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Faculty of Contemporary Studies  
National Defence University  
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# Journal of Contemporary Studies

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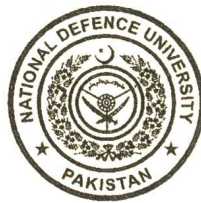
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## Editor's Note

The *Journal of Contemporary Studies* is a flagship publication of the Faculty of Contemporary Studies (FCS), National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad. It started with the unequivocal objective of advancing critically-oriented academic and intellectual discourse. It is a bi-annual peer-reviewed journal that offers its readers—in academia, government and the policy-making world—in-depth and scholarly analyses and diverse policy perspectives on important contemporary issues, ongoing debates in the areas of national and international security and the wider field of world politics.

This is the eighth issue of the journal containing five research articles, two book reviews and five primary documents having valuable information. The first article by Col. Li Xiaolu entitled 'A Chinese Perspective on CPEC: Background, Benefits and Risks', analyses the significance of the CPEC for China and Pakistan. It argues that CPEC is a flagship project in Silk Road Economic Belt programme (SREB) and can contribute to regional economic connectivity and growth, and therefore, may be viewed as a catalyst for social stability in the region.

The second article by Sajjad Malik entitled, 'Use of Force and Fear in the Rise of the Taliban in Swat: A Case Study' offers an insight into the strategies involved in the surge of Taliban in the settled areas of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and how they reached Swat, where they became so powerful by 2007 that they ran a parallel administration. The author points out the use of violence, fear and intimidation as strategies to control the population and to come to power. The research shows how constant use of force to intimidate the civilians and the officials ultimately alienated the people and led to the downfall of the Taliban in Swat. The study is based on primary and secondary sources. David Kilcullen's counterinsurgency framework, based on enemy-centric and Population-centric approaches, has been partially used to analyse Taliban efforts to maintain a stranglehold over the civilians.

The third article, authored by Muhammad Farouq Khan Lodhi entitled 'Limits of Interventionist Power: A Comparative Study of Traditional and Evolutionary Paradigms', posits that prospects of a long

cycle of international peace would be greatly enhanced and chances of costly errors would be reciprocally reduced by a watertight international order that restrains and discourages such overt and covert interventions that fall outside the ambit of the UN Charter. It suggests that a stronger international regulatory environment will improve prospects of peace and by focusing on the socio-economic development of LDCs it will lift third world populations out of the morass of living half-in-and-half-out-of-dirt.

The fourth article, by Dr. Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, entitled, 'Pakistani Universities: Synergy through Academia, Industry and Government Collaboration', argues that Universities are supposed to be engines of innovative ideas and research; besides promoting high-quality education and research, they contribute to national growth and development. Overpopulation, along with meagre spending on health, education and social welfare, has relegated many Muslim countries to the bottom of the global pile. To overcome these, it is suggested that research, value-added items, academia-industry-defence linkages, 'disruptive innovations,' new technologies in IT, biosciences and genetics are imperative. For this, the Helix Model is proposed that would focus on an academia-industry-business model of cooperation. This could assist in forging much-needed skills, promoting educational standards, instilling self-reliance and contributing to a knowledge-based society and national development.

The last article, by Arshad Mahmood, entitled, 'Changing Dynamics of the World Order: A Case-Study of Russia's Power Play in Ukraine and Syria', offers an assessment of the Russian post-Cold War character, from its military actions in Chechnya (1996) and Georgia (2008) to the recent power play in Ukraine and Syria and suggests that Russia has never accepted the unipolar world order and its relegation to the status of an ordinary power. In the recent past, the Republic of Russia has been on the forefront of global realpolitik, gaining the attention of all international powerbrokers. Russia's intervention in Ukrainian domestic politics, especially the episode of the annexation of Crimea, brought the US and the West to a crossroads regarding their foreign policies. Before the global actors could formulate a befitting response to the Ukrainian crisis, Russia started demonstrating its muscle in the Syrian theatre. The author argues that the prevalent global political and security situation, especially the ongoing situation in Ukraine and Syria, suggests three probabilities: (1) resurgence of Russia as a key actor in international politics; (2) redistribution of power in the international system; and (3) a shift in the existing world order away from unipolarity towards multipolarity. It might be too early to predict as to what could be the nature of the emerging world order, but the above three assumptions do merit an academic inquiry; this paper is an attempt to examine this unfolding trend.

I am grateful to all the contributors who sent their articles for this issue, and the anonymous peer-reviewers, whose valuable comments helped the authors to improve their contributions. We hope that the study of this *Journal* will invoke the desire among readers to contribute their perspectives in the ongoing academic discourses. Contributions are invited from all fields including the broad spectrum of related fields, like political science, security studies, political economy, terrorism, politics and religion, politics of energy, feminism, media and politics, management sciences, leadership psychology, military strategy, modern history, international law, sociology, education, conflict management and resolution, urban studies, demography, social anthropology, developmental studies, foreign policy etc.

We are accepting articles for the upcoming issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Studies* based on original qualitative or quantitative research, an innovative conceptual framework, or a substantial literature review that opens new areas of inquiry and investigation. Case studies and comparative analyses are also welcome. The editorial team at the journal encourages submissions from expert analysts from around the world. The Journal seeks to promote a scholarly understanding of contemporary developments and changes related to aforementioned disciplines/fields of social sciences. It also intends to promote interdisciplinary research and writing.

Editor  
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar

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## A Chinese Perspective on CPEC: Background, Benefits and Risks

Li Xiaolu\*

### Abstract:

*China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the flagship project in Silk Road Economic Belt programme (SREB), which is half of the grand strategic plan put forward by Chinese President Xi Jinping— ‘One Belt One Road’ vision (OBOR). OBOR is China’s effort to contribute to global prosperity by pushing for better cooperation among countries in Asia, Europe and Africa, and especially by helping developing countries to grow economically. As one of the earliest OBOR programmes, CPEC is uniquely significant. It can contribute to regional economic connectivity and growth, and therefore, may be viewed as a catalyst for social stability in the region. This article endeavours to analyze the significance of CPEC and SREB/OBOR in the present geopolitical picture of Asia-Pacific. After a brief overview of the progress of CPEC, the author examines its significance for China, Pakistan and other nations, and the political, security, economic and external risks which CPEC may confront, including political, security, economic risks and the risk of potential.*

**Key Words:** *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Silk Road Economic Belt, ‘One Belt One Road’ vision, US rebalance strategy*

In September 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping put forward a grand development plan—Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB)<sup>1</sup>—in response to the changing strategic situation in the Asia-Pacific and to global as well as Chinese economic slowdown. In October of the same year, he advanced the idea of building ‘21st-Century Maritime Silk Road’. These two ideas were combined into ‘One Belt One Road’(OBOR) vision, the central purpose of which is to contribute to global prosperity by pushing for

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\* Li Xiaolu (PhD) is an associate professor, at the Institute of Strategic Studies of National Defense University of PLA, China. This article expresses the author’s personal opinion only and does not represent the views from any institution or Chinese government. Ms. Mahroona Hussain Syed, research associate at NDU, Pakistan, greatly helped the author in finding the English names for some Pakistani places concerning CPEC projects.

<sup>1</sup> Xi Jinping, “Speech in Kazakhstan University,” September 7, 2013, <<http://news.cntv.cn/2013/09/07/ARTI1378531506771407.shtml>>

better cooperation among countries in Asia, Europe and Africa, and especially by helping developing countries to grow economically. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is one of the six corridors planned along the Belt<sup>2</sup> and for many reasons regarded as a most important one by Chinese government.

This article focuses on the significance of CPEC for China, Pakistan and other nations and also the risks which CPEC may face. The main body of the analysis is preceded by an overview of the background of the proposal of CPEC and its progress.

## **The Background of SREB and Overview of CPEC's Progress**

China and Pakistan have been keeping very good bilateral relations; but in the past they have remained limited to the political domain. Bilateral trade between China and Pakistan is much less than that between China and some other nations. In 2012, the trade between China and Pakistan was merely about \$12 billion.<sup>3</sup>

Yet there appeared a scope to promote bilateral trade and economic cooperation, as China was then Pakistan's second largest trading partner, second largest import source, and 4<sup>th</sup> largest export destination.<sup>4</sup>

Other elements in the context of proposal for CPEC, as part of SREB, included the changing strategic situation in Asia-Pacific and global economic slowdown. In 2011, US President Obama announced that the US would rebalance towards the Asia-Pacific. This rebalance strategy may have been planned on the basis that global strategic centre of gravity has been shifting from Europe to the Asia-Pacific and the US has been trying to follow the shifting patterns, where most of global economic interests gather. The objective of the US strategic shift is to maintain its superpower status. In its rebalance endeavour, it has adopted a comprehensive strategy to contain China. Its strategy has at least six aspects. The first aspect is building up the 'Air-Sea' battle system, with China identified as the main combat target and the western Pacific as the main battle-field.<sup>5</sup>

The second aspect is strengthening the US military alliances, in which Japan and Australia serve as the northern and southern strategic supports. In recent years, US has adopted an appeasement policy towards Japan to contain China. Japan's economy has been stagnant for the past 20

<sup>2</sup> "China Plans 6 Economic Corridors along 'One Belt One Road,'" May 27, 2015, 19:44:32, <<http://world.people.com.cn/n/2015/0528/c1002-27069213.html>> ([《中国规划一带一路6大经济走廊建设》](#))

<sup>3</sup> "China's Foreign Trade," *Global Reference*, 2014, 3: 12

<sup>4</sup> Yan Hailong, "On the Trend of Sino-Pakistani Trade," *China Opening Journal*, June 2015, No. 3, : 56-59

<sup>5</sup> NI Shi-xiong & Qian Xu-ming, "Several Reflections on the Geopolitical strategy of Sino-US Relationship—Also on China's Peaceful Rise and US Strategic Adjustment," *Journal of Tongji University* (Social Science Section), August 2012, vol. 23, No. 8: 30.

years and has relatively declined. Right wing Japanese may see no way to retain or regain Japan's power except through potential aggression and war. As a result, Japan has been using the Diaoyu Islands issue and propagating China as a potential enemy to justify its militarization. Historically, the Diaoyu Islands issue was created intentionally by the US after WWII by giving the administrative rights over the islands to Japan instead of returning the islands to China. At present, Japanese government purposefully keeps the Diaoyu Islands a deadlocked issue; the chances for resolving the dispute through negotiation are reduced due to a refusal to acknowledge that a dispute over their (Diaoyu Islands) sovereignty exists. This stance discourages China to hold meaningful talks with Japan, let alone resolving it through talks. The US could have helped resolve the dispute over the Diaoyu Islands by admitting that there is a dispute over their sovereignty. This may help persuade Japan to sit down and talk with China to resolve the dispute. But instead of taking this objective stance, the US has publicly sided with Japan, supporting Japan's so-called "administrative control" over the islands and repeatedly affirming that the islands fall under Article 5 of *US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty*. Since 2006, the US and Japan have held many joint "taking islands" military exercises.

With support from the US, Japan propagates the image of China as an aggressive enemy and has been militarizing gradually. In April 2014, US Defence Secretary Chuck Hagel visited Japan and claimed that "the United States welcomes Japan's efforts to play a more proactive role in contributing to global and regional peace and stability, including reexamining the interpretation of its Constitution relating to the rights of collective self-defense."<sup>6</sup> He also announced that the US would send Japan two more Aegis-equipped ballistic-missile defence ships by 2017. Immediately after his visit, Japan lifted ban on its arms export. Japan's old policy, adopted in 1976, allowed only a small amount of arms sales to the US and banned all the other arms sales. The new policy only bans arms sales to nations where conflicts are going on, something which contradicts the UN resolutions. With the new policy, Japan can sell weaponry to the Philippines, the Vietnam, and other nations. Till the new policy came, Japan had been selling only old equipment to Philippine coastguards. With the new policy taking effect, Japan reached a \$1.65 billion deal of US-2 aircraft sale with India.<sup>7</sup> Japan also acquired the freedom to sell more weapons to the US, which will increase American reliance on Japan's weaponry gradually and reduce its influence over Japan. When Japan's importance to the US reaches a certain level, the strategic balance between US and Japan may change.

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<sup>6</sup> "US Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel tours Liaoning carrier," *Global Times*, April 8, 2014, <<http://en.people.cn/90883/8590940.html>>

<sup>7</sup> Sun Xiaobo, "Japan arms sales shift rings alarm," *Global Times*, April 2 2014, <<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/852207.shtml>>

In July 2014, Japanese parliament gave permission for collective self-defence rights. Since then, Japan has cooperated more with the Philippines, Vietnam and India politically and militarily to deal with China. With approval from the US, Japan inked strategic partnerships with the Philippines and Vietnam as complements to US-Japan security alliance and expanded defence cooperation and military exchanges with these countries. The US has encouraged its allies to shoulder more responsibilities in containing a rising China.

The third aspect of US rebalance strategy is strengthening military deployment chained up by its western Pacific islands and its allies. In *Quadrennial Defense Review 2014*, the US has said that, “being challenged by increasingly capable and economically strong potential adversaries”,<sup>8</sup> and, “in light of growing challenges from state adversaries, the Department will rebalance investments toward systems that will be effective in defending airspace and denied areas.”<sup>9</sup> Additionally it was said that, “we will need capabilities that can operate effectively in contested environments and that can execute forced entry. We will need to continue to provide and enhance a network of systems that can defeat deeply buried and hardened targets and that can track and destroy mobile launchers.”<sup>10</sup> This targeted state adversary is clearly China and it is planned that the US will station additional forward-deployed naval force in the Asia-Pacific so that US troops can respond more quickly with more strength.<sup>11</sup> By 2020, 60 percent of US Navy assets will be stationed in the Pacific, including enhancements to their critical naval presence in Japan. This will include LCSs (Littoral Combat Ships) rotated through Singapore, a greater number of destroyers and amphibious ships home-ported in the Pacific, and the deployment of surface vessels such as Joint High Speed Vessels to the region.<sup>12</sup> The US navy “will closely examine whether the LCS has the protection and firepower to survive against a more advanced military adversary, especially in the Asia-Pacific region”;<sup>13</sup> the US will also increase the number of ground-based interceptors and deploy a second early warning and tracking radar in Japan.<sup>14</sup> These military deployments build up a manifest containment circle against China.

The fourth aspect of US rebalance strategy is economic containment. The US is negotiating Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) with regional countries. TPP will raise non-member countries’

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<sup>8</sup> Quadrennial Defense Review 2014, *Department of Defense*, USA, 2014: 25.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 5.

trading threshold with its member countries. But if China joins, it will increase China's production costs and make her lose most of its production and trading advantages in regional economy. Thus it excludes China from its regional trade circle through technical means and helps the US to maintain trading advantages and economic dominance in the Asia-Pacific and suppress China.

The fifth aspect of US rebalance strategy is the "forward deployment" of diplomatic network, which tries to alienate China and its surrounding countries by stimulating frictions between them. In the South China Sea and East China Sea, there used to be no territorial dispute between China and its neighbouring countries before the 1980s. But now these issues have been manipulated to contain China's rise.<sup>15</sup>

The sixth aspect of US rebalance strategy is systematic penetration of Western values into Chinese society. The aforementioned developments clearly demonstrate that with US rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific, regional security situation has been tilting towards unrest and conflict.

The US has openly admitted its strategic shift. In *Revising US Grand Strategy toward China* by US Council on Foreign Relations, it is said that,

because the American effort to "integrate" China into the liberal international order has now generated new threats to US primacy in Asia—and could result in a consequential challenge to American power globally—Washington needs a new grand strategy toward China that centers on balancing the rise of Chinese power rather than continuing to assist its ascendancy.<sup>16</sup>

This "cold war" mentality is dangerous. By seeking "enemy", the US may fall into the "Thucydides trap", which predicts war is inevitable between a preeminent power and a rising power.<sup>17</sup>

In this unfavourable strategic environment, China's economic development has reached the "middle income trap" stage, in which upward growth is many times harder than before. It demands that China make fundamental changes to raise production capabilities and to spur scientific and technical innovations so as to raise itself in the global production chain. The global economic and financial crisis, which started in 2007, has also negatively impacted China's economy. As most countries have not yet fully recovered from the economic crisis and little outside stimulus is available, China had to find ways out of its negative influence as well as the bottleneck development stage.

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<sup>15</sup> Jia Hao, "On Obama Administration's 'Asia-Pacific Rebalancing Strategy,'" *The Journal of Shanghai Administration Institute*, September 2013, vol. 14, No. 5, 22.

<sup>16</sup> Robert D. Blackwill & Ashley J. Tellis, "Revising US Grand Strategy Toward China" *Council on Foreign Relations Special Report*, No. 72, March 2015, 4.

<sup>17</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and David A. Welch, *Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation*, 8th Edition, Beijing: Chinese People's University Press, 2012, 13-21.

As a counter-measure to all these elements, in September 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping put forward a strategic growth plan—the Silk Road Economic Belt. The Economic Belt is meant to connect China, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia and Europe. It not only means infrastructure construction but also aims at cooperation with nations willing to join the initiative. By making mutually-beneficial growth plans and policies, participant countries can promote trade, investment and industrial growth. Before its formal announcement, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang had proposed the idea of CPEC to Pakistan during his visit to the country in May 2013. With warm response from Pakistan and most of the consulted countries, on April 27, 2015, Chinese vice Premier Zhang Gaoli announced that six economic corridors had been planned along the Silk Road Economic Belt. They are: CPEC, China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor, new Eurasia continental railway, China-Central Asia-West Asia Corridor, China-Indochina peninsular corridor and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar economic corridor. These corridors are Chinese priorities in building Silk Road Economic Belt.

CPEC starts from Gwadar Port and ends at Kashi<sup>18</sup> in China. It is about 3,000 kilometres and consists of railroads, highways, oil and gas pipelines, and optical fibre cable lines. By facilitating and speeding the traffic and communication between China and Pakistan, China hopes to promote mutual economic growth for both nations.

In April 2015, when President Xi Jinping visited Pakistan, it was agreed by Chinese and Pakistani governments that CPEC would be the focus of bilateral cooperation and more than 30 CPEC agreements were signed between the two governments.<sup>19</sup> The primary investment amounted to \$28 billion. Of these projects, 21 are energy projects, 11 are infrastructure, and four are comprehensive projects. Some of the projects are KKH (Raikot-Islamabad Section) Thakot to Havelian Section, Sukkur-Multan motorway, Dry Port at Havelian, Lahore track transportation project, optical fibre cable lines construction, digital TV communication system (DTMB) , a highway east of Gwadar Port, new Gwadar International airport, Gwadar water purification and supply project, Gwadar China-Pakistan technology and profession research institute, Gwadar hospital, Gwadar dredging project, Gwadar bulwark, Gadani dock and infrastructure in Baluchistan, electricity transmission from Gadani to Lahore and Faisalabad, Thar coal exploration, Thar coal-electricity station, coal-electricity station in Port Qasim, coal-electricity station in Gadani, Sahiwal coal-electricity station, Karot hydropower station and SukiKinari hydropower station, etc.

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<sup>18</sup> Kashigaris the old term.

<sup>19</sup> Zhang Yan, "Whatwill CPEC bring to China-Pakistan trade?" *China Economic Weekly*, April 27, 2015, 72-73.

In CPEC projects, there are four foci: building of Gwadar Port, infrastructure, energy and industrial development. The total investment amounts to \$46 billion. The whole CPEC programme is expected to be completed in 2030. In the first stage before 2017, the priorities are Gwadar Port, the building of Gwadar International Airport, improving the railway from Karachi to Lahore and Peshawar, and the laying of optical fibre cable lines.

For the newest progress, in January 2016, CPEC Joint Committee of China and Pakistan decided that the west passage of CPEC would be the top priority in the whole programme and be finished before July 2018.

### Significance of CPEC for China

Prosperity is the dream of peoples of Pakistan, China and all the nations. CPEC is an important means to help all the relevant nations achieve this goal.

Economic growth and people's welfare is China's strategic priority. Geographic conditions hinder Beijing's efforts for economic uplift of west China. The central and western China are at high altitudes, composed mainly of mountains, plateaus, and deserts. For many areas in the region, rainfall is low and plants can hardly grow. It is also difficult for the west to reach out to the coast and ports. Therefore, the economic growth in China's central and western parts is still lagging far behind that of the Eastern part. Half of Chinese population lives in the central and western China and 1/3 of poor people live in the Western region. Hence, Chinese government hopes that by opening up China's west to Central and South Asia, building better transportation infrastructure, and by encouraging trade with South and Central Asian countries, the development of manufacturing, processing and industrial capabilities in Western China can be promoted.

CPEC is also crucial to augment China's energy security. China imports much energy from the Middle East and Africa. At present the main import route from the Middle East and Africa to China is the sea route through the Malacca Strait. Too much reliance on single Sea Lines of Communication is often fraught with various risks. Pakistan lies at a key position between the Middle East and China. Thus, CPEC can be an important energy corridor and provide China with an alternative energy supply route. This route is much shorter than the existing sea-lanes, which is about 12,000 kilometres, while the CPEC energy corridor would be only 3,000 kilometres long.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Gao Chao, "One Belt One Road' Starts, CPEC Becomes the Flagship Program," *China's Foreign Trade*, March 2015: 56. (高朝《“一带一路”开局 中巴经济走廊成为旗舰项目》,《中国外贸易》,2015,3,56.)

## **Significance for Pakistan**

From the 1970s up to now, Pakistan has been China's steadfast friend and has supported China on all issues concerning Chinese people. As a result, Chinese people generally feel that people of Pakistan have been reliable and trustworthy friends and they would like to help their friends.

## **CPEC and Pakistan's energy needs**

According to the plan, CPEC projects will produce more than 5,000 megawatt-hour energy annually in Pakistan and fill its power gap. These projects will add 16,400 megawatt installed electricity capacity in Pakistan, which will nearly double its presently installed capacity.<sup>21</sup>

China will help Pakistan to explore natural gas and make use of water, solar and nuclear energies. This will help Pakistan in improving its technology to utilize energy, especially renewable energy, and reduce its reliance on imported oil and gas. Reducing energy import is significant for Pakistan's economic growth. The rich coal mines in Baluchistan can be explored which can help the province to be energy sufficient and prosperous.

CPEC energy projects have been progressing as planned. In May 2014, Qasim coal field power project was started. Its installed capacity will be 1,320 megawatts. By June 2018 the power station will operate and produce 9 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity annually and greatly improve local power supply. In February 2015, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) and Pakistan Sachal Energy Company signed an agreement on a wind power project, for which ICBC will provide \$100 million. In March 2015, the first China-invested wind power project in Pakistan, located near Karachi, was completed. It can produce 140 million kilowatt-hours electricity annually, providing electricity for 60,000 local families.

In April 2015, Jhampir wind power project was started. The total investment will be \$1.3 billion with an installed capacity of 50 megawatts. In the same month, agreements were signed to build the Thar coal and electricity integration project. It is the first of such projects in Pakistan. The investment is about \$2 billion. By March 2018, the mine will produce 3.8 million tons of coal annually and the electricity station will start to operate. By September 2018, its annual production of coal will double and more electricity will be generated.

In June 2015, the construction of Sahiwal coal-electricity station was started. Also in 2015, the photovoltaic project in the solar industrial park in Bahawalpur was completed. Initiation of this project provided

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<sup>21</sup> Mu Lijie & Yao Yao, "'One Belt One Road' Starts from CPEC: Pakistan and China Will Decide on Energy Infrastructure Building," *21st Century Economic Report*, April 6 2015, 4. (慕丽佳、姚瑶《“一带一路起步”中巴经济走廊：巴基斯坦与中国能源基建合作》，《21世纪经济报道》，2015年4月6日第4版）。

more than 3,000 jobs for local people. By the end of the year 2015, it had generated 120 million kilowatt-hours electricity and supported the energy needs of local factories and 750,000 local families. The construction of Karot hydropower station on Gillam River is expected to start in January 2016. The installed capacity will be 720 megawatts and it will generate 3.17 billion kilowatt-hours clean energy annually for Pakistan.

By March 2018, 14 CPEC energy projects are expected to produce 1,040 million kilowatts of energy and Pakistan will no longer be short of energy. Adequate energy supply is one of the fundamental conditions for industrial development. Therefore the success of CPEC is crucial for Pakistan's economic growth.

### **CPEC as a bridge between Pakistan and Neighboring Regions**

In the last century, Pakistan had supported Chinese government to resume its position in the UN and provided China with an air corridor to contact the world even when the action had instigated US displeasure. Chinese people still remember that help from Pakistan. Because of this all-weather or time-tested friendship, now Chinese people, with increased capabilities, hope that CPEC will bring prosperity to every corner of Pakistan.

CPEC will provide Pakistan with better traffic infrastructure. For this two examples can be given: first, in April 2015, agreements were signed to update the motorway ML1 from Karachi to Peshawar, which is 1726 kilometres, and the Lahore track traffic project will be built by China Weapons Industry Group. Second, in December 2015, agreements for two Chinese companies to build two CPEC highways were signed: the highways from Karachi to Lahore, and from Havelian to Takot, which amounted to \$2.89 billion and \$1.3 billion respectively. These two highways will facilitate traffic from the north to south Pakistan.

These and other infrastructure projects will help Pakistan facilitate trade with neighbouring countries enlarging both imports and exports. An updated Gwadar Port can help Pakistan to profit from robust trade. This port can become an important one along the Indian Ocean coast and a regional growth engine, especially for Baluchistan.

In short, in this era of globalization, isolation will deprive a country of the opportunities which international economic cooperation and trade may provide. CPEC will make Pakistan a more effective bridge connecting South Asia, Central Asia, Middle East, and China, thus allowing it to benefit from its geo-strategic location.

### **CPEC as a source of investment for Pakistan**

China has set up the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and Silk Road Fund, and put \$50 billion in AIIB and \$40 billion in Silk Road Fund. No upper limits are set for the funds in these two organisations,

which will provide substantial financial support for Silk Road Economic Belt projects and CPEC is a priority for investment.

In 2015, China has signed an agreement with Pakistan that in the next 6 years, Chinese government and banks will provide \$45.69 billion for Pakistan's infrastructure and energy projects, of which around \$11.8 billion will go to investment in infrastructure, and \$33.8 billion will be invested in energy production. For example, China will invest \$1.62 billion in Gwadar Port. Three Chinese banks, including China National Development Bank, China Import and Export Bank, and ICBC will be mainly responsible for the investment. In South Asia, Pakistan is at present China's largest investment destination and overseas engineering contract market.

### **CPEC and the improvement of Pakistan's productive capabilities**

Economic zones will be built along CPEC in Pakistan. From Rawalpindi to Gwadar, there will be eight economic zones having industries and enterprises concerning import and export, manufacturing, processing, farmland water conservancy, etc. Pakistan is rich in mineral and water resources but has limited processing capabilities. China can help Pakistan with technology to make use of natural resources and let the resources fully and truly benefit its people.<sup>22</sup>

For example, by the end of 2014, 28 Chinese enterprises had signed agreements to enter the Ruba Economic Industrial zone, while in May 2015, the construction of a textile industrial zone in Faisalabad, Punjab, was started.

The economic zones along CPEC will help Pakistan improve its production capabilities. In the long run, Pakistan may become a manufacturing nation independent of foreign assistance.

### **Prospects for employment in Pakistan**

According to some statistics, around 60 percent of Pakistani population is below the age of 25.<sup>23</sup> With limited job opportunities, idle population is a burden on national economy and a cause of social instability. But when CPEC will create job positions in Pakistan, it will turn labour resources into a blessing. CPEC projects will bring production technology and capabilities to Pakistan, a country having enough labour

<sup>22</sup> Li Jingfeng, "Study on Kashgar Opening Policy to Pakistan," *Strategic Decision Studies*, 2014, No. 3, 49-50. (参见李景峰《中国喀什巴基斯坦开放研究》,《战略决策研究》,2014年第3期第9-50页)

<sup>23</sup> Zhang Xiping, "Studies on the Opportunities Provided by CPEC for Xinjiang and Pakistan to Deepen Resources Cooperation," *Economic Vision*, October 2014: 19. (张希平《以建设中巴经济走廊为契机全面推动新疆与巴基斯坦资源合作领域研究》,《经济视野》,2014年10月 p. 19.)

resources; therefore, CPEC is a win-win cooperation between China and Pakistan.

On balance, through CPEC projects, China will be helping Pakistan with funds, technology and management support to boost Pakistan's economic growth, which in turn will have positive influence on its social stability.

### **Significance for other Asian, Middle East and African nations**

If Pakistan allows Afghanistan, Central Asian countries and Russia to import and export goods through CPEC, the economy of Pakistan and all the relevant countries can get a boost. The north end of CPEC is only 100km to Afghanistan. In the south, Gwadar Port is only 400 kilometres from the Hormuz Strait. Therefore, CPEC can help in connecting neighbouring countries. Increased trade will benefit regional nations by boosting their economic growth and forming a regional common market.<sup>24</sup>

CPEC can also benefit Middle Eastern, African and East Asian countries as the transportation from Indian Ocean to East Asia through CPEC and China is more than 8,000 kilometres shorter than the sea-lane passing through the Malacca Strait, which is about 12,000-15,000 km. The goods can be transported through CPEC to China, and through the railway to sea ports (Port Lianyungang, Shanghai, and so on) in east China. The distance is only 6,700 km. As a result, export and import through CPEC is much faster than the sea route. It can contribute to greater trade between the Middle East, Africa and East Asia.<sup>25</sup>

### **Potential Risks faced by CPEC**

There are some risks that might hinder the progress and early completion of CPEC.

#### **a. Political risks**

Both Pakistani and Chinese governments have been trying their best to complete the construction of CPEC. The construction is being done at an unprecedented fast pace. The Chinese side is deeply moved by the friendship with Pakistan, and appreciates this good relationship. However, some Chinese scholars still have some worries due to the reasons discussed below.

<sup>24</sup> MiuLinyan, "Innovate Various Means of Financing for 'One Belt One Road' Development," *China Exploration Plans*, May 2015:37. (缪燕《创新多样融资模式 合力推动一带一路发展》,《中国探索》, 2015.05, 第7页)

<sup>25</sup> Zhang Chaozhe, "CPEC: Opportunities and Challenges," *South Asian Studies Quarterly*, No. 2, 2014:83. (张超哲《中巴经济走廊建设 机遇与挑战》,《南亚研究》, 2014年第2期 总第57期 第3页)

### ***The political situation of Pakistan***

In 2014, a turbulent protest occurred in Pakistan, which compelled President Xi Jinping to cancel his state visit to Pakistan. It is hoped that political disagreements between different parties in Pakistan will not have negative impact on the progress of CPEC. It is also hoped that even if there are changes in the wake of next election, they will not affect the momentum of CPEC's progress.

### ***Disputes in Pakistan over the specific route of CPEC***

Even though it has been agreed between the two governments that CPEC runs from Gwadar Port in Pakistan to Kashi in China, there exist diverging opinions in Pakistan over the specific route it is going to take through the country. Since December 2014, there have been reports that Pakistan government shifted the route that would pass from most parts of Baluchistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa provinces to one based largely in Sindh and Punjab. In addition, some provincial leaders and political parties' elites have expressed their dissatisfaction over the deals with China. In April 2015, the leader of KP criticised that Punjab got \$11 billion worth of projects while his province got only \$2.7 billion worth of projects. The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) leader also expressed his reservation over the apparently lopsided deals.

There seems some dissatisfaction about the unequal chances of growth enjoyed by different Pakistani provinces and parties. If people in different regions of Pakistan can find ways to cooperate over CPEC projects, they might be able to pursue prosperity together.

### **b. Security risks**

#### ***The security situation in Pakistan***

Terrorism has seriously impeded Pakistan's economic growth and it is a threat to CPEC as well. In the past, terrorists have attacked Chinese workers in Pakistan.

#### **Chinese workers and citizens suffered from terrorist attacks**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Events</b>
2004	3 Chinese engineers died & 13 wounded in an attack by a Baloch terrorist group
2006	6 Chinese workers attacked (3 killed) by Baloch Liberation Army
2007	3 Chinese workers killed in an attack
2008	7 Chinese technicians survived an attack
2013	2 Chinese citizens died in an attack

In December 2014, a serious terrorist attack occurred in Peshawar, an important junction in CPEC blueprint.

In the first half of 2016, Pakistan plans to set up a special force to protect Chinese workers involved in CPEC projects. This is to ensure that even if a terrorist attack targeting Chinese workers occurs, this force might play effective role in protecting them.

### ***The security of Gwadar Port***

This port is a key transportation juncture, connecting the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia. This port is in Baluchistan where there have been separatist tendencies on rise. According to statistics from some Chinese researchers, in the past few years, terrorist attacks in Baluchistan have killed many people.

#### **Terrorist attacks in Baluchistan (2010-2014)<sup>26</sup>**

	Total casualties	Civilians	Security personnel	Terrorists
2011	711	542	122	47
2012	954	690	178	86
2013	960	718	137	105
2014 (till June 8)	364	192	43	129

From 2004 to 2014, terrorism in Baluchistan is reported to have caused thousands of deaths or disappearances.

