



STRATAGEM

PERCEPTION - REALITY - INTELLIGENCE - FUTURE

JULY 2015 | ISSUE 3



DRINKING
WATER CHALLENGE



ECONOMIC TERRORISM & ITS
IMPACT ON PAKISTAN



GLOBAL COUNTER- TERRORISM REGIME:
SOME UNLEARNT LESSONS



MEDIA AND ITS SOCIAL
RESPONSIBILITY

MORE VICE THAN VIRTUE



STRATAGEM

July, 2015 | Issue 3

Monthly Magazine



COVERSTORY

MORE VICE THAN VIRTUE | 17

In Focus | 2

Did You Know? | 6, 16

BIOSPHERE

Drinking Water Challenge | 7

What's the Big Deal | 12, 20

BUSINESS REVIEW

Economic Terrorism & Its Impact on Pakistan | 13

ARMED & DANGEROUS

Global Counter- Terrorism Regime:
Some Unlearned Lessons | 21

Media and its Social Responsibility | 24

Quotations | 26

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Anwar ul Haq Kakar
Fawad Jawed
Atiya Innaytullah
Masood Khan
Imtiaz Haider

EDITORIAL BOARD

Salman Javed
Nadia Humayun
Anas Abdullah
Hammad Qureshi
Dan Qayyum

DIRECTOR

Salman Javed

EDITOR IN CHIEF

Nadia Humayun

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Khola Afzal Qamar

COPY EDITOR

Marzia Raza
Ailiya Naqvi

SECTION EDITORS

Hassan Qureshi | Geostrategy
Dr. Syeda Benish Ali | Biosphere
Dr. Aaminah Siddiqui | Diagnosis
Sheikh Fahad | Business Review
Mohammad Talha | Armed & Dangerous



www.stratagem.pk



IN FOCUS

PAKISTAN

ZARDARI'S TIRADE

Addressing an oath-taking ceremony for PPP office-bearers from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, co-chairman Pakistan People's Party Asif Ali Zardari engaged in an outburst against the security establishment. Accusing the military of tarnishing PPP's reputation, he said, "If this doesn't stop now, I shall come out with a list of generals who have been accused starting from the time Pakistan came into being. And then you'll spend the rest of your lives providing explanations."



Indirectly addressing the security establishment, he said: "I know that this is our army, but you are here for just three years; we have to live here for a long time, so do not create problems for us."

This sudden hue and cry came a day after Sindh Rangers conducted an operation against the Sindh Building Control Authority (SBCA) and seized records of land allotted illegally to certain influential individuals.

Previously, Rangers Director Major General Bilal Akbar had said Rs230 billion in black money was collected annually in Karachi through land-grabbing and was used to fund criminal activities and terrorism.

PAKISTAN-RUSSIA RELATIONS WARMING UP

Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Shareef visited Russia on a three-day official trip in a bid to strengthen ties between the two states.

There he met Russian Land Forces Commander Colonel General Oleg Sayukov and discussed issues of bilateral defence, regional security and high level military exchanges.

Staff Gen Sharif witnessed a defence exhibition during which all types of arms, aircrafts and helicopters demonstrated their capabilities. The two countries have inched closer to an arms deal involving Russia selling the MI-35 helicopters to Pakistan. An agreement on training military officers in each other's countries has also been settled.



Russian State Duma (lower House of Russian Parliament) speaker Sergey Naryshkin said that they stood with Pakistan in its fight against extremism. He also appreciated Pakistan's effort for peace in the region.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is also expected to visit Moscow on July 9 to attend the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit. In addition, Pakistan is likely to ink a \$2billion energy deal with Russia for laying down a LNG pipeline from Karachi to Lahore.

PAKISTAN

THE BBC REPORT AND INDIAN INTERFERENCE

BBC unveiled a report claiming that the Muttahida Qaumi Movement has been receiving Indian funding. The report quoted an 'authoritative Pakistani source' saying that during investigations MQM politicians had told British officials that their party received funds and militant training from the Indian government. A list of weapons, bomb-making equipment and explosives had also been found from an MQM property during raid, said this report.

Unsurprisingly, the MQM coordination committee, in a statement categorically rejected all the claims made under the said report and said that this is an attempt at tarnishing the image of the party.

The Interior Ministry then formally asked the British authorities to be granted access to information cited in this report through a letter. The letter further said that the allegations made in this report are of a vital significance to the security of the Pakistani state.

The party chief Altaf Hussain also rejected the claims of involvement with Indian government and intelligence. "Work is in full swing on the minus-Altaf formula... if I am removed this gathering will split into pieces and there will be a war in every nook and corner," he said referring to the 'minus-one formula.'



In the wake of these events, Pakistani government decided to raise the issue of Indian interference in Pakistan's domestic affairs at the United Nations, where PM Sharif is going to address the UN General Assembly in September.

PM Nawaz Sharif and COAS Raheel Sharif also discussed Indian-backed terrorism in the country in a meeting at the PM House recently.

BALUCH MILITANTS SURRENDER

Over a hundred Baluch militants, fighting against Pakistani forces in the separatist-insurgency wracked southwestern Baluchistan province, surrendered and pledged their allegiance to the country.

A group of 59 militants including two key commanders appeared before the media, along with senior politicians and government officials from the province, to announce they would end militant activities.

They followed a group of 47 militants along with their two leaders, Madina Marri and Shikari Marri, who had surrendered, laid down their arms and renounced violence. All were given amnesty by the government.

The militants who surrendered were from separatists groups such as Baloch Republican Army (BRA), Baloch National Movement (BNM), and Lashkar-e-Baluchistan (Army of Baluchistan).



IN FOCUS

WORLD

RUSSIA AND NATO: ARMS AND TROOPS



The meeting of defense ministers of NATO member states in Brussels ended with a decision to increase the manpower of the Response Force by up to 27,000 troops, as they denied that NATO is being drawn into an arms race with Russia.

The alliance's Secretary-General, Jens Stoltenberg, said it will be upgrading its military capabilities because of Russia's increasing involvement in the Ukraine crisis.

The United States has also been building up its military presence in eastern European NATO countries. Poland and Lithuania held talks with Washington on June 14 to host American heavy

military equipment including tanks, which U.S. Defense Secretary Ash Carter confirmed that, in addition to those countries, Estonia, Latvia, Bulgaria, and Romania have also agreed to host American heavy equipment. A total of 250 heavy military equipment will be spread across eastern European NATO member states, he said. To this, Russia responded with threats of stepping up its military presence in Belarus and along its western border.

In a more serious announcement in the on-going arms race, Russia said that it will add 40 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) into its military service.

WORLD

PALESTINE SUBMITS FIRST CASE REPORTS AGAINST ISRAEL TO ICC

The Palestinian Authority has handed over its first submission of evidence of Israeli war crimes to the International Criminal Court (ICC), in a bid to speed up an ICC inquiry into abuses committed during last year's Gaza conflict.

The move may leave Israel in a quandary since it must decide whether to cooperate with the ICC investigation or find itself isolated.

The Hague-based ICC, with no police force or enforcement powers of its own, is looking into alleged crimes committed by both Palestinian armed groups and Israel during the conflict but cannot compel Tel Aviv to give it information. Israel has substantial leverage over the course of ICC inquiries since court officials can only access sites of alleged atrocities in Gaza and Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank via Israel's airports.

