



ARRAYING FLORA AND FAUNA



RUPTURES IN THE LEGAL COUNTER
TERRORISM ARMATURE OF PAKISTAN



A LEAF FROM HISTORY: INDIA AND THE
BREAKUP OF PAKISTAN



GEOPOLITICAL SECURITIZATION OF
ENERGY

FEATURE ARTICLE

WHY PAKISTAN HAS FAILED TO DEVELOP A COUNTER TERROR NARRATIVE?

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Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in the Cyber Space

Info-Graphic: Counter Terrorism Operations in Pakistan Post-9/11

Terrorist Profiles: Know Thy Enemy

Book Review: Faith, Unity, Discipline – The ISI of Pakistan

Exclusive Interview: Mr. Mir Sarfraaz Ahmed Bugti
Minister: Home and Tribal Affairs, Prisons (Home Minister)

Seminar Report: Balochistan - Perception & Reality



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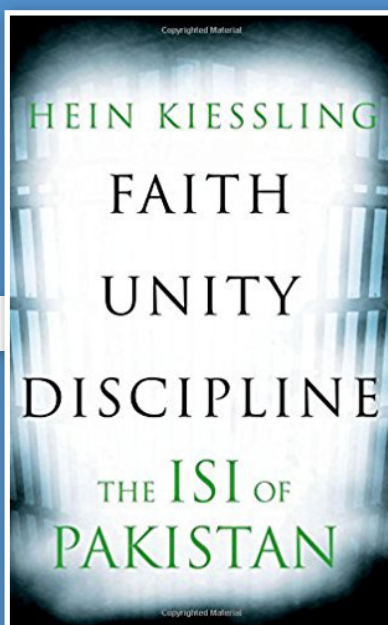
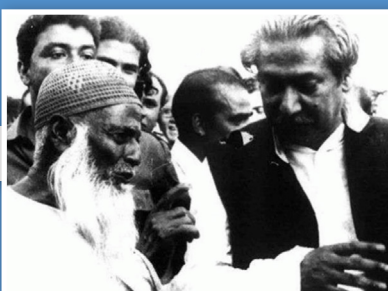
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EDITORIAL



Dear Reader,

Felicitations from the editorial desk. I would start of by acknowledging the tireless work of the Center for Strategic & Contemporary Research (CSCR) team that made the publishing of the 11th edition of the Stratagem Magazine possible. I extend my congratulations to our devoted readership who wish to remain abreast of the global developments with our incisive and holistic appraisals. It is the confidence they repose in us that has given us the impetus to cross the fray of ten editions. Our foray further is characterized by more experience, better insights, and a considerable edge, vis-à-vis the work we have done earlier.

The slating of security operations with the initiation of Operation Radd ul Fasad has garnered significant hype, especially due to the surrender of former spokesman of the Tehreek-e-Taliban, a high profile militant, Ehsanullah Ehsan, accentuated with the laying down of arms of Baloch rebels en masse. Keeping in view the recent developments, counter terrorism has been opted as the key theme for this bi-monthly issue.

We have featured an article “Why Pakistan

has failed to develop a counter terror narrative” written by our resident analyst, Mr. Fahad Nabeel, to discuss the lack of joint efforts by state institutions to counter terrorism and the limited extent to which military plays a role in charting a counter terror narrative. Certain taglines that form the basis of terrorism in Pakistan have been highlighted by the author. Even though counter terrorism measures have been embedded in the National Action Plan, there has been no explanation regarding how to accomplish them. In conclusion, the author has deliberated upon the considerations that need to be taken in to account to develop a discourse. Various tools can be manipulated in order to formulate a counter terror narrative in Pakistan including the electronic and social media; coordination mechanism among different governmental institutions, etc.

“Know Thy Enemy” brings to you the terrorist profiles of Adnan Rashid, a former PAF employee who joined Tehreek-e-Taliban, and Mehran Marri of the United Baloch Army.

Specific events that have left an indelible impact on the international community, covering both national and global realms have been mentioned in the In Focus section. Mashal Khan lynched

over alleged blasphemy, death sentence to Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW) Agent Kulbhushan Jadhav, and the use of the largest non-nuclear bomb (MOAB) in Afghanistan by the United States are among the few covered.

Keeping in mind the theme of the magazine, a representation of terrorism in Pakistan post 9/11 has been intimated through Infographs to discern the use of force in the form of different military operations in quelling terrorism and its impact in the last ten years.

The exploitation of the primary function of the internet by terrorist outfits has made cyber security a challenge. “Counter terrorism in the Cyber Sphere” explains modern day techniques of using cyber space as an instrument for indoctrination, recruitment and spread of a convoluted narrative rooted in subversion based on a misguided interpretation of Islam. The inability of legislature to discern between offenses of criminal nature and terrorism in the cyber domain in Pakistan has been broached upon by the author.

This edition’s Biosphere section enlightens on the afforestation of imported exotic species of trees in different cities of Pakistan without conducting rigorous research about the after effects on the environment, which has resulted in serious illnesses like pollen allergy. Pakistan is a habitat of a diverse assortment of indigenous flora which are beneficial to the surroundings, each having their own qualities.

Another article written by Mr. Ammar relates to the convergence and divergence of global interests in the realm of oil politics.

To preempt the misinformation spread in this era of hybrid warfare our team undertook a research based exercise by visiting Dera Bugti on the invitation of Minister: Home and Tribal Affairs, Prisons (Home Minister). Mr. Mir Sarfraaz Ahmed Bugti, who was interviewed for this edition.

Setting the Record Straight from the issue in hand is a flashback in history. The article written

by Mr. Ali Zia Jaffery analyzes the role of India in the disintegration of Pakistan in 1971 i.e. the formation of Bangladesh as a sovereign state. Prior to the full-scale intelligence operations which culminated in the 1971 Indo-Pak war, this article weaves through the history of India’s use of soft power to achieve its extra-territorial subversive agenda.

A book review on the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) was tendered for this edition. Historical narrative weaved by Mr. Hein G. Kiessling regarding the formation of the premier spy agency of Pakistan was critically dissected by the author.

Another article, “The Counter Terrorism Legal Armature of Pakistan” divulged the importance of legislation in weeding out terror elements in a historical context, not limited to global paradigm, but also through the promulgation of past legislative instruments. The issues in the currently applicable Anti Terrorism Act, 1997, have also been singled out and suggestions to resolve the said issues have also been deliberated.

The Center for Strategic and Contemporary Research (CSCR) has adorned another feather in the cap by hosting a seminar in Lahore; third in the series, held under the banner of the much acclaimed youth exchange program of the CSCR sub-project Voice of Balochistan (VOB) on the 16th of March. The subject being “Balochistan: Perception and Reality”. Distinguished media personalities and venerable politicians from both Punjab and Balochistan were part of the panel. Enclosed at the end of the May issue of Stratagem is a report of the seminar proceedings.

Having stated this, the editorial desk is signing off until the publication of next edition of the Stratagem Magazine. You can send us your valuable feedback at hr@cscr.pk.

Sincerely Yours

Syeda Ailiya Naqvi

IN FOCUS

by Moniba Mehboob

UZAIR BALOCH PUT ON MILITARY TRIAL FOR ESPIONAGE:

In April 2017, Pakistan Army revealed that Uzair Baloch, head of Peoples Aman Committee and a Lyari gangster, had recently been taken into military custody after having been arrested more than a year ago in a paramilitary raid. Charges against him range from harassment, extortion, and murder to espionage.

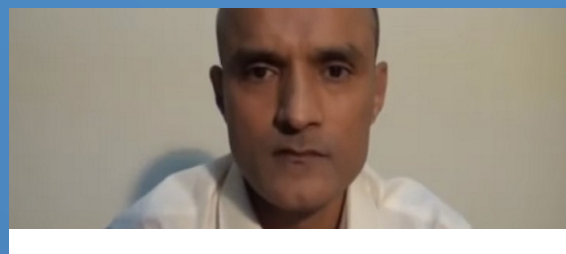
The charges of espionage are based on leakage of sensitive information to Iranian agencies. An investigative report on Uzair Baloch case states that he leaked "secret information regarding army installations and officials to foreign agents which is a violation of the Official Secrets Act 1923". Baloch now awaits military trials; the severe charges against him along with his own confessions to numerous crimes and his involvement in militant activities has made the country curious about his fate.



TENSIONS ESCALATE BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND INDIA AS INDIAN SPY SENTENCED TO DEATH:

Indian spy Kulbhushan Jadhav was handed a death sentence by a Field General Court Martial (FGCM) on April 10th. The spy was a former Indian Navy officer and had allegedly been involved in separatist activities in Balochistan as well as espionage. According to COAS Qamar Bajwa, "His goal was to disrupt development of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), with Gwadar port as a special target ... This is nothing short of state-sponsored terrorism... There can be no clearer evidence of Indian interference in Pakistan."

India sees this sentence as a farcical affair and has warned Pakistan that if the death sentence is carried out, it will be considered "premeditated murder". Kulbhushan was given 40 days to file for an appeal.



STUDENT LYNCHED OVER ALLEGED BLASPHEMY

A 23-year-old student of Abdul Wali Khan University in Mardan, was shot and beaten to death while another was left severely injured on 13th April within university premises. Mashal Khan, who succumbed to the gunshot and died amidst the enraged mob, was killed for "publishing blasphemous content online". The university and local police are now investigating this claim, whereas before the lynching, there had not been any charge against the students and hence, investigation was not being carried out.

Mashal Khan held the reputation of being a "brilliant and inquisitive" student among his teachers. At least 45 arrests have been made concerning the lynching, and the university has launched a probe into the blasphemy charges against Mashal Khan and two other students. In light of this event, the blasphemy law is again being questioned commonly.



NATIONAL

SUSPECTED CHEMICAL ATTACK ON REBEL-HELD IDLIB IN SYRIA CAUSES DEATH OF OVER 50; US LAUNCHES OFFENSIVE

The Assad regime has been suspected of dropping Sarin gas in Syria; disturbing footages of the aftermath of the chemical attack have been released while Assad denies the attack and declares the claim a 100% fabrication. President Assad has given a statement saying, "Our impression is that the West, mainly the United States, is hand-in-glove with the terrorists... They fabricated the whole story in order to have a pretext for the attack." He also said, "There was no order to make any attack... We gave up our arsenal a few years ago. Even if we have them, we wouldn't use them."

The US has launched an offensive following the attack while Russia vigorously sides with Assad and considers US strikes on Syrian airspace an act of aggression as does Iran.



US THREATENED BY NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAMME

North Korea has been carrying out missile tests and the US believes they are developing a ballistic missile capable of targeting US mainland. A US naval strike force has been deployed on the Korean Peninsula recently, the US has also deployed an anti-missile system in South Korea. Consequently Pyongyang has issued a warning that they won't hold back from a nuclear attack on the US if aggression continues.

Considering the tension emanating from the conflict between the US and North Korea, China is in a difficult position as Trump accuses the country of not doing enough to deter N. Korea from its nuclear activity. China continues to warn both competitors of the consequences of an ensuing war. The Chinese Foreign Minister has said, "If a war occurs, the result is a situation in which everybody loses and there can be no winner. It is not the one who espouses harsher rhetoric or raises a bigger fist that will win."



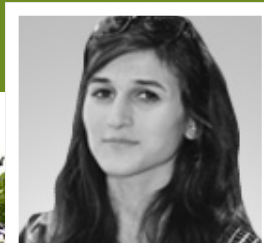
LARGEST NON-NUCLEAR BOMB DROPPED IN AFGHANISTAN ON AN ISIS TUNNEL COMPLEX

Whitehouse Spokesman Sean Spicer stated, "The United States takes the fight against ISIS very seriously and in order to defeat the group we must deny them operational space, which we did." This was said after the US launched the largest non-nuclear bomb also called the "mother of all bombs" at an IS tunnel complex in Afghanistan, near Pakistan's border. Some have called it the "mother of all mistakes" considering the World War Three vibes, that the bomb and its implications have given off. It supposedly issues a warning to the ISIS.

The bomb was dropped in the Achin district of Nangarhar province where the ISIS has been operating actively. It has been termed by some "another military spectacle that is high on theatre and low on strategic planning or intent". It was also deemed unnecessary by Borhan Osman, an ISIS expert analyst who said, "Isis was on the brink of losing their stronghold. It didn't seem like there was a need for such a dramatic military measure."



Arraying Flora & Fauna



by Ana Khattak



How beautifully has Khalil Jibran put the existence of trees in words, “Trees are poems that the earth writes upon the sky.” If someone is enjoying the shade today, it’s because someone had planted a tree yesterday but if someone is cutting a tree today, they will definitely bear the brunt by facing the scorching heat tomorrow. Of all the living organisms existing on earth, the organism that gives out the most without taking, is indubitably; the trees. The benedictions of trees include colorful flowers, the eye-soothing greenery, wood, fruits, flowers, shade, and most of all the string of our existence i.e. oxygen. Unfortunately, man has been an ungrateful species and in the sprint to get the most out of everything, he has ended in a conundrum. With the onset of the era of industrialization, this valuable jewel has been massacred inhumanely by humans. The cutting of trees has never been a problem,



Unfortunately, man has been an ungrateful species and in the sprint to get the most out of everything, he has ended in a conundrum. With the onset of the era of industrialization, this valuable jewel has been massacred inhumanely by humans. The cutting of trees has never been a problem, but the excessive cutting of trees has indeed caused a grave one, because at the end of the day, excess of everything leads to destruction. Nature is requiting us and now man is on the defense.

but the excessive cutting of trees has indeed caused a grave one, because at the end of the day, excess of everything leads to destruction. Nature is requiting us and now man is on the defense.

Voluminous lots have realized that if this menace is not cured, the well-being of the future generation will be mortgaged to this peril. The ones who are aware know the solemnity of

the issue as Franklin Roosevelt put it in words, “A nation that destroys its soils destroys itself. Forests are the lungs of our land, purifying the air and giving fresh strength to our people.” The world at large has made huge strides to curb the plague of deforestation that has taken place and Pakistan is no exception. Every nation has its own aboriginal species of trees according to the soil, climate, tree line, water availability, fertility etc. These indigenous trees unlike exotic species are ideal due to their better resistance to diseases and pathogens.

The menace of the tree problem is not merely deforestation, but the afforestation of the wide of the mark tree species in the places that cannot afford such trees i.e. exotic trees which are imported without any state-of-the-art research being carried out about the specie and its respective stipulations. For example, broussonetia is a specie from the early 60s, that was planted in Islamabad, but this specie is now the chief culprit of dispersion of pollen allergy in the region. Conocarpus—a tropical mangrove

species—that are environment-friendly for limited coastal areas—are being planted in the hilly region of Peshawar, under the much advertised ‘PTI One Billion Tree Tsunami Campaign’. Dodonea is also being planted, which is maintaining the water table of the soil in KPK, due to its low water requirement, but yet its plantation is called a blooper as it is a specie that has a huge pollen production which will subsequently give rise to the problem of pollen allergy. So it can be candidly concluded, that the huge investment in this green initiative is going down the tubes. Dr. Lal Badshah, an ecologist and assistant professor at Botany department in University of Peshawar, stated in a recent interview with the News Lens Pakistan that Pakistan has around 6,000 indigenously acknowledged flora and so many trees are native to Pakistan. So instead of the exotic adoptions of species, the ziziphus, acacia, monothea and olea, acaiamodesta, dilbergiasiso, acaianilotica, rhizastricta and vitexnegundo types of species can be planted as per their respective specifications. This article will elucidate some of the kinds of indigenous



species specific to Pakistan, explicate the basic species that cause harm to them, the species that help or even deteriorate health conditions, species that are causing the water table to get imbalanced.

INDIGENOUS SPECIES OF PAKISTAN:

In Pakistan, more than 430 tree species are distributed over 82 plant families. The national tree is Deodar Cedar. Due to the constraint of space, only the most well-known tree species are highlighted below.

Deodar Cedar:

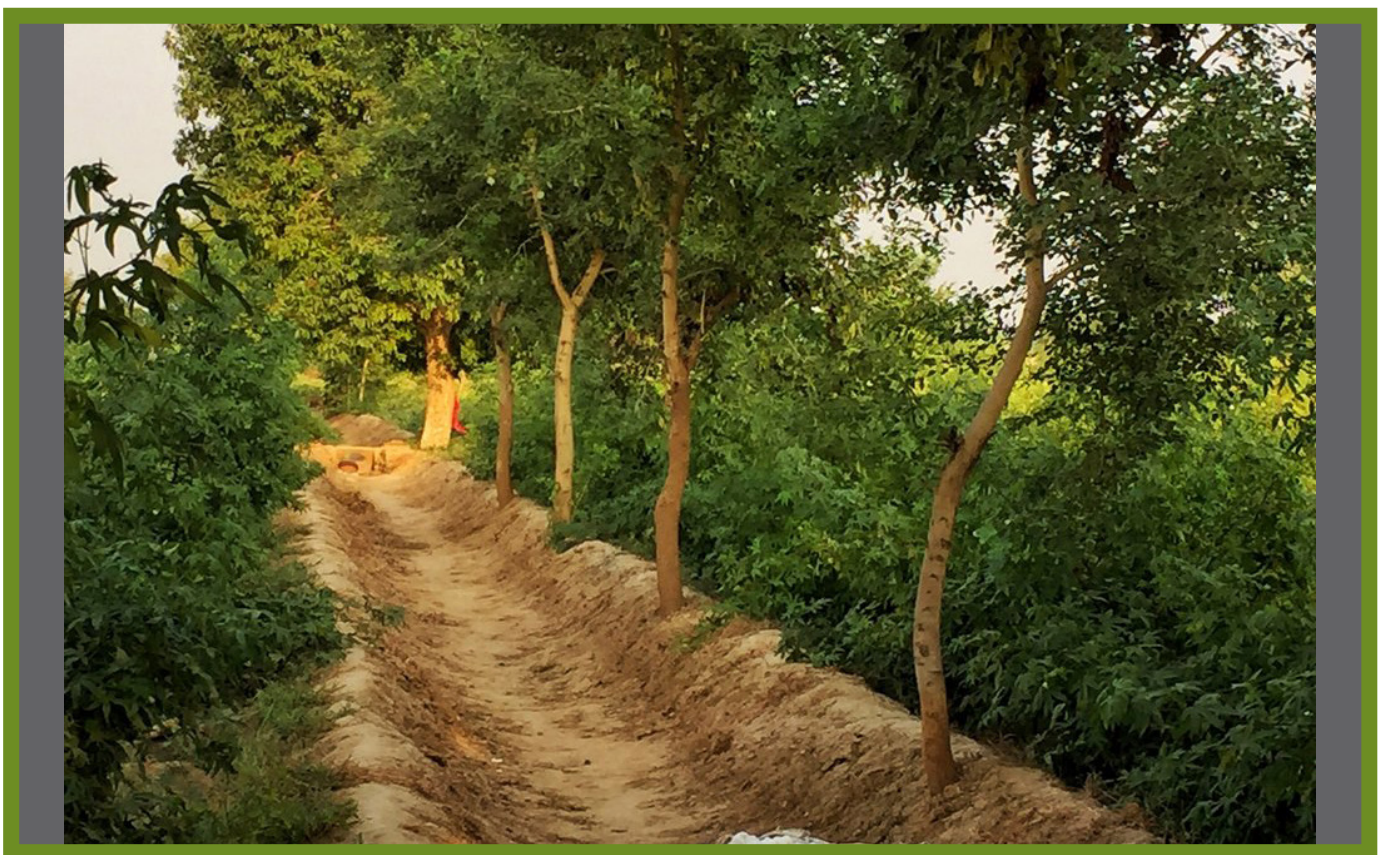
Deodar Cedar is the national tree of Pakistan. It belongs to the Pinaceae family and occurs in a wide range of habitats in the Himalayas covering eastern Afghanistan, northern Pakistan (especially Gilgit-Baltistan and KPK), northern India, and some parts of China and Nepal. It is a coniferous tree which is evergreen and tall. It grows in a belt at elevations between 1700-3000 meters. Its cultivation is possible in mild temperatures as it cannot survive frost. It is durable, rot-resistant and brittle which makes it quite popular when it comes to its demand in the construction, furniture and carpentry industry. Due to quality of its wood being fragrant it is used in ornamental boxes and picture frames. The oil extracted from its wood is also used in the manufacture of insecticides, as deodar wood is a good repellent. It has many medicinal uses and therefore has high demand for the pharmaceutical industry and deodar cedar can cure illnesses ranging from STDs, cancer,

“ In Pakistan, more than 430 tree species are distributed over 82 plant families and 226 genera. The national tree is Deodar Cedar. Due to the constraint of space, only the most well-known tree species are highlighted below.

rheumatoid, arthritis, urinary tract problems, diabetes, obesity, skin infections to less serious illnesses like coughing, cold and hiccups. Extractions from the needles found in deodar cedar has a pain killing and antiseptic effect and therefore it is used in sanitizers and sterilizers. The tree also has antioxidant properties and is therefore used in detergents. It is also used in the chemical industry. The threats this specie of tree is facing is exhaustive logging (legal and illegal) in Pakistan is posing a localized threat.



Kingdom	Plantae
Division	Pinophyta
Class	Pinopsida
Order	Pinales
Family	Pinaceae
Species	C.deodara
Phylum	Tracheophyta
Regions of Pakistan where these are Found	Gilgit, Mansehra, Swat, Abbottabad, North-West Belt
Uses of Cedar	Pharmaceuticals, carpentry, construction, repellants, furniture.



Sheesham: (Tahli)

TAHLI a broad leaf, dark brown tree about 30-45 feet tall — has spread to almost every area located at 120m to 1,250m above the sea level owing to the environment of the sub-continent especially along the plains in Punjab, Mardan, Charsada and Nowshera. Soils range from pure sand and gravel to rich alluvium of river banks. Sheesham is native in the slopes of the Himalayas. It is predominantly found growing along river banks below 900-1300 meters elevation. Due to its resistance to decay, coarse texture, durability and least susceptible

to dry-wood termites and therefore is used in for marine and aircraft grade plywood, charcoal for heating and cooking, musical instruments, ornamental turnery, carving, engraving, tool handles and sporting goods. The temperature in its native range averages 10–40 °C. The threats to Sheesham in Pakistan, is its fast extinction. Since 1998, 20-50% heavy infestation rate has been noted in these areas owing to the dieback disease, which is back again recently. The Forestry Institute of Peshawar has identified more than 60 pathogenic species of fungus living on Shisham which is causing vanishing of this type of specie.

Kingdom	Plantae
Division	Magnoliophyta
Class	Magnoliopsida
Order	Fabales
Family	Fabaceae
Species	Sissoo
Phylum	Vascular plant
Regions of Pakistan where these are Found	Along the rivers banks in Punjab, Peshawar, Charsada, Mardan, Nowshera
Uses of Sheesham	Timber, Pesticide, Fuel woods, musical instruments, construction industry

Kingdom	Plantae
Division	Tracheophyta
Class	Magnoliopsida
Order	Fabales
Family	Caesalpiniaceae
Species	Fistula
Phylum	Vascular Plant
Regions of Pakistan where these are Found	Throughout the plains of the country
Uses of Golden Shower Tree	Fuel, Ornate stuff, furniture, agricultural apparatuses, tool handles, support posts, cart wheels and axles, tannin and medicinal

Golden Shower Tree:

The Golden shower tree locally recognized as ‘Amaltas’, and due to its herbal qualities well-known as the flower of hope. This tree has extended, dangling, bountiful yellow flowers from which it derives its name. These are medium-sized (5-9 meters in height), semi-deciduous trees which bloom with yellow flowers in summers. It is a drought-tolerant tree and

therefore water table of land is not affected. It grows well in full sunshine and well-drained soil and therefore cultivated in the plain areas throughout the country. Due to its disease-killing quality it is also known as aragvadha. The root and the skin of the fruit is used as a cleanser, while the bark is used to treat skin infections. It is also used in fuel, ornate stuff, furniture, agricultural apparatuses, tool handles, support posts, and cart wheels and axles.



