customs. Societal security is likely to become a much more prominent issue between centre and periphery, and within both, segments of society than it has been during the Cold War era. Societal security is also about the threats and vulnerabilities that affect patterns of communal identity and culture within the state as well. Migration is the most prominent on agenda in centre-periphery relations as it is driven by economic potential and politico-cultural affinity. However, beyond a certain number, migrations can create societal tensions as well.

Environmental Security. Environmental security examines threats posed by environmental events and trends to individuals, communities or nations. It may focus on the impact of human conflict and international relations on the environment, or on how environmental problems cross state borders. Environmental security is environmental viability for life support, with three sub-elements:

- Preventing or repairing military damage to the environment.
- Preventing or responding to environmentally caused conflicts.
- Protecting the environment due to its inherent moral value. It considers the abilities of individuals, communities or nations to cope with environmental risks, changes or conflicts, or limited natural resources.

Pakistan’s National Security. Pakistan’s national security policy has traditionally been India centric with greater support from regional alliances on Saudi Arabia and China to global alliances with USA. Its focus has primarily been security dominated approach to defend against external threat from India. However, comprehensive national security concept poses a much varied and potentially changed threat matrix with serious consequences to Pakistan’s National Security. The scourge of extremism / terrorism poses an international security threat to the country. This along with existential threat of India and unstable Afghanistan on Western frontiers, weakening governance, societal friction and environmental degradation, and our tainted image in the World present a complex security mosaic of the country. It is pertinent to take stock of the international, regional and internal environment prior to indulging in an assessment of the impact of globalization on various aspects of the national security of Pakistan.

Global Environment. The United States will remain the dominant power in the world for the foreseeable future while the World moves from unipolarity to a multi-polar world where different countries/blocs exert for greater influence. The phenomenon of Globalization will increase regional economic and security
interdependence among countries, and promote cross cultural interactions to the benefits of human development through cooperation rather than competition of confrontation. War, in the foreseeable future, will be characterized by the use of remote miniaturized cutting-edge technology, enhanced role of Non State Actors in sub conventional warfare, and media. Conventional conflict with direct application of force is less likely among developing nation and maintain international economic system. Leading international players will continue to forge cooperation and alliances to collectively deal with global issues such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation etc, through effective use of international institutions and forums to contain and minimize direct confrontation. Developing States will be consumed more by the need for socio-economic development and economic growth. Reaping the benefits of globalization will figure high on their priorities while relegating the urge for confrontation / war to a much lower level.

**Regional Environment.** After the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistan will be faced with the challenge to contain the violence erupting inside Afghanistan and its spill over effect on Pakistan. Despite attempts at reconciliation, Afghanistan is likely to experience another bout of power grab at the Centre. US-Pakistan relations are expected to remain interdependent from mid to long term with renewed focus on terrorism, nuclear proliferation and stability in Afghanistan in the regional context. Bilateral relations between India and Pakistan will remain hostage to internal political and security dynamics of both the states. China will remain sensitive about its perceived encirclement as part of US strategy of ‘Pivot to the East’. Its economic relations with US and India will grow and economic engagement of China in Afghanistan in post-2014 would have a stabilizing effect in the region. The proposed concept of developing “New Silk Road” is a manifestation of the spirit and desire of world to cooperation in a globalize world. Pakistan’s relations with Iran will remain dormant without any significant and meaningful benefit to Pakistan, primarily due to hostile world view of Iranian government. The evolving situation in the Middle East will keep the region in a flux from mid to long term. The current internal security concern in GCC states offers opportunity for closer cooperation to the mutual benefit of Pakistan.

**Internal Environment.** Pakistan’s economy is on a slower trajectory to recovery with donors assistance programme and needs structural reforms in taxation and energy policy. The economy has the potential to bounce back with prudent reforms, transparency, good fiscal management and long term planning and execution. Terrorists contained in FATA pose a major threat to the stability of Pakistan wherein Army and other Law Enforcement Agencies have cleared most areas. Religious extremism, sectarian violence has resulted in social unrest which has eroded the writ of the government, at home and damaged the international image. This will continue to impact international trade and investment.

Though politically, Pakistan has made progress wherein a peaceful transition of power took place between two civilian governments. Democratic institutions are taking root and evolving democratic culture, reinforced by a dynamic civil society and free media. Pakistan faces serious societal challenges such as rising population, internal migration, poor education system and health facilities, lack of social welfare measures, breakout of epidemics, ethnic polarity, etc are eating away the fabric of national
integration. Environmental degradation and climate change pose serious natural calamities for Pakistan and highlight the need for sustainable development in the country.

**Foreign Policy Challenges**

Globalization has critically endangered traditional perception of absolute sovereignty of the nation-states. In the globalized world of today, sovereignty of states is increasingly measured with the economic capacity of the state with others. Our foreign policy therefore continues to be affected by the dictates of US and compulsion from other international financial institution due to our limited economic capacity to sustain ourself in an increasingly inter-dependent world. Increased cooperation between US and India in a number of areas, such as civilian nuclear deal, military collaboration and pursuit of economic of interests has been a significant outcome of globalization. The type of Afghan government in future will determine the foreign policy construct of Pakistan and it requires pragmatic and flexible regional approach to help stabilize Afghanistan.

Globalization has connected people and nations beyond state controls due to tremendous development in communication means and IT. This has resulted in increased sensitivity to issues concerning human security and justice in the world. Developed state and international institutions are increasingly applying pressure on Pakistan on terrorism, security of nuclear assets and human rights issues which imposes added limitation on foreign policy options.

**Domestic Public Policy Challenges**

Globalization impacts the spread of terrorism via speedy cash flow, migration and high media exposure. Pakistan faces this challenge today and lacks in capacity to cope with potential exploitations by Non State Actors. Transnational terrorism, emanating from either Afghanistan or from within Pakistan, is uncontrollable under the prevalent circumstances and needs greater resources to cope with the threat through interdependence on developed world.

Judicial activism and intense coverage by media has brought a lot of **awareness to the people** of the country. Pakistan is facing a huge challenge of good governance and socio-economic reform for its population. Balochistan has been in the throes of insurgency since long and now globalization has given a new life to its cause wherein a number of western powers have displayed sympathy to the Baloch nationalists. Besides this, pressure on the government from foreign countries, international human rights agencies/United Nations and other such forums on the issue of missing persons in Balochistan call for a different and abiding approach to handle the issue.

**Economic Security Challenges**

Developing economies are paradoxically related to the globalization. Our policy makers are divided over the challenge of meeting the demands of IFIs or addressing domestic popular demands/concerns. While successful regional economic integration in
Asia and Europe is accruing benefits for its participants, meaningful cooperation between countries of South Asia under SAFTA remains a pipedream due to regional security situation. Pakistan’s exports are required to be more competitive, productive and need a switch over to high value added export items to fetch more foreign exchange. Opening up to new markets for exports and focusing on knowledge economy is a challenge which needs to be converted into an opportunity. Globalization has resulted in circulation of wealth in a few hands/multi-nationals and countries are unable to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by it. Effective social and financial sector reforms and safety nets are becoming increasingly important for the State to ward off the threats of civil unrest in the society. FDI depends on security and consistent government policies which have to be ensured by the host country. This, in turn, leads to withering away of sovereignty of the country in economic affairs to some degree. The challenge is to craft such policies that MNCs are attracted for investment with adequate regulatory controls to avoid exploitations. Population bulge is a challenge as well as an opportunity, unless if correctly managed.

Human Security Challenges

Migration has been a long standing feature in South Asia and especially Pakistan. 41% population of the country views migration very favourably. Ever since its inception, Pakistanis have been moving world-wide to earn a better livelihood. So far, a large number of Pakistanis have migrated to various countries which include a good number of skilled professionals. On the other hand, the large numbers of Afghan refugees still living in Pakistan are a cause of serious concern for the country. Most of Pakistanis moving to other countries are economic migrants and provide a good source of earning to country. The involvement and contribution of a multitude of states and non-state actors and global events/agendas in the radicalization of the Pakistani society, terrorism in different forms and manifestation and deteriorating internal security are only aggravated by free access to global communication network.

Societal Security Challenges

In recent years, Pakistan has witnessed strengthening of democracy, improved civil-military relations, a vibrant media and active judiciary. These aspects of the society are deemed very important while viewing a country’s credentials towards democratization – an important cardinal of globalization. Other related issues such as weak writ of the government/rule of law, weak institutional capacity of political parties, discrimination/attacks against religious minorities and women, perceived/reported human rights abuses, increasing number of suicides due to frustration mainly arising from poverty, violence against journalists and displacement of civilians due to ongoing war against terrorism also figure out as a measure of societal security in a country. Owing to the tremendous advancement in electronic and social media, repression/abuse of the people’s rights by its government can be propelled to centre stage in very little time – the Arab Spring being a case in point, cultural invasion, consequent to the information access through internet/international media in each house, is another dilemma created by globalization. Pakistan, which is already embroiled in national discord due to social, regional, linguistic, ethnic and, religious bigotry, is facing the
brunt of cultural globalization and redefining its identity like many other developing nations.

**Globalization Opportunities for Pakistan**

"Globalization is no longer an option, it is a fact. Developing countries have either to learn to manage it far more skilfully, or simply drown in the global cross-currents". Globalization offers a host of opportunities in various fields to all countries and Pakistan is no exception. The geo-strategic location of Pakistan, relevance of the region to global interests, its large consumer market, wealth of natural resources and youth potential present multiple options for taking advantage of the opportunities offered by globalization. Though most of the opportunities so offered will be in the economic realm and benefits can also be accrued in other fields in tandem. Centrality of US influence during the formulation of our foreign policy contours can be rationalized by taking advantage of regional economic and security forums and associations.

The prominence of trade and economic policies are centre piece of globalization if regulatory framework at institutional levels is strengthened and best practices are followed notwithstanding the influences of interest groups from within and outside the state. A competitive industry will not only improve quality of product but provide opportunities to talented and innovative knowledge worker in the longer interest of the state. A talented manpower with skilled education and cheap labour costs in a secure environment will not only invite FDI but add value to global labour market. Opening up to regional economics with credible regulatory measures will not only help building confidence but enhance competitiveness in trade. It will reduce poverty within the country as well as promote cooperation at regional level. Investment in education and health in collaboration with regional and global corporation can add value and quality in its deliverance to benefit vast majority of under developed segments of society.

**Recommendations**

There is no denying the fact that in today's world, no country can afford to ignore globalization and live in isolation. It would be in the greater national interest that Pakistan remains alive to the challenges posed by globalization while capitalizing on the vast opportunities it offers. While we cannot, make any compromises on our national security, we need to realize that our economy can make maximum gains only in a globalized and more competitive world. We have to brace ourselves to become competitive at all levels. This entails revamping our governance and economic systems, improving our institutions and strengthening our human resource development processes while proactively dealing with all the challenges. Following broad recommendations are aimed at achieving these ends.

**Policy Options.** Following broad national policy options are available to Pakistan for dealing with globalization:

- **Option– 1: Embracing Globalization in Accordance with Internal Dynamics of Pakistan.** This option entails a hybrid approach to globalization whereby we may take maximum possible benefits of the
globalization without accepting any major compromises on issues concerning our state security. The option would entail redefining our old concepts of security and state controlled economic growth to accommodate a bit more open approach amenable to dictates of globalization. It would also require a gradual process whereby the domestic markets and manufacturers are given a chance to gradually absorb the changes in a positive manner. The option will be a bit difficult to achieve due to intense foreign economic pressures aimed at more liberal economy. However, in case of a major conflict between the national security and globalization opportunities, national security interests must reign supreme with a clear understanding of core economic interests.

• **Option – 2: Embracing Globalization in Totality.** This option entails a totally liberalist approach to globalization in which Pakistan may completely open up its economic system and domestic markets for globalization regardless of the negative fallout on the sovereignty and identity as a nation state. Seemingly idealistic, this option can be explored by states which have a strong national identity among its masses and a very robust and competitive economic system and industrial base. However, for a country like Pakistan with a host of internal and external security issues and fledging economy, this option will be a non-starter due to the apparent reasons.

**Foreign Policy.** Our foreign policy should incorporate following major tenets:-

• **No Compromise on State Security.** Globalization has introduced an international culture where countries take important foreign policy decisions with mutual consultation, while accommodating the views and interests of their regional and global partners. While guarding our core interests, we need to remain an active member of the global alliance against terrorism and ensure that counter terrorism efforts within our territory are driven without external interference.

• **Relations with India.** Due to our history of conflict and potential enmity, relations with India should be kept on an even keel. A cautious and more confident approach may be adopted towards improvement of our bilateral relations with India wherein we may pursue greater economic collaboration based on equality without losing sight of the need for resolution of other major disputes.

• **Regional Cooperation.** In a globalized world where geo-economics has gained more importance than geo-politics, Pakistan must explore the possibility of remaining an active player in various regional organizations like SAARC, D-8 and joining more forums such as SCO and ASEAN to bolster our economic growth and trade. Pakistan can prove to be a regional energy/trade hub by developing major North-South and East-West energy/trade corridors through the country; It will enable us to benefit from the immense energy resources available in the Central Asian Republics, the Middle East and with the huge Chinese market.
Economic Policy. As already highlighted, unless Pakistan’s economy is revived, our public policy cannot be successful and we cannot get out of the quagmire of poverty, bigotry, intolerance and extremism. Economic policies are required to be structured on sustainable basis to win confidence of investors.

- **Sustained Development.** Our economic policy should concentrate on long term benefits of development. Politically motivated decision-making often compromises principles of sustainable development. In the context of globalization, our economic policy should aim at developing our human resource and broadening agricultural and industrial base so that we become more competitive at the international level and carve a permanent niche for ourselves in the international market. Harnessing our burgeoning youth potential with the right skills can help us achieve an export boom as well as increase our export of trained manpower to other countries.

- **Integrating Economy with Rest of the World.** The process of liberalizing the economy, initiated in 1982-83 with the help of IMF and the World Bank, needs to be continued as it will integrate our economy with rest of the world through foreign trade, investment and other macroeconomic policies. These measures will facilitate our access to global markets with an outward looking economy.

- **Expansion of Export Base.** Our trade policy should focus on expansion of trade and access to new markets and accrues maximum benefits from globalization. Domestically, we need to improve the quality of our products and become competitive. The traditional mindset of exporting raw material like cotton should be replaced with a progressive outlook concentrating on production of finished goods meeting the highest standards of marketing, branding and quality control. Innovative ideas of product diversification and value addition should be encouraged.

- **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).** Globalization opens the doors for FDI which is the need of the hour for improvement of cash flow as well as elimination of poverty and unemployment. However, we cannot attract foreign investors unless we take concrete measures to improve law and order, eliminate corruption and put in place a conducive environment for foreign investment.

- **Increasing Domestic Investment.** Investment plays a key role in economic development as it helps increase productive capacity, create employment opportunities and introduce new techniques for technical advancement. Domestic investment also enables circulation of wealth and improvement of economic conditions at grassroots level. We need to reverse the trend of declining investment in our country owing to various factors like energy crisis, poor law and order and political turmoil, and restore confidence of domestic investors for making more investment in our economy.
• **Poverty Reduction through Social Safety Net.** With its obvious advantages, globalization may also entail an initial disturbance of our old economic system resulting in an initial increase of poverty gap. Pakistan has already undertaken a number of initiatives to protect the lot of its poor through Income Support Programme, Pakistan Bait-ul-Maal and Zakat. Such social safety nets, if apolitical, will not only help reduce the poverty but also help in attracting material support from the global community. However, there is a requirement to regulate these measures towards capacity building of the institution rather than doling out subsistence money to boor and thus discouraging any corrective measures.