Total civilian casualties	By Baluchi separatists	By Islamic extremists	Disappeared
3073	276	489	2308

Many terrorist groups are said to be still active in this province, for instance, to name a few, Baloch Liberation Army, Baloch Republican Army, Baloch National Movement/Front, National Party, Baloch Student Organization, Jundallah, Lashker-e-Jhangvi, and Sipha-e-Sahaba among others. This complicated security situation in Baluchistan threatens and is a concern for the security of Gwadar Port.

### ***Influence from Afghanistan***

Military conflicts between Afghan Taliban and security forces have been frequent in Afghanistan. Afghan Taliban have refused to resume peace talks with the government. Regional turbulence may have negative impacts on the progress of CPEC.

<sup>26</sup> Li Li, Su Xin, "The Impacts of Pakistan Security Situation on CPEC," *International Economic Cooperation*, No. 5, 2015, 17.

### ***Negative impacts on Xinjiang of China***

In recent years, separatism and terrorism have been relatively active in some parts of Xinjiang. China has to take measures to prevent terrorism and extremism from infiltrating into Xinjiang; an expected consequence of better traffic and communication channels created by CPEC. To achieve this, China has to strengthen counter terrorism cooperation with Pakistan.

#### **c. Economic risks**

Many factors in implementing CPEC are feared to result in economic losses. At present, Chinese concerns mainly focus in four areas. The first is circular debt in Pakistan's energy sector. Energy projects are one among the CPEC's priorities. Some Chinese entrepreneurs are worried that circular debt in Pakistan's energy sector may result in their losses. Circular debt means that end users fail to pay national electric supply companies, which in turn cannot pay the electricity producing companies, which then cannot pay fuel suppliers and banks. As of October 2014, the unpaid circular debt of Pakistan was reported to be around \$ 5.56 billion.<sup>27</sup> According to statistics from an Advisory Committee of Pakistan Independent Power Generators, Pakistan government owned \$2.2 billion to independent power plants, accounting for 0.75% of GDP. If Chinese enterprises and banks investing in Pakistani coal-field power plants suffer from delayed payments, it may put them under great financial pressure resulting even in bankruptcy. Pakistan government has agreed to set up a reserve account to secure energy payments. Maybe it can take more measures to coordinate power generating, supplying and selling; for example, to update power grids and install prepaid power meters, etc. to reduce the risk of circular debt.

Second element of economic loss involves the whole process of running businesses and enterprises in Pakistan, including possible losses in foreign currency exchange which may result from insufficient foreign exchange reserves of Pakistan. Some Chinese investors hope to have better environment for running businesses in Pakistan, related to easier procedures to obtain licences, register assets and pay taxes, sufficient energy supply, reducing the risk of bank guarantee confiscation, etc.

The third element concerns the quality of labour. Due to cultural differences, Chinese side usually finds two difficulties in implementing "One Belt and One Road" projects in foreign countries. The first relates to work ethics. Generally speaking, the Chinese are hard-working people, ready to endure hardships and work long hours in order to pursue better lives. Chinese factories often operate 24 hours a day, with machines never stopping and workers working in three shifts of 8 hours each. Compared

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<sup>27</sup> He Shiyou & Li Chenxi, "Chain Debts: Risks of Chinese IPP Investing in Pakistan," *Global Scan*, January 15, 2015.

to this, in South Asian and Middle Eastern countries, people seem to prefer leisure to wealth or prestigious life. Local workers are often unwilling to work for long hours and fail to turn out punctually for work. Quite often, the Chinese enterprises have difficulty in finding enough qualified local workers to be employed for working under same discipline and management standards as in China. For example, Chinese factories in the Suez Canal Economic Zone find that local men are unwilling to work in night shifts and have to reduce three shifts a day to one shift only. This reduces factories' profits and makes the projects less attractive to Chinese investors.

The other labour-related challenge is regarding women workers. When new China came into being in 1949 women were "liberated" and acquired equal social footing to men. It is normal for Chinese women to work outside home or receive high education as men do. Therefore, it is surprising for Chinese entrepreneurs to find that, in South Asian and Middle Eastern nations, the norm is still for women to stay at home. This makes the problem of having competent and sufficient labour worse. The case of Suez Canal Economic Zone can again serve as an example. Without enough male labour, Chinese factories there have to employ more women than men but find that women workers usually work for several months only. Their motive for work is often to earn for making enough dowries and they would usually quit before marriage.

This is completely different from the case of Chinese women workers who usually aspire for economic independence, which gives them freedom of making decisions for their own lives, including choosing husbands and the way of life they prefer. Continuous work makes them skillful and adds significantly to the productivity of Chinese factories. Some Chinese entrepreneurs in Egypt even observed that the root cause of Egypt being a relatively poor nation is because its women have not achieved equal social footing with men. If projects of CPEC will meet similar attitudes, comparable fate is to be expected.

Last element of economic risk relates to the complexities of natural environment. Some areas where CPEC passes through are difficult for traffic. Difficult geographic conditions may present technical challenges in construction, and natural disasters may result in unforeseen economic losses.<sup>28</sup>

#### **d. Fear of External interference**

Some nations may not be happy to see increased Chinese involvement in South Asia. Gwadar Port and many relevant CPEC projects are located in Baluchistan. Some foreign nations used to interfere with

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<sup>28</sup> Luo Zuoxian, "The Fifth Energy Corridor Appears," *China Petroleum and Petrification*, August 15, 2013, vol. 16, 44.  
(罗左等《第五大能源通道浮现》，《中国石化》，2013年8月5日第6期第4页)

issues in Baluchistan in the name of so-called “human rights” concerns. Similar issues might get manipulated in future as an effort to spoil China-Pakistan cooperation.

## **Conclusion**

At present, the international system is undergoing a gradual but constant process of change. Global economy is recovering while making fundamental adjustments. The geopolitical situation in the Asia-Pacific is changing. Around the world, hegemony, power politics, and interventionism are still prevalent. Religious and ethnic conflicts are becoming bitter and more intertwined. The international situation we face today seems unprecedentedly complicated. To deal with this complex situation and achieve sustainable development, China proposed “One Belt One Road” vision, the basic idea of which is that states can cooperate to achieve common growth.

It shows China’s active efforts to avoid the “Thucydides trap”, as traditional Chinese wisdom believes more in “unity for prosperity” than in containment and confrontation.<sup>29</sup> CPEC is considered the flagship project of “One Belt One Road” programme. It is expected to benefit not only China and Pakistan but also Central Asian, Middle Eastern and other relevant countries. However, only through cooperation of all these nations CPEC can be successful and make regional economic growth and social stability more conducive.

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<sup>29</sup> NiuHuayong and Wang Ruochen, “One Belt One Road Will Renovate the Euro-Asia Continent,” *China Economic Weekly*, June 1, 2015, 22-23. (牛华勇、王若成《“一带一路，欧亚大陆复兴指日可待》，《中国经济周刊》，2015年6月1日 第22-23页。)

## USE OF FORCE AND FEAR IN THE RISE OF THE TALIBAN IN SWAT: A CASE STUDY

Sajjad Malik\*

### Abstract

*The Taliban in Pakistan first flourished in the tribal areas after the invasion of Afghanistan by NATO forces in 2001 and gradually expanded their influence to the settled areas of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. It was not clear when they reached Swat, where they became so powerful by 2007 that they ran a parallel administration. The militants rose to power by using violence and tried to maintain it through fear and intimidation by inflicting severe punishment on opponents. This research shows how constant use of force to intimidate the civilians and the officials ultimately alienated the people and led to the downfall of the Taliban in Swat. The subsidiary aspect of state failure to ensure a timely check on the rise of militancy has also been highlighted. The study is based on primary and secondary sources. David Kilcullen's counter-insurgency framework, based on enemy-centric and population-centric approaches, has been partially used to analyze Taliban efforts to maintain a stranglehold over the civilians. The conclusion shows that the Taliban were initially successful with their declaration of introducing Sharia law and justice in the society. This was the reason people supported them with money and even tolerated their violent tactics. However, the Taliban failed to keep their word and instead of focusing on the improvement of socio-economic conditions in the areas under their control, they used brute force to silence their opponents. Consequently, they slowly lost public support. Finally, they lost power in 2009 when defeated by the army and expelled from Swat.*

**Key Words:** Swat, Taliban, Militancy, Pakistan Army, Civilians, OperationRah-e-Rast

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## Introduction

Pakistani Taliban flourished in the north-western tribal region along the Afghan border as a result of post 9/11 developments in Afghanistan. They slowly spread into the settled areas, including Swat, and its adjoining districts. It is difficult to give an exact date as to when they took over the picturesque Swat Valley, but it is a fact that by the year 2007, they had grown so powerful that they ran a parallel administration on the pattern of a government.

The Taliban grabbed power by use of force and tried to sustain it with intimidation. Creating fear was one of their key tools in Swat, where they inflicted severe punishments on their opponents. Not only the local people but also state functionaries were afraid of the coercive rebel power. A time came when they were more powerful than the police or other law enforcement agencies. Their system, based on fear, thrived for more than two years in Swat and ended in 2009, when they were defeated by the military.

The research highlights how the Taliban used force to grab power, and then tried to consolidate it by creating fear among the civilian populations as well as the local administration. A subsidiary aspect of state failure has also been highlighted to show that official inaction in the face of rebel oppression contributed to the gradual loss of administrative power.

David Kilcullen's counterinsurgency framework, based on enemy-centric and population-centric approaches, has been used to understand Taliban efforts to secure their hold on the population, while the army used the enemy-centric model to defeat the militants first and establish control over the people later on.<sup>1</sup>

The study is based on primary and secondary documents and material. Major local and international newspapers, articles and books have been perused for this purpose. The author also used his own observations as a witness to some of the events in Swat.

## The Taliban in Swat

Swati Taliban, also known as local or Pakistani Taliban, to distinguish them from the Afghan Taliban led by Mullah Omer, flourished in the Malakand Division and the Bajaur tribal agency along the border with Afghanistan. They were mainly the followers of Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) or the Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws, defined by Maulana Sufi Mohammed, which emerged in Swat in the 1990s. Later on, they were influenced by the emergence of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in the tribal areas. Initially, they were not called Taliban, but when Sufi was

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<sup>1</sup>- Dave Kilcullen, "Two schools of classical counterinsurgency", *Small War Journal*, January 27, 2007, <<http://smallwarsjournal.com/blog/two-schools-of-classical-counterinsurgency>>

imprisoned, his son-in-law Fazlullah took over the command of his followers and forged close links with the Taliban of Bajaur and TTP; the militants in Swat were also named as Taliban.

Sufi Mohammed had formed TNSM in 1992 after leaving Jamaat-i-Islami, when he issued a decree that political parties and electoral politics were un-Islamic.<sup>2</sup> By denouncing state institutions, Sufi embarked on the same path which was treaded by a number of religious mullahs in Swat who used Islam to confront the prevailing system, and the people followed them. As confirmed by Fredrik Barth in *The Last Wali of Swat*, Islam has been a great force in the area. Barth states that the mullahs had monopolized knowledge as they were the ones who could read and write. "They (*mullahs*) just taught their own children and nobody else- they wanted to keep their advantage for themselves and remain dominant."<sup>3</sup>

Sufi was associated with a religious seminary in the Lal Qila area of Dir district before initiating militant efforts to enforce his brand of Islam. "In terms of sectarian linkages, he was an ardent believer in the Wahabi school of thought and remained associated with Saudi-sponsored groups from the Afghan theatre of war from 1980-88."<sup>4</sup> The TNSM motto was "*Shariat or Shahadat*" (Islamic laws or martyrdom), and it rejected political processes and the democratic form of governance. Its followers were known by their black turbans, traditional *shalwar-kamiz*, and shoulder length hair.

One of the several acts of defiance by Sufi was a blockade of the main Mingora-Peshawar road in 1994 for seven days to enforce Sharia. Sufi's armed rebellion invited the ire of the state; he was defeated, captured and put in prison. Though the Black Turbans, as Sufi's followers were-dubbed, dispersed after 1994, yet the Benazir Bhutto government announced the introduction of Sharia laws in the Malakand Division, and the government compromised its writ by agreeing to release Sufi to help the authorities restore peace.

The Benazir government introduced the first set of laws in 1994, and the Nawaz Sharif government brought a second set of laws in 1997. The issue was apparently resolved for some time, but the TNSM did not sit idle and continued to increase its influence in the neighbouring Hazara Division and tribal areas, especially in Bajaur. The authorities failed to realize the simmering discontent and did nothing to address the grievances of the people after creating a semblance of peace, leaving the region susceptible to similar uprisings; soon, militants led by Mullah Fazlullah surfaced around 2005 to raise the flag of another rebellion.

The TNSM uprising in Swat coincided with events in neighbouring Afghanistan, where, after years of internecine warfare, local Taliban

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<sup>2</sup> Amir Mir, *The Fluttering Flag of Jihad*, (Mishal: Lahore, 2008), 89.

<sup>3</sup> Fredrik Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, (Norwegian University Press: Oslo, 1985), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Amir Mir, *The Fluttering Flag of Jihad*, (Mishal: Lahore, 2008),90.

(madrassa students) militants emerged at the end of 1994.<sup>5</sup> The rise of the Taliban was phenomenal, and one after another, provinces and cities fell to them. They finally captured Kabul in September 1996 and by 1998 they were in control of over 90 percent of the country. They were based in Kandahar where their one-eyed reclusive leader, Mullah Mohammad Omer, lived; he had lost his eye in 1989 when a rocket exploded near him.<sup>6</sup>

The Taliban were mostly madrassa students based in Pakistan, where efforts to set up more religious schools were underway since the Russians had moved into Afghanistan. Pakistan and many foreign governments made generous contributions to spread madrassa radicalism. Ahmed Rashid says that from 1982 to 1992, some 35,000 Muslim radicals from 43 Islamic countries in the Middle East, North and East Africa, Central Asia and the Far East underwent baptism under fire the Afghan Mujahideen. "Thousands of foreign Muslim radicals came to study in the hundreds of new madrassas that Zia's [General Zia ul Haq] military government founded in Pakistan and along the Afghan border. Eventually, more than 100,000 Muslim radicals were to have direct contact with Pakistan and Afghanistan and be influenced by the jihad."<sup>7</sup>

The rise of Taliban-style militancy in Pakistan's various areas, including Swat can be attributed to the situation in Afghanistan and the policies of the Pakistani government. As the jihadi politics led by the Pakistani establishment continued, socio-economic indicators suffered massively, making people in the tribal areas, Swat and elsewhere more vulnerable to jihadist tendencies. When Fazlullah stepped forward to lead a disgruntled group of youth in Swat, there existed the perfect background and circumstances to support him.

Before Fazlullah came to the scene, a lot had happened in Afghanistan due to the US invasion in October 2001. When the Americans attacked Afghanistan, Sufi Mohammed led over 10,000 volunteers to fight them in November 2001.<sup>8</sup> Upon his return he was tried by the assistant political agent of Kurram Agency on March 30, 2002, and sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of carrying arms and explosives and entering Afghanistan. He was sent to prison in Dera Ismail Khan.

Sufi lost power and influence after the Afghanistan misadventure in which thousands of his inexperienced young followers were killed. His cadres were in disarray, until important events occurred in 2005 and afterward, that changed the situation in favour of another uprising in Swat.

First, the tragic earthquake of October 8, 2005, shook the country, allowing religious organizations like TNSM to come out and help the

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<sup>5</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Games in Central Asia*, (I. B. Tauris and Co Ltd: London, 2000), 19.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Games in Central Asia*, (I. B. Tauris and Co Ltd: London, 2000), 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>8</sup> Amir Mir, *The Fluttering Flag of Jihad*, (Mishal: Lahore, 2008), 91.

victims; this helped them gain the support of the locals. Second, a madrassa in Damadola village of Bajaur Agency was hit by missiles on October 30, 2006, leaving more than 80 dead, including the head of the seminary Maulana Liaquat and dozens of children. Liaquat was the brother of Maulana Faqir Mohammed, a senior leader of TNSM, who later emerged as an important Taliban leader in Bajaur and announced that he would take revenge for the attack.<sup>9</sup> TNSM avenged the madrassa attack a few weeks later on November 8, 2006, when they sent a suicide bomber to target the Punjab Regimental Training School at Dargai and killed over 45 Pakistan Army recruits. The attack was a turning point in the Taliban resurgence in Malakand, and from there they grew from strength to strength. The third important factor which greatly helped the militants in Swat was Operation Silence against Lal Masjid (Mosque) in Islamabad in July 2007. Allegedly, a number of students were killed in the operation and the Swat-based militants fully exploited the wave of sympathy for the victims in their own favour.

### **Government failure**

The Taliban established their power base in Swat during the time of the right-wing Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) government, which came to power in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (former NWFP) province after the 2002 elections. The provincial government tolerated Taliban excesses and some of its officials supported them, (the story of District Coordination Officer, Syed Muhammad Javed is well known). The government compromised its writ on several occasions. For example, Fazlullah was opposed to polio vaccinations and the government accepted several of his demands to launch an anti-polio campaign. In fact, a nine-point agreement was signed between Fazlullah and the MMA government, which was represented by District Coordination Officer Syed Muhammad Javed and District Police Officer Yameen Khan, who met Fazlullah in Imam Dherai, his native village. He agreed to drop opposition to the polio vaccinations in return for the government's word that it would not interfere with his illegal FM radio transmissions. The daily times reported that,

In exchange for allowing the FM radio station to continue broadcasts, Mullah Fazlullah agreed to support the polio vaccination campaign and education for girls, as well as government efforts to establish law and order. He also agreed to wrap up all training facilities for militants and making of weapons, and support the district administration in any operation against anti-state elements.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 93.

<sup>10</sup> Iqbal Khattak, "Polio vaccination, girl education in Swat: Govt signs peace deal with TNSM", *Daily Times*, (Lahore), May 23, 2007.

Fazlullah, then 28, who later waged an armed struggle for his cause, was reported as saying, "I have signed the agreement for the sake of peace as Islam teaches us peace."

Under the agreement, the government also promised that it would find legal ways to withdraw various cases against the cleric, who agreed that he would not allow his supporters to be involved in making weapons and running militant training camps in mountain areas of the district, and that he would support the government against militants. "The Maulana sahib and his supporters will not interfere if the police move against suspicious people in Imaam Dheri and other strongholds," the agreement read.<sup>11</sup> The cleric also agreed not to create hindrances for the administration officials in discharging their duties, such as carrying out the polio vaccination campaigns. The agreement also barred the cleric and his supporters from displaying weapons in public and interfering in government departments' affairs.

Apparently, the agreement gave the government the upper hand, but it was actually Fazlullah who was the real beneficiary, as he was allowed to run his FM channel. He lost nothing, as his supporters continued their clandestine activities. Fazlullah merely gave a simple undertaking that he and his supporters were against piling up arms and ammunition in the area and that, if the government would take an action against such elements, neither he, nor his supporters would oppose the move; rather they would support the police in case suspected outsiders were spotted in the area. It was reported that the people of Swat heaved a sigh of relief following this signing of the agreement to establish the writ of the government.<sup>12</sup>

These were the kind of tiny victories against a spineless government that emboldened the militants and resulted in their establishment of almost complete control over the area. Taliban rule and high-handedness continued till their defeat at the hands of the Pakistan Army in the early second half of 2009, when Operation Rah-e-Rast forced Mullah Radio (Fazlullah) to seek refuge in Afghanistan. The early victories of the Taliban in Swat were greatly aided by the sympathetic MMA government, which had a soft corner for the militants, apparently struggling for Sharia.

### **Use of Force and Creating Fear**

The Taliban's short stint in Swat left behind bitter memories. It was a sad commentary on their regime which proved that militants were better at destruction than rebuilding. They created fear to get support from the masses without realizing that it was not a substitute for the love and

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Behroz Khan, "Swat cleric signs peace deal with govt", *The News* (Islamabad), May 23, 2007.

real development work based on a solid, long-term agenda. They tried to annihilate the last remnants of resistance by eliminating their opponents and giving more dead bodies to the locals than hopes for better lives. Soon, Swat, usually referred to as the Switzerland of Pakistan due to its scenic beauty, icy peaks and alluring resorts, virtually turned into a valley of death, as mutilated bodies were dumped in main Mingora city and the people ordered not to remove them till further orders. "Mingora's central square, known as the Green Chowk, has been renamed Slaughter (Khooni) Chowk, as the Taliban routinely dumped bodies and occasionally conducted public executions there. In December (2008), the Taliban deposited 27 bodies in the square and ordered the residents not to move them."<sup>13</sup>

The security situation in Swat deteriorated at a fast rate. First, the government's typical slothful behaviour in understanding the gravity of the situation costed it the rural areas, when it gradually gave away the strategically important countryside, considered best for guerrilla warfare, to the militants due to ineptitude and inefficiency in understanding the real motives of the belligerents. Then, the authorities saw the fall of towns and the urban centres from a distance, till a time came when Taliban roamed freely in Mingora and other main cities to implement their laws by force. The government only had symbolic control, and the residents followed Taliban edicts instead of municipal laws because the militants had established a shadow government to replace the lawful authority.

The entire district turned into a police state, where the only force recognized by the residents was the Taliban. The police force, already demoralized, began to melt away and a time came when more than half of all police officials had either deserted or gone on extended leave. "The police have been hit so hard that the force has been rendered ineffective. More than 800 policemen, almost half of the force, have deserted their posts or taken extended leaves to avoid the Taliban attacks. Police and government officials live in fear of being targeted, and many have taken out public advertisements or carry letters to announce their resignations."<sup>14</sup>

One of the favourite tactics of the Taliban was to kidnap or kill those who opposed them. They carried out targeted assassinations of tribal elders, politicians and government officials. An influential leader, Pir Samiullah, was killed in December 2008 when he opposed them and aligned with the government. He was from the Barelvi sect of Islam, while the Taliban mostly follow the Wahabi or Deobandi school of thought. Later, his body was exhumed and desecrated by being hanged publicly. "The exhumation and hanging of Pir Samiullah's body at a square after his killing petrified the already terrified people of the militancy-plagued Swat Valley;

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<sup>13</sup> Bill Roggio, "Taliban rule Pakistan's 'valley of death'", *The Long War Journal*, January 23, 2009, <[http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban\\_rule\\_pakista.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban_rule_pakista.php)>, accessed January 6, 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

but the militants, instead of repenting the act, threatened to hit every person supporting the existing system in Malakand Division."<sup>15</sup>

They also targeted the local land-lords and Khans (tribal chiefs), who not only owned large landholdings but also exercised a lot of influence over the masses. In 2008, they attacked the estate of Jamal Nasir Khan, destroyed his house, and set the furniture on fire. One of the attackers, a former labourer who had worked there while the house was being constructed, expressed his joy for being part of the group who damaged the property.<sup>16</sup>

Khan's house was razed to the ground and the Pir was killed to make an example to warn the people that the Taliban would not tolerate any kind of opposition. It is important to know that before taking such measures, the militants had consolidated their position by exploiting the security and political situation. They were at the forefront to take revenge for the Red Mosque Operation conducted in July 2007 in Islamabad, which created widespread resentment in right wing circles. The first military operation in Swat launched in October 2007, could not achieve its prime objective of creating peace by subduing the militants; rather it had an adverse effect as the Taliban became stronger after the half-hearted operation. They embarked on the next stage of their rule and began implementing their system of Sharia with more violent force.

One of their earliest decisions was to ban females from visiting the markets to buy items of daily use or get clothing, shoes, cosmetics and other necessary goods. Within Mingora city, places like Cheena Bazaar, a shopping centre popular among women, were threatened to either stop selling cosmetics and undergarments to females or face closure of the businesses. Most of the shopkeepers followed the orders to avoid the consequences.

While women were asked to remain in their houses, men were asked to grow beards to improve their appearance and look more Islamic. To facilitate the implementation of the order, barbers were ordered to stop shaving beards of their customers. It was announced that men found without beards and barbers shaving beards would both be punished.

The non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also became targets of the militants, as they were alleged of being involved in spreading Western ideas and advocating rights for women, which the Taliban considered a conspiracy to westernize Muslim societies. The NGOs were told to pack up or face retribution; nearly all of them opted for the first option. With the media already threatened and subdued, and aid workers

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<sup>15</sup> Delawar Jan, "Why did Swat militants exhume Pir Samiullah body", *The News*, December 19, 2008, <<http://criticalppp.com/archives/582>>, accessed January 6, 2012.

<sup>16</sup> Shaheen Buner, "Dancing Girls of the Swat Valley", *Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting*, September 13, 2011, <<http://pulitzercenter.org/reporting/pakistan-mingora-dancing-taliban-pashtun-fazlullah>>, accessed December 7, 2012.

packing up for their own good, the Taliban erected a virtual barrier in the transmission of unbiased information to the region.

The Taliban also considered magicians, charmers, sorcerers, faith healers etc. as un-Islamic and declared these professions as such. They warned those practicing them of dire consequences. Though the people might not support unscientific healing methods, yet they considered as unjustified, the treatment meted out to those who were accustomed to this form of healing.

The hardliner cleric also considered music, dancing and other forms of fine arts, as contrary to the tenets of Islam, and passed an edict ordering all those involved in such professions to immediately discontinue them, or face strict punishments. The Taliban implemented this edict so religiously that Mingora and some other cities, famous for music and dancing, were drained artists, who mostly took refuge in other cities or hid in the area.

After successfully banning all sources of entertainment, the Taliban filled the markets with jihadist literature and CDs, which were meant to inspire people to join the militants waging jihad against unjust rulers and implementing true Sharia.

At the same time, his (Fazlullah's) own production facility, known as 'Al-Fateh Studio,' now with a virtual monopoly on production, began turning out jihadist CDs that contained gory images of beheaded bodies of Taliban opponents and police officers. These CDs flooded the markets, and youths uploaded the videos to their cell phones and computers.<sup>17</sup>

They also started a systematic campaign to destroy the education system in the region by banning female education and destroying their schools. "On January 15, 2009, the Taliban ordered all girls' schools closed, and threatened to destroy any that remained open. Yet the Taliban destroyed eight schools, including even boys' schools. Since the edict was issued, over the past year, more than 200 schools have been destroyed."<sup>18</sup>

The unending cultural destruction badly hit the tourism industry, as thousands of potential visitors decided to stay away from the region. It is believed that some "40,000 people" lost their jobs due to fall in the number of tourists, and the once-thriving hotel industry sunk to a record low. A large number of tourists from countries like Japan, who would visit the region due to its rich Buddhist heritage, refused to set foot on a land where foreigners faced the risk of kidnappings, beheadings, and terrorist attacks.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Bill Roggio, "Taliban rule Pakistan's 'valley of death'", *The Long War Journal*, January 23, 2009, <[http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban\\_rule\\_pakista.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban_rule_pakista.php)>, accessed January 6, 2012.

Inter-faith harmony was also affected, and the ancient heritage sites, which had survived many attacks for centuries, were vandalized and damaged. "In September 2007, Fazlullah's supporters also tried to destroy the centuries-old statues of Buddha and prehistoric rock carvings in the Swat Valley on the grounds that they were un-Islamic."<sup>19</sup> It was clear that they were following the footsteps of the Afghan Taliban, who blew up two giant-sized statues of Buddha in Bamiyan in 2001, despite international protest and Pakistan's request not to do so. The militants tried to permanently deprive the people of Swat of their rich heritage by attacking the Swat museum. Luckily, it survived the assault and the federal government, taking timely action, took hundreds of priceless and timeless artefacts into possession and shifted them to a safer place. Later, they returned over 2000<sup>20</sup> such articles to the provincial government in January 2012 after the situation improved in the region.

The strict laws imposed by the Taliban were initially welcomed but soon the locals found them too harsh and some of them started leaving their ancestral homes to find refuge in the provincial capital Peshawar or the federal capital Islamabad. "It is believed that more than 300,000 of Swat's estimated 1.5 million people have fled the district and more are expected to leave. The people of Swat fear the Taliban and have lost faith in the government and the military. Residents claim the military will not fight the Taliban and often use indiscriminate force during the fighting, resulting in civilian deaths."<sup>21</sup>

Shaheen Beneri, a journalist, has given graphic details of the Taliban rule from 2007 to 2009. He said that during that period, the violent campaign of cultural and ideological cleansing began. The militants destroyed more than 250 girls' schools. Suicide bombers hit targets ranging from schools to security forces. "The Taliban insurgency completely changed the cultural narrative of the Yousafzai Pashtuns of Swat where artistic pursuits had been an integral part of society for hundreds of years."<sup>22</sup> Beneri says that musicians had a hard time during the Taliban regime as Fazlullah and his dreaded deputy, Shah Dauran, termed all musicians and dancers "friends of Satan", and accused them of spreading obscenity and moral degradation in the society. They were asked

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<sup>19</sup> "Pakistan Militants Try to Blow up Buddha Statue," *Associated Press*, September 12, 2007, <<http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2007-09-12-pakistan-buddha-N.htm>>, accessed December 7, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> "Centre returns artifacts removed from Swat Museum to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa government", *Daily Mashraq* (Peshawar), January 27, 2012, 1.

<sup>21</sup> Bill Roggio, "Taliban rule Pakistan's 'valley of death'", *The Long War Journal*, January 23, 2009, <[http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban\\_rule\\_pakista.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban_rule_pakista.php)>, accessed January 6, 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Shaheen Beneri, "Dancing Girls of the Swat Valley", *Pulitzer Center for Crisis Reporting*, September 13, 2011, <<http://pulitzercenter.org/reporting/pakistan-mingora-dancing-taliban-pashtun-fazlullah>>, accessed December 7, 2012.

to shut down their business and those failing to obey were targeted through bomb attacks.

A popular Pushto singer, Sardar Yousfzai, and his musicians were attacked by militants on December 15, 2008, in Malakand. Though Yousfzai survived, one of his musicians, a harmonium player Anwar Gul, died later in a hospital in Peshawar due to injuries. The campaign of terror to banish the fine arts matured during the dark hours of a night on January 2009, when the Taliban forcibly entered the house of a well-known singer, Shabana, who had violated Taliban rule by dancing at a wedding ceremony in the neighbouring town of Maidan. A long quotation from Buneri's article captures the horror of the incident:

"In the middle of the night, the cries of two women awakened the neighbourhood. The militants, having somehow gained entry to the home, set about beating Shabana—pulling her hair, battering her hips with their guns, and screaming that it was time for her to die. Shabana's mother begged the leader of the group to spare her daughter's life and swore she would never dance again. Refusing to listen, the men dragged the young woman by her hair through the town to Green Square, her wailing mother running after them. Shabana was executed at point-blank range, her bullet-riddled body left in the square—a warning to others that dancing was in defiance of the Taliban's will."<sup>23</sup>

Shabana's mother died three months after the brutal killing of her daughter. A piece of sharp glass pierced her foot while she ran barefoot, pleading with the Taliban to forgive her daughter. The same wound developed a deadly infection and took her life as she refused to consult a doctor.

By the time the government decided to launch the final operation in 2009, most of the dancing girls and musicians had disappeared. Some of them started a life in Peshawar, where the customers were more interested in physical favours than dance and art. Pressed by the dire financial constraints, many of them found that spending one hour with someone paid more than dancing for a whole night. It transformed the decades-old pure performing arts tradition in Swat. According to many people who were aware of the latest trends among former dancers, many of them now lived as prostitutes, earning more than \$50 per hour, which was almost equal to the monthly salary of an average worker in Swat.

The situation was deteriorating but Fazlullah maintained that he was right to destroy all un-Islamic relics as part of his campaign to reorganize the society. In an interview, he said that he had destroyed TV sets, video equipment, computers and digital cameras worth Rs. 20 million, as they were a source of sin. "Now we have no other option but to re-

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

organize our movement and work for a society purged of all types of evils including music, dancing and drinking alcohol."<sup>24</sup>

The government, after abandoning the military campaign of 2007 to tame the Taliban monster, did not completely pull out the forces and sporadic clashes continued. The militants showed enterprise by setting up road-blocks on busy highways and carrying out frequent raids on vehicles entering the main cities to give an impression of their rule. There were also reports that militants had their picket only a dozen meters away from the check posts maintained by security forces. They also upped the ante by regularly targeting the forces with roadside bombs and suicide attacks. It increased the losses suffered by the army, and the "Pakistani military, which is known to downplay its own casualties, said 142 soldiers and paramilitary troops have been killed since August of 2008, making the Swat insurgency far more dangerous than the conflicts in Afghanistan or Iraq."<sup>25</sup>

The deaths and attacks demoralized the once indomitable armed forces who also suffered some damage to their public image as people began to brand them as incompetent or complicit with the Taliban. It also gave a lot of confidence to the militants who were now basking in full glory as they had braved the military onslaught, demoralized the police force, eliminated the opposition and forced the people into submission by force and intimidation. As their power increased, the government and the armed forces came under immense pressure to deal with them sternly. There were daily reports in the Western press about the mortal danger posed by the militants to the government of Pakistan. It was said that militants had overtaken at least nine of the 24 settled districts in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and all seven tribal agencies.

There were muted calls for another military operation but the religious parties continued their support for the militants and forced the government to enter into a peace deal with them. There was a peace accord in May 2008 with Fazlullah to resolve the issue through talks but fighting restarted in July. Irregular incidents of clashes continued until another peace agreement was signed in 2009, which was considered as the culmination of Fazlullah's rule in Swat. He declared it a grand victory and started an aggressive campaign to increase his power to other neighbouring districts. It proved to be a grand folly on his part, and it led to another more vigorous and decisive military operation, that ended Taliban rule by the middle of 2009 when they were defeated and their leader Fazlullah fled away.

