

**Journal of
Contemporary
Studies**

Summer 2017
ISSN 2227-3883
Vol VI, No.1

Journal of Contemporary Studies

Summer 2017, Vol VI, No.1



Faculty of Contemporary Studies
National Defence University
Islamabad, Pakistan

Journal of Contemporary Studies

A biannual publication of Faculty of Contemporary Studies

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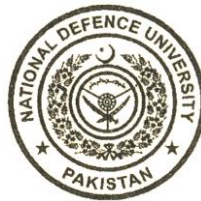
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Editor's Note

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, inter-disciplinary academic and intellectual discourse. It is a biannual, double blind peer-reviewed journal which offers its readers - in academia, the government as well as policymaking circles - insightful scholarly analyses, diverse policy perspectives on important contemporary issues, and ongoing debates concerning national and international security, public policy and the wider field of world politics

This issue comprises of five articles, two book reviews and five documents providing valuable primary information on significant international developments. The first article, titled *Comparative Study of Soft Power in South Asia: India and Pakistan* by Dr. Saima Ashraf Kayani, Asia Karim and Raja Qaiser elucidate the concept and relevance of soft power in South Asia. It focuses on the cases of India and Pakistan and their global image. It argues that considering a number of post-independence crises such as the internal security issues, political instability, and War on Terror, Pakistan has struggled with its soft image and India has been comparatively successful here. Yet, still both India and Pakistan haven't formulated a well-defined policy on how soft power is best utilized.

The second article titled, *State of Controlled Media in the Age of Globalization: A Case Study of Pakistan Television* by Dr. Amna Mahmood and Noor-ul-Ain analyses the essential connection between globalization and media liberalization and explains how state-controlled media in today's technological revolution still holds its ground. The authors, by taking Pakistan Television as a case study, underline that media regulations in developing democracies like Pakistan must be under parliament's oversight for ensuring people's right to information and media liberalization while simultaneously securing the national interests.

The third article, *Pak-India Composite Dialogue: Trends in Media Coverage* by Dr. Muhammad Sajjad Malik examines media's interaction with the peace process, which was abruptly suspended after the Mumbai attack in 2008. It offers content analysis of eight selected newspapers, four from each country, during nine selected days (sum of three 3-day periods) in January 2004, April 2005 and July 2006 each. It argues that the media went into an overdrive in giving coverage to the peace process yet it adopted the official jingoistic narrative, which in-turn limited the public's

exposure to information and discourse to promote peace. Towards the end it posits that the Pakistani media was found to be more optimistic than India in its peace coverage.

The fourth article, *Exploring the Role of Ideational Forces in Indo-Pak Relations* by Fareha Iqtidar Khan entails an evaluation of the relationship between India and Pakistan with respect to the intangible ideational forces that shape the identity, security dynamics and political relations between the two. It analyses the various ways in which the ideational factors of religion and historical experiences come into play in the states' discourses, the media and the non-state actors' narrative.

The last article, *Indian Factor in Pak-Iran Relations* by Muhammad Sohail and Hamid Iqbal examines the relationship between Pakistan and Iran since 1979. The authors argue that Pak-Iran divergence vis-a-vis Afghanistan served as a stimulus for Indo-Iranian strategic convergence, which India is exploiting to circumvent Pakistan in its western backyard. There is thus a great need to rejuvenate Pakistan-Iranian bilateral ties by boosting energy trade, developing border security mechanism and addressing the issue of terrorism.

I am grateful to all the contributors who have sent their articles for this issue, and the anonymous peer-reviewers whose valuable comments helped authors to improve their contributions. We hope that the study of this journal will invoke desire among readers to contribute their perspectives in the ongoing academic discourses. Contributions are invited from a 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, development studies, and foreign policy analysis etc.

We are accepting articles for the upcoming issue of the Journal of Contemporary Studies based on an 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 promotes 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 intends to stimulate interdisciplinary research and writing.

Editor
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar

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COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOFT POWER IN SOUTH ASIA: INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Dr. Saima Ashraf Kayani*,
Asia Karim** & Raja Qaiser***

Abstract

The concept of soft power is new to South Asia. Two major countries, India and Pakistan, are struggling to improve their image globally. Both countries have enough sources to manifest soft power, however, culture, political values, and foreign policies are the parameters this research uses to analyse the relevance of soft power in South Asia. It is argued that due to difficult post-independence internal security issues, political instability, socio-economic conditions, Afghan jihad and War on Terror, it is hard for Pakistan to pay attention to its soft image. Comparatively, India has had more success in improving its image globally. Though both India and Pakistan are trying to improve their image globally using soft power tools, both lack a well-defined policy on how it can best be utilised.