The Palestinian Authority joined the international court this year, while Israel is not a member of the ICC and rejects the court's authority.



GREECE'S FINANCIAL WOES

Greece missed a crucial debt payment of 1.5 billion euros, or about \$1.7 billion to the International Monetary Fund, on 22:00 GMT, June 30, deepening the economic crisis it is currently going through.

"We have informed our Executive Board that Greece is now in arrears and can only receive IMF financing once the arrears are cleared," said IMF spokesman Gerry Rice.

With just hours to go before the deadline for the payment, the Greek Prime Minister, Alexis Tsipras, had asked the euro zone- other nations that use the euro- for funds from Europe's bailout fund - the European Stability Mechanism - as well as a restructuring of Greece's public debt. But German Chancellor Angela Merkel earlier said she had ruled out further negotiations until after July 5th's referendum, which will ask Greeks if they want to accept the deal offered by their creditors.

On July 20, Greece is also due to pay the ECB \$3.9 billion.



DID YOU KNOW



Since Sept. 11, 2001, nearly twice as many people have been killed by white supremacists, anti-government fanatics and other non-Muslim extremists than by radical Muslims: 48 have been killed by extremists who are not Muslim, including the recent mass killing in Charleston, S.C., compared with 26 by self-proclaimed jihadists, according to a count by New America, a Washington research center.



The Shimla Agreement was signed between Pakistan and India in this month, 43 years ago. It was this agreement signed on July 3, 1972 which converted the cease-fire line of December 17, 1971 into the de facto Line of Control (LOC) between India and Pakistan. It was agreed that "neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations".

DRINKING WATER CHALLENGE

by Dr. Syeda Benish Ali



Water - the tri-atomic molecule, not only constitutes the medium of the origin of life but also of its sustenance. Although evidences reveal the presence of water on some extraterrestrial objects as well but by far Earth is the only planet known to possess stable surface reservoirs of liquid water - a prerequisite for life.

71pc of the Earth's surface is covered by water which appears to be a huge resource but more than 99pc of Earth's water cannot be directly consumed by humans and other land organisms. Freshwater is only less than three percent of all water, out of which 68pc is locked in the form of glaciers and ice caps, more than 30pc is present in groundwater and only about 0.3pc of all freshwater is found in the form of surface water in rivers, lakes, streams and swamps.

Water is an essential ingredient of an organism's body and provides the medium for biochemical reactions. However, this alone does not signify the importance of water; we use water for producing and cooking our food, for hygiene, for generating electricity and for running our industries etc.

Therefore, most of the ancient civilizations were established near stable surface water reservoirs. They were fortunate enough to have found plenty of clean water available. However, with ever-increasing human population, industrialization and climate change, water has become not only scarce but is also contaminated often, rendering it unfit for

consumption.

This demands a wise attitude towards the usage of this precious resource. Water management has, therefore, become an integral part of government policies all across the globe. An effective water management strategy comprises of few interrelated and somehow overlapping domains, i.e., water

With ever-increasing human population, industrialization and climate change, water has become not only scarce but is also contaminated often, rendering it unfit for consumption.



conservation, water pollution control and availability of safe drinking water to citizens.

Talking about the substance that constitutes up to 60pc of our bodies, the point of focus for current discussion is the availability and management of safe drinking water.

Drinking Water

According to the World Health Organization (WHO) and National Drinking Water Policy (NDWP), Pakistan, drinking water refers to the water used for drinking, cooking, hygiene and other domestic purposes. The term “safe water” refers to the water complying with National Standards for Drinking Water Quality (NSDWQ).

There are diverse sources of drinking water supply in Pakistan. A significant portion, around 60pc of drinking water is derived from groundwater aquifers, either directly through boreholes at user's dwellings, or through large tube wells followed by piped supply to users under the control of some municipality or private housing societies.

Surface waters are another major source of drinking water supplies. Surface water from lakes, rivers or streams is directly utilized predominantly in the upland and inland rural areas as well as supplied through pipelines to urban settlements such as Karachi.

Spring water is used in Northern Areas and Kashmir for drinking and cooking purposes. Rainwater

As per NDWP, 35pc of the Pakistani population lacks access to safe drinking water.

harvesting is also common in many parts, including Kashmir, where rainwater collections are a main source of household water. In Cholistan and Thar Desert, human settlements are centered on rain water-filled ponds, called “Tobas”, which are the source of water for drinking and all other household purposes. Some areas of Cholistan Desert have piped water supply system as well.

The Water Crisis

Earth is experiencing a crisis of usable water. The severity of this crisis varies in different parts of the globe depending upon geographical, ecological and/or economic parameters. Pakistan is one of the world's 36 most water-stressed countries. As per NDWP, 35pc of the Pakistani population lacks access to safe drinking water. Access as defined by NDWP means, “that at least 45 to 120 liter per capita per day of drinking water is available to rural and urban areas, respectively, within the house or at such a distance that the total time required for reaching the water source, collecting water and returning home is not more than 30 minutes”.

There are two major dimensions of the water crisis, water scarcity and water quality:

Water Scarcity

In general, the problem of water scarcity stems from population growth, water pollution and climate change, apart from geographical factors in some parts of the world. With an exponential population growth rate, Pakistan is expected to become the sixth most populous country by the year 2050. Accordingly more stress

will build-up on water resources leading to further decrease in per capita availability of safe water which already has declined from 5,600 cubic meters in 1947 to 1,017 cubic meters at present.

Secondly, in the changing global climate, Pakistan is experiencing a severe decline in surface water reserves evident in the form of reduced flow in rivers and drying up of several springs and small lakes. Aquifer depletion and resultant lowering of water table is another serious challenge.


The third main factor contributing to water scarcity is water pollution, caused due to the agriculture runoff, industrial effluents and wastewater discharge, further intensifying the issue by rendering many resources unfit for consumption.

Consequently, a huge gap has emerged in the demand and supply of drinking water. Water demand is expected to increase up to 274 MAF (million acre feet) by 2025, and the gap will widen up by ~83 MAF, if there is no increase in the current water supply of 191 MAF. The demand-supply dilemma further exacerbates during summer season when there is a tremendous increase in the demand.

Consequences of water scarcity have a direct impact on the quality of life of citizens in the form of increasing anxiety and restlessness, as well as increasing economic burden, due to buying of water from private vendors at expensive rates. Reduction in water supply has given birth to a new system of supplying water via tanker trucks, which has resulted in the creation of water tanker mafias.

An effective water management strategy comprises of few interrelated and somehow overlapping domains, i.e., water conservation, water pollution control and availability of safe drinking water to citizens.

Water demand is expected to increase up to 274 MAF (million acre feet) by 2025, and the gap will widen up by ~83 MAF, if there is no increase in the current water supply of 191 MAF.



According to an estimate by NDWP, diseases associated with water, sanitation and hygiene cost around 112 billion rupees to Pakistan's economy each year.

Taking advantage of the severity of the water crises, the water-tanker mafias sell water at their desired rates. In some places, these mafias are allegedly involved in creating an artificial water shortage, so that people are forced to be dependent on them for their water needs. In Karachi, the largest metropolitan of country, the issue of water scarcity is fueled by a factor of water theft. Many hydrants are operating in the city, some legally, but often illegally. Legal hydrants draw water from Karachi Water Supply Board (KWSB) more than their allocated share, while a mafia of illegal hydrants is also involved in open stealing of KWSB water.