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<sup>24</sup> Fazlullah, interview with Free Muse Radio, February 2008, <<http://www.freemuse.org/sw24746.asp>>, accessed December 5, 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Bill Roggio, "Taliban rule Pakistan's 'valley of death'", *The Long War Journal*, January 23, 2009, <[http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban\\_rule\\_pakista.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/01/taliban_rule_pakista.php)>, accessed January 6, 2012.

## **Conclusion**

The Taliban started their rule in Swat as kings of a social movement to address problems faced by the people. Initially, they had a semblance of mass appeal and enjoyed support. Soon they transformed into a political and militant force and started using ruthless force and fear to broaden their support base. For a brief while, they were successful, but soon ran into trouble when challenged by the army. Thus, they lost their control on Swat to a superior force. Their system, based on fear, vanished with them. Had Fazlullah shown maturity and waited for some time to consolidate the gains he got through peace deals, he could have lasted longer. But, he was in great haste and took several provocative steps, which forced the government and the army to launch a counter-offensive, which swept away Taliban rule.

It was evident from the short rule that militants were good at destruction and had no programme for reconstruction. Fazlullah promised to introduce an Islamic system, which he misconstrued and circumscribed to just strict punishments for even minor deviations. People initially applauded when criminals were hauled to the open squares and punished, but they slowly grew sick of ghastly scenes of dangling dead bodies and video clips showing Taliban slaughtering their enemies. People expected more than a quick justice system, as they had hoped for a just social and economic order that could make life easier. However, they found that the new rulers were as oppressive and inefficient as the former ones when it came to the provision of jobs, health and education facilities, and low-priced items of daily use.

The Taliban made several mistakes, showing that they did not learn anything from Mullah Omar's rule in Afghanistan. Their puritanical regime had a degree of efficiency by introducing a selective judicial system of Islam, like flogging for crimes and killing criminals involved in kidnapping and murders; but several other aspects of Islam, which the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) and his four companions implemented, were ignored. They were also bad planners and could not bring anything which could be termed as progress. They created peace but it was a peace of the graveyard, as there was none to tell them to their face that they were wrong. Their rise to power was not a means but an end in itself. Once in power, they only planned to prolong it and increase it through fear, rather than thinking of the economic or the social welfare of the people. It should be a warning for people who still believe that religious organizations and parties will resolve complex modern day issues.

In a country like Pakistan, which is bursting at the seams due to a population explosion and unplanned urbanization, the implementation of Sharia should not only end lawlessness and crimes but also provide decent job opportunities and affordable commodities of daily life. This is not possible without industrialization for which huge investment is needed,

that should come from either internal or external sources. Also, modern societies are dependent on foreign nations for travel, trade, technology and material goods, and a country cannot achieve progress by antagonizing the international community. The Taliban and other religious movements should also understand the prevalent worldview of human rights and women rights, and avoid actions that unnecessarily pit them against the values held high by many people across the globe. What they need to do is to make adjustments in their methodology and refine their techniques, but it is doubted that they would learn. If they do, then they will not be gun-toting Islamists.

The Taliban reign in Swat had a demonising impact on the Islamists operating in other parts of the country, as it reinforced the belief that mullahs had nothing to offer in terms of progress and development. That is why, there were few who lamented the fall of Fazlullah, while the majority had a sigh of relief and welcomed the army as their saviour.

## LIMITS OF INTERVENTIONIST POWER: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL AND EVOLUTIONARY PARADIGMS

Muhammad Farouq Khan Lodhi\*

### Abstract

*The ambient limits imposed by the various formal-legal and operational factors on the use of interventionist power by dominant powers condenses into three possible paradigms: (1) violence-based hegemonic interventions, (2) resort to covert operations and overthrow of regimes, or (3) major powers assisting the Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs) to develop economically. Violent or subversive intervention occurs when the international system is bypassed or manipulated by a major power or a group of major powers. Purely hegemonic projection of power is increasingly becoming irrelevant and anachronistic, and prone to gruesome violations of human rights. The evolution of effective and agile international economic and development agencies in the past sixty years makes the third possibility a favourable option. The formal-legal limits imposed on the use of coercive power by the UN Charter define the sailing boundaries for major powers, but difficulty is frequently encountered in defining such contested terms as, for instance, hegemony. Semantics leave ample room for arm-twisting and mounting of pressure.*

*This paper posits that prospects of a long cycle of international peace would be greatly enhanced and chances of costly errors would be reciprocally reduced by a watertight international order that restrains and discourages such overt and covert interventions falling outside the ambit of the UN Charter. A stronger international regulatory environment will improve prospects for peace. Focusing on the socio-economic development of LDCs will lift third world populations out of the morass of living half-in-and-half-out-of-dirt.*

**Keywords:** *Hegemonic intervention, Less Developed Countries, UN Charter, International system*

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## Introduction

This paper compares three models that describe the complete range of possibilities in the application of a major power's resources viz-à-viz weaker nations, to either coerce them through war or destabilize them through covert means, or alternatively, to develop them socially and economically and mature them into potential allies. The first two options will generate wars or a situation of no war, no peace. The third one, related to social and economic cooperation, will produce cycles of durable peace. Three models can possibly serve as crude predictors for assessing the likely behaviour of a major power inclined towards an intervention. The first one is the Prussian historian Leopold Von Ranke's *Die Grossen Mächte* (the great power) model of 1833 that leads towards hegemony; the underlying assumption being that the hegemon enjoys absolute supremacy in military power over any or all of the world nations combined. The second one is Joel H. Westra's "Prudential Restraint" model, based on the assumption that unilateral intervention by a major power will invoke a strong reaction or resistance from the subject nation, moderating the intensity and manner of intervention. The third and the last is the World-Leader role that has been at least partially fulfilled by the US through the Marshall Plan in the 1950s and 1960s, and is currently extended to developing nations through the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), etc.

The three models have been compared and contrasted to arrive at one best model. The paper attempts to address the following questions:

1. Is the present state of US hegemony absolute, or is it a state of decline? Is hegemony operable in the 21st century?
2. How does Pax Americana is comparable with Pax Britannica?
3. What limits are imposed on major power intervention by UN Charter Article 2 (4)? How do the major powers modify their behaviour in the face of such limits?
4. Has the "Prohibition on use of Force" provision worked in the past? Is "Prudential Restraint" a viable model?
5. Is "World-leadership" through ECOSOC/OECD programmes viable as an alternative? Is it complementary to the objectives of the human rights law?

## Interventionism

Interventionism has been defined by Britannica as, "Interfering with another country's attitudes, policies, and behaviour."<sup>1</sup> Intervention can take many forms such as military (intrusion into

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/interventionism>

sovereign territory or the Exclusive Economic Zone or with the right of innocent passage of vessels or commercial flight of aircraft of another country); political (meddling in another country's internal affairs); cultural (interfering with the target population's values and belief system); or humanitarian, (to provide relief to another state's population from hunger, militancy or threat to life from an epidemic/endemic source). An intervention remains an intervention, regardless of the motivation, if undertaken against the will of the subject nation. However, the term 'intervention' is, also frequently used to describe efforts undertaken with positive intentions, such as in the field of development economics and in education as well. The use of the term in the present study is limited to (1) military intervention under the UN or a regional organization's mandate, (2) covert intervention through intelligence agencies or security companies, and (3) intervention through UN agencies or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for the purpose of economic development and education. A potent distinction has been established between the first two categories and the third one by statutory provisions of the UN Charter.

UN Charter Article 1(1) defines the purpose of the Charter as:

Prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Article 2(4) of the UN Charter reads:

All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.<sup>2</sup>

The United States alone has undertaken more than 45 military interventions in other countries since World War II. These interventions have been the subject of moral judgment and criticism for having caused frequent humanitarian suffering. Contemporary debates on the manner and ethics of these interventions may be categorized into three groups. The first of these proposes that the US has established its hegemony over the world; since there is not much that can be done about it, the legitimacy of these interventions is hardly a worthwhile question. The second group puts forward the view that even though US is the superpower, the use of interventionist power at its disposal is moderated by the UN Charter and

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<sup>2</sup> <http://legal.un.org/repertory/art2.shtml>.

the willy-nilly cooperation or resistance of regional bodies and sovereign nations; therefore, channelizing some restraint in US intervention is the best the rest of the world can do. The third and the last group believes that the US is a world leader with principally a benign character that helps develop LDCs; this gratitude atones for the offensive character of US interventions, and the world might as well go along with the US and reap the harvest of social and economic relief.

The latter view tends to condone overt and covert interventions focusing on human protection and relief but would like to see it happen under the international humanitarian aid regime through regular armies, if circumstances so dictate, rather than through private military and security companies. This paper compares interventions under three broad categories or 'models'. The first model refers to overt interventions impinging upon the sovereign rights of a nation, by virtue of being a great power having all or some of the characteristics of 'hegemony'. The second model explains predominantly covert interventions because of fear of political or popular resistance, with the potential of turning into overt operations (described below as Westra's model). And the last model focuses upon interventions through ECOSOC, OECD, USAID and other agencies for the purpose of economic development and education.

## **Hegemony**

The opening up of the continents to exploration in the past three centuries exposed vast tracts of Asian and African territories to exploitation, colonization and cultural invasion by European races, who claimed a superior intellect and intervened under the pretext of trade and civilizing the so-called native barbarians. The impact upon subjugated peoples varied from rapid and audacious social and economic development, such as was the case in British India, where pre-existing ancient learning and the indigenous culture provided a base for the uptake of new knowledge and industry; to the perpetuation of hunger and disease such as in Africa, where food crops were replaced with coffee by colonial masters.

The major historical instances of classic and incipient/pretender cases of hegemony recognized by most historians include: Portugal (1494-1580), lasting from the end of Italian Wars to Spanish invasion of Portugal and based on Portugal's dominance in navigation, Holland (1580-1688), with Treaty of Utrecht 1579, marking the foundation of the Dutch Republic to William of Orange's arrival in England and based on Dutch control of credit and money, Britain (1688-1792), lasting from the Glorious Revolution to Napoleonic Wars and based on British textiles trade and command of the high seas, Britain (1815-1914), from Congress of Vienna to World War I and based on British industrial supremacy, steam-

propelled ships and railroads, and lastly the United States (1945-1971), based on petroleum and nuclear technology.

Interventionism is a behavioural aspect of hegemony. The status of being a hegemon, or the “world leader,” a title emphasized by some American writers, entails bearing the bulk of security and peacekeeping burden. This task presupposes a preponderance of war-fighting and entails frequent stationing of military forces abroad. Economic coercion and cultural invasion are complementary courses of action. Such actions naturally cause apprehensions and trigger complex behavioural reactions on part of the subject sovereign nations. Even Germany was not spared such vexation during the 45-year long stationing of 256,000 American troops in that country after WW II.

American hegemony, just like its forerunner of British variety, established itself through the unethical and arrogant use of brute military force, occupation, or political exclusion of subject territories. The hegemon, having once established its hold, proceeds to tighten its grip over the world system and perverts it to self-interest. Frequent ways to achieve this goal include deliberate misinterpretation of international law, disinformation, corruption, forced regime changes to install kings and dictators who would willingly serve the hegemon, and imposition of sanctions under national and international law wherever resistance is met.

Once in the first place, the natural concern of a superpower is to remain in that position and not slide down. Many authors have noted that US hegemonic power is declining. To check power erosion, a hegemon develops global control mechanisms through trade, monetary and security regimes enveloping the core industrial world. The greater the hold of the leader in these areas, the higher is the quality of hegemony. Some authors link the rise to great power status with the occurrence of a long peace cycle. Others hold the view that the hegemon is invariably the inventor of the lead technology of an era, such as steam, electrical technologies, nuclear energy etc. However, they like to point out that monopoly in technology does not remain static. Despite curbs on the transfer of technology, diffusion does take place, which tends to dilute lead status and to erode hegemony.

Prussian historian Leopold Von Ranke is renowned for his great power theory based on his study of European history. His ‘Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535’ published in 1824,<sup>3</sup> was the first of his 50 odd books on European history and politics written mostly based on primary sources. In an essay published in 1833, he had defined Die Grossen Mächte (the great power) as one that, in war,

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<sup>3</sup> L. V. Ranke, “Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535”, (Leipzig: Reimer, 1824). tr. P. A. Ashworth, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations 1494-1535* (London: George Bell and Sons. 1887). [Full text may be seen at <[https://archive.org/stream/historyoflatinte00rankuoft/historyoflatinte00rankuoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/historyoflatinte00rankuoft/historyoflatinte00rankuoft_djvu.txt)>

“must be able to maintain itself against all the others, even if they are united.”<sup>4</sup> The Washington Naval Treaty, 1922 (ratified in 1925), and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) negotiations, reflected this philosophy. Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) had recognized certain generally beneficial aspects of hegemony, such as a prolonged cycle of peace and stability.

Hegemonic stability theory, in general, suggests that the presence of a hegemon makes it possible and expedient to enforce rules and norms across the board in a certain area of influence. The role of the United States in putting in place an open trading system through the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), may be cited as an example. Immanuel Wallerstein’s world system theory associates the term ‘hegemony’ with a long cycle of prosperity, mustering of economic power and military muscle, domination, coercion, exploitation, and inequality. Lars Mjoset defines hegemony as an economic interaction between great powers, “a relationship of legitimate domination exercised by one country over the other great powers of the core of the world economy.”<sup>5</sup> Mjoset introduces mastery in leading edge technology as a new precondition. He qualifies the present day hegemon, the US, as the single largest unit in the international division of labour, describing the hegemonic state as,

...the source country of decisive technological and institutional innovations that define the leading sectors of the relevant period. The diffusion of these technologies to follower countries is one of the major socio-economic processes spurred by the hegemonic dominance.<sup>6</sup>

George Modelski prefers the term “World Leadership” and discards the term hegemony altogether. Modelski, based on an analysis of the pre-1988 coalition victories, suggests that goals and interests served by the winning coalition, the quality of cooperation among its members, and their grasp of the world situation are just as important as the economic factors. However, he considers that the masterly trend of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is not economic growth but democratization.<sup>7</sup> Robert Cox sees dominance as being subtle and more ideological and cultural in nature. His understanding describes a hegemonic world order as one that is essentially a state of compromise between the hegemon and other states. Cox sees such as order as, “... universal in conception, i.e. not an order in

<sup>4</sup> L. V. Ranke, “Die Grossen Mächte/ The Great Powers” in T. H. V. Laue, *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1950), 181-218.

<sup>5</sup> L. Mjoset, “Turn of Two Centuries” in D. Rapkin, ed. *World Leadership and Hegemony* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1990), 21

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* 22-23

<sup>7</sup> George Modelski, “Is World Politics a Learning Process?” *International Organization* 44, 1, Winter 1990, 1-24.

which one state directly exploits others but an order which most other states... could find compatible with their interests."<sup>8</sup> Cox views hegemony as a complex set of social relations that stretch from the local to the global level. His formulation of a hegemonic world order posits that,

The dominant state creates an order based ideologically on a broad measure of consent, functioning according to general principles that in fact ensure the continuing supremacy of the leading state or states and leading social classes but at the same time offer some measure of a prospect of satisfaction to the less powerful.<sup>9</sup>

Paul M. Kennedy assesses a nation's potential as a great power to be a function and, given the right set of governmental policies, a near automatic outcome, of its wealth accumulation, industrialization, and strategic acquisition cycle. With an economist's keen sense for tabulated data, he measures vague notions like demographic character, war-fighting potential and imperial overstretch in terms of Gross National Product (GNP), hard cash expended in a war, and hoards of strategic raw materials.

Morton A. Kaplan's System's Theory (Kaplan's Six) expounded in '*System and Process in International Politics* (1957)', helps understand the relationship between sets of 'objects' (groups of nation states or actors) and their 'attributes' (power, domination, polarity, etc.). He argues that as the attributes change, a whole range of possibilities emerge, from a total absence of any international system to a world republic. This range is represented by, (1) the Balance of Power System, (2) the Loose Bipolar System, (3) the Tight Bipolar System, (4) the Universal International System, (5) the Hierarchical International System, and (6) the Unit Veto System. Kaplan's model is purely theoretical and does not take into account the actual dynamics of international politics that make it difficult for a hegemon to enjoy absolute dominance. Even in the Roman Empire, power had to be shared with local leaders, without which administration of such vast territories was not possible. The US enjoyed a nuclear veto briefly from 1946 to 1949. It is doubtful whether it gave the US any particular advantage over the USSR in political terms, or contributed to stability in the Pacific region where the bombs were used.

As for legitimacy, while the realist tradition emphasizes material capabilities, the Gramscian School focuses on the ideological aspect. The hegemon endeavours to arrange for legitimacy on moral grounds through a re-orientation of the value system of the secondary states, by means of financial incentives and occasional sanctions. David Rapkin comments:

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method," *Journal of International Studies*, 12, 2 (1983), 162-175.

<sup>9</sup> R. Cox, *Production, Power and World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1987), 7.

There are scant formal-legal basis for legitimacy in the world political system, so... the secondary states' definitions of their interests are transformed so as to be consistent with the hegemon's normative concept of the world order... Alternatively, policy compliance may initially be coerced by the hegemon through positive inducements, with normative convergence occurring later.<sup>10</sup>

The successful re-orientation of post-1945 Europe towards liberal multilateralism by the US is offered as an example of the former approach and the British introduction of Western values as that of the latter.

Paul M. Kennedy bases his argument for a nation's rise to great power status on the generation of wealth, which is considered essential to acquire military strength, and which in turn creates opportunities for domination and economic exploitation. "It sounds crudely mercantilistic to put it this way," Kennedy concedes in his 'Rise and Fall of Great Powers (1989)', "but wealth is usually needed to underpin a nation's military strength." Modelski as under has summarized Kennedy's analysis of the reasons for the fall of a nation:

A nation projects military power according to its economic resources but eventually the high cost of maintaining political supremacy weakens the economic base. Great powers in decline respond by spending more on defence and weaken themselves further by directing essential revenues away from productive investments.<sup>11</sup>

Modelski emphasizes factors such as the search for identity, knowledge or the processes of learning for legitimizing the supremacy. By comparison, Mjoset links clear instances of hegemonic domination to the emergence and mastery of new technologies, and further breaks down each hegemonic era into two distinct periods: one of prosperity and recession, and the other, following the diffusion of technology to secondary states, of depression and recovery. Mjoset identifies the 1845-1873 period (prosperity and recession) as the zenith of British hegemony and ascribes the dominance of that country to the advent of steam power and railway. This period was followed by 1873-1896 (depression and recovery) characterized by decentralization and the equalization of economic and military power among a number of great powers. Hence, no clear-cut hegemon appears. The next major technology to emerge, just before the outbreak of World War I, was electricity and heavy engineering in which Germany had the lead. This period was highly turbulent, however, and no clear hegemon appeared.

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<sup>10</sup> D. Rapkin, "The Contested Concept" in D. Rapkin, ed. *World Leadership and Hegemony*, (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Pub, 1990),10-11.

<sup>11</sup> G. Modelski, "Global Leadership and End Game Scenarios" in D. Rapkin, *World Leadership and Hegemony*, ed. (1990), 242.

While US power increased steadily after WW I and exponentially after WW II, the operation of hegemony par excellence was never again practical, thanks to the evolution of the international system and that too, despite failure of the League of Nations. The Great Depression of 1929-33 followed World War I. The first three decades after World War II were the periods of Fordist and Mass Production, and are collectively referred to as the era of US hegemony. By late 1950s, the Europeans, having rebuilt their economies at an amazing pace, rapidly became more independent in their policies. From 1973 onwards, the decline of US hegemony had begun to set in. The present era is one of information and communication technology and, borrowing a term from Brzezinski, may be described as the 'Technetronic' era. Japan competed but failed to emerge as the leader in that field. At any rate, Japan has no offensive capability, a pre-condition for hegemony.

Clear historical instances of hegemony thus include only Pax Britannica and Pax Americana, while the Netherland's bid for hegemony is generally treated as one that failed at the incipient stage due to lack of preponderance. The real source of British power in the 19th century lay in Britain's lead in steam technology, industry, and trade. The military facilitated commercial entrepreneurship and protected overseas shipping, the primary means of trade. London emerged as the world's commodity centre, as well as, a seat of global power. In the 20th century, the industrial lead slipped out of British hands.

The US emerged as a clear victor in WW II which, in its nature, was an industrial war; the lead industry then represented by nuclear technology. The US established itself as the world leader in trade, industrial innovation, and finance. It firmly established its grip over European trading partners through the dollar-based Bretton Woods monetary system. The vast American military machine ensured Pacific and European security arrangements. Pan Americana was generally accepted by Europe, even if somewhat grudgingly. India aspires to assume the role of a regional leader but its interaction with core industrial nations is minimal. India is no more than an embryonic case of hegemony, just like the Netherlands of the 17th century.

The grudge often faced by the US in finding manageable political and economic partners in its attempt to create a world order of its liking, is a predicament the British were largely spared of. Whereas the British-led trade and monetary regimes were more spontaneous, the US had to create markets risking the hostility of its European partners. At the same time, the US has enjoyed a far greater structural power and freedom in monetary matters than Britain ever did. Therefore, the US could afford to and did act parochially at times. This is evident from the interventionist role it played in, the 1949 Syrian coup d'état, the 1953 Iranian coup d'état, the 1954 Guatemalan coup d'état, the 1959 Tibetan uprising, the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba, the 1964 Brazilian coup d'état, the 1973 Chilean

coup d'état, the 1976 Argentinian coup d'état, the 1979–89 Afghanistan war, the 1980 Turkish coup d'état, and the 1981–87 intervention in Nicaragua. A sense of pride in the superior military strength and finer technology has led the US to involve itself in unwarranted wars that could have been avoided through better diplomacy, such as the Vietnam War in the 1960s and the Iraqi invasion in 2003.

In the nineteenth century, when Britain was the leader, the competition to grab colonies for trade and expansion of power was within the European states and it was simultaneously economic and geo-strategic in nature. By comparison, in the case of American leadership, all the European powers allied against a common enemy in the post-1945 period. Since they were competing with each other only in trade and not in the strategic domain, the chances of the system deteriorating into a global war were much lesser than during the British-led peace system which, while collapsing, had pushed the world into two world wars.

The grand wartime alliance of Western powers with Russia broke up right after the victory in 1946. US hegemony was born the day Germany surrendered. Italy and Japan were absorbed in the Western club and aligned against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The North American Treaty Organization (NATO) emerged in 1949 out of the Berlin Crisis. It successfully integrated European nations stretching from Norway to Turkey, guarding Europe's northern, central and southern flanks. Even though no occasion arose during the Cold War to test its effectiveness in the field or on the high seas, NATO, together with the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the US forces in Japan, ensured a complete encirclement of the USSR. The arrangements successfully contained the threat of Soviet aggression for some forty years until the Soviet Union fell out of competition and Communism capitulated as an ideology. The title of the 'world leader' rightfully belonged to the US during the Cold War era. We cannot say the same for the post-1990 era. The emerging strategic pattern in the post-Iraq and post-Ukraine years is the most destabilizing as it offers little prospect for peace, hegemonic or otherwise.

### **Westra's 'Prudent Restraint' Model**

UN Charter's Article 2(4) explicitly prohibits the use of force against a sovereign state. The only permissible use of force is through a UN mandate. Joel H. Westra, in his 2007 book titled 'International Law and the Use of Armed Force: The UN Charter and the Major Powers', observes that major powers have at times manipulated Article 2(4) to create a semblance of use of legitimate force through a regional body's mandate. The UN Charter explicitly restrains any military action on part of a foreign nation against a member state and this prohibition considered the

principal instrument of the international order enforced by the Charter. By implication, the prohibition is equally effective against a coalition of forces.

Westra points out that the rules are interpreted variously to their own advantage by major powers through the threat of exercise of veto power. The psychological pressure mounted on the subject state includes but is not limited to the creation of 'an expectation of compliance.' The action of major powers, when not conducted strictly under UN Security Council (UNSC) mandate, does not escape international scrutiny through the General Assembly. However, the larger body has little prevalence over the Council and such delinquency in the past has been the source of tension between the said two principal organs of the UN. Resistance to the Council's plans was particularly profound during the run up to the 2003 intervention in Iraq. Westra's "Prudential Restraint" model features typical behaviour of the interventionist power as under,

To reduce the likelihood of resistance from states threatened by such actions, major powers exercise prudential restraint, altering the manner and timing of their military actions in accordance with the legal arguments offered to justify those actions as consistent with the Charter and therefore not threatening to the existing international order.<sup>12</sup>

Westra introduces five case studies to support his thesis: the US intervention in the Caribbean (1953-61), the Anglo-French intervention in Egypt (1956), the Soviet intervention in Hungary (1956), the US-British intervention in Iraq (1990-98) and the US-British intervention in Iraq (1999-2003). Through the analysis of interventions in Iraq, Westra sees an opportunity for "possible reforms of the UN Charter system." The whirlwind rise of Islamic State (IS) power in Syria and Iraq after the withdrawal of American forces demonstrates the limits of the superpower in successfully concluding interventions with durable peace. The misadventures further demonstrate the contemporary nature of unilateral interventions as being asynchronous. Lack of interest on part of the US in strict enforcement of international legislation may account for the fact that reforms to the UN Charter system have not materialized despite popular demand of the majority of member states. The five case studies of Westra's prudential restraint model are discussed below.

### **i. US intervention in the Caribbean, 1953-61**

Interventions by the US in the Caribbean include the toppling of Jacobo Arbenz's elected government in Guatemala, an armed intervention to check increasing communist influence in the Dominion Republic, and

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<sup>12</sup> J. Westra, *International Law and the Use of Armed Force: The UN Charter and the major powers* (London and New York: Routledge 2007), i.

unsuccessful bids for the removal of Fidel Castro from the Cuban government.

In Guatemala, the US decided to intervene to change the regime but preferred to act through covert means. Even though a military intervention had been planned, it was delayed with the realization that the "Latin American states would perceive the United States as an aggressor and would respond with resistance to it."<sup>13</sup> The Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA's) covert operation code named 'Operation PBSUCCESS' succeeded in toppling the democratically elected government of President Árbenz and installing a military dictator instead.

The Bay of Pigs invasion, sponsored by the CIA, was intended to overthrow the Communist government of Fidel Castro. Operating from Guatemala, Paramilitary Brigade 2506 landed by boat on Cuban soil on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1961. Eight B-26 bombers attacked Cuban airfields. The 1,400 strong invading force was defeated within three days by the Cuban armed forces. The covert intervention provided the Soviets with an excuse to deploy nuclear-armed missiles in Cuba, which led to the Cuban missile crisis the details of which are well known.

In the Dominican Republic, increasing Communist influence worried the Americans. Westra reports on the strength of Gall (1963), that in January 1961, the Kennedy government approved a plan for a covert intervention to assassinate Trujillo, but delayed the operation for fear of an adverse reaction from other states "if the US involvement was discovered."<sup>14</sup> Referring the matter to the Organization of African States (OAS) was considered not merely useless but a handicap.<sup>15</sup> The US intervened militarily on April 28 and occupied the Republic with 42,000 soldiers on September 3, 1965. In doing so, it acted without Security Council/OAS authorization for intervention. Westra comments :

In each of these cases, US policymakers delayed planned military operation to seek OAS authorization under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, and when OAS authorization appeared unlikely, they decided to act covertly and deny US involvement.<sup>16</sup>

In most cases, when covert means failed, use of brute force was resorted to, as in the case of the Dominican Republic.

## **ii. Anglo-French Intervention in Egypt, 1956**

Gamal Abdel Nasser's assertions of autonomy over the Suez Canal, his support of Algerian rebels and Egypt's ties with the USSR worried

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 64.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.80.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 81.

Britain. When Nasser nationalized the Canal on July 27, 1956, Britain and France planned a military intervention. The campaign was, however, delayed in its implementation due to apprehensions that Britain and France would be regarded as aggressors by Asian and African states. They tried to obtain a favourable resolution from the Security Council but failed. They used Israel's invasion of Egypt as a ruse and invaded Egypt, but the delay made the invasion ineffective. They could not remove Nasser from the office of the president and the influence of the two major powers suffered adversely in the region.

### **iii. Soviet Intervention in Hungary, 1956**

The Soviet intervention in Hungary was undertaken from October 24, 1956 onwards to suppress Hungarian protesters and overthrow the government of Imre Nagy. Fearing resistance from other states, the Soviets refrained from deploying forces from other states in Hungary, until Hungary formally requested assistance from the USSR. The Soviets later concluded that, "...their failure to exercise sufficient restraint had prompted non-aligned states to downgrade their perceptions of Soviet interventions."<sup>17</sup> The impression formed of the Soviet Union as a status quo power stood in sharp contrast with its overall image in handling such uprisings within the Union promptly and sternly.

### **iv. US-British Intervention in Iraq, 1990-98**

Westra cites, in support of his thesis that, the US and Britain in their efforts to remove Saddam in the post-Kuwaiti-liberation years, "delayed and/or cancelled several military operations for lack of a sufficient legal pretext"<sup>18</sup> Westra considers that, as a result, the Shiite and Kurdish rebels lost faith in the Allies and did not take up arms against Saddam when a major air campaign was started for this purpose in 1998.

### **v. US-British Intervention in Iraq 1999-2003**

On September 11, 2001, Al-Qaeda attacked the twin towers in New York. Westra observes that the American and British policymakers were now confident that the incident, coupled with the WMD threat, provided "sufficient legal basis for direct military intervention."<sup>19</sup> The UN Security Council hesitated in allowing an invasion of Iraq, which finally came about in 2003 without a UN mandate. By this time, the US enjoyed the status of being the world's sole superpower. Westra introduces the invasion as a 'hard case' in a discussion of the salience of the UN Charter system.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.103.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 111.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 131.

Westra documented these five cases in support of his construct that major powers exercise 'prudential restraint' so as to reduce the likelihood of resistance from the threatened states. The strategy involves altering the manner and timing of their military actions depending upon the strength of legal arguments available at that time to justify those actions as consistent with the UN Charter.

### **World-Leadership Model**

Prolonged peace cycles provide an opportunity to divert much-needed funds to, and focus energies on, the social and economic development of the LDCs. It also gives impetus to the process of formulation of new legislation on humanitarian issues, at times hampered by adverse external relations, sensitized religious disharmony, hyped ideological differences, and division within UN agencies. The cause is frequently ignored during periods of war and heightened tension. During the Cold War era, characterized by the rivalry of the two opposing ideologies of Capitalism and Communism, the US was generally accepted as the leader in the Western world. The USSR could not keep up with the US in heavy spending on space-based and other sophisticated defence systems. Colossal mismanagement of industrial and agricultural resources, coupled with economic inefficiency, forced the USSR to capitulate, and the Union crumbled in 1989. Optimists swiftly predicted a peace cycle and announced "the end of the history" and the arrival of the "springtime of nations."

However, such hopes were short lived and the typical product of the post-1990 "peace cycle" turned out to be frequent interventions under UN mandate as well as without it. The funding of development programmes in the LDCs has been somewhat irregular in this era. At times, UN aid workers were unable to reach famine-stricken areas due to internal strife. The US commitment to humanitarian relief around the world was showing signs of stress. A general lack of serious interest in UN affairs was particularly noticeable during Kofi Annan's term as Secretary General. A systematic under-commitment around the world on part of the world leader is attributable to too much consumption, not enough savings, and a slowdown in the economy. Trade wars and a cultural invasion from the G-7 states are discouraging LDCs from reciprocating cooperation with donor nations in seeking and absorbing much-needed knowledge of development strategies and cutting-edge civilian technologies. The level of technical cooperation between the Global North and South remains insignificant.

Within the UN, the ECOSOC serves as the central forum for discussing international economic and social issues, and for formulating policy recommendations addressed to the United Nations General Assembly. ECOSOC facilitates international cooperation on standard making and

problem-solving, in everything from the environment to cultural issues and from food to meteorology. Human rights and development constitute the two largest areas of interest. Fourteen specialized agencies including but not limited to the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) play primary roles in operational activities devoted to economic and social advancement. ECOSOC is also the forum that provides a platform to G-7 nations to compete for the status of world leader in pursuit of a benign image, in contrast with the role of a classic hegemon or a major power pursuing similar policies while exercising “prudential restraint.”

Overt or covert aggression creates more problems than it solves and pushes subject nations decades behind others on the development ladder. Some of these nations lie on the borderline of perpetual failure while others have remained stagnated at the take-off point for decades. By taking an interest in core social and economic problems of the LDCs, leading nations can provide technical assistance for infrastructure development and much-needed training, essential for introducing new technologies. Knowledge and finance is required urgently in the Third World to improve living standards, the state of human rights, and the status of women. Basic infrastructure and law enforcement is required to make narcotic drugs control and crime prevention effective. Environmental conditions are deteriorating and forests are being destroyed in most parts of the world including the under-developed world. A reversal of negative trends requires close cooperation between the leading nations and the LDCs.