Key Words: *India, Pakistan, South Asia, Soft Power, Culture, Political Values, Foreign Policy*

Introduction

The concept of power is as old as human civilization. Power has always remained an important and central feature in traditional IR theories and literature. It is essentially the ability of an actor to achieve set goals and objectives. Traditionally, power was construed in terms of hard power, which amounts to military might. After the Cold War, a new concept of power emerged in international relations; a result of the processes of globalization, and the subsequent proliferation of information

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and communication technologies. This new concept of power has been named “soft power” by Joseph S. Nye and implies “the ability of a state to accomplish its goals through attraction rather than through punishment or the threat of punishment.” Tools of attracting others as explained by Nye are all intangible such as culture, societal and political values, and internal and external policies.¹

The history of South Asia comprising of asymmetric power relations, territorial and political disputes and ideological differences has deterred or slackened the application of soft power strategies as an instrument of state policy in the region. That is why the region has remained engrossed in turmoil, wars and crises since the end of British colonization.² In South Asia today, India is utilizing its culture, economy, politics, media, diasporas and foreign policy in an effective manner to present its softer image.³ Currently, Indian policies are more acceptable internationally; it is seen as a tolerant, democratic, and peace-loving state worldwide and an important actor in world politics. Such image is an outcome of effective and intelligent utilization of the soft power potential at its disposal. On the other hand, Pakistan is facing many problems in this regard, most important being that it is viewed as an intolerant, extremist and terrorism-supporting state.

In the recent past, Pakistan has remained somewhat isolated in world politics and its global image is not very positive. This is due to the post-independence internal and external situation of Pakistan. Furthermore, Pakistan’s policymakers have been unable to pay due attention to the softer aspects of Pakistan’s power potential and have overly relied on hard power.⁴ Important post-1947 factors responsible for this are: Pakistan’s security issues, its pro-American orientation in the cold war politics, its role in Afghan jihad and War on Terror, India’s attempts at defaming Pakistan, the evolving US-India axis to counter China and to minimize Pakistan’s role in Afghanistan, and the construction of Chabahar port as a potential counter to CPEC. These and many other factors did not leave enough space and time for any government in Islamabad to concentrate on image building strategies for Pakistan.

1. Uma Purushothaman, “Shifting Perceptions of Power : Soft Power and Indian Foreign Policy,” *Journal of Peace Studies* 17, no 2 &3 (2010).

2. Patryk Kugiel, “India’s Soft Power in South Asia,” *Journal of International Studies* 49, no. 3-4(2012).

3. Kulani Wijayabahu, “Strengths and Challenges for Utilizing Indian Soft Power: A Comparative Study with United States of America,” *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publication* 4, no. 12 (2014).

4. Dr. Hassan Jalil Shah, Qaiser Ajmal Khattak & Dr. Saman Attiq, “Soft Power and its Efficiency: A Case Study of Pakistan,” *IPRI Journal* XVI, no 2 (2016).

This article starts with the conceptualizing soft power. It then assesses soft power in South Asia, taking India and Pakistan as two states using soft power strategies. India and Pakistan's soft power strategies regarding culture, politics and foreign policies are explained in detail. Further, it is argued that India is successfully utilizing its soft power tools to improve its image globally, whereas Pakistan is unable to optimally utilize its soft power resources. However, both India and Pakistan are still unable to present any official policy related to their soft image.

Conceptualization of Power and Soft Power

Power is defined differently by different scholars. The Oxford dictionary defines power as the "ability to do or act". Political scientist Robert Dahl defines power as "the ability to get others to do what they otherwise would not do."⁵ However, to make others do what someone wants them to do certainly requires some resources. These resources must be measurable and tangible. In the past, it was easier to evaluate and estimate power resources like population, territory, weapons etc. With the Industrial Revolution and advancement of science and technology, the concept of power has changed. At the international level, states having modern technology, developed economies and infrastructure, an educated and skilful population, an independent foreign policy etc. are more powerful. Thus, both tangible and intangible aspects of power turn out to be significant and essential.⁶ "The second face of power"⁷ bases itself on directive or command power manifested through inducement and threats. There is also indirect co-optive power where states agree to comply.⁸ Joseph S. Nye Jr explains cooperative power in the following words:

Co-optive power can rest on the attraction of one's ideas or on the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences that others express.... The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions. This dimension can be thought of as soft power, in contrast to the hard command power usually associated with tangible resources like military and economic strength.⁹

5. I. Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1961) cited in Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "The Changing Nature of World Power," *Political Science Quarterly* 105, no. 2 (Summer, 1990): 177.

6. *Ibid.*, 178-180.

7. Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Non-decisions: An Analytical Framework," *American Political Science Review* 57 (September 1963): 632-42.