• **Overcoming the Energy Crisis.** Pakistan needs to overcome its energy crisis which is one of the major causes of sluggish economic progress. We must undertake necessary reforms in the power sector, change our energy mix, seek foreign assistance especially in developing energy infrastructure and explore alternate energy generation options through multi-lateral cooperation from international donors.

• **Defence Industry.** Having rich experience in the field, Pakistan defence industry manufacturers should strive to carve a niche in the international market for our defence products through quality production and improved marketing. Besides existing production of heavy weapons and small arms, there is a need to exploit the growing market of security related equipment.

• **Knowledge Economy.** Pakistan can benefit from globalization by shifting to a knowledge based economy. However, this will be contingent on properly harnessing our youth potential through skilled education and provision of employment opportunities in fields which are in demand in the international market.

**Defence Policy.** We have to remain vigilant while considering our defence policy in the context of globalization. We may keep in view following aspects:

• **No Major Compromise on Security Needs.** Certain elements of interest group have started campaigning against defence needs of the state under the ongoing trade and economic initiatives offered by globalization. However, the existential threat from India and the evolving internal security situation on the Western front, demand a careful analyses of our defence needs. The spending on defence cannot be reduced overnight. Yet, careful budgeting, efficient resource utilization and smart technology solutions to security needs be explored to minimize expenses on our security needs.

• **War on Terror.** Pakistan is in a state of war with terrorists within the country, which has worsened the existing problems of law and order, internal security and economic degeneration. Our defence policy will need to continue focusing on elimination of terror and strengthening the internal security apparatus.
- **Cooperation with Friendly Countries.** Pakistan enjoys good defence relations with friendly countries like USA and China. However, there is a need to further work in areas like capacity building and training of forces.

- **Safeguarding Nuclear Assets.** Pakistan has developed its deterrence capability with huge investment of resources and time. The safety of nuclear assets and regulatory compliances of international regimes is essential to our international image as a responsible nuclear state in a globalized world. Ongoing efforts to assuage world fears of our nukes falling in the hands of extremists need to be enhanced.

- **Strengthening Democracy.** Pakistan defence forces have made an all-out effort to enhance and strengthen the political institutions of the state through a strict policy of non-interference. The continuation of this policy will enable the institutions to mature and earn good repute domestically and abroad.

**Domestic Policy.** Much needs to be done on the domestic front to create an environment where we can reap the maximum benefits of globalization. Some areas requiring immediate attention are as following:

- **Religious Extremism and Sectarian Violence.** Concrete measures involving all political, religious and social leaders must be taken for rooting out these evils with an iron hand. The Government should inculcate a culture of religious harmony where people live in peaceful co-existence without criticizing the beliefs of others.

- **Improved Governance.** The government must provide good governance to its people. This should include empowerment of the people at grassroots level through local governments, eradication of corruption and transparency at all levels of government.

- **Enhancing Soft Image of Pakistan.** In order to attract foreign investors, we need to counter foreign perceptions about Pakistan being infested with religious fanatics and criminal gangs through portraying our centuries old civilization and culture marked by peace and harmony. Our media should highlight the social and cultural activities continuing throughout Pakistan despite terrorist threats by a few enemies of the state.

- **Political Integration.** All parties/groups across the political divide, especially in Balochistan, must be brought under the folds of national integration through generating incentives for them in federation rather than secession. The government should activate a political process to allay the fears of dissident elements and integrate them in the mainstream political system. However, if such efforts fail, then the State should use requisite force against such insurgents through legislation in the courts, media and people of the country on board for such actions (the eventual military operation in Swat is a case in point).
- **Societal Challenges.** Pakistan must take concrete measures to check the unabated growth of population, undertake radical reforms in education and health sectors channelize the existing massive private philanthropist activities and social welfare measures at the national level.

- **Environmental Protection.** An integrated approach to ensure sustainable development in the country while minimizing damage to the environment may be adopted with the cooperation of regional countries. Concurrently, developing our natural resources especially forest cover and productive use of our water resources can be better achieved through international collaboration.

- **Human Security.** Measures that must be instituted in this regard includes putting a check on brain drain from Pakistan by offering good jobs and positions on merit with an attractive financial package. This will also help in bringing back some motivated Pakistanis working abroad. Improving governance, curbing corruption, offering attractive incentives to overseas Pakistanis and making business climate in the country conducive to encourage new businesses in Pakistan are some of the important steps to assist in improving overall human security.

**Conclusion**

The challenges and opportunities presented by globalization to a state like Pakistan are neither phenomenal nor new. Pakistan needs to capitalize on the opportunities of economic development and social progress offered by globalization without any compromise on state security. This means that we may not be fearful of globalization and its challenges but remain mindful of our security needs while capitalizing on the opportunities it offers. Our regulatory authorities have to be extra vigilant and keep the multinational companies in check with international best practices to the mutual benefit of both. Globalization as a phenomenon offers more opportunities for good governance, transparency and accountability in every sphere of our national life and brings us closer to the international systems for the progress and long term prosperity as a sovereign nation.

**Endnotes**

1. Town University Baltimore USA web page. http://www.towson.edu/polsci/ppp/sp97/realism/WHATISNS.HTM


EMERGENCE OF MEDIA AND ITS IMPACT ON PAKISTAN

Abstract

With the advancement in technology, media has gained the power to build perceptions, shape attitudes and impact ethical values. Over the years, media has emerged as the fourth pillar of state and an important tool of strategy to achieve national aims/objectives. Media has also acquired the status of one of the determinants, which can now influence national security in the globalized world. In this regard, Western and Indian media has greatly impacted the domestic scene of Pakistan by creating false perceptions about the country as an "Economically Failed State" and an "Intolerant Society" which are just a few examples. In order to mitigate the ever-growing negative image of Pakistan, the paper analyses the effects of Western, Indian and domestic media on various facets of national security of Pakistan so as to suggest a robust and comprehensive Media Policy along with various measures to promote our national interests with desired efficacy.

Introduction

"Whoever controls the media, controls the mind"

Jim Morrison

Media has a significant place in the statecraft machinery especially in the age of information revolution. In a globalized society, media has become a weapon against the enemy as well as its populace. Information, as an element of soft power, is a strategic instrument within the context of grand strategy. It relies on the understanding and use of graphic, intellectual or sensory imagery, drawing on historical, cultural, linguistic, religious, ethical and other issues of substance and belief, which affect people as individuals or groups within the strategic environment. The potential of media as a force multiplier and a soft weapon needs to be realized. Failure to recognize and counter adversary's usage of media could lead to unprecedented military and national failures. Today, decisions are no longer based on events but on how the events are presented. In the contemporary technological era, the media would continue to be a tool to pursue the national interests effectively. Media has the potential to build perceptions, shaping attitudes and behaviors and developing ethical values and culture of tolerance in a nation. In present times, electronic media exercises enormous power, which derives from its ability to influence billions of people instantaneously and create perceptions, which may even be far from the reality. Media has emerged as the fourth pillar of state and an important tool of strategy. It plays a major role in achievement of national aims / objectives and transforming the strategy itself. Over the years, media has acquired the status of one of the determinants, which can influence national security, the way of warfare and the outcome; hence, it has virtually become one of the instruments of war. The military commanders have realized the same fact. As a result, states have become conscious of the necessity of controlling and utilizing this important tool to their advantage. They use it as a force multiplier to assist and enhance the effectiveness of the military's objective and to mitigate the negative propaganda of the adversary. One of the
major components being “Psychological Operations” that affects not only the enemy’s will and ability to wage war but also his conduct of operations.

**Aim**

To study the emergence of electronic media and its impact on National Security.

**Emergence of Electronic Media**

The hallmark of 21st Century is, inter alia, breathtaking innovation and advancement in the field of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Satellite television channels, cellular services and Internet based communication networks have completely changed the media landscape and converted the world into a global village, thereby, giving way to worldwide facilities for telecasting / broadcasting and reporting events as they take place. Media is the instrument by virtue of which the thoughts, feelings, ideas, concepts and information are conveyed to the minds of the masses. Every medium is a formidable force, as it disseminates information; it moulds and shapes the public opinion.

The 20th century can be termed as the century of communication. The main means of mass communication grew in succession as the century unfolded. Timeline of the evolution of Electronic media is highlighted below: 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Motion pictures arrived on scene at the turn of the 20th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>First radio (AM) voice transmission broadcasted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>First regularly scheduled radio broadcast commenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>First commercial TV broadcast conducted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>First FM radio station established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Network TV began</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Regarded as ‘Golden age of TV’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>VCR invented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>First cable TV started. FM stereo radio broadcasting commenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Satellite TV emerged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Video camera invented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Laser Disc player introduced; a failure but opened door for CDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>CD player introduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>DVD appeared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>First regular transmission of HDTV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Electronic media has touched every sphere of human life. We live in a society that depends massively on information and communication to perform daily activities like work, entertainment, health care, education, personal relationships, travelling and anything else that we want to do. People have put their trust on the media as an authority to provide news, entertainment and education. The evolution of electronic media has had an overwhelming impact on the society. The opportunities offered by
communication technologies have broken all barriers across the national boundaries and have led to the germination of new ideas through cross-pollination of cultures.

**Emergence of Electronic Media in Pakistan.** Media in Pakistan has evolved over a period. At the time of independence, Pakistan inherited 5 radio channels. Television in Pakistan was introduced in 1964. Since independence, media remained under the strict government control and therefore, its growth remained lukewarm. However, after 2002, pursuant to the decision taken by the government led by former President Pervez Musharraf, media in Pakistan exploded and have registered exponential growth. Timeline of TV in Pakistan is tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>TV project commenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>First PTV broadcast (from Lahore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>First coloured transmission made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>PTV Academy opened to teach students wishing to work in media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1980</td>
<td>Morning transmissions started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>First semi-government TV network (PTN/STN) launched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>First private TV channel (NTM) started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Satellite broadcasting commenced by PTV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>First Satellite channel (PTV-2) started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>PTV-2 renamed PTV World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Private TV channels explosion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Electronic Media Landscape of Pakistan.** The electronic media in Pakistan has made rapid progress. Only three or four decades ago, radio and state-owned TV were the main sources of information. Today, we have more than 95 Satellite TV Channels, 3800 cable operators, 28 landing TV Channels from abroad like BBC, CNN, Sky TV and Star, and more than 190 FM radio stations and 45 radio channels inclusive of 14 international radio channels. The investment by 2014 is expected to be US$ 4 billion. The new jobs likely to be created are 200,000. The indirect employment is 7 million. This growth has made available more knowledge and up to date information in all spheres of life to the general public.

Electronic media in Pakistan offers a large variety of choices to its viewers, keeping in view age, gender, taste etc. Based on the contents and focus, TV channels can be broadly categorized as news, entertainment, sports, movies, music, children, education, informational, religious, regional, food and fashion.

**International Media Footprint.** Despite the fact that a much smaller population is able to understand English language, channels such as BBC, CNN, Fox News and Al-Jazeera are widely watched among certain sections of the Pakistani television audience. Similarly, in print media, wide range of international newspapers, periodicals and magazines are available in Pakistan. Some of the popular magazines include Time, Newsweek, The Economist, National Geographic and Readers Digest. Besides, internet is available in most parts of the country. The details of presence and availability of international media in the country are as under:
• **International Correspondents.** According to figures quoted by the Federal Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, there are currently about eighty foreign journalists in Pakistan, representing most of the major global television networks and newspapers. Several of the major global networks such as CNN and Fox News gradually established Pakistan / Afghanistan bureaus in Islamabad, managed by full time foreign correspondents. While BBC and CNN top the list as the most influential in terms of size and outreach, other domestic American television channels such as Fox News, CBS, ABC and NBC have also established their permanent presence in Pakistan in the last four to five years.

• **Landing Rights by Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA).** PEMRA has given permission of landing rights to over 25 selected international channels. These mainly include BBC, CNN, Sky News, Fox News, AXN, HBO, Discovery, Animal Planet, Cartoon Network, Ten Sports, ESPN, Star Channels, DW, Asia plus. Besides cable operators, six licenses have been issued for Multimedia Multi Channel Distribution System (MMDS) as well as two licences for Internet Protocol Television (IPTV).

• **Electronic Media Viewership.** Media access remains uneven across the country and non-existent in some parts. The privately-owned broadcast media is largely concentrated in the highly populated eastern part of the country, which is Pakistan’s industrial and agricultural heartland. In the less developed parts of the country media access remains limited because of poor infrastructure development and state control of privately-owned media outlets. These areas are “media-dark”, both in terms of production and consumption. As a result, news coverage of local issues and opportunities for locals to air their viewpoints through the media – remain limited. A similar urban bias affects news consumption. In 2009, Gallup estimated that of 38 million cable and satellite viewers in Pakistan, the rural audience was just 12 million. Media professionals estimate that cable viewership had grown to 60 million by 2012. Still, the state’s monopoly of terrestrial television and radio broadcasting means that the PTV network and Radio Pakistan continue to command the largest overall national audiences. In 2008, an estimated 56% of the population watched channels broadcast by the state-owned PTV network, while only 36% watched the privately-owned Geo News, the most popular non-state news channel. Significantly, at the lower end of the income scale, these figures drop to 61% and 30%, respectively. In other words, Pakistan’s privately-owned television sector is largely an urban phenomenon from which the rural poor are excluded. Privately-owned FM radio broadcasts, meanwhile, are limited to a 50 km broadcast footprint and are primarily urban. Despite this, FM radio has greater penetration than television in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan, where cable operators have yet to establish networks, satellite receivers are prohibitively expensive and television is banned in some areas by the Pakistani Taliban. However, Pakistan is urbanising at the fastest rate in South Asia: half the population will live in cities by 2050, up from one-third at present. This means access to
privately-owned media is likely to soar in coming years, further reducing state control over the media landscape. Existing media landscape is explained in the following diagrams:

Impact of Media on National Security

- **Global Impact.** Media exerts varying impact on different states, governments and regimes. For a strong govt, news is news and policy is policy; while for a weaker regime due to far more powerful media the policy could be impacted. The media tends to exercise varied level of influences over the policy making of countries during peace and war times. There is no doubt that media has played a critical role in changing or moulding the geopolitical scenarios of the regions and world at large. Some of the classic case studies of various global issues/conflicts which were impacted by electronic media are given below:

  - **Vietnam War.** Media was too engaged in anti-communism in late 50s but had built up public sentiment supporting US govt for war. However, the honeymoon period between the US establishment and media proved short lived as by mid 60s, the media began to view and interpret the war in its own perspective which caused a direct collision with US military
policies on the ground. So by mid-1965-66, the horrors of war entered the living rooms of Americans for the first time during this conflict. The American public could watch villages being bombed, Vietnamese children burning to death and American body bags being sent home. Draft-card burning and demonstrations provided television with fresher conflict, human impact, and moral issues. With the massive loss of public support for the war, politicians initiated withdrawal policies. Gradually, the sentiment changed as cash started pouring in and finally media forced the govt to pull back.