Exotic Tree Species:

Invasive species means an alien species, occurring outside of its natural range and dispersal potential, established in natural or semi-natural ecosystems, to be an agent of change that threatens native diversity.

Peepal:

Peepal tree also known as the Ficus religiosa is a large, fast budding deciduous tree. It has heart-shaped leaves. A tree that is found on a large variety of locations, but grows best on sandy clay

soils. It is adapted to an elevation zone of 0-1200 meters. It grows swiftly in a temperature range of 0-40°C in a semi-arid, warm, sub-tropical climate. These are usually found in the Margalla range and along the Makran coast. Though it imbalances the water table of the land due to its excessive demand for water. The tree has worth as an avenue tree and is planted along water progressions. It is a virtuous fodder tree. Because of its fodder and fig latent it could have importance as a farm forestry tree. It is also used in decorative stuff, fodder, food (figs), small timber, and medicinal.

Kingdom	Plantae
Division	Magnoliophyta
Class	Magnoliopsida
Order	Rosales
Family	Moraceae
Species	Fig
Phylum	Vascular plant
Regions of Pakistan where these are Found	Margalla Range, Makran
Uses of Peepul	Ornamental, fodder, food (figs), small timber, and medicinal.

Paper Mulberry:

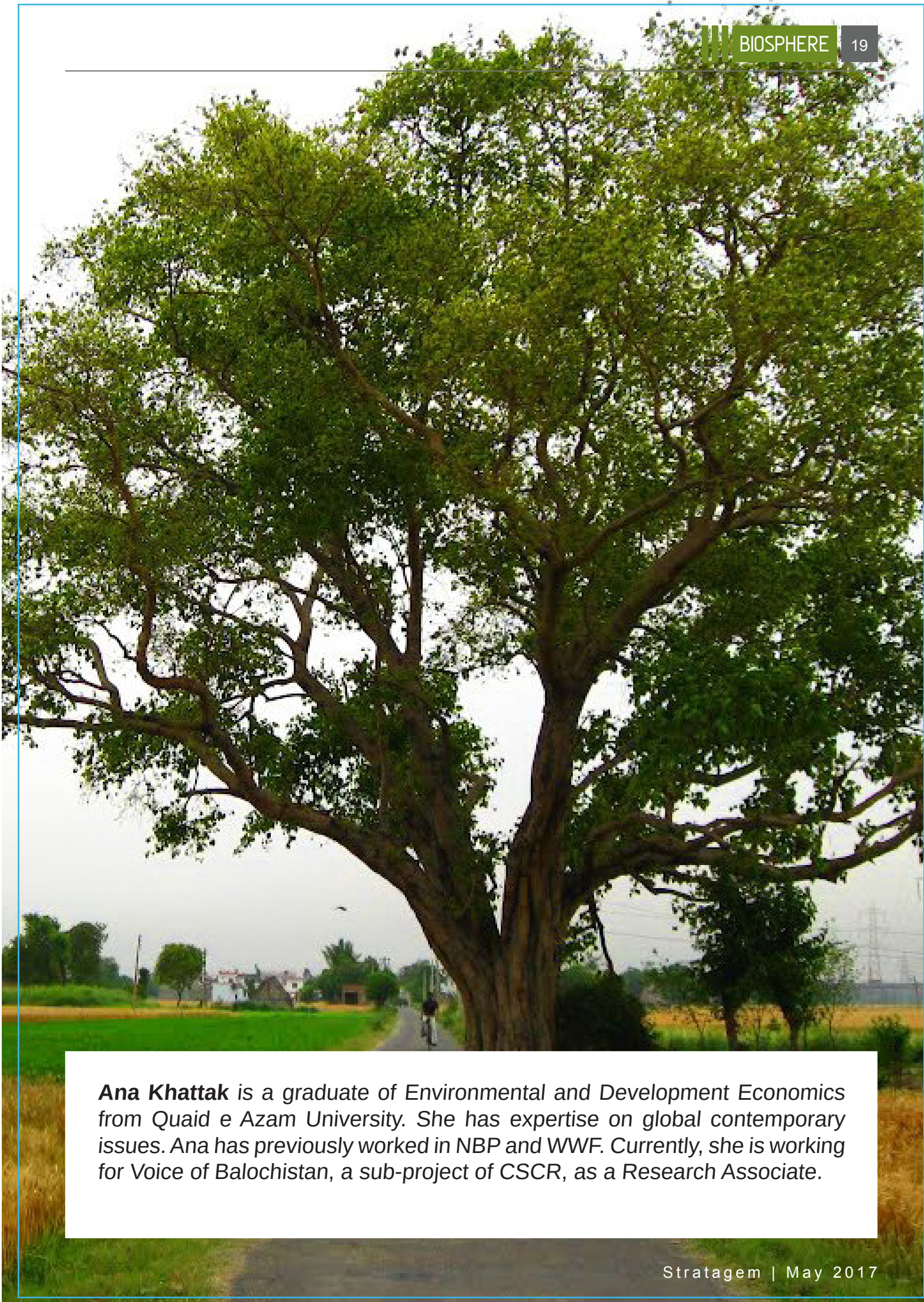
Also known as a Broussonetia Papyrifera, and a tapa cloth tree. It is a deciduous shrub and its length reaches from about 14-20 meters and 35 meters at maximum. The fruits and cooked leaves are palatable and also enhance the production of red blood cells in the body. It is also used in making of utensils and ropes. In the medicinal field, the roots and barks have been used as a cleanser and antipyretic. It is also used

as an ornamental plant. It controls air pollution. It grows well in all climates. But it is considered to be one of the worst weeds in Pakistan, as per reports as it is a pollen producing tree and the pollen is allergenic. And so many people of Islamabad are facing the brunt of this allergy. Asthma incidents have also increased.

Trees are important and beneficial in many ways; it is therefore vital to not only preserve them but also to plant new ones.



Kingdom	Plantae
Division	Broussonetia
Class	Magnoliopsida
Order	Rosales
	Pinaceae
Family	Moraceae
Species	B. papyrifera
Phylum	Vascular
Regions of Pakistan where these are Found	Were imported to be cultivated alongside roads in Islamabad
Uses of Paper Mulberry	Food, fiber, medicine, paper-making, textile



Ana Khattak is a graduate of Environmental and Development Economics from Quaid e Azam University. She has expertise on global contemporary issues. Ana has previously worked in NBP and WWF. Currently, she is working for Voice of Balochistan, a sub-project of CSCR, as a Research Associate.

Middle Eastern oil has entranced global supremacies and global capital since the early twentieth century. Its magnetism has been particularly powerful for the United States. The American romance began in the 1930s when geologists at work for Standard Oil of California discovered commercial quantities of oil on the eastern shores of Saudi Arabia. In the following years, the initial enchantment turned into an obsession. Not long after World War II, it became unmistakably clear that oil was not just a trendy industrial good, it was way more than that. The most

celebrated event in history was when Franklin Roosevelt hosted Abd al Aziz Ibn Saud, the founding monarch of Saudi Arabia, aboard the USS Quincy in February 1945. The meeting permanently linked Middle Eastern oil to US national security and forged one of the most important strategic relationships of the twentieth century, in which Saudis would supply low-priced oil to global markets as a substitute for US protection. A deal was made and so too a future time bomb.

United States had two paramount interests in the twentieth century. One was to maintain the security

United States had two paramount interests in the twentieth century. One was to maintain the security in Saudi Arabia and in the entire Persian Gulf. Second, was to maintain the flow of Middle Eastern oil. This is evident in the foreign assistance act between 1962 and 2010 committed to support the middle-east with an estimated 4936.9 mill USD equal to one-third of the country's debt. Moreover, among the top 15 countries profiting from US military and economic assistance, seven are located in the "greater Middle East" along with Sudan and Ethiopia which play imperative roles in the geopolitics of the area. One of the chief questions that engaged Western experts in the 1960s was to understand the possible intentions of the Soviet Union in the Middle-east, especially those concerning oil matters. In the late 1960s, some specialists reasoned that, conceivably, a domestic oil crisis was about to knock at the Soviet Union door, and that Moscow wanted to gratify its energy desire through a more piercing presence in the Middle East.

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The Middle East already embodies a secondary source for the United States oil imports. Moreover, an increase in demands has been satisfied through sources other than those in the Persian Gulf and an active energy collaboration between Canada, Mexico, and the United States has been initiated; however, this does not weaken the United States's position in the Middle East. The Reagan administration highlighted how the increased demand was skillfully fulfilled, most of the burden of which had to be borne by the Middle Eastern countries. In hindsight, this did not alter the United States's disinterest in the region. In fact, if anything, it inspired the Soviet Union to instigate a war in Afghanistan against the Mujahidin and the United States's covert reaction with the weaponry supply through the Pakistani intelligence agencies.

To some extent, the United States was aware that the 1986 boom was not an evergreen field and that sooner or later the United

States would start consuming resources again. Moreover, the reason for the presence in a resource-rich region steers from imperial logics of power. Purchasing access to resources is as important as preventing antagonists from doing the same. Following the idea of fragmented supremacy, the notion that a resource independent United States could allow free movement of new powers in the Middle East is implausible. Initially, the USSR acted in a similar way in the post-World War II period. Although Russia was always energy independent, it continually sought access to the Gulf in relation to the Russian oil offensive. In terms of supply security, a politically steady Middle East is also a Middle East capable of providing a secure supply of resources to customer states. There is a very lucid relation between Middle East stability and low energy prices and remarkably, the biggest achievements in the pacification have been accomplished during periods of low barrel prices. The Camp David Accord of 1978 and the Oslo Accord of 1993 are both major examples that corroborate

Lower oil prices act as pacifiers in the Middle Eastern context. The 1986 price slump particularly influenced the Soviet retreat from the Afghanistan and the end of Iran-Iraq fiasco. The 1991 Iraqi-led invasion of Kuwait was related to the poor status of Iraq's finances after the long conflict with Iran and possibly proves that the aggressive path followed by Saddam Husain was due to the years of increase in oil prices. After 1986, for fifteen years, the influence of Arab countries was undeniably lower than that before the price glut. Notably, by the end of the 1990s, Israel and many other Muslim countries had managed to open diplomatic and commercial relations and had even established an outpost in Oman.

the relationship mentioned above.

This is due to both the international and regional decrease in oil prices which seems to agitate the building of nationalist and military sentiments. At a domestic level, high prices of fuel can exert an iron influence due to promotion of military agendas caused by ill-directed administration of rents and by the increase of opportunity costs of rebellion. It is possible that nationalist sentiments propelled by oil rents may generate transnational conflicts as happened for the Iran-Iraq war which began in the early 1980s. At the international level, oil rents may finance the reach of regional and great powers on the Israeli-Palestine conflict, weakening the region. The ties between Iran, the Shiite Crescent, and the armed groups in Southern Lebanon and in Gaza, demonstrate how the regime of Tehran stabilised by oil rents, can influence the ailment of the region.

Lower oil prices act as pacifiers in the Middle Eastern context. The 1986 price slump particularly influenced the Soviet retreat from the Afghanistan and the end of Iran-Iraq fiasco. The 1991 Iraqi-led invasion of Kuwait was related to the poor status of Iraq's finances after the long conflict with Iran and possibly proves that the aggressive path followed by Saddam Husain was due to the years of increase in oil prices. After 1986, for fifteen years, the influence of Arab countries was undeniably lower than that before the price glut. Notably, by the end of the 1990s, Israel and many other Muslim countries had managed to open diplomatic and commercial relations and had even established an outpost in Oman.

On this magnitude, the effect of non-OPEC oil production passing the OPEC production had a devastating impact on the reach of the petroleum cartel. Oil production in the central US states has increased so much that some commentators have labelled it

GEOPOLITICAL SECURITIZATION OF ENERGY

STRATEGIC PULSE



by Ammar Alam



"Saudi America". In this context, OPEC countries have reduced their production by 2012. In terms of contemporary amiability of the military operations in the Middle East, the essential issue is that of Iran's nuclear agenda.

Alternatively, considering both the element of inflated oil prices and the general impact of alternate energy resources; the quotation of oil barrels is still very low as compared to the general situation of the region. Notwithstanding, there have been civil wars in Libya and Syria, and uprisings involving important hydrocarbon-producing countries such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Iran. By April 2013, prices had dropped below 100USD. It limited both the rents for Iran and barred oil prices from shooting when rebellions exploded.

Additionally, the creation of alternatives to the Iranian oil poses a direct warning to the Tehran regime because then it makes military selections feasible. Moreover, a possibility of flow disruption from Iran would directly affect its purchases such as from China. For this reason, the UN started considering a new set of approvals between 2002-2012; major portions of the negotiations involved convincing China to join the imposition. The worried movements of Moscow in the region also signal the possible success of the new US strategy. As in the previous decade, the Russians had no direct interest in the oil of Middle East but still believed that retentive influence in the Middle East is a cementing factor for its establishment as a world power. Russia had taken a precise stance in the sectarian fights between different Islamic sects developed in the Middle East alongside the Arab revolts, and Russia sided with the Shia population. The Sunni component of the Middle East world, namely Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt, enjoys continuous support from the US. The Russian assistance of Iran's civil nuclear program, as well as weaponry supply to



Contemporary Russia in the Middle East is pursuing a twofold geopolitical goal that is quite suggestive of Soviet times of direct and indirect kind. The indirect kind alarms the possibility of affecting the political reach of competing powers. In this case, as gas is not a perfect substitute for oil hence it is still essential that Russia set parameters to the freedom of operation of oil-consuming countries.

countries in the region of Shia leadership, belongs to a political pattern that connects Moscow with Tehran, Syria, Southern Lebanon, and Gaza due to different intents. Among them, there is a goal of preserving a navy base on the Mediterranean on the Syrian coast of Tartus and of influencing the peace process between Israel and Palestine.

Contemporary Russia in the Middle East is pursuing a twofold geopolitical goal that is quite suggestive of Soviet times of direct and indirect kind. The indirect kind alarms the possibility of affecting the political reach of competing powers. In this case, as gas is not a perfect substitute for oil hence it is still essential that Russia set parameters to the freedom of operation of oil-consuming countries.

This ruling is not only concerned with the West but it is meant also to keep an eye on China. Russia is actively supplying Beijing with resources but containing the political freedom of China in territories of alternative supply which allows Russia to enjoy a prospective market advantage.

On a larger extent, it is still possible that unexpected disruption in supplies from territories outside of the Middle East will make the region more central to the global energy system and in this

sense, Russia's moves represent a geopolitical venture that may recompense in the years to come. Russia seems to have learned the lesson that the pendulum of energy supplies following long-term economic and political fluctuations may play at its advantage again. As for its undeviating goals, retaining control of the port of Tartus in Syria serves the purpose of being able to patrol the new frontier of carbon developments between Cyprus and Israel. Tartus allows Russian vessels to deploy maintenance operations, refuel, and replenish stocks without having to navigate all the way back to the Black Sea especially bearing in mind that the Dardanelles is a bunged waterway with ships having to wait even days before their turn to passage.

Even in 1945, one of the blatant intents of Stalin while negotiating the end of the Iranian crisis was to have the Dardanelles under Soviet Control. Moreover, in recent times, a set of new gas discoveries in the waters of Israel and Cyprus ignited Russian interest for the Mediterranean even further. Israeli waters may host enough gas to satisfy its domestic demand for fifty years. These discoveries may exert a fundamental impact on the local geostrategic assets. Israel may grow independent from Egypt's gas supplies and shift its supply chain to Jordan.

A paper by the conservative

Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs speculates that gas suppliers may represent competition even for Russia in the European and Asian markets. From Eilat on the Red Sea, a regasification terminal may allow Israel to export gas to the global markets. Such an opportunity has been connected to the unprecedented decision by Iran to deploy naval exercises in the Red Sea. The paper claims that an export structure operating directly from Eilat markets in Asia would face a rising strategic problem: Iran's increasing naval presence in the Red Sea. This will require Israel to establish and expand a fleet in the Red Sea as well as significant expansion in the size and capability of its Mediterranean fleet. In contemporary times, a resource-rich Russia is therefore still trying to retain its presence in the Middle East. The task has become more complicated than the part in particular because some Muslim territories are not part of a unified federal entity with Russia. Those territories were not only rich in resources but also represented the connecting point between Moscow and all the areas in the South. Russia had necessarily to switch from an outright territorial strategy with the operations in Afghanistan and the presence of military personnel in the region to a western strategy incorporating commercial goals as well as political and financial support. China's presence also has implications for the strategic game. In the last years, China prevented two resolutions against the Syrian

leadership and desisted at the veto for another one favouring the Libyan revolt at the time of the civil war. Until now, China has been free-riding the military presence of the US in the Middle East but it is still uncertain whether the presence of Beijing will act as an agent of steadiness. One thing is certain that we cannot expect the same Soviet influence on China as before. Moscow had no need for the oil supply and was, in fact, advancing from the price increase in the form of oil invasions. Moscow may still seek gains from the irregularities in the oil market in order to counter the growing Chinese significance especially owing to the long historical background of the co-inhabiting problems in the Eurasian Plateau. The relevance of the Middle East towards the global order and the bond of power between Moscow, Beijing, and Washington is still essential to geopolitics in the coming decades.

Analysis of Oil Politics in the Contemporary World

This power bond between the three will be the determining factor in the future of the Middle East. Growing instabilities in the Arab world along with the global irregularities in economies make the future of this region ambiguous. What's certain is the fact that global superpowers will continue to use Israel and Palestine as pawns in their conspiracies. Their nonchalant behaviour in solving the Jerusalem issue makes this clear.

Just like in other parts of the world, energy interests are prioritised over all other issues. It will be justified to say that oil resources are the single most significant factor driving all political relations of the Middle East to the world since 1945. This makes it imperative for any issue pertaining to regional politics to be linked to energy interests. Considering these two front together with the general change of assets, it is evident how the Arab-Israel conflict switched from direct military confrontation to diplomatic

warfare. Empowering Hamas with necessary arms and means cannot be warranted by claiming political interests in the region. It is a clear sign of a connection of the radical Arab world with Iran and Russia. The Israeli wall, after all, is not that different from the Berlin wall.

Shale Gas and Europe's Supply Security

The political goal of gas exports has lost importance in the developments of Euro-Russian energy ties. This is a consequence of the limits in its strategy. The theory that the country may shift its political focus in response to Moscow's energy supplies or policy never panned out. The evolution of Eastern Europe from coal to oil and gas made these economies more dependent on Moscow's energy supplies. The dual-edged sword of energy interdependence caused a decline in oil and gas supplies during periods of economic instabilities while Moscow chose to increase shipments to western hard currency-endowed consumers. The second biggest reason for the ruin of the political strategy was the manifestation of the commercial strategy. Not only did the socialist status of Europe depend on Russian oil and gas, Moscow became partly dependent on its exports to Europe. Besides the dichotomy between commercial

and political goals in the strategic moves of Moscow.

Moscow is still majorly dependent on the energy goods and must preserve the ample flow of exports in order to maintain the financial weights of the nation, including the armed forces. The sustainability of these commercial prospects of any Russian approach in the energy industry requires political goals like a missing piece of the puzzle. In the worst-case scenario, Moscow's contemporary political identity cannot be detached from energy, therefore, rendering all political moves a disguise for energy motives and vice versa. This gives the investment in a pipeline project a secure way of preserving a trade and transit relationship, an intrinsic political value. As politics is a disguise for energy, any investment outside Russia that profits the energy sector consequently helps political situations as well. Strategic moves in the market of energy trading specifically those that target the political goals can be viewed as progress in a strategy of imperialist expansion. This would then help maintain power overseas and will preserve the energy trade as well. Post-ideological foreign policies are adopted if they deliver domestic profits on the face of national interest. In the case of Russia, the centralised state framework of power profits from



additional and secure security rents and a reduced risk in trade. The goal of these additional rents can be accomplished through new pipelines along with the large energy projects of the twentieth century. As for risk mitigation, the goal for a skill of territorial control and coordination in order to enjoy a firm leverage in the region. The risk mitigation skill is what is actually disguised as politically driven energy targets of Russia.

Yet in contemporary Russia, it's not energy serving the imperialist but the other way around as the interest of the country lies in the security of the energy trade. At the time of Soviet foreign policy territorial goals in the eastern part of Europe had both military and economic foundation. However, as the economy of the world shifted to world capitalism, the post-1999 Russia gave up pursuing old territorial means of economic integration with other countries. The real concern of new Russian territorialism is only related to the

freedom Russia has in energy transport, in the quantity and at the price it desires. To impose its political prowess on Europe, Moscow needs to strengthen itself economically through energy and should avoid bracing selective countries if they don't accede to informal political orders. Territorial control was the major advantage enjoyed by Russia and the western reaction was understandably severe. Fearing the high risk of Russia enjoying the existing monopoly in the gas market, a sharp tactic of political disintegration of the previous territory and satellite status was promoted by the west.

These tactics were utilised through the expansion of NATO to Eastern Europe and the western support to the so-called color revolution in Ukraine and Georgia. In retrospect, many other reasons prompted this change but none of those reasons were nearly as important as the pipeline politics were. On a more strict policy side the European

Union (EU), the priority was also to limit the reach of Russia's influence on the downstream distribution network of Europe.

Another concern faced by the EU was represented by the recurring energy crises between Russia and its transit countries, in particular, Ukraine. On three different occasions, disagreements with Russia and the direct supply problems led to discontinued service for its customers. These events in history made it clear how Ukraine represented a technical and political bottleneck for gas deliveries to Europe.

The EU was presented with two main options: one was to nurture the development of different pipeline routes, the second was to accept a reorganisation of Ukrainian pipelines in exchange for concessions to Russia. Both solutions offered advantages and disadvantages. The idea of different delivery systems would have provided the most instantaneous

solution to the development of the Nord stream pipeline and a south stream in the southern corridor. A comprehensive plan of this sort would have presented Russia with the material to exert a vast control on the gas market along with its growing hold in the retail sector. Russia switching the gas flow to the countries according to political preferences would definitely be a much situation. The second solution of the Ukrainian upgrade would come at a grave cost of political exchange. The independence of Ukrainian politics did not present Russia with the necessary requirements to delve in much closer commercial ties with the country. A possible comparison could have been with the situation of Belarus which offers Russia all the essential securities for a cooperation without any service hurdles. The west was of the view that the cost of transition from Ukraine to Belarus was not justified by the advantages in terms of technical solutions of the upgrade. As a matter of fact, the upgrade of the Ukrainian pipelines had an estimated cost of 6.5 billion USD, whereas south stream's investment is around 36.5 billion USD. The western interest in the Orange Revolution was partly vindicated by the notion that political independence of Ukraine had to prevail, leading in the end to the success of a pro-independence candidate at the elections. European policies at the time focused on three major terms: an alternative project to South stream called Nabucco, the installation of new LNG terminals on the European coasts, and the creation of "reverse flow" pipelines.