Ironically, political considerations override developmental concerns at times. Noam Chomsky and Andre Vltchek, in their 2013 book, ‘On Western Terrorism: From Hiroshima to Drone Warfare’ observe that the US administration had been intervening for years to prevent American corporations from entering Cuba, “because America has to punish Cuba for what Washington called its “successful defiance” of US policy, going back 150 years to the Monroe doctrine of 1823.”<sup>20</sup> The US has started to relent on its policy viz-à-viz Cuba lately but the notion of American exceptionalism and the pre-supposition of impunity were both challenged as a consequence of intervention without a UN mandate, and is still hurting its image as a world leader. Noam Chomsky observes that,

The United States is self-immunized from any prosecution. When they joined the World Court in 1946, the U.S. basically initiated the modern International Court of Justice, which it joined but with the reservation that the U.S. cannot be tried on any international treaty – meaning the UN

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<sup>20</sup> N. Chomski and A. Vltchek, *On Western Terrorism: from Hiroshima to Drone Warfare* (London: PlutoPress 2013). 114.

Charter, the Charter of the Organization of the American States, the Geneva Conventions.<sup>21</sup>

Would Europe overtake the US as the world leader? Joseph S. Nye Jr. in his 2015 book, 'Is the American Century Over?' compares American power with that of Europe as an entity. The comparison shows that Europe is the largest economy in the world, the total GDP of the European Union being slightly larger than that of the United States; Europe's population (500 million) is considerably larger than America's (310 million); and America's per capita income is higher than that of the EU. Nye concludes that, "in terms of human capital, technology, and exports, Europe is very much an economic peer competitor for the United States." He observes that Europe spends less than half of what America appropriates to defence; Britain and France possess nuclear arsenals, but have only "a limited capacity for overseas intervention in Africa and the Middle East." He also raises the key question as to whether the EU will act as an entity on international issues "with different nationalisms, political cultures, and foreign policies", He concludes that, "Europe's power conversion capability – or what Francis Fukuyama has called the discount rate between resources and outcomes – is limited, and it varies with different issues. On questions of trade and influence within the World Trade Organization, Europe is the equal of the United States and able to balance American power."<sup>22</sup>

Howard J. Wiarda, in his 2011 book, 'American Foreign Policy in Regions of Conflict: A Global Perspective' notices a 'Continental Drift' that has shifted the focus of US politics and strategy from Europe to Asia, 'where the money is.' Asia, in addition to being more populous houses more nuclear powers than Europe. Post-1990 Russia, having "shrunk drastically in size, population, and internal coherence... is no longer a threat to [US] but it is to its smaller neighbors... Russia is a worry, but it is not a danger."<sup>23</sup>

The foregoing views suggest that, while the US is granted the status of a superpower in military terms, grudgingly by some, in other respects its power to intervene gets more and more limited due to internal factors. Andrew J. Bacevich in his 2008 publication, 'The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism' describes the central paradox:

... as events have made plain, the United States is ill-prepared to wage a global war of no exits and no deadlines. The sole superpower lacks the resources – economic, political and military – to support a large-scale, protracted conflict without, at the very least, inflicting severe economic

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> J. Joseph Nye, *Is the American Century Over?* (Cambridge: PolityPress, 2015), 15.

<sup>23</sup> H. Wiarda, *American Foreign Policy in Regions of Conflict: A Global Perspective* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 180.

and political damage on itself. American power has limits and is inadequate to the ambitions to which hubris and sanctimony have given rise.... While the defense of American freedom seems to demand that U.S. troops fight in places like Afghanistan and Iraq, the exercise of that freedom at home undermines the nation's capacity to fight.<sup>24</sup>

Bacevich hints at the root of the American dilemma, saying that the United States has “embarked on a disastrous career of empire building and military adventurism that is bankrupting and corrupting the country, all the while making it less secure.” He traces the United States' quest for Pax Americana to expanding notions of freedom and the good life, which over the decades have stimulated growing appetites.<sup>25</sup>

## Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian intervention is rapidly gaining its rightful priority and it provides a lens to see the behaviour of world nations towards people deprived of their human rights in a new light. James Pattison, in his 2010 book, ‘Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect’ raises two central questions in dealing with the right and the responsibility toward humanitarian intervention, “Who has the right to intervene?” and “Who has the duty to intervene?” Pattison suggests that, (a) “any agent that has an adequate degree of legitimacy has the right to intervene” and (b) “the duty to intervene should fall on the most legitimate intervener which, in most cases, will be the most effective intervener.” Pattison concludes that, “out of the currently existing agents of intervention (NATO states, the UN, regional organizations, and private military companies)... no, currently existing agent is fully legitimate.”<sup>26</sup>

International Humanitarian Law is still evolving, largely through the combined efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the International Institute of Humanitarian Law. There is wide-ranging support for positive action on this issue. Pattison informs,

Most of the proposals for reform of international law suggest doing this by codifying certain criteria for humanitarian intervention in international law. These criteria usually constitute some form of the traditional Just War principles of *Jus ad Bellum* (i.e. just cause,

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<sup>24</sup> A. Bacevich, *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*, (NY: Metropolitan Books, 2008), Introduction: War Without Exits. 11. <https://www.amazon.com/Limits-Power-American-Exceptionalism-Project/dp/0805090169>

<sup>25</sup> Andrew Bacevich, “U.S. Defense Policy – The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism” *Foreign Affairs (Capsule Review)*, November/December 2008.

<sup>26</sup> J. Pattison, *Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect* (Oxford University Press 2010), 181.

right intention, legitimate authority, last resort, proportionality, formal declaration of war, and reasonable prospects of success).<sup>27</sup>

### **Comparison of the Three Models**

Distinctly, all three paradigms are mutually exclusive and theoretically speaking, only one of these is applicable at any given time. While the US possesses the status of a superpower, its power of classic military intervention has been moderated by the demands for acting out the role of the world leader and the sponsor of the principle of sovereign integrity of nation states. By comparison, Russia showed no inhibition in intervening militarily in Ukraine in 2014. The interactive mix of the two – the character and the role demanded – produces a curious paradox for Americans but somehow spares Russians. The collective trade and security patterns that have emerged in the post-1990 era, in which the US supposedly plays the role of world leader, tend to limit the capacity of the sole superpower to exercise its unrestrained might, as it did in the pre-1990 era in South America.

Classic hegemony being not very practical any more and covert intervention being fraught with the risk of self-contradiction, prudence demands that the US should work towards consensual and cooperative world politics rather than a coercive world order. The convergence of interests had prompted Americans in the 1950s to help rebuild war-ravaged European economies through the Marshall Plan. It remains a workable model with respect to the LDCs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The broad generalizations presented in the foregoing discussion can be organized under three paradigms and plotted against their most active eras. The country or countries that practiced a particular model depending upon how some of these great powers enacted one or the other of the parent philosophies or pursued a normative, legislative or collaborative approach can also be shown. It is found that varying degrees of situational freedom available to a particular great power influenced the course of a line of action. The three competing models may be compared graphically as under:

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 220.

### Comparison of Competing Models of Interventionist Power

Model	Social/ Political Theories	Era	Examples	Approach	Pre-conditions	Likely Outcome
Hegemony (Classic)	Realism/ Neo-realism/ Hegemonic Peace  Trade/ Industrial Peace	18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> Centuries  1945 till date	Britain  US	Coercion, economic power, military muscle, domination, cultural invasion, exploitation and inequality.	Financial and Military Preponderance, lead in Technology	Bush fires/ Wars of Intervention  Overlapping War/ Peace State
Prudential Restraint	Expediency, Transactional Theories	1945 till date	US	Intervention through Security Council/ Regional Bodies or through covert means	Diplomatic/ Managerial Efficiency	Intermittent War/ Peace State
Economic & Social Cooperation	Idealism/ Neo-Idealism Democratic Peace, Rational Choice	Contemporary	G-7	Aid, development through ECOSOC/ Regional Bodies/ NGOs equity, cultural invasion,	Aid, Donations, Direct Financing of Research and Industry, Diplomatic and Professional Efficiency	Long Cycle of Peace, Social and Economic Development, Higher Standard of Life

### Analysis

The history of the rise and decline of clear instances of hegemony highlight various aspects of a hegemonic order such as Efficiency, Effectiveness and Economy; Political Responsiveness and Accountability; Legitimacy i.e. Legal Rights and Privileges, Equity, Humanitarian Law; and Ethics i.e. Morality, and Integrity. A dispassionate comparison of the two classic examples of hegemony – Pax Britannica and Pax Americana – brings out important lessons. Britain had done well in the nineteenth century in retaining world leadership based on its advantage in

mechanical technologies, steam- propelled ships, railways, etc. However, the institutional frameworks that provide a linkage between higher education and industrial production were much superior in the US and Germany and this was eventually the deciding factor.

The British industrial model was one of liberal Capitalism, and that of Germany was of state interventionist organized Capitalism. The neo-realist US tradition, which owed its functional success to superior managerial efficiency in the handling of capital, had clear advantages over both. The origin of organizational sophistication of managerial hierarchies in the US industry gave birth to mammoth multinational corporations in the twentieth century. The same MNCs breed US inaction on environmental issues and kill the collective efforts of the WTO to stop the US and China from burning coal. This further reduces the prospects of US acting out the world leader role in the decades to come, when pollution would be the prime concern at the international level. A similar self-serving approach in security matters precludes a replay of the 1991 coalition spirit demonstrated during the liberation of Kuwait. Contributors of military forces are not rallying around the US anymore to provide “boots on the ground troops” to fight the Islamic State.

The operation of classic hegemony being untenable, the US should adjust its policy to exercise ‘Prudential Restraint,’ avoid cloak and dagger covert intrigue, and make greater use of its resources towards putting the ‘Economic Development’ model to work. The model is viable and sustainable and has the capacity to serve US interests as well as those of its economic partners, follower states, and recipients of aid/donations in a win-win manner. Just to cite an example, if the US had not withdrawn from ongoing development programmes in Afghanistan, wherein it was competing favourably with the USSR until the mid-1950s, it is certainly believed that the USSR would not have had a free hand in propagating Communism in that country. The free hand it gained due to US disengagement led eventually to military intervention; continued engagement could have avoided the costly war that ensued.

## **Conclusion**

The US interventions are too frequent to allow a long cycle of peace. These interventions are robbing the Third World of the chance to reap the benefits of devolution of technological knowledge in the post-1990 era. This devolution has resulted from the diffusion of space and military technologies to the civilian sectors, including the food and health sectors. The UN Charter specifically provides that intervention may proceed under a regional organization’s mandate only when approved by the UNSC. The Charter leaves no room for subversive strategies.

A comparison of competing models of interventionist power brings out the desirability of the International Development Model that must be put to work through international institutions. Ariel Ilan Roth, in his 2010 book, 'Leadership in International Relations' notes that "Liberal theorists such as Robert Keohane, Stephen Krasner, John Ikenberry, and Daniel Deudney have all long argued that neo-realism undervalues the role that international institutions can play in mitigating the most deleterious aspects of international anarchy".<sup>28</sup>

The International Development Model reduces the vulnerabilities of LDCs to interventions, either real or perceived. This model correspondingly increases the prospects of durable peace by engaging them, (LDCs) in an interactive development process, whose benefits are lucrative enough for the developing nations to settle for a less resistive posture. As an evolving paradigm, international cooperation for economic and social development offers better and safer prospects to humanity.

The challenges posed by the shift from ideological to inter-civilizational rivalry are easy to set in motion but difficult to overcome, even by the major powers that may have triggered them. The prospects of a durable peace would improve if the US depends less on unilateral interventions, secrecy and intrigue, and more on building collective peace through international institutions. Regime change in the case of a democratically elected government is inconsistent with the UN Charter and must be given up as a strategy. Transparency is critical to highly functional governments and the US administration must move in that direction. Human rights concerns should take the centre stage. Going through the UN should be the norm of international politics and the UN must serve, heeding Kofi Annan's advice, not the member states but the people who live in them.

Unilateral intervention, intrigue, and covert operations are laying to waste the goodwill capital generated by cooperative efforts aimed at development and education, and tarnishing the image of the US as the world leader. It also means throwing away the tremendous advantage the US had over either its predecessor colonial powers or the ideological rivals. American Capitalism was fortunate in being immune from church, kingship, and aristocracy, which had impeded its British predecessor. The American political system is much stronger than that of Britain, with its two non-programmatic parties. Unfortunately, it backs military interventions.

The US military's combat power resides in technological innovation and a demonstrated superiority in waging industrial war. All these factors make the US power much more formidable than the nineteenth century British naval supremacy or the hegemony it helped

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<sup>28</sup> A. Roth, *Leadership in International Relations: The Balance of Power and the Origins of World War II*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 146.

establish. The US leadership, working through a state of compromise, would suit their European cousins, Japan and Third World nations, who stand to benefit from civilian spin-offs of the US military and civil technologies or from direct financial aid. Irritants in the form of unilateral interventions, intrigue, and covert operations preclude the success of peace cycles that have been non-existent or extremely short. America may exercise the option to act out “the champion of rights” causes and lofty values that represent what the US was originally meant to be. US foreign policy needs to change the bus, not just shift the gears!

## PAKISTANI UNIVERSITIES: SYNERGY THROUGH ACADEMIA, INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT COLLABORATION

Dr. Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri\*

### Abstract

*Universities are supposed to be engines of innovative ideas and research; besides promoting high-quality education and research, they contribute to national growth and development. Overpopulation, along with meagre spending on health, education and social welfare, has relegated many Muslim countries to the bottom of the global pile. Allied with adverse international factors, illiteracy and militancy have become rampant. It is said that the total number of universities in the Muslim world (nearly 700 or so) are lesser than that of Japan alone. The national budget earmarked for education is below 2 percent, whereas according to the UN requirement, it should be a minimum of 4 percent of the GNP. Experts recommend at least 10 percent for the next decade or so if Pakistan is to cast off the albatross of poverty, ill-health, and illiteracy. The plight faced by most Pakistani universities is that they are woefully starved of funds, talent, and other facilities. To overcome these, research, value-added items, academia-industry-defence linkages, 'disruptive innovations,' new technologies in IT, biosciences and genetics are imperative. For this, the Helix Model is proposed that would focus on an academia-industry-business model of cooperation. This could assist in forging much-needed skills, promoting educational standards, instilling self-reliance and contributing to a knowledge-based society and national development.*

**Keywords:** *Universities, Islamic World, Triple Helix Model, Research and Innovation, Synergy, Academia-Industry-Government.*

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## Introduction

In his book, "The Idea of a University," John Henry Newman (1852) defined a university as a place for the communication and circulation of thoughts. It is a place where inquiry is pushed forward, discoveries are verified and perfected, and error is exposed by the collision of mind with mind and knowledge with knowledge. In fact, the universities, based on Newman's and Humboldt's principles, have been remarkably successful and have provided an almost universal model for higher education.

With globalization, universities are now regarded as fundamental national and international assets. Governments worldwide see them as vital sources of new knowledge, innovative thinking, providers of skilled personnel and credible credentials, contributors to innovation, attractors of international talent and business investment, agents of social justice and mobility, and contributors to social and cultural vitality. Thus, over the last decade or so, the view is that high quality, internationally competitive research and higher education mostly contained within universities are prerequisites for long-term success in globalized knowledge economies. In fact, public policy sees universities as vectors of the contemporary skilling of an increasing segment of the population and as providers of innovation that can be translated into an advantage in a fast-changing global economic environment.<sup>1</sup>

Today the state of universities in the Islamic world in general is both worrisome and challenging. Allocation of funds to education and health are abysmally low, which acts as a serious impediment to national development. The Islamic World represents one-fifth of the world, with 57 OIC countries, possessing 70 percent of the world's energy resources and almost 50 percent of the world's raw materials. Instead of being an economic giant, the Muslim world contributes only five percent to the global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) - thus reducing it to an inconsequential entity in global political, economic and social affairs.<sup>2</sup> No wonder, this is strongly correlated with current socio-economic issues of underdevelopment incubating intolerance, violence, and militancy in these societies.

It is strongly felt that universities can play a major role in research, innovation and dissemination of knowledge, as they do in the developed countries, and they can act as engines of socio-economic and cultural development. Furthermore, they can nurture and shape the minds of the youth to become motivated, humane and proactive citizens of the state. In short, they can act as a powerful catalyst of socio-economic and cultural

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<sup>1</sup> Aziz Ahmed Qureshi, "Role of Universities in the Industrial Development," Chapter 2, 9-16. Adviser, Department of Physics, Universities in the Islamic World (Islamabad: COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, July 2014), [Unpublished].

<sup>2</sup> See Ambassador (ret'd) Shamshad Ahmad, "The Muslim World: Medusa's wreck," *The Express Tribune*, Islamabad, 19 July 2014, 7.

transformation – even ‘disruptive innovation’<sup>3</sup> in concert with other actors in national life.

Very recently, universities in Britain have started facing a financial crunch and have resorted to getting help from the bond market and other private sources to attract funds. In most developing countries, the situation is, however, far more serious: overpopulation along with low spending on health and education has adversely affected the quality and performance of universities. They have been reduced to mere pedagogical places (award of degrees and diplomas for seeking employment) rather than incubators of invention, innovation and skill-based economies.

The study examines the varied challenges that universities are facing in the fast-changing world, especially in the Islamic world and Pakistan. Albeit financial resources remain a fundamental issue, yet more importantly, knowledge-and-skill-based economies need to employ multi-vector strategies. In other words, the Triple Helix strategy, incorporating industry-academia-government, is essential for sustained national development. Notwithstanding the immense challenges, a phased paradigmatic shift could catalyze the centres of learning and research and thereby contribute to national development.

## **Universities in the Islamic World: An Overview**

The Islamic World is hardly monolithic: there are countries with relatively developed educational systems (Malaysia, Turkey, some Central Asian Republics, Iran, and Egypt) along with those which are extremely poor (Somalia, Mali, Afghanistan, Upper Volta, and Chad). Significantly, many states of the Muslim world fall into the category of the ‘Fourth World’ rather than the Third World. The former are characterized by low population, scarce resources, and deficient technical manpower. Pakistan, a Third World developing country, is a nuclear power and possesses adequate technical manpower, relatively better infrastructure and linkages with the West; yet its universities and educational levels leave much to be desired.

The total number of universities in the Muslim world (nearly 674 or so) is less than Japan alone. The appalling fact is that due to fragile and poor economies, most of these Islamic governments are inept, ill-equipped or ill-motivated to improve their educational sectors. Mal-administration, lack of merit and distorted priorities are other factors that contribute to the educational malaise. In the Muslim world, including Pakistan, (and barring few exceptions like Malaysia) politics tends to trump health and educational issues. But the nations that have lifted themselves out of ignorance, poverty, and dependence in the span of a few decades have prioritized education, especially higher education. Presently, acute socio-

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<sup>3</sup> Dr. Athar Osama, “Why education is ready to be disrupted,” *The News, International*, 16 April 2014, 6.

economic turmoil, poverty, poor education and ill-health create a lethal mix.

Education is a *sine qua non* for any sustainable socio-economic development. While it may not engender quick and immediate results, its long term dividends are undisputed. As stated by Harvard scholar, Joseph Nye Jr., a strong sovereign nation needs components of 'hard power' coupled with elements of 'soft power' to transform itself into a 'smart power.'

Ideally, universities should be houses of learning, knowledge, innovation and high-quality research; besides promoting high quality and state-of-the-art education and research methodologies, they should assist in the overall national growth and development through research, innovation, and linkages with industry. Moreover, they ought to be emblems of national pride and the soft power of a nation.<sup>4</sup> These should mark their ranking status<sup>5</sup> to attain global attention.

However, universities do not and cannot operate in a vacuum. They need to collaborate with government and industry in building safe and prosperous communities that contribute to the uplift of the society and nation. Further, universities can act as engines of research, innovation and national growth. Today, the traditional function of merely producing graduates with degrees and diplomas is getting outmoded, if not obsolete. Now, universities are expected to play a pro-active, innovative and robust role in national development by providing skill-based knowledge to youth in diverse fields. This has become more significant in view of the major CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) project signed in April, 2015.

Historically, since the 19th century, the university-industry nexus has existed in multiple forms in the West. While the need has been well understood and greater spending is allocated to R&D, the realization is now slowly but surely growing in the developing world too. More specifically, university-industry-government triangular collaboration is an important part of the paradigm shift for national development. In addition, defence forces as disciplined and well-endowed institutions can form an important component in this triangular tie-up.

## Universities in Pakistan

According to a recent Quackquarelli Symonds (QS) rankings report, none of over 150 Pakistani public and private universities have been able to qualify for inclusion in the top one hundred universities in

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<sup>4</sup> On qualities of a good university read Dr. Hameed Ahmad Khan, *N.I. Adviser, Physics, COMSATS, Chapter 6, "Creation and Dissemination of Knowledge: Role of Universities,"* in *Universities in the Islamic World* (COMSATS: Islamabad, July 2014), 41-54 [Unpublished].

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Noman Ahmed, "Getting university rankings right," *The Express Tribune*, Islamabad, June 16, 2014, 6.

Asia.<sup>6</sup> In the past few years, the Higher Education Commission's (HEC) budget has been considerably axed and funding for universities has been truncated. In fact, poor funding and misplaced priorities have hit the education sector, in general, and universities, in particular. No wonder, illiteracy is directly correlated with militancy and terrorism in many Muslim societies.

Pakistan has a low literacy rate of 30 percent. According to the UN Report for 2012-2013, its ranking is 146 amongst 187 countries.<sup>7</sup> In the FY 2013-14, the national budget for education was 1.9 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 8 per cent of total expenditure.<sup>8</sup> If allocation to research is computed, the figure plummets further below.

Tellingly, Pakistan's education expenditure is the lowest in South Asia. It is less than its South Asian peers, such as, India and Nepal who spend 3.3 and 4.7 percent of their respective GDPs on education.<sup>9</sup> Low allocation is not the only issue, as during 2012-13 the actual expenditure on education was merely 50 percent of the allocated amount. On average, 82 percent of the allocated funds are spent on non-development items.<sup>10</sup>

According to UN requirements, the budget earmarked for education should be a minimum of four percent. Some experts, however, recommend at least 10 per cent allocation for the next decade or so (like Indonesia and Cuba) to free societies from the albatross of illiteracy, poverty, and ill-health, which act as serious impediments to national growth and development.

## Policy Recommendations

In view of the foregoing, some practicable policy guidelines (initially generic and later specific) are offered. Policy recommendations tend to be mostly idealistic in nature but the test lies in realistic conception and faithful implementation. As the saying goes, the "devil lies in the details."

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<sup>6</sup> See "HEC warns against nepotism in varsities." *The Express Tribune*, July 10, 2015, 13.

<sup>7</sup> According to the above report, Bangladesh stands at 145, India 134; and Sri Lanka 97 out of 187. The budget allocation for 2013-14 is 0.8 per cent of GDP and 1.8 percent for health which makes Pakistan as the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the world. See Editorial, "Education—An Ignored Orphan," *Frontier Post*, Peshawar, June 8, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> "Provincial issue: Education is a concern but only on paper," The allocations province wise on education (2014-15) are: KP 27 percent, Punjab 26 percent, Sindh 21 percent and Baluchistan 13 per cent respectively. See *The Express Tribune*, Islamabad, June 23, 2014, 15.

<sup>9</sup> Marc-Andre Franche, "Making education work in Pakistan," *The Express Tribune*, June 26, 2014, 7.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

## **Following the best practices**

It is increasingly realized that for developing countries such as Pakistan, a model based on South Korean economic growth may be relevant. After all, Pakistan, in the heydays of national growth in the 1960s, set a model for economic development which Korea borrowed and adapted effectively. Presently, Korea's Planning Commission uses a composite plan with three components: (i) good quality education; (ii) highly technical institutes in fields of relevance; and (iii) interaction with industry. This plan produces good quality graduates with hands-on experience in high-end technologies. Already introduced to industry and institutes before graduation, they are readily absorbed in industry and businesses.

The University of Science and Technology (UST) in Korea was formed out of a group of public universities and research institutions. Established in 2003 by the Korean government as the nation's graduate school specializing in science and engineering education, it is one of the top science and technology universities. The graduate students must spend one year at one or two of these institutes. Likewise, in advanced countries where higher generation technologies exist in the industry, students take up their final year projects in specific industries/firms. Even otherwise, the industry selects good students from universities and gives them on-the-job-training by giving internships. So, the countries that have high-end industries are already on the road to high-value addition, thus posting higher exports and raising national revenues.

### **University Leadership**

Ideally, the university should be headed by a respected and renowned scholar who is a competent administrator with a committed, visionary, progressive and entrepreneurial outlook. Political appointments, unmerited, are the curse of all institutions, thereby sapping academic vitality. A competent head with solid linkages to industry, technical centres, foreign institutions, the defence establishment and the government is essential in galvanizing the university system. In other words, effective leadership with a motivated, competent staff is an asset for the organizational health and progress of a university.

### **Academic Freedom and Autonomy**

To effectively undertake diverse education-cum-social programmes, a university must commit to the spirit of truth and possess academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Key duties of universities, academics and administrators include fair play, advancing public good and being transparent and accountable.

## **Funding Issues**

With the overall economic crunch hitting nationally and globally, attracting resources has become a crying necessity. Many Western/US universities increasingly expect their Presidents/Rectors/Vice-Chancellors to act as fundraisers too, in addition to their normal duties. The head should be blessed with qualities of head and heart, experience, persuasion and the skills of a progressive entrepreneur. As the government budget progressively shrinks and the HEC budget is axed, sources of funding for Pakistani universities have considerably diminished. Therefore, in order to mobilize and generate funds, the universities have to conjure up bold, creative and innovative methodologies.

Pakistani people are generally quite altruistic by nature. If and when an emergency occurs (natural or man-made), they have little hesitation in donating generously for noble causes in the form of charity and grants. Unfortunately, the cause of education does not elicit a similar response as it does in the West, where the setting up of dedicated chairs, donations, and endowments are common. If education can be turned into a national cause through a national emergency, it would galvanize the university system.

As difficult times in the Islamic world are likely to persist in the foreseeable future (till economies stabilize and political stability returns), the universities will have to think anew and ponder how to become autonomous and self-sustaining in financial matters by generating their own funds. Challenging though it may seem at present, it is not entirely an impossible task.

## **Short-term Measures**

Besides regular teaching, evening classes/training courses/workshops with suitable fees could be offered. These could be in civic education programmes, basic engineering skills, secretarial services, basic computer skills, project designing, proposal writing, resume writing, speech training, building social and conflict resolution skills, interviewing, relaxation and stress-coping techniques, language workshops, and creative writing skills; they could also include workshops for civil service exams, as well as diploma courses for overseas workers like plumbers, carpenters, motor mechanics, masons, telephone operators, electricians and refrigerator repairmen. In addition, drivers, gardeners, and medical attendants could be trained with expertise available from within the universities. The wish list may seem ambitious but the staff earmarked for training can be drawn from the university pool by giving them financial incentives for this extra work.

### **Medium/Long-term Measures**

As is the practice, some Western universities have set up small businesses on campus such as small malls, modest business complexes, conference/lecture halls, properties for leasing and small farms for generation of revenue, etc. The incubator centres in some universities are a welcome step and a good trend setter. Such measures could generate extra income which would make the universities less reliant on their governments. In addition, the latter could establish small hospitals, undertake on-campus cleanliness campaigns, perform guard and on-campus duties by students, own parks/trees – thus saving cost. These could be combined with visiting SOS villages/orphanages/old homes and charity walks on a voluntary basis during vacation.

Granted, the above tasks are not meant to be performed by the universities alone; civil society, government, and the press have to play an equal part. But foreign universities have now developed the concept of evening classes/distance learning and devising special workshops on a range of practical subjects to generate their own funds. Besides generating extra finances, they provide the needed skills/training to those who have been unable to attend regular education in their lifetime. These could be senior citizens (men and women); young people interested in changing careers; retired people and those desirous of keeping themselves meaningfully occupied by learning new skills or contemplating new ventures in life.

### **Hard and Soft Sciences**

Economic growth and technological prowess are important, yet are hardly enough for national development. Science and humanities as subjects are not mutually exclusive, as commonly thought. In raising a balanced, humane and socially vibrant citizenry, hard and liberal sciences are important for building a balanced national psyche. As an example, most Western countries such as the USA, Britain, Germany, France, and Spain have achieved remarkable scientific prowess with a combination of social sciences and liberal arts. Presently, the Vice Chancellor of Oxford University is a woman qualified in International Relations — selected for the first time from the social sciences.

### **Capacity Building: Issues of Retention and Frequent Turnover**

The bane of many universities is in attracting merit and preventing frequent turnover of teaching staff. The causes for the turnover are multiple: unsatisfactory wages and incentives; lack of proper working conditions; improper procedures and inadequate system of rewards and promotions. This results in a politicking culture which has taken a toll in most Pakistani national institutions. It can be minimized by streamlining rules and procedures and offering incentives. 'Brain drain' is an issue, but

this can be controlled by offering financial inducements, adequate research grants, and merit-based placements. The HEC has done a commendable job in the past few years but needs to be improved and sustained in future.

### **Tapping the Youth Bulge**

It is essential to unleash the creative talent of the Pakistani youth. Nearly 90 million youth are below 19 years of age and constitute 54 percent of the population. This huge demographic resource needs to be harnessed, from low-level agriculture to value-added agricultural economy and to a knowledge-based economy through the creation of skilled workers. There is a need to build this human workforce in addition to an infrastructure of roads, buildings, dams, and highways.

### **Harnessing the Pakistani Diaspora**

In this regard, effective and special taskforce committees can be formed for technology transfers and R&D to explore creative and innovative methodologies, maintain linkages with university alumni and tap the Pakistani diaspora. The diaspora should be engaged for technological entrepreneurship by innovative firms with TNCs for technical transfers and R&D. For this, close coordination with foreign embassies, foreign universities and financially well-endowed Pakistanis is important. It is worth noting that diaspora networks have sustained the Taiwanese and Indian computer and IT industries respectively.

### **Community and Civic Engagement**

Universities need to proactively engage with societies at the intellectual and cultural levels and contribute to the development of a conscious citizenry. As part of advancing the public good, universities engage with the public and serve as catalysts in public education and intellectual debates. Through social commentary and critique, universities may shape world views and ideas, social relations, institutions, and practices. Besides, they can design more creative strategies to facilitate proactive, critical and thoughtful engagement with the public. Through learning and scholarship, they can develop an understanding of social and economic problems, and contribute to redressing them. Thus, community engagement/service-learning can connect universities and communities for a mutually beneficial learning-service relationship.

The community or civic engagement encompasses community outreach, student and staff volunteer activities and 'service-learning.' The latter engages students in community activities where both community and students benefit. This reciprocity integrates community service with scholarly activity. It would necessitate a curriculum re-design, revamping teaching methods, learning and assessment and new methodologies for knowledge production and research. For this, specific disciplines may have

to reshape the form and content of community engagement and vice versa.<sup>11</sup>

### Employing 'Disruptive Innovations'

According to a physicist, Muslim nations are not doing much fundamental research, having focused more on experimental sciences. There is a need for value addition, spending time with entrepreneurs, emphasizing work done in laboratories, and adapting new generation technologies such as super-computers, food and bio-technology, and nano-technology. Besides, planning and implementation in policies on university-industry linkages are crucially important, as South Korea has vividly demonstrated.<sup>12</sup> Shifting from low value-added agriculture to a knowledge-based economy, nano-technology, bio-informatics, genomics, effective linkage of university with industry, tapping the technical and professional diaspora, creation of technical parks, and incentives for the private sector to undertake R&D are some of the means to improve the quality of universities.<sup>13</sup> By means of "disruptive research",<sup>14</sup> it would be possible to lift the academic/technical level of universities.<sup>15</sup>

### Good Governance in Universities

The impact of educational investment and allocation of funds should not be considered as a simple linear function of inputs and outputs. This applies equally at the university and national levels. The entire process by which outcomes are positively accrued needs to be addressed: emphasizing good governance viz. performance benchmarks, a system of monitoring and accountability, and a revamping of accounting and budgeting formulae for the allocation of funds. The system should go beyond the criteria of apportionment of funds, student enrollment, results etc.

Performance should be judged at different levels through online systems, like those instituted in Mexico and Colombia in providing regular updates to decision makers.<sup>16</sup> In this regard, statistical and data collection systems have to be continuously updated for providing accurate and

<sup>11</sup> On this see Mr. Ghulam Haider, Adviser, "Service to Society: Role of a University," Chapter 3, in *Universities in Islamic World* (Islamabad: COMSATS, July 2014), 34. [Unpublished].

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Mansoor Baig, N.I., talk at *Adviser's Forum*, COMSATS, June 16, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Atta-ur-Rahman, "Budgeting for a knowledge economy." *The News, International*, May 31, 2014, 7.

<sup>14</sup> Dr. Athar Osama, "Why education is ready to be disrupted," *The News, International*, 16 April 2014, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Atta-ur-Rahman, "Budgeting for a knowledge economy." *The News, International*, May 31, 2014, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Marc-Andre Franche, "Making education work in Pakistan," *The Express Tribune*, June 26, 2014, 7.

updated information to policy planners.<sup>17</sup> Encouragingly, the Pakistan government is thinking upon similar lines in its Vision 2025 Plan, and the Five-Year Plan.<sup>18</sup> Universities have done so well in Singapore, Malaysia, and South Korea and it is a tribute to their visionary leadership and forging of strong linkages between the university and industry. They have been able to create a knowledge-based economy. Through skilled employees and linkages with international companies in electronics, engineering and petrochemicals, there has been a significant rise in their GDP.