Water Quality

Water quality is the second important factor of major concern in the water crisis. According to an estimate by NDWP, diseases associated with water, sanitation and hygiene cost around 112 billion rupees to Pakistan's economy each year. Quality of drinking water does not meet the water quality standards in many parts of the world, thus resulting in not just heavy economic losses in various countries, but also becoming a cause of death of several people. Around 250,000 children die every year due to contaminated water alone.

Microbial contamination is responsible for a significant number of water-related mortalities. Fecal coliforms have been detected in drinking water at certain places particularly where there is poor sanitation. Diarrhea is the most common manifestation of microbially contaminated water. It alone accounts for a loss of 55

Institutional and organizational challenges are the main bottleneck in solving drinking water problems.

to 80 billion rupees to Pakistan's economy per year.

In many places, ground water is badly affected by naturally occurring arsenic and fluoride. Prolonged intake of arsenic and fluoride leads to serious life-threatening complications. Another water quality indicator is the nitrate contamination. The predominant source of nitrates in surface water is agricultural

runoff from fertilizer-applied fields. Nitrate intake is particularly harmful for infants and may cause methemoglobinemia, the blue-baby syndrome, which if untreated is lethal. Hence, drinking water in Pakistan is both scarce and quality-compromised at several places and warrants effective mitigation strategies.

Mitigation strategies

Understanding the issue is just the beginning. A strong institutional, political and social will is required to combat the issues pertaining to drinking water. Water crisis is realized as a global issue; access to safe drinking water is considered as the basic right of humans.

International organizations such as United Nations Environment Programme and United Nations-Water Division are working to mitigate these problems by assisting those countries where government is unable to fight the battle alone due to political, geographical or economic reasons.

In Pakistan, a National Drinking Water Policy was approved in 2009 with an overall objective to reduce the incidence of water-related health outcomes by provision of safe drinking waters in adequate amounts.

Following strategies may be adopted for the mitigation of drinking water-related issues:



Institutional challenges:

Institutional and organizational challenges are the main bottleneck in solving drinking water problems. The system that is required for provision of drinking water in the country already exists vis-a-vis a national policy, water boards and supply systems. However, inconsistent approach, lack of interest and follow-up surveillance are some of the reasons behind their poor performance. It needs a strong and objective commitment for the implementation of existing policies, rehabilitation and upgradation of existing infrastructure and to take actions against illegal practices.

Accreditation of vendor: Private water-providers must be allowed to operate only after registration and issuance of license. They must be provided with a rate list and monitored very strictly.

Public health laboratories:

There is a need to establish an intensive network of public health laboratories all across Pakistan, accessible to water-providers as well as consumers. A keen and regular evaluation of water quality must be carried out on regular basis in order to maintain water quality standards.

Community mobilization:

Community mobilization is ultimately inevitable for an effective drinking water management regime. Unfortunately in Pakistan, a common practice to deal with various issues is to put the weight of responsibility on the government. By doing so, the common man absolves himself of any responsibility. Being a shared resource, water is the shared responsibility of government and citizens. Solution lies in a co-ordinated participation of all stakeholders.

Small-scale water conservation and treatment plants:

Several small-scale technologies are being successfully used in different parts of the world. Appropriate techniques can be

easily installed, tailored to the needs and resources of a particular community.

Protection of water: In order to avoid contamination, protection of water at the level of source and supply should be ensured. Surface waters can be protected by regulating industrial and municipal wastewater discharges, and by the management of catchment areas. A regular repair of pipelines can prevent the water from further contamination.

Increasing supply: Different techniques may be employed to increase the amount of drinking water. Desalination, i.e., removal of salts and minerals from water can be applied to convert unusable brackish or sea-water into consumable water. However, this technique is quite expensive and there are certain environmental tradeoffs as well.

On the other hand, the techniques of rainwater harvesting are environment-friendly, and can be improved and extended to cover more regions.

Another mechanism to increase water supply is the use of reclaimed water. It is the water recycled from wastewater by the removal of microbes, solids and other impurities. This recycled water can be conveniently used for activities like car washing and irrigation of lawns, public parks and landscapes.

Formulation of a hazard control model:

A region-and-supply-type-specific system equivalent to food Hazard Analysis Critical Control Points (HACCP) can be formulated and implemented to ensure water safety from catchment to the consumer tap. Key principles of the system can be as follows:

1. Identification of all potential hazards.
2. Determination of Critical Control Points (CCP) at steps where control is mandatory.

3. Establishment of criteria to bring hazards to acceptable levels.

4. Monitoring of CCP to observe the efficacy of control measures and to check the recurrence of hazard.

5. Corrective actions aimed at correcting and eliminating the cause of hazard to bring CCP back under control.

6. Establishment of verification procedures to ensure the overall suitability of plan under action and to formulate modifications to the plan if there is a change in supply system.

7. Record keeping procedures to keep a record of corrective actions to help in the analysis, and for future usage.

Drinking water quality management is not a one-window operation and requires action at various places.

In a changing climate, vulnerability to scarcity and contamination is on the rise. Water means life, so we cannot afford to sit by and become complacent on this issue. If we have to survive, we need to get our heads out of the sand and do it fast.

Dr. Syeda Benish Ali is an environmentalist and a professor at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan. She is a gold medalist and a Presidential Merit Award winner. She leads the 'Biosphere' section of Stratagem. She can be reached dr.benish@stratagem.pk

WHAT'S THE **BIG** DEAL

WHO: Russia and Saudi Arabia

WHEN: June 18

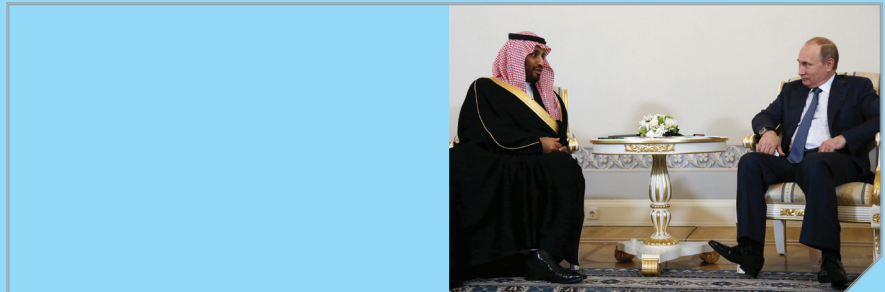
WHERE: St. Petersburg, Russia, at the St Petersburg International Economic Forum (SPIEF).

WHAT: Six agreements pertaining to peaceful use of nuclear technology, cooperation in various military fields and in the fields of space and oil.

This is the first time when the two countries have inked a nuclear deal for peaceful purposes. As per the Saudi state media, the kingdom aspires to build 16 nuclear reactors and Russia will play a crucial role in their operation.

"It is planned to exchange experts, scientific and technological information, organization of seminars, symposiums, cooperation in the preparation of scientific and technical personnel. All this became possible for the first time in the history of Russian-Saudi relations,"

The Saudi atomic and renewable energy body has already signed nuclear cooperation deals with countries able to build reactors, including the United States, France, Russia, South Korea, China and Argentina.