The real version of Nabucco envisaged a connection between the Turkish gas terminals of Erzurum to Austria feeding gas from Azerbaijan. The geopolitical ambiguity of the initiative was evident from the beginning, with persuading Azerbaijan preferring European initiative over the Russian one and also receiving gas from Iran. These factors in addition to the budget constraint

led to its abandonment.

Numerous other projects were also initiated to curb any Russian dominance in gas trade. It seems as if the strategic game in terms of gas interconnections up to 2011 has been sparsely similar to the strategic asset of previous transatlantic diplomatic stalemates. Druzhba oil pipeline in the 1980s, Nord and South stream included an involvement of Germany and Italy. This was severely feared by the US as an attempt to make Europe overly dependent on Russian goods.

The development in the LNG technology and the installation of new European terminals made available additional quantities of gas from previously unconnected regions. Most notably, the traditional separation of the LNG world into and Atlantic and a Pacific basin is vanishing. Moreover, countries such as Bahrain and Qatar can now offer significant volumes of gas competing with the Russian routes.

However, predictions today show that Russia's energy future is very bright. Today, it is working towards its development, consuming energy resources particularly natural gas, notably in European and Asian markets and possibly North American ones. The pivotal modifications in the energy sector led to a complete rethinking of Russian and European strategies.

The situation made clear once again how it is not just Europe being dependent on Russian gas, but also Russia being dependent on Europe. In 2010, oil proceeds represented a half of the federal budget revenue and about one-quarter of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Russia, and for similar reasons, the price dip of 2009 led to a GDP crunch of nine percent. The market became ambivalent for Russia and somehow EU policies seemed to work kindly for Europe. Such a status led to the decision to emphasise on the improvement

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of the previous Russian energy dip in 1986, this time, Russia has chances of finding more buyers. In the early 1990s, the lack of a real alternative consumption market for the West allowed for more than a decade of low energy prices. This time, the demand of the BRICs – given that they are able to keep up with solid growth patterns – will drive up global demand and prices at a much higher pace than before.

Chinese Demand and the Risk to European Supply Security

In 1997, China and Kazakhstan reached an agreement for the construction of an oil pipeline and for general cooperation in the field of energy. China was well aware of the fact that the establishment of a new energy network required an advanced approach in order for it to keep up with the prospective demand pace. The pipeline's construction began on September 28, 2004, along the border of Kazakhstan and Xinjiang,

successfully completed by July 11, 2009.

Additionally, through Alataw, there is another infrastructure transiting a gas pipeline originating from Turkmenistan. China does not have a momentous gas production deficit currently; the prospect of shale gas may also bolster domestic production but the ambition of investment seems justified by the prospective upsurge of the demand and with the goal to operate a partial substitution of coal-powered plants with gas-fired ones. The strategic prominence of this pipeline named Central Asia-China pipeline has been verified by the new agreement signed with Kazakhstan in June 2010 to connect it with Kazakh gas to be supplied to China.

No section of the pipeline between Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan will dash Russian territory. Taking heed from the experience of Azerbaijan in the early 1990s, central Asian countries are not selecting sides

yet; they have not turned their backs either on Russia or on China. They are trying to use energy to fashion a political web. Most notably, Russia also exports oil to China using the Kazakh pipeline. As in the west, Moscow depends on Ukraine to export energy and in the east, it must coordinate with Kazakhstan.

The Chinese trials for the sourcing of gas from central Asia do not concern just the general structure of international politics. On the Chinese side of Alataw pass, Beijing must face impending issues regarding the local territory. The first province in the Chinese territory to host the pipelines as they enter the national territory is Xingjian, an autonomous area with language, culture, and religion differing from the rest of the country. The dominant ethnicity in China is of the Hans and in Xingjian, the majority is of Uighur of Islamic belief. The area is rich in hydrocarbon production and the natural gas that is produced here satisfies one-third of the Chinese demand.

The supply security strategy is, therefore, reminiscent of the old Soviet strategy of binding the

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two sides of the territory from east to west through a network of economic interests and military power. The general economic blueprint had to face cultural differences the idea that local resources had to serve the economic development of the eastern coast. One of the reasons for tensions is the internal immigration; in 1950, the Hans represented a mere 6% of the population whereas now they represent 4% and they happen to be the majority in the wealthy urban and the industrial area. In 2001, the US found out that some Uighurs was present in terrorist camps in Afghanistan to plan attacks in Beijing. In 2006, demands rose for reforms concerning the distribution of extractive rents. Beijing then opted for a social engineering plan to curb the possible source of dissent. This included immigration of Uighurs to the Yangtze Delta region with the intent to facilitate local Xingjian development through savings wired from Yangtze. However, their strategy was unsuccessful and violence broke out in July 2009.

One of the main questions concerning China is whether the growing relationship with Russia and Central Asia might impact the European supply security. Russia has been able to build some sort of preferential relationship with the new stance, particularly with Turkmenistan.

The Russian motivation to look for new export investments to China has been stimulated by the crises between 2005 and 2009. As the European gas consumption stagnated, Russia had to face enormous economic risks with a decrease in exports which in some months was 50% less in comparison to 2007. The largest part of the capitalization of Moscow stock exchange depends on the energy industry and the crash of the market has been much harsher than that of the capital markets of the west. China could have been an opportunity for Moscow before the crises too but Moscow needed time to be sure that the Chinese market was growing. Between 1990 and 2007, China's gas consumption

increased fivefold. Yet, we cannot disregard the fact that China and Russia always had problems of coexistence on the Eurasian platform, leading to major conflict in 1929, border clash in 1969, and a general political confrontation for most of the 20th century. In 2001, China and Russia signed a "friendship treaty" that opened the possibility for military collaboration. In 2005, both countries took part in a joint military drill termed Peace Mission 2005. Such initiatives were complemented by the consequences of the economic crises when Beijing intervened to help Moscow.

In February 2009, the two countries closed a twenty-year long deal in which China financed the Russian energy industry for 25 billion USD in exchange for oil. A few months later, a second large deal was closed for 100 billion USD covering also the areas of nuclear energy together with oil, gas, and pipelines. At the time of the agreement, most of the Russian exports to China were still being

carried out on railway, vulnerable to any political issue which might surface. In November 2005, the then Chinese premier Wen Jiabao and his Russian counterpart Mikhail Frodkov conducted a joint press release declaring the beginning of negotiations for the building of an oil pipeline from Siberia to the Chinese markets, the East Siberia-Pacific Ocean (ESPO).

For gauging the impact of all these situations on Europe, some key points shall be considered. First, we shall admit that Russian economic diversification is not a wise solution in the long run.

If the economy is exaggeratedly dependent on energy commodities, it would be easy to branch out energy exports market than the whole economy, to make it more stable. We can analyze Russia's decision to develop the ESPO pipeline for economic diversification. It may also help Moscow make better investment decisions and hence reduce financial risk considerably.

The diversification of supply market reinforces Russian leverage on Europe as the opportunity selectively confines supply to European markets since Moscow might depend on an alternate eastern source of proceeds if it need to cease operations in Europe. Nevertheless, the situation is not as easy as it seems. Firstly, Russia has no geopolitical interest in expanding energy relationships with China to seize Europe. In particular, the Eastern border of Russia which also hosts important production centres, resents from demographic problems. With Chinese males moving to Russian territory as the effect of one child policy has led to sex disproportion compared to population decay in Russia. If Russian resources become overly important for China, demographic pressures might lead to a conflict. Secondly, an action of selective shut-off of European pipelines might be countered by reverse flow pipelines making such actions less effective and LNG is an integral factor.

It is possible that Russia sees the Chinese opportunity as merely a business opportunity and the political idea is only secondary. The idea doesn't concern the imposition of political will based on the control of the supply tool but focuses more deeply on the control of energy market. If Russia manages to deploy its full-blown energy strategy, it might influence the gas process through the control of gas storage in Europe and by leading a central Asian block of gas producers capable of influencing gas prices. When this plan's establishment was underway, the boom of shale gas was still in its initial stages. China has twice as much shale gas reserves than the US. It is enough to make traditional gas from Russia which, at present, is not significant for China. Unless Moscow offers lower prices, and that too without political claims, China does not need traditional gas from Russia for many years to come.

Chinese energy potentials are parts of the broader discussion





about its approach to global politics. A recent publication by David Shambaugh states that the elements of Chinese global power are surprisingly weak and uneven. He says "China is not as important or as influential as conventional wisdom holds. The proclamation that China will rule the world in years to come is profoundly incorrect and overstated. China has a long way to go before it becomes, if ever, a true global power". Avery Goldstein, a professor of global politics at Pennsylvania University, says, "China is much less powerful than what many people make it to be albeit more powerful than it was in the past centuries". Such considerations of China as an unwilling global power are important, particularly when assessing its foreign energy policy. Shambaugh adds in his book that China's energy-driven diplomacy in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America has begun to produce further strains in Chinese diplomacy.

In general terms, the limits of China's global energy policy may be positive or negative. The positive limits are represented by the fact that China does not seek to deliberately introduce an imperialist concept bundled to

its energy diplomacy. Although, it could be claimed that the lack of ideology is an ideology itself. It seems that China's approach lacks the traditional multidimensional approaches of Russia and America. The Asian power prefers mere commercial relations to full-blown political coordination and does not seek to introduce particular political values like democracy and free market. Nevertheless, we cannot forget that China's traditions do not include democracy and it is understandable that the same political concept is absent from its international policy. Hence, it can be said that the policy of international commercial presence is as influential as a deliberate policy of imperialist political expansion.

The negative limit might hurt the positive limits as well. Commercial presence is, in the end, also political presence, especially in the case of state-owned Chinese companies. This is due to the fact that the flow of foreign rents may alter the domestic situation of supplying countries. Believing that commercial relations can be expanded to unlimited extents without responsibility in terms of social development is senseless. Their limits may be normal for

a country that has developed an interest in expanding its international presence only in recent times. Moreover, the temporary US supremacy of the 1990s has been affected by a Russian resurgence again counterbalanced by a return of the US on the side of energy commodity production.

Conclusion

A pipeline from Iran to Pakistan, with the possibility of an extension to China, is planned. In case the old TAP project from Turkmenistan is recharged, Gwadar will also be the tie-in hub with China. The military tension in the South China Sea can also be explained by the demand of control on energy connections. The area hosts principal sea lanes connecting the Persian Gulf to China, through the Strait of Malacca (between Malaysia and Indonesia's Sumatra), and in the future, it may host additional LNG traffic from Pakistan in case pipeline projects are completed. It seems to be a competition between Russia, China, and the U.S. Russia is facing a theatrical decline in all sides of society and is trying to keep the structure alive through energy exports and other state-centered resources. The U.S. countered the condensed influence

and started suffering in the 2000s, through an augmented focus on domestic resources. Moreover, China has been capitalising profoundly in Iran as it wants to bolt the energy resources for its growing economy. As the interest of the Japanese, European, and Canadian firms diminishes in the face of US pressure, Chinese oil companies are firming their ties to Iran's oil industry in recent months.

Putting everything in jeopardy would not have been a wise move for Beijing and even though the Russians had gestured some willingness in recent days to stand secure against Iran, many thought Russia too was still not willing to go after Iran's energy sector.

Some analysts were led to assert that it was this crude connection between Tehran and Beijing that fired the Iranian stability on the matter and that China is just not considering Tehran. Already, it enjoys an extremely cordial relation with Riyadh too which is its major crude supplier. It is also looking for assistance with energy-rich Africa. As crude seems to be playing a very important role in shaping politics and positions, it dictates nations to act as per their national interests. Beijing too cannot be

expected to play otherwise.

On the other side, Gwadar provides a strategic base for China to expand its stakes by the convergence of South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia. China's stake in Gwadar is causing much distress among regional players of geopolitics. Its involvement in the Gwadar port project has also caused reservations in the minds of strategic experts in the Pentagon. The US strategy of getting involved into Central Asia and the Gulf was mainly intended at pre-empting China from Central Asia and the Gulf.

The proposed TAP gas pipeline would involve the construction of a pipeline about 1,700 kilometers up to Gwadar. From Gwadar, this gas would then go on to the world markets. Pakistan and India are currently involved in talks with Iran to get Iranian gas by building a gas pipeline from Iran to India via Pakistan. It seems that as the centre of global relations has moved east, the US are stressed to find means and rationale for an intrusion to influence the new energy inclinations to China. Possibly, the change in energy equilibrium is both a source and a consequence of global power; but



as the experience of the Soviet Union exhibited, a period of decline does not mean a complete retreat from a region that will remain pivotal as a discriminant of global power. No great power is in a position to exert a fully hegemonic control on foreign energy-producing areas. Particularly in the Middle East, the wave of independence started in the 1970s lately inspired by the "Azeri style" multidimensional diplomatic approach, is transforming every country into a possible centre of interest and an important player in the great game of balance of power.

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COUNTER TERRORISM OPERATIONS IN PAKISTAN POST-9/11

Prepared by CT Desk of CSCR



For more than a decade, Pakistan witnessed an unprecedented wave of terror attacks all across the country. More than 87,000 Pakistanis have been killed and injured due to terrorism since 9/11. The Pakistani economy has suffered more than \$118 billion direct and indirect losses due to terrorism. Over the years, Pakistani security forces conducted the following major military operations in order to curtail the menace of terrorism:-

**Operation
Al-Mizan
(The Balance)**

**Operation
Rah-e-Haq
(The True Path)**

**Operation
Zalzala
(Earthquake)**

**Operation
Sherdil
(Lion-Heart)**

**Operation
Black
Thunderstorm**

**Operation
Rah-e-Rast
(The Correct
Path)**

**Operation
Rah-e-Nejaat
(The Path to
Salvation)**

**Operation
Khwakh Ba De
Sham
(I Will Teach
You A
Lesson)**

**Operation
Koh-e-Sufaid
(White
Mountain)**

**Operation
Zarb-e-Azb
(Sharp and
Cutting Strike)**

**Operation
Khyber**

**Operation
Radd-ul-Fasaad
(Elimination of
Discord)**



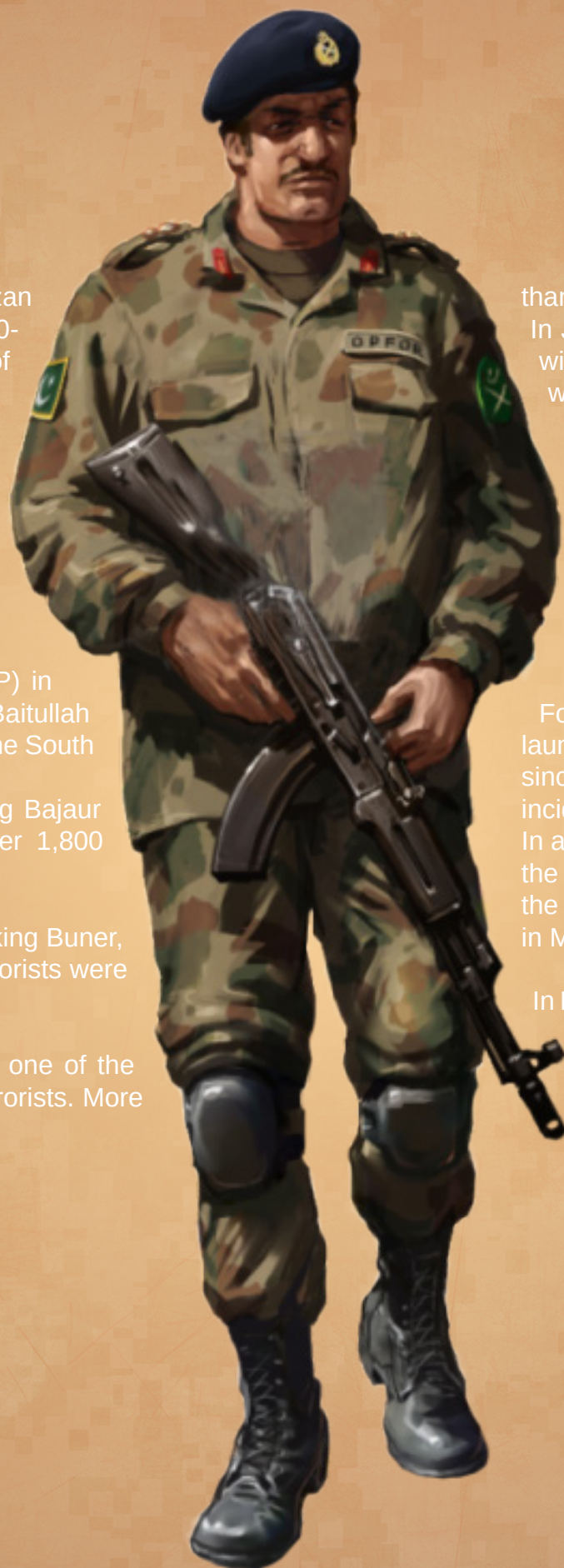
The first major operation launched against terror groups was Operation Al-Mizan in 2001-02. The operation was conducted in South Waziristan. Around 70,000-80,000 security personnels were involved in the operation, which comprised of several smaller operations like Operation Kalosha II.

In October 2007, the first phase of Operation Rah-e-Haq was launched in Malakand and Swat against Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM). The second phase of the operation was launched in July 2008 in which 615 terrorists were killed. The final phase of the operation was launched in January 2009. The operation ended with peace accord between the government and TNSM.

Following the announcement of existence of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in December 2007, Operation Zalzal was launched in January 2008 against Baitullah Mehsud, then TTP chief, and his supporters in South Waziristan. Most parts of the South Waziristan Agency were cleared through this operation, which ended in May. In August 2008, Operation Sherdil was launched with the objective of clearing Bajaur Agency from terrorists. The operation concluded in February 2009 and over 1,800 terrorists were killed in the operation.

Operation Black Thunderstorm was launched in April 2009 with the aim of retaking Buner, Lower Dir, Swat and Shangla districts from the control of TTP. Nearly 1500 terrorists were killed in the two s operation.

Security forces launched Operation Rah-e-Rast in May 2009. Considered as one of the most successful military operations, the operation cleared Swat Valley from terrorists. More



than 2000 terrorists were killed in the operation, which ended in July 2009.

In June 2009, security forces launched Operation Rah-e-Nejaat in South Waziristan with the aim to dismantle terrorists' strongholds in the agency. More than 600 terrorists were killed in the seven months operation.

In March 2010, the Pakistani military launched Operation Khwakh Ba De Sham in Orakzai Agency and Kurram Agency. More than 2500 terrorists were killed in the three months long operation.

Operation Koh-e-Sufaid was launched in July 2011, in Kurram agency. The main objective of the operation, which ended in August, was to secure and reopen Thall-Parachinar highway, Kurran's only connection to outside world.

Following an attack on Karachi Airport in June 2014, Operation Zarb-e-Azb was launched in North Waziristan. Termed as the most successful military operation since 9/11, the operation played a crucial role in significantly decreasing the terror incidents all across the country. More than 3500 terrorists were killed in the operation. In addition, Operation Khyber was also launched in Khyber Agency. The first phase of the operation was launched in October 2014. More than 100 terrorists were killed in the 6-month operation. The second phase of the three months operation was launched in March 2015. In August 2016, the final phase of the operation was initiated.

In February 2017, the country witnessed a resurgence of terror attacks. Consequently, Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad (Elimination of Discord) was launched all across the country. The operation aims to eliminate the threat of terrorism and to consolidate the gains of Operation Zarb-e-Azb.



Fatalities



Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan (Post 9/11)

Why Pakistan has Failed to Develop a Counter Terror Narrative?



by Fahad Nabeel

FEATURE ARTICLE

ARMED & DANGEROUS

In recent years, Pakistan has witnessed a high frequency of terror attacks but a significant decline in these attacks was witnessed following the beginning of Operation Zarb-e-Azb in June 2014. Physical infrastructures of terrorist groups were destroyed in the tribal areas which resulted in weakening the ability of terrorists to hit hard and soft targets.

Coupled with Operations Khyber 1 and Khyber 2 and several other factors, Operation Zarb-e-Azb played a role in reducing the frequency of terror attacks. The government announced an

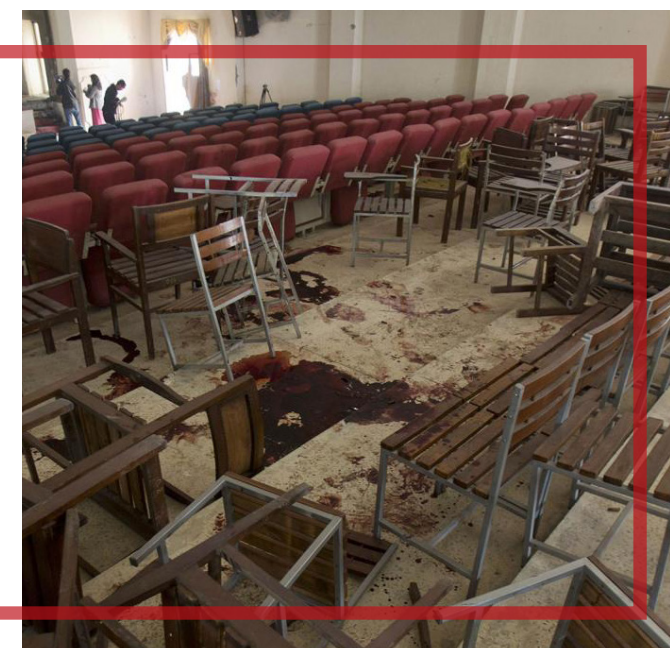
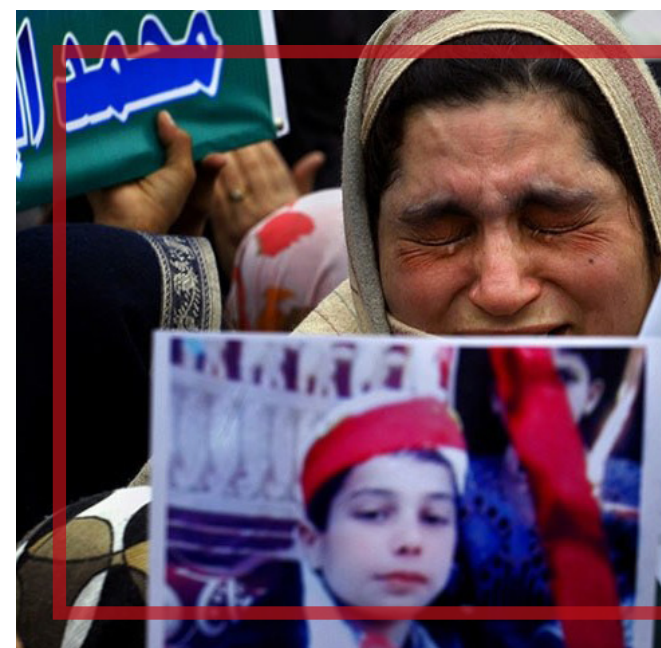
amnesty scheme for separatists in Balochistan keeping in view the increasing infighting incidents among the separatist groups. This played a vital role in weakening the decade-long insurgency in the province. In Karachi, the operation led by the Sindh Rangers helped bring normalcy in the metropolis. A number of intelligence-based operations (IBOs) were also conducted in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to eliminate the presence of terror networks in those provinces.