- **Tiananmen Square and China’s Policy.** A case that shook the world masses but not their governments against China. Tiananmen Square will forever be remembered as a political rally that turned into a bloody massacre viewed on live television. The square in Beijing, China was the site of a pro-democracy student demonstration in the spring of 1989, a demonstration violently crushed by the Chinese military. Scenes of the crackdown were broadcast throughout the world. These images embittered the international public toward the Chinese government and had profound impact on subsequent foreign policy decisions.

- **Killing of US Soldiers in Somalia.** It was a media war that the United States lost in Somalia, ironic since its involvement was forced by the pictures of famine-stricken people there. The loss of US military men during Black Hawk down Operation evoked public outcry. TV images of US soldiers being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu were too graphic for the American Public to endure. So as a result of media pressure, Clinton administration scaled down humanitarian efforts in the region and forced US to withdraw its forces from Somalia, which thus portrayed a negative image of US abroad that it cannot sustain losses.

- **Gulf Wars.** During the Gulf War, despite all its claims of limitation, the electronic media provided what the American people wanted to see, and in the media's whining about not being allowed to show more, it discredited itself in the eyes of its own viewing. The then Bush administration influenced media in both subtle and barefaced ways. Accordingly to Phillip Knightly, the Government initiated comparisons of Saddam Hussain to Adolf Hitler, encouraging the creation and spread of atrocity stories such as baby killing story. In an interesting chain of events, the government supported the propaganda to the news media, influencing the media to support the war and depict it in a positive light, which in turn inspired US congressmen and the American public to support the war, providing more ammunition for a bomb happy Pentagon. The Gulf War was a heavily televised war with newer technologies such as satellite allowed for live coverage of the war which created great interest among the viewers.

- **The Arab Spring – Revolution of Social Media.** In the 21st century, the revolution may not be televised – but it likely will be tweeted, blogged,
texted and organized on Face book. The Arab Spring in the recent past bears testimony. Analysis of more than 3 million tweets, gigabytes of YouTube content and thousands of blog posts proved that social media played a central role in shaping political debates in the Arab Spring. During the week before Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak’s resignation, for example, the total rate of tweets from Egypt — and around the world — about political change in that country ballooned from 2,300 a day to 230,000 a day. Videos featuring protest and political commentary went viral – the top 23 videos received nearly 5.5 million views. The new era of high tech innovations have revolutionized how individuals communicate and abundance of information has become available to everyone. The growing number of international organizations like Face book, Wikipedia, and twitter have brought a revolution by making the world a truly “Global Village”.

- **Domestic Impact.** Pakistan’s electronic media has made huge strides in the last one decade. Today, this industry has a massive structure and thousands of journalists, executives and technical professionals are directly or indirectly part of it. Some of the case studies of various domestic issues which were impacted by electronic media in the recent past are given below:

  - **The Lawyers Movement.** The electronic media played a dominant and decisive role in restoration and independence of judiciary. The electronic and social media became pillars of support to the lawyers’ movement which without the backing of media would not have become a pillar of resistance.

  - **Lal Masjid Operation.** A classical example of electronic media manipulation. Sustained media campaign persuaded Gen Musharraf to go ahead with operation. After the operation, domestic media not only criticized the way the operation was conducted but immensely exaggerated the number of casualties. Media played a very negative role in the crisis by twisting/distorting the facts to such an extent that people did not have accurate account about the realities of that operation which contributed to waves of terrorism and militancy across the whole country. The venomous media vilification campaign raised certain question and doubts about the very integrity and standing of media.

  - **Swat Operation.** Mass injustices and excesses by Taliban projected by electronic media led to Swat operation. The woman flogging incident acted as the last nail. The media effectively exposed the reign of terror unleashed by the TTP in Swat, thus they were able to bring the whole nation on a common ground in their desire to ensure much needed success against militants in Swat in 2009. Verily the credit goes to the electronic media in arresting the growth and development of this menacing movement which if not checked timely could have disaster consequences for the country at large.
**Drone Issue.** The sovereignty issue, collateral damage and resentment to drones on the pretext of drones creating more Taliban has been immensely projected by media. The drone victims presenting their stories before the US Senate is verily due to incessant media campaign against drone strikes. Media again came to forefront by launching a well calculated campaign against the drone’s attacks, which it believes is against the country’s sovereignty and freedom and caused collateral damages which eventually contribute to creating more Taliban.26 Their effective campaign both at national and international levels has rekindled the slumber conscience of the world body to put pressure on US to cease drone strikes in FATA.

**2013 Elections.** The privately-owned media also emerged as a key actor in the run up to Pakistan’s 2013 elections.27 Hours after polling closed on 11 May, the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan praised the privately-owned media for spreading awareness among the public about the importance of voting, attributing the high turnout to the media.28 All major political parties ran aggressive media campaigns to boost their electoral prospects. Political parties that were being targeted by the Pakistani Taliban turned to advertisements and appearances on talk shows, which were seen as a safer and more effective way to get their message across than street campaigns. Marginal political actors also sought to use the media for electoral ends – the CEO of the highest-ranked Sindhi-language television channel launched a new political party in January 2012.

**Impact of Domestic Media on National Security of Pakistan.** Pakistani electronic media is nascent, unbridled and has yet not reconciled with national security responsibilities and social obligations. However, its independence has a lot of potential to deliver. It is perceived that at times it is playing into the hands of outside players and projecting negative narratives / themes. Media being Soft Power plays a paramount role in national unity, moral, integration, accountability and defending national interests. How does media affects the various facets of national security is explained below:

**Safeguarding National Interests.** In safeguarding the supreme national interests and security issues, the media analyzes the events impartially and provide authentic information to the public and rulers alike. Media contributes in sustaining democracy, preserve and safeguard core values along with internal cohesion which lend the country strength to withstand internal as well as external pressures. The role of media during the Indo-Pak War 1965 and the South Asian Nuclearization process are some of the examples. In the former case, the Pakistani electronic / print media effectively echoed the national sentiments, which heightened the public mood and demand a quick tit-for-tat response to Indian action. Furthermore, effective and proactive role of media in the cases of Rental Power and Riko Dick resulted into suo moto action by Chief Justice on these issues which saved billions of Rs loss to national exchequer.
**Societal Service.** Media has been playing very critical role in highlighting the social injustices, corruption and social taboos which for half a century were considered untouchable. Though the government of the time did not pay attention, the active judiciary was prompt to take notice.

**Effects of Western Media on National Security.** The Western commercial media organisations have been dominated by a few extremely influential trans-national media corporations. As per a research, six Jewish companies control 96% of the world’s media. Western/International media often operates on vested interests of the host / parent countries. Playing up against Pakistan on issues of terrorism and the nuclearization are order of the day. Indian Diaspora has a lot of ingress into US and European media and is quite influential in propagating anti-Pakistan narratives. International media impacts Pakistan’s national security in following domains:

- **Image/Perception of Pakistan.** Media is a tool for shaping environment and for perceptions. Some hostile channels of West (Fox News) have projected Pakistan as the most dangerous place in the world. Western media has on many occasions attempted to create a very negative image of Pakistan aimed at building following perceptions:
  - Portraying Pakistan as a so called “Terrorist Harbouring State”.
  - Fostering a feeling of insecurity about Pakistan’s Nuclear Programme.
  - Creating perception about Pakistan as an "Economically Failed State”.
  - Projecting Pakistan as an “Intolerant Society”.

- **Controversies about Pakistan’s Intelligence Agencies.** Pakistan’s military intelligence agency, the ISI, has long faced media accusations of meddling in the affairs of its neighbours. A range of electronic and print media, in recent years, have suggested about links between ISI and terrorist groups. However, none of the allegations levelled in the report had ever been raised by coalition officials in their formal or informal interactions with Pakistani officials. Furthermore, it is also wrongly propagated that the civilian leadership has "virtually no control" over the army and the ISI.

- **Pakistan – India Relations.** According to the Western media, the crisis between India and Pakistan is entirely Pakistan's fault. With a few notable exceptions, most writers have argued that India is the victim and Pakistan is the villain in the dispute, and argue strongly that the US should support India. The Western public is repeatedly informed how India and Pakistan have fought four wars over Kashmir Issue and Pakistan’s alleged involvement in supporting insurgency in Kashmir. However, rarely Western media highlights the denial of self determination to Kashmiri populous since the partition and constant violations of human rights in Kashmir.
**Human Rights / Women Rights.** Pakistan has remained the target of criticism in the Western media on the question of human rights. The level of criticism has been calibrated by the degree of convergence or otherwise, of political or strategic interests. Human rights issues on which Pakistan has remained a target for negative propaganda include child labour; discrimination against women; blasphemy law; treatment of minorities; democracy; human rights violations in FATA and Baluchistan by Pakistan Army etc. This has not only affected Pakistan's image abroad but has also impacted negatively on its exports and political relations with a few countries and organizations.33

**Effects of Indian Media.** Indian media is more perilous for the Pakistan than the Western media. The major reason is the comprehension of common language of Pakistani populace and the Indian media. Although, Urdu and Hindi are quite similar languages yet our religion, culture, social values and ethics are poles apart from each other. Indian media offers sugar coated tablets to the Pakistani audience and it affects young minds and illiterate audience even more. Apart from supporting the Western media themes against Pakistan, some of the additional effects which Indian media desires to seek are as under:-

- **Projecting Pakistan as Epicentre of Terrorism.** India has officially described Pakistan as "the epicentre of terrorism" especially after the Mumbai incident. With orchestrated propaganda soon after the Mumbai attacks, Indian media unleashed heavy criticism against Pakistan and ISI’s alleged involvement in the incident through Lashkar e-Tayyiba (LeT) and the growing ambitions of Islamist militancy in Pakistan. Indian media is projecting that LeT today remains, after al-Qaeda, the most dangerous terrorist group of global reach operating from South Asia. But unlike Al-Qaeda, which is truly a stateless terrorist organization, it is propagated that LeT remains primarily Pakistani in its composition, uses Pakistani territory as its primary base of operation, and continues to be supported extensively by the Pakistani state, especially Pakistan Army and ISI.34 In a nutshell, Indian media continues to project negative perceptions about Pakistan.(Check reference)

- **Kashmir Issue.** While Pakistan only provides political, diplomatic and moral support to the Kashmiris, Indian media attributes the unrest in Kashmir to Pakistan and the militant Islamist groups.35 It is being propagated vigorously by Indian media that the struggle that has manifested itself in the organized stone-pelting mob violence is supported from across the border and is heavily funded by Pakistan.36

- **Fuelling Balochistan Insurgency.** Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) is using a multi-pronged strategy including use of Indian media which is projecting two themes simultaneously. Firstly, that Pakistani hold in Balochistan continues to weaken despite ruthless suppression by Pakistan Army and its brutal atrocities against Balochi people. Secondly, to negate Pakistan’s accusations about India’s support to separatists in Balochistan.
Indian media is projecting that nobody is destabilizing Pakistan and Pakistan Army and elite Punjabi rulers want to keep Balochis their slaves and rule them as their colony, which Baloch refuse to accept. Moreover, it is projected that Balochis are struggling for achieving the Balochs’ unfinished agenda of independence through ideological emancipation and post-partition Punjabi domination of their economy and natural resources.37

RECOMMENDATIONS / WAY FORWARD

Media Policy

At present there is no systematic National Media Policy to guide media practice in the country. The Media Policy along with a comprehensive media strategy should encompass all relevant factors especially diplomacy and national narrative in the long and short terms.

Proposed Policy Framework

- Media Policy should stem from the axiom that a democratic society should possess a policy system that would authoritatively uphold the right of the media to articulate and express their views, to provide advice and guidance and to adopt a critical attitude, whenever necessary.

- Considering the prevalent circumstances in the view of the hostile media at both national and international levels there is a requirement for creation of a feedback and corrective mechanism to safeguard our National Security.

- The media policy, should uphold the view, that, freedom is essential for the people to receive the information and knowledge needed to enable them to become well informed citizens in a free, democratic society.

- It is expected that the present National Media Policy will be given the deference by all media practitioners - both in the electronic and print sectors and also by media institutions.

- The strategies should provide guidelines for the State and media institutions to implement the provisions in this framework.

Proposed Policy Statement

“Achieving excellence in the total practice of media by creating a people centred, development oriented, free, and responsible media culture as required by a well informed and democratic society”.

Suggested Objectives

- To create a media culture that upholds national identity, unity in diversity and harmony.
• To create an awareness amongst the media about their role as an emerging pillar of society and responsibility to uphold national interest and national security.

• To establish a media tradition with a clear understanding of its social responsibility.

• To bring about a socially responsible, ethical media culture ensuring media freedom.

• To bring about an enabling environment to encourage and promote professionalism in the media field.

• To pave the way to create a media environment in keeping with technological advancements and best media practices.

Reforms in PEMRA. Following reforms are recommended for PEMRA:

• PEMRA should be made autonomous by giving administrative, financial and operational autonomy. Political interference should be eliminated and competent people be posted. PEMRA leadership should be empowered as well as made more responsible.

• Revision and implementation of ‘Code of Conduct’ for media by involving all stakeholders.

• Live coverage of terrorist incidents / carnage etc should be banned.

• Hate speech and propaganda in electronic and print media, which arouses ethnicity, extremism, sectarianism, racism, sub nationalist and anti state feeling among the masses, should be banned.

• Corruption in media and journalists should be checked and regulations for transparency of assets of Private Media and Journalists should be prepared and implemented.

• Laws on cybercrimes and protection of national information infrastructure be promulgated to meet the new challenges and to maintain supremacy of law in the country. To achieve this end PEMRA, PTA and FIA Cyber crime wing should work in harmony.

• Regulating cyber activities and ensuring that unsafe practices do not result in compromising our vital national assets, particularly during emergencies or war.

Military-Media Relationship. Both military and media should work hand in glove for the enhancement of integration and understanding of each other’s role and tasks. A positive working environment / relationship created during peacetime will
foster harmony during wartime and will force media to take care of defence needs proactively. ISPR should keep a continuous liaison with local and international media.

Conclusion

Electronic Media has become a powerful instrument of statecraft. With the ability to transform perceptions and rumours into realities, it builds attitudes, behaviours and opinions which are difficult to neutralize. Depending upon the frequency of exposure, the effects may be transitory or persistent, but its impact on national security can no longer be ignored. The performance of our media has been of some consequence at national level however, it has a long way to go to really compete at global level. It is time to realize that state decisions are no longer based on events and realities alone; but on how these events and realities are presented in the media and viewed by international community. Pakistan needs to recognize the intensity of media threat and institute effective counter measures by enhancing its media profile and exploiting the optimal potentials of this force multiplier. It is also important that the role of Media should be appropriately dovetailed in the overall national security response matrix of our country in order to meet the present and emerging challenges successfully and promote our national interests with desired effectiveness and impact.

Endnotes


3 Ibid


6 http://www.pid.gov.pk/

7 Ibid


10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.


21 Ibid.


PART – III

Military Strategy

- Evolution of Military Thought; 1910 to date

- Impact of Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) on Strategic Thought
EVOLUTION OF MILITARY THOUGHT; 1910 TO DATE

Abstract

War cannot be divorced from the era in which it takes place. The evolution of military thought, from 1910 until the end of Cold War, is deeply impacted by the innovations of technological developments that have visibly transformed the mindset of military theorists and strategists. Industrialization triggered wars at massive scale, whereas, nuclearization forced a change to a more pervasive 4th and 5th Generation Warfare. On the other hand, though the art of warfare is largely governed by the certain principles established through experience of theorists and practitioners of war alike. However, it remains a variable, since the conditions under which it operates are changing all the time. Hence, military thought needs to be seen in its correct perspective to determine its future trajectory.