WHAT'S THE **BIG** DEAL

US Secretary of State John Kerry said that the depth and breadth of bilateral discussions were significant and that this year's S&ED talks reflected a shared US-China commitment to cooperating in areas of common interest and seeking constructive solutions where the two sides have differences.



WHO: The United States and China

WHEN: June 25

WHERE: TWashington, DC at the Seventh China-US Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) and the Sixth China-US High-Level Consultation on People-to-People Exchange.

WHAT: The two rival states arrived at nearly 300 economic and strategic agreements. Seventy of these deals cover economic cooperation, nearly a hundred of them are signed on the strategic front, and a total of 119 deals are related to cultural exchanges.

ECONOMIC TERRORISM & ITS IMPACT ON PAKISTAN

by Shiekh Fahad



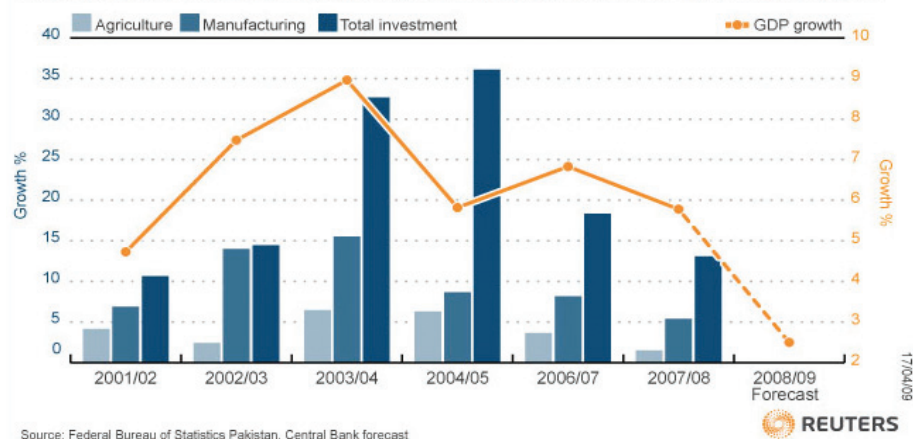
Since 2001, the world has seen terrorism evolve into a new dimension, in the form of economic terrorism. These kinds of activities are specifically carried out by foreign countries through non state elements in order to sabotage the economic activities of a country, and make the state dysfunctional. This economic terrorism is far worse than direct invasion of a country, played by foreign countries through non state actors to bring down a nation without the need to send boots on ground. Economic terrorism is like a cancer that kills a nation slowly, and makes even the mightiest state demoralized, non-functional, and turns it into a failed state. Pakistan is one of the nations that were stuck by economic terrorism from 2007 till 2010. Economic terrorism results in the internal collapse of a country; it gives rise to confusion, slowdown in economic activity, seizure in investments, street protests and strikes, and a decline in tourism. We will list below some of the major losses incurred due to economic terrorism in Pakistan.

Economic terrorism which has direct cost impact on state:

There are various tools of economic terrorism, which are used to bring a nation down, and create havoc and chaos. Furthermore, this kind of economic terrorism increases the cost impact on the nation to compensate for loss of lives

Pakistan's slowing economy

Pakistan's economy hit trouble last year and the central bank forecasts 2008/09 GDP growth at 2.5-3.5 percent



and property, and for providing additional security measures.

1) Cost impact on state budget:

Foreign countries often carry out their designs by employing non state actors like terrorists, and at times, non-government organizations (NGOs) to weaken a nation, which increases the burden on the state to provide additional measures like security, compensation to the victims of terrorism, and rebuilding infrastructure damaged by terrorist activities etc. Terrorists are used to spread violence and NGOs are at times employed to create social unrest.

Pakistan's civil and military infrastructure bore the serious brunt of economic terrorism from 2008-2010, the years which saw airports, naval and air bases coming into the destructive fold of sabotage, unleashed by

miscreant groups. Pakistan had to almost triple the security, and purchase new equipment worth millions of dollars, damaged by terrorists, which was taken from the government budget. This additional cost was not forecasted in the yearly budget, and hence in rebuilding infrastructure and replacing equipment, government had to reduce funds from other developmental projects, and increase tax on people in order to cover the cost of additional security measures. Maintaining law and order, and providing additional

Economic terrorism is like a cancer that kills a nation slowly, and makes even the mightiest state demoralized, non-functional, and turns it into a failed state.

security meant additional human resource, employed for training and development of security forces to meet the growing security needs, purchase of new equipment, and replacement of old equipment like X-ray detectors, metal detectors, explosion proof cars for transportation of important officials, and security at key infrastructures.

2) Seizure of economic activities:

When key infrastructure of a country is targeted, the first market to get hit economically is the stock market of the country. The stock market index and shares fall instantaneously. This, in turn, hurts the investors, and creates

Pakistan's civil and military infrastructure bore the serious brunt of economic terrorism from 2008-2010, the years which saw airports, naval and air bases coming into the destructive fold of sabotage, unleashed by miscreant groups.

an atmosphere for uncertainty. Pakistan suffered a lot of financial losses due to economic terrorism, and as per official Ministry of Finance estimates, the losses amounted to \$40-\$45 billion dollars approximately. Pakistan's economic growth was nearly halted around 2 percent in 2009. This was not due to the global financial crisis, but because of internal terrorist activities. Continuous waves of terrorism in Pakistan in 2008-2010 hurt the investor confidence, and a huge amount of capital was flown out of the country, which widened the fiscal deficit, and halted economic growth. Continuous terrorist activities have hurt the soft image of Pakistan. Soft image of the country attracts foreign investors; foreign investment increases economic growth and

employment in the country.

3) Sabotage of tourism & sports industry of Pakistan:

In 2009, when terrorists captured the beautiful mountainous terrain of Swat, which was one of the major tourist destinations of Pakistan, it dealt a huge blow to the tourism industry. Swat had more than 855 hotels, including 405 restaurants in the valley, and around 40,000 people were employed with the hotel industry. This tourism industry was shut down between 2007-2010 due to militancy and the subsequent military operations. According to government's own estimates, the hotel industry in Swat valley has suffered a loss of Rs. 60 billion from 2007 to 2009. This tourist destination became a conflict zone, jeopardizing tourist visits across Pakistan.

The sports industry of Pakistan also suffered hugely due to terrorist activities. Pakistan had been rendered unable to host international cricket matches for almost five years, following the deadly gun-attack on Sri Lankan cricket team in 2009. An atmosphere of uncertainty prevailed, and international teams were reluctant to visit Pakistan because of security concerns. Millions of dollars worth of revenue that would have been generated by international cricket tours in Pakistan, was lost. Furthermore, it was decided by the ICC that no matches of the world cup cricket

Pakistan suffered a lot of financial losses due to economic terrorism, and as per official Ministry of Finance estimates, the losses amounted to \$40-\$45 billion dollars approximately.

2011 will be held inside Pakistan due to security concerns. It was earlier agreed upon that Pakistan will co-host the Cricket World Cup-2011, but the decision was taken down after the Sri Lankan team came under attack in Lahore. The Pakistan Cricket Board estimated a loss of \$10.5 million revenue by the ICC decision, not to host the world cup in Pakistan. This estimated figure was just the guaranteed fee for hosting the world cup, but actual loss was far much greater.