Apart from countering terrorism through military operations

and IBOs, no serious efforts were made to draft anti-terror legislations which could have facilitated in speeding up the process of prosecuting hard-core terrorists, facilitators and abettors. In addition, no mechanism was chalked out to build a counter-terror narrative in order to eliminate the impact of extremist ideology.

Consequently, when nine terror attacks happened in a gap of eight days (12th February – 17th February 2017) across Pakistan, it was believed that a new wave of terrorism struck the country. Among possible reasons, the

Military operations can deter terrorist strikes but they cannot entirely eliminate their ability to carry out deadly attacks and hence, the necessity of building a counter-terror narrative arises. Military action can either stop terrorists from carrying out attacks or kill them in operations but it can never stop a person from becoming a terrorist. It is the counter-terror narrative which holds that power.



inability to build a counter-terror narrative was considered as an important factor.

It is important to realize that military action alone is not the solution to every terror attack, terror outfit, insurgency, violent group etc. Military operations can deter terrorist strikes but they cannot entirely eliminate their ability to carry out deadly attacks and hence, the necessity of building a counter-terror narrative arises. Military action can either stop terrorists from carrying out attacks or kill them in operations but it can never stop a person from becoming a terrorist. It is the counter-terror narrative which holds that power.

Before discussing the ways through which we can formulate a counter-terror narrative, it is important to know the narrative propagated by terror outfits. Following are the main points of the narrative propagated by

terrorist organizations:

- Implementation of Shariah in Pakistan
- The Pakistani state is un-Islamic
- The Pakistani government is apostate and a U.S. protégé
- Shias are Kafir (Non-Muslims)
- Every Pakistani is an infidel
- Tribal Muslims are persecuted by the Pakistani Army in the name of war on terror
- Pakistan's Army is a mercenary force/occupying force/Punjabi Army
- Pakistani rulers are agents of the West
- The media is a tool of Dajjal (The Anti Christ) and is involved in misleading the

masses.

The main objective of all the propaganda of these terror groups is to inform the masses that their reason behind waging the so-called Jihad against the state of Pakistan is to implement Shariah (Islamic law) in Pakistan. The Takfeeri terror groups (the terror groups that declare other Muslims of committing apostasy) also declare the state of Pakistan an un-Islamic state and declare that the Pakistan government is apostate and a U.S. protégé. Moreover, Takfeeri terror groups like TTP and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi have declared Shias non-Muslims.

Another common notion propagated by Takfeeri terror groups like Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), and TTP-Jamaatul Ahrar (TTP-JA) is that every Pakistani is an infidel and that Pakistan's army is persecuting tribal Muslims in the name of war on terror. The army is also



There were several reasons because of which the state failed to develop its own counter-terror narrative. The major reasons include the absence of a consensus among the government officials of previous governments regarding the measures that should be taken to counter terrorism.

described as a mercenary force that is working on the payroll of the USA. The terror groups have quoted several verses of the Holy Quran out of context to justify their killing of the personnel of Pakistani security forces and law enforcement agencies. Balochistan and Sindh-based ethno-nationalist terror groups term the Pakistani army as an 'occupying force' or 'Punjabi Army'. Another very popular notion propagated by these outfits is that Pakistani rulers are agents of West and they view media as a tool of Dajjal and believe that it is misleading Pakistanis.

In order to counter this narrative of terror outfits, our previous governments adopted certain strategies. The traces of developing a counter-terror narrative go back to 2002 when the then Pakistani President General Pervez

Musharraf introduced a "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation". In a technical sense, the strategy was not wholly a counter-terror narrative. It did not last long because of over-simplicity and contrition. Apart from this strategy, an anti-terrorist rhetoric was generated by important figures including government officials, armed forces and religious scholars in the run-up to Swat Operation, Operation Rah-e-Nijat and Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

Before the realization of the necessity of a counter-terror narrative, it was believed that countering the menace of terrorism was solely restricted to military action. But in recent years, realization that military action alone cannot counter the menace of terrorism has been gaining momentum.

There were several reasons because of which the state failed to develop its own counter-terror narrative. The major reasons include the absence of a consensus among the government officials of previous governments regarding the measures that should be taken to counter terrorism. The incumbent government has also failed to come up with a counter-terror narrative and therefore, this lack of clarity has resulted in the failure to draft a counter-terror narrative for nearly a decade. Similarly, in the past, no joint efforts were made by state-run institutions, media and intelligentsia to formulate a counter-terror narrative. In the past, the three worked in isolation hence no progress was made in the preparation of a counter-terror narrative.

Despite several fatwas (Islamic

rulings) by various religious organizations and bodies, no joint efforts were made by scholars belonging to different sects in preparing a counter-terror narrative. Many scholars who issued fatwas against suicide bombings were killed by the terror outfits in order to silence the voices of those who condemn terrorism.

Another major reason for not formulating a counter-terror narrative was the failure to build a discourse to gain public legitimacy. The Swat Operation and Operation Zarb-e-Azb were the only notable military operations in which the state mobilized public opinion to justify the use of forces against terrorism. Apart from these military operations, no efforts were made to gain public legitimacy which resulted in creating more confusion in the society and allowed the pro-militancy mindset to thrive.

Prior to the tragic APS Peshawar attack, no mechanism was in place to clamp down the glorification of terror incidents. Non-state actors were given airtime to present their views. Baloch Republican Army's Brahamdagh Bugti and Baloch Liberation Army's Hyrbayir Marri were invited in prime time political TV shows to present their viewpoints on Balochistan. Following an attack on Express News's DSNG van in January 2014, anchor Javed Chaudhry allowed the then TTP spokesperson Ehsanullah Ehsan to present his viewpoint. In a 9-minute telephonic interview, Javed Chaudhry offered TTP adequate media coverage provided that in future the terror group does not target journalists.

Following the tragic APS Peshawar attack, the National Action Plan (NAP) was formulated.

The NAP incorporated various points to counter radicalization in the society. The fifth point of the NAP explains that the state will take strict action against hate speeches and extremist material. Point 11 states that glorification of extremists on mass media should be banned. Point 14 mentions that abuse of internet for terrorism will be stopped. Despite mentioning these counter-terror measures in the NAP, no elaboration was provided regarding the mechanisms through which these counter-terror measures will be achieved.

Before formulating a counter-terror narrative, it is important to know the radicalization process – the process through which people are inclined to take arms against their own fellow citizens. While preparing a counter-terror narrative, it is important to answer the following questions:

- Why is it necessary to fight terrorism?
- What will be the dangers to the survival of Pakistan in future if terrorism is not tackled in present time?
- How to counter terrorism?
- What are the causes and sources of terrorism?

By answering the above four questions, the state will be able to prepare a counter-terror narrative that will explain the importance of fighting terrorism, the future implications on Pakistan's survival if terrorism is not properly tackled, and the environment which helps in producing terrorists.

The state of Pakistan should spread awareness among the

masses as to why they are fighting war against terrorism. Following the tragic attack on APS Peshawar in December 2014, an overwhelming majority of Pakistanis realized the necessity of fighting terrorism. Those who sympathize with the terrorists should be made aware that these terrorists are responsible for killing and injuring more than 87,000 Pakistanis and causing economic losses of more than \$118 billion. In addition, it should be realized that terrorism is one of the major obstacles that is hindering Pakistan's journey towards prosperity and development.

The counter-terror narrative should present arguments which contradict the narrative of terror outfits. The arguments should make clear that the version of Shariah which Takfeeri terrorists propagate to implement is totally against the teachings of Islam, and that Islam prohibits the killing of innocent people yet the terror outfits have mostly focused on targeting soft targets. Apart from targeting soft targets, the Takfeeri terror outfits are responsible for spreading Takfeeri thought among various sections of society through their propagandist literature. With the assistance of various foreign intelligence agencies like R&AW and NDS, the terrorists are also involved in causing instability in Pakistan and are a threat to the social, economic and political development of Pakistan.

After elucidating the importance of fighting terror groups, another important question to discuss is how terrorism can be countered. In this regard, it is important to identify and address the various causes of terrorism. The role of civil society in counter-terrorism efforts should be highlighted. Print

The role of civil society in counter-terrorism efforts should be highlighted. Print and electronic media should be provided with policy guidelines in order to serve as an important tool in countering the terrorists' narrative. Religious scholars and community leaders should be taken on board so that they can play their role in creating sectarian and ethnic harmony.

and electronic media should be provided with policy guidelines in order to serve as an important tool in countering the terrorists' narrative. Religious scholars and community leaders should be taken on board so that they can play their role in creating sectarian and ethnic harmony. The registration and regulation of Madrassahs is also an important measure in counter-terrorism efforts. The masses should be informed about the funding of terrorist groups and what precautions the people should take while donating to charity organizations.

To build a counter-terror narrative, it is important that state-run institutions, media and intelligentsia cooperate. There is due responsibility on these three for the state's past inability to build a counter-terror narrative. Apart from these measures, there is also a need to formulate political, technical and economic policy approaches in order to counter terrorism.

The messenger, message and the target audience are the important components of a counter-terror narrative. The core of a counter-terror narrative is to name and shame terrorists' leadership, highlight the sufferings of the victims and to prove that the interpretation of religion by extremists is inaccurate. The counter-terror narrative should be effective in preventing not only violent extremism but should also change the mindsets which accept violence.

The interpretation of religion is the domain where renowned scholars come up. Some scholars have written books and delivered lectures against the terrorists' narrative. Several scholars like Maulana Hassan Jan and Mufti

Sarfaraz Naeemi were silenced forever because of their anti-terrorism views. Religious scholars need to do more to counter the terrorists' narrative. The counter-terror narrative should be based on the true interpretation of Islamic teachings and injunctions. A number of verses in the Holy Quran have condemned the killing of innocent people. In Surah Al-An'am, it is said that '...And do not kill the soul which Allah has forbidden [to be killed] except by [legal] right.' (Quran 6:151) and in Surah Al-Ma'idah it is said that, '...whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land - it is as if he had slain mankind entirely. And whoever saves one - it is as if he had saved mankind entirely.' (Quran 5:32).

Apart from condemning the killing of innocent people and abhorring bloodshed, Islam forbids armed groups and non-state actors to declare Jihad. Moreover, instigating rebellion against the state or taking arms against it is impermissible in Islam. These Islamic injunctions and principles should be incorporated in the counter-terror narrative in order to counter the propaganda spread by terrorists and extremists.

The counter-terror narrative can effectively be implemented by religious scholars through Friday sermons, daily or weekly halaqas (gatherings), courses, workshops etc. In addition, the madrassahs should also be mainstreamed by introducing English, natural and social sciences in the syllabus of madrassa curriculum. A number of misconceptions prevail among madrassah students. It is important to build a narrative that is able to clear misconceptions so that those students don't become fodder for terror outfits. In order to create an atmosphere of de-radicalization

in the society, it is also important to promote critical thinking skills, religious values of compassion, tolerance and respect for diversity in the national and madrassa curriculum.

Electronic and Print media also have a vital role to play in the propagation of counter-terror narrative. Intellectual debates and discussions should be organized on various TV channels where renowned religious scholars, both local and foreign, should interact with the Pakistani people, especially the young generation. Such sessions will help to weaken the prevalence of extremist narrative in the society.

The social media is another important domain in the propagation of counter-terror narrative. In recent years, the social media has served as an important means for recruiting by terrorist organizations. Therefore, it is important to utilize the various social media platforms to initiate constructive discussions and dialogues. Moreover, various campaigns should be undertaken on social media through which the atrocities and brutalities of terror groups should be exposed. Messages of defectors from terror outfits and highlighting the sufferings of victims should be the core of social media campaigns against terror outfits. Islamic literature should also be utilized in countering inaccurate interpretation of Islam by Takfeeri terrorist outfits in social media domain.

In order to make the counter-terror narrative effective, there should be clarity among government officials regarding the decisions they take. Decisions without clarity will create more confusion and will weaken the narrative. Apart from clarity in

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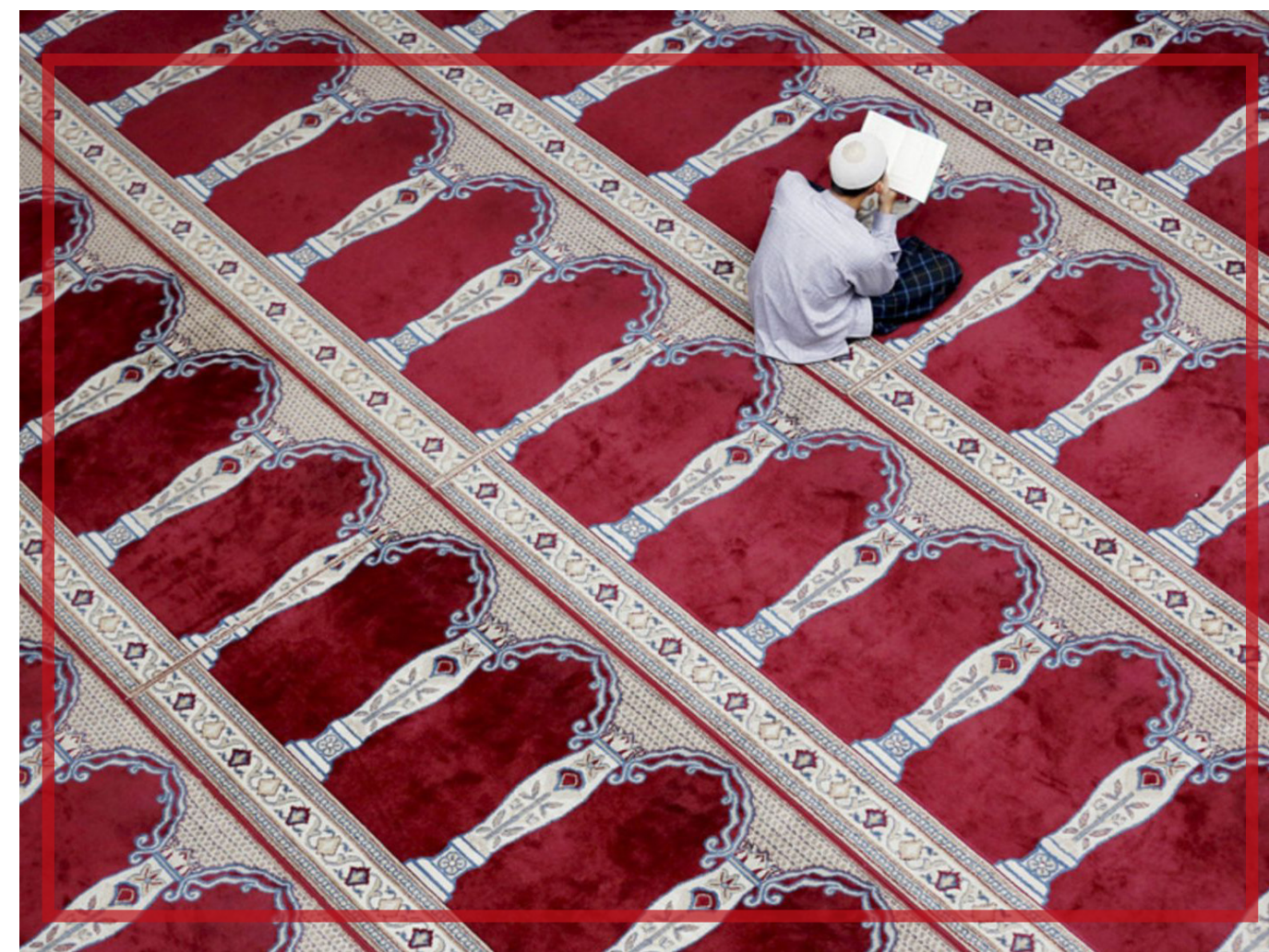
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decisions, the government should ensure good governance, rule of law, eradication of corruption; the introduction of police reforms and providing no space to terror outfits.

The necessity of a counter-terror narrative can be gauged from the fact that despite several military operations in the past few years, several networks of facilitators

and abettors still exist. These facilitators and abettors are indoctrinated with the propaganda circulated by various terror outfits. If a well-defined counter-terror narrative is prepared, the ability of terrorist organizations to penetrate the society for recruitment will significantly weaken. In addition, numerous facilitators and abettors might decide to surrender before

the authorities which will also result in a severe blow to the terror groups. Without their cooperation, no terror group will be able to carry out terror attacks. Therefore, it is necessary that a well-defined counter-terror narrative should be prepared after consulting all main stakeholders so that the ideological dimension of terrorism can be countered.



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EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: Restoring Peace in Balochistan

In conversation with Mr. Mir Sarfraaz Ahmed Bugti
Minister: Home and Tribal Affairs, Prisons (Home Minister)

Q1

Tell us about the composition of Bugti tribe?

Answer: There are various sub clans of Bugti tribe; Kalpar, Mondrani, Masoori, Lothani, Arozani, Shambanri, and Marahij. Saidyani is another also another sub clan. These tribes are then distributed in different casts like Masoori is distributed in three sub clans, and Kalpar is further distributed in two sub clans.

There is a beauty in tribal distribution, for example, if there is recruitment in the Levee force, we apply the ratio of tribal demography. It is so accurate that it benefits the population by trickling the job opportunities fairly to the ground level. Hence, everyone participates. Sometimes we conduct a lucky draw, and those who win gets recruited. Things are improving now.

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Q2

What is the happiness index of the residents of Dera Bugti and of Sui, after the death of Nawab Akbar Bugti?

Answer: We have to work hard. We are 50 years behind and this cannot be fulfilled in the next two to three years. The one unit scheme was abolished in 1970 and Balochistan was finally recognized as a province. Dera Bugti got recognition when Balochistan got recognition and after that the Chief Minister, Governor, Member Parliaments, Federal and Provincial Ministers were elected from this district. If you

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check past four years record of public sector program, which is available on internet, our development schemes are far more than others since 1970. We provided more employment opportunities to locals. If we consider Dera Bugti (within the context of) post and pre Nawab Akbar Bugti incident, people are mostly happy especially those who were against Nawab Akbar Bugti's atrocities; were in private jails; were murdered; and unnecessarily suppressed. People are now happy with the peace in the area. As I have said, there is a difference between democracy and dictatorship. Democracy is more transparent. If we discuss happiness, I think that 70% to 80 % people are now happy. People are now happier because they feel freedom of speech; they talk about their rights about which they were afraid to speak before. More peace and happiness has come because people are now investing in private businesses. Main factor on which we are currently focusing is Education. People can opt now for education under more comfortable circumstances; there are schools for children. Private schools are also here. Military college too. Frontier Corps (FC) is playing a commendable role in social sector, especially in education sector. They have opened a girls' college. E-Learning has also started in education sector. Hence people are now happier as compared to the past four to five years.

Q3

You have been known to focus on the development of road network in Balochistan. Why do you prioritize it?

Answer: The basic thing which we have to focus on for development is infrastructure. For me infrastructure development is the foremost and key factor that affects other development programs. When we don't have roads, how can people have access to schools? Our focus in the past four years was infrastructure development. Few years back, we initiated work on metallic roads starting from Kashmor to end in Dera Bugti. We have constructed metallic road in most of the villages, so that travelling' can be made easy, and electricity can be provided to most of the areas. After infrastructure development and economic activity generation,

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The State of Pakistan is investing but we are not utilizing that investment efficiently. Now condition is improving but there is even much more capacity.



education becomes a priority. For me education is 3rd priority. I believe that “access” is the fundamental need for everything. We must ensure access to market, access to schools. As teachers have to travel from far flung areas to teach, so access to school becomes important. Despite all my efforts with the backing of Chief Minister Balochistan, with all Southern Command efforts, no lady doctor was willing to come and start practice in this area. Frontier Corps hired few lady doctors through personal contacts and now the Government of Balochistan is giving them all the allowances. We have different problems in different areas. Every Union Council has its own problems. Like in some areas the basic problem is clean drinking water, some areas lack schools. If I get a chance to be elected again, I assure people will find the big change. Our foremost focus will then be on education. In the tenure of previous government, 90% of schools in Balochistan were not open. Now in the past four years, not all but more than 60% of schools are open. I will be satisfied once I am sure that the education being provided in our institutes has standard quality. Our education system is being destroyed deliberately. Individuals with low education and low skills were hired which affected the education system badly. We lack quality teachers and schools. We are working on a transparent school system so that we can ensure proper evaluation system. We are bringing qualified teachers here. Military College Sui and FC College Sui are working well in this area. They are imparting quality education by hiring teachers from other cities of Pakistan. The State of Pakistan is investing but we are not utilizing that investment efficiently. Now condition is improving but there is even much more capacity.

Q4

Water is the main problem of Balochistan. Can you please brief us about what you have done for this issue?

Answer: Water is a very serious issue of Balochistan. Sui is a densely populated town in Dera Bugti having 60 - 70 thousand population. PPL used to provide us water before. We need 13 lac gallons of water and we are only getting

get 5 lac gallons of water per day. We have now started a project of Rs. 1 billion in Pat Feeder Canal to divert the flow of water to Sui. Pakistan Petroleum Limited was the funding authority of that project, but now the Government of Balochistan is funding this project and we shall complete it soon.

in command of the last few Inspector Generals has very much transformed and curtailed the issues related to heavy handedness. Now their approach is people centric and problems are solved through improving civil government relationship. Things are now improving. In the past, Balochistan has been a victim of military



Q5

There is a negative perception about FC generally in Balochistan. Any reasons in particular?

Answer: FC has been trained to perform the task of border management, monitoring etc. FC

and civil government imbalance. This civilian government is working under “One Roof & One Sealing Policy” and we also have a fusion cell. Our law enforcement agencies, policy makers, all work together and that imbalance no more exists now in overall Balochistan. This improvement is due to the work of democratic government.

Q6

Institutions of an area or a region play a vital role in a growth and development process of that region. Balochistan has so much potential to grow, so how do you think institutions can be made stronger?

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Citizenship trust must be towards state, and this is most important thing.

sector, in my opinion, this is a very good measure for short term but for long term it's fatal. How? Citizenship trust must be towards state, and this is most important thing. If any institution of State, let's say education department is responsible to provide education to people and it has capacity issues, then others should help in the capacity building. By taking the onus of responsibility on themselves (referring to FC) rather than facilitating others to do their respective jobs, they would be able to educate, let's suppose 1000 children, then other one lac children will also want to enroll there. Consequently they would not be able to educate or enroll all children due to their limited resources. FC is primarily responsible to control law and order situation. So they should focus on their primary task. When they will involve themselves in social tasks, citizens' trust towards other State institutions shall erode. So it will be critical in the long run. Those who are assigned with the task should focus on that or if they want to support the other institution, they can help by doing their capacity building but unfortunately this thing is not in practice. So institutes will develop when they shall be depoliticized. Let me give you an example, I can claim that Balochistan police is more depoliticized than KPK. Mr. Sukhera remained IG Balochistan for 6-7 months. He can attest that in every region of Balochistan today, every posting or transfer in police department is fairly depoliticized and IG has the full authority to do this job. Not even a single SHO is appointed, posted or transferred on the consent of any MPA around the Balochistan, so we have depoliticized Police. Here is a very

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Not even a single SHO is appointed, posted or transferred on the consent of any MPA around the Balochistan, so we have depoliticized Police.