Introduction

The race between sword and shield will continue, so will be the evolution of ways, methods, and character of war. Debate on adoption and effective use of technology in warfare vis-à-vis tactical, operational and strategic efficacy of the weapon system has remained the focus of various strategists. After the Industrial Revolution, technology has had a principal part in the development of military thoughts of warring states. It has always taken a while for a weapon to become a fully contributing member of the current arsenal, due to time required for experiments, testing combat efficiency and above all military thinking process to include and mesh the weapon system or technology into war machinery at various levels. The pattern and time lag of inclusion of technology (machine guns/ railways) into warfare is clearly visible from Industrial Revolution onwards. It though started in 18th Century, its practical manifestation and impacts were seen in WW I, when warfare transformed from 1st Generation Warfare (GW) to 2nd GW due to quick mobilization-cum-concentration of large forces through railways followed by massive firepower of machine guns in the battlefield that resulted in Trench Warfare. On the other hand, Manoeuvre Warfare that was the hallmark of the WW II transformed 2nd GW to 3rd GW owing to a newer wave of Industrial Revolution. Like WW I, the end of WW II resulted in curtailment of mechanized manoeuvre due to introduction of nuclear weapon and its immense destructive nature, thereby once again compelling the military thinkers to find solutions to create space for war under the nuclear overhang, giving birth to the 4th GW.

Aim

To analyse the evolution of military thought from 1910 to the end of Cold War with the view to anticipate future battlefield.
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION & ITS IMPACT ON WARFARE

Direct Impacts

- **First Wave (From 18th Century to End of WW I)**
  
  - The Steam Engine revolutionized the strategic mobility and logistics of armies through road and railways at land, while its adoption at sea transformed naval architecture and warfare. Similar were the communication developments, as electric telegraph lines connected armies across countries and naval bases across oceans and between continents in real time. The development in metallurgy and machine tools transformed firearms and tactics. Rifling, breech loading, and rapid firing followed each other in quick succession.

  - **Impact on WW I – 2nd GW**
    - Quick Mobilization.
    - Enhanced firepower.
    - Trench Warfare.
    - Steam, steel and torpedoes dominated naval war-fighting thoughts.

- **Second Wave (From 1880s till End of WWII)**
  
  - From 1880s onwards, a new wave of industrial technology, started affecting the military field as profoundly as the 1st Wave. Chemicals, electric power and the internal combustion engine dominated this wave. The chemical industry contributed high explosives and chemical warfare; whereas, development in electricity extended real time information to the battlefield away from stationary telegraph lines through radio communication. But it was the internal combustion engine that affected war the most decisively. Lighter and more flexible than the steam engine, the internal combustion engine made possible cross-country mobility, away from railways. The tractor and tanks, extended mobilization into battlefield at land, flights in air, while the dual electric propulsion inaugurated the submarine. Owing to advancements in electronics, radars developed in late 1930s, deeply affecting air, air-land and sea warfare during WW II.

- **Impact on WW II – 3rd GW**
  
  - Mechanized Manoeuvre Warfare.
  - Introduction of air as a 3rd dimension.
Naval Warfare changed significantly with the aircraft carrier emerging as the primary platform at sea. This period also saw the increased efficiency of the submarine.

Nuclear weapons were introduced at the end of WWII.

**Third Wave (From 1930 Onwards)**

- This wave of industrial-cum-electronic revolution increased its pace after WWII. From around 1970, electro-optic, television, and laser guidance for missile weapon system began to revolutionize air-land and land battle. The advancement in electronics, now, is bringing about increase in automation – Robotic Warfare. The old mechanized armies may not disappear, but shrink in size and transform to embrace automation and miniaturization.

**Impact on Cold War & 4th GW**

- Nuclearization leading to Cold War.
- 4th GW & Guerrilla Warfare.
- Nuclear Submarines and high-tech aircrafts.

**Indirect Impacts**

**Mass Production – Race for Maximization.** Just as mass production was the core principle of industrial economies, mass destruction became the hallmark of industrial-age warfare. War demands accelerated the industrialization process at one end; whereas, at the other end, the key industrial principle of standardization also started affecting not merely the weapons but military training, organization, and doctrine of all major armies of the time.

**Limited to Total War.** Total War was to be waged politically, economically, culturally, and propagandistically, where the entire society started giving semblance of a single war machine. Total War blurred or completely eliminated the distinction between military and civilian targets. Since everything, from arms warehouses to workers’ housing, supposedly contributed to a Total War effort, society became a legitimate target.

**WORLD WARS & DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY THOUGHT**

The great captains of World Wars were influenced by all major influential military theorists of 19th Century. Yet, they had an astute understanding that technological developments were to impact conduct of war differently in future. Military thinking during half a century before WW I showed remarkable diversity. Chiefly, these were influenced by European wars fought in near past.
Military Thought – Pre WW I

- **All Out Offensive.** As a predominant military thought, it was believed that victory and defeat would depend on the results of the earliest engagements; and that, as only the offensive could ensure success, it was wise policy to attack as soon as possible, and in as great a force as possible.\(^8\) Moltke realizing the destructive power of breach loading weapon and the futility of frontal attacks, advocated conduct of operations on the exterior lines leading to encirclement and subsequent annihilation.\(^9\) Similarly, the French were also indoctrinated with Clausewitzian theory of mass and professed the idea of an *all-out offensive* with emphasis on morale and motivation.\(^10\)

- **Mass Mobilization.** The *Great Powers* had elaborate plans for mobilizing their mass armies and assumed that the coming war would be decided by the first engagements on the frontiers, as had happened in 1870. Their plans for mobilization were all based on elaborate railway timetables, which though ensured quick movement, but were rigid and could not be altered without months of preparation.\(^11\)

- **Quick and Short Wars.** At the outbreak of WW I both German and French general staffs looked forward to a quick war – “home before the leaves fall”. After all, the last two major European wars, the *Austro-Prussian* and *Franco-Prussian* had been quick, decisive wars of movement.\(^12\) Prevalent belief was that a great European War must, for financial and economic reasons alone, be short, sharp and decisive.\(^13\) Besides financial constraints, German inclination towards quick and short war was a derivative of threat of possible war on two fronts.\(^14\)

- **Underestimation of Material Damage.** Modern wars used up material much more rapidly than previous wars.\(^15\) This was not appreciated by most powers. In January 1914, Mr Lloyd George had publically derided the possibility of war, and had urged that season was the most favorable moment for twenty years to cut down expenditure of armaments.\(^16\)

- **Navy.** Admiral Mahan believed that if the great end of war-fleet was not to chase but to control sea, it must have greater force – speed was useful but not at the cost of gun power. For a weaker navy, he suggested strategy of *fleet-in-being*.\(^17\)

- **Air.** Air was considered as auxiliary of land or naval forces. Initially, Zeppelins and aircrafts were used mostly by European military for observation and reconnaissance purposes. The first use of airplanes in an actual war occurred in 1911 with the Italian Army Air Corps bombing a Turkish camp in Libya.
Developments of Military Thought During WW I

- Execution of War Plans and Stalemate

  ➢ Western Front

  - Moltke – *Schlieffen Plan* could not achieve desired objective against superior *defensive trinity* of bullet, spade & barbed wire. Younger Moltke changed the conception of *Schlieffen Plan* by diluting its right wing.\(^{18}\)

  - As Germans struggled through Belgium, the French would strike their flank in Ardennes and would also take a direct offensive in Lorraine.\(^ {19}\) By 3rd week of August, the battle was joined along the entire front. Hence, by mid-November all efforts failed and both sides too exhausted for further efforts, sank in trenches.\(^ {20}\)

  ➢ Eastern Front. On the Eastern Front, German though overwhelmed by Russians initially in the Battle of Tannenberg, were able to exploit the well laid out communication infrastructure and railway network to their strategic advantage.\(^ {21}\) Russians operated along exterior lines from two bases, but failed to make effective use of her numerous mounted troops.

  By end of 1914, the war had settled down into a war of position and strategic mobilization was lost. To illustrate how the war progressed in next four years, let us borrow Fuller’s three terms – strategy of evasion, strategy of attrition and collapse of inner fronts.

**Strategy of Evasion**

**Peripheral Efforts.** To break the stalemate in Europe, the Allied planners concluded that Germany could best be defeated by destroying her allies.\(^ {22}\) Three best ways round the trench barrier seemed – a landing on German Baltic Coast, massive intervention on Russian Front or an invasion of Turkey by seizing Dardanelles and Istanbul.\(^ {23}\) All these peripheral endeavours to discover a penetrable front were a waste of effort, and in expenditure of manpower.

**Combined Amphibious Operation.** The *Gallipoli Campaign* was aimed at easing the Russian situation on the Caucasian Front. It was not planned as a combined amphibious operation; rather, Mr Churchill presented it to the War Council as a local naval bombardment project.\(^ {24}\) Soon it grew into a major naval operation. The invaders made little headway and within 12 hours of the first landings, bullet, spade and wire dominated the situation.\(^ {25}\)

**Superiority of Number Failed to Achieve Decisive Results.** In all peripheral efforts, superiority of number failed to achieve decisive results as mentioned below:\(^ {26}\)
### Campaign Duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Strength</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Macedonian</td>
<td>1915-1917</td>
<td>600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamian</td>
<td>1915-1917</td>
<td>340,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suez Canal/Palestine</td>
<td>1915-1918</td>
<td>432,857</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fallacy of Clausewitzian belief that superiority in numbers becomes more decisive was proved wrong.

### Interdependence of Operations on Administration

During *Battle of Tannenberg* the hurried alteration of the Russian plan in the opening days sent both of its armies into East Prussia with incomplete administrative services and also imposed on them unexpected marching exertions. Troops were worn out by long and toilsome marches, and had been for days in a state of semi starvation.27

The *Gallipoli Campaign* failed due to administrative problems:28

- The unfortunate delay in carrying out the landing at Gallipoli resulted as no consideration had been given to the embarkation of troops and stores requirements.

- Fiasco at Suvla is another example of insufficient administrative provision, especially for water supply, and the evacuation of casualties.

### Strategy of Attrition

- **Drill Taking Place of Maneuver.** With the passage of time, trenches took shape of elaborate defenses with strong points in depth. In order to effect penetration, the land forces institutionalized drills marginalizing manœuvre and stratagem. Use of artillery, gas and application of sheer mass was repeated time and again to get breakthroughs.29 All these efforts remained unsuccessful with disproportionate losses.30

- **Removal of One Obstacle with Another**
  - Experience had taught the General Staff that with sufficiency of artillery they could breach their enemy’s frontline and from this they concluded that with more and more artillery they would be able to take these lines until complete penetration was effected. Number of rounds artillery fired in just three of important battles in Western Europe is mentioned below:31

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battle</th>
<th>Preparatory Bombardment</th>
<th>Shells Fired</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Somme</td>
<td>8 days</td>
<td>1,738,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messines</td>
<td>17 days</td>
<td>3,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ypres (3rd)</td>
<td>19 days</td>
<td>4,300,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What they failed to understand was that the more shells they hurled at enemy's entrenchments, the more would the surface of the ground be damaged making their own movement through the cratered zone almost impossible.32

Navy

**Blockade.** On the onset of War, British imposed naval and commercial blockade on Germans. By July 1915, German trade had been brought to an almost complete halt.33 Blockade made a large contribution to the outcome of the war; by 1915, Germany's imports had already fallen by 55% from their pre-war levels and the exports were 53% of what they were in 1914.34

**Introduction of U-boats.** German response to sea blockade was U-boats which despite of Allies surface supremacy almost drove them out of war.35 On 31 January 1917, German Navy placed the U-boat campaign on unrestricted footing.36 Germans set for themselves an objective of sinking 610,000 tons of enemy shipping per month.

**Merchant Losses and Convoy System of Protection.** Allies, in response, strengthened their old convoy system. This to a greater degree reduced effectiveness of U-boats but committed more warships. Between May 1917 and the end of the war, only 154 of 16,539 vessels convoyed across the Atlantic were sunk, of which 16 were lost through the natural perils of sea travel and a further 36 because they were stragglers.37

Air

**Strategic Bombing.** Strategic bombing was aimed at defeating an enemy by destroying its economic ability and public will to wage war rather than destroying its land or naval forces. It was contemplated and tried by all belligerents in WWI, but with small results. The technology of the time simply was not good enough.

**Air Defence.** By mid-1918, an effective integrated defense provided London an early detection and warning, fighter interceptor aircraft, and air defense artillery in a system that matured as a model for future defenses against air attack.

Rebirth of Mobility

**Efforts to Eliminate or Disarm Trench-man**

**Use of Gas.** It was the man with a rifle or machine gun in the trench and behind the wire who gave tactical value to trench. Therefore, the solution lied either in eliminating him or in disarming him.38 In August 1914,
French used tear gas to incapacitate the Germans in Belgium. First use of Mustard Gas to effect a penetration was made on Riga Front in September 1917 against the Russians. However, once every man was equipped with a mask and trained to deal with it, gas turned out to be only an inconvenience.

➢ **Use of Tanks.** The second step towards solving the stalemate was to disarm the defender by rendering his rifles and machine gun ineffective. This requirement led to the introduction of the tank. Tanks were first used in September 1916, during the Battle of Somme.

- **Insurrection to Achieve Momentum.** General Sir Edmund Allenby, the Allied commander, had at his disposal some 6,000 or more Arab irregulars under the command of Emir Faisal and the British TE Lawrence. Since 1916, the Arab rebellion manifested itself in persistent and increasingly damaging raids against Turk’s rail communications and depots. Arab revolt acted as catalyst to quick Ottoman defeat.

**Collapse of Inner Fronts**

- **Blockade Leading to Social Discontentment.** No nation realized at the time that in total war between industrialized countries, economic pressure would prove to be a decisive weapon. This economic strangulation struck the population of Central Powers badly and led to social discontentment.

- **Propaganda Warfare.** By the spring of 1917, all belligerents were so war weary that the contagion of the *March Revolution* in Russia swept westward like wildfire. The mutinies in the French Army were largely ascribed to it; German troops in Russia also became infected; in Italy it contributed to the disaster of Caporetto.

- **Army as Revolutionary Instrument.** Since its inception, the Red Army was organized and trained not only as a military but also as a revolutionary instrument. When Tukhachevski invaded Poland, his army of 200,000 men was followed by a horde of 800,000 politicians, police and pillagers, whose duty was to bolshevize the conquered territories, exterminate the wealthy and shoot all bourgeois and aristocrats.

- **US Enters War, Not with Arms But Wilson’s 14 Points.** Although the 14 Points were not meant to be propaganda, actually they were propaganda of an astute kind. 14 Points sank deep into the hearts of the German people, and eventually brought the war to an ignominious end.

**Military Thought - Interwar Period**

After WWI, a realization grew that fundamental changes in the character of war had occurred, which had not been catered for in the conceptual framework of military/
operational thought. This void in military thinking attracted the inquisitive minds of renowned thinkers. Their contributions are covered in the succeeding paragraphs.