### **Tri-lateral Collaboration of Academia, Government and Industry**

It is being increasingly realized that there should be meaningful cooperation between academia, government, and industry. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the university-industry nexus has existed in the West in multiple forms. While the need for this phenomenon has been well understood and greater spending is allocated for R&D in the West, this realization is slowly but surely emerging in the developing world. More specifically, university-industry-government triangular collaboration is an important part of this development process. Defence forces, as disciplined and well-endowed institutions, can also form an important component of the government in the tie-up.

For a meaningful role of universities, the private sector and businesses have to join hands. R&D leads to a knowledge-based economy. It is essential to cater for local conditions through innovation, value additions, industrial competitiveness and diversifications to add to economic growth. Presently, the share of private R&D over public R&D has grown substantially. For example, business R&D accounts for a total of 70 percent in China, 68 percent in the US, 75 percent in Korea, and 70 percent in Germany.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, Pakistan's share of R&D is only 0.64 percent as compared to 0.8 percent of the GDP. Out of the earmarked R&D, 60 percent is spent on defence and the rest is for research. Besides, the R&D activity is inhibited due to lack of tax incentives and paucity in tax grants. Hence, there is a need for business incubation centres, technology parks and legislation for the protection of proprietary rights. Development hubs can be established around industrial zones and universities can then be brought into the loop.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> See Dr. Atta-ur-Rahman, "Building a Knowledge Economy: Imperative for Socio-Economic Development," *IPR Report*, Institute for Policy Reforms, August 2015, Lahore, 15.

For streamlining the process, it is felt that the Triple Helix<sup>20</sup> model could be applied with suitable modifications to local context. The concept assigns a major pro-active role to universities in invention and innovation besides industry and government. The university becomes pivotal as far as collaborative relationships between the three major components viz., the academia, government, and industry are concerned. Resultantly, the innovation policy becomes an outcome of a spiralling relationship rather than a prescription from the government. The three aforesaid entities, in addition to fulfilling traditional functions, also take on the role of one another. In this way, they can assume additional new roles. Institutions at the forefront of taking on such non-traditional roles are expected to become a major potential source of innovation.

The recent version of the Triple Helix system of innovation was enunciated by Ranga and Etzkowitz in 2013.<sup>21</sup> It synthesizes this interaction into an 'innovative system' format which is based on the systems theory as a set of component relationships and functions. According to this approach, the Triple Helix components are categorized as follows: R&D and non-R&D innovators, single-sphere and multi-sphere (hybrid) institutions, and individual and institutional innovators. It revolves around the concept of the Entrepreneurial University which takes a lead role and puts existing knowledge to use proactively in creating new knowledge.<sup>22</sup> It envisages an interactive rather than a linear model of innovation. The government is expected to act as a public entrepreneur and venture capitalist, in addition to performing a regulatory role. As universities develop a web of links, they can combine relevant parts of the intellectual property and jointly exploit them. Thus, innovation is no longer considered as an Intra- or Inter-firm process; rather it is an activity that involves institutions not originally thought like the university-government linkage. Thus the university takes upon itself the 'third mission' of involvement in socio-economic developments, in addition to teaching and research. Some contemporary researchers have also developed a Quad version of the model which highlights the possible role of civil society as an active partner in the process.<sup>23</sup>

The collaborative links help enhance the role of universities in the production of scientific research. Presently the entrepreneurial university is expected to exhibit an enhanced capacity to provide students with new ideas, skills, and entrepreneurial talents. Further, it consciously trains and encourages students to become entrepreneurs and founders of firms

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<sup>20</sup> Portions of this section on Triple Helix model are extensively drawn from an excellent piece by Engineer Syed Tanveer Abbas Jafri, "Universities of the Islamic World: Leveraging the Triple Helix," Chapter 9, 71-84 in *Universities in Islamic World* (Islamabad: COMSATS, July 2014), 34. [Unpublished].

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 74.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

through interventions like the introduction of entrepreneur programmes and the establishment of entrepreneurial cells.<sup>24</sup>

Additionally, entrepreneurial universities are engaged in the process of reaching out and educating organizations through entrepreneurship and incubation programmes like interdisciplinary centres, science parks, academic spin-off incubators, and venture capital firms. Focused entrepreneurial universities have been able to generate technology that has leveraged their profile as a new source of technology generation and transfer. In other words, they no longer merely serve as founts of seminal concepts of existing firms but produce new formats combining research and teaching as a source of new firm formation, especially in advancing science and technology.

### **Role of Academia**

In fact, it is worthwhile for universities to engage focal persons who are well-versed with bureaucratic idiosyncrasies, along with a knowledge of the potentials of various government organizations vis-à-vis innovation and entrepreneurial activities. Such persons, with a public-sector-oriented skill set, can successfully liaise with the government and its organizations.

The establishment of 'units for policy studies' and holding frequent academia-government dialogue and joint events can be useful in moulding government thinking into an innovative and facilitative mode. In fact, interventions aimed at incorporating relevant elements in Science and Technology policy should be at the top of the university agenda.

A Triple Helix Forum may be established in Pakistan and leading universities in the Muslim world along with entrepreneurial cells, with each university building on their peculiarities and strengths. It is noteworthy that universities which have made their mark as successful entrepreneurial universities at the global level are primarily those who have systematically implemented the Triple Helix model.

Another intervention in Pakistan was when a number of universities established ORICs (Office of Research and Innovation Centres) in accordance with guidelines of the Higher Education Commission. In some cases, such units have been able to bring about positive linkages with industry; however, not much meaningful interaction appears to have taken place vis-a-vis the government. ORIC can act as a readily available focal point for Triple Helix-related interventions in Pakistan. Here, some philanthropists and civil society organizations are active in supporting socio-economic causes. Such sectors of civil society can be leveraged by entrepreneurial universities for the provision of Vice Chancellor funds and solicit support for impacting National Science and Technology policies.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 74-75.

## **Role of Government**

In Pakistan, like other Islamic countries, the typical hierarchal bureaucratic structure of government tends to inhibit innovation and non-linear interaction. Unfortunately, the bureaucratic mindset prevails in the industry as well as in academia. As such, any interventions made by the university need to be cognizant of the peculiar mindset of bureaucracy.

In the context of the Triple Helix model, the government refers to all tiers of the government and its agencies. This includes organizations involved in policy making in the scientific domain and entities pertaining to education, R&D, standardization, patents, intellectual property, and innovation. It starts with Science and Technology policy formulation and evolving innovations, and culminates in the patenting of products or protection of intellectual property, in one way or another, connected to the government.

Formulation of a facilitative Science and Technology policy is the pivotal first step with regard to innovation. Such a dimension appears to be lacking in the policies of many developing countries. As such, one of the formidable tasks facing academia is influencing all entities whose input goes into such policy formation. These include R&D, productivity and intellectual property-related organizations in the public sector, as well as, senior bureaucrats, legislators, and ministers. Result-oriented relationships with such organizations require a focused approach by the academia. Interaction with the government may require the ability to navigate through the red tape of egoistic bureaucrats and layers of rent seekers. Relevant communications skills and structured interaction with such organizations may be optimized by the academia through the use of focal persons who possesses a special skill set.

## **Role of Industry<sup>25</sup>**

In Pakistan, the university-industry collaboration has been limited to certain selected sectors, such as bio-technology, pharmaceuticals and, to some extent, engineering. Industrialists and businessmen are typically looking for huge margins and quick returns. Generally, funds allocated to training or R&D by such private organizations are minimal. The trend is to continue 'milking the cash cows' and not be innovative.<sup>26</sup> Such an attitude may help generate revenues for the time being but not in keeping with the long-term vision of the firm.

There is a dire need to sensitize industry with respect to the gains which can be made from a spiralling Triple Helix relationship between industry, government, and academia. Best practices and success stories

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<sup>25</sup> Aziz Ahmed Qureshi, "Role of Universities in the Industrial Development," Chapter 2, 9-16. Adviser, Department of Physics, Universities in the Islamic World (Islamabad: COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, July 2014), [Unpublished].

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

from developed countries may have to be showcased. To start off, innovation-prone sectors within industry and business may be targeted by the academia. Joint projects and incubation activities need to be stepped up by keeping relevant government entities in the loop. Focused showcasing can be helpful in promoting promising products/projects to attract venture capital from industry and government.

The industry/business scenario in Pakistan has undergone a rapid change during the last three decades. The de-nationalization of major industries and units, after nationalization during the regime of ex-prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, is going on and the majority of such units stand privatized with businesses thriving in some of the relevant sectors. For instance, the banking sector has been doing well which was followed by banking reforms. Currently, there are a large number of multinationals active in various sectors ranging from petroleum/energy and telecom to consumer goods. These have contributed a lot in generating progressive business and industrial trends. However, the multinationals have been shy so far in involving Pakistani universities. More often than not, beneficiaries of incubation activities tend to be home countries of multinationals. The business culture stands radically transformed in Pakistan and some of the family dominated conservative industrial groups have become risk takers; the offspring of such businessmen are business savvy, having received education from abroad. They are thus more likely to experiment with new and creative ideas.<sup>27</sup>

Some sectors of the Pakistani economy are less prone to innovation, while others are ready to foster innovation and develop new products. The former category includes mature sectors with low technological content such as commodities, textiles, and autos, whereas the activities of small and medium enterprises and the engineering and telecom sectors fall into the latter category.

In developing countries, local businessmen may be either small or big family-owned enterprises, small/or medium enterprises run by local professionals, with multinational corporations dominating the more lucrative sectors. However, on the whole, one has to bear with opportunistic and quick return-seeking industrial and business entities. Such entities are not much interested in R&D, product improvement or innovation and may be indifferent towards innovation and content, with current profits being made on standardized products. On the other hand, multinationals are more likely to outsource their research projects or innovative interventions to academia in their countries of origin generally in the West. Innovative Pakistani universities can start a meaningful dialogue with such entities with a view to retaining such projects and activities at home.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

The above scenario demands a multi-pronged approach by the academia. This may have to be customized on a sectoral/organizational basis. It may be worthwhile, initially, to target the innovation-prone sectors like ICT and FMCG.<sup>28</sup> The academia may also have to come up with interventions aimed at creating awareness through training programmes for local businessman and exposure of local creativity and expertise to MNCs operating in the country.

Incubation activities by Pakistani and Islamic universities will have to be enhanced to a level whereby the products are incubated to a degree that immediate commercialization is visible. That means that innovation-shy industries will be willing to take some risks. The academia will also have to actively build a consensus with industry and government on all relevant issues and policies.

## **Conclusion**

The concept of a modern university is the ability to connect with academia, industry, and government for national growth and development. In Pakistan, like other developing countries there is negligible interaction among the trio: university, industry, and government. Often they work in a segmented fashion while protecting their turfs and boundaries. This marks an inventive and innovative spirit and hence very few can be qualified as 'entrepreneurial universities.' Pakistani and universities in other Islamic countries need to focus on the benefits of employing a modified version of the Triple Helix concept. The relationship has been highlighted as technology transfer, collaboration and conflict moderation, collaborative leadership, and partial substitution of roles and networking.

The overall function of the Triple Helix system of knowledge is realized through a set of activities in knowledge, consensus and innovation spaces. Organizations can utilize this explicit framework for a systematic leveraging of interaction between actors. This also helps develop circulation of knowledge flows within and among spaces, thereby assisting and identifying existing gaps or blockages. Lately, the concept of "disruptive innovation" is also in vogue to jumpstart national growth and development. A consolidation of space and increasing non-linear interaction between different actors can positively impact the theory and practice of innovation. In addition, the model highlights the important additional roles and activities of an aspiring university. These include activities aimed at impacting relevant policy, engaging focal persons to reach out to government entities, exploring venture capital avenues, supporting incubation activities, involving civil society, engaging in

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<sup>28</sup> Syed Tanveer Abbas Jafri, "Universities of the Islamic World: Leveraging the Triple Helix," Chapter 9, 71-84 in *Universities in Islamic World* (Islamabad: COMSATS, July 2014), 34. [Unpublished].

dialogue with industry, and attempting to reach consensus among stakeholders.

Needless to say, an ill-educated nation can become a liability and turn into a haven for socio-economic and politico-cultural pathologies. The current malaise of militancy and terrorism in Pakistan and the Islamic World is directly correlated with the abysmal state of education in schools, colleges, and universities. This, of course, is allied with shoddy governance and accountability. Here it would be apt to honour the late Dr. Mahbubul Haq's ardent wish before his demise that allocation to social services (education and health) in Pakistan be increased to 10 percent of the GDP.<sup>29</sup> If this is done, it would help improve national 'soft power'<sup>30</sup> along with 'hard power' in which universities could act as agents of change. In view of the ongoing major CPEC project and other future developmental endeavours in Pakistan, the need for tripartite university-industry-business linkages is all the more compelling: the lessons learnt from one venture could be suitably modified and adapted to others in national development.

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<sup>29</sup> See U.A. Malik, "Remembering Mahbubul Haque and his work," *The Express Tribune*, 19 July 2014.

<sup>30</sup> On the role of 'soft power' read Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, "Promoting Pakistan's Soft Power: Challenges and Opportunities," "Building Multi-Dimensional Security in the Islamic Countries," 6th Think Tanks Forum of The Islamic Countries, Istanbul, Turkey, held at Serena Hotel, Islamabad, 6-8 March 2015.

## CHANGING DYNAMICS OF THE WORLD ORDER: CASE-STUDY OF RUSSIA'S POWER PLAY IN UKRAINE AND SYRIA

Arshad Mahmood\*

### Abstract

*No world order has survived forever. Historically change has always been a perpetual feature of international system. Despite the fact that the Americans have been dominating international politics for the past three decades, there has also been a parallel debate about the future of their supremacy and the sustainability of unipolar world order. Though, no state has surpassed the US' relative economic and military strength in the contemporary era, but the prevailing geostrategic environment is indicative of apparent changes in the global political dynamics. The prevalent global political and security situation, especially Russia's power play in Ukraine and Syria suggests: (1) resurgence of Russia as a key actor in international politics; (2) re-distribution of power in international system; and, (3) a shift in the existing world order away from unipolarity. It might be too early to predict as to what could be the nature of emerging world order, but the above three assumptions do merit an academic inquiry.*

**Key Words:** World Order, unipolarity, multipolarity, resurgence, supremacy, power play, security

### Introduction

America's time as a dominant player in world politics started with its entry in the First World War in 1917. However, during the Cold War, it shared global dominance with the former Soviet Union in a bipolar world structure. The demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 placed the US in the driving seat in the new unipolar world order. Despite American dominance for the past three decades, there has also been a parallel debate amongst scholars of international relations about the future of the US in the prevalent anarchic world order. Many claims that US rule will continue for an indefinite period. Few go to the extent of saying that even

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the 21<sup>st</sup> century belongs to America. Some analysts regard 1991 as the possible date for the beginning of the American century when it became the only nation able to project military power on a global scale.<sup>1</sup>

Political philosophers from the Liberal school of thought claim that the American century is not yet over. Conversely, pundits of the Realist paradigm indicate visible signs of an American decline. Where Ian Bremmer pens down as many as five reasons for the continuity of Washington's rule,<sup>2</sup> Noam Chomsky argues with firm conviction that US power has been diminishing.<sup>3</sup> There is yet a third opinion group, led by Fareed Zakaria, which claims that the US may not be losing its absolute power, but at the same time, a number of other powers are emerging on the political globe.<sup>4</sup>

According to David Singer, a state's power is determined by its capabilities and intentions. The US dominance for three decades has been marked by its supremacy in military and economic capabilities, besides its will (intentions) to rule the world order. Though no state has surpassed the United States' relative economic and military strength during this era, political analysts have been focusing their discussion on three powers as potential threats to US dominance. Since European countries and China either lack capabilities or will, they pose no serious threat to the US. However, Russia is the only country which has shown its eagerness to reclaim its place in international politics while demonstrating its power in Ukraine and Syria in the recent past.

Ever since the dramatic events between 1989 and 1991, the Republic of Russia, considering itself as the legal heir of the former Soviet Union, has been in search of its lost identity and a renewed role in the world arena. While many, representing the nationalist school of thought, have been arguing that Russia should remain associated with its historic legacy of Marxism-Leninism; others, from the liberal school, believe that the republic should forget its past and open a new chapter of cooperation with the West. There is, however, a third viewpoint prevailing in the Russian elite which suggests adopting a middle course of action, i.e. cooperating with the West while not compromising on Russia's imperial legacy. A critical analysis of Russia's foreign policy in the post-Cold War era suggests that their leadership has been following a consistent policy of Russia's assertiveness on the world stage. Struggling to recover from the breakup of the Soviet Union, their elite developed a deep-seated desire to re-emerge as a "Great Power."

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Is the American Century Over* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2015), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ian Bremmer, "These are five reasons why the US remains the world's only superpower," *Time*, May 28, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Noam Chomsky, "Losing the world: American decline in perspective, Part-1," *The Guardian*, February 14, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Fareed Zakaria, "The Future of American Power," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008: 42-43.

An assessment of the Russian post-Cold War character from its military actions in Chechnya (1996) and Georgia (2008) to the recent power play in Ukraine and Syria, suggests that Russia has never accepted the unipolar world order and its relegation to the status of an ordinary power. Since the recent past, the Republic of Russia has been on the forefront of global *realpolitik*, gaining the attention of all international powerbrokers. Russia's intervention in Ukrainian domestic politics, especially the episode of the annexation of Crimea, brought the US and the West to a crossroads of their foreign policies. Before the global actors could formulate a befitting response to the Ukrainian crisis, Russia started demonstrating its muscle in the Syrian theatre.

The prevalent global political and security situation, especially the ongoing situation in Ukraine and Syria, suggests three probabilities: (1) resurgence of Russia as a key actor in international politics; (2) redistribution of power in the international system; and, (3) a shift in the existing world order away from unipolarity towards multipolarity. It might be too early to predict as to what could be the nature of the emerging world order, but the above three assumptions do merit an academic inquiry. This paper is an attempt to examine this unfolding trend.

Hypothesizing that Russia's power play in Ukraine and Syria is indicative of a global power shift away from unipolarity, the following questions agitate the researchers' mind: Is the US dream of global dominance during the 21<sup>st</sup> century over? Does the unipolar moment of the world order cease to exist with military intervention and power play of a resurgent Russia in Ukraine and Syria? What is the role of Russia in the emerging trends of the global political canvas? What would be the nature of the new international order and what would be the place of Russia in the new system? And, will the new global power structure ensure international peace and stability?

## **Inconsistent Behaviour of Global Architecture**

The world system has always been subjected to perpetual change. Henry Kissinger was not wrong in saying that "no truly global 'world order' has ever existed."<sup>5</sup> Almost all pundits of international politics – including Hans Morgenthau and Friedrich Kratochwil – share a common view, namely that the Peace Treaty of Westphalia gave birth to the modern state system.<sup>6</sup> They argue that as such, there existed no such world system in the pre-Westphalian era. As the world was organized into city-states,

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<sup>5</sup> Henry Kissinger, *World Order: Reflection on the Character of Nations and the Course of History* (New York, Penguin Group, 2014). 2.

<sup>6</sup> H. Morgenthau *Politics Among Nations*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1967), 299, and F. Kratochwil, "Of Systems, Boundaries and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System," *World Politics* 34no 1 (1986): 27-52.

relations within political units were controlled by various empires such as those led by the Persians, Romans, Arabs, Chinese, Moguls, Mayans, Aztecs etc. With no or a vague concept of defined boundaries and sovereignty, there prevailed neither anarchy nor hierarchy in the international system. It could best be described as an 'anarchic' world order. Furthermore, in the absence of any global political actor and tussle for tilting the balance of power in their favour, there existed non-polarity in the global architecture. Different forms of supranational religious clergies – especially the Catholic Church in Medieval Europe – and a complex mosaic of subnational and transnational entities with independent military capabilities, defined the primitive international composition.

Certain historians, such as Martin Wight, identify the commencement of an evolutionary process in the global political architecture with the Peace Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. It just materialized as a result of massive human suffering in Europe and especially the failure of Church reforms in late 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> The Peace of Westphalia (1648), besides introducing the concept of sovereignty to a newly emerged state system, also triggered a political tussle amongst states to play a leading role in world politics. Since no political actor was in a position to play a decisive role on the basis of its military and economic capabilities, power remained diffused.

Modern day theorists recall the period from 1648 to 1945 as an era of multipolarity – even, some historians, like Thomas M. Magstadt, regard it as a “classical multipolar system” – where the classical balance of power prevailed in Europe. In the multipolar world order, the Great Powers status was enjoyed by Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia (later Germany), Austria-Hungry, Spain, and Sweden.<sup>8</sup>

The era of multipolarity lasted for about three centuries. The end of World War II also marked the end of European, especially Great Britain's, dominance in world affairs. Due to the failure of war-torn European powers in sustaining the status quo, two new players – the US and the USSR – emerged in the international system. The next half of the century remained subjected to a bipolar world order with its basic character of a Cold War between the two superpowers.

This bipolarity in the international system was sustained for about half a century before the world witnessed the demise of the world's largest Communist empire. Fukuyama was not content with just being a witness to the end of the Cold War and the commencement of the unipolar moment; rather he termed it as the 'end of history': that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and universalization of Western liberal

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<sup>7</sup> M. Wight, “The Origins of Our States-System: Chronological Limits,” in H. Bull (ed.), *Systems of States*, (Leicester, Leicester University Press). 129-152.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas M. Magstadt, *Understanding Politics: Ideas, Institutions and Issues* Belmont, (Belmont, Cengage Learning, 2013). 478.

democracy as the final form of human government.<sup>9</sup> Whether the empirical evidence of the post-Cold War era confirmed his hypothesis or not, the one thing, which is clear, is that the unipolar moment has since been marked with US supremacy in all spheres of global politics.

### **Sustainability of Prevalent Unipolarity**

The international scholarly community, besides discussing which kind of system is comparatively beneficial for global peace and the system's stability, has also been involved in a scholarly debate on the sustainability of American rule. The main questions agitating the minds of political thinkers include the following: firstly, for how long shall American supremacy in international order prevail; and, secondly, is American supremacy declining?

Academics from both the Realist and Liberal schools of thought share different opinions. Josef Joffe and William C. Wohlforth argue that US dominance is not declining. Joffe declares the US as the default power because there is nobody else with the requisite power and purpose.<sup>10</sup> Whereas, for Wohlforth, American supremacy would sustain for decades as it has no rival in any critical dimension of power<sup>11</sup> and enjoys a much larger margin of superiority over other states.

A number of critics, like Christopher Layne and Richard Haas, claim that the US is losing its power in world politics. Layne considers the US claim of its hegemonic exceptionalism as weak and argues that hegemony cannot endure indefinitely.<sup>12</sup> Haas, on the other hand, predicts that "the international politics of the twenty-first century would be dominated by dozens of actors possessing and exercising various kinds of powers."<sup>13</sup>

There is yet a third school of thought, which proclaims a relative decline in US supremacy. Fareed Zakaria contends that today we are passing through yet another power shift of the modern era – "the rise of the rest" – and entering into a post-American world.<sup>14</sup> Joseph Nye also shares a similar opinion but draws a different analogy of power

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<sup>9</sup> Frances Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*. (Simon and Schuster, 2006), 31.

<sup>10</sup> Josef Joffe, "The Default Power: The False Prophecy of American's Decline," *Foreign Affairs*, Sept/Oct 2009 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2009-08-17/default-power>.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, "American Primacy in Perspective," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2002. 23.

<sup>12</sup> Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion Revisited," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Fall 2000). 37.

<sup>13</sup> Richard N. Haas, "The Age of Non-polarity: What Will Follow U.S. Dominance" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2008-05-03/age-nonpolarity>.

<sup>14</sup> Fareed Zakaria, "The Future of American Power," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2008, 42-43.

distribution in the world. He maintains that the distribution pattern of power in the world resembles a “three-dimensional chess game.” At the top of the chessboard, the US maintains unipolarity by virtue of its military power. In the middle, there is multipolarity in economic power among the US, China, Japan, Europe and other emerging nations. Finally, at the bottom of the chessboard, power is widely diffused among various non-state actors, presenting no sense of polarity or other such clichés.<sup>15</sup>

## The Potential Challengers

The other query stirring the mind of the researchers is regarding the potential contenders for power in the post-American era. David Singer claims that a state’s threat perception constitutes both its estimated capabilities and estimated intentions. He expresses this by establishing a quasi-mathematical relationship: “Threat Perception=Estimated Capability X Estimated Intent.”<sup>16</sup> Some also present the equation as Threat Perception = Estimated Capabilities + Estimated Intent. The US global dominance for three decades clearly demonstrates US intentions to rule the world, besides its supremacy in military and economic capabilities. The other contenders lack in either capabilities or intent.

European states like the UK, France, and Germany, are perceived as being neither capable nor willing to defy the US in the near future. To many scholars China, by virtue of its unprecedented economic rise, is capable of posing a threat to the US political monopoly; but it has not given any strategic signals to disturb the global status quo. The Chinese leadership, rather, has long been harping on the theme of its “harmonious and peaceful rise.”<sup>17</sup> Contrary to both the above examples, Russia is the only country, which has shown its eagerness to reclaim its lost status in international politics. There is, however, a big question mark on Russia’s capability to alter the world order. The recent developments in Ukraine and Syria in which Russia has expounded its military might have forced world leaders and analysts to review their conjectures about Russia.

## Recent Developments and Russia’s Power Play

Historically, Russia has fought many wars with Europe and remained an archrival of the US in a bipolar world order. The Napoleonic Wars, the two World Wars, and the Cold War all dealt, at least in part, with the status of Russia and its relationship with rest of Europe.<sup>18</sup> By virtue of

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<sup>15</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Is the American Century Over* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 2015), 4.

<sup>16</sup> David Singer, “Threat-perception and armament-tension dilemma,” *The Journal of Conflict*, March 1958; 2, 1; ABI/INFORM Global. 94.

<sup>17</sup> Sujian Guo et al (ed), *“Harmonious World” and the new China foreign policy* (New York, Lexington Books, 2008), 1.

<sup>18</sup> George Friedman, *The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (London, Allison & Busby, 2010), 101.

its huge size and possession of immense natural resources, Russia has always been a lucrative target of other powers for military adventures. Empirical evidence suggests that invaders were either defeated by Russia or were so exhausted from fighting them that someone else defeated them.<sup>19</sup>

The disintegration of the Soviet Union was a great shock for Russia as it had been an equal partner of the US in power sharing during the bipolar world order. Most analysts, especially in the West, considering Russia out of the power-game, argued that it was left with no role to play in future world politics. The recent developments in Ukraine and Syria have come as a setback to their hypothesis, where Russia, demonstrating its political resurgence, has directly challenged US supremacy in regional and international decision-making. An analysis of Russian involvement in both Ukraine and Syria is instructive in identifying visible changes to the existing unipolar world order.

## **The Case-Study of Ukraine**

### **Historical perspective**

Historically, Ukraine had to struggle for about three centuries to become an independent country. After remaining part of many dynasties, Ukraine fought its War of Independence (1917-1921), resulting in the establishment of a Ukrainian republic which later joined the Soviet Union. The USSR had always kept Ukraine within its geopolitical ambit because of its extremely high wheat production, a transit route for Russian gas supply line to Europe, and the presence of the headquarters of Russian Black Sea Fleet in the Ukrainian city of Sevastopol. In 1953, Nikita Khrushchev came into power. He belonged to a small village close to the Ukrainian border and in order to alleviate Ukraine's sufferings, he gifted Crimea to Ukraine. Khrushchev, however, never visualized the collapse of the Soviet Union and Ukraine becoming an independent country.

### **Recent crisis**

The root cause of the prevailing crisis can be traced back to November 2013, when Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich refused to sign a free-trade agreement with the EU under pressure from Moscow. It resulted in violent countrywide demonstrations. This was followed by the impeachment of the president by the Parliament on February 22, 2014, and the installation of an interim government. The dethroned president, in order to avoid his arrest, escaped and appeared in a press conference in southern Russia on February 28, 2014. This, in fact, marked the beginning of Russia's intervention in Ukraine. The next day, Russia's parliament passed a resolution regarding deployment of Russian forces in Ukraine.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

This was succeeded by the Russian army's annexation of the Crimean Peninsula.

On March 16, 2014, Russia held a referendum in Crimea over its fate. Over ninety-seven percent Crimean citizens voted in favour of joining Russia. Analyzing Russia's strident claim of Crimea's "right of return" and the methodology adopted in organizing the referendum, one can simply argue – in a Realist paradigm – that in the international arena, principles are decided by power.

The return of Crimea, though, went unchallenged as the international community remained divided on initiating any response against Russia. Yet the pro-Western Ukrainian regime has remained a constant source of concern for Moscow. Some international relations scholars, like Mearsheimer, have argued that the Kremlin considered the prospect of losing Ukraine to the West a disastrous external security threat, especially if Ukraine were offered NATO membership.<sup>20</sup> This prompted Putin to support the rebel groups in Eastern Ukraine which is – by all definitions – the direct military commitment of Russia in neighbouring Ukraine.

Although Putin has partially succeeded in achieving his long-term objectives in Ukraine and the establishment of a pro-Russian government, the turmoil in Eastern Europe still haunts policymakers in the US.

## **The Case Study of Syria**

The prevailing security situation in Syria and Iraq has also been one of the contributing factors in altering the global power-sharing equation. Besides proving to be a bloody battlefield of Russian and US-led proxies, the case-study of the two countries is also a classical example of convergence and divergence of great powers' interests, showing their conflicts and cooperation in the same theatre of war. An analysis of the Syrian crisis is vital in understanding the changing dynamics of the prevailing geopolitical environment.

### **Genesis of the crisis and rise of ISIS**

The current grim situation in Syria is thought to be the by-product of the Arab Spring, but its roots can be traced back to the nineteenth century when the whole of the Middle East was part of either the British or French colonial empires. Syria houses a population that is 74 percent Sunni, 16 per cent Shiite – also called Alawites – and 10 percent Christian. It has been ruled by the Alawites since the 1920s when Syria became a French colony after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. There were, however, no sectarian issues in the country, especially during Hafez al-Assad's regime from 1970 to 2000. His son and the present incumbent Bashar al-

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<sup>20</sup> Robert Person, "Here's why Putin wants to topple Ukraine's government, not to engineer a frozen conflict," *The Washington Post*, October 6, 2015.

Assad, conversely, lost the strategic balance by turning the Sunni population against his regime.

The demography of Syria's next-door neighbour, Iraq, is quite the opposite, where Shiite Muslims are in majority with 60-65 percent, against Sunni Muslims with 30-35 percent, of the total population. Historically, the Shiites were denied their right to govern as they opposed the British occupation of Iraq during the First World War, and the reins of power were delegated to the minority Sunni Arabs, by the Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill. Any protest against the minority's rule in Iraq has been brutally suppressed. During Saddam's regime alone, half a million Shiites perished. The minority rule in Iraq ended with Saddam's ouster in 2003.

The present scenario in the Middle East, though, emerged from the Arab-Spring - ignited in Tunisia in 2011 as a political movement to overthrow authoritarian regimes - but its present picture is purely sectarian, which emerged due to the strategic linkage of the Arab-Spring with Sunni resistance movements.

Interestingly, the White House has been playing quite an opposing role in Iraq and Syria. While it has been supporting Sunni fighters against the Syrian Shiite regime, simultaneously it has also been supporting the Iraqi Shiite government in crushing Sunni militants. One thing which US analysts missed out was the strategic linkage of opposition Sunni groups both in Syria and Iraq fighting against their regimes. This strategic linkage of all interest groups provided an opportunity to radical groups to carve out ISIS and make the region a cockpit for conflicts.

### **Present situation**

From the beginning of the revolt against President Assad in 2011, Syria has been a battleground for: (1) the US-led proxy, including Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Qatar and even Israel - all supporting the Syrian Sunni rebels to topple Assad; and, (2) the Sino-Russian led proxy constituting Iran and the states of Iraq and Syria - supporting Bashar al-Assad against the Sunni fighters.

The prevailing situation in Syria is even worse as allies - with different strategic objectives - lack a consensus on one common enemy to fight. The United States' biggest challenge is to build a coalition to fight against al-Assad, though not ISIS. US ally, Turkey, stands against al-Assad and ISIS, but in fact, wants to sort out the Kurds.<sup>21</sup> Israel is threatened by Iran. Similarly, for Saudi Arabia - entangled with enemies on its periphery - a change of Assad's regime seems to be the last priority.

The footprints of Russian ground forces in Syria have been quite visible since August 2015, followed by rapid deployment of its Air Defence assets. As per the details, Putin and al-Assad signed an agreement of

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<sup>21</sup> Luay Al Khateeb and Abbas Kadhim, "How to work with Russia in Syria," *Foreign Affairs*, October 18, 2015.

military alliance between Moscow and Damascus in August 2015, granting a large degree of operational freedom to Russian forces in Syria.<sup>22</sup> On September 30, 2015, Russia also started its air strikes against ISIS.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the situation in Syria is at an all-time low. With more than half of its population displaced and 300,000 people dead, the civil war in Syria is the greatest catastrophe of our time.<sup>24</sup> The failed US foreign policy in Syria has provided gaps to Russia to intervene.