Answer: I think institutions all over the Pakistan are not strong enough yet. The basic thing for the development of any institution is to depoliticize that institute. When there is a capacity issue in people, and they don't do their work properly, they then politicize the institution. If I give an example: FC Balochistan is investing in social



crucial difference between accountability and de-politicizing. If we go towards accountability, people assume that it is politicized. Four laborers have been killed recently in Kharaan and the incident has happened in the police area. Now if we practice accountability to get the responsible persons, people consider our actions to be politicized. So, this matter has a very thin border which differentiates accountability and depoliticizing. Henceforth, we could not develop the institutions in our country. The love of citizens for military is because it is now a well-developed institute with proper mechanism for every task. I see this Pakistan as a very bright country. Every nation has struggled and suffered with bad times. Lahore, Multan, Gujranwala and every developed city of Pakistan once passed through the phase which Dera Bugti is passing through now. I often tell people of my tribe that Khan of Kharaan had once his own currency and an army, but he was defeated by a son of soldier. You had Maliks and Chaudhry just like we had Sardars and Waderaas and this tribal culture is depleting gradually. So it is a transition phase Dera Bugti is going through. The dilemma is that why Dera Bugti have special circumstances. State policies never remained consistent. In early times, state was against Nawab Akbar Bugti but after some time, the same Nawab was sent as a Governor and was directed to suppress people who stand with the State of Pakistan. With the passage of time, we saw a political revolution and my father was the first one along Ameer Hamza Shaheed and Ramazan Bugti to contest elections against the Nawab. Then Nawab's son was killed and the shift of the state turned towards Nawab and he became a giant



with the help of State. Eventually, Nawab Akbar Bugti resorted to wielding gun against the State and was killed as a result.

There was a time when Dera Bugti had number of explosions each day. People used to wave black flags and the city used to be in the headlines of the media. But today, if you visit Dera Bugti, you will feel the difference, recorded crime ratio has decreased notably, and the Bugti children come outside with green flags on 14 August. Sui, unlike before is a well-organized and developed city and people feel secure for their lands and property. So things are changing and the confidence of people is restoring once again. You will not find a single notable who himself or any of their family member is not a victim of a bomb blast or any terror attack. The peace we are witnessing today is the result of their sacrifices. FC always operates solely but it is only Dera Bugti in Balochistan where people militia participates as the first responder in any operation beside FC. There is an organized and disciplined force for this purpose named Bugti Aman Force (BAF). This force also presented number of lives for this country and these sacrifices were the source of motivation for these people and they fought against the Research & Analysis Wing funded war imposed on them. Today, Dera Bugti is a different city and by the Grace of ALLAH ALMIGHTY, things are improving and you will feel this change.

Q7

You are among the first ones who highlighted the Indian involvement which was further confessed by Indian PM Narendra Modi himself in his Independence

Day speech. Now what is the perspective of an ordinary Baloch regarding Indian Involvement? If we talk about Kashmir, they have a very clear inclination towards Pakistan and demand affiliation with Pakistan. So what do people in Balochistan feel about India in in this regard?

Answer: Well the explicit Indian involvement has benefitted us. This explicit Indian association in disrupting the peace of Balochistan and has opened the eyes of many disgruntled rebels. We people knew the truth from the day one and we were very much clear about all this. Actually it is Punjab who is a good victim. If any Punjabi gets killed here, their Chief Minister does not bother condemning it. Once around 11 or 12 Punjabis were killed in Turbat and I myself escorted the corpses to Rahim Yar Khan and I was expecting a vibrant media. When we reached there, their ministers, their media and even their people were apologetic even though those were there people who got killed. Akhter Mengal is quite famous around the country he came up with six points and we were saying on television that neither you are Mujeeb nor Balochistan is Bangladesh. And when Akhter Mengal returned from Dubai after self-exile, majority leadership from Punjab went to Balochistan house to meet him. Another special dynamic of Balochistan is that Nawab Akbar Khan was the most powerful feudal lord but still he could not manage to ensure the success of his son or any nephew outside Dera Bugti. There is no giant in Balochistan and awareness is spreading through social media.



COUNTER TERRORIST

Endeavours Underway in Pakistan

by Syed Sabir Muhammad

ARMED & DANGEROUS



It was in 1974 that Claude Chabrol came up with a brilliant movie aptly titled "Nada. However, what set it apart then, and even today in most aspects, is how it quite easily manages to capture the laughable pointlessness and sinister grandiosity of some of the movements of that era, movements which would qualify as quasi-terrorism by today's standards and were at the time considered social and political pariahs. Be it the Baader-Meinhof thugs in Germany, the Red Army Faction in Japan or the Red Brigades in Italy, all these outfits seemingly believed in their right to kill, without any remorse. Their tactics and the way they conducted themselves to further strengthen themselves were well documented then, though they never managed to accomplish something quite to the extent that it would allow them to become a household figure. Any glance back at history and the origins of the concept of terrorism in modern times will have to include the mention of these groups. Concurrently, in the same era, there were other groups such as the Basque ETA or the Palestinian "Black September", which used crooked and detestable tactics as well and whose goals were considerably more direct and well established than those mentioned earlier, and more importantly, whose aims could be understood and judged to some extent.

Chabrol's title is a recall of an earlier word used to describe this sort of licentious malice-

Nihilism. The tendency to disassociate oneself from this word and know that death is coming, and not being able to wait for it. When given a more political motive, a motive to strive for the implementation of one's ideology over others and to be prepared to sacrifice one's life to see that goal fulfilled is both ironically nihilistic and sadomasochist on a more collective level. It is the idea of demanding the outright impossible and demanding it at gunpoint.

What has transpired in the world since that decade of the 70's has had an unquestionable impact on all spheres of life around the world; the fall of the Soviet Union, the success of the CIA's covert support to the Mujahedeen, and the rise of another conundrum for the west i.e. militant Islamic fundamentalism. The civil war that followed in Afghanistan managed to bring the Taliban into power. While all this was playing out, this new problem was just starting to come to the attention of the West. Now one might wonder and indeed deliberate over how Pakistan got involved in the first place. Pakistan's exploits and its role in the Afghan Jihad are indeed well known and well documented, and when the war was over, Pakistan itself was trying to establish or rather re-establish democracy within itself but it faced the similar problem that the West faced i.e. of extremism. The only major difference was that this problem was literally next door and 9/11 made it immeasurably more momentous. Pakistan's

What has transpired in the world since that decade of the 70's has had an unquestionable impact on all spheres of life around the world; the fall of the Soviet Union, the success of the CIA's covert support to the Mujahedeen, and the rise of another conundrum for the west i.e. militant Islamic fundamentalism. The civil war that followed in Afghanistan managed to bring the Taliban into power. While all this was playing out, this new problem was just starting to come to the attention of the West. Now one might wonder and indeed deliberate over how Pakistan got involved in the first place. Pakistan's exploits and its role in the Afghan Jihad are indeed well known and well documented, and when the war was over, Pakistan itself was trying to establish or rather re-establish democracy within itself but it faced the similar problem that the West faced i.e. of extremism. The only major difference was that this problem was literally next door and 9/11 made it immeasurably more momentous. Pakistan's U-turn policy regarding Taliban made it the primary victim in the region.

U-turn policy regarding Taliban made it the primary victim in the region. There must be some reason why it finds itself in combat with these ingenious individuals who've become fascinated with an ideology that seeks to impose an absolute

authoritarian theocracy and has taken a violent and gruesome path towards attaining that. A case can be and should be made about how in order to consolidate its own position, at some instances, Pakistan had to provide patronage to these elements. The justification lies in the threat from the eastern border i.e. India with whom three wars have been fought since independence, and the same kind of threat could not be afforded on the western front i.e. Taliban in Afghanistan. However, such a topic would be better left for another day.

For now, the primary issue is that though exceptions do exist, one can candidly state that these nihilist tendencies arise from an inner and much more delicate psychological need to be subservient to a cause. The perpetrators have taken it upon themselves as their divine duty to ensure that they play their part in this ludicrous quest to establish an ardent form of theocracy. This process won't stop even if it is established in the states where they form a majority, even then, they will infiltrate and attempt to disrupt the framework of other secular societies as well.

One a very frequent and rather misused anecdote that defenders of these miscreants' use, is the expanding reach of West and specifically of American imperialism. This expansion was a threat and the menacing reality of terrorism is simply a response to the ever-escalating notches employed by the US in key areas, specifically in the Middle East.



However, one must also be ready to entertain an opinion against this position: what else were the perpetrators of the 9/11 attacks hoping would be the response? Surely not that their demands, ridiculous and malleable in any merit whatsoever, would be met? Or perhaps it's the opposite, they knew that this would be the response and they were in anticipation of it. It is the prime facet of a nihilist that he not only craves death for himself but for others too if he can. In any case, the argument mentioned above would've held a significant merit on its own without pretext. It, however, loses whatever credibility it might have, or might claim to have, when in order to protect their people they will mercilessly kill their people, an accusation that can be made against virtually every Jihadist militant outfit. To say here that "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter", is both,

glib and evasive, considering the horror tactics used. These are used not to free the oppressed from a supposedly imperialist foreign power, but to replace that foreign imperialism with a domestic authoritarian theocracy- none of which bears the slightest bit of semblance with human emancipation.

So, where does this tendency lie? History as we know it is divided in two, Before Christ and After Death; but for the generation that exists today, another such division of the world history occurred when on the 11th of September, 2001, arguably the grisliest terror attack took place, carried out by al-Qaeda to further its own ambitions. Not only did it rock its intended target, the US, it also managed to send shivers down the spine of any nation that called itself an ally of the US and so a war started, a war that rages on even today with no end in sight. It's been

noted on several occasions, the problem with waging war against an idea, and make no mistake about it, it is Islamic extremism that fans the flames of terrorism, is that no one can be quite certain of whether one's winning or not. How is it to be measured? In its war against terror, the US knew it could not fight alone. No matter how noble the cause, how gratuitous the intentions, how impeccable the resolve, one needs allies when fighting in a foreign land having no viable knowledge of the region. The US had already made such an error in Vietnam, underestimating the enemy, misreading the situation and a completely infertile response to what was a failure of not only the US's diplomacy on the issue but also its evaluation of the situation. No such error was to be repeated in Afghanistan- it's rallying cry of "either with us or against us" could be called a classic case of the Goliath issuing a conceited threat but it did accomplish what it was supposedly meant to accomplish; there was scarcity of allies in the region, the chief

of which still stands shoulder to shoulder with the US in its war in Afghanistan. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan, a country which has had to pay an immoderate price for being a participant in this war with casualties to its civilians and armed personnel alike, a severe strain on its already fragile economy, and a society which has become more and more precarious in these past 16 years; all this an equivalent price of standing against terrorism and any ideology that claims to use terrorism as a means to their end. For Pakistan, terrorism is the end for such outfits and its war on it continues even today.

It is 2017 now and for the US the situation has gotten from worse to "Armageddon level" worse. While it waged the war on terror with the ambition of abolishing terrorism, its actions have led to even more Jihadi outfits springing up all over the globe. It has overseen the formation, the rise to power, and now the probable demise

of ISIS. Its fluctuation stands on exactly how to differentiate and deal with the Taliban and al-Qaeda and most importantly on how it would view the efforts made by its closest ally in the region. For the ally itself, Pakistan has made significant strides in its efforts to hunt down and eradicate any elements that hope to bring about the forced rule of their militant ideology; most of which is a hard-line extremist version of Islam. This ideology seeks to destroy the pledge made by the founder of the land, Quaid-e-Azam, about Pakistan being a place for all to practice their religion as they please.

The most important step that has been taken by Pakistan has been to counter the terrorist initiative by responding with force. Though there have been protests by certain sections of the society, it must be remembered here that the terrorists being dealt with her wish to exterminate that very right from the society. Each person and citizen may have their own opinions on how this



issue must be handled and that right is exactly what the armed personnel are fighting to protect. As mentioned earlier, the whole framework of terrorists is built upon a uniform structure, a structure that is designed specifically to cater to a traditional “supply and demand” equation. As the ambitions of terrorists grow, they will invariably want to scale up their operations, attempt bolder theatrics and challenge the writ of the state

as possible. As Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, the representative of Pakistan at the United Nations, said in February 2017,

“...the country has shown the will, capacity and resilience in combatting terrorism and that Pakistan’s campaign has now entered its most intense phase, but this has only strengthened our resolve to continue our campaign until the last terrorist is eliminated from our country...”

to ensure that their source of finances was choked which is what the Anti-Money Laundering Bill 2015 managed to do. It allowed the various commercial banks as well as the Central Bank the chance to freeze accounts of the law enforcement agencies suspected of supporting such elements. And by virtuoso expertise on board, it must be noted that till date the State Bank has managed to put a stop to almost Rs.1 billion



to the highest degree possible. It is the supply side which acts as the head of the hydra. It is what feeds the pits of hatred, ideological hatred for the state. It has to be dealt with in hard terms to ensure that no other relapses occur and once taken out, the supply sides remain out. This has to be done through rigorous intelligence-gathering as well as through forceful army operations to make it certain that such elements are done away with as promptly

She is undoubtedly echoing the same sentiments held by many in Pakistan who believe that it is only the stern and resolute action that is going to yield the desired results, which would allow Pakistan to finally overwhelm this menace which it has faced for almost the past two decades.

To ensure that the supply side could indeed be wiped out decisively, it was necessary

being transferred to be used almost certainly for terrorist purposes. In addition to that, authorities have claimed to have recovered nearly Rs.250 million being transferred in Hawala.

With regards to the aforementioned strict measures to eradicate terrorist networks, substantial steps have been taken to curb their influence and limit whatever plans they had, such as the establishment

As per the numbers released by the ISPR, till date nearly 3,400 terrorists have been eliminated, 183 of them being senior leaders, commanders, and strategists. More than 800 hideouts have been destroyed with important intel extraction. Nearly 21,000 terrorists have been arrested and this, through interrogation, has made it possible to gain more insight and information

of 11 military courts which have so far trialled nearly 140 cases, with 55 cases reaching their conclusion. One wonders what has led to FATA becoming the epicentre for terrorists and their activities within the region. While the reasons aren't generic and in no way naïve, the primary factor has been the centuries old socio-economic narrative, coupled with a political structure so fragile, that it has allowed insurgents

and done, it has been through this renewed sense of duty that Pakistan managed in 2015, to witness the least amount of terrorist activities since 2007; a hallmark achievement for the armed forces.

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regarding terrorist activities. This invaluable achievement has come at a hefty cost though. About 488 officers of Pakistan Army, Frontier Corps and Rangers have had to lay their lives in this struggle against terrorism while nearly 1900 have been badly injured. The battle carries on, but the immense sacrifices that these officers have made for ordinary Pakistanis to be safe should never be forgotten.

from the other side of the Durand Line to infiltrate quite easily. The armed forces have steered their efforts ever since the start of Operation Zarb-e-Azb, to not only confront the terrorists head on but also target the whole region that these terrorists have so often targeted to their maximum advantage. Stringent border patrols and an unyielding attitude towards those crossing over have led to successes for such initiatives. Everything said

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This was how one could begin to address the supply side, i.e. the origin point. Now we come to the point where these nihilist foot soldiers are created and

taught nothing but hatred and contempt for individuals they've never met. Although steps and initiatives are underway to eradicate that side, one must then invariably turn attention to the flip side of the coin; the supply side is indeed simply a means to an end. The supply is the means; the demand is the end- the demand to increase this tendency within those willing to join their ranks and keep the eternal war machine fuelled by hatred and contempt and a misguided sense of purpose going on for as long as possible. It goes without saying that this ideology is what constitutes the prime source of all problems being faced by the world today. Were it not for the radicalization that took place during and in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, things might have been different. But now that it has reached this point, it is necessary to address the issue that the mindsets which have been indoctrinated should be enlightened through an evolutionary process. There's ample evidence in our recent dealings with these terrorists that military action merely stamps out the seeds- the seeds which are sown deep down within these elements psychologically. It will only be through a systemic process of rehabilitation, psychological re-evaluations, and counselling that these elements can truly be cured. It will take a united, consolidated, political effort to dismount this mentality, one which will require an outpour of resources on human development in impoverished

areas. The youth of such impoverished areas are usually the masterminds behind such activities. Education, health, employment, and the standard of living within these areas must be elevated to level them with the other urban areas of the country. For too long, they have been allowed to defend themselves rather helplessly without much assistance from the democratic forces within the country.

It's high time that initiatives were launched with the intention of bringing these impoverished areas into the mainstream fold, allowing them to truly benefit from what the country has to offer. It would lead to a massive bulge in an already worthwhile tourism industry budding in Pakistan's Northern Areas. If these areas could be developed further, its people trained to be professionals of this industry, then the productivity from this venture could add significantly to Pakistan's economy. It could further strengthen the standard of living of the local population. It truly is a win-win for all parties concerned if they could simply come up with a long-term, sustainable plan to deal with this problem of extremism.

Another important step at this juncture would be to employ a thorough analysis of the literature being put forward by the terrorist groups such as the Taliban, al-Qaeda and the numerous other terrorist outfits operating in the country. It would allow the armed forces to better understand the enemy. It would be folly not to pursue this



channel and try and evaluate the exact bearings and reasons for this sense of hatred within the organisations. It also would allow the agencies to come up

with better counter literature that adequately seeks to rival and counter the narrative being pushed by these hard-line outfits.

This is where the intellectual process of fighting ideas with ideas comes in. It is necessary to replace extremist ideology with one that is more progressive and considerably less intolerant. It would be an act of intellectual culpability to abandon the idea of countering their ideas. It is necessary for the state to work closely in conjunction with the Ulama to ensure that the existing hateful literature can be ideally replaced with a more tolerant version and interpretation of the Holy texts, keeping in view the changing dynamics of this world. In the end, of course, it is the youth which is most influenced by the insinuations of these ideas. Efforts must be doubled to ensure that the professionals who are willing to contribute to the growth and nurturing of these youths are given all the resources possible to carry out their tasks in the best way possible. It would be wise, albeit controversial, to abandon the concept of borrowing from Salafism and Wahhabism, the schools of thoughts which have for years been scorned as primary sources for religious hard-line extremists, who adhere to this specific ideology, the subscribers of which are uber-conservative and unwilling to accept any notion of reformation and instead are fascinated by the idea of bringing back 7th century ideals. Their literature although should not be outright banned for there are many instances which are exploited in propaganda to harness more support. Instead, the government must ensure that the youth have access to the

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interpretations taught by those who are truly willing to see Islam in the modern world and not the other way around.

Coming back to the vacuum issue about what lies in store for the youth of the region once, hopefully, the issue of terrorism is indeed eradicated; as mentioned earlier, their constant rehabilitation through education of a more tolerant and less muddled interpretation of the holy text that would present the real idea of what

our religion truly stands for. However, this should only be a starting point. For example, we know now that for years, these extremist outfits have used art and literature as an effective propaganda tool, to install their desired mindsets in the mentality of the youth, hailing themselves and like-minded fundamentalist organizations around the world as liberators fighting against the imperialist westerners, and their local, domestic subjects acting as lapdogs for their masters' command. Such a narrative was for years the primary source of any entertainment for the youth of these regions. Again, a counteractive program that introduces after-school programs comprising cultural activities, and indeed, sports can be of help to instil in them the true spirit of collective working, to earn their goals for their country and for themselves while abstaining from any acts of extremism.

Sooner or later, the youth of today will become the adults of tomorrow, and if at that stage, they have been taught to reject the advances of extremist tendencies and subscribe more to their reasoning and logic, one major victory is achieved. Political parties also must play their part and contribute to the political growth of these regions by including them in their manifestos and plans which will allow for a more democratic approach to solving their problems. This can be a significant step in reforming that age-old feudal system that has been in place for decades. And perhaps most importantly

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in modern times, the media can perform a vital role in the elimination of these extremist elements within the state itself by promoting and highlighting the efforts of the brave armed forces and the sacrifices being made by them every day while also concurrently exposing the duality and monstrosity of terrorist outfits. How they have their own misinterpretations of the Holy text and are willing to eliminate anyone not ready to bow down to their barbaric methods and mentality. One palpable measure on account of the media would be to not allow terrorist outfits a platform on which they spew their hatred and propaganda, while also constantly performing its job of vigilance and reporting on the self-denial of the terror outfits' own ideology.

Curbing the coverage of the terror activities would surely

hurt the ambitions of these outfits. Certainly, one reason why these attacks take place is to draw attention to the outfits and their manifesto, their past deeds and their demands, their vision and what they wish to achieve. All of this is provided a free of cost platform when many news outlets are eager to cover them. Although it may clash with the journalistic integrity of many, one must wonder, wouldn't it be effective if this platform were to be taken away from them altogether? In any case, such a step would be a positive step towards reducing the influence of these groups instilling fear in the population.

Moreover, it would be a constructive development if most of the talk-shows devoted their resources towards presenting objectivity, evaluating the current situation with objective input, and presenting a critique of the methods being used by the government, and the attitudes employed by the opposition. This would promote the idea of being aware of all sets of circumstances without compromising the integrity of the whole operation.

The unsurpassed counter-terrorism chronicle is to persuade the people and take them into confidence against the war against terrorism. It is a war for our state's existence: Terrorism is a deterrent to Pakistan's expansion and is the prime threat to the economic, social, and political development of the country. The country has been plagued by terrorism for over a decade

in which more than 50,000 people, both civilians and security personnel, have been killed besides the economic loss of US\$ 100 billion.

Consequently, there should be zero leniencies for terrorism both at the state and society level. To comprehend what causes terrorism, one should not be concerned about the economic state of the society. Rather one should ask who holds the strong reins of political views to impose them through terrorism. The comparison between ideology and religion brings more complexities. The idea that is widespread is that terrorism has no religion. Whatever efforts are made should be made more efficiently with variety of interventions. Only by comprehending and addressing the ideological and most importantly, the individual-level roots of terrorism do nations stand chances of eliminating this curse of chaos completely.

Syed Sabir Muhammad is currently working as a Lecturer at Peshawar University. He is also serving as distinguishing visiting faculty at National Defence University. He is graduate of Quaid-e-Azam University and National Defence University. In 2014 he received a Merit Certificate from the National Defence University.

Adnan Rashid, an ethnic Pashtun belonging to the Yousafzai tribe, is a native of the Chota Lahore, Swabi district. He is the chief of Ansar Al-Aseer Khorasan (Helpers of the Prisoners), the TTP's unit tasked to free militant prisoners.

He joined Pakistan Air Force (PAF) in 1997. His first inclination toward militancy emerged when India was compelled to release Maulana Masood Azhar after the hijacking of an Indian plane in 1999. When 9/11 attacks happened, he was about to go to Germany to pursue higher education. But his militancy-inclined colleagues persuaded him to join militancy. The late-2003 Angoor Ada operation resulted in Adnan deciding to wage militancy against Pakistan in order to avenge the killing of his fellow militants.

The former junior technician of PAF was involved in the attack on former president General (retired) Pervez Musharraf in Rawalpindi in December 2003. He was arrested in early 2004. Adnan was sentenced to death by a field general court martial for his attempt on the life of Musharraf. But the sentence was never carried out.