**Offensive Operations**

- **Concept of Mechanized and Mobile Warfare**
  - JFC Fuller, gauging the potentials of tanks opined that no longer is movement by fire the tactical pivot of battle, but movement in order to fire. He remained convinced that armoured forces would make the strategic and operational envelopment more decisive and efficient. In case, where flanks were not available for exploitation they would have to be created through penetration, utilizing potential of tanks. Also that the psychological effects that the tanks produced through bold employment into enemy rear areas caused what he termed as strategic paralysis.\(^{48}\)
  - Liddel Hart advocated combined and coordinated use of aircraft, tanks, mechanized infantry and paratroops for mobility, velocity and indirect approach for decisive deep penetration. His concept of *Expanding Torrents* was what Germans later evolved into deep strikes using *Blitzkrieg*.\(^{49}\)

- **Concept of Indirect Approach.** Liddell Hart propagated that in the absence of an overwhelming superiority, a *direct approach* will result in self-exhaustion. He believed “the dislocation of the enemy’s psychological and physical balance should be the vital prelude to a successful attempt at his overthrow and this dislocation can be produced by the *indirect approach*”.\(^{50}\)

- **Deep Operation Theory.** Tukhachevski applied this concept of simultaneity, by amalgamating the broad front engagement concept with the simultaneous engagement and penetration of different depth echelons of the enemy; using long range artillery, motorized infantry, tanks, airborne force and fifth columnists.\(^{51}\) In 1929, Triandafillov came up with the Deep Battle Concept that required striking enemy in multiple blows and at various tiers.\(^{52}\)

**Defensive Operations**

- **Concept of Single Extensive System.** The most extensive single fortified system the world had ever seen was constructed to face each other along the Franco-German frontier. The French Maginot Line, which was the most impressive along its 320 kilometers, took more than ten years to build; whereas, the German Siegfried Line, based upon interconnected pillboxes layered in depth, begun in 1936 and was still incomplete in 1940.\(^{53}\)

- **Concept of Contracting Funnel.** Just as manoeuvre is far superior to frontal attack, so manoeuvre fire which enfilades the enemy from a flank is the most damaging, both in material effect and to the attackers' morale. Thus,
the defence should be so disposed as to develop their greatest fire effect to the flank. To this end, infantry defences should be disposed in such a way that the attacking enemy is encouraged to penetrate into channels in which he can be raked by flanking fire. For Liddell Hart this was the story of expanding torrents vs contracting funnel. 54

Taste for Irregular Warfare

- **Seven Pillars of Wisdom by Lawrence.** T E Lawrence wrote penetrating studies of guerilla warfare culled from his experience with the Arabs. In the *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, he concisely defined the special conditions of guerilla warfare – dilating upon a need for guerillas to have the support of the local populace; to practice the art of dispersion; and to depend upon dedicated elite since the mass of population was unlikely to be reliable. 55 Lawrence’s ideas were rejected at the time for the wrong reasons by orthodox military thinkers. Liddle Hart, on the other hand, popularized his views because those fitted in so well with his own concept of *Indirect Approach*.

- **Kleinkrieg by Arthur Erhardt.** Arthur was the only German author in the interwar period who foretold the prospects of guerrilla warfare in modern conditions. He pointed out that the supply lines of rapidly advancing modern armies would be an obvious target for enemy partisans. He envisaged the possibility of enemy partisans landing in German rear, and of motorized guerrilla units. He even weighed the potential use of chemical warfare by guerrillas. 56

Air Warfare

- **Bringing Air Warfare to Forefront.** Italian Brigadier General Giulio Douhet, Brigadier General Sir Hugh Trenchard and General Billy Mitchell of US believed that the outcome of future conflict would be decided not on the ground in trench warfare, but up in the air. They were all convinced that strategic bombing or the use of offensive air power could shatter the morale of the civilian population and destroy the enemy’s defence – industrial infrastructure and thereby end the war very quickly. Douhet believed that a first strike capability was necessary to ensure the maintenance of the sovereignty of a nation. Thus, he recommended offensive action to achieve defence.

- **Air, Fundamental or Auxiliary Force?** Douhet, in his book *Command of the Air*, 1921 along with William Mitchell of the US promulgated a theory of future wars being won by air power, spreading terror with explosives and gas. But Mitchell never quite abandoned the position that land forces were essential and could draw healthy support from aircraft. Though no single nation whole-heartedly adopted the Douhet theory while all continued to allocate sizeable air force to the support of armies. 57
Naval Warfare. Alfred Von Tirpitz was of the opinion that the acid test of nation’s possession of sea power was not a large fleet-of-cruisers but the existence of a fleet-of-battleships.\(^58\) On the other hand, Mahan suggested that in case of weak naval power its most useful disposition would be to shut it up within an impregnable port and so imposed upon the enemy the duty of constant guard to prevent its escape. This was substantially the course followed by the German fleet in WWI.

MILITARY THOUGHTS - WW II

Efforts to Achieve Shock and Paralysis

- **Vertical Envelopment.** In order to speed up the capture, the aggressor relied upon vertical envelopment to threaten opponent’s rear. on 9\(^{th}\) April 1940, the Germans made the first major strategic drop of parachutists ahead of their surprise invasions of Denmark and Norway. The success of any such operation depended upon the attacker being in possession of air superiority and a quick link-up with ground forces. For in early 1940s, neither tanks nor medium artillery could be lifted by air, which made the parachutists vulnerable on landing as it happened during the invasion of Crete in May 1941.\(^59\)

- **Blitzkrieg.** Between 1920 - 30 that General Heinz Guderian refined the Concept of Deep Penetration and role of armour known as Blitzkrieg. The essence of Blitzkrieg Theory was to suddenly concentrate maximum strength to surprise the enemy, advance deep into his country to paralyze the will of enemy to resist and to force him to surrender.\(^60\) The concept was put to better test during French Campaign. What enabled this kind of shock and paralysis? It was tank, radio, stukas and most importantly, the motorcycle infantry.\(^61\)

Creation of Fourth Arm

- **Counter Subversive Forces – Schutzstaffel (SS)**

  ➢ **SS** was founded by Hitler in April 1925 as a small personal bodyguard force which grew with the success of the Nazi movement, gathering immense police and military powers. From 1929 until its dissolution in 1945, the **SS** was headed by Heinrich Himmler, who built it up from fewer than 300 members to more than 50,000 by the time the Nazis came to power in 1933.\(^62\)

  ➢ By World War II, the term **SS** could be applied to two completely separate organizations, mainly the Allgemeine-SS and the Waffen-SS. The Allgemeine-SS work was to do policing, spying and managing concentration camps. Whereas, Waffen-SS had especially selected fighting units that took part in war, on the front, alongside the regular Army.
• Establishment of Special Operation Executives (SOE)

When Henri-Philippe Petain signed an armistice with Nazi Germany on 22nd June, 1940, the British government began to consider what it could do to help those French people who wanted to continue fighting. In July 1940, Mr Hugh Dalton (Minister of Economic Warfare) wrote a letter to Lord Halifax (Foreign Secretary):

“We have got to organize movements in enemy-occupied territory comparable to the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, to the Chinese Guerrillas now operating against Japan, to the Spanish Irregulars who played a notable part in Wellington's campaign or - one might as well admit it - to the organizations which the Nazis themselves have developed so remarkably in almost every country in the world. This "democratic international" must use many different methods, including industrial and military sabotage, labour agitation and strikes, continuous propaganda, terrorist acts against traitors and German leaders, boycotts and riots”. 63

In July 1940, the British PM Churchill, instructed Mr Hugh Dalton to establish the SOE to “set Europe on fire” by subversive warfare. SOE was to operate in every country that fell under German occupation.64

Desert Warfare

• Tank Employment.  *Blitzkrieg*, on a small scale, was repeated in North Africa by Rommel on more heroic lines. The psychological effects of the tank mobility and surprise use, coupled with Close Air Support (CAS) and ability to bypass and attack in the rear produced amazing victories.

• Significance of Logistics. Throughout 1941-1942, the Germans and Italians had grappled with the British along the coastal strip between El Aghelia and El Alamein. The logistic situation in those battles was always crucial since literally everything, except sand for sandbags and air in tyres, had to be transported to the front.

• Predominance of Armour and Artillery. North African Campaign was staged largely on a firm terrain with long ranges of vision and very little cover. Therefore, the armoured vehicles and artillery predominated while infantry played a distinctly minor role, except on a narrow front, such as at El Alamein.65

Rockets. Though lacked accuracy, but were a cheap mean of providing heavy demoralizing fire. Hitler believed that new high-technology *secret weapons* would give Germany a strategic bombing capability and turn the war around. The first of 6,725 V-1 flying bombs hit London in mid-June, 1944, and together with 1,400 V-2 rockets caused

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5,875 civilian deaths and 17,000 injuries. Their psychological impact was probably greater than the actual damage they did.

**Invasion Through Sea.** Operation OVERLORD had built into it the movement of 3 million men in 47 divisions, moved by 6000 ships with aerial cover provided by 5000 fighter planes. Normandy landing was the largest seaborne invasion in history. The Allied appreciated that the initial assault would resemble a siege-type action and were bent upon creating conditions of mobile warfare. So in addition to swimming tanks, they produced a collection of specialized armoured vehicles to act in combination and clear gaps through minefields, wire and obstacles. Thus, they hoped to penetrate the defense quickly, with men under armour in the lead, ready to deal with German tank attacks before they could be fully developed. The allies exploited air transport to full, landing three parachute divisions to secure the flanks of the invasion area as well as deep raiding parties to add zest to the local guerilla movements which prior to the landings joined with the air forces in devastating the French and Belgian railway system. Grossly outnumbered, the Germans could but stick to their plan of positional defence until within six weeks they reached the breaking point.

**Employment of Air**

- **Air Superiority Vs Supremacy.** *Air Power Doctrine* was that the air war was just as important as the ground war. Military theorists debated which of the two is important: air superiority or air supremacy? And reached the conclusion that over the fast-moving ground forces, air superiority, rather than supremacy, might be all that was needed. During last stage of WWII, the Allies won battlefield air supremacy in the Pacific in 1943 and in Europe in 1944. That meant that Allied supplies and reinforcements would get through to the battlefront, but not the enemy’s.

- **Trends in Air Support**
  - Allies air gave lowest priority to close air support (CAS) mission or direct assistance to ground units on the battlefront by employing air-ground teams. On the other hand, Luftwaffe had to think in terms of land conflict and went for *catch-the-plane-on-ground* and CAS.
  - In October 1944, the Japanese came up with *Kamikaze Tactics* against the American ships that continued till the end of the war. Kamikaze attacks were highly effective at the Battle of Okinawa in spring of 1945. During the three-month battle, 2,800 kamikaze sorties sank 34 US ships and damaged 368 more, killing 4,900 sailors in the American 5th Fleet.

- **Air Bombing**
  - Britain and the US built large quantities of four-engine long-range heavy bombers; Germany, Japan, and the Soviet Union did not. Besides
knocking out the Luftwaffe on ground, the second most striking achievement of the strategic bombing campaign by Allies was the destruction of the German oil supply.\textsuperscript{72}

- Contrarily, Hitler was insistent on bombers having tactical capability, which at the time meant dive bombing, a maneuver then impossible for any heavy bomber. At first, the Germans focused on RAF airfields and radar stations. In the first few days of Operation BARBAROSSA in June 1941, the Luftwaffe destroyed 2000 Soviet aircraft, most of them on the ground, at a loss of only 35 aircrafts. However, when the RAF bomber forces attacked Berlin, Hitler diverted the Luftwaffe to attacks on London.\textsuperscript{73}

**Air Defence**

- During war, Germans protected their major cities with Flak Towers – a massive concrete tower with large and small caliber anti-aircraft weapons (128 mm, 37 mm & 20 mm guns).

- British had anti-aircraft artillery and fighter aircraft for air defence. Using proximity fuzes, British anti-aircraft artillery gunners quickly learned how to shoot down the 400 mph V-1s; however, nothing could stop the supersonic V-2s. Outside Britain, the idea of an integrated air defense system had not emerged; most militaries had a conflict between the advocates of anti-aircraft artillery and fighter aircraft for defense, not recognizing that they could be complementary.

### Maritime Warfare

- **Commerce Raiding.** German naval strategy relied on commerce raiding using capital ships, armed merchant cruisers, submarines U-boats, aircraft and mine laying. Against U-boats, the Allies immediately introduced a convoy system, typically a destroyer, armed with sonar (or Asdic) and depth charges.\textsuperscript{74}

- **Dominance of the Aircraft Carrier.** Employment of the aircraft carriers was demonstrated in Pacific. The Japanese had developed the tactical and strategic potential of aircraft carriers. Planes from six Japanese aircraft carriers attacked on Pearl Harbor, sinking or damaging most of the US Pacific Fleet’s battleships. Followed by the US who in April 1942, in a *Doolittle Raid*, attacked the mainland Japan with 16 US B-52Bs launched from *USS Hornet*.\textsuperscript{75}

**Use of Atom Bomb.** Unlike the WWI, the US chooses to terminate the war not with *14 Points*, for a negotiated settlement, but with an atomic bomb.\textsuperscript{76}
EVOLUTION OF MILITARY THOUGHT DURING COLD WAR

Cold War and Factors Affecting Military Thought

With the defeat of Germany and eradication of fascism, the common purpose that had caused Russia and the western allies to work together disappeared. The ideological and geo-strategic tensions inherent in their positions came to fore as the Allied armies penetrated deep inside Germany. US and the former Soviet Union, the two giants at the periphery, were now facing off against one another in the very heart of Europe. Hence, the advent of a Cold War, which was destined to change the world and militaries in the following years. Cold War was never a war but an extended confrontation. In simpler words, it was "war of influences" – US and Europe against the influence of Soviets and their East European allies. It is also important to understand what lied at the heart of the Policy of Containment from which had flown the military thought. WW I and WW II alliances differed in one simple way. The alliances of those times feared power while the cold war alliances feared war and the use of nuclear energy as a means to wage war.

25 June 1950 is the most suitable date to select for the full emergence of the Cold War, because of the invasion of South Korea by the North. It had a near traumatic, and certainly a galvanizing effect upon American and some other Western opinion, policy and defence spending. The Korean invasion promoted the militarization of the Cold War as nothing to that date had done. Notwithstanding the massive power of the alliances, the appetite for war had substantially reduced. In this context, it’s useful to view various developments of the time.

Politico - Social Developments

- **Geo - Political Developments.** European colonial powers were the major losers as they had to let go their colonies. However, most of the newly liberated nations joined either of the super powers. Consequently, the super powers continued rivalries with each other on other countries’ soil through "proxy wars".

- **Coalition Blocks and International Institutions.** UN was established to bring peace and resolve disputes among states. NATO and Warsaw Pact were formed as two competing blocks, and with this the concept of collective security through joint defence mechanisms.

- **Politico - Economic Divide.** Winners of WW II created capitalist systems and hence the birth of Breton Wood Institutions - WB and IMF. Effective enough to cause economic coercion.

Significant Technological Developments Post WW II

- **Nuclear Technology and Indirect Strategy.** Nuclear weapons by virtue of their absolute power brought an element of stability in the race for balance of power. Most policy makers believed that nuclear weapons could and would...
be used to fight and perhaps to win the wars. However, soon it was realized that nuclear weapons can only help avoid the wars. The emphasis, between two nuclear powers, shifted from fighting wars to avoiding wars. Wars between nuclear powers shifted to application of indirect strategy.82

- **Helicopters Providing Outreach.** Helicopters brought a new dimension to war fighting. The evolution of this machine brought versatility through its use in multiple functions. Its ability to reach everywhere gives tremendous flexibility to the ways wars are fought.83

- **Missile Technology Affording Standoff.** Germans used the rocket technology in the closing stages of WW II. Rockets improved over time and took shape of precision guided missiles. This made engagement with different warheads at longer distances possible.