## Analyzing the Indicators of Change

The Russian intervention in Ukraine's domestic politics and in Syria has extensive implications for the global political and security situation. The Structural or Neorealist Theory of International Relations presumes that in the anarchic international system, the distribution of power is measured by the number of great powers within the system. Furthermore, states act according to the logic of self-help, meaning they seek their own interest and will not subordinate their interests to those of other states. Almost all the proponents of neorealism, including Waltz and Mearsheimer, believe that states are power seekers looking to secure their vital security interests.

Russian power play in both Ukraine and Syria has multiple dimensions, once analyzed in the Neorealist paradigm. The same are discussed in the next section.

## Revival of Russian Imperialism

Ever since the collapse of Kremlin's Empire, Russians have been in search of their lost identity and a renewed role in the international community. Despite losing the "Great Power" status – replaced by the reference to Russia as "one of the leading centres of the contemporary world" and repeated mention of a "new Russia"<sup>25</sup> – the notion of retrieving its position has remained an important goal of Russia's foreign policy. Russian elite perception – more specifically Putin's foreign policy philosophy of a resurgent Russia – promotes a global power shift and the emergence of a multipolar world, with Russia as one of the independent poles.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ronald Oliphant and Louisa Loveluck, "Russian forces to stay in Syria 'indefinitely' under deal with Assad," *The Telegraph*, January 15, 2016.

<sup>23</sup> Kyle Orton and James Snell, "In Syria, Russia and Iran reap the harvest of Obama's failed foreign policy," *National Review*, October 1, 2015, <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/424873/syria-russia-and-iran-reap-harvest-obamas-failed-foreign-policy-kyle-orton-james>.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, (Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 13.

<sup>26</sup> Dr Rémi Piet and Professor Roger E Kane eds., *Shifting Priorities in Russia's Foreign and Security Policy* (Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2014), 183.

Russia's first show of force after the demise of the Communist block was in Chechnya, in 1994 and 1999. The second major demonstration of their muscle was in 2008, with its military adventure in Georgia. In all three wars, Russia successfully achieved its strategic objectives. However, for the Western leadership – entangled in a world containing rogue states seeking nuclear weapons, rapidly growing China, and Al-Qaeda – Russia did not figure as a major threat.<sup>27</sup>

Recent developments in the neighbourhood of Russia i.e. Ukraine and the Middle East – more specifically in Syria, Iran and Iraq – suggest that Moscow is determined to tilt the global centre of gravity in its favour. With China and Iran by its side, Russia has successfully managed to achieve its strategic foreign-policy goal of re-emerging as a key player in world politics. Most importantly, with Beijing's partnership, Moscow views itself as a counterweight to Washington as the centre of global power and feels able to promote itself as a global "Great Power," one of the winners in the post-American world.<sup>28</sup>

### **Fault Lines in the US Myth of Exceptionalism**

The American leadership, bureaucracy and a large segment of academia have always propagated the theme of American exceptionalism. The concept presumes that America's values, political system, and history are unique and worthy of universal admiration.<sup>29</sup> Since long, the US elite has been contextualizing various strands of exceptionalism in the formulation and implementation of their foreign policy. The grim pictures of Ukraine and Syria have broken the US myth of exceptionalism. The phenomenon is worth analyzing from the three following perspectives:

Firstly, since 1991, the US has been investing heavily – nearly \$5 billion<sup>30</sup> – in Ukraine in, what they call, building democratic skills and institutions. It is presumed that the US, in February 2014, had supported a coup in Ukraine against the democratically elected government of President Viktor Yanukovich. President Obama, during an interview with CNN's Fareed Zakaria, acknowledged that Washington had "brokered a deal to transition power in Ukraine," thus admitting to a high level of

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<sup>27</sup> Jeffrey Mankoff, *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, (Lanham, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 17.

<sup>28</sup> Dr Rémi Piet and Professor Roger E. Kane, eds., *Shifting Priorities in Russia's Foreign and Security Policy* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2014), 184.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen M Walt, "The Myth of American Exceptionalism," *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011.

<sup>30</sup> "Brokering power: US role in Ukraine coup hard to overlook," *RT: Question more*, February 19, 2015, <<https://www.rt.com/news/233439-us-meddling-ukraine-crisis/>> (accessed October 31, 2015)

democratic impropriety.<sup>31</sup> The rest is what the world has been witnessing since then.

The flawed US foreign policy in Ukraine has resulted in: (1) exposing the American myth of exceptionalism; (2) divulging cracks in their decision-making machinery; (3) proving the historic empirical evidences of US involvement in other nations' affairs; (4) driving the whole Eastern European region into a security crisis; and (5) failure to anticipate Russia's reaction and providing a justification to Putin to intervene in the name of securing its national interests.

Secondly, in the Syrian crisis, the US failed miserably on two accounts: in its long term "anticipatory intelligence" and policy failure. According to James Clipper, the Director of US national intelligence, analysts in the US had been reporting the emergence of ISIS and its "prowess and capabilities", but the White House administration failed to predict ISIS's will to fight. US policy in the Middle East can also be gauged from its outcome, as the whole region has become a hub of crises rather than stability.

Furthermore, the Obama administration seems to have no clear-cut regional objectives. In Iraq, the US has been supporting the Iraqi government to crush Sunni rebels, whereas in Syria it has been aiding Sunni rebels in their fight against the Syrian State. Just quoting one example, for fighting against ISIS in Iraq, the US provides airstrikes to the ground forces of Qassem Suleimani, the commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corp's Quds Force (IRGC-QF). It may be worth mentioning that Suleimani is the Iranian General and mastermind who reshaped the Syrian war by forging an Iranian-Russian alliance in support of Assad.<sup>32</sup> On the other side of the border in Iraq, while conducting bombings against ISIS and Al-Qaeda, the US has assured Iran that Assad would not be targeted. In short, Assad enjoys the US security guarantee. Further, the US is working in tandem, not only with forces sympathetic to Iran but with forces actively funded and directed from Tehran.<sup>33</sup> In this pandemonium, rebels in both the countries are the only beneficiaries irrespective of their affiliation i.e. ISIS, Al-Qaeda or local militant groups.

Thirdly, US foreign policy toward Russia has also not been consistent since the end of the Cold War. The analysis of a riveting narrative about Russo-US relations since the Soviet collapse, through the

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<sup>31</sup> "Obama openly admits 'brokering power transition' in Ukraine," *RT*, February 1, 2015, <<https://www.rt.com/op-edge/228379-obama-power-transition-ukraine/>>, (accessed October 31, 2015).

<sup>32</sup> Laila Bassam and Tom Perry, "How Iranian general plotted out Syrian assault in Moscow," *REUTERS*, October 6, 2015.

<sup>33</sup> Kyle Orton and James Snell, "In Syria, Russia and Iran reap the harvest of Obama's failed foreign policy," *National Review*, October 1, 2015, <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/424873/syria-russia-and-iran-reap-harvest-obamas-failed-foreign-policy-kyle-orton-james>.

Ukraine crisis, exposes many challenges in their bilateral ties. American presidents have repeatedly attempted to build a strong partnership with Russia on two accounts: (1) to shed the Cold War legacy of deep mistrust; and, (2) to acknowledge the significance of Russia because of its nuclear arsenal, its strategic location bordering Europe and Asia, and its ability to support or thwart American interests.

In the 1990s, Bush, following Nixonian Realism, encouraged Russia's integration into the West as he was preoccupied with sustaining global stability.<sup>34</sup> Bill Clinton, inspired by Wilsonian Realism – which signifies a commitment to Wilson's so-called liberal internationalist vision, albeit with coercive 'neo-imperialist' unilateral teeth<sup>35</sup> – assumed that a democratic regime change in Russia would lead to a new strategic partnership, allowing for lower US defence budgets.<sup>36</sup> When George W. Bush came to power, Russia initially never figured in the US policy. The tragic incidents of 9/11, however, brought them both close to each other but it proved to be only a short honeymoon, as a series of conflicting issues and different strategic interests marred their relations. Ever since Obama came into power, the US started following an over-ambitious Russian agenda of developing a pragmatic partnership on common issues like arms control, energy security, and terrorism.

Historic accounts of the past three decades reveal that none of the above policies proved successful. The major hindrance in their interstate relations remains to be the trust deficit, which could not be overcome by any of the leaders.

Angela Stent, an adviser on Russia under Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, argues in her book *Limits of Partnership* that the heart of the problem is the asymmetry in the two countries' economic and military strength, and the distance between their views of international realities; she states that their relationship will remain a limited and troubled one as long as these obstacles are left in place.<sup>37</sup>

## **Decline in US Relative Power**

Since the end of World War I, the US has emerged as the most dominant player in geopolitics. During World War II and the Cold War, the US maintained its supremacy. And, with the death of Communism in 1991, it has been enjoying the status of a sole superpower.

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<sup>34</sup> P. Rutland and G. Dubinsky, "US foreign policy in Russia." in *US Foreign Policy*, eds. M. Cox, and D. Stokes, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008),259.

<sup>35</sup> John M. Hobson, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 258.

<sup>36</sup> A.E. Stent, "America and Russia: Paradoxes of Partnership." in *Russia's Engagement with the West: Transformation and Integration in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. A. Motyl, et.al., (Armonk, N.Y. : M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 263.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Legvold, "Review of, 'The Limits of Partnership: U.S.-Russian Relations in the Twenty-first Century'." *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2014.

In the post-Cold War era, US superiority has seen a consistent downfall. Soon after the US emerged victorious in the Gulf War (1990-91), its global position began losing strength. The subsequent two wars – Afghanistan, 2001 and Iraq, 2003 – also served as catalysts to the process. Obama, nonetheless, could partially succeed in damage-control. His regime has become a period of US global retrenchment, with more attention paid to the home base.<sup>38</sup>

Historically, the most common reason for huge defence spending by any great power has always been to influence the foreign policy behaviour of other nations. The US, though, still possesses the world's largest economy and most powerful military, but is it capable of moulding other states' behaviour? Certainly not, it cannot wage wars either against Russia over Ukraine or against China in the South China Sea. Even Iran and North Korea have well calculated that the US is not in a position to roll back their nuclear programme. As Chairman Mao long ago had characterized America as a "paper tiger,"<sup>39</sup> the prevailing global scenario, especially the Ukrainian and Syrian crises, prove worthy of Mao's assessment.

## Rise of the Rest

The history of world politics is quite fluid in nature. Many international actors of one era figure nowhere in a succeeding world order. The great powers of post-Westphalian times – Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany – lost their status in the bipolar world. Similarly, the USSR ceased to exist in the prevailing unipolar international order.

The relative increase and decrease in the states' positions on the global canvas is a natural phenomenon. The post-Cold War accounts of global history reveal that a number of new actors have emerged in the world theatre. Notwithstanding the United States' absolute superiority in military and economic strength, the growth of the rest has created a shift in the global unipolarity. This rise merits evaluation from two dimensions, military and economic.

The military power of a country can best be judged from its military expenditures. A comparison of the defence budgets of selected international actors can help in assessing the growing military culture in states and their relative positions in the international order.

In 1990, the US spent approximately \$500 billion, whereas its spending in 2014 was recorded at over \$600 billion. Though its current military budget is the world's largest (over 33 percent of the world total), yet on a comparative basis, the US has not shown much progress as

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<sup>38</sup> Dmitri Trenin, *The Ukraine Crisis and the Return of Great Power Rivalry* (Moscow, Carnegie, 2014), 12.

<sup>39</sup> Jing Li, *China's America: The Chinese View the United States, 1999-2000* (New York, University of New York, 2011), 119.

compared to other nations. US military spending in 2014 showed an increase of 20 percent as compared to the pre-Cold War period, whereas other nations have made huge investments in their military spending. Just to quote a few, China's spending in 1990 was less than \$20 billion, as compared to over \$200 billion today, showing a record increase of approximately 900 percent. Similarly, Russia by the year 2000 had been spending roughly \$30 billion, whereas its current spending is over \$80 billion (nearly a 200 per cent increase). In other nations, the Indian military budget has increased by over 150 percent than what it was in 1990; that of Iran and Saudi Arabia over 200 percent each; and that of France, UK, and Germany by over 50 percent. Pakistan's military budget in the 1990s used to be roughly \$4-4.5 billion, which now ranges from \$8-8.5 billion (a 100 percent increase). These statistics reflect changing trends in military spending that have a significant impact on states' behaviour in the international system.<sup>40</sup> The above statistics suggest that, though America still holds the absolute military power, yet its gap with other nations is systematically decreasing.

From an economic perspective, the databases of various institutions, like the IMF and the World Bank as well private organizations, can best serve the 'rise of the rest' phenomenon. The US GDP from 1990 to date has increased from \$6 trillion to over \$17 trillion, showing an increase of approximately 200 percent. Contrarily, China has shown an increase from barely \$0.4 trillion to \$10 trillion (over 2,500 percent) in the same period. Brazil expanded from \$0.5 trillion to \$2.3 trillion (400 per cent); India, from just \$0.3 trillion to \$2 trillion (over 500 percent); and Russia, from \$0.5 trillion in 1990, has risen to \$2 trillion today, with a jump of over 250 percent.<sup>41</sup>

The relative economic developments in various regions, coupled with the global recession of 2008, had an adverse effect on the US economic ranking. This also made the global balance shift in favour of non-Western societies. China, India, Brazil, Turkey, Mexico, South Africa, and Indonesia have all surged ahead, with a number of other emerging market economies following them. The G-20 group, born out of the global crisis, has begun to appear more important than the G-8 (or the G-7).<sup>42</sup>

## **Renaissance of Realism**

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the pundits of Liberal theory in International Relations proclaimed their triumph and denounced that Realism had gone the way of the dinosaurs. Francis Fukuyama – the

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<sup>40</sup> SIPRI, "Military Expenditure Database," <[http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex\\_database](http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/milex/milex_database)> (accessed November 3, 2015).

<sup>41</sup> The World Bank, "Gross Domestic Product 2014", Databank, The World Bank, <<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/>>, (accessed November 1, 2015).

<sup>42</sup> Dmitri Trenin, *The Ukraine Crisis and the Return of Great Power Rivalry* (Moscow, Carnegie, 2014), 13.

torchbearer of neo-liberalism - symbolized the fall of the world's largest Communist empire with "the end of history"<sup>43</sup> and claimed that with the breakup of the Soviet Union, "there is no struggle or conflict over 'large' issue, and consequently no need for generals and statesmen; what remains is primarily economic activity." Fukuyama's claim lived for a very short period of time. While the liberalists were still rejoicing in their triumph, Huntington came out with his "Clash of Civilizations" theory, marking the re-entry of neo-realists in the world theatre. The drastic episode of September 11, 2001, further undermined the liberal ideology among practitioners of international relations.

As per Mearsheimer's arguments, the post-Cold War era did not bring any change to the basic architecture of the world order and states' behaviour.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Morgenthau believes that due to the prevailing environment of security competition, the possibility of wars among international actors cannot be ruled out. He supplements his argument by saying that "states are hardwired with an insatiable lust for power so as to secure their national interests."<sup>45</sup> Russia's power plays in Ukraine and Syria – besides illustrating that a state's "zero-sum" quality of securing only its national interests and proving that "the end of history" theory is no more relevant – has marked a renaissance of Realism in the prevalent anarchic international structure.

## Conclusion

No world order has survived forever. Change being a permanent feature of the international system, the shift in the existing unipolar moment is a natural phenomenon. It took three centuries for the world system to transit from multipolarity to bipolarity in 1945. The bipolar system prevailed for almost half of the century and was followed by unipolarity in 1991. The life cycle of the unipolar moment seemed to be the shortest one as it has started changing its colours in just a quarter of a century's time.

American geopolitical supremacy commenced with their entry in World War I. After power sharing with the former Soviet Union during the Cold War era, the US became the sole superpower in 1991. Notwithstanding, its numerical superiority in military and economic strength, the question of its dominance has seriously been weighed in academic circles. Under the quasi-mathematical equation of a state's power, given by David Singer, political scientists today raise serious questions about America's capabilities. Far from countering Russia's

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<sup>43</sup> Frances Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Simon and Schuster, 2006), 31.

<sup>44</sup> Michal Brecher & Frank P. Harvey ed(s), *Realism and Institutionalism in International Relations* (Michigan, University of Michigan, 2002), 5.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

power play either in Ukraine or Syria, the sole superpower seems to be helpless in moulding the behaviour of either Iran or North Korea.

The prevailing geostrategic environment suggests apparent changes in the global political dynamics. The resurgence of Russia as the main challenger to the United States' relative superiority is just one facet of the change. There are, however, quite visible cracks in the American self-proclaimed myth of exceptionalism. The flawed policies, both in Ukraine and Syria, have only contributed towards instability in the regions and benefitted anti-US forces. There is also no second opinion on the emergence (and re-emergence) of new actors on the global political landscape. The growing culture of huge military spending and relative economic developments in various regions has blemished the US absolute superiority. Above all, with the renaissance of Realism, Fukuyama's "end of history" theory has met its fate. In the existing fluid scenario; the emergence of a new world order is, now, just a matter of time.

## Book Reviews

### POLITICAL ISLAM IN THE AGE OF DEMOCRATIZATION

**Author:** Kamran Bokhari and Farid Sensai,  
**Publisher:** Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2013, 258 pages.

Is secularism a pre-requisite for democracy? Has there been any role of religion in the democratization of Muslim societies? *Political Islam in the Age of Democratization*, a book written by Kamran Bokhari and Farid Sensai, examines the compatibility of Islam with democracy through the prism of democratization theory. Political Islam is a complex phenomenon with multiple variants and pluralistic manifestations, but the authors have provided a comprehensive debate as to whether religion impedes or facilitates the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

Western scholarship tends to equate democracy with secular liberal society and considers religion antithetical to democracy. Bernard Lewis and Robert D. Lee blame Islam for the democratic deficit of the Muslim world and term the rise of Islamism as a reactive agony against the West. Similarly, the Huntingtonian view accuses Islam of resistance to secularism and the rejection of democracy by Muslim societies. Bokhari and Sensai challenge such theses and feel no hesitation in claiming, with considerable evidence from the last four decades, that religion plays a pivotal role in the democratization of Muslim societies, historically under autocracies (185), and Islamists are increasingly co-opting and co-existing with democratic practices in Muslim societies. The writers also suggest that in societies, where religion is a source of identity, democracy must pass through the test of religion (38). Bokhari and Sensai define Islamism (often used synonymously with Political Islam), as under:

*“...a form of instrumentalization of Islam by individuals, groups, and organizations that pursue political objectives. It provides political responses to today’s societal challenges by imagining a future, the foundations for which rest on re-appropriated, reinvented concepts borrowed from the Islamic tradition” (19).*

This definition appears most appropriate for studying Islamism, keeping in view the three types of the audience suggested by the authors, i.e. academic peers, policymakers, and the general public, by demystifying the complex phenomenon with theoretical, political, social, and ideological roots.

The authors have confined the debate to three time periods: the 1990s, the decade following the Gulf War; post 9/11; and the aftermath of the Arab Spring. They have done this by breaking down the book into seven detailed case studies that examine the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafis,

Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, the Islamic Republic of Iran (the only state actor), Arab Shia Islamists, and the AKP in Turkey.

The authors allocate considerable space to the discussion about the complexity of Islamism—arguing Islamism is not monolithic but varies from what is Sharia law to the tactics used to attain the imagined Islamic state based on competing interpretations of religious texts (20-21). While highlighting the perspective of Islamists about the existing structure of society and state, the authors divide actors into three categories: the *Acceptors*, constituting the majority of Islamist actors who accept the reality of the nation-state, within which they strive for an Islamic state; the *Propagandists*, actors who engage with society but reject the nation-state and democracy, and who believe in societal transformation for the ultimate imagined revolutionary state; and the *Insurrectionists*, pro-violence militant Islamists who reject both state and society, their goal being the insurrection of the established order and the emergence of a transnational caliphate (27).

Based on Islamists' world view, Bokhari and Senzai devise a political spectrum based on a typology about Islamist actors according to their theological attitudes towards democracy: *participators*, actors who embrace democracy as compatible with Islam; *conditionalist*, who reluctantly accept democracy with certain conditions and modifications; and *rejecters*, who see democracy as antithetical to Islam (44). The final category, according to the authors' assertions, is a minority group which is also shedding their ideological baggage of exclusivism in favour of inclusivism (187).

The authors affirm that once resistance to secularism on the part of the Arab Muslim was the chief reason for the Middle Eastern democratic deficit, but after the onset of the 'Arab Spring', the world is witnessing a democratic transition (8). The masses of Muslim majority regions now support the idea of democracy, but with roots in Islam – this is because Muslims indicate a sensitivity to secularism which they feel necessitates deserting religion (9). The authors believe that during the 1990s, insurrectionists captured the global spotlight with their transnational militant jihadist agenda but after the 'Arab Spring', when the USA abandoned its support for authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, the region is heading towards democratization.

The authors are at best when they provide an enlightening account, in Chapter three, of the extensive array of scholarly work on the democratic transition from autocracy. They theorise their claims through a democratization framework, by explaining the compatibility of Islam and democracy, which are often pitched against each other. They refer to many scholars who suggest that Islam and democracy can be harmonious by "modernizing Islam" and "secularizing Muslim societies", using mosques as vanguards, just as churches became the instrument of democracy in Latin America (35-36). In the context of the Middle East, Bokhari and Farid

rightly identify the international structure, failed states, and dictatorships as barricades to democracy, not Islam (36). The authors offer an intellectual exercise by critically examining the Western acquiescence to democracy because of privatization and the rejection of religion, emanating from the Judaeo-Christian tradition of the Renaissance – Reformation – Enlightenment. They arrive at the conclusion that the Western experience cannot be replicated in the Muslim world (40).

In the category of participators, the best case for participatory Islamism is Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood (MB), which was founded to reconcile modernism with Islam (48). The authors argue that despite half a century of persecution, MB never relinquished its political struggle, and their bottom-up approach resulted in the electoral victory of Mohammed Morsi in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. The chapter also reveals that developments such as the Soviets' defeat in Afghanistan, the 1991 Gulf War, and the US presence on Saudi soil radicalised a few cadres of MB, forming the 'rejecter' Al-Qaeda. The Palestinian group Hamas, in this category, is an exceptional case that has simultaneously been pursuing a dual policy of armed confrontation against occupation and a political struggle for political representation (54).

Conditionist Islamists represent a hard-core, austere interpretation of Salafi Islam, based on the revival of lost Muslim glory by referring and adhering to Ahadith (81). Salafis aspire towards a profound Muslim socio-political identity with a pious society in a state (83). The Chapter throws light in detail on how the Saudis played apolitical Salafis and MB against the rising tide of Nasserian Pan-Arabism, that later spurred the Salafis in exploiting Jihad from a state-sanctioned enterprise to the praxis of non-state-actors. The Gulf War of 1991 and subsequent geopolitical transformations in the Middle East proved to be watershed events in dividing the Salafis – on one hand, it radicalized Qutbi Salafis into defecting to the Al-Qaeda, and on the other, it drove political Salafis into aligning with a pro-Saudi monarchy (87). Political Salafis who subscribe to democracy proved instrumental in driving Kuwait and Algeria towards parliamentary politics in the 1990s; and in the post 9/11 era, when the word 'Wahabism' replaced 'Salafism', it brought Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) in Pakistan, Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey, and Hamas in Gaza towards MB style participatory politics. For apolitical Salafis, these developments are un-Islamic as they see democracy as supporting the idea of human sovereignty over divine sovereignty.

The authors put Islamists from transnational and nationalist jihadist groups like Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, into the 'rejecter' category, or those who reject democracy and believe in unapologetic jihad as a private enterprise for their own imagined concept of the Ummah (102). Chapter six focusses on the historical evolution of Al-Qaeda by discussing Osama Bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and Al-Zarqawi, who combined the socio-culture conservatism of Salafism and political radicalism of

Qutb(104). After 9/11, the authors assume, fearing a Muslim-Christian civilizational clash, the majority of Muslims rejected the violent agenda of Al-Qaeda and are heading to a participatory political system, as seen in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. Now the Taliban are reverting from the idea of a puritanical Sunni-styled hybrid regime (120), seeking political recognition and a power-sharing mechanism in domestic politics.

In the fifth case, the authors determine the Islamic Republic of Iran's Shia theology as being more participative than the MB, governed by a clerical hierarchy under the concept of *Velayat-e-Faqih* (135-136), a hybrid democracy with the combination of theocracy and democracy (147). The Shia Islamism of Hezbollah in Lebanon, Iraq and Bahrain does not agree with the Iranian model, rather its *modus operandi* and evolutionary trajectory resemble the Sunni democratic MB (154). Hezbollah is neither fully participative nor a rejected or an insurrectionist (169); therefore, Bokhari and Farid fail to categorize it.

Lastly, the authors explore Turkey's AKP, previously Islamists who have accepted moderate secularism with Islamic roots. They state that the AKP opted for "American style passive" secularism by shunning the radical Kemalist secularism based on "French radical assertive" secularism (173). The AKP is a unique case of the coexistence and interplay of religion and politics, using the democratization theory because the AKP has never used crude state force to enforce religion or to resist religious practices in society (181).

Conclusively, Bokhari and Farid dismiss the Western notion of democracy that necessitates a rejection of religion in the realm of politics. Opposed to conventional wisdom, they support the role of religion in politics and Islamists as the vanguard of democratization in the age to come. Religion will facilitate the process of transition from autocracy to democratization that will lead to Muslim democracies. At large, Islamists across the Muslim world believe in participation, those who are left behind (rejecters) are also moderating their ideologies to stay relevant in their respective societies.

The best thing about this book is that it tests the validity of democracy in different Muslim societies in a detailed and objective manner by interpreting the transformation through the prism of democratization. The authors have justified their research by covering the complexities and diversities of political Islam and its practitioners remarkably. More striking is the careful selection of the cases, their classification and systematic order of the book, which make it informative and comprehensible for the target audience. Experts and writers on Islamism, however, might find some deficiencies in the book, as the democratization theory was unable to address the social, economic, and geopolitical variables influencing the ongoing transition from authoritarianism to democracy in the ME.

Sometimes, readers may find content predictive and directive, similar to Fukuyama's 'End of History' hypothesis. Bokhari and Farid have synonymously used elections as signifying the onset of democracy – the latter is a culture and without that pre-requisite culture, a rudimentary democratic system can revert to the exclusivist political arrangement, authoritarian or semi-authoritarianism, as happened in Egypt when a military coup ousted Morsi in July 2013. Furthermore, the authors have not touched upon how Muslim democracy will appear and how it will sustain in public and private spheres. The evidence provided in the case of the AKP of Turkey as a Post-Islamist party is not convincing, nor is it so in the case of the transformation of Salafis from apolitical to political, then to radical jihadist and then political again, whether it was an ideological evolution or a sagacious adjustment in response to the unfolding of global politics. The book provides fewer insights about the role of domestic drivers in transforming pro-democracy behaviours of Islamists and overwhelmingly focusses on events of international significance. The study could have benefitted by incorporating the pressures posed by modernization and globalization to change the primordial primitive societal associations of Salafis and 'rejecters'. Overall, it is an outstanding piece of literature, summarizing all forms of Political Islam, with the types of major actors involved, and successfully establishes the compatibility of Islam with democracy by using secondary sources to the optimum. The book must be made a part of the recommended readings for course work on Political Islam, as well as for those who wish to explore the ideological linkages between Islamism and jihadism.

**Reviewed by Zahid Mehmood Zahid, a Ph.D scholar at IR Department in National Defence University, Islamabad.**

## IS THE AMERICAN CENTURY OVER?

**Author:** Joseph S. Nye Jr.

**Publisher:** Polity Press: USA, 2015.

**E**ntangled in interminable arguments, the future destination of global power remains far from perceptible. The discussion stranded in the question of American decline has become increasingly pronounced with the ostensible ascendancy of China and other regional big-weights. Withering away of its power has been an American fright going back to the War of 1812. Defying the notions of decay, Joseph Nye, the co-founder of the neo-liberal school in International Relations and University Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard, provides riposte to queries into America's super-power rank in his book 'Is the American Century Over?' With his extensive experience at the State and Defense departments and institutions concerned with the framework of power (smart power), a concept later on espoused by former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Nye could conceivably be perfectly fitted to rule on the status of American supremacy.

To begin with, he struggles with the characterization of US 'hegemony' -dismissing the idea of it and delineating the timeline of the 'American Century' which, according to him, began in 1941 but the date of death is unstipulated. Nye largely focuses on the years post-World War II, when the United States efficaciously established and fared a capitalist economic order from 1945 until the financial crisis of 2008. Due to its unmatched resources, it played a central part in determining the global balance of power during this period. The denotation of decline, inexact though in terms of time period, is expounded in its absolute and relative aspects; the former refers to 'domestic deterioration' whereas the latter shoots from 'decrease in external power' comparative to other countries. For Nye, power is a multi-faceted product comprising of military force (hard power), attraction and inducement (soft power) as well as economic vitality – all three of which are imperative for a country to assert itself on the world stage.

On America's decline, Nye postulates that the United States is 'not in absolute decline but the American century may end simply because of the rise of others'. He then offers a relative outline of the capability of possible competitors for American dominance. If it is able to overcome national gulfs and economic slowdown, the European Union could surface as a potent challenger. However, with reluctance to increase spending, it is hugely dependent militarily on Washington and Europe's aging population issue also wanes the prospects of its dominant role. Japan shares EU's problems of demography, struggling economy and defense reliance on the United States. For all its military strength, Russia has been condensed to a 'one-crop economy' – with grim corruption at home and 'residual

historical mistrust' between Moscow and Beijing, the probability of their coming together to dislodge the US remains diminutive. Economic and ethnic incongruences in India and Brazil's inability to convert its economic prowess into influence leave China as the only credible threat to the United States' preeminence, to which Nye allocates a complete portion in his 5-chapter book.

The Asian power-capital, according to Nye, possesses formidable resources – blooming economy, a population four times that of the United States and huge nuclear stockpiles. However, China still faces decades' holdup behind the United States in all three facets of power. Although it has surpassed the United States on the Purchasing Power Parity measure but remains far from overtaking it economically in actuality because of the efficacy of US system in the areas of national development, currency trade and rule of law. On the military pitch, the United States outstrips China in budgeting, viability and modernization. In the technological domain, it principally remains production rather than creation oriented. Lamenting China's heavy-handedness and comparing it to the United States, Nye points out that the United States' soft power resources largely spring from individuals, businesses, organisations and civil society while those of China are mainly and mistakenly state-driven – a phenomenon also identified by Nye in his essay in the *Foreign Policy* in 2013: 'What China and Russia Don't Get About Soft Power'. For all these fissures and defects, Nye, like Robert Kagan and Daniel Drezner, maintains that America's insuperability will sustain in the twenty-first century.

Alluding to its inner configuration as the cradle of its international clout, Nye uncovers the crevices of America's domestic structures which are several judging by the criteria of the developed world: lack of universal healthcare, racial pulls, poor rates of incarceration and high infant mortality. Income inequality has left numerous Americans distraught. Furthermore, the Congress's legislative capacity is debilitated owing to unnecessary political congestions. Notwithstanding these imperfections, due to having an indomitable military with a universal outreach, being a favorite seaboard for immigrants and having an innovation and entrepreneurship – friendly business culture, the United States reigns supreme in all strata of power – hard, soft and economic. Therefore, catastrophic forewarnings of America's downfall are simple-minded and superficial. However, Nye also asserts that the present century will not be the same as its precursor, and therefore suggests various fixes to the US policy toolkit. In a world where solutions to global problems can only be jointly undertaken, he imagines an American century defined by multilateralism rather than dominance and insists on its chipping in in 'networks of cooperation' if the US is to preserve its prominence. This recommendation varies patently from that of Robert Kagan, who, while disregarding views of American decline in his book 'The

World America Made', proposes more aggressive and unilateral (if necessary) acts to uphold the US-led liberal order.

As Nye makes a resounding case for the furtherance of the American 'multi-partner' century which, due to its valuable associations and assets, the US is well-prepared to lead, he abstains from debating the question with cynics such as Immanuel Wallerstein and Fareed Zakaria. Although he does mention relevant works in long lists of references, an assortment of corroborating or contradictory arguments would have made the book more stimulating. However, in a thin volume, Joseph Nye's 'Is the American Century Over?' vividly encapsulates the policy hazards of writing off America and fact-based exploration of the future trajectory of international political setting which it conjectures, despite not being hegemonic or unipolar, would still be fashioned by the United States.

**Reviewed by Saria Ahmad, a student at the University of London, UK.**

## DOCUMENTS

### Documents 1

#### **JOINT STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA AND PRIME MINISTER NAWAZ SHARIF, 2015**

The White House  
Office of the Press Secretary  
For Immediate Release  
October 22, 2015

**A**t the invitation of President Obama, Prime Minister Sharif paid an official visit to Washington from October 20 to 23, 2015 that reinforced the commitment of both leaders to an enduring U.S.-Pakistan partnership, a prosperous Pakistan, and a more stable region. President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif held wide-ranging discussions at the White House today. The two leaders expressed their conviction that a resilient U.S.-Pakistan partnership is vital to regional and global peace and security and reaffirmed their commitment to address evolving threats in South Asia.