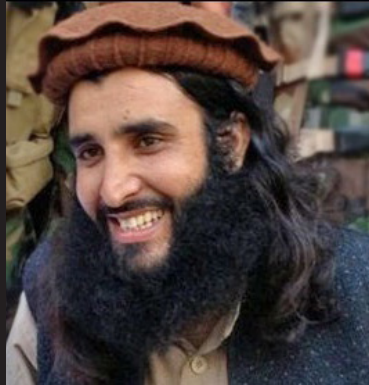
Fluent in English, Pashto and Urdu, he also got married while in prison and fathered a child. He worked for Amjad Farooqi, mastermind of the two assassination attempts against Musharraf in December 2003 at the behest of Al-Qaeda's Abu Faraj al Libi.

In April 2012, he, along with nearly 400 other prisoners, escaped from Bannu Jail after an attack by TTP on the jail. Following his escape from Bannu Jail, he appeared in several TTP propaganda tapes. In August 2012, he masterminded the Kamra air base attack in which two security personnel died and one aircraft was destroyed.

In January 2013, he announced the formation of Ansar Al-Aseer Khorasan. Adnan released a video, in March 2013, in which he claimed to have formed an assassination squad to kill Musharraf. In July 2013, he also masterminded the Dera Ismail Khan Jail break. Nearly 175 prisoners, including high-profile militants, managed to escape as a result of the TTP attack on the jail.

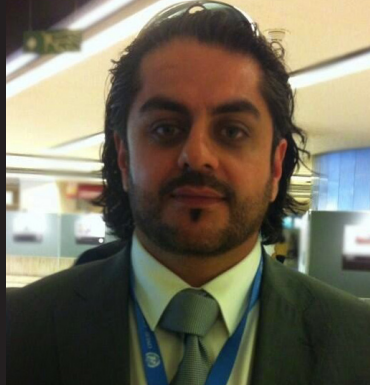
He also gained attention by writing a letter to Malala Yousafzai, after she had been shot, stating that he desired that the attack had not happened. He also wrote that the reason why she was attacked was because she use to speak against TTP.

In July 2014, some media reports claimed that security forces has arrested Adnan from in Shakai valley of South Waziristan. However, security officials later confirmed that Adnan was not arrested.



Name	Adnan Rashid
Alias/Nom de guerre	Qari Sahib
Age	32-33
Tribe	Yousafzai
Position	Chief of TTP's Ansar Al-Aseer Khorasan unit
Current Location	Afghanistan (most likely)
Religion	Kharji-Takfeeri

KNOW THY ENEMY



Rashid was later killed in a drone strike. Meanwhile, Scotland Yard did not arrest Mehran but his monitoring was increased to such level that he has lived mostly in Dubai ever since. Prior to moving to Dubai, he

Name	Mehran Marri
Age	44
Tribe	Marri
Position	Chief of UBA
Current Location	London/Geneva/Dubai
Educational Background/Alma Mater	BA in Law and Economics from Oxford Brookes University, England

and Tomorrow' with Polish politician Marek Czarnecki.

Mehran's UBA has conducted several terror attacks. In May 2015, the group claimed responsibility for the killing of 22 passengers in Mastung district. In April 2014, UBA claimed responsibility for the blast in Rawalpindi-bound train at the Sibi station (17 killed and 45+ injured). In the same month, the proscribed outfit also claimed responsibility for the attack on Islamabad fruit market (24 killed and 46 wounded).

Mehran Marri, the youngest son of Baloch nationalist Nawab Khair Baksh Marri, is the chief of United Baloch Army (UBA). He was born on 24th March, 1973 in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. British nationality holder Mehran had completed his Bachelor's degree in Law and Economics from Oxford Brookes University, England in 1999.

In 2007, then Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) chief Hyrbyair Marri, Mehran's elder brother, was arrested in London. Consequently, Khair Bakhsh Marri appointed Mehran as the new chief of BLA. However, Mehran was accused of grossly mismanaging the separatist organization. A reported rift between Mehran and his elder brother Hyrbyair led to the creation of UBA. The BLA accused Mehran and some of his companions of stealing three millions dollars from BLA funds and of taking half of the organization's weapons stash worth 800 million rupees with which they created the UBA.

According to media reports, former Pakistani President General (retired) Pervez Musharraf asked the British government to swap Mehran for Rashid Rauf, a British-Pakistani terrorist then held in Rawalpindi. However,

spent around 20 years in London. He is also Balochistan's unofficial representative at the UN Human Rights Council and European Union headquarters in Brussels.

Following the death of Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri in June 2014, Changez Marri was appointed as Khair Bakhsh Marri's successor. However, some tribal elders disputed his appointment and elected Mehran Marri and the new chief of the tribe in July. Mehran is living in exile for more than three decades after he left Balochistan with his father as a minor. His father had advised him to work at international level for nationalist cause and return only when things are cordial. He has a co-authored a book titled 'Balochistan: Today

Faith, Unity, Discipline- THE ISI OF PAKISTAN

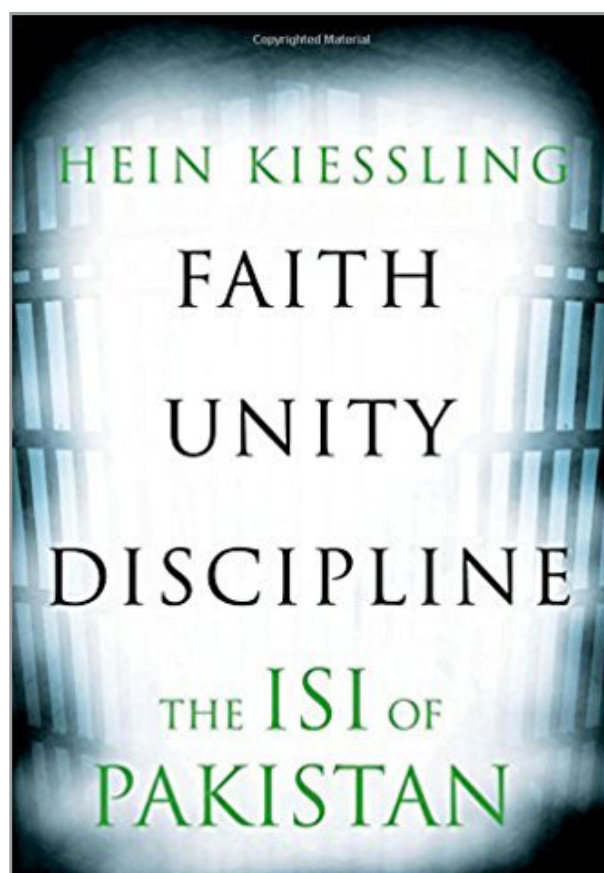
By: Hein G. Kiessling

Publisher: Hurst & Company, London | Pages: 307

The ISI of Pakistan written by Mr. Hein G. Kiessling is the most comprehensive historical primer that has ever been written on the Inter Services Intelligence. Acclaimed for its critical role in offsetting the gains of USSR in Afghanistan, the author provided the readers with a fascinating chronological insight into the secret world of one of the most revered and reviled alike, spy organisation of the modern age.

From a modest structural setup designed in 1948 by the Deputy Chief of Staff of Pakistan Army, General William Cawthorn, who later spearheaded the Australian Secret Intelligence Service, the morphology of ISI directorate in terms of its cloak and dagger mandate has been expounded at length in this book.

The narrative is not fast paced, and has been complemented not only by the interviews conducted with former ISI figureheads but also by data extracted from various



secondary archives. Official communiqués from the agency to the author have also been embedded in the book.

It is considered that the ISI initially involved itself in external ops in the decade following the year 1960, during which it lent support to the insurgent groups in North East India. Subsequently, it expanded its operational ambit to encompass the Sikhs associated with Khalistan

liberation movement in the Indian Punjab. During this time, it also embroiled itself into the internal political intrigues of Pakistan. Using the memoir of Altaf Gauhar as a reference, Mr. Kiessling explicated that the ISI and Foreign Office devised the plan of Operation Gibraltar to spur up the rebellion in Kashmir through irregulars; the original schematic was later expanded to include Operation Grand Slam, in which large scale armoured deployments to capture Akhnoor were planned. These plans were finally approved by Ayub Khan but failed to reap dividends for Pakistan. The failures of ISI directorate resulting from the loss of contact with the focal persons in Jammu & Kashmir Valley and the inability to track the movement of Indian troops became a fodder for military critics.

It was in Bangladesh, former East Pakistan where the ISI played a wider role in Yahya's regime. The experimentation

of infusing religion with political ideology; a strategy that resulted in relative success within Afghanistan in later years, failed to garner enough votes for the pro Pakistan Jamat e Islami in December 1970 elections. In 1968, the Research & Analysis Wing (R&AW) tasked with foreign clandestine activities as a contender of ISI was created in India. Exploiting East Pakistan fault lines, successfully to the extent of the creation of Bangladesh, became the first major assignment of R&AW. Although the ISI had managed to extract the precise information of impending Indian military manoeuvre as early as September 1971; the indecisiveness at the top manifested in an overall failure.

Details in the book gain traction with the elevation of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as the premier of Pakistan. It was in Bhutto's era that a three star general headed ISI for the first time. The setup of legendary Special Operations Bureau within the ISI directorate, later christened as the Afghan bureau, its operational planning, logistics, and clandestine activities with their respective successes and failures have also been given a fair coverage by the author. Along with this, the insidious foray of ISI into the political milieu of Pakistan by co-opting politicians makes up for an interesting read. In his efforts to retain neutrality, Mr. Kiessling has not shied from addressing the events through various angles leaving the conclusion largely on readers.

As most of the nomenclature on ISI is largely drawn from its exploits in Afghanistan, little has been talked about the directorate's secretive handiwork in the civil wars of Balkans and Caucasus in the decade preceding 9/11. The role of three former ISI chiefs, Hamid Gul, Asad Durrani, and Javed Ashraf Qazi has been gingerly vivisected by Mr. Kiessling through foreign accounts when it comes to the insurrections in Bosnia and Chechnya. When addressing Chechnya and Dagestan, Mr. Kiessling posits that while the US was hoping to 'strike another blow at Moscow', the narrative of 'Jihad' endorsed by the ISI was used as a falchion to shape out the developments in the CAR (Central Asian Republics) region.

Another interesting chapter is 'Foreign Policy and the ISI'. Here, the author has accredited Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto with the establishment of information sharing mechanism between the directorate and Foreign Office in December, 1988. Mr. Kiessling in the same chapter further propounds that the ISI exercises its diplomatic clout globally through the generals who are appointed as ambassadors after their retirement. The notion of 'ISI within an ISI' has also been rubbished by the author as the syncretism of different polarities within the directorate. Here the author asserts that command structure retains complete control and there are no dissimilar agendas.

Despite the author's deliberate attempt to maintain neutrality in the historical account by using first hand information he garnered through his extensive networking in Pakistan, the data drawn from secondary sources, mostly Indian academics, in some of the key phases of ISI chronology gives the book an obtuse tint. As most of the content has been derived from public documentation, the impact of this book would hardly dent the veneer of bureaucratic secrecy under which the ISI functions. In case Mr. Kiessling would have been given privileged access to select operational archives of the directorate, this book would have rightfully earned its place alongside bestseller books such as MI6 - The History of the Secret Intelligence Service (1909-1949) authored by Keith Jeffery.

Overall, this book is, in general, an insightful read for the history students.

Talha Ibrahim is a Resident Analyst at the CSCR. He focuses on security, geopolitics, and theoretical aspects of the International Relations. His work on the non state actors has been incorporated in the discourses of notable militancy scholars. Talha is accredited in Conflict Analysis from the United States Institute of Peace and Terrorism Studies from the University of Maryland.

RUPTURES IN THE LEGAL COUNTER TERRORISM ARMATURE OF PAKISTAN



BY TALHA IBRAHIM

Terrorism became a key security concern for the policy makers around the world and led them to take initiatives through which the terrorists can be penalised.



Counter Terrorism has taken a central place in the security paradigm of nation states. This non-kinetic shift is reflective of the complex challenges that the civilised order is afflicted with, and responding to in the 21st century.

Any strategy that can discount the vigour of terrorists cannot be deemed comprehensive unless it has a legislative component embedded in it. It is one of the two pincers, the other being security operations that can be used to deter and clamp down subversion of nefarious elements in a society. The perusal of previous legislations related to countering terrorism reveals that this phenomenon of containing fear spread through terror activities can be traced back to historical times. Statute such as Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis (or the Cornelian law of Assassins & Poisoners) passed in 82 CE during the time of Emperor Sulla specifically laid out

provisions that can be meted out on those who have committed Dolus malus, latin for an act accomplished to the injury of another. This marked the first instance in time where formally the State enacted legal barriers to control the spread of terror and subversion of political status quo by an organised splinter group of Jewish assassins. Further corollaries in the form of amendments to broaden the applicability of original law were added through the decrees of Roman Senate and Imperial rescripts.

Never has the need to expound about the significance of legal framework to combat terrorism more felt than after the fateful attack on twin towers on September, 11, 2001. Terrorism became a key security concern for the policy makers around the world and led them to take initiatives through which the terrorists can be penalised. In lieu of bottom up efforts through which the states could have been pushed to

formulate their respective counter terror laws, a top down effort was directed by the United Nations to tackle global terrorism. High level panels were constituted to build up a consensus on the legal definition of terrorism, albeit the resignation that followed through due to lack of agreement in the span of last 17 years. No proper mutually acknowledged definition of terrorism has been constituted yet, which some commentators attribute to the disparity between the states interests vis-à-vis the global interests.

We observe the replication of this discord at the lowest state centric denomination too, not only within the legal narrative of various intergovernmental agencies but also if observed through the prism of segmental statutes that instead of making a sole, all-encompassing definition of terrorism dissects it through a specific category of act under deliberations like sabotage, terror financing, et cetera. The US government agencies mandated with counter terrorism mission respectively utilize four different types of definitions to define terrorism, the segmental statutes otherwise.

Holistically, the counter terrorism legal frameworks are a statutory syncretism of constitutional, criminal, administrative, and financial laws which can only make sense if analysed in the context of domestic variables of state, including its political structure, social and economic conditions. International and regional circumstances also decisively impact such legislation.

Formation of Pakistan's Counter Terrorism Legal Framework:

A scrutiny of Pakistan anti-terror laws reveals a history of promulgation of legislative instruments starting from the Security of Pakistan Act, 1952, and the Defence of Pakistan Ordinance, 1955. In the regime of General Ayub Khan, two orders that were enacted to control political dissent were used by the government of the day for countering terrorism. A special ordinance Suppression of Terrorist Activities, 1974, was issued by the Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government which after parliamentary approval

Renewed frenzy in the last two decades due to the insurgence of Arab terror groups in the peripheral confines of Pakistan prompted the successive governments to introduce 17 amendments, as of February 2015, to adapt to the changing nature of threats.

became an Act in 1975. It was criticised for establishing a legal presumption of guilt, a position in contravention to the criminal law, if the accused was apprehended on the basis of 'reasonable suspicion'. The Suppression of Terrorist Activities Act lost its effectiveness after a legal review conducted in 1997 concluded that more than 18000 cases were still pending. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government repealed the 1975 Act, and promulgated the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1997. Speedy dispensation of justice, unfettered by the overwhelming procedural formalities of the judicial system was the key consideration behind the introduction of this Act. The renewed frenzy in the last two decades due to the insurgence of Arab terror groups in the peripheral confines of Pakistan prompted the successive governments to introduce 17 amendments, as of February 2015, to adapt to the changing nature of threats.

Other segmental statutes (special laws) that supplements the ATA are Pakistan Army Act (1952), Anti Money Laundering Act (2010), Actions (In Aid of Civil Power) Regulations (2011), Investigation for Free Trial Act (2013), National Counter Terrorism Authority Act (2013), Protection of Pakistan Act (2014), Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (2016), and certain constitutional amendments to thoroughly cover all the dimensions through which terror threat can permeate in the society.



Fissures in Pakistan's Counter Terrorism Legal Framework:

Low conviction rates and unnecessary delays in trial reflect how the legal framework of ATA (1997) has failed to deliver what it originally promised in its preamble. Public confidence ebbs at the lowest with a clear majority favouring the counter terror measures initiated by the military institutions rather than the civilian infrastructure.

Pakistan's ATA (1997) preamble elucidates its rationale as concerned with the prevention of terrorism, sectarian violence and also for the speedy trial of 'heinous offences'. The words 'heinous offences' not otherwise defined in the legislation have broadened the applicability of the law, to cases that cannot be defined as terrorism but can rather be considered of criminal nature. This overarching vague mandate distorts the core objective of ATA, i.e. nabbing the real terrorists. A research conducted by a policy institute in 2010 revealed that whereas 199 individuals under trial in the Anti-Terrorism Courts in Karachi were booked on heinous offense charge, only 35 could be categorised as terrorists in real sense due to their affiliation with terror groups.

Other than the preamble, the Section 6 of the ATA also overstretches the scope of law to matters that cannot be considered as sui generis to the definition of terrorism. Range of criminal activities that should have been dealt within the parameters of Pakistan Penal Code such as rape, kidnapping, and extortion can

now be indicted under the counter terrorism law. To classify any crime as an act of terror, there is a need to examine whether any political or ideological motivation is embedded in it; but ATA failure to distinguish such crimes has resulted in the overburdening of police and prosecution. It becomes detrimental for the existing criminal justice system, thereby reducing its deterrent value and ultimately leads to the failure of policing, weak prosecution and the law and order situation in the long run.

There is also a dire need to conduct an appraisal of the infrastructure responsible for the implementation of the existing provisions of the ATA 1997. Regardless of the provisions that make it binding on the state to provide security to the participants (witnesses and judges) in the judicial process, the arrangements have

Low conviction rates and unnecessary delays in trial reflect how the legal framework of ATA (1997) has failed to deliver what it originally promised in its preamble.



remained totally unimplemented. A large number of acquittals of terror suspects have resulted due to the unwillingness of witnesses to come forward because of security concerns. Similarly, there is a lack of coordination between the intelligence agencies and police that unwittingly ends up reflecting badly on the legal credibility of the terrorism case. If they have reasonable doubt regarding terror suspects; intelligence agencies detain them to acquire more actionable intelligence before handing them over in police custody. Presenting

the terror suspect in the court of law becomes another challenge; the police feel compelled to concoct a story of the arrest from different place than the location from where the accused had been originally nabbed by the intelligence agencies. Evidence to frame the suspect is thus invalidated as it is rendered inadmissible by the judicial authorities. The suspect ends up getting exonerated.

Essentially, to overcome these failures, the government needs to sensitize the law

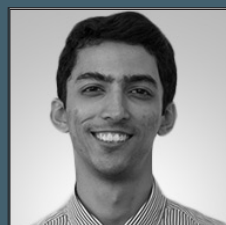
enforcement agencies, arrange workshops on ATA provisions for the judges, and fix the language and definitions of law so that the implementation of basic legal framework of ATA can be streamlined. Ad Hoc domestic, legal, and administrative measures do not bode well for the institutions, neither helps in the denial of breathing space to terrorists. By removing these chinks, Pakistan's ability to combat terrorism on operational and tactical level will strengthen.

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TERRORISM and COUNTER TERRORISM in the CYBER SPACE

DIAGNOSIS

by Omar Afzaal



A Brookings article presented some interesting figures. Approximately 31,300 was the number of commentary/articles written that discussed the phenomenon of cyberterrorism. Zero people have been hurt/killed by cyber-terrorism so far. What is remarkable is that these stats are from 2012 and before, a period when cyber-terrorism and cybersecurity were believed to be esoteric concepts at best. And they seem to suggest that cyber-terrorism is an inflated threat, one well covered by scholars and policy-makers.

Unfortunately, today while cyber-terrorism threat has increased exponentially, its understanding has remained abstract. 'Cyber insecurity' is on the rise as the current stage of technological development means offense prevails over defense. Securing cyberspace remains a challenge since the Internet architecture was designed to enhance

and calling for a multi-layered response. Cyber infrastructures and networks belonging to the private sector and cyberspace being shared by various legal jurisdictions across the globe present further intricacies.

To not only improve the average Joe's understanding of cyber threat but also grasp where current policies are failing to undermine the relevant threat, it is critical we examine how terrorist outfits are harnessing the routine uses of the Internet. Additionally, relevant counter-terrorism policies must reflect the 'who' and 'where' of the miscreant targeting: a mass-scale terrorist plan using cyber means to, let's say, affect critical infrastructure such as dam controls or electric grid failure, is more likely to come from hostile states rather than non-state actors. Subsequently, prioritizing the counter-terrorism response in the cyber sphere needs to build on these efforts.

For more than a year, the Taliban, had a propaganda website, maintaining a record of suicide bombings and rocket attacks against US forces in Afghanistan. The website was 'hosted' by a Texas-based software company called The Planet that rented out websites for \$70 a month. The company hosted some 16 million accounts and had no idea one of them was a "Taliban information clearinghouse" until the American authorities finally shut the site down.

connectivity, not security. Additionally, cyber-security is a multidimensional challenge, cutting across multiple domains

Since its inception, the internet's central function has focused on gathering and sharing information with instant ease. This core feature of the internet serves to magnify the radicals' propaganda and disseminate anti-state or anti-West feelings among a variety of audiences, including current/potential supporters and public opinion. Virtual anonymity is another feature. Previously, for more than a year, the Taliban, had a propaganda website, maintaining a record of suicide bombings and rocket attacks against US forces in Afghanistan. The website was 'hosted' by a

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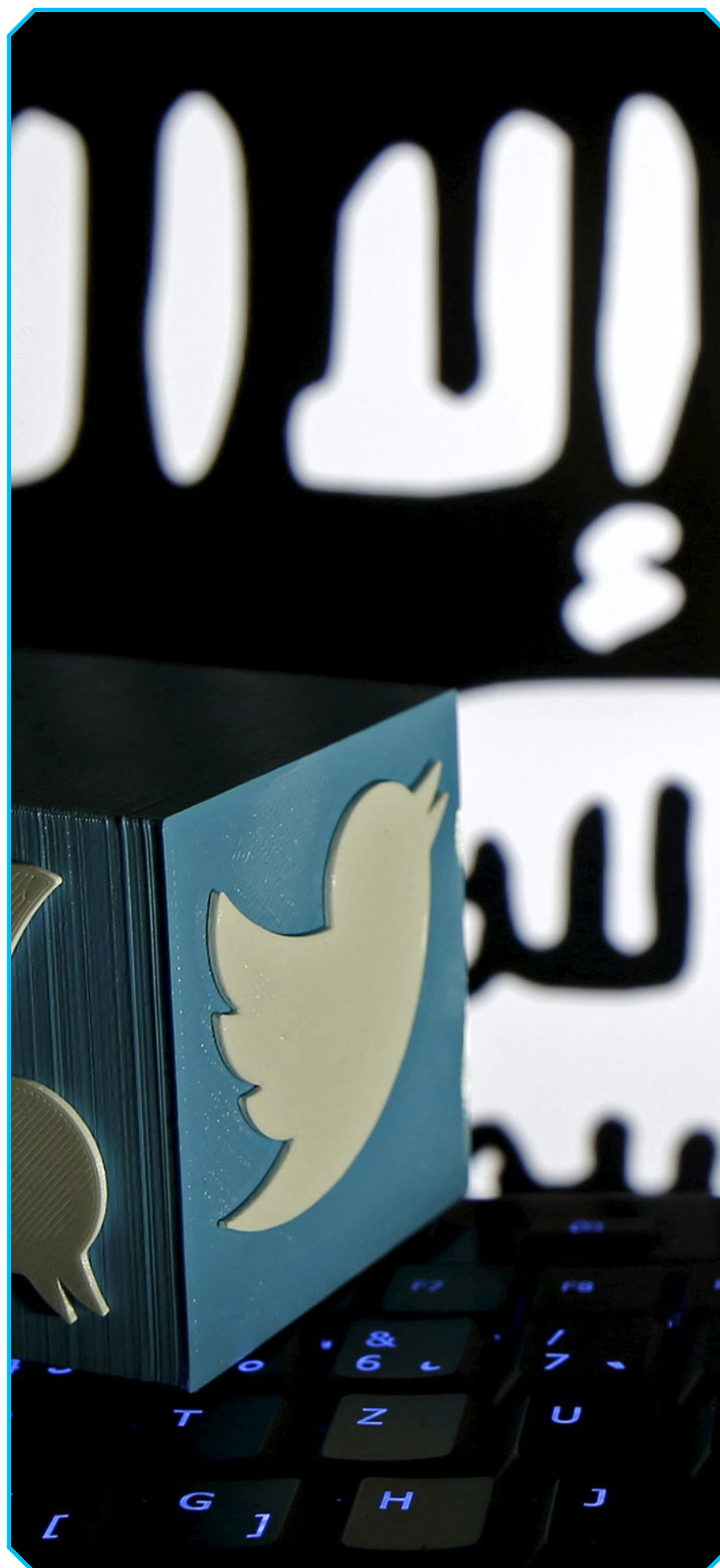
Texas-based software company called The Planet that rented out websites for \$70 a month. The company hosted some 16 million accounts and had no idea one of them was a "Taliban information clearinghouse" until the American authorities finally shut the site down. The cyber threat need not necessarily encompass fancy software or spy satellites: simple Google Earth application serves terrorist groups to examine a target's outlay just as much as a tourist trying to locate the nearest McDonalds.