4) Cost impact of IDPs:

In order to flush out terrorists from their safe havens, Pakistan army started military operations in 2009, in areas like Swat Valley and parts of FATA. Before the commencement of the operation, Pakistan government relocated civilians from the conflict zones to temporary camps, set up in safe locations. The cost of relocation of displaced people, known as the IDPs or Internally Displaced People was borne by Pakistan alone. Facilitating the several hundred



thousand displaced people, and IDP relocation cost was huge. It took big toll on state budget. Government had to allocate special budget for IDPs, and as a result, all major developmental projects had to be halted due to financial crisis in Pakistan. The major cost impact on IDPs was due to providing shelters, food, water & sanitation, provision of health care and educational services. Another major cost after successful military operation was relocation of IDPs from the temporary shelters to their new homes, as their old properties and businesses were completely destroyed by terrorists.

5) Effects on agricultural sector:

In Pakistan's terror affected areas of KPK province, agriculture is the main source of revenue. People in these areas rely on agriculture as their main economic activity. Major exports of these areas are apple, peach, onion, tomatoes, rice, wheat, pear, plum, maize, etc. During the period of heightened conflict in Swat, agriculture sector was the first to get hit. This sector was badly affected, which in turn hurt exports of agricultural goods of Pakistan, and the loss to the agriculture sector alone, amounted to Rs. 35 billion. The local media, citing Swat-based agricultural officials, reported that 55 to 70 per cent of the total fruit produce had gone waste. That had been due to various factors including hostilities, artillery shelling, blowing of bridges in bomb blasts, blockade of roads, attacks and curfews. The breakdown in law

The Pakistan Cricket Board estimated a loss of \$10.5 million revenue by the ICC decision, not to host the world cup in Pakistan.

and order damaged Swat's fruit-based economy, and rendered billions of rupees losses to the landowners, laborers, dealers and farmers who earn their livelihood from these orchards. This shows that terrorism has not only affected the agriculture of Pakistan but the livelihood of the people benefiting from this sector.

Overall financial losses:

Pakistan has lost approximately Rs. 8264.4 billion (\$102.5 billion), both in direct and indirect costs to incidents of terrorism during the past 14 years of the war on terror, as per economic survey 2013-2014. The Economic Survey said that the "rise of violent extremism and increase in terrorism disrupted Pakistan's normal economic and trading activities, which not only resulted in higher costs of business but also created disruptions in the production cycles, resulting in significant delays in meeting the export orders around the globe. As a result, Pakistani products have gradually lost their market share to their competitors." A total loss of Rs. 2,037 billion (\$23.77 billion) was sustained by the national economy in just one year (2010-2011), owing to the conflict in Swat district.

Conclusion:

Economic terrorism is the biggest threat to any country in the world, and can cripple the mightiest of the empires in the world today. We have witnessed many Arab and Muslims countries falling prey to this form of terrorism, where state is almost non-functional, and terrorist factions are creating anarchy in the areas controlled by them. These countries are

economically crippled, and unable to bring back law and order, and as a result of which several thousand innocent lives are lost every year.

In Pakistan the threat of economic terrorism always looms large, not only because of external elements, but due to the self-interest of individuals that are forever present, at all levels of the country's power corridors. Pakistan's military was quick to realize, and held their end of the bargain by putting a stop to the sabotage trend of activities conducted by terrorists in order to paralyze the economy of Pakistan, but this battle against economic terrorism cannot bear fruit unless efforts are made at the political level to curb endemic corruption, and patronization of criminal elements. National interest must override personal interest to create a positive environment conducive to economic growth, and which is only possible through the mutual and complementary efforts of political and military leadership.

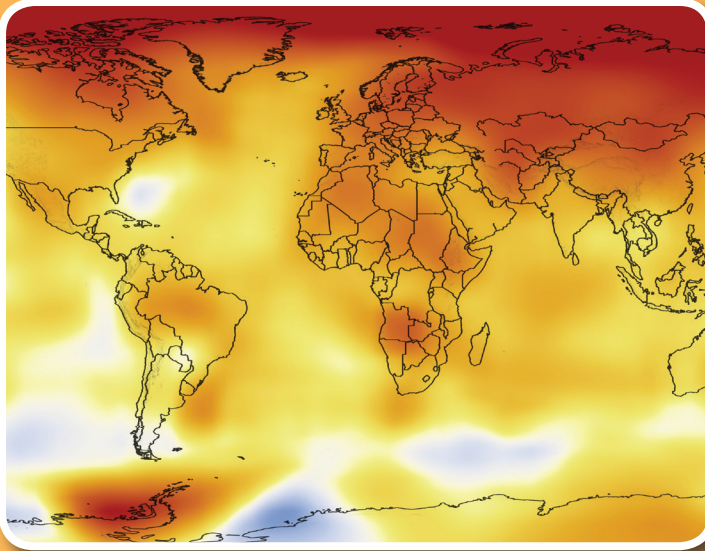
Swat had more than 855 hotels, including 405 restaurants in the valley, and around 40,000 people were employed with the hotel industry. This tourism industry was shut down between 2007-2010 due to militancy and the subsequent military operations.

Pakistan has lost approximately Rs. 8264.4 billion (\$102.5 billion), both in direct and indirect costs to incidents of terrorism during the past 14 years of the war on terror, as per economic survey 2013-2014.

Shiekh Fahad

is the "Business Review" lead analyst for magazine Stratagem, and specialises in Power & Energy related consultancy. He can be reached at sh.fahad@stratagem.pk

DID YOU KNOW



According to an ongoing temperature analysis conducted by scientists at NASA's GISS (Goddard Institute for Space Studies), the average global temperature on Earth has increased by about 0.8° Celsius (1.4° Fahrenheit) since 1880. Two-thirds of the warming has occurred since 1975, at a rate of roughly 0.15-0.20°C per decade.

The significance of rise in a single degree can be gauged by the fact that, a one- to two-degree drop was all it took to plunge the Earth into the Little Ice Age. A five-degree drop was enough to bury a large part of North America under a towering mass of ice 20,000 years ago.

The Global Burden of Disease Study (GBD) revealed that more than 95 percent of the world's population has health problems, and a third has more than five ailments. In the past 23 years, the leading causes of health loss have hardly changed. Low back pain, depression, iron-deficiency anemia, neck pain, and age-related hearing loss resulted in the largest overall health loss worldwide.

World Population Day is observed on July 11 every year, which seeks to raise awareness of global population issues. The event was established by the United Nations Development Program in 1989.



MORE VICE THAN VIRTUE

by Muhammad Sharreh Qazi



Why is that whenever Pakistan is about to make a strategic paradigm shift, there is internal and external pressure? Why is it that every time we try to follow a new set of strategic priorities, something happens in domestic politics, beyond rational comprehension? Political turmoil remains a mere visit away, particularly a visit to the North, where one state has remained our enemy for untold reasons, reasons that are now dead and buried. So just as the army chief plans to visit the Russian Federation, misstatements by a certain political party create commotion, signaling that someone somewhere did not like the guard of honor at the Kremlin. Someone somewhere did not approve of this exchange and

someone somewhere definitely did not accept it comfortably. Suddenly, the said political party starts to present logics and justifications as to what the statement actually meant, and how every interpretation shall be misinterpretation. Some members disown the statement some try to shy away and some further still try to provide a context to a statement that becomes the bone of contention.