#### **An Enduring Partnership**

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif reaffirmed that a mutual commitment to democracy is a key pillar of the U.S.-Pakistan partnership. President Obama commended Prime Minister Sharif's leadership in strengthening and consolidating Pakistan's democratic institutions. Building on this progress, President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif expressed their desire to expand the bilateral relationship in areas outside the traditional security realm in recognition of the multifaceted issues facing both countries, including: trade and investment; education, science and technology; clean, efficient and affordable energy; efforts to counter climate change; economic growth; regional integration; rule of law; people-to-people and cultural ties; and support for democratic principles. President Obama underscored the importance of Pakistan's role, as one of the largest Muslim democracies, in using its influence in support of peace, security, development, and human rights around the world. Both leaders committed to build on the ongoing U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue to advance progress in these and other areas.

The two leaders emphasized the need to maintain the positive momentum in promoting people-to-people contacts and parliamentary exchanges. They also acknowledged the important role played by the Pakistani diaspora in the United States and the contributions that this community has traditionally made in strengthening the bilateral relationship.

## **Economic Growth, Trade, and Investment**

The President and Prime Minister affirmed that economic growth in Pakistan provides the surest foundation for the prosperity of its people and the security of the region. President Obama commended Pakistan's reform program, which has re-established macroeconomic stability through a combination of prudent fiscal and monetary policies, the rebuilding of foreign exchange reserves, and continuing reforms in the energy sector. Prime Minister Sharif reaffirmed his commitment to consolidate economic gains and to continue to implement his government's reform agenda, including the government's commitment to complete the set of home grown reforms that is being supported by the World Bank Group, the Asian Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other multilateral financial institutions. The two sides indicated their intent to continue robust macroeconomic cooperation through the Economic and Finance Working Group as an element of the Strategic Dialogue.

The leaders reaffirmed that the United States and Pakistan have a mutual interest in expanding bilateral trade and investment. President Obama indicated that the United States will help Pakistan create conditions for accelerated trade and investment-driven growth. The leaders noted the reauthorization of the General System of Preferences (GSP) program and acknowledged the importance of the U.S.-Pakistan Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) process. Prime Minister Sharif reiterated the importance of market access for Pakistan as the most effective, mutually beneficial, and durable form of bilateral economic partnership. The leaders recognized the success of the Joint Action Plan to expand trade and investment, established after Prime Minister Sharif's 2013 visit, and acknowledged their intent to augment the plan. President Obama conveyed that Pakistani companies are eligible to participate in U.S. Department of Defense procurement opportunities related to operations in Afghanistan, in accordance with U.S. law and regulation, and encouraged Pakistan to pursue accession to the General Procurement Agreement of the World Trade Organization. The leaders also noted the U.S.-Pakistan Memorandum of Understanding on Women's Economic Empowerment and Entrepreneurship, signed at the 2014 TIFA, which includes the efforts of the U.S.-Pakistan Women's Council.

The leaders reaffirmed their commitment to advancing economic connectivity between Pakistan and its neighbors to promote regional prosperity. The President reaffirmed U.S. support for the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement, the Central Asia South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000) electricity corridor, the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) natural gas pipeline project, and other measures to enhance regional economic connectivity and growth. President Obama welcomed Pakistan's accession to the TIR

Convention, which could facilitate trade throughout the region. Both leaders acknowledged that strengthening Pakistan's trade and transit ties with its neighbors is needed to promote prosperity in Pakistan and the region.

## **Education and Civil Society Cooperation**

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif emphasized the value of investing in higher and basic education. Reflecting this, the United States and Pakistan re-instituted an Education, Science and Technology Working Group under the bilateral Strategic Dialogue, and in June, launched three University Centers for Advanced Studies in agriculture, energy, and water research. This is in addition to nineteen existing university partnerships between U.S. and Pakistani institutions and the highest-funded Fulbright scholarship program in the world. Welcoming the establishment of the "U.S.-Pakistan Knowledge Corridor" in June 2015, the two leaders directed their respective governments to intensify cooperation within this important framework in consonance with the priorities set out in Pakistan's Vision 2025. In the near term, the two governments intend to double joint funding for a new round of research grants under the U.S.-Pakistan Science and Technology Cooperation Agreement.

Building on important cooperation in basic education to date, the Leaders welcomed the launch of the Let Girls Learn Initiative in Pakistan, a global effort led by the United States, which will provide 200,000 Pakistani girls access to education and the tools they need to succeed in life.

The President commended Prime Minister Sharif's commitment to education as a priority, demonstrated through the doubling of Pakistan's higher education budget since 2013 and the government's goal of doubling expenditures for education from two percent to four percent of gross domestic product by 2018.

The Leaders recognized the importance of civil society to the fundamental health and stability of all democratic societies. International nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) and civil society groups can contribute toward the promotion of Pakistan's national development goals and can complement the work of the government to address the needs of the underprivileged populations, promote human rights, and strengthen democratic governance. The Prime Minister mentioned that recently issued policy guidelines were intended by the Government of Pakistan to facilitate the functioning of INGOs, and further stated that these guidelines will be reviewed and implemented in consultation with all stakeholders. The President noted that policy guidelines governing INGOs should be transparent and consistent with international norms so as to facilitate the important work of these organizations.

## **Climate Change and Energy**

President Obama reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to strong cooperation in the energy sector. The leaders announced the formation of a new U.S.-Pakistan Clean Energy Partnership, based on the initial work of the April 2015 Energy Working Group under the U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue. At its core, the Partnership aims to facilitate private sector investment in Pakistan's energy sector, including generation, transmission, and distribution. Through the Partnership, the United States and Pakistan will cooperate to: attract local and international investment; develop an investment plan for expanding the role of clean energy systems; expand transmission capacity through selected infrastructure projects; and mobilize development financing to help attract private sector investments in hydropower, wind, solar, and natural gas projects. The two leaders noted their cooperation in the development of Pakistan's domestic oil and gas resources and liquefied natural gas sectors. President Obama expressed support for Pakistan's efforts to secure funding for the Diamer - Bhasha and Dasu dams to help meet Pakistan's energy and water needs.

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif expressed their commitment to press for an ambitious agreement on climate change at the Paris Climate Conference in December. The United States and Pakistan welcome the fact that the United States has communicated its Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC) and that Pakistan stated its plan to soon submit its INDC. The leaders underscored the importance of longer-range efforts to transition to low-carbon economies and of continued, robust financial support to help developing countries build low-carbon and climate-resilient societies. Further, to advance global efforts to address a leading cause of climate change, President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif affirmed that their respective countries intend to work together to amend the Montreal Protocol this year to curb the production and consumption of hydrofluorocarbons.

Both sides stressed the importance of adaptation to the adverse impacts of climate change. As a country particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, Pakistan has suffered major floods, heat waves, and droughts in recent years. President Obama offered continued U.S. support to Pakistan to build infrastructure and organizational capacity to counter natural disasters and provide relief to the affected populations.

## **Promoting Global Health**

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif discussed the importance of enhancing measurable capability of Pakistan to prevent, detect, and respond to infectious diseases. Building from that shared understanding, they reaffirmed their commitment to fully implement the Global Health Security Agenda (GHSA), including a mutually-developed five-year plan to achieve the GHSA targets and advance the World Health

Organization International Health Regulations, with a view to advance global cooperation across sectors to counter biological threats, whether naturally occurring, accidental or deliberate. President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif also discussed efforts to improve the health of mothers and children in Pakistan and globally.

## **Regional Security and Counterterrorism**

President Obama condemned the December 2014 terrorist attack by the Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) in which 140 school children were killed.

The leaders discussed the importance of continued cooperation against terrorists and violent extremist groups. President Obama affirmed Pakistan's role as a key counterterrorism partner and recognized the sacrifices that Pakistani civilians, military, and law enforcement personnel have made over the years as they confront terrorism and militant groups. The President expressed particular appreciation for Pakistan's ongoing support to degrade and ultimately defeat al-Qa'ida and its affiliates, noting that this partnership has helped to decimate the group's leadership and operational capacity and has disrupted plots against the U.S. homeland. The President also honored the sacrifices of the Pakistani security forces in Operation Zarb-e-Azb and other operations, which have degraded the ability of militants to plan and execute terrorist attacks and noted further steps being taken in this regard in line with the National Action Plan. In turn, the Prime Minister thanked the United States for its support in bolstering Pakistan's counter-terrorism capacity.

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif renewed their common resolve to promote peace and stability throughout the region and to counter all forms of extremism and terrorism.

Both leaders expressed their commitment to advance an Afghan - owned and -led peace and reconciliation process between the Afghan government and the Afghan Taliban, and called on Taliban leaders to enter into direct talks with Kabul and work toward a sustainable peace settlement.

President Obama commended Pakistan for hosting and facilitating the first public talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban in July 2015 and highlighted the opportunity presented by Pakistan's willingness to facilitate a reconciliation process that would help end insurgent violence in Afghanistan. Prime Minister Sharif reaffirmed that Pakistan's territory will not be used against any other country and noted that this is an obligation of all countries in the region. Both leaders affirmed that regional peace and stability required the prevention of attacks across the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The Prime Minister outlined the actions that Pakistan is taking under the National Action Plan to ensure that the Taliban – including the Haqqani Network – are unable to

operate from the soil of Pakistan. The leaders reaffirmed that coordinated management of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border and orderly return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan are fundamental to enhancing security.

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif stressed that improvement in Pakistan-India bilateral relations would greatly enhance prospects for lasting peace, stability, and prosperity in the region.

The two leaders expressed concern over violence along the Line of Control, and noted their support for confidence-building measures and effective mechanisms that are acceptable to both parties. The leaders emphasized the importance of a sustained and resilient dialogue process between the two neighbors aimed at resolving all outstanding territorial and other disputes, including Kashmir, through peaceful means and working together to address mutual concerns of India and Pakistan regarding terrorism. In this context, the Prime Minister apprised the President about Pakistan's resolve to take effective action against United Nations-designated terrorist individuals and entities, including Lashkar-e-Tayyiba and its affiliates, as per its international commitments and obligations under UN Security Council resolutions and the Financial Action Task Force.

Acknowledging the ongoing critical counterterrorism efforts that have driven the robust U.S.-Pakistan security cooperation since September 11, 2001, President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif affirmed that this security relationship has been and will continue to be integral to regional stability. Both leaders noted that the stability of South Asia depended on cooperation among all neighbors to suppress all extremist and militant groups operating in the region.

Highlighting the quickly evolving extremist landscape from the Sahel to South Asia, the President and Prime Minister noted with satisfaction that the United States and Pakistan are working closely to counter emerging terrorist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)/Da'esh in South Asia. The Prime Minister reiterated Pakistan's firm resolve not to allow any ISIL/Da'esh footprint in Pakistan. The leaders also reiterated their commitment to combat the extremist ideology that propels such groups.

President Obama raised his concern regarding the U.S. nationals being held hostage by terrorist groups in the region. The Prime Minister indicated that Pakistan would assist in every way possible with the safe return of American and other hostages.

## **Defense Cooperation**

Taking note of the robust bilateral defense cooperation between their two countries, including recent military engagements, exercises, and consultations on regional security, President Obama and Prime Minister

Sharif expressed satisfaction with the cooperation achieved in defense relations and reaffirmed that this partnership should endure.

Prime Minister Sharif conveyed appreciation for U.S. security assistance in support of Pakistan's counter-terrorism, counterinsurgency, counter-narcotics, and maritime security operations and expressed hope of broadening bilateral defense cooperation in areas that serve the two countries' mutual interest. President Obama noted Pakistan's positive efforts to counter improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and both leaders resolved to continue working together to disrupt the threat posed by these devices. They recognized that a stable and peaceful Pakistan-Afghanistan border was important for the success of counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and counter-IED efforts. They also underscored the critical significance of effective border coordination mechanisms between Pakistan and Afghanistan in achieving these objectives. The two leaders reaffirmed that the defense consultative group mechanism has been critical in stimulating defense partnership and resolved to explore new avenues of enhancing defense collaboration.

## **Cyber Security**

Recognizing the opportunities and challenges presented by information and communications technologies, President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif affirmed that international cooperation is essential to make cyberspace secure and stable. Both leaders endorsed the consensus report of the 2015 UN Group of Governmental Experts in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security. The leaders looked forward to further multilateral engagement, and discussion of cyber issues as part of the U.S.-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue.

## **Strategic Stability, Nuclear Security, and Non-proliferation**

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif recognized the shared interest in strategic stability in South Asia. The two leaders underscored that all sides should continuously act with maximum restraint and work jointly toward strengthening strategic stability in South Asia. They acknowledged the importance of regional balance and stability in South Asia and pursuing increased transparency and uninterrupted dialogue in support of peaceful resolution of all outstanding disputes.

President Obama and Prime Minister Sharif discussed the continuing threat of nuclear terrorism. The United States and Pakistan committed to work together to make the Nuclear Security Summit hosted by President Obama next year a success. President Obama welcomed Pakistan's constructive engagement with the Nuclear Security Summit

process and its cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international forums.

The leaders noted Pakistan's efforts to improve its strategic trade controls and enhance its engagement with multilateral export control regimes. Recognizing the importance of bilateral engagement in the Security, Strategic Stability and Non-Proliferation Working Group, the two leaders noted that both sides will continue to stay engaged to further build on the ongoing discussions in the working group.

## **Conclusion**

The two leaders affirmed their common resolve to continue working together to address the issues of greatest interest to both nations. Building on the foundation of the Enhanced Partnership for Pakistan Act, President Obama reiterated a commitment to comprehensive bilateral cooperation through both the public and private sectors, into the future. The leaders committed to fostering a deeper, stronger, multi-dimensional partnership based on mutual respect, trust and understanding to cooperatively tackle the global challenges of the 21st century.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/10/22/2015-joint-statement-president-barack-obama-and-prime-minister-nawaz>

## Document 2

### **President Barack Obama's statement at UNGA,**

September 28, 2015.

United Nations Headquarters

New York.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Seventy years after the founding of the United Nations, it is worth reflecting on what, together, the members of this body have helped to achieve.

Out of the ashes of the Second World War, having witnessed the unthinkable power of the atomic age, the United States has worked with many nations in this Assembly to prevent a third world war -- by forging alliances with old adversaries; by supporting the steady emergence of strong democracies accountable to their people instead of any foreign power; and by building an international system that imposes a cost on those who choose conflict over cooperation, an order that recognizes the dignity and equal worth of all people.

That is the work of seven decades. That is the ideal that this body, at its best, has pursued. Of course, there have been too many times when, collectively, we have fallen short of these ideals. Over seven decades, terrible conflicts have claimed untold victims. But we have pressed forward, slowly, steadily, to make a system of international rules and norms that are better and stronger and more consistent.

It is this international order that has underwritten unparalleled advances in human liberty and prosperity. It is this collective endeavor that's brought about diplomatic cooperation between the world's major powers, and buttressed a global economy that has lifted more than a billion people from poverty. It is these international principles that helped constrain bigger countries from imposing our will on smaller ones, and advanced the emergence of democracy and development and individual liberty on every continent.

This progress is real. It can be documented in lives saved, and agreements forged, and diseases conquered, and in mouths fed. And yet, we come together today knowing that the march of human progress never travels in a straight line, that our work is far from complete; that dangerous currents risk pulling us back into a darker, more disordered world.

Today, we see the collapse of strongmen and fragile states breeding conflict, and driving innocent men, women and children across borders on an \*epoch epic scale. Brutal networks of terror have stepped into the vacuum. Technologies that empower individuals are now also exploited by those who spread disinformation, or suppress dissent, or radicalize our youth. Global capital flows have powered growth and

investment, but also increased risk of contagion, weakened the bargaining power of workers, and accelerated inequality.

How should we respond to these trends? There are those who argue that the ideals enshrined in the U.N. charter are unachievable or out of date -- a legacy of a postwar era not suited to our own. Effectively, they argue for a return to the rules that applied for most of human history and that pre-date this institution: the belief that power is a zero-sum game; that might makes right; that strong states must impose their will on weaker ones; that the rights of individuals don't matter; and that in a time of rapid change, order must be imposed by force.

On this basis, we see some major powers assert themselves in ways that contravene international law. We see an erosion of the democratic principles and human rights that are fundamental to this institution's mission; information is strictly controlled, the space for civil society restricted. We're told that such retrenchment is required to beat back disorder; that it's the only way to stamp out terrorism, or prevent foreign meddling. In accordance with this logic, we should support tyrants like Bashar al-Assad, who drops barrel bombs to massacre innocent children, because the alternative is surely worse.

The increasing skepticism of our international order can also be found in the most advanced democracies. We see greater polarization, more frequent gridlock; movements on the far right, and sometimes the left, that insist on stopping the trade that binds our fates to other nations, calling for the building of walls to keep out immigrants. Most ominously, we see the fears of ordinary people being exploited through appeals to sectarianism, or tribalism, or racism, or anti-Semitism; appeals to a glorious past before the body politic was infected by those who look different, or worship God differently; a politics of us versus them.

The United States is not immune from this. Even as our economy is growing and our troops have largely returned from Iraq and Afghanistan, we see in our debates about America's role in the world a notion of strength that is defined by opposition to old enemies, perceived adversaries, a rising China, or a resurgent Russia; a revolutionary Iran, or an Islam that is incompatible with peace. We see an argument made that the only strength that matters for the United States is bellicose words and shows of military force; that cooperation and diplomacy will not work.

As President of the United States, I am mindful of the dangers that we face; they cross my desk every morning. I lead the strongest military that the world has ever known, and I will never hesitate to protect my country or our allies, unilaterally and by force where necessary.

But I stand before you today believing in my core that we, the nations of the world, cannot return to the old ways of conflict and coercion. We cannot look backwards. We live in an integrated world -- one in which we all have a stake in each other's success. We cannot turn those forces of integration. No nation in this Assembly can insulate itself from

the threat of terrorism, or the risk of financial contagion; the flow of migrants, or the danger of a warming planet. The disorder we see is not driven solely by competition between nations or any single ideology. And if we cannot work together more effectively, we will all suffer the consequences. That is true for the United States, as well.

No matter how powerful our military, how strong our economy, we understand the United States cannot solve the world's problems alone. In Iraq, the United States learned the hard lesson that even hundreds of thousands of brave, effective troops, trillions of dollars from our Treasury, cannot by itself impose stability on a foreign land. Unless we work with other nations under the mantle of international norms and principles and law that offer legitimacy to our efforts, we will not succeed. And unless we work together to defeat the ideas that drive different communities in a country like Iraq into conflict, any order that our militaries can impose will be temporary.

Just as force alone cannot impose order internationally, I believe in my core that repression cannot forge the social cohesion for nations to succeed. The history of the last two decades proves that in today's world, dictatorships are unstable. The strongmen of today become the spark of revolution tomorrow. You can jail your opponents, but you can't imprison ideas. You can try to control access to information, but you cannot turn a lie into truth. It is not a conspiracy of U.S.-backed NGOs that expose corruption and raise the expectations of people around the globe; it's technology, social media, and the irreducible desire of people everywhere to make their own choices about how they are governed.

Indeed, I believe that in today's world, the measure of strength is no longer defined by the control of territory. Lasting prosperity does not come solely from the ability to access and extract raw materials. The strength of nations depends on the success of their people -- their knowledge, their innovation, their imagination, their creativity, their drive, their opportunity -- and that, in turn, depends upon individual rights and good governance and personal security. Internal repression and foreign aggression are both symptoms of the failure to provide this foundation.

A politics and solidarity that depend on demonizing others, that draws on religious sectarianism or narrow tribalism or jingoism may at times look like strength in the moment, but over time its weakness will be exposed. And history tells us that the dark forces unleashed by this type of politics surely makes all of us less secure. Our world has been there before. We gain nothing from going back.

Instead, I believe that we must go forward in pursuit of our ideals, not abandon them at this critical time. We must give expression to our best hopes, not our deepest fears. This institution was founded because men and women who came before us had the foresight to know that our nations are more secure when we uphold basic laws and basic norms, and

pursue a path of cooperation over conflict. And strong nations, above all, have a responsibility to uphold this international order.

Let me give you a concrete example. After I took office, I made clear that one of the principal achievements of this body -- the nuclear non-proliferation regime -- was endangered by Iran's violation of the NPT. On that basis, the Security Council tightened sanctions on the Iranian government, and many nations joined us to enforce them. Together, we showed that laws and agreements mean something.

But we also understood that the goal of sanctions was not simply to punish Iran. Our objective was to test whether Iran could change course, accept constraints, and allow the world to verify that its nuclear program will be peaceful. For two years, the United States and our partners -- including Russia, including China -- stuck together in complex negotiations. The result is a lasting, comprehensive deal that prevents Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, while allowing it to access peaceful energy. And if this deal is fully implemented, the prohibition on nuclear weapons is strengthened, a potential war is averted, our world is safer. That is the strength of the international system when it works the way it should.

That same fidelity to international order guides our responses to other challenges around the world. Consider Russia's annexation of Crimea and further aggression in eastern Ukraine. America has few economic interests in Ukraine. We recognize the deep and complex history between Russia and Ukraine. But we cannot stand by when the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a nation is flagrantly violated. If that happens without consequence in Ukraine, it could happen to any nation gathered here today. That's the basis of the sanctions that the United States and our partners impose on Russia. It's not a desire to return to a Cold War.

Now, within Russia, state-controlled media may describe these events as an example of a resurgent Russia -- a view shared, by the way, by a number of U.S. politicians and commentators who have always been deeply skeptical of Russia, and seem to be convinced a new Cold War is, in fact, upon us. And yet, look at the results. The Ukrainian people are more interested than ever in aligning with Europe instead of Russia. Sanctions have led to capital flight, a contracting economy, a fallen ruble, and the emigration of more educated Russians.

Imagine if, instead, Russia had engaged in true diplomacy, and worked with Ukraine and the international community to ensure its interests were protected. That would be better for Ukraine, but also better for Russia, and better for the world -- which is why we continue to press for this crisis to be resolved in a way that allows a sovereign and democratic Ukraine to determine its future and control its territory. Not because we want to isolate Russia -- we don't -- but because we want a

strong Russia that's invested in working with us to strengthen the international system as a whole.

Similarly, in the South China Sea, the United States makes no claim on territory there. We don't adjudicate claims. But like every nation gathered here, we have an interest in upholding the basic principles of freedom of navigation and the free flow of commerce, and in resolving disputes through international law, not the law of force. So we will defend these principles, while encouraging China and other claimants to resolve their differences peacefully.

I say this, recognizing that diplomacy is hard; that the outcomes are sometimes unsatisfying; that it's rarely politically popular. But I believe that leaders of large nations, in particular, have an obligation to take these risks -- precisely because we are strong enough to protect our interests if, and when, diplomacy fails.

I also believe that to move forward in this new era, we have to be strong enough to acknowledge when what you're doing is not working. For 50 years, the United States pursued a Cuba policy that failed to improve the lives of the Cuban people. We changed that. We continue to have differences with the Cuban government. We will continue to stand up for human rights. But we address these issues through diplomatic relations, and increased commerce, and people-to-people ties. As these contacts yield progress, I'm confident that our Congress will inevitably lift an embargo that should not be in place anymore. (Applause.) Change won't come overnight to Cuba, but I'm confident that openness, not coercion, will support the reforms and better the life the Cuban people deserve, just as I believe that Cuba will find its success if it pursues cooperation with other nations.

Now, if it's in the interest of major powers to uphold international standards, it is even more true for the rest of the community of nations. Look around the world. From Singapore to Colombia to Senegal, the facts shows that nations succeed when they pursue an inclusive peace and prosperity within their borders, and work cooperatively with countries beyond their borders.

That path is now available to a nation like Iran, which, as of this moment, continues to deploy violent proxies to advance its interests. These efforts may appear to give Iran leverage in disputes with neighbors, but they fuel sectarian conflict that endangers the entire region, and isolates Iran from the promise of trade and commerce. The Iranian people have a proud history, and are filled with extraordinary potential. But chanting "Death to America" does not create jobs, or make Iran more secure. If Iran chose a different path, that would be good for the security of the region, good for the Iranian people, and good for the world.

Of course, around the globe, we will continue to be confronted with nations who reject these lessons of history, places where civil strife, border disputes, and sectarian wars bring about terrorist enclaves and

humanitarian disasters. Where order has completely broken down, we must act, but we will be stronger when we act together.

In such efforts, the United States will always do our part. We will do so mindful of the lessons of the past -- not just the lessons of Iraq, but also the example of Libya, where we joined an international coalition under a U.N. mandate to prevent a slaughter. Even as we helped the Libyan people bring an end to the reign of a tyrant, our coalition could have and should have done more to fill a vacuum left behind. We're grateful to the United Nations for its efforts to forge a unity government. We will help any legitimate Libyan government as it works to bring the country together. But we also have to recognize that we must work more effectively in the future, as an international community, to build capacity for states that are in distress, before they collapse.

And that's why we should celebrate the fact that later today the United States will join with more than 50 countries to enlist new capabilities -- infantry, intelligence, helicopters, hospitals, and tens of thousands of troops -- to strengthen United Nations peacekeeping. (Applause.) These new capabilities can prevent mass killing, and ensure that peace agreements are more than words on paper. But we have to do it together. Together, we must strengthen our collective capacity to establish security where order has broken down, and to support those who seek a just and lasting peace.

Nowhere is our commitment to international order more tested than in Syria. When a dictator slaughters tens of thousands of his own people, that is not just a matter of one nation's internal affairs -- it breeds human suffering on an order of magnitude that affects us all. Likewise, when a terrorist group beheads captives, slaughters the innocent and enslaves women, that's not a single nation's national security problem -- that is an assault on all humanity.

I've said before and I will repeat: There is no room for accommodating an apocalyptic cult like ISIL, and the United States makes no apologies for using our military, as part of a broad coalition, to go after them. We do so with a determination to ensure that there will never be a safe haven for terrorists who carry out these crimes. And we have demonstrated over more than a decade of relentless pursuit of al Qaeda, we will not be outlasted by extremists.

But while military power is necessary, it is not sufficient to resolve the situation in Syria. Lasting stability can only take hold when the people of Syria forge an agreement to live together peacefully. The United States is prepared to work with any nation, including Russia and Iran, to resolve the conflict. But we must recognize that there cannot be, after so much bloodshed, so much carnage, a return to the pre-war status quo.

Let's remember how this started. Assad reacted to peaceful protests by escalating repression and killing that, in turn, created the environment for the current strife. And so Assad and his allies cannot

simply pacify the broad majority of a population who have been brutalized by chemical weapons and indiscriminate bombing. Yes, realism dictates that compromise will be required to end the fighting and ultimately stamp out ISIL. But realism also requires a managed transition away from Assad and to a new leader, and an inclusive government that recognizes there must be an end to this chaos so that the Syrian people can begin to rebuild.

We know that ISIL -- which emerged out of the chaos of Iraq and Syria -- depends on perpetual war to survive. But we also know that they gain adherents because of a poisonous ideology. So part of our job, together, is to work to reject such extremism that infects too many of our young people. Part of that effort must be a continued rejection by Muslims of those who distort Islam to preach intolerance and promote violence, and it must also a rejection by non-Muslims of the ignorance that equates Islam with terror. (Applause.)

This work will take time. There are no easy answers to Syria. And there are no simple answers to the changes that are taking place in much of the Middle East and North Africa. But so many families need help right now; they don't have time. And that's why the United States is increasing the number of refugees who we welcome within our borders. That's why we will continue to be the largest donor of assistance to support those refugees. And today we are launching new efforts to ensure that our people and our businesses, our universities and our NGOs can help as well -- because in the faces of suffering families, our nation of immigrants sees ourselves.

Of course, in the old ways of thinking, the plight of the powerless, the plight of refugees, the plight of the marginalized did not matter. They were on the periphery of the world's concerns. Today, our concern for them is driven not just by conscience, but should also be drive by self-interest. For helping people who have been pushed to the margins of our world is not mere charity, it is a matter of collective security. And the purpose of this institution is not merely to avoid conflict, it is to galvanize the collective action that makes life better on this planet.

The commitments we've made to the Sustainable Development Goals speak to this truth. I believe that capitalism has been the greatest creator of wealth and opportunity that the world has ever known. But from big cities to rural villages around the world, we also know that prosperity is still cruelly out of reach for too many. As His Holiness Pope Francis reminds us, we are stronger when we value the least among these, and see them as equal in dignity to ourselves and our sons and our daughters.

We can roll back preventable disease and end the scourge of HIV/AIDS. We can stamp out pandemics that recognize no borders. That work may not be on television right now, but as we demonstrated in reversing the spread of Ebola, it can save more lives than anything else we can do.

Together, we can eradicate extreme poverty and erase barriers to opportunity. But this requires a sustained commitment to our people -- so farmers can feed more people; so entrepreneurs can start a business without paying a bribe; so young people have the skills they need to succeed in this modern, knowledge-based economy.

We can promote growth through trade that meets a higher standard. And that's what we're doing through the Trans-Pacific Partnership -- a trade agreement that encompasses nearly 40 percent of the global economy; an agreement that will open markets, while protecting the rights of workers and protecting the environment that enables development to be sustained.

We can roll back the pollution that we put in our skies, and help economies lift people out of poverty without condemning our children to the ravages of an ever-warming climate. The same ingenuity that produced the Industrial Age and the Computer Age allows us to harness the potential of clean energy. No country can escape the ravages of climate change. And there is no stronger sign of leadership than putting future generations first. The United States will work with every nation that is willing to do its part so that we can come together in Paris to decisively confront this challenge.

And finally, our vision for the future of this Assembly, my belief in moving forward rather than backwards, requires us to defend the democratic principles that allow societies to succeed. Let me start from a simple premise: Catastrophes, like what we are seeing in Syria, do not take place in countries where there is genuine democracy and respect for the universal values this institution is supposed to defend. (Applause.)

I recognize that democracy is going to take different forms in different parts of the world. The very idea of a people governing themselves depends upon government giving expression to their unique culture, their unique history, their unique experiences. But some universal truths are self-evident. No person wants to be imprisoned for peaceful worship. No woman should ever be abused with impunity, or a girl barred from going to school. The freedom to peacefully petition those in power without fear of arbitrary laws -- these are not ideas of one country or one culture. They are fundamental to human progress. They are a cornerstone of this institution.

I realize that in many parts of the world there is a different view -- a belief that strong leadership must tolerate no dissent. I hear it not only from America's adversaries, but privately at least I also hear it from some of our friends. I disagree. I believe a government that suppresses peaceful dissent is not showing strength; it is showing weakness and it is showing fear. (Applause.) History shows that regimes who fear their own people will eventually crumble, but strong institutions built on the consent of the governed endure long after any one individual is gone.

That's why our strongest leaders -- from George Washington to Nelson Mandela -- have elevated the importance of building strong, democratic institutions over a thirst for perpetual power. Leaders who amend constitutions to stay in office only acknowledge that they failed to build a successful country for their people -- because none of us last forever. It tells us that power is something they cling to for its own sake, rather than for the betterment of those they purport to serve.

I understand democracy is frustrating. Democracy in the United States is certainly imperfect. At times, it can even be dysfunctional. But democracy -- the constant struggle to extend rights to more of our people, to give more people a voice -- is what allowed us to become the most powerful nation in the world. (Applause.)

It's not simply a matter of principle; it's not an abstraction. Democracy -- inclusive democracy -- makes countries stronger. When opposition parties can seek power peacefully through the ballot, a country draws upon new ideas. When a free media can inform the public, corruption and abuse are exposed and can be rooted out. When civil society thrives, communities can solve problems that governments cannot necessarily solve alone. When immigrants are welcomed, countries are more productive and more vibrant. When girls can go to school, and get a job, and pursue unlimited opportunity, that's when a country realizes its full potential. (Applause.)

That is what I believe is America's greatest strength. Not everybody in America agrees with me. That's part of democracy. I believe that the fact that you can walk the streets of this city right now and pass churches and synagogues and temples and mosques, where people worship freely; the fact that our nation of immigrants mirrors the diversity of the world -- you can find everybody from everywhere here in New York City -- (applause) -- the fact that, in this country, everybody can contribute, everybody can participate no matter who they are, or what they look like, or who they love -- that's what makes us strong.

And I believe that what is true for America is true for virtually all mature democracies. And that is no accident. We can be proud of our nations without defining ourselves in opposition to some other group. We can be patriotic without demonizing someone else. We can cherish our own identities -- our religion, our ethnicity, our traditions -- without putting others down. Our systems are premised on the notion that absolute power will corrupt, but that people -- ordinary people -- are fundamentally good; that they value family and friendship, faith and the dignity of hard work; and that with appropriate checks and balances, governments can reflect this goodness.

I believe that's the future we must seek together. To believe in the dignity of every individual, to believe we can bridge our differences, and choose cooperation over conflict -- that is not weakness, that is strength. (Applause.) It is a practical necessity in this interconnected world.