- **Jet Engines and Dominance of Air Arm.** Giant leap in aircraft technology was due to the development of jet engines. Smaller size and great power-to-weight ratio gave aircraft higher speeds, longer ranges and more payload capability. Hence airpower, surfaced as a dominant arm in the battlefield.

- **Submarines Adding to Power Projection and Deterrence.** Nuclear submarines in 1955, transformed the sea warfare. Revolutionized mobility in naval warfare i.e. nuclear aircraft carrier and submarines, hence greater power projection.

### Conventional Military Thought - Contemporary Concepts

**Major Changes in Deep Operation Theory.** Space for a conventional war had significantly been reduced in Cold War. Hence, in many years, basic Deep Operation Theory had shown little change from the original pattern. The principle of "slow in - fast out" - deliberate action/ tight rein in during the break in, while dash/ loose rein in during the break out remained unchanged until 1960. In practice, advanced C3I deprived mobile force commander the traditional freedom of action due to "forward command from rear". Hence, changes in structure of formations from tank corps to tank and mechanised divisions (all arms), with agility and force. Then the first phase of RMA ushered in heydays of battlefield nuclear weapon and employment of tanks in mass. The vast tank formations advanced over a nuclear and chemical carpet with little need to fight or manoeuvre. All arms force relegated to secondary role of providing diversions and mopping up. End of this phase was marked by a non - nuclear scenario.84 The intervening years, however, saw a succession of major changes:

- Operational Manoeuvre Group (OMG).85
- Slashing Attack / Introduction of BMPs86
- Concept of Desanty.87
USA’s Air Land Battle. Conceived in response to the Soviet offensive doctrine, which entailed not only seeing deep into enemy’s rear but also to destroy the second echelon forces. Applying combat power at the operational and tactical levels. The response emerged in employing well coordinated air power in conjunction with ground forces. It enlarged the battlefield beyond the immediate area of operation.\textsuperscript{88}

Follow-on-Forces Attack (FOFA). In 1985, NATO adopted a new high-tech strategy called FOFA. Envisioning a heavy dependence on smart munitions, long-range airborne radars, and target selection by computers, it called for attacks across the border into Eastern Europe.\textsuperscript{89} The goal of FOFA is to prevent enemy “follow-on forces” from reaching the front line after an initial attack. FOFA expected to give the alliance an alternative to nuclear weapons by reducing its numerical disadvantage in tanks, guns and men against the Warsaw Pact countries.

Concept of Simultaneity. Simultaneity is “concurrent application of combat power throughout the depth of the battlefield.” It is aimed at simultaneous neutralization of all echelons of enemy forces in a manner that various command levels are denied to react in harmony. In doing so it breaks the decision / operational cycle, rendering various echelons ineffective to sequentially assist each other. Such neutralization may not be a result of simultaneous actions, following a click of a clock, yet the effects of these actions so neutralize various depth levels that their desired sequential bondage breaks down.

Sub-conventional Military Thought

Evolution of Sub-conventional Warfare can be traced back into "American Revolution" or "Revolutionary War", as they are used interchangeably. After the French experiences in Spain another term "Guerrilla War" found its way in military writings. Hence, it will not be wrong to term Sub-conventional War in many recognised ways defined as per the nature and character they acquire. Insurgency, Asymmetric War, Low intensity Conflict, Proxy War, Operations Other Than War (OOTW) and the recent War on Terror are some of the form of Sub-conventional Warfare. Its common characteristics evolved over the years are:

- **Nature.** One of the most precise postulation by Jomini "wars of opinion result either from doctrines which one party desires to propagate among its neighbours or from dogmas which it desires to crush - in both cases leading to intervention. Although, originating in religious or political dogmas these wars are most deplorable, for like national wars they enlist the worst passions and become vindictive, cruel, brutal and terrible". It is the brutal nature of this form of warfare which has gripped the humanity in perpetual sense of insecurity.\textsuperscript{90}

- **Characteristics.** The aim of this form of warfare is to make conflict a midwife of revolution, by unceasing political and psychological attack: by systematic propaganda, the fomenting of strikes, mass fraternisation and by stimulating mutiny and desertion.\textsuperscript{91}
Nuclearization, Strategies and Impact on Military Thought

Evolution of Nuclearization. On 6 August, 1945, with nuclear attack on Hiroshima, the atomic age had dawned; a new era of warfare had emerged. Theorists have grappled with the nuclear phenomenon since then by formulating new strategies, which nevertheless remain inconclusive in the absence of a nuclear experience. Initial assumptions that nuclearization will provide stability and will render other forms of warfare obsolete have proved wrong and nuclear powers today continue to maintain conventional forces alongside huge nuclear arsenals.

Nuclear Strategies. The lack of actual campaigns involving nuclear weapons and the problems inherent in any attempt to make sense of how such a campaign might develop in the future has not inhibited the development of nuclear strategies. Indeed, the quest for a nuclear strategy that can serve definite political objectives without triggering a holocaust has occupied the best minds.92 “Thus far, the chief purpose of our military establishment has been to fight and win wars. From now on its chief purpose must be to avert them. It can have no other useful purpose”.93 Various nuclear strategies during the period under review are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Nuclear Strategy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945 – 49</td>
<td>Strategy of Containment / Era of US Monopoly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Strategy of Great Deterrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Strategy of Massive Retaliation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961 – 67</td>
<td>Theories of Graduated and Flexible Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964 – 72</td>
<td>Mutually Assured Destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970 – 80</td>
<td>Strategy of Limited Nuclear Options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Countervailing Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prevailing Strategy and SDI</td>
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Conclusions - Impact of Nuclearization on Military Thought

- International Security Environment. Nuclear weapons have transformed the international security environment in different ways:94
  - There has been no global war, of the dimensions of world wars, or a direct war between the two super powers.
  - Has revived the concept of limited war.
  - Deterrence has assumed a central feature in strategy.

- Strategic Implications
  - Nuclear strategy belongs to realm of total strategy / total war.
  - Wars have evolved into limited wars with limited objectives.
  - It did not replace conventional war or vice versa.
Nuclear Deterrence will remain as the nucleus of the security policies of states possessing or aspiring for it.

**Operational Implications**

- Mechanised formations are lucrative counter force targets, but remain relevant due to protection they offer.
- Battlefield depth increased to cater for tactical nuclear weapons.

**Sophistication of Conventional Weapons.** Today's sophistication and lethality of conventional weapons can be called a spin-off of nuclear weapon production.

**Expediency of Air.** Importance of air arm increased manifold.

**C4I Network.** To make the command and control meaningful, a comprehensive C4I network is considered essential.

**Use of Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNW).** TNWs, are considered as important as a conventional force structure. Those countries, which can develop nuclear weapons, would like to possess them on their inventory for deterrence purposes. However, the question remains unanswered whether the use of TNWs will trigger an all out nuclear conflict or otherwise?

**Evolved Thoughts - Future Battlefield**

Before looking into the future, there is a requirement to summarize and conclude the evolved thoughts which are likely to remain valid during future wars.

**Nature of War.** Three constants describe the nature of war – war’s political nature, physical stress and clash of opposing wills. These are not likely to change, even as technology revolutionizes. In nutshell, the means may change, but the fundamental nature and risks of warfare will remain.

**Manoeuvre Warfare.** To avoid strength and hit the enemy where she is weak will always remain the hallmark of any future war. Militaries will remain committed to evolve means and methods to generate manoeuvres and achieve decisive victories in quickest possible time.

**Predominance of Air and Naval Power.** Great powers, in order to keep their strength and at the same time to check the emerging states will continue to dominate the skies and water through force projection. This aspect gets further importance in the ever-increased competition to control energy resources and corridors.
• **Nuclearization.** Nuclear weapon is a reality; states, in order to ensure survival are likely to operationalise their nuclear war fighting concepts – essentially to increase deterrence value of their weapons.

• **Sub Conventional Warfare (4th/ 5th GW).** Aversion to attrition will keep the future conflicts limited. More emphasis is likely to be on irregular/ proxy wars instead of direct confrontation. World is already seeing the 4th GW which is transcending into 5th GW. Armies and doctrines will continue to evolve to face and fight these emerging trends in warfare.

**Departing Thoughts – Future Battlefield**

• **Conventional**

  ➢ **Digitized/ Net Centric Warfare.** The concept of digitized battlefield with forces operating on net-centric mode has emerged as a dominant reality of future warfare. The combat potential of future forces will depend mostly on the efficacy of these structures’ ability to shorten the Sensor Shooter – Decision Maker Loop.

  ➢ **Space as New Medium of Conflict.** Space Warfare is another idea whose time has come. Some of the systems that could enable future space operations might include trans-atmospheric vehicles, space-based directed energy weapons, anti-satellite systems and space-based ballistic missile defence systems.

  ➢ **Air.** According to the concept of RMA by Donald Rumsfeld in 1990s, Air Warfare is poised to revolutionize to cater for endurance, transparency and enhanced reach. The transformation is likely to be manifested in the form of UCAVs with the aim of “air and space superiority, rapid global mobility, global attack, agile combat support, precision engagement, and information superiority”.

  ➢ **Navy.** The face of naval warfare is going under sea. Without undermining the importance of huge carriers used for the force projection, the decisive factor in the waters will be nuclear submarines having manoeuvring capacity and stealth far better than battleships on the surface. On the other hand, the control of shore command is becoming more dominant than the command at sea. The warfare is changing from more open sea battles to the littoral, combat close to the coast, taking the fight to the enemy.

• **Sub-conventional**

  ➢ **4th GW.** 4th GW blurs the lines between war and politics, conflict and peace, soldier and civilian, and battlefield violence and safe zones. This form of warfare arose from the loss of the nation-state’s monopoly over violence; from the rise of cultural, ethnic, and religious conflict; and from
the spread of globalization, particularly advanced technology. It is conducted in an increasingly decentralized manner, dispersed throughout a region or even the world. It has no defined battlefield; instead 4th GW is conducted simultaneously in population centres, rural areas, and virtual networks. It moves constantly to avoid detection and to target its enemy’s vulnerabilities. 4th GW’s targets are not just soldiers, but also non-combatants, religious ideas, legal frameworks, media outlets, international agencies and agreements, economic activities, political power, and the minds of the people.98

➢ 5th GW. 5th GW is defined as the use of “all means whatsoever – means that involve the force of arms and means that do not involve the force of arms, means that involve military power and means that do not involve military power, means that entail casualties, and means that do not entail casualties – to force the enemy to serve one’s own interest”.99 It includes the appearance of super-empowered individuals and groups with access to modern knowledge, technology, and means to conduct asymmetric attacks in furtherance of their individual and group interests. Arguably, its first identifiable manifestations occurred in the US during the anthrax attacks of 2001 and the ricin attacks of 2004. Both sets of attacks required specialised knowledge, included attacks upon federal government offices and facilities, succeeded in disrupting governmental processes, and created widespread fear in the public.

Conclusion

In the past, one sees relatively confined space with a lot of troops and equipment inside it, which is conventional, industrial war, like the tank battles in the Sinai in 1973, or in North Africa during World War II. However, now we are going from a small space with many combatants inside it to vast spaces that include immense third world cities and deserts with small numbers of combatants hidden inside them. So whereas killing the enemy is easy, finding him is what’s difficult.100

Endnotes

Ibid, 39.

Ibid, 41.

Ibid, 42.


Bolborn, “Moltke & Schlieffen: The Prussian German School”, 188.


Ibid, 70.

It was British PM Lloyd George position that Germany could best be defeated by destroying her allies – Clausewitz in reverse. Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961*, 165.


Ibid, 163.
For example, in the battle of Third Artois – Loos, the French and British respectively lost 48,200 and 48,267 men and in the second battle of Champagne the French losses were 143,567. In both no more than the German front line system of trenches, in places some 3,000 yards deep, was captured. Ibid, 166.


Roskill, “The Naval Blockade” in *History of World War I*, 89.

It has been estimated that during the last two years of the blockade, 800,000 non-combatants died in Germany from starvation or diseases directly attributed to under-nourishment. Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961*, 178.
48 Fuller, Armament and History, 138-139.


52 Ibid.


Fuller, *Armament and History*, 143-152.


At *Potsdam Conference*, Truman and Churchill, in order to obviate the casualties an invasion of Japan would entail, decided to use atomic bomb. They also wanted that they should not need USSR for Far Eastern War. Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961*, 300.


Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 461.


Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789 - 196* , 313.

Simpkin, *Race to the Swift*, 130.

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IMPACT OF REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS (RMA) ON STRATEGIC THOUGHT

Abstract

First Gulf War brought the term “revolution in military affairs” (RMA) to fore. It was considered that the new technological innovations duly interfaced with corresponding doctrinal developments and reorganizations would provide unprecedented advantage to the force that husbands these. Precision guided munitions, information ascendancy leading to battle space domination supported by focused logistics and full dimensional protection and net centricity were regarded as the hallmarks of this RMA and a recipe for assured victory. The paper answers certain questions pertaining to RMA; has RMA proved to be what its proponents considered it to be in 90’s? With intra state conflicts gaining currency; how has 4th generation warfare impacted RMA? It also studies whether or not the violent non state actors have caused RMA in their own domain. In 21st Century, indirect strategy to achieve policy objectives is a preferred option wherein the paper also covers how 5th generation warfare has embraced RMA tools and has resultantly attained new level of effectiveness. In South Asian context, multi-dimensional threats both kinetic and non-kinetic are looming large against Pakistan. While India remains main repository of threat, new are brewing continuously. This paper highlights areas where Pakistan has considerably adopted and is further progressing in the RMA domain besides suggesting other areas where improvements can be incurred.

Introduction

In the backdrop of 1st Gulf War, Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) became the buzz word of 90s. Lethal precision guided munitions with enhanced ranges; command, control and communication; and intelligence processing with extended surveillance and reconnaissance means were the highlights of this RMA. At the turn of century, as 4th and 5th GW gained currency the word RMA was largely replaced by “Transformation”. RMA was a change and transformation was the process leading these changes coherently from present state towards an envisioned future condition. A decade later, the RMA tools were commonly referred to as Force Multipliers or enablers.

The original theorizing was done by Soviets in 1970s. The US became interested in RMA through Dr. Andrew Marshall who defined RMA as:

“A major change in the nature of warfare brought about by the innovative application of new technologies which, combined with dramatic changes in military doctrine and operational and organizational concepts, fundamentally alters the character and conduct of military operations”.

RMA – An Analysis

The Gulf War of 1991 gave an indication of some of the key components of the current Revolution in Military Affairs. It has been widely accepted as a transitional point
which contained elements of industrial age form of warfare and elements of a new kind of warfare which exploited new technologies. Fleets of US aircrafts which carpet-bombed Iraq signified stress on mass destruction and thus had elements of industrial age war. Simultaneously, a new kind of war was fought through precision weapons and vastly improved means of real time information with an objective of causing paralysis.

**Warfare Areas.** Like the past revolutions in military affairs, the current revolution has led to the emergence of new warfare areas. “A warfare area is a form of warfare with unique military objectives and is characterised by association with particular forces or systems. Past examples include air warfare, armoured warfare, and strategic bombing, to mention but a few”. The trend is towards leaner but highly lethal forces which are capable of delivering high volume of fire on enemy with great precision through integrated sensors and information systems. Each is analyzed as under:-

**Precision Strike**

Long-range "stand-off" precision weapons serve as the primary tool for this purpose. It also includes the ability to sense enemy at operational and strategic depth, recognize his operational concept, select and prioritize attacks on enemy targets of value. It is intended to achieve decisive impact on the outcome of campaign.