Let us not delve into the nitty gritty of the what, who and why, because it is not the scope of this debate, rather, let us focus on the main contention that surrounds this entire debate, i.e., democracy. Believing that all institutions are subordinate to democratic constitutionalism,

the armed forces are also under express jurisdiction, and shall not be allowed to transgress authority beyond what is required of them. This principle implies that like all major democracies, Pakistan also has an inherent right to consider the armed forces as an executive subject for enforcement of writ of state, and nothing else. So like all progressive states, Pakistan too needs to curtail bureaucratic influence into determining priorities and preferences, and should avoid institutional bias while formulating policies both foreign and domestic. The undertone being that Pakistan somehow displays political maturity by furnishing announcements that malign one institute or more, media, as usual, adds fuel to fire

by making it a matter of national integrity and security, and starts to corner political leaders through leading questions and close-ended interrogation. Freedom of speech and expression does not entail opinionated discourse, and misleading interpretations by self styled intellectuals, who are neither intellectually qualified nor academically eligible to comment on matters of a political nature often misunderstand state practice, while some only comment for the thrill of it, painting a horrid picture of the land we call home.

From a far, Pakistan seems to be a religiously bigoted state with the military telling everyone what to do, a military that is also a real estate proprietor and gulps down almost all of the annual budget. Furthermore, it is a near imploding state with all state machinery either collapsed or collapsing, and the only thing good about this country is the media. To add a little spice, every instance of terrorism in this

land is portrayed to be absolutely ethnic or sect oriented, and those killed are not citizens but members of a specific community. In sum, Pakistan is then righteously ranked in line with countries like Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq, and then the rest need not be explained. We live in a country that has more news channels than required, with experts who are expert in pointing out problems without pointing out solutions, and the only intellectual discourse we have is blatant criticism and demand of a utopia. In a country with a youth bulge, such instances can lead to frustration, which can lead to all sorts of malfeasances.

But why did we point out this three dimensional issue of civil-military relations, unharnessed media and a bad image? These issues have always been taken in isolation and never once have they been connected to one another to see where actually the problem lies. There was nothing wrong with the statement as it could have been easily ignored in light of all available domestic and international turmoil but it would not have been prudent to leave such a piquant piece alone. Before anyone could make any sense, it went as far as treason to criticize a fact, and the government, afraid of the media, passed remarks that it was never supposed to, keeping in view that there were other, far more important things on the agenda that day. Despite the fact that the

Freedom of speech and expression does not entail opinionated discourse, and misleading interpretations by self styled intellectuals, who are neither intellectually qualified nor academically eligible to comment on matters of a political nature often misunderstand state practice, while some only comment for the thrill of it, painting a horrid picture of the land we call home.

institution under criticism did not even bother with what was being said, the remaining entirety of state machinery thought it best to provide their views, views that were more personal in their presentation than official.

Then comes the tricky part, every movement of the said political party is then interpreted as gestures of anxiety and fear signaling that the institution under criticism did not like it and they have definitely done something in that manner. Suddenly and quite involuntarily, it becomes a struggle between democratic existence and institutional integrity and all the experts start pouring in their opinions as to how this is in fact a turning point in Pakistani politics. Along comes the budget and like all other budgets before,

Media is a good tool for public awareness but not at the cost of ensuing depression and aggression because then catalyst becomes often hard to control, and the resultant chain reaction is often devastating



the same old issue is brought to light that it is not citizen-friendly and is tailor-made to facilitate the rich. Coming from landowners and industrialists, this statement seems not only hypocritical but also blasphemous with respect to sentiments of the common man but instead of understanding financial and economic constraints of the country, the panel of experts deliberates on the fact that once again, a certain institute got more than the rest.

Civil military relations are at their optimum best at status quo and even if someone wants to interpret it as a clandestine coup, they can do so for want of freedom of expression. Military secures a percentage in fiscal budget this year because of what it is doing. The inability of civil bureaucracy to generate enough revenue by enforcement of tax regulations to achieve the said tax goal, and the inability of police structure to provide adequate domestic security, forces the right to invoke paramilitary and military forces, which in turn ensues costs which are beyond the ambit of defense budget. This being said, if the civilian administration requires the assistance of military contingents for securitizing the atmosphere, it holds true in a state whose civilian security framework was never designed to counter terrorism.

As far as the media is concerned, from displaying copies of official orders to directly interfering through social force, media is an institution that became a pillar of

Be it translated as a coup or as premeditated political outcome, present regime in Pakistan has ensured proper institutional coherence, and sporadic hiccups are merely a part of every learning curve.

state through no legal declaration. Then, once it declared itself to be an integral portion of state functioning, all it did was criticize whatever it wanted to, except select issues like media ethics or broadcasting norms or basic standards of moral obligations before televising any news or even the use of language during their transmissions. From misinterpreting stories to misquoting facts, from twisting official statements to making opinionated panels, media in Pakistan did a lot worse than good in the name of interest of public. Knowledge is best, information is good but excess of information is a social vice, the reason being that in a developing state, aspirations to compare to a developed state alongside excessive unwanted information is definitely frustrating and harmful in the longer run.

Pakistan stands at very sensitive crossroads; the government is presumed to be a military puppet, with instances of institutionally damaging callousness in statements, causing more than necessary interpretations that are being unnecessarily dispensed to public. This causes disgruntled sentiments, which results in unrest that is exploitable by foreign and domestic miscreants. This nexus is always dealt with separately and never jointly as it should be. Not every remark should be interpreted to lead to treason or blasphemy, and not every statement should be made breaking news because it creates pockets of loopholes that can be misused for more nefarious purposes than imaginable. If a panel of experts does feel the need to let out steam, and utilize their

right to expression and speech, they should then at least propose solutions rather than commonplace criticism with no end point. These institutional rifts have entailed more vice than virtue, evidence being the current position of Pakistan as a state. Every violation or breach of covenants becomes legitimate because no one wants to sit quietly in response to the bad guy.

Be it translated as a coup or as premeditated political outcome, present regime in Pakistan has ensured proper institutional coherence, and sporadic hiccups are merely a part of every learning curve. Political parties, utilizing media as an outlet or source to rally public support, have played conventional domestic politics even if they tagline it under newness. Pakistan cannot afford a revolution, not because I said so but because its position and economic condition does not allow it to, and also that revolutions can be a good shortcut but it remains short-lived nonetheless. Any romanticism towards revolt must also be overviewed in the price every revolution had to pay. Media is a good tool for public awareness but not at the cost of ensuing depression and aggression because then catalyst becomes often hard to control, and the resultant chain reaction is often devastating.

MuhammadSharreh Qazi

is an MPhil scholar of International Relations at the University of Punjab, and lecturer at University Law College, Lahore. He is also a former alumni of the SNS department of NDU and can be reached at Sharreh.q@stratagem

Knowledge is best, information is good but excess of information is a social vice, the reason being that in a developing state, aspirations to compare to a developed state alongside excessive unwanted information is definitely frustrating and harmful in the longer run.