Cyber space provides ample opportunities for miscreants to maintain and expand the theatre of their operations, including information gathering, raising funds, and hiding/storing instructions and procedures in encrypted files.

Psychological Warfare: Spread misinformation, deliver threats to encourage 'cyber fear', and disseminate horrific images of brutal killings.

Publicity and Propaganda: Have direct control over the content of the message and publicity, and demonize and delegitimize the state.

Data Mining: Acquire information about target



details such as public facilities, transportation networks or even counter-terrorism response units.

Fundraising: Solicit donations and publicize ways sympathizers may make contributions to the terrorist organization.

Recruitment/Networking: List concocted religious decrees and anti-state propaganda to attract followers. Fabricate and emphasize the righteousness of their cause. Galvanize and organize protests/demonstrations.

CYBER THREATS IN PAKISTAN

Pakistan is no different: here too, less attention and resources have been allocated to analyzing and countering the terrorists' routine uses of cyberspace. More focus is on platforms such as YouTube and Facebook, which ultimately ends up affecting the ordinary Pakistani, igniting privacy concerns. More than 30 million of Pakistan's 190 million population uses the internet, making at least a few of that 30 million segment susceptible to terrorist propaganda. The existing response mechanism is disoriented and incoherent, especially when cyber threats are swift and immediate. More importantly, the lack of concrete cyber-security laws and organizational framework is alarming.

The nature of cyber-terrorism threats in Pakistan is similar to the rest of the world yet also has certain singularities as well. Certain cyber threats

such as automobile, GPS, Cloud Computing or medical device hacking are not yet applicable in Pakistan, simply because this technology is not widespread in Pakistan to begin with. Yet, Pakistan stands to be particularly susceptible to old-school cyber-attacks related to infrastructure, mobile devices, and malware virus, most importantly, by both non-state and state hostiles. Particularly, cell phones arguably represent the most significant danger: phones collect and disseminate information about a citizen's private life 24 hours a day, be it through calls, texts or the various social media applications.

The following examples illustrate just a few types of cyber-attacks various countries have experienced and which Pakistan too is vulnerable to:

- In December 2015, three Ukrainian regional electric power distribution companies were simultaneously affected by a cyber-attack, leaving more than 50 substations off-line and

Cyber-crime typically refers to the (mis)use of computer systems and networks for data thefts (e.g. credit cards or bank account details) or transmission of illegal content (child pornography). On the other hand, cyber-security includes measures taken to protect computer systems and internet networks (including the relevant socioeconomic and governmental functions) against illegal access or unauthorized disruption.

more than 225,000 residents without power for up to six hours.

- The Pivnichna substation outside Ukraine's capital, Kiev, suffered a similar attack one year later.

- In October 2016, the Mirai malicious software disrupted businesses such as PayPal, The New York Times, Spotify, and Airbnb in the US.

- In November 2016, the same Mirai software used in Europe knocked around one million Deutsche Telekom customers off-line, infecting the Internet's infrastructure.

- In early 2016, Sweden saw its critical infrastructures under cyber-attack. The attack initially sabotaged Sweden's state-owned broadcasting company, Teracom's radio mast, which supported the country's command-and-control system. Days later, Sweden's air traffic control encountered glitches at Stockholm's Arlanda and Bromma airports and Gothenburg's Landvetter airport, forcing aviation authorities to ground all planes.

- In November 2016 till January 2017, Saudi Arabia's government agencies, including its transportation sector were disrupted by the Shamoon 2 virus. Earlier, in 2012, the virus' earlier version, Shamoon, had wiped clean the hard drives of thousands of Saudi Aramco computers.

The policymaker's dilemma in Pakistan (and beyond) is that

Additionally, Pakistan is exposed to two further cyber threats: cyber-exploitation (Sometimes also termed as cyber-espionage).

cyber-security policy grounded in theoretical axioms has outlived its potency. Cyber threats are considered as either insignificant or incomprehensible. Pakistanis further tend to confuse cyber-crime with cyber-security, consequently producing tangential counter-terrorism policies. Cyber-crime typically refers to the (mis) use of computer systems and networks for data thefts (e.g. credit cards or bank account details) or transmission of illegal content (child pornography). On the other hand, cyber-security includes measures taken to protect computer systems and internet networks (including the relevant socioeconomic and governmental functions) against illegal access or unauthorized disruption.

Additionally, Pakistan is exposed to two further cyber threats: cyber-exploitation (Sometimes also termed as cyber-espionage; The penetration of computer systems to seize information, such as for intelligence gathering activities by hostile states) and cyber-attack (Intentional disruption of computer networks, such as systems and servers related to nuclear plants as happened in the infamous 2007 Iranian Stuxnet case, where a malicious computer worm called "Stuxnet" was used to disrupt and shut down Iran's nuclear facility in Natanz). These distinctions among



cyber threats are important, particularly for legal purposes in the international arena. For instance, cyber-exploitation by a state breaches domestic law but not international ones while cyber-attacks can be considered as “armed attack” under UN Article 51 or NATO Article 5. Therefore, a cyber-attack, as opposed to cyber-exploitation, can potentially prompt collective self-defense against the intruder.

Pakistan feeds a reactive environment for policies. And the complete lack of cyber policies, combined with a precipitous tragic episode, often translates into a much-hurried but less thought-out and extremely broad law such as the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Bill 2015. Additionally, there is no particular body to deal with various cyber-threats comprehensively: the PTA (Pakistan Telecommunications

Authority) is not sufficient to manage this task; the NR3C (National Response Centre on Cyber Crimes) under FIA works against cyber-crimes only; and the National Telecommunication and Information Security Board (NTISB) merely plays an advisory role for the Prime Minister concerning information security. However, the Government has suggested a National Cyber Security Division (NTISB’s proposed replacement), aimed at coordinating a national cyber-security strategy. To be fair, making the law more precise is a tough task. Even the EU nations and the US have not been able to lay down ideal definitions regarding the terms ‘targeted’ and ‘bulk’ in cyber laws. Yet, with the gravity and pace of this issue, Pakistan cannot afford to leave it in legal limbo.

CYBER COUNTER-TERRORISM: POSSIBLE STARTING POINTS

The first step to acquire the population’s trust and cement accountability is transparent and accessible legislation. And to produce such legal landmarks, an examination of the precise needs of our intelligence agencies is a good place to begin with. Balancing the intel necessities with the cost (in terms of individual human rights and freedom of speech of those citizens who are not guilty of any crime and have no intention of committing any) should form the endoskeleton of any cyber legal

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and organizational framework. The cyber sphere is not a war between privacy and security; instead, it's more about finding the sweet spot between the needs of law enforcement and security (democracy, human rights, freedom of speech) of the entire system.

In human rights law, everything circles back to the individual. In fact, the European Court of Human Rights (Article 5) only understands security as “personal liberty”. Likewise, in 2014, the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms echoed a similar fear regarding human rights law of the right to privacy being compromised in case of communications/ correspondence being monitored on a mass, indiscriminate scale without any targeting parameters defined.

As far as the institution or organization at the helm of counter-terrorism in the cyber

realm is concerned, it is dire that in addition to external accountability, the individuals in that agency must themselves be committed to security, democracy and human rights. An ethical basis must exist for that agency’s work, which will attract the respect and confidence of the Pakistani society and its elected representatives. A comprehensive response mechanism to cyber threats must include some inter-provincial (local) deterrence through denial and entanglement, supported by national offensive capabilities, complete with quick infrastructure and network recovery in case of a cyber-attack.

Pakistan needs to develop a more conspicuous public understanding of its cyberspace and the threats to it. This would allow a more honest and inclusive discussion of how Pakistanis trade off different values vis-a-vis the cyber threat, allowing Islamabad to produce a

legal doctrine and constitutional organization to lead counter-terrorism and security in the cyber realm. Ultimately, as Apple CEO Tim Cook said, people should not have to choose between privacy and national security. They deserve both.

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BY SYED ALI ZIA JAFFERY

A LEAF FROM HISTORY:

INDIA AND THE BREAKUP OF PAKISTAN

World leaders, scholars, and practitioners have often chastised Pakistan of her anti-India rhetoric. The country's military establishment has been alleged for trying to sabotage the even otherwise half-hearted peace initiatives. Furthermore, Pakistan's attempts of revisionism in South Asia have been met with severe criticism. It is hence important to first understand the reasons behind Pakistani perceptions of India.

History is a force to reckon with and has a bearing on the psyche of individuals and nations alike. Pakistan's narrative about India has formed by past occurrences of rancour, wars, and internal meddling. It becomes all the more important to shed some light on the important events that took place ever since the inception of both sovereign states through a series of articles.

Although the Kashmir dispute lies at the heart of Indo-Pak acrimony, this write-up will look at the ill-fated episode of 1971: the breakaway of East Pakistan. This is because the debacle has had a lasting impact on Pakistan's strategic thoughts regarding India. Albeit, there were many grave internal factors which led to the birth of Bangladesh in 1971 but the massive Indian intervention is not only well documented



but well celebrated too. Hence, this piece will only focus on Indian involvement in the breakup during the last few years of a United Pakistan.

INDIAN GIMMICKRY AND MUJIB'S ASCENDANCY

The trajectory of East-West relations took a turn for the worst after the 1965 war. The once powerful Ayub Khan began to lose grip on the country. The Eastern Wing began to show more activism; strikes and riots became a norm. The Indian role became more pronounced. Let's start from a conspiracy which had far-reaching effects on Pakistan: the Agartala Conspiracy. The results of this intrigue set stage for things to come. Apparently, it was not handled properly; Sheikh Mujib's release was deemed a fatal error and according to many it derided the truth behind the conspiracy. However, a closer study of the milieu will make things clear.

Like any clever enemy, India orchestrated intrigues against Pakistan. Agartala is a border town on the Indian side East of Bengal in the Indian state of Tripura. It was discovered in December 1967 that a group of Bengali politicians, civil servants and military personnel were in contact with Indian authorities ostensibly to kill Ayub Khan, topple the government and liberate an area to establish an independent state in East Pakistan. The Indians were later identified as P.N.Ojha, the First Secretary at the Indian High Commission, Lt Col Misra, and Major Menon. This should not sound bizarre, for India's links with the East Pakistani politicians were well known. Even Mujib later admitted that he had contacts with Indians. There are two pieces of evidence that cannot be refuted. One is the all-famous book by a former RAW operative, Ashoka Raina. His book namely Inside RAW clearly alludes to the Agartala conspiracy. A quote of Mrs Kohinoor Hussain, wife of Lt Commander Moazzam Hussain bears testimony to the veracity of the very conspiracy. The quote is as follows:

"Dearest Husband You are no longer with me. I remember your contribution towards the cause of independent Bangladesh. I remember



how you came to Dacca from Karachi on leave under a pseudonym, met P.N Ojha, First Secretary Indian Embassy, at the border at Agartala along with other Indian and Bangladesh officers. You negotiated with Indian authorities for arms and other kinds of help...." Similarly, while handing over command of 14 Division to Major General Khadim Hussain Raja, Major General Muzaffaruddin, explained the Agartala conspiracy in a nutshell. Muzaffaruddin told Khadim "Sheikh Mujib Ur Rehman was genuinely implicated. Some Bengali troops were to launch surprise attacks at night and capture quarter guards and armouries of the West Pakistani military units. These units would be disarmed and confined to the barracks as prisoners of war..... The government of India would assist in various ways, such as banning over-flights from West Pakistan."

There are evidences galore as regards this conspiracy. However, the way it was tackled left a lot to be desired. Indeed, Mujib was a notorious figure by all counts, but implicating him



while he was in jail looked a bit eccentric. After involving him in the case, he was released and the case was abandoned. There were reasons to release Mujib however, and it made him the unchallenged leader from East Pakistan. Before going further, let's discuss Mujib's infamous 6 points for regional autonomy. A summary of the 6 points is as follow:

1. Election should be held on the basis of adult franchise;
2. Foreign affairs and defence should be under the centre;
3. Currency should be under regional reserve banks. Separate fiscal and monetary policies;
4. The centre shall not have the power to raise taxes;
5. States shall have a right to form and maintain para-military and territorial forces
6. Separate foreign trade account for federating states.

The above-mentioned points became the hallmark of the Awami league and naturally Sheikh Mujib. Why was Mujib released over the Agartala Conspiracy case? Ayub has often been ostracised heavily for releasing Mujib and

thereby elevating his stature. However, one needs to look at things a bit more closely. The way the trial was held overtly made Mujib a real hero for the East Pakistanis. The undue publicity made a pariah into a hero. Unwittingly Ayub did a great disservice to the nation by making him a hero. Karrar Ali Agha also gives a morbid account as to why Ayub had to release Mujib. He writes, "As political support and backing for Ayub Khan in both the wings slipped sharply in the wake of a massive countrywide agitation in 1968-69, the atmosphere in East Pakistan darkened even further. Wanton murder, loot and arson rapidly increased in the province... Pro-Mujib agitation became so intense that Ayub was not only forced to withdraw the Agartala Conspiracy case, but also to release Sheikh Mujib Ur Rehman from the prison unconditionally." So it is easier said than done; Ayub's grip on power and health were fast dwindling. He tried to mitigate the differences by convening a Round Table Conference as a last-ditch effort. The Round Table Conference (RTC) failed to achieve anything; Ayub made concessions for Mujib, which were resisted by the West Pakistani elite junta. Bhashani proposed extreme measures like violence, strikes, and encirclement. However, it was

Mujib's recalcitrance which proved to be the last nail in the coffin; his demands were bordering on the lines of a breakup. All was set-up for a grand showdown if and when the time dawned, till then the Indian role was tacit yet very instrumental. If anything, the firebrand and flamboyant Mujib Ur Rehman was being bolstered under the auspices of India.

Ayub was at the twilight of his power by all means. Ayub called it a day on the 25th of March, 1969. In accordance with his self-contrived constitution, the speaker was to be bequeathed the office of the president. However, Ayub handed over power to the commander-in-chief, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, a man known to be a stern soldier. Analysts have always found Yahya Khan a soft target; some, in fact, most of the scholars have laid more emphasis on his personal affinity for drinking, which perhaps should be separated from professional matters. His epoch of two and a half years was perhaps the most arduous; he had to confront some titanic challenges. Before delving into his rule, one thing needs to be clear: that the General despite all his vices tried tooth and nail to maintain the unity of Pakistan intact. He did falter on many occasions, but it is hard to cast aspersions on his sincerity. Yahya Khan's assumption of power enraged the Bengalis, for the speaker happened to be Bengali. Thus, the old and somewhat untrue grudges of deliberately keeping the Bengalis out of the corridors resurfaced. And thus, the Yahya regime had to deal with the pressing

“Yahya Khan's assumption of power enraged the Bengalis, for the speaker happened to be Bengali. Thus, the old and somewhat untrue grudges of deliberately keeping the Bengalis out of the corridors resurfaced. And thus, the Yahya regime had to deal with the pressing law and order situation. Yahya categorically stated that he intends to restore democracy and has no political yearnings. Yahya put the country under Martial Law and abrogated the constitution made by his predecessor.

law and order situation. Yahya categorically stated that he intends to restore democracy and has no political yearnings. Yahya put the country under Martial Law and abrogated the constitution made by his predecessor. His junta was entirely different to that of Ayub Khan, who had a civilian cabinet. We need not go into the scaffold of the regime, however, it is important to discuss the men that he appointed in East Pakistan. There were two critical appointments, that of governor and Commander Eastern Command. Admiral Ahsan was appointed governor of East Pakistan in 1969. He was an honest and unassuming person; it is believed that his softness was capitalised upon by the virulent Bengali politicians and students. Lt General Sahibzaba Yaqub Khan was made commander Eastern Command. A man with high intellect, eloquence, and foresight, was a somewhat different person. He was unable to build a personal rapport with the leaders.

“Yahya made two important decisions which can be seen as a double-edged sword. First was the abolition of the principle of parity. This was a long-standing demand of the Bengalis, which Yahya fulfilled, albeit in a haste. He could have pushed the Bengali politicians further by holding this parity issue as a tool for negotiations, but he didn't. The One Unit Scheme was also done away with, giving East Pakistan a driving position, to say the least. East Pakistan was in a position to make a central government on its own.

On the face of it, the scheme for the transfer of power showed no ill will. Political activities were to restart from January 1970 and elections were to be held in October 1970. However, there were other issues that confronted the Yahya regime. Most important of them all was the rising influence of the Awami League under the fiery Sheikh Mujib. Yahya made two important decisions which can be seen as a double-edged sword. First was the abolition of the principle of parity. This was a long-standing demand of the Bengalis, which Yahya fulfilled, albeit in a haste. He could have pushed the Bengali politicians

further by holding this parity issue as a tool for negotiations, but he didn't. the One Unit Scheme was also done away with, giving East Pakistan a driving position, to say the least. East Pakistan was in a position to make a central government on its own. Again, Yahya could have been a bit more tactful. The Bengali politicians were getting everything without much of a fuss; this certainly made the likes of Mujib bolder. One needs to bear in mind that he was wary when Yahya Khan came to power as there was a common belief that the military would act punitively against him. Yahya and Mujib had long deliberations on the future political dispensations, wherein the former wanted assurances of the latter being loyal to the unity of the country. Mujib never showed his real intentions in front of General Yahya. But ulterior motives were different. Yahya was later left in a huff over Mujib's blatant backtracking. Like a straight soldier, Yahya took Mujib by his word. This dealing of Yahya showed his lack of strategic acumen as far as politics was concerned. Mujib proved wlier than the then 52-year old warrior. `Mujib's attitude was typified with dualism. On one hand, he was saying that the Six Points were not Koran and Bible and that Pakistan is here to stay. He even acquiesced on the Legal Framework Order (LFO) promulgated on 31st March 1970. What was the LFO all about? It was kind of a mini constitution, which was naturally based on Islamic ideology. In a nutshell, the document revolved around maintaining the integrity and oneness of Pakistan. It gave 120 days for the national assembly to frame a constitution, with the president given ratification powers. Mujib assured Yahya time and again that he will not harm the unity of the country. Yahya was pleased and satiated, however, later developments proved disastrous. Mujib used the slogans of Joy Bangla during his campaign. The cause of Bangladesh was given much-needed support from India. The All-India Radio broadcasted a weekly program named, Apper Bangla Oupper Bangla (This side and the other side of Bengal). Thus, we see that India was firmly behind the separatist movement which was being led under the garb of Pakistani unity. One not-so-shocking piece of evidence was

unveiled before General Yahya by the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). Mujib was overtly and covertly showing his real face. Mujib was chivalrously confiding his views on the above-mentioned LFO with his coterie, not knowing the fact that the conversation was being taped for General Yahya. Mujib said: 'My aim is to establish Bangladesh. I shall tear L.F.O into pieces as soon as the elections are over. Who could challenge me once the elections are over?' It was played to Yahya who said, "I will fix him up if he betrays me." Mujib soon gained primacy, but before going into that, it is imperative to pen-down some statements of General Yahya to show his fidelity to the cause of Pakistan. "I have to carry the majority province of East Pakistan with me. If not Mujib, who else represents East Pakistan?". Time and again, Yahya assured the country of his commitment for a smooth transfer of power. He was advised not to hold elections based on adult franchise, saying that all political leaders are parochial in outlook. Yahya reportedly replied by asking who the leaders of national stature are: 'Let them come forward, I want to see them and talk to them.' The prelude to the elections was scary; the Awami League gained prominence by acts of sabotage in one sense or another. The cyclone not only delayed the elections till 7th December 1970, but it dealt a severe blow to the unity of the two wings. Yahya was blamed for being lax in handling the crisis, aggravated Bengali anger. Finally, the elections were held on the 7th of December 1970, the first of its kind in the then 23-year history of Pakistan. The elections were deemed as free and fair. Indeed, there was no rigging under the

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auspices of the state. However, there is irrefutable evidence which suggests that Mujib and the Awami League did all that it took to browbeat potential voters. All said and done, elections were held on the above-mentioned date. The results were not shocking; however, it exceeded the expectations of the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI). Mujib's Awami League attained 160 seats out of 162 seats allotted to East Pakistan. The report given by the ISI was that Mujib would secure around 45 seats. This was a deliberate hoax; the ISI officers' in-charge in East Pakistan were both Bengalis with nationalist tendencies. They were identified as Major Nurul Islam and Major Anwarul Islam. It is

interesting to note that Lt-Gen Sahibzaba Yaqub was glad that elections were free and fair. However, Major General Farman remarked sarcastically, yes they were free, free for all." Mujib's stance began to toughen towards the president. Things were getting worse; Mujib came out loud and clear about his intentions. Moreover, Z A Bhutto who had won 81 out of 138 seats in West Pakistan, vociferously outlawed any constitutional move without his consent, and that the PPP could not sit in the opposition. Such recalcitrance could have only led to a disaster. Subsequently, a series of talks and bickering took place, the law and order situation worsened by the day. Mujib flaunted himself in his cavalier fashion; turning down talk proposals became a norm. An impasse was nothing but clear for all to see. Without going into further details regarding the talks, let's try and shed light on some grave developments. The stalemate had irked General Yahya so much that he was convinced that something else will have to be done to meet the ever-dangerous milieus. General Yaqub updated the plans of Operation Blitz, which was made on



11th December, 1970, just 4 days after the elections. This operation was kept top secret and was ostensibly developed to counter the impending threat. The Awami League was ganging up for a crackdown too. Col M A G Osmani was the man responsible for engineering the armed strength of the Bengali rebels. The Sevak Bahini was an antecedent to Mukti Bahini, and soon became a force to reckon with. There was a well-knit structure, which will form part of this paper later. The session of the National Assembly was postponed; Bhutto made his infamous remark before the postponement. General Yaqub resigned all of a sudden on the pretext that he could not partake in a military operation against his own people. He should have been reminded that he was the one who mandated Operation Blitz. Was it a change of conscience or a refusal to obey a lawful command? This will remain a mystery; for many he became a hero, but for those cognizant with his style and snobbish attitude may think likewise. Hasty efforts were made between 3rd and 25th March, but they were futile by all means. During this time the eastern wing was made hostage by rebels, loot, arson and strikes became a norm. The Army despite being attacked remained aloof, despite some fires here and there. There are numerous instances which suggest that the army was compelled to do what it eventually did on the 25th. However, the internal law and order

situation during this period has never been the focus of scholarship. Still, there has been some scholarship on this period, apart from primary accounts. Sarmila Bose, in her ground-breaking and seminal work, has tried to shun many fallacies as regards military aggression. The incident involving 57 Brigade was mentioned; Lt Abbas's death and other issues were dealt with in detail. "Meanwhile at the Hotel Purbani, a Pakistani flag was brought from somewhere and burnt without ceremony. The neighbouring PIA office had its windows smashed. Some youngsters even tried to loot the West Pakistani shops in the foyer of the hotel." 23rd and 24th March proved to be decisive days as far as a political solution was concerned. On 23rd March the flags of Bangladesh fluttered instead of the Pakistani flags. Furthermore, on the 24th, Mujib

“ 23rd and 24th March of 1971 proved to be decisive days as far as a political solution was concerned. On 23rd March the flags of Bangladesh fluttered instead of the Pakistani flags. Furthermore, on the 24th, Mujib and his junta again talked about a confederation instead of a federation. This was the end of all political negotiations for the time being; it was time for military action, which was codenamed Operation Searchlight.



and his junta again talked about a confederation instead of a federation. This was the end of all political negotiations for the time being; it was time for military action, which was codenamed Operation Searchlight. It had the following aims:

1. To seal off the borders;
2. To create conditions for selecting a civilian set-up;
3. To regain the administration of the province;
4. To accommodate non-rebels in the political scaffold.