It was perceived that precision strikes would not just allow reduction in the number of aircraft to destroy a target but would also allow reduction in the ground forces. Concepts of smart armies and terms like lean and lethal were coined. However, time proved former to be true but later invalid. Without employing ground forces in combat, air campaign in Kosovo (1999), achieved objective of degrading Serbia’s military and security structure. Yet, it was not without the role played by Kosovo Liberation Army and threat of ground force employment by United States and its allies that forced Milosevic to capitulate. Furthermore, UN peacekeepers had to be employed after the war.

**Information Warfare.** Information dominance tends to clear fog of war for own commanders and thicken it for enemy. The result is a comprehensive, near perfect battle picture available to commanders in real time and leads to dominant battle space awareness.

**Dominating Maneuver.** It was perceived that dominating maneuver will strike at enemy’s centre of gravity and accentuate his defeat. Dominant maneuver was considered different from traditional maneuver. Maneuver is employment of forces on the battlefield through movement in combination with fire, to achieve a position of advantage. Dominating maneuver referred to positioning of forces not necessarily employment. It meant integrating its effects with effects from precision strike, space warfare and information warfare. Its ultimate purpose was directly to achieve campaign and war objectives.

**Full Dimensional Protection.** It involves active and passive protective measures against all threats to remain viable and strike at will. Greater stealth and
jamming technologies contribute to this end. Deployment of multi-tiered missile
defence combined with offensive capabilities is example of full-dimensional protection.

**Focused Logistics.** It means reducing logistic load to essential requirements
and moved in shortest time, at the fastest speed. Focused logistics integrates
information superiority and technological innovations to develop logistics practices
where forces can accurately track and shift assets.

**Net Centric Warfare (NCW).** NCW recognises the centrality of information
and its potential as a source of power. NCW is defined as: “The ability of geographically
dispersed forces to create a high level of shared battle space awareness that can be
exploited to achieve commander’s intent”. A mature network centric force has the
ability to share information between sensors, regardless of platform, between
commanders, regardless of location, and shooters, regardless of service.

**South Asian Context**

In pursuit of net centric capability, IAF is developing an Integrated Air Command
and Control System (IACCS) to make its air defense operations compatible with future
requirements.

It is expected that post 2014, bases in Afghanistan will chiefly comprise UAVs
and other C4ISR elements. Even if Afghanistan has to be vacated completely, ERF
would still retain the liberty of operating from the sea.

**RMA in the Domain of 4TH GW**

21st Century conflicts are expected to be mostly intra state, between governments
and Violent Non State Actors (VNSAs). Contrary to certain beliefs, obtaining VNSAs
involved in 4th GW have several characteristics that make them effective in information
age. An example is closure of 19 US consulates across Middle East and Africa on Eid-ul-Fitr (2013) owing to terror threat warnings.

**RMA – Common Aspects.** Scholars working on the subject have identified
under mentioned commonalities that happen when a RMA occur:

**Richard O Hundley**

- A sweeping change in the conduct of warfare, with societal and strategic
  implications.
- Rendering obsolete a military core competency, or creating a new one.
- A military force’s transformation of itself, resulting in new capabilities.
- Combinations of technologies, rather than individual technologies, usually
  bring about technology-driven RMA.
Andrew Krepinevich

- The importation and adoption of developments from outside the immediate military realm.

Collin S Gray

- Increase in effectiveness.

Mac Gregor Knox and Williamson Murray

- A complex mix of organizational, doctrinal, and technological innovations.

VNSAs’ RMA. In the ensuing paragraphs each commonality is analyzed to establish if VNSAs have caused RMA or otherwise:

- **Conduct of Warfare and Societal Implications.** VNSAs have indeed impacted the way we lived or conducted war. The new battle fields are our homes, worship places and urban centers. Dehumanization of targets and disregard to established universal norms are characteristics of the soulless campaign.

- **Organisational Framework.** Non-state actors adopt decentralized organization at all levels. Even the setups housing top leadership are as small as local cells and capable of blending into local population.

- **Adoption of Technologies outside Military Realm.** The high-tech concept of information war focuses principally on military communications. It ignores the vast civilian information network. This "world net" gives VNSAs easy access to international news organizations, and that, in turn, puts them in direct contact not only with their own people, but with enemy’s people as well.

- **Combining Technologies.** VNSAs increase in effectiveness is result of combining existing technologies, rather than inventing something new. Terrorists turn many common civilian items to military use. They make explosive material from ingredients available in civilian market. They also use civilian gadgets as sophisticated remote detonation devices.

- **Increase in Effectiveness.** Standard terrorist practice has been to demoralize governments and populaces. What is new is the extent to which present day VNSAs perpetrate destruction on their targets. The 9/11 attacks were unprecedented in their origin, scope, lethality and a challenge to imagination.
• **Rendering Obsolete Military Core Competency or Creating a New One.** Al Qaeda created a new military core competency: the ability to threaten interests of a superpower across the globe and in its homeland. Simultaneously, core competency of US of being untouchable on own landmass has been severely challenged.

**Analysis**

It can be concluded that VNSAs have caused RMA in their own way in the domain of 4th GW and it will continue to be characterized by chance, uncertainty, friction and fog. VNSAs have found their own version of the “Corvus”—the improvised explosive device, the suicide bomber, and the Internet.14

The fundamental strength of 4th GW lies in the idea or message that is the heart of the concept. This requires a detailed understanding of the history, culture, and other social factors and these cannot be addressed by technology alone. This necessitates addressing the complex political and economic aspects of the conflicts.

Success as a result of adapting to RMA depends upon adversaries who operate in hierarchical organizations, engage in conventional warfare, and whose decision making processes is like modern armies.

Indian involvement in sponsoring negative elements in Balochistan and continued anti Pakistan activities through her consulates in connivance with Afghanistan’s National Defence Services (NDS) exhibits that she is bent upon destabilising Pakistan.

Afghanistan’s complex internal situation would continue to directly or indirectly facilitate 4th GW against Pakistan in terms of weaponization, intolerance and extremism. Harbouring wanted terrorists like Mullah Fazlullah and refusal to apprehend them for handover will remain a cause of serious concern.

**RMA in the Domain of 5th GW**

Currently, no commonly accepted definition exists for 5th GW. Developments indicate that it is a state on state conflict and employ a range of tools from space, cyber, media, economic and NKW

NKW. In Non-Kinetic Warfare (NKW), instead of one-on-one military confrontation, the target is enemy’s will and victory is judged by the will of people. NKW also include selective application of kinetic operations, which lead to large scale effects:

• **Syrian Case Study.** In the ongoing Syrian crises, the objective was to defang Syria by taking out its WMD; this objective was achieved with mere threat of strikes. The environment was so immaculately shaped that entire immediate neighborhood went against Al Assad Regime and instead of foreign forces “local boots” are being employed.
• **Pakistan**

- Presence of Raymond Davis type operators, surgical strike eliminating OBL, Salala attacks in 2011 and drone strikes, especially the one eliminating Hakeem Ullah Mehsud, are some of the examples of 5th GW.

- Collapsing important public service enterprises and other institutions, the trend of leadership bashing, clergy’s bashing and the feelings of uncertainty/ hopelessness points towards implosion effects of 5th GW waged on to the country.

• **Space Warfare.** It involves dominating space, to deny its advantages to adversary and to use it to implement own agenda. Many countries have launched their satellites which are busy round the clock for reconnaiss ance, intelligence and surveillance along with other roles of information and communication. Space, however, does have limiting factors that could constrain its military use. Therefore, sizable technical hurdles have to be overcome before space-based strike, anti satellite systems, space lift, and space transport become militarily usable capabilities. Systems that could enable future space operations might include trans-atmospheric vehicles, single-stage-to-orbit, launch vehicles, space-based directed-energy weapons, or kinetic energy weapons, space-based ballistic missile defense, satellite defense systems, small satellites, and both space-based and ground-based distributed networks to reduce the vulnerability of space capabilities.

• **Cyber War RMA.** Malicious software(s) also represent RMA in virtual realm. The example is of worm called Stuxnet. Stuxnet is a next-generation piece of malware that exploited flaws in existing security apparatus and was able to inflict damage on industrial systems that were outside the internet.

**Media**

Media is a powerful force multiplier. In fact, it has become a mean to have desired psychological impact on friend or foe alike. Media has also been a major tool in shaping perceptions and opinion formation. How astutely the Arab – Israeli hate with passage of time has been replaced with Arab – Iran animosity is a classic example:

- In South Asia, India has superior strategic communication; its media, individuals, private groups and government functionaries all speak the same language. For the home audience, Pakistan is considered to be nothing more than an untrustworthy irritant sponsoring terrorism; for Pakistanis the themes astutely undermine Two Nation Theory, propagate unity of Indo-Pakistan people and draw a wedge between the Armed Forces and civilians. A state of hopelessness and fear of failing state are being induced.
• With advancement in IT, social media has also become a powerful tool. The way so called Arab Spring started speaks volumes of its effectiveness and increased relevance.

**Intelligence Gathering.** Mobile phones and computers have made information gathering instantaneous, easy and cheap. It is important to read the mind of friends and foes. Edward Snowden’s revelations, tapping of Angela Merkal’s phone beside other 35 world leaders and Pakistan being the most watched country after Iran are all examples of use of new means of gaining intelligence.

**Impact on Strategic Thought**

RMA remains transitory and that it does not guarantee winning a war opens RMA to debate. However, its usefulness and effectiveness cannot be undermined either.

**Pattern of War.** The initial crust breaking and destruction would be abrupt and paralyzing, however, the same will have to be followed by an altogether different design using RMA in support of forces operating on ground and embarking on a lengthy haul.

**The Indispensable Soldier.** Over reliance on technology at the expense of human capabilities results in long, hard-slog the United States faced in Operations Iraqi Freedom and is facing in Afghanistan. To ward off the problem, in future invading soldiers will be replaced by local or akin boots on ground.

**OODA Loop and Wardens Five Ring Model.** RMA hasten the entire process thus shortening the OODA Loop in which the leaders and commanders have to act. Precision strike and lethality will also enable to destroy the centers of gravity of enemy systematically and comprehensively.

**Nuclear Factor.** The fear of nuclear response would inhibit the attacker in planning for a deep objective and long duration war lest the nuclear threshold is crossed. The cost benefit analysis leads to change in ways and means compelling belligerents to adopt indirect strategy embarking on 4th and 5th GW.

**Joint Warfare.** Joint Warfare is participation of two or more services in any particular operation either to support or to complement the operations of other service. This requires the integrated and synchronized application of all appropriate capabilities. The synergy that results maximizes combat capability in unified action. Seamless coordination of assets from all services would be essential to implement RMA. The fact that a given system is land-based, sea-based or airborne, or that it belongs to the army, navy or air force would be meaningless.18

**Information Warfare.** Although information was always considered as an essential element of warfare and its criticality was acknowledged even in the ancient times, however, reliance on information has now enhanced to unprecedented degree. Highly capable information systems are a critical force multiplier and at the same time a
potential vulnerability. The goal therefore in this area of warfare is to retain effective use of one's own information assets while destroying or disabling the opponent's.  

**Maneuver Warfare.** Depending upon RMA advantage, maneuvers will be easy to execute or vice versa. Importance of time factor and unprecedented reach would make maneuvers more simultaneous than sequential.  

**Space Warfare.** Altitude advantages provided by space would greatly improve surveillance and reconnaissance coverage of earth and, as a result, assist in command and control of operations in distant theatres.  

**4th GW**  
- Pronounced and proactive political ownership and national support would be paramount to win war against VNSAs.  
- Dominance in conventional warfare means that intelligent and adaptive enemies will engage opponent with asymmetric strategies and tactics.  
- Armies will be better served by improving their ability to coordinate and execute interagency operations.  
- A Force configured for use against VNSAs would be composed of small but flexible teams. The combat arms component would have Special Forces.  

**Employment of Air Power.** Air would have a major role to play, not just in support of Land and Sea battles but also for missions having impact on war away from other services. While presence of air power may not guarantee a victory, its absence surely is a guarantee of losing the war.  

**Media.** Media will be a force multiplier if used to own advantage. On the contrary, media’s ability to provide real-time battlefield reports independent of military control is likely to create difficulties.  

**Response and Recommendations**  

Pakistan Armed Forces’ adoption of RMA technologies has been encouraging. Development of doctrines, incurring reorganisations, procuring long range artillery, adoption of C4I2SR systems, forward leaning logistics, acquiring BVR capability with precision guided munitions and net enabled Navy are all steps to pose a formidable challenge to any future adversary.  

Having said so, Pakistan’s security has multi-dimensional and complex threats in all domains. Ubiquitous threat from India, belligerence of Afghan Administration, mistrust with allies and wide ranging Internal Security problems ranging from urban crimes to simmering insurgencies demand a response in all dimensions. In this context, following recommendations are proffered:
Recommendations

**Satellite Capability.** SUPARCO may be encouraged to build and launch Pakistan’s own satellite

**Purging the Country from Alternate Boots.** Militants are acting as alternate boots of foreign powers. They need to be eliminated immediately and forcefully from our soil.

**Guarding Against Cyber and Intelligence Warfare.** Beside existing firewalls and caution that is being exercised to ward off cyber-attacks and intelligence gathering; we may resort to going orthodox in handling sensitive matters.

**Know Your Allies.** A strategy of engagement, diplomacy and cooperation involving all EoNP is recommended to achieve desired effects. However, in case of violations/incursions; actions in self-defence must be initiated. To add, we need to address the genuine international concerns by eliminating terrorists that use our soil against others.

**Afghanistan.** Peace in Pakistan is directly linked to peace and stability in Afghanistan. There is a dire need to remove misunderstandings and trust deficit prevailing between both neighbours. Pakistan’s position of having no favourites needs to be vividly communicated to all Afghan stakeholders. A joint mechanism should be established for better border control coordination and addressing areas of mutual concern.

**Conclusion**

Technological developments have affected all spheres of military life. The resultant changes have forced the strategic planners to contemplate new ways and means to conduct war by making best use of technology. Technology does impact warfare and necessitate changes in organization and strategic thought to be fully effective. Pakistan is faced with multi-faceted challenges; our adversary has embarked upon an ambitious development plan incorporating elements of RMA like precision strike and information superiority; similarly, VNSAs involved in 5th GW against our Country have also adopted RMA technologies. Pakistan Armed Forces are cognizant of these developments and are making concerted efforts to keep pace with the latest developments. Most technological developments in information age, however, come from the civilian sector, hence require efforts at national level for enhancement of technological base and provide support to the defence industry.

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PART – IV

Views

➢ Maritime Domain Awareness – The Key to Maritime Security
MARITIME DOMAIN AWARENESS – THE KEY TO MARITIME SECURITY

Abstract

Oceans are important not only as a major source of living and non-living resources for the sustenance of mankind but even so as the most efficient medium for global seaborne trade. Navies and maritime forces all over the world have become increasingly involved in defence of their national maritime interests. Emerging maritime environment in the 21st century places even greater premium on the naval forces for comprehensive awareness of the threats and evolution of the means to deal with them effectively. The evolving concept of Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA), which constitutes layered and integrated maritime defences by improving the ability to collect, fuse, analyze, display, and disseminate actionable intelligence to operational commanders is how the global navies are configuring themselves to deal with these challenges. Pakistan’s maritime domain is no exception to the emerging challenges. As a matter of fact, the requirement of MDA is more relevant in case of Pakistan due its geographical location adjacent to important energy SLOCs in North Arabian Sea. Growing incidents of piracy and the drug and human trafficking are well known challenges in this part of the Indian Ocean. Pakistan is cognizant of the changing maritime environment and has taken some initiatives leading to an improved MDA for early identification of threats and to generate effective response. In this context, cooperation amongst various stakeholders working in the maritime domain remains crucial for making meaningful progress.