WHAT'S THE **BIG** DEAL

WHO: Japan and Philippines

WHEN: June 4

WHERE: Tokyo, Japan, at the 40th anniversary of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)-Japan relations

WHAT: A joint declaration was passed in an appraisal of the two states' "strengthened strategic partnership". Under a \$150 million deal financed by a Japanese soft loan, Philippines Coast Guard will also be delivered with ten multirole patrol vessels by Tokyo.

An agreement was also signed by Abe and visiting Philippines President Benigno Aquino III for the export of other Japanese hardware, including P-3C anti-submarine reconnaissance aircraft and radar technology.

Manila also expressed its openness to a bilateral Visiting Force Agreement, which would allow Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces to refuel and resupply in an event of joint patrols in the South China Sea.

WHAT'S THE **BIG** DEAL

This contract is part of a larger, \$12 billion worth of deals between Riyadh and Paris, among which is the signing off of the feasibility study by France to assess the construction of two flagship nuclear reactors in Saudi Arabia, designed by Avera, a French nuclear group.

A memorandum of understanding was also signed for the purchase of six FREMM multi-mission frigates manufactured by DCNS which are lavishly equipped with various missiles.



WHO: Saudi Arabia & France

WHEN: June 24

WHERE: Paris, France

WHAT: In a 500 million euro deal signed between the two states, France will supply 23 H145 multipurpose Airbus helicopters for border patrols to Saudi Arabia.



ARMED & DANGEROUS

Global Counter-Terrorism Regime: Some Unlearnt Lessons

by Mohammad Talha



The discourses on terrorism have largely remained vague and redolent until now. Assessments of threat emanation are becoming more journalistic, mired with speculations that are less analytical, and demiurgic.

Ergo, the world is becoming an increasingly dangerous place.

The 'War on Terrorism' jetted to prominence like a gaseous spectre from the wreckage of twin towers. The killing machines commandeered by the United States swooped like a hawk on distant lands. Broad counter-insurgency tools were loosely unleashed in Afghanistan and Iraq. Failure to contextualise the operational environment fanned the flames of instability. Resultantly, the terror threats that were largely confined in regional theatres became global.

What went wrong?

The strategic mindset prevalent since the inception of Cold War posited to contain Soviet Union influence until it fragmented in 1991. After attainment of unparalleled hegemony over the world order, as the balance of power shifted solely in favour of the United

States, the foreign policy machinations underwent a fundamental change to augment the US position as the leader in global affairs. Quite understandably, the American primacy was now uncontested, and it was flaunted mostly in the form of unilateral measures in the international arena.

Post 2001, the world ushered in a new era. When the non-state actors related with al-Qaeda struck New York, the US initiated a broad relentless push to exterminate Islamist militancy worldwide. Significant international support was garnered for this counter-terrorism campaign, but primarily the campaign itself remained Washington-centric. Unilateral and bilateral measures were given more importance, rather than a multilateral approach, in which the White House assumed the position of chief architect. The shoddy execution of certain facets of the campaign resulted in discord, between the United States and some of its partners in the Arab and Muslim world. The inimical impact of these less-thought-of measures is hard to exaggerate. Pew polls conducted in Muslim countries spanning a decade are indicative of the harsh attitude towards the US political measures outside of its territory. In effect, the mantra reinforced in the mind

Pew polls conducted in Muslim countries spanning a decade are indicative of the harsh attitude towards the US political measures outside of its territory. In effect, the mantra reinforced in the mind of a common Muslim was “West versus Islam” rather than “West versus Al-Qaeda”, a view that should have been avoided from the start.

of a common Muslim was “West versus Islam” rather than “West versus Al-Qaeda”, a view that should have been avoided from the start.

Apart from this, the dynamics of two of the world oldest conflicts – the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir and Israeli-Palestinian conflict also altered further. The deterioration of regional affairs escalated and created crisis situations that were toned with the timely interventions of the international community. The West involved itself in a war with Iraq, and failed to transform its military victory into political victory, quite similar to what transpired in Afghanistan. From the ensuing chaos, the militants of Islamic State of Iraq & Levant emerged, an extremist organisation of violent Muslim militants spread over Iraq, Syria and other regions of the world.

Therefore, terrorism related challenges cannot be overcome until they are properly individuated and scrutinized in relation to specific regional norms. This is essential for strategic decision making so that the zeroed-in threats can be effectively combated, and potential threats can be reduced.

Collective Security

Based on a mutual security arrangement, any country's attack

on any other country is tantamount to its attacking all other countries, whose duty is to oppose the attack. This can be succinctly expressed as the collective security theory of International Relations. An idea that can be traced back to the 1815 Congress of Vienna which gave rise to Concert of Europe, a relatively successful correlative security pact that prevented the outbreak of major wars in Europe until 1914. This proposition was later codified in the Covenant of League of Nations, and subsequently, the United Nations.

Central to the concept of collective security is the State as a fundamental unit of International Relations. Here, State is the attacker or the victim, the belligerent or the

The West involved itself in a war with Iraq, and failed to transform its military victory into political victory, quite similar to what transpired in Afghanistan

uncombative. It is ironical that the contemporary form of transnational violence is being perpetrated by non-State actors, individuals or organizations that don't desire to be affiliated with any country. These perpetrators commonly designated as terrorists have put the collective security system at its most severe test to date. To tote a mainstream concern, no State can afford to bear the consequences of a dirty, radiological bomb terror attack by a non-State actor on its territory. Therefore, to maintain the semblance of order and peace, and to keep the primacy of State in the international system intact, terrorism must be embedded in the comprehensive machinations of collective security.

As set out in Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the canons of collective security should be re-evaluated and made to conform

to the elimination of terrorism threat referred above. Multilateralism as a principle should be given more importance vis-à-vis unilateral or bilateral measures. Some policy guidelines that can be embedded are:

- Through consensus, the General Assembly of the United Nations needs to agree on an all-inclusive legal definition of terrorism which can be used for joint enforcement action under Chapter VII.
- On the basis of the legal definition of terrorism, a strategic unified approach should be developed to tackle the phenomenon of international terrorism. Ratification of such procedure by all the Member States will indicate that the international community no longer accepts the idea that one's State terrorist is another State's freedom fighter.
- Collective enforcement measures (including the use of armed force by a foreign State/s) against a non-State actor, per se, shouldn't be regarded as the

To maintain the semblance of order and peace, and to keep the primacy of State in the international system intact, terrorism must be embedded in the comprehensive machinations of collective security.

violation of national sovereignty. The host country should be taken in confidence before sanctioning any enforcement measure.

- To avoid wanton decision making and international anarchy, unified legal standards of international law and criminal law must be referred and applied in dealing with terrorism.

- The arbitrariness of the permanent members of Security Council on the actual implementation of resolutions where terrorism is concerned is not healthy. A steady and responsible approach should be adopted against terrorism.
- Criminal responsibility stemming from the acts of transnational terrorism should be prosecuted within the framework of universal jurisdiction. Instead of commissions and military tribunals, international terrorists should be prosecuted by institutions that are independent. International Criminal Court operates on complementarily basis with the national jurisdiction. As an arbiter, its role can be accepted by all the member States in matters related to the adjudication of crimes of international terrorism.
- United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/33/24 recognises the right to use force in a national liberation struggle against foreign occupation. This right is inextricably linked with the right of self-determination. So a clear distinction has to be maintained between a terrorist act and resistance activity by the liberation movements i.e. in case of overlap in both these activities, where the civilian populace is unavoidably victimized.