Thus the night of 25th and 26th March saw military action in the Dhaka University's Iqbal and Jagan Nath halls; furthermore, Mujib was

“ The genesis and development of the Mukti Bahini was India's tool to undermine the integrity of Pakistan. It flouted the very spirit of the Tashkent Declaration.

arrested and rebels were being punished amidst stiff resistance. We need not go into the tactical details of the operation, which more or less evicted the rebels momentarily nonetheless.

Blatant allegations are still levied against the army of being involved in heinous crimes. Now, the accusation has become a reality, simply because of a grave blunder of General Tikka Khan of ousting all media personnel out of Dhaka, which gave them a chance to hobnob with India to concoct stories. These stories can't be dispelled now for there was hardly any countering news, owing to fears of reprisals for Bengalis living in East Pakistan. The allegations have no basis, for 34,000 combatants could not have killed and raped 3 million Bengalis in a span of two months. Meanwhile, the Indians were readying themselves for a massive overt intervention as opposed to their long policy of covert help. General Maneshaw was ordained by the hawkish Indira Gandhi to launch an attack as back as April 1971. The Indian CGS requested Indira Gandhi to send Indians in

uniform because even otherwise many Indian soldiers had died under the garb of rebels. By the end of May, the strength of the rebels had been reduced significantly; it was time to supplant military action with a political dialogue. However, things had become a bit more intricate than apparent. The rebels were on the run, crossed the border and were welcomed by the Indian government with open arms. The genesis and development of the Mukti Bahini was India's tool to undermine the integrity of Pakistan. It flouted the very spirit of the Tashkent Declaration. A closer look at the workings of the Mukti Bahini and the Indian pre-war activities would put things in a much clearer perspective.

INDIA VS PAKISTAN: MAY TO DECEMBER 1971

The Mukti Bahini was created as a reaction to Operation Searchlight. It was under the command of Col (R) M A G Osmani. The total swelled up to 287,500, and with the help of 50,000 Indian army personnel in civilian clothes made this a formidable force. The Indian armed forces provided them with everything, ranging from basic training in tactics to elements of command. A Bengali Brigade was put under the command of a Brigadier of the Indian Army. Moreover, Brigadier Shah Beg and Brigadier Jagjit were the overall commanders of these Brigades some sort of a Bengali Air Force, Beman Bahini was also in the pipeline. Until 21st November, the Indians were not only flexing their muscles but were also sabotaging the Pakistan troops by tiring them out, with frequent attacks on border pickets. There were many instances of Indian incursions inside East Pakistan. For instance, the rebels along with the Indian BSF entered 5 miles inside Birol. These incidents increased with every passing day; the Indians were all in readiness for a colossal war, not a limited one. Before discussing the Indian plans; Pakistani counter-plans and Order of Battle (ORBAT), let's succinctly try and understand a bit of international diplomacy.

The Nixon administration in all earnestness aspired to establish a relationship with China. Nixon and Kissinger saw General Yahya as

the right to channelize the secret trip to China, which eventually proved true. The severe Sino-Soviet split caused the Soviets to strain their ties with Pakistan. Indira Gandhi's aggressive diplomacy along with Sam Maneshaw's visit to the USSR culminated in the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in August 1971. The treaty was a defence pact by all means; USSR remained loyal to the treaty. Kosygin went on to threaten the Pakistani Ambassador, Jamshed Marker of reprisals. The Soviet Union always sided with the Indians when there were talks of them vacating the border outposts before the actual war began. Going by the realist worldview, the Americans never could allow the complete annihilation of Pakistan, thereby remained somewhat neutral overtly. However, it is widely believed that American pressure persuaded India not to attack West Pakistan, the 7th Fleet was one such pressure, so to speak. India never wished to show so-called "Strategic Restraint".

There is a huge misconception as regards the actual war with India. Many Pakistani liberals and of course Indians attribute the outbreak of the war to the Pakistani attack on 3rd December in the Western Sector. This is a white lie. The Indians with a strength of three corps (2, 4 and 33) along with 101 communication zone attacked East Pakistan on the night of 20/21st November. The war started there and then. With perhaps no air and naval support, 3 regular divisions along with 2 Ad Hoc divisions were up against the odds. The soldiers were tired of fighting a war of attrition for over 8 months. Let's look at the operational plans of both adversaries.

The Indian plan as laid out by Lt -Gen J F R Jacob was as follows:

1. 'Dacca was to be the final objective: the geopolitical and geostrategic heart of East Pakistan;'
2. 'Thrust lines were to be selected to isolate and bypass Pakistani forces;'
3. 'Preliminary operations were aimed at drawing out the Pakistani forces to the border, leaving key areas in the interior

lightly defended;'

4. Subsidiary objectives were to be selected with the aim of securing communications centres and destruction of the enemy command and control capabilities.' Niazi's fortress was to be bypassed and dealt with later.'

The Pakistani plan can be summarised as follows:

1. Causing maximum attrition to the enemy before it gets ready for launching the main attack;
2. There were three layers of defence, namely outposts, strong points and fortresses.
3. The troops were to trade space for time. A forward defence policy was adopted by general Niazi.

Surprise is a principle of war; to achieve surprise deception is used. General Niazi used deception to good effect. The Indians later admitted that they were beguiled as to the number of formations deployed on the Pakistani side. Those conversant with war planning would vouch for the fact, that a strategy is made based upon enemy's capability/intention/resources and those of the own outfit. The terrain is an important factor that impinges upon strategy. Many as of now ostracise General Niazi for a faulty operational plan. Firstly, it is imperative to understand that Niazi had some 37,000 troops all told facing against three full corps of the Indian Army with full air and naval support. Secondly, deploying troops behind the PBM rivers would have been disastrous, simply because the area lacked geographical depth. Thirdly, the concept was in-line with the overall military strategy of not allowing India even an inch of territory. Right or wrong, that is beside the point. The paper does not demand us to elucidate on

the happenings of the war; however, there are certain things which need to be borne in mind. This war was not winnable at the first place; whatever the Pakistanis did within its meagre means is commendable. We have examples to give credence to this claim. The famous battle of Hilli or the that of Kamalpur is just a glaring example. Pakistan always had to vacate fortresses or strong points to come up with scanty troops where the enemy was pressing hard. Yes, indeed the fortress fell, but the posts were vacated by the Pakistani formation and brigade commanders. Two things will continue to intrigue many aspirant researchers. First, India was still outside the Dhaka Bowl when orders for surrender were given. Why? Second, why India could manage to make quick inroads, despite having the most favourable balance? However, the most important thing that needs to be looked into is the failure in launching reserves from West Pakistan. General Tikka Khan as Corp Commander was kept waiting in the wings when surrender orders were announced. There has hardly been any scholarship on the war in the Western theatre.

All said and done, one needs to admit that whenever a Pakistani hears those announcements of General Sam Maneshaw, he is left in a deep huff. The Fall of Dhaka is a black spot in the country's history. The state of Bangladesh was created; General Aurora became a hero for the Bengalis. Studying this tragic event is a must, for we may be able to proffer lessons and try not to repeat our follies. Yes, we should admit that we messed up the conundrum by our high-headed policies, but how and why should we forget the role of India? The debacle could have been tackled had India not intervened. However, let's try to get our house in order and be mindful of all threats from wherever they emanate.

Syed Ali Zia Jaffery has done his graduation in History and Political Science from Forman Christian College University . Ali has a penchant for writing on subjects like Military, Diplomacy, History and International Relations and has written for a host of publications. He has presented papers in two conferences in India on the Pakistan Army and issues of counter-terrorism. He aims to further look into the East Pakistan conundrum and the Nuclearisation of South Asia. He tweets @syedalizia1992

BALUCHISTAN

PERCEPTION & REALITY

*16 March, 2017
Aiwan-e-Iqbal, Lahore*



SEMINAR REPORT

The Center for Strategic and Contemporary Research, through its project Voice of Balochistan, organized a seminar titled 'Balochistan - Perception and Reality' at Aiwan-e-Iqbal, Lahore on Thursday, 16 March 2017. The seminar was hosted by the Government of Balochistan in collaboration with the Government of Punjab.

The seminar was composed of two interactive sessions, which were articulated in a coherent manner to elucidate the bright prospects of Balochistan. The first session embraced the presence of some illustrious names from the domain of media and education, both institutions, which are fundamental for the perpetual development of any nation. The dynamic youth present there quizzed the dignitaries, which was catered adequately by the concerned representatives. It was followed by a second session, focusing on the role of politicians in developing Balochistan and solving its core issues. This was amicably lectured by pertinent officials and distinguished politicians. The discussion revolved around policy perspectives and guidelines, which were cordially initiated by concerned politicians; emphasis was laid to solve problems persisting for decades. The discussion further expanded towards the realms of successes and failures in the region viz. Balochistan. Moreover, realizing the true potential of Balochistan was another hot topic, through the game changing CPEC.

The finish line witnessed a key discourse from Lt. Gen. Amir Riaz HI(M), Commander Southern Command, which elucidated the prospects for tranquility in Balochistan and the prescribed way forward. The seminar finally concluded with souvenir distribution ceremony.

Seminar Proceedings Opening remarks

The seminar was initiated by Ms. Areen Shahid, after the recitation of the Holy Quran, followed by the national anthem. Ms. Areen Shahid and Mr. Syed Ali Zia Jaffery, the appointed stage secretaries, commenced the session by briefing everyone about the Voice of Balochistan (VOB) project. The underlying theme behind VOB and its operational capacities were briefed to the audience at hand.



The spokesperson of Government of Balochistan, Mr. Anwar ul Haq Kakar, articulated the opening remarks of the conference. In his speech, Mr. Kakar insinuated that Pakistan is on the verge of entering a new sphere of prosperity and excellence with regards to its ever increasing youth bulge. The burden of excellence is now being shifted towards the new generation. The changing of guards towards the new generation is the first step towards the right direction. The onus on the youth towards development will propel Pakistan towards perpetual growth and prosperity.



Mr. Kakar highlighted the pertinence of local languages viz. Farsi, Arabic and Urdu, it's imperative to preserve them which would then lead towards a nation being built.



Before the first session, a video about the visit of Team CSCR to Quetta in October last year was shown to the audience. Later, Ms. Areen Shahid called upon the moderator, Director VOB Salman Javed, to moderate the first session titled. ***‘Role of Media in Forming a National Narrative on Balochistan’***

First Session

The panelists of the first sessions were:



Prof. Dr. Javed Iqbal
VC University of Balochistan

Mr. Javed highlighted pertinent points in his discussion, firstly, discussing the proposal to mobilize youth efficiently to create a narrative that truly represents the people of Pakistan. He further elucidated the negligible role played by the media in highlighting the real issues of Balochistan. The deplorable condition of the people of Balochistan can be rectified if both media and the government move hand in glove. He further went on to insinuate the fact that first when insurgency was at its peak only 2900 students were enrolled, however, persistent tranquility in the region has lifted the enrollment to around 11000 students. In the end, he concluded his address by stressing on improving the antagonistic relationship between the media and the government.



Mr. Habib Akram
Executive Editor - Dunya TV

On Balochistan's perception, how the people of Balochistan perceive other provinces, how other provinces perceive Balochistan and how the people of Balochistan actually perceive themselves. Mr Habib delved into the topic immaculately, highlighting how the media should play a vibrant role in changing the convoluted perceptions and initiating a bright path forward. He further went on addressing the responsibility of media to portray the true realities instead of biased propaganda against state's objectives. Media ethics are indispensable in developing an unbiased narrative and portraying a factual picture of Balochistan. In retrospect, today's media is far more independent and responsible than say three years back, however, still a lot has to be done on these lines. In the end, Mr. Habib, emphasized that both the stakeholders, government and the media, have to play a decisive role in alliance with each other to accomplish the national objectives.



Prof. Dr. Dost Muhammad Baloch
VC - Lasbela University

Mr. Dost accentuated prodigiously on the importance for understanding the ground realities of Balochistan. Without adequate knowledge of the problems, it is close to impossible to articulate a well grafted solution. Suffice to say

that the solutions grafted in haste are one of the core reasons for the appalling condition of the Baloch people. Mr. Dost furthered his discussion by underlining the prominence of remote areas of Balochistan, whose infrastructure and institution building should be handled on top priority. He concluded his address by highlighting the hospitality of the people of Balochistan.



Dr. Zaffar Mueen Nasir
VC - University of the Punjab

Media's negligence in highlighting the issues of Balochistan being the crux of his talk, Mr. Zafar stressed on the need to build a bridge, bringing the two pivotal institutions working in collaboration together. He accentuated the fact that Balochistan played a prominent role in the freedom struggle of Pakistan.

Mr. Zafar then shifted the attention of the audience towards the role that the University of Punjab is playing in accommodating students from Balochistan, their expenses and developing adequate human capital for Pakistan. These students are paid Rs. 3000 stipend per month. He concluded his discourse on a commitment of signing a MOU with all universities of Balochistan on initiating the semester exchange programs.



Mr. Hafeezullah Niazi
Columnist

The geographical importance of Pakistan is essential to its existence and to become a game changer in the New World Order, Mr. Niazi expressed this view point, while elaborating that CPEC is most definitely a game changer if politics are kept a side and is adapted in its true spirit. Mr. Niazi appreciated

Mr. Kakar's viewpoint regarding the changing dynamics. Mr. Niazi expressed his desire towards the government to increase the education budget and to inculcate education in Urdu as a means to promote our local language. In the end, he stressed on the pertinence of same education system within the country to reduce inequality and deprivation, as a mean to achieve quality life and equity

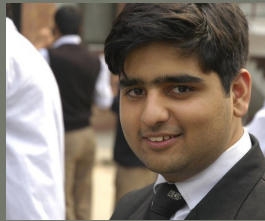


Mr. Shahzada Zulfiqar
President - Press Club Quetta

Mr. Zulfiqar shed light on the perception that is created by the media on the killings of Punjabis in Balochistan by subversive elements, which made people of Balochistan feel betrayed and distraught. He elucidated the administrative problems which have created havoc in the province and lead to many vices

and acrimonious fervor. He concluded his address by pointing out that the media should address the real problems of Balochistan and give appropriate coverage to the far flung areas of the region. Before the start of the second session, a Voice of Balochistan video presentation about the visit of delegation of students and faculty members from various educational institutions of Lahore, to Gwadar in January was shown to the audience.

Second Session



Mr. Syed Ali Raza Jaffery called upon the moderator, Mr. Anwaar ul Haq Kakar, to moderate the second session titled. ***‘Role of Politicians in Developing’***



The political leadership took charge of the panel in the second session. The discussion revolved around the policy perspectives and guidelines which the politicians laid down for the issues in Balochistan. Implementation of different policies with varying results over the time; the political successes and failures in Balochistan were elucidated. Despite being abundantly rich in terms of natural wealth, Balochistan has yet to harness its true potential. Furthermore, the significance of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) was also be debated.

The panelists of the first sessions were:



Raheela Durrani
Speaker - Balochistan Assembly

Ms. Raheela Durrani immaculately explained the fact that Balochistan is a land of people who have been standing steadfast in face of all the hard balls thrown at them. She further elucidated this fact by naming a few worthy females working diligently in the forces of our nation and in many other noteworthy institutions. Along with this enlightening piece of information, she also addressed the pressing issue of the educational deprivation the noble land of Balochistan faces and how in the future their problems will be eradicated. She further appreciated the active contribution of Punjab to Balochistan through vehicles of peace such as the NFC award.



Mr. Shafqat Mehmood
MNA - Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

How a developing nation overcomes the challenges it faces every day is a key factor that determines its strength. Mr. Shafqat while pointing out the various internal and external problems Balochistan faces, also elucidated the reasons that drive these issues in transforming from mere trivial problems to massive hurdles in the road to development. He was adamant on the fact that Pakistan should realize the significance of Balochistan in general and Gwadar specifically as they are the linchpins of the CPEC project. He further enunciated the underlying issues such as the negative perception other provinces of Pakistan have about Balochistan and how this is the biggest underlying challenge that has to be addressed timely for CPEC to be established in all its glory.



Prince Ahmed Ali
MPA - Balochistan Assembly

Mr. Ali boldly pointed out that Israel and Pakistan are the only two nations in the world established based on a specific ideology. He discussed the fact that our forefathers had an insight and how they stood their grounds, merged many small states in to one nation that today we call Pakistan. This is why, he explained, that Balochistan deserves its due share in the tedious process of development as it is just as important as the other provinces of Pakistan. Mr. Ali then shifted the focus of his discussion towards the issues of years 2005-2006 and how the political strife albeit being strong could not destabilize Pakistan. He appreciated CSCR's initiative on the appraisal of social and security concerns and how it created positivity among the people of Balochistan. He ended his speech on a hopeful note that the youth being the asset of our nation will drive our nation forward.



Maulana Abdul Wasay
Opposition Leader - Balochistan Assembly

The emphasis of Maulana Abdul Wasay's speech was on the importance of Balochistan as a part of Pakistan and how its problems should be shared by the whole country. He further highlighted the fact that the negative perception that prevails all over the country about terrorism and prejudice in Balochistan undermines the province's significance. He also reasoned that the media acting as an organ of the state should portray the real scenario of Balochistan and its problems. Along with stating the fact that there should be equality among all the provinces of the country in everything, he recalled the era of Musharraf and Zia-ul-Haq and how these eras saw the real development of Balochistan. He concluded his speech by championing the fact that no one can break Pakistan on issues like ethnicity as it is a nation of strong patriots.



Jangeyz Marri
Irrigation and Energy Minister - Govt. of Balochistan

After highlighting his tale of bravery and steadfastness against the anti-Pakistan groups in Balochistan, he diligently explained how the youth of this country is a force of development and positivity and how their decision to support Pakistan is important. His speech presented, not only his brave motives to further support Pakistan in all his capacities, but also his high hopes for Pakistan.



Qamar Zaman Kaira
Veteran Politician/Ex MNA - Pakistan People's Party

Mr. Qamar Zaman carefully laid out all the real reasons due to which, Balochistan specifically, and Pakistan as a whole faces depravity. He explained that although Pakistan has been built on the principle of federal democracy, there is still a long way it has to go before the people of Pakistan can call it a true nation. This is because there is a long absence of equality among provinces, which makes it harder for the government and the people to cater the main issues in Balochistan. He further enlightened the audience by stating that Pakistan is not a weak state as no country in the world is surviving without fighting constant battles against its internal and external problems. If the people and the government take their responsibilities and realize their duties towards their country, then there is no hurdle big enough for Pakistan to overcome.



Jamal Kamal Khan
Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Resources

Mr. Jam Kamal insinuated in his discourse about the historical perspective of Balochistan. He highlighted that there was no concept of Balochistan up till 1970; however, our forefathers took a sane decision in favor of Pakistan.

Mr. Jam emphasized on the role that politicians should be playing and how to carry out these responsibilities amicably. Another central point that was given ample significance was the impact of CPEC on the youth; its changing trends and how it could evolve the way the youth could think, respond and evaluate correspondingly. He concluded by urging the youth of Pakistan to stand tall in the face of diversity. The coming two years are imperative for the development of Balochistan and its youth.

Conclusion



The keynote speech was delivered by Lt. Gen. Amir Riaz HI(M), Commander Southern Command. He started his speech by complimenting the VOB and its team for their commendable efforts in organizing the seminar. He emphasized on Balochistan's importance by highlighting that it constitutes almost fifty percent of Pakistan including the exclusive economic zone. He pointed out that if Pakistan has to pace up their process of development they have to give Balochistan two essential things. First, its due share in the process and second, appreciation and equal consideration. Without these two things, Pakistan cannot develop or let alone flourish. He ended his zealous speech by advising that it is imperative that Pakistan and its people start considering Balochistan's problems their problems and should address these problems as a priority because the faster these hurdles are eradicated the easier it will be for us to focus the country's wealth on other pressing issues.



The vote of thanks was presented by Mr. Rana Mashood, Punjab's Minister for Education. The minister, firstly, acknowledged the esteemed guests from Balochistan and stressed upon strengthening institutions, which is imperative for a prosperous and developed Balochistan. He furthered the discussion by stressing on education as a pivotal tool to keep the development wheel churning in the country. Education should be provided on priority basis, with youth acting as a vital agent of change. Mr. Masood concluded his discourse

by highlighting the impact PSL final had on unifying the nation as one and that it would lead to future laurels for the country, both in the long and medium term. He also announced blissful news of allocating quota for students from Balochistan in Danish schools in near future.

In the end, a souvenir distribution ceremony was conducted in which among others, Mr. Khalid Farid, the Chief Organiser, Mr. Salman Javed, Director CSCR, other moderators and distinguished guests were presented a token of appreciation by Commander Southern Command Lt. Gen. Amir Riaz HI(M).





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