Introduction

It is an undeniable fact that for thousands of years, the sea has been a bounteous source of all manner of resources, living and non-living, and a major contributor to human development. Indeed, the oceans are global thoroughfares that sustain any nation’s prosperity and are vital for its national security. Navies and other maritime forces have been increasingly involved in defence of maritime activity, and everything suggests that these responsibilities will expand in the future.¹ The maritime threat environment of the 21st century requires broader scope and a more comprehensive vision. In securing the maritime domain, the basis for effective prevention measures is awareness and threat knowledge, along with credible deterrent and interdiction capabilities.

At the naval front, these facts have been recognized from some time and demanded explicit understanding of maritime domain through integrated and fused data from all stakeholders; eventually leading to the concept of ‘Maritime Domain Awareness’ short titled MDA. The concept of MDA constitutes an active, layered and integrated maritime defence in depth under the realm of Collective and Collaborative security. It will be achieved by improving ability to collect, fuse, analyze, display, and disseminate actionable information and intelligence to operational commanders.²
In the prevailing maritime environment, Pakistan’s maritime domain with its renewed regional outlook is no exception to onslaught of transnational threats. For the requirement justification of adoption of MDA; incidents of sea piracy attempts at the fringes of Pakistan’s EEZ, HASH proliferation in Arabian Sea, threat of maritime terrorism and growing human smuggling through sea stands as pertinent examples. Thus, keeping in view inherent benefits of MDA in overall maritime security scheme, it has been recognized as the pre-requisite to the Pakistan’s maritime security.

**Conceptual Understanding of Maritime Domain Awareness**

“*Maritime Domain Awareness is where it all begins. We cannot conduct the operations that we must if we don’t have a good sense of what’s out there, moving on, above or under the sea*”.

(Admiral Gary Roughead)

**MDA – Definition.** MDA is defined as *the effective understanding of anything associated with the maritime domain that could impact the security, safety, economy, or environment of a coastal state*. Therefore, MDA equates to understanding of the content, activity patterns, changes, and potential threats in the maritime environment for a commander (decision maker) who needs to perform the broad array of missions. Accordingly, the purpose of MDA is “to facilitate timely, accurate decision making that enables actions to neutralize threats to national maritime security interests”.

**MDA - Strategic Goals.** MDA supports core national defence and security priorities and serves to simplify today’s complex and ambiguous security environment by meeting the following strategic goals:

- Enhance transparency in the maritime domain to Detect, Deter and Defeat threats as early and distant from national interests as possible.
- Enable accurate, dynamic, and confident decisions and responses to the full spectrum of maritime threats.
- Sustain the full application of the law to ensure freedom of navigation and the efficient flow of commerce.

**MDA – Objectives.** Achieving MDA depends on the ability to monitor activities in such a way that trends can be identified and anomalies differentiated. The following objectives constitute the MDA’s essential task list:

- Persistently monitor in the maritime domain: Vessels and craft; Cargo; Vessel crews and passengers and identified areas of interest.
- Access and maintain data on vessels, facilities, and infrastructure.
• Collect, fuse, analyze, and disseminate information to decision makers to facilitate effective understanding.

• Access, develop and maintain data on MDA related mission performances.

Components of MDA

As per the definition, MDA affords “Effective Understanding”. The term “effective understanding” acknowledges that information requirements vary depending upon the mission or task at hand. Effective understanding occurs when a decision maker’s comprehension of relevant information allows him to take appropriate action. MDA consists of what is observable and known (Maritime Situational Awareness), as well as what is anticipated or suspected (Maritime Threat Awareness); two aspects that can be categorised as pre-requisites for successful MDA:

• **Maritime Situational Awareness (MSA).** A precondition to true MDA is the establishment of robust MSA; a multi-layered, multi-domain picture that links the identity, location, known patterns and present activity of ships, cargo, people, and hazards within and adjacent to the maritime domain. This picture derives from the pooling of a comprehensive set of mostly unclassified data contributed by the many agencies and with knowledge of the maritime domain.

• **Maritime Threat Awareness (MTA).** Anticipating the actions of others in the maritime domain, whether malevolent or benign, is fundamental to the MDA so as to enable the law enforcement component of maritime domain to make appropriate and timely decisions. This requires continuous assessment of the operating area, in context of the anticipated threat environment, to detect anomalous or suspicious behaviour that may correlate to potential threats.

MDA at Strategic, Operational and Tactical Levels

The underlying theme of pre-requisites/conditions of MDA dictates that information sharing relationships amongst all maritime stakeholders is considered vital for attaining the level of MDA duly required for effective decision-making at each level of command i.e. Strategic, Operational and Tactical.

• **Strategic level.** At the strategic level, MDA contributes in efforts to shape and influence the global security environment. A core tenet of this concept is to share information and intelligence amongst all stakeholders of Global Maritime Community of Interest (GMCOI).

• **Operational Level.** The centrepiece for MDA at the operational level is a C² system capable of sharing maritime information among participants, integrating unclassified and classified data, and displaying it in a manner defined by the particular user. Automated data fusion and correlation is
essential to focus time and effort on understanding the information, rather than its management.

- **Tactical Level.** The overarching goal for MDA at the tactical level is to permit operators access to information (regardless of source), associated with each contact in an integrated display. Optimizing collection of information that leads to identification of suspicious maritime behaviour requires thorough integration of intelligence with operational forces at the tactical level. Combining acute MSA with accurate intelligence allows naval commanders to assess activity accurately in congested environments, dominate tactical situations rather than merely responding to events after the fact, and possess a decided advantage over adversaries relying on stealth and surprise.

**Requirements to Achieve MDA**

Achieving credible MDA at all levels of command (i.e. strategic, operational and tactical) requires integration of data, information and intelligence from a broad range of sources, such as:  

- **Vessels** - characteristics such as flag, type, tonnage, max speed, origin, and track.
- **Cargo** - from a vessel's manifest, shipment origin, human intelligence (HUMINT), or as input from chemical/biological/nuclear/explosive detection sensors.
- **Vessel crews and passengers** - to include crew, dockworkers, and passengers.
- **Maritime Areas of Interest** - focusing of surveillance capabilities to particular geographic points such as sea lanes or oceanic regions.
- **Ports, waterways, and facilities** - port terminals, piers, cranes, petrol facilities etc.
- **The Environment** - weather, currents, natural resources, fish stocks.
- **Maritime Critical Infrastructure** - nuclear power plants, rail heads, transportation nodes, bridges, and undersea fibre optic cables and pipelines.
- **Threats and Activities** - identified threats and inherently dangerous activities such as illegal migration, drug smuggling, or offshore drilling.
- **Friendly Forces** - ops information on military, national, local, assets
• Financial Transactions - illegal money trails, hidden vessel or cargo ownership

In afore listed categories; priority is placed on the data, information, and intelligence associated with people, cargo, and vessels engaged in maritime activities. The potential for exploitation in these areas makes them the most critical priorities of information and intelligence collection.

MDA - A Key Enabler in Maritime Security

Ever realized importance of Sea as posited in the introduction can be trickled down to the four main attributes, or ways in which it is being used, namely: for the resources it contained; for its utility as a means of transportation and trade; for its importance as a means of exchanging information and a source of power and dominion. The possession of these attributes finally brings the question of what is maritime security; a term commonly used to describe measures to guard them. The term “Maritime Security” does not have a single agreed upon definition and can conjure up different meanings to different people and organizations depending upon their organizational interests, or even political or ideological bias. However, broadly, Maritime Security can be explained as “a process of maintaining stability/good order over, under and from the sea”.

Maritime Security Challenges

Challenges being faced in maintaining good order at sea under the overall ambit of maritime security can be grouped in two categories i.e. military and non-military. It is an undeniable assertion that for any coastal state while maritime military challenges are somewhat national in nature; non-military challenges such as maritime terrorism, sea piracy, illicit trade, illegal fishing, human smuggling / illegal immigration, gun running, disaster relief at sea / environmental hazards etc are realized as trans-national in nature and detrimental to global maritime commons.

In the prevailing maritime environment, these trans-national challenges have become so enormous and multifaceted that no single nation yet alone an agency can deal with it. Thus, requires collective and collaborative response by all maritime stakeholders; a key factor embedded in the concept of MDA to effectively tackle trans-national challenges. Furthermore, MDA will also act as a key enabler for other critical security measures, such as the Proliferation Security Initiative, Container Security Initiative, United Nations sanctions enforcement, counter-narcotic operations, and counter-piracy campaign.

Non-Military Maritime Security Challenges to Pakistan

Pakistan’s approximately 1,000 kilometres long coastline has two parts, distinct in character, demography and topography. The part Eastward of Karachi is indented with creeks and marshy inland waters, whereas the Makran coast is a relatively less
populated and barren stretch of land. Brief description of Pakistan’s Maritime Zones is as follows:

- The inshore zone extending up to 50 NM along the coast is where most of the maritime activity is generated including commerce and trade through Karachi and fishing activities by local maritime communities.

- The offshore zone from 50 NM to southern extremities of Pakistan’s EEZ is where bulk of international shipping traverses to and from the Persian Gulf. Deep sea fishing activity takes place in this area. This area is frequented by PN and Pakistan Maritime Security Agency (PMSA) assets along with the presence of Extra Regional Naval Forces. (Of late international shipping pattern has moved closer to Pakistan’s coast i.e., within inshore zone due to threat of piracy in Arabian Sea)

The prominent non-military maritime security challenges to Pakistan are as follows:

- **Terrorism.** Terrorism at sea emerged as the most significant challenge to free flow of seaborne trade in the first decade of 21st century. Attacks on USS COLE and MV LIMBURG exposed the vulnerability of ships at sea and demonstrated the relative ease with which they could be attacked. Following US invasion of Afghanistan post 9/11, threat of maritime terrorism in North Arabian Sea emerged as the most prominent non-military maritime security challenge. Giving due cognizance to this threat, Pakistan Navy joined the efforts of US led coalition in combating this menace.

- **Sea Piracy.** While, historically, this phenomenon has been prevalent in Malacca Straits, since 2004-05 its focus shifted towards Somalia and Horn of Africa (HoA). Increasing incidents of Sea Piracy have expanded both in geographical scope and degree of violence. This menace has steadily touched our EEZ when on 28 February 2011; a Bulk Cargo Carrier MV DOVER outbound from Port Qasim to (Saleef) Yemen was pirated approximately 260 nautical miles North East of Salalah in the North Arabian sea.13 Furthermore, PNS BABUR successfully thwarted a piracy attempt made on MV FALCON TRADE-II, a Philippines Commercial ship on 24 March 2011 operating in Southern extremity of the Pakistan Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).14 These incidents of piracy taking place on the fringes of Pakistan’s EEZ, pose a direct and serious threat to Pakistan’s maritime interests.

- **Drug and Human Smuggling.** North Arabian Sea is considered as an important medium for smuggling of narcotics from landlocked Afghanistan to other parts of the world. Drug route for narcotics trade lies in Arabian Sea leading to Europe and North America. As Terrorism is believed to be financed by Drug Smuggling and Arms Trafficking, the term ‘Narco-Terrorism’ is increasingly being employed for this nexus. Furthermore, the potential for terrorists to take advantage of human smuggling networks for interstate movement remains a reality. Additionally, PMSA recently apprehended
number of boats involved in smuggling and human trafficking activities off our coast.

- **Illegal Fishing.** One of the significant challenges to Pakistan’s maritime security is illegal fishing that takes place in its waters. PMSA estimates that Indian fishermen catch approximately Rs.8 Billion worth of fish from our waters per annum, besides causing huge ecological damage to various rare fish species.\(^{15}\) Illegal fishing not only affects the already frail economy but also has the potential to evolve into more sinister threats. Unless checked, this will leave own fishermen jobless, who in turn will become susceptible to illegal acts / crimes.

- **Environmental Threat.** Pakistan has been identified as amongst the most vulnerable countries vis-à-vis the effects of global climate change.\(^{16}\) In the maritime domain this has manifested in increased frequency of tropical revolving storms in North Arabian Sea and their impact on maritime activities and the coastal communities. Generating early warning of impending environmental disasters and mounting timely disaster relief efforts remain yet another challenge.

**Pakistan Navy’s Efforts in Achieving MDA**

In order to mitigate maritime security challenges being faced by Pakistan, PN’s role in achievement of MDA has remained significant. At the government level, it has been entrusted as the lead agency to undertake MDA in collaboration with others maritime stakeholders such as ports and shipping authorities, country’s intelligentsia, law enforcement agencies etc. In this regard, establishment of Joint Maritime Information and Coordination Centre short titled JMICC under the overall sponsorship of PN is an important initiative in bringing together various stake holders in the maritime domain. PN efforts can be summarised as follows:

- Though existing set up of PN and to some extent PMSA is performing fairly satisfactorily to maintain RMP, systems like Vessel Traffic Management Scheme (VTMS) etc, are needed for further improvement.

- Establishment of a Fusion Centre under the auspices of JMICC with the explicit mandate to ensure ‘timely and rapid sharing of information amongst various stake holders involved in matters relating to maritime security’ is a significant development in achieving effective MDA.

- At the global level, PN is enhancing MDA through collaboration with international navies by participating in various multilateral Coalition Task Forces for undertaking Maritime Security Operations.
Conclusion

A comprehensive approach to maritime security would better safeguard common prosperity and security interests by protecting and supporting legitimate activities. Criminal activities and terrorism could be deterred significantly by concerted action that improves the presence of maritime security forces, enables the boarding of suspicious vessels according to internationally agreed legal rules and provide maritime security by Maritime Situational/Threat Awareness and integrated civil-military capacities.

Despite resource constraints, PN is endeavouring hard to achieve desired level of MDA, however, its fullest accomplishment can only be made with the dedicated cooperation amongst all stakeholders whereby we will be able to build credible and comprehensive MSA and MTA; pre-requisites to generate effective and consolidated responses under the realm of MDA.

Endnotes

6 Ibid.
8 Colonel I.G. Ralph Thiele, Chairman of the Political Military Society (PMG), February, 2011 “Maritime Security Challenges and Opportunities” International Workshop co-hosted by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Korea, the SLOC Study Group Korea, Seoul, South Korea.
9 Global Maritime Community of Interest (GMCOI) includes, among other interests, the federal, provinces, and local departments and agencies with responsibilities in the maritime domain. Because certain risks and interests are common to government, business, and citizen alike, community membership also includes public, private and commercial stakeholders, as well as foreign governments and international stakeholders. National Strategy for Maritime Security (Washington, D.C. White House, September 2005), available at www.whitehouse.gov/. Opcit.


12 Colonel I.G. Ralph Thiele, Chairman of the Political Military Society (PMG), February, 2011 “Maritime Security Challenges and Opportunities” International Workshop co-hosted by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Korea, the SLOC Study Group Korea, Seoul, South Korea, Op cit