Human Security

Unless the issues of poverty, social injustice and economic polarity between the developed & the developing countries are tackled, the sufferings of majority of world populace shall continue to overwhelm the peace in one form or another. Acts of violence will thereby follow.

The correlation between security and development has altered significantly. Before the fall of Soviet Union, the external development cooperation policies of the United States and USSR were moulded by the ideological counterpoise between the Western and Eastern blocs. All the development cooperation during this era was a mean of containing Communism. The political instrumentalization remained the driving force until the fragmentation of Soviet Union, after which the development coordination dampened considerably. From 1992 – 1997, the Official Development Assistance by the Organization for Economic Development (OECD) was reduced to \$60 billion, a 22 percent decrease from the preceding years. This period was characterised by the upheavals in Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia, and the failure of United Nations missions in pacifying the situation. It also reinforced the perception that crisis management through conventional military approach isn't enough. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 instilled the awareness that development is necessary for conflict prevention.

The experience gained in the War against Terrorism has also bolstered the case of security – development nexus. Underscoring security related goals and subordinating development cooperation, as a counter terrorism strategy has contributed greatly in the resurgence of Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant.

Conclusion

Efforts should be channeled for the establishment of a just global order, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1974. Only then, a consistent counter-terrorism policy (that integrates development, policing, and military measures) can take shape. Unless the issues of poverty, social injustice and economic polarity between the developed & the developing

The experience gained in the War against Terrorism has also bolstered the case of security – development nexus. Underscoring security related goals and subordinating development cooperation, as a counter terrorism strategy has contributed greatly in the resurgence of Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant.

countries are tackled, the sufferings of majority of world populace shall continue to overwhelm the peace in one form or another. Acts of violence will thereby follow.

The reactive attitude has to be balanced out with a proactive strategy sooner or later. Preemption is possible only if the war on terror isn't fought through a series of preventive wars like in Afghanistan and Iraq. Rather, a comprehensive stratagem of global socio-economic cooperation based on equity and partnership among all countries on the basis of the goals elucidated in the United Nations Charter will definitely work wonders.

Mohammad Talha

is looking after the R&D department and also section head for “Armed & Dangerous” at Stratagem. Being a certified conflict analyst, he has a deep understanding of terror networks and their geopolitical implications. He can be reached at talha.i@stratagem.pk and he tweets @ahlatibr

Media and its Social Responsibility

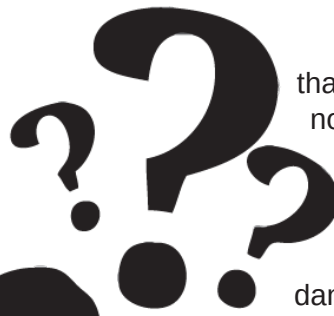
by Khoula Afzal Qamar



Mass media is said to hold tremendous importance as a tool for betterment and progressive change. Besides its main functions of informing, educating and entertaining, media in today's society is expected to go one step further by bearing the responsibility of being socially constructive.

After the 1930s and 1940s, as the Second World War spread across Europe, the libertarians-advocators of a fully free press, fell short of explaining that if society is collectively good and rational, then why did Hitler's propaganda succeed in spreading racism and hate on such a large extent. When US was being dragged into Europe's war, concerns across the States were voiced to call for greater government control of the press and speech at home by those who were not so optimistic of the free market of ideas. Libertarianism came under attack for being too idealistic.

The public was also highly suspicious of the powerful publishers and press-owners' motivations and objectives. According to the critics, media of that time had monopolistic tendencies



that the corporate owners were not concerned with the rights or interests of those unlike themselves, and that commercialization produced a debased culture as well as dangerously selfish politics.

As the pressure from the public increased, Henry Luce, the then CEO of Time Inc., supplied funding for the set up of an independent commission that could recommend a suitable part for the press to play. Thus the Hutchins Commission was formed during the Second World War, when Mr. Luce asked Robert Hutchins, the president of University of Chicago, to inquire into proper media functions in a democratic society. Academics, politicians and other suitable members of society constituted this commission, whose official name was the Commission on Freedom of the Press. Torn between the two debates, members of the commission ultimately decided to trust the press. They believed media practitioners will increase their efforts to benefit the public.

Thus the gist of the ideas put forward by the Commission has come to be known as the Social Responsibility Theory of





Press. Provision of accurate news and fostering a productive community is deemed as the foremost duty of a responsible press.

A compromise between the authoritarian and libertarian theories of press, the social responsibility theory demands from mass media, a greater sense of overall public good, in all its broadcasting and publication-related actions, and decisions.

For laying the basis of a socially responsible media, government will have negligible restrictions on it, and will only restrict it when public good is in danger. Otherwise the media is free, not only from the government but also private powerful interests. Secondly, the media is trusted enough to keep it self-regulated. Prior censorships will not be allowed as media is wise enough to know what is best for the people. It is expected from mass media to equally portray all aspects of a matter, and cater to all groups present in the audience. Hegemony of a single media group is avoided by restricting cross-media ownership.

Media can be the perfect tool for the democratization of society through keeping an eye on the pillars of state and institutions of the society. Propagation of agents of chaos, imposing a single culture on a diverse society, and glorifying ills are vices which media-persons should be extra-vigilant about.

Fulfilling international obligations while covering wars and other calamities, maintaining public order, respecting state security and sovereignty are the most limiting of duties of an otherwise free media. Drawing

a line between freedom and responsibility is therefore imperative for the proper functioning of media.

The Johannesburg Principles give us a code of conduct pertaining to national security, public order and right to information. These principles are utilized internationally and serves as a standard to which we can test out limitations and freedom while protecting national interest in media.

Media practitioners should be properly trained to at least acquaint them with their duties, responsibilities, rights, privileges, and above all, their limitations. Misusing media privileges in the name of freedom of expression has only worsened conditions in our country. Only a responsible pen will be able to cultivate a responsible nation.

Khoulah Afzal Qamar

studies Journalism and Mass Communications from the University of Karachi. She is a Junior Research Fellow at the Stratagem. Khoulah has extensively researched and written on extremism and conflict. She also focuses on Kashmir and Palestine disputes. She can be reached at khoulah.q@stratagem.pk

Q U O T A T I O N S

There is one
fundamental
principle

in statecraft, and that is to
consider the well-being of the
people.

Huai Nan Zi

In a time of
deceit,
telling the truth is a
revolutionary
act.

George Orwell

It is no longer enough to report the
fact truthfully. It is now necessary
to report the
truth about the fact.

Hutchins' Commission, 1947

Journalism is printing
what **someone** else
does not want **printed**:
everything else is
public relations.

George Orwell

Citizens of the democratic
societies should undertake a
course of intellectual self
defense to protect
themselves from
manipulation and control,
and to lay the basis for
meaningful democracy.

Noam Chomsky
(Necessary Illusions: Thought
Control in Democratic Societies)

We suggest that the press look
upon itself as performing a
public service
of a professional kind...that the
press must take on the
community's
objectives
as its own objectives.

Hutchins' Commission, 1947