And our people understand this. Think of the Liberian doctor who went door-to-door to search for Ebola cases, and to tell families what to do if they show symptoms. Think of the Iranian shopkeeper who said, after the nuclear deal, "God willing, now we'll be able to offer many more goods at better prices." Think of the Americans who lowered the flag over our embassy in Havana in 1961 -- the year I was born -- and returned this summer to raise that flag back up. (Applause.) One of these men said of the Cuban people, "We could do things for them, and they could do things for us. We loved them." For 50 years, we ignored that fact.

Think of the families leaving everything they've known behind, risking barren deserts and stormy waters just to find shelter; just to save their children. One Syrian refugee who was greeted in Hamburg with warm greetings and shelter, said, "We feel there are still some people who love other people."

The people of our United Nations are not as different as they are told. They can be made to fear; they can be taught to hate -- but they can also respond to hope. History is littered with the failure of false prophets and fallen empires who believed that might always makes right, and that will continue to be the case. You can count on that. But we are called upon to offer a different type of leadership -- leadership strong enough to recognize that nations share common interests and people share a common humanity, and, yes, there are certain ideas and principles that are universal.

That's what those who shaped the United Nations 70 years ago understood. Let us carry forward that faith into the future -- for it is the only way we can assure that future will be brighter for my children, and for yours.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/09/28/remarks-president-obama-united-nations-general-assembly>

### **Document 3**

#### **PRIME MINISTER NAWAZ SHARIF'S STATEMENT IN UNGA**

September 30, 2015.

**Mr. President,  
Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,**

We congratulate Mr. Mogens Lykketoft for his election as President of the 70<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN General Assembly. It is the acknowledgement of your distinguished career in public service. We share your commitment to action towards building a more just and stable world.

We also pay tribute to Mr. Sam Kutesa for his able stewardship of the 69<sup>th</sup> Session.

Mr. President, seventy years ago, the United Nations was created from the ruins of the most devastating war the world has witnessed.

Its purpose was to build universal peace and prosperity on the basis of equitable principles, cooperation and collective action.

Despite the constraints of the Cold War, the United Nations served the international community as the beacon of hope; the repository of freedom; an advocate of the oppressed; a vehicle for development and progress.

But, we – the peoples of the United Nations – have not succeeded in beating our arms into ploughshares or promoting universal prosperity and larger freedoms.

Confrontation has returned between major powers at a time when many parts of the world are in turmoil. Terrorism is spreading.

Poverty and deprivation have yet to be overcome. Gross violations of human rights are rampant.

We are witnessing human dislocation – refugees and forced migrants – on a scale not witnessed for over half a century.

Our very existence is threatened by the wanton damage done to our planet's life sustaining systems.

Yet Mr. President, this is also a moment of opportunity.

Today, our interdependent world possesses the financial, scientific and organizational capabilities to address these diverse and interrelated challenges that pose a common threat to all member states.

At the historic Summit over the weekend, we have collectively committed ourselves to achieve 17 Sustainable Development Goals, to promote equitable and inclusive development for all our peoples.

The real challenge remains – to mobilize the collective political will and resources to ensure the comprehensive implementation of the agenda we have solemnly endorsed.

Pakistan has already initiated action on national goals to promote the Post-2015 Development Agenda. We are also creating a robust mechanism for the monitoring and implementation of these goals and targets.

Mr. President,

Later this year in Paris, we will need to respond with common but differentiated responsibility to the threat posed by Climate Change.

Partisan interests must not stand in the way of an ambitious and collective commitment to halt and reverse the damage done to our planet.

Mr. President,

On the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the UN, we should strive to adapt this world organization so as to respond effectively to the current and emerging challenges that confront us all.

Pakistan supports a comprehensive reform of the United Nations, including that of the Security Council.

We need a Security Council that is more democratic, representative, accountable and transparent.

A Council that reflects the interests of all member states, in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality. Not a Council, which is an expanded club of the powerful and privileged.

Mr. President,

Peacekeeping has been one of the key responsibilities of the United Nations.

Pakistan is proud of its historic and current role as a major troop contributor. We regard it as our obligation to uphold international peace and security.

Mr. President,

Pakistan is the primary victim of terrorism. We have lost thousands of lives including civilians and soldiers to terrorist violence.

The blood that has been shed – including that of our innocent children – has reinforced our resolve to eliminate this scourge from our society. We will fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, irrespective of who their sponsors are.

Our Operation, Zarb-e-Azb, is the largest anti-terrorism campaign against terrorists anywhere, involving over 180,000 of our security forces. It has made substantial progress in cleansing our country of all terrorists and will conclude only when our objective has been accomplished.

This Operation is complemented by an all-inclusive National Action Plan. It encompasses police and security actions, political and legal measures and social and economic policy packages, aimed at countering violent extremism.

The global threat of terrorism cannot be defeated unless we address its underlying causes. Poverty and ignorance are part of the problem. Extremist ideologies must be opposed.

But the narrative of the terrorists also has to be countered through the just resolution of the several instances of oppression and injustice against Muslims in various parts of the world.

Unfortunately, some seek to use the global campaign against terrorism to suppress the legitimate right of occupied peoples to self-determination.

Mr. President,

The rise and spread of terrorism across the Middle East today poses unprecedented security challenges.

Wracked by violence, ethnic and sectarian conflicts, and the rise of Daesh, several countries of the region are today the vortex of conflict and instability. Others are being sucked into this quagmire.

The tragedy of Palestine has intensified. The accepted avenue for peace between Palestine and Israel – a two state solution – appears further away today than ever before, due to the intransigent stance of the occupying power.

Yet as I speak the proud Palestinian flag is being raised just outside this hall. We hope this is just the first step. We look forward to welcoming Palestine as a full member of the United Nations.

Mr. President,

Muslims are suffering across the world: Palestinians and Kashmiris oppressed by foreign occupation; persecuted minorities; and the discrimination against Muslim refugees fleeing persecution or war.

The international community must redress these injustices against the Muslim people.

Mr. President,

We welcome the comprehensive nuclear agreement reached between Iran and the P-Five plus One.

This shows what diplomatic engagement and multilateralism can achieve. It augurs well for the peace and security of our region and beyond

Mr. President,

Pakistan-Afghan relations underwent a positive transformation after the advent of the National Unity Government in Kabul.

In response to the request from the Afghan Government and with the support of the international community, Pakistan made strenuous efforts to facilitate the process of Afghan reconciliation. Dialogue did open between the Afghan Government and the Taliban, which was an unprecedented first.

But it was unfortunate that certain developments stalled the process. Thereafter, militant attacks intensified, which we unequivocally condemn.

Pakistan will persist in the endeavor to help resume the dialogue process and promote peace and stability in Afghanistan.

We can, however, do so only if we receive the required cooperation from the Afghan government. Tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan are in neither country's interests.

We are encouraged that the international community, including the major powers, desire continuation of the peace process in Afghanistan. Mr. President,

Pakistan greatly appreciates China's proactive role in promoting peace and prosperity in Afghanistan and our region.

We welcome China's vision of "One Belt, One Road".

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, announced during President Xi Jinping's visit to Pakistan earlier this year will spur regional economic integration and bring prosperity to the entire region and beyond.

This is an inspiring model of South-South cooperation that should be emulated.

We also welcome Russia's greater focus on Asian cooperation. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which Pakistan will be joining this year as a full member, holds great promise for promoting regional connectivity.

Mr. President,

The history of South Asia is one of missed opportunities. Among its dire consequences is the persistence of poverty and deprivation in our region.

Development is my Government's first priority and has underpinned my policy to build a peaceful neighbourhood.

Our peoples need peace to prosper. Peace can be achieved through dialogue, not disengagement.

In 1997 when the Composite Dialogue was launched with India, our two countries agreed that this would encompass two principal items: Kashmir and Peace and Security, along with six other issues, including terrorism.

The primacy and urgency of addressing these two issues is even more compelling today.

Consultations with Kashmiris, who are an integral part of the dispute, are essential to evolving a peaceful solution.

Since 1947, the Kashmir dispute has remained unresolved.

UN Security Council resolutions have remained unimplemented.

Three generations of Kashmiris have only seen broken promises and brutal oppression. Over 100,000 have died in their struggle for self-determination.

This is the most persistent failure of the United Nations.

Mr. President,

When I assumed office of the Prime Minister of Pakistan in June 2013, for the third time, one of my first priorities was to normalize relations with India. I reached out to the Indian leadership to emphasize that our common enemy was poverty and underdevelopment.

Cooperation, not confrontation, should define our relationship.

Yet today ceasefire violations along the Line of Control and the Working Boundary are intensifying, causing civilian deaths including women and children.

Wisdom dictates that our immediate neighbor refrains from fomenting instability in Pakistan. The two countries should address and resolve the causes of tension and take all possible measures to avert further escalation.

That is why I want to use the opportunity today to propose a new peace initiative with India, starting with measures that are the simplest to implement:

**One**, we propose that Pakistan and India formalize and respect the 2003 understanding for a complete ceasefire on the Line of Control in Kashmir. For this purpose, we call for UNMOGIP's expansion to monitor the observance of the ceasefire.

**Two**, we propose, that Pakistan and India reaffirm that they will not resort to the use or the threat of use of force under any circumstances. This is a central element of the UN Charter.

**Three**, steps be taken to demilitarize Kashmir.

**Four**, agree to an unconditional mutual withdrawal from Siachen Glacier, the world's highest battleground.

An easing of threat perceptions through such peace efforts will make it possible for Pakistan and India to agree on a broad range of measures to address the peril posed by offensive and advanced weapons systems.

Pakistan neither wants to, nor is it engaged in, an arms race in South Asia. We cannot however remain oblivious to the evolving security dynamics and arms buildup in our region, which obliges us to take essential steps to maintain our security.

As a responsible nuclear weapon state, Pakistan will continue to support the objectives of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. We have maintained the highest standards of nuclear security and have established an effective regime to ensure the safety and security of our nuclear facilities and stocks.

South Asia needs strategic stability and this requires serious dialogue to achieve nuclear restraint, conventional balance and conflict resolution.

Finally Mr. President,

We look forward to playing our part to build a brighter era of peace and prosperity in South Asia. We owe it to our people and to succeeding generations.

I thank you Mr. President.

Source: [http://www.pmo.gov.pk/pm\\_speech\\_details.php?speech\\_id=62](http://www.pmo.gov.pk/pm_speech_details.php?speech_id=62)  
Pakistan- Nawaz Sharif

**Document 4****STATEMENT BY H.E. XI JINPING AT UNGA, SEPTEMBER 28, 2015.**

Statement by H.E. Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China  
At the General Debate of the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly  
New York, 28 September 2015

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues,

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind fought heroically and secured the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War, closing a dark page in the annals of human history. That victory was hard won.

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind, with vision and foresight, established the United Nations. This universal and most representative and authoritative international organization has carried mankind's hope for a new future and ushered in a new era of cooperation. It was a pioneering initiative never undertaken before.

Seventy years ago, the earlier generation of mankind pooled together their wisdom and adopted the Charter of the United Nations, laying the cornerstone of the contemporary international order, and establishing the fundamental principles of contemporary international relations. This was an achievement of profound impact.

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues,

On the third of September, the Chinese people, together with the world's people, solemnly commemorated the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the World Anti-Fascist War. As the main theater in the East, China made a national sacrifice of over 35 million casualties in its fight against the majority troops of Japanese militarism. It not only saved itself and its people from subjugation, but also gave strong support to the forces against aggression in the European and Pacific theaters, thus making a historic contribution to the victory of the World Anti-Fascist War.

History is a mirror. Only by drawing lessons from history can the world avoid repeating past calamity. We should view history with awe and human conscience. The past cannot be changed, but the future can be shaped. Bearing history in mind is not to perpetuate hatred. Rather, it is for mankind not to forget its lesson. Remembering history does not mean being obsessed with the past. Rather, in doing so, we aim to create a better future and pass the torch of peace from generation to generation.

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues,

The United Nations has gone through the test of time over the past seven decades. It has witnessed efforts made by all countries to uphold

peace, build homeland and pursue cooperation. Having reached a new historical starting point, the United Nations needs to address the central issue of how to better promote world peace and development in the 21st century.

The world is going through a historical process of accelerated evolution: The sunshine of peace, development and progress will be powerful enough to penetrate the clouds of war, poverty and backwardness. The movement toward a multi-polar world, and the rise of emerging markets and developing countries have become an irresistible trend of history. Economic globalization and the advent of an information age have vastly unleashed and boosted social productive forces. They have both created unprecedented development opportunities and given rise to new threats and: challenges which we must face squarely.

As an ancient Chinese adage goes, "The greatest ideal is to create a world truly shared by all." Peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom are common values of all mankind and the lofty goals of the United Nations. Yet these goals are far from being achieved, and we must continue our endeavor to meet them. In today's world, all countries are interdependent and share a common future. We should renew our commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, build a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, and create a community of shared future for mankind. To achieve this goal, we need to make the following efforts:

We should build partnerships in which countries treat each other as equals, engage in mutual consultation and show mutual understanding. The principle of sovereign equality underpins the UN Charter. The future of the world must be shaped by all countries. All countries are equals. The big, strong and rich should not bully the small, weak and poor. The principle of sovereignty not only means that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries are inviolable and their internal affairs are not subjected to interference. It also means that all countries' right to independently choose social systems and development paths should be upheld, and that all countries' endeavors to promote economic and social development and improve their people's lives should be respected.

We should be committed to multilateralism and reject unilateralism. We should adopt a new vision of seeking win-win outcomes for all, and reject the outdated mindset that one's gain means the other's loss or that the winner shall take all. Consultation is an important form of democracy, and it should also become an important means of exercising contemporary international governance. We should resolve disputes and differences through dialogue and consultation. We should forge a global partnership at both international and regional levels, and embrace a new approach to state-to-state relations, one that features dialogue rather than confrontation, and seeks partnership rather than alliance. Major countries should follow the principles of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual

respect and win-win cooperation in handling their relations. Big countries should treat small countries as equals, and take a right approach to justice and interests by putting justice before interests.

We should create a security architecture featuring fairness, justice, joint contribution and shared benefits. In the age of economic globalization, the security of all countries is interlinked and has impact on one another. No country can maintain absolute security with its own effort, and no country can achieve stability out of other countries' instability. The law of the jungle leaves the weak at the mercy of the strong; it is not the way for countries to conduct their relations. Those who adopt the high-handed approach of using force will find that they are only lifting a rock to drop on their own feet.

We should abandon Cold War mentality in all its manifestation, and foster a new vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. We should give full play to the central role of the United Nations and its Security Council in ending conflict and keeping peace, and adopt the dual approach of seeking peaceful solution to disputes and taking mandatory actions, so as to turn hostility into amity.

We should advance international cooperation in both economic and social fields and take a holistic approach to addressing traditional and non-traditional security threats, so as to prevent conflicts from breaking out in the first place.

We should promote open, innovative and inclusive development that benefits all. The 2008 international financial crisis has taught us that allowing capital to blindly pursue profit can only create a crisis and that global prosperity cannot be built on the shaky foundation of a market without moral constraints. The growing gap between rich and poor is both unsustainable and unfair. It is important for us to use both the invisible hand and the visible hand to form synergy between market forces and government function and strive to achieve both efficiency and fairness.

Development is meaningful only when it is inclusive and sustainable. To achieve such development requires openness, mutual assistance and win-win cooperation. In the world today, close to 800 million people still live in extreme poverty, nearly six million kids die before the age of five each year and nearly 60 million children are unable to go to school. The just concluded UN Sustainable Development Summit adopted the Post-2015 Development Agenda. We must translate our commitments into actions and work together to ensure that everyone is free from want, has access to development and lives with dignity.

We should, increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences. The world is simply more colorful as a result of its cultural diversity. Diversity breeds exchanges, exchanges create integration, and integration makes progress possible.

In their interactions, civilizations must accept their differences. Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world maintain its diversity and thrive. Each civilization represents the unique vision and contribution of its people, and no civilization is superior to others. Different civilizations should have dialogue and exchanges instead of trying to exclude or replace each other. The history of mankind is a process of active exchanges, interactions and integration among different civilizations. We should respect all civilizations and treat each other as equals. We should draw inspirations from each other to boost the creative development of human civilization. We should build an ecosystem that puts Mother Nature and green development first. Mankind may utilize nature and even try to transform it. But we are after all a part of nature. We should care for nature and not place ourselves above it. We should reconcile industrial development with nature and pursue harmony between man and nature to achieve sustainable development of the world and the all-round development of man.

To build a sound ecology is vital for mankind's future. All members of the international community should work together to build a sound global eco-environment. We should respect nature, follow nature's ways and protect nature. We should firmly pursue green, low-carbon, circular, and sustainable development. China will shoulder its share of responsibility and continue to play its part in this common endeavor. We also urge developed countries to fulfill their historical responsibility, honor their emission reduction commitments and help developing countries mitigate and adapt to climate change.

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues,

The over 1.3 billion and more Chinese people are endeavoring to realize the Chinese dream of great national renewal. The dream of the Chinese people is closely connected with the dreams of other peoples of the world. We cannot realize the Chinese dream without a peaceful international environment, a stable international order and the understanding, support and help from the rest of the world. The realization of the Chinese dream will bring more opportunities to other countries and contribute to global peace and development.

China will continue to participate in building world peace. We are committed to peaceful development. No matter how the international landscape may evolve and how strong it may become, China will never pursue hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence.

China will continue to contribute to global development. We will continue to pursue common development and the win-win strategy of opening up. We are ready to share our development experience and opportunities with other countries and welcome them to board China's express train of development so that all of us will achieve common development.

China will continue to uphold the international order. We will stay committed to the path of development through cooperation. China was the first country to put its signature on the UN Charter. We will continue to uphold the international order and system underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. China will continue to stand together with other developing countries. We firmly support greater representation and say of developing countries, especially African countries, in the international governance system. China's vote in the United Nations will always belong to the developing countries.

I wish to take this opportunity to announce China's decision to establish a 10-year, US\$1 billion China-UN peace and development fund to support the UN's work, advance multilateral cooperation and contribute more to world peace and development. I wish to announce that China will join the new UN Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System and has thus decided to take the lead in setting up a permanent peacekeeping police squad and build a peacekeeping standby force of 8,000 troops. I also wish to announce that China will provide a total of US\$100 million of free military assistance to the African Union in the next five years to support the establishment of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis.

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues,

As the United Nations enters a new decade, let us unite ever more closely to forge a new partnership of win-win cooperation and a community of shared future for mankind. Let the vision of a world free of war and with lasting peace take root in our hearts. Let the aspiration of development, prosperity, fairness and justice spread across the world!

Thank you.

Source: <http://qz.com/512886/read-the-full-text-of-xi-jinpings-first-un-address/>

## **Document 5**

### **President Vladimir Putin's statement at UNGA, September 28, 2015.**

Mr. President,  
Mr. Secretary General,  
Distinguished heads of state and government,  
Ladies and gentlemen,

The 70th anniversary of the United Nations is a good occasion to both take stock of history and talk about our common future. In 1945, the countries that defeated Nazism joined their efforts to lay a solid foundation for the post war world order. Let me remind you that key decisions on the principles defining interaction between states, as well as the decision to establish the UN, were made in our country, at the Yalta Conference of the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition.

The Yalta system was truly born in travail. It was born at the cost of tens of millions of lives and two world wars that swept through the planet in the 20th century. Let's be fair: it helped humankind pass through turbulent, and at times dramatic, events of the last seven decades. It saved the world from large-scale upheavals.

The United Nations is unique in terms of legitimacy, representation and universality.

The United Nations is unique in terms of legitimacy, representation and universality. True, the UN has been criticized lately for being inefficient or for the fact that decision-making on fundamental issues stalls due to insurmountable differences, especially among Security Council members.

However, I'd like to point out that there have always been differences in the UN throughout the 70 years of its history, and that the right to veto has been regularly used by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, China and the Soviet Union, and later Russia. It is only natural for such a diverse and representative organization. When the UN was first established, nobody expected that there would always be unanimity. The mission of the organization is to seek and reach compromises, and its strength comes from taking different views and opinions into consideration. The decisions debated within the UN are either taken in the form of resolutions or not. As diplomats say, they either pass or they don't. Any action taken by circumventing this procedure is illegitimate and constitutes a violation of the UN Charter and contemporary international law.

We all know that after the end of the Cold War the world was left with one center of dominance, and those who found themselves at the top of the pyramid were tempted to think that, since they are so powerful and exceptional, they know best what needs to be done and thus they

don't need to reckon with the UN, which, instead of rubber-stamping the decisions they need, often stands in their way.

That's why they say that the UN has run its course and is now obsolete and outdated. Of course, the world changes, and the UN should also undergo natural transformation. Russia is ready to work together with its partners to develop the UN further on the basis of a broad consensus, but we consider any attempts to undermine the legitimacy of the United Nations as extremely dangerous. They may result in the collapse of the entire architecture of international relations, and then indeed there will be no rules left except for the rule of force. The world will be dominated by selfishness rather than collective effort, by dictate rather than equality and liberty, and instead of truly independent states we will have protectorates controlled from outside.

What is the meaning of state sovereignty, the term which has been mentioned by our colleagues here? It basically means freedom, every person and every state being free to choose their future.

By the way, this brings us to the issue of the so-called legitimacy of state authorities. You shouldn't play with words and manipulate them. In international law, international affairs, every term has to be clearly defined, transparent and interpreted the same way by one and all.

We are all different, and we should respect that. Nations shouldn't be forced to all conform to the same development model that somebody has declared the only appropriate one.

We should all remember the lessons of the past. For example, we remember examples from our Soviet past, when the Soviet Union exported social experiments, pushing for changes in other countries for ideological reasons, and this often led to tragic consequences and caused degradation instead of progress.

It seems, however, that instead of learning from other people's mistakes, some prefer to repeat them and continue to export revolutions, only now these are "democratic" revolutions. Just look at the situation in the Middle East and Northern Africa already mentioned by the previous speaker. Of course, political and social problems have been piling up for a long time in this region, and people there wanted change. But what was the actual outcome? Instead of bringing about reforms, aggressive intervention rashly destroyed government institutions and the local way of life. Instead of democracy and progress, there is now violence, poverty, social disasters and total disregard for human rights, including even the right to life.

I'm urged to ask those who created this situation: do you at least realize now what you've done? But I'm afraid that this question will remain unanswered, because they have never abandoned their policy, which is based on arrogance, exceptionalism and impunity.

Power vacuum in some countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa obviously resulted in the emergence of areas of anarchy, which

were quickly filled with extremists and terrorists. The so-called Islamic State has tens of thousands of militants fighting for it, including former Iraqi soldiers who were left on the street after the 2003 invasion. Many recruits come from Libya whose statehood was destroyed as a result of a gross violation of UN Security Council Resolution 1973. And now radical groups are joined by members of the so-called “moderate” Syrian opposition backed by the West. They get weapons and training, and then they defect and join the so-called Islamic State.

Power vacuum in some countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa obviously resulted in the emergence of areas of anarchy, which were quickly filled with extremists and terrorists.

In fact, the Islamic State itself did not come out of nowhere. It was initially developed as a weapon against undesirable secular regimes. Having established control over parts of Syria and Iraq, Islamic State now aggressively expands into other regions. It seeks dominance in the Muslim world and beyond. Their plans go further.

The situation is extremely dangerous. In these circumstances, it is hypocritical and irresponsible to make declarations about the threat of terrorism and at the same time turn a blind eye to the channels used to finance and support terrorists, including revenues from drug trafficking, the illegal oil trade and the arms trade.

It is equally irresponsible to manipulate extremist groups and use them to achieve your political goals, hoping that later you’ll find a way to get rid of them or somehow eliminate them.

I’d like to tell those who engage in this: Gentlemen, the people you are dealing with are cruel but they are not dumb. They are as smart as you are. So, it’s a big question: who’s playing who here? The recent incident where the most “moderate” opposition group handed over their weapons to terrorists is a vivid example of that.

We consider that any attempts to flirt with terrorists, let alone arm them, are short-sighted and extremely dangerous. This may make the global terrorist threat much worse, spreading it to new regions around the globe, especially since there are fighters from many different countries, including European ones, gaining combat experience with Islamic State. Unfortunately, Russia is no exception.

Now that those thugs have tasted blood, we can’t allow them to return home and continue with their criminal activities. Nobody wants that, right?

Russia has consistently opposed terrorism in all its forms. Today, we provide military-technical assistance to Iraq, Syria and other regional countries fighting terrorist groups. We think it’s a big mistake to refuse to cooperate with the Syrian authorities and government forces who valiantly fight terrorists on the ground.

We should finally admit that President Assad’s government forces and the Kurdish militia are the only forces really fighting terrorists

in Syria. Yes, we are aware of all the problems and conflicts in the region, but we definitely have to consider the actual situation on the ground.

What we propose is to join efforts to address the problems that all of us are facing, and create a genuinely broad international coalition against terrorism.

Dear colleagues, I must note that such an honest and frank approach on Russia's part has been recently used as a pretext for accusing it of its growing ambitions — as if those who say that have no ambitions at all. However, it is not about Russia's ambitions, dear colleagues, but about the recognition of the fact that we can no longer tolerate the current state of affairs in the world.

What we actually propose is to be guided by common values and common interests rather than by ambitions. Relying on international law, we must join efforts to address the problems that all of us are facing, and create a genuinely broad international coalition against terrorism. Similar to the anti-Hitler coalition, it could unite a broad range of parties willing to stand firm against those who, just like the Nazis, sow evil and hatred of humankind. And of course, Muslim nations should play a key role in such a coalition, since Islamic State not only poses a direct threat to them, but also tarnishes one of the greatest world religions with its atrocities. The ideologues of these extremists make a mockery of Islam and subvert its true humanist values.

I would also like to address Muslim spiritual leaders: Your authority and your guidance are of great importance right now. It is essential to prevent people targeted for recruitment by extremists from making hasty decisions, and those who have already been deceived and, due to various circumstances, found themselves among terrorists, must be assisted in finding a way back to normal life, laying down arms and putting an end to fratricide.

In the days to come, Russia, as the current President of the UN Security Council, will convene a ministerial meeting to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the threats in the Middle East. First of all, we propose exploring opportunities for adopting a resolution that would serve to coordinate the efforts of all parties that oppose Islamic State and other terrorist groups. Once again, such coordination should be based upon the principles of the UN Charter.

We hope that the international community will be able to develop a comprehensive strategy of political stabilization, as well as social and economic recovery in the Middle East. Then, dear friends, there would be no need for setting up more refugee camps. Today, the flow of people forced to leave their native land has literally engulfed, first, the neighbouring countries, and then Europe. There are hundreds of thousands of them now, and before long, there might be millions. It is, essentially, a new, tragic Migration Period, and a harsh lesson for all of us, including Europe.

I believe it is of utmost importance to help restore government institutions in Libya, support the new government of Iraq, and provide comprehensive assistance to the legitimate government of Syria.

I would like to stress that refugees undoubtedly need our compassion and support. However, the only way to solve this problem for good is to restore statehood where it has been destroyed, to strengthen government institutions where they still exist, or are being re-established, to provide comprehensive military, economic and material assistance to countries in a difficult situation, and certainly to people who, despite all their ordeals, did not abandon their homes. Of course, any assistance to sovereign nations can, and should, be offered rather than imposed, in strict compliance with the UN Charter. In other words, our Organisation should support any measures that have been, or will be, taken in this regard in accordance with international law, and reject any actions that are in breach of the UN Charter. Above all, I believe it is of utmost importance to help restore government institutions in Libya, support the new government of Iraq, and provide comprehensive assistance to the legitimate government of Syria.

Dear colleagues, ensuring peace and global and regional stability remains a key task for the international community guided by the United Nations. We believe this means creating an equal and indivisible security environment that would not serve a privileged few, but everyone. Indeed, it is a challenging, complicated and time-consuming task, but there is simply no alternative.

Sadly, some of our counterparts are still dominated by their Cold War-era bloc mentality and the ambition to conquer new geopolitical areas. First, they continued their policy of expanding NATO – one should wonder why, considering that the Warsaw Pact had ceased to exist and the Soviet Union had disintegrated.

The people of Donbas should have their rights and interests genuinely considered, and their choice respected; they should be engaged in devising the key elements of the country's political system, in line with the provisions of the Minsk agreements.

Nevertheless, NATO has kept on expanding, together with its military infrastructure. Next, the post-Soviet states were forced to face a false choice between joining the West and carrying on with the East. Sooner or later, this logic of confrontation was bound to spark off a major geopolitical crisis. And that is exactly what happened in Ukraine, where the people's widespread frustration with the government was used for instigating a coup d'état from abroad. This has triggered a civil war. We are convinced that the only way out of this dead end lies through comprehensive and diligent implementation of the Minsk agreements of February 12th, 2015. Ukraine's territorial integrity cannot be secured through the use of threats or military force, but it must be secured. The people of Donbas should have their rights and interests genuinely

considered, and their choice respected; they should be engaged in devising the key elements of the country's political system, in line with the provisions of the Minsk agreements. Such steps would guarantee that Ukraine will develop as a civilized state, and a vital link in creating a common space of security and economic cooperation, both in Europe and in Eurasia.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have deliberately mentioned a common space for economic cooperation. Until quite recently, it seemed that we would learn to do without dividing lines in the area of the economy with its objective market laws, and act based on transparent and jointly formulated rules, including the WTO principles, which embrace free trade and investment and fair competition. However, unilaterally imposed sanctions circumventing the UN Charter have all but become commonplace today. They not only serve political objectives, but are also used for eliminating market competition.

I would like to note one more sign of rising economic selfishness. A number of nations have chosen to create exclusive economic associations, with their establishment being negotiated behind closed doors, secretly from those very nations' own public and business communities, as well as from the rest of the world. Other states, whose interests may be affected, have not been informed of anything, either. It seems that someone would like to impose upon us some new game rules, deliberately tailored to accommodate the interests of a privileged few, with the WTO having no say in it. This is fraught with utterly unbalancing global trade and splitting up the global economic space.

These issues affect the interests of all nations and influence the future of the entire global economy. That is why we propose discussing those issues within the framework of the United Nations, the WTO and the G20. Contrary to the policy of exclusion, Russia advocates harmonizing regional economic projects. I am referring to the so-called "integration of integrations" based on the universal and transparent rules of international trade. As an example, I would like to cite our plans to interconnect the Eurasian Economic Union with China's initiative for creating a Silk Road economic belt. We continue to see great promise in harmonizing the integration vehicles between the Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, one more issue that shall affect the future of the entire humankind is climate change. It is in our interest to ensure that the coming UN Climate Change Conference that will take place in Paris in December this year should deliver some feasible results. As part of our national contribution, we plan to limit greenhouse gas emissions to 70–75 percent of the 1990 levels by the year 2030.

However, I suggest that we take a broader look at the issue. Admittedly, we may be able to defuse it for a while by introducing emission quotas and using other tactical measures, but we certainly will

not solve it for good that way. What we need is an essentially different approach, one that would involve introducing new, groundbreaking, nature-like technologies that would not damage the environment, but rather work in harmony with it, enabling us to restore the balance between the biosphere and technology upset by human activities.

We propose convening a special forum under the auspices of the UN to comprehensively address issues related to the depletion of natural resources, habitat destruction, and climate change.

It is indeed a challenge of global proportions. And I am confident that humanity does have the necessary intellectual capacity to respond to it. We need to join our efforts, primarily engaging countries that possess strong research and development capabilities, and have made significant advances in fundamental research. We propose convening a special forum under the auspices of the UN to comprehensively address issues related to the depletion of natural resources, habitat destruction, and climate change. Russia is willing to co-sponsor such a forum.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear colleagues. On January 10th, 1946, the UN General Assembly convened for its first meeting in London. Chairman of the Preparatory Commission Dr. Zuleta Angel, a Colombian diplomat, opened the session by offering what I see as a very concise definition of the principles that the United Nations should be based upon, which are good will, disdain for scheming and trickery, and a spirit of cooperation. Today, his words sound like guidance for all of us.

Russia is confident of the United Nations' enormous potential, which should help us avoid a new confrontation and embrace a strategy of cooperation. Hand in hand with other nations, we will consistently work to strengthen the UN's central, coordinating role. I am convinced that by working together, we will make the world stable and safe, and provide an enabling environment for the development of all nations and peoples.

Thank you.

Source: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/50385>

This document is also available at

<http://gadebate.un.org/70/russian-federation>

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<b>Reference to a Newspaper:</b>	<i>Dawn</i> (Islamabad), July 30, 2007.
<b>Reference to an Internet Source:</b>	Hamid Hussain, "The Tale of a Love Affair that Never Was: United States-Pakistan Defence Relations," <i>Pakistan Horizon</i> June, 2002, <a href="http://www.pakistanhorizon.com/2002/june/loveaffair.html">www.pakistanhorizon.com/2002/june/loveaffair.ht ml</a> . (accessed September 2, 2009)

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2. Date should be written as December 7, 2007.
3. Abbreviations should be written in brackets after writing within bracket after spelling the acronym in full at first use, e.g., the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Subsequently only SAARC should be used without bracket.
4. Word "per cent" should be used instead of sign "%".

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# Journal of Contemporary Studies

## Faculty of Contemporary Studies 2014

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