8. Joseph S. Nye Jr., "The Changing Nature of World Power," 181.

9. *Ibid.*

Thus, the old notion of power has changed. Rather than aspiring for hard power, states are now counting on the soft power paradigm. According to Joseph S Nye Jr.:

A country's soft power can come from three resources: its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority).¹⁰

Joshua Kurlantzick, in his book *Charm Offensive*, (2007), explains that, "soft power has changed overtime." He defined soft power as "anything outside of the military and security realm, including not only popular culture and public diplomacy but also more coercive economic and diplomatic levers like aid and investment and participation in multilateral organizations."¹¹

The concept of soft power, introduced by Joseph S. Nye Jr. in the 1990s, has turned out to be a popular concept in international politics. Presently, at the global level, countries are trying to strengthen their soft power potential and project it well. This trend has emerged due to developed economies, modern technologies and well informed public. Countries like US, China, Russia, Brazil, Egypt, India, Bangladesh and many others have embraced soft power as a strategy to achieve their national interests. Soft power is about the future standing and perceived image of powers in international community. Monocle, an English Media Company, conducts a soft power survey every year:

... It ranks nations according to their 'soft power'; the amount of attractiveness and thus influence a country has within the world. Ranking nations according to their standard of government, diplomatic infrastructure, cultural output, capacity for education and appeal to business, the list is calculated using around 50 factors that indicate the use of 'soft power', including the number of cultural missions, Olympic medals, the quality of a country's architecture and business brands.¹²

10. Joseph S. Nye. Jr., "Thinking Again: Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, February 23, 2006,

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2006/02/22/think_again_soft_power

11. Elmie Konwar Rengma, "Soft Power Game: A Study of China, India and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Tripartite,"

India China Institute ,<http://indiachinainstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/Elmie-Soft-Power-Game-A-Study-of-China-India-and-SAARC-Tripartite.pdf>

12. "Who Rules The World?- Monocle's Top Twenty (Overview), *World Press*," November 20, 2012, <https://howtoattractpublicsandinfluencestates.wordpress.com/2012/11/20/who-rules-the-world-monocles-top-twenty-overview/>.

The *Rapid-Growth Markets Soft Power Index* report (2012) has mentioned thirteen variables of soft power for emerging market economies. These are divided into three categories: global image (a country's popularity globally), global integrity (country's respect for its own citizens and respect for others neighbours) and global integration (a country's interconnectivity with the rest of the world).¹³ The global image category includes media exports, language enrolments, Olympics, Time's 100 and most admired companies as its indicators. Indicators included in the global integrity category are rule of law, freedom index, voter turnout, and CO2 emissions; and the global integration comprises of immigration, tourism, university rankings and English fluency as its indicators.¹⁴

It is a narrow assumption that soft power is more related to foreign policy (political) objectives. However, it also has its economic dimensions too, which are hard to ignore. The emerging economies or emerging markets are an example to cite. The developing economies of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India and China), N-11 (Next 11 are Bangladesh, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Vietnam, South Korea, Nigeria, Mexico, Pakistan and Philippine) and CIVETS (Colombia, Indonesia, Egypt, Turkey, South Africa, and Vietnam) will play an important role in the world economy and politics. This belief is based on the following factors: financial stability, foreign direct investment, world-famous companies and brands, economic contribution in international organizations like UN, viable economic model etc. On the other hand, international domination is linked with the soft image of a country where countries have to compete in terms of soft power to obtain foreign direct investment, development aid, economic assistance and access to foreign businesses and global production networks. These are the indexes that link economy with soft power.

Soft Power in South Asia

Taking post World War II period as a starting point, South Asia was tangled in conflicts, rivalries and wars at that time. According to Kanti Bajpai the broader sources of conflict in South Asia included: power asymmetry between the countries of South Asia especially India and its neighbours, territorial disputes, involvement of other states in the internal

¹³. Ernst & Young, *Rapid-growth Markets Soft power Index* (Spring 2012), https://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Rapid-growth_markets:_Soft_power_index/%24FILE/Rapid-growth_markets-Soft_Power_Index-Spring_2012.pdf.

¹⁴. *Ibid.*, 7-9.

affairs of South Asian states and identity clashes.¹⁵ South Asian states utilized hard power after their independence as an ultimate solution to conflicts. This hard power culture was rooted in security issues, political approaches, civilization diversity, cultural differences and economic dealings. However, in the 21st century, the changing concept of power is also making inroads in South Asia. The Indian government with its public diplomacy and 'incredible India' branding is making efforts to project India's soft image. India utilizes its democracy, diversified culture, cuisine, Information Technology, student exchange programs, movies, songs, resorts and diaspora towards this end. In Pakistan, there is currently a debate amongst academia and media about how to improve its image globally and how best to utilize its soft power potential; yet the Pakistani government does not have a well-defined soft power strategy and a broader policy to implement.

Soft Power and Pakistan

Any state confronted with a host of internal and external threats cannot ignore its military preparedness.¹⁶ The same is true for Pakistan. Since its inception, Pakistan has been facing security threats from India and Afghanistan. The focus of Pakistani policy makers since 1947 remained on hard power so to ensure its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Facing crises one after the other, it was difficult for Pakistan to balance out soft and hard aspects of its strategies. Thus, soft power has been missing in the strategic and political endeavours of Pakistan throughout history.¹⁷

With the processes of globalization and the proliferation of information and communication technologies internationally, the concept of power has greatly evolved. This change puts Pakistan in a challenging situation, as despite being a frontline state in the global war against terrorism and being a continuous victim of terrorism itself, the global community views it negatively. A host of factors like weak democratic structure, political instability, poor economy, illiteracy and support of the 1979 Afghan Jihad have contributed to this image problem.¹⁸ According to Ijaz Shafi Gilani, Chairperson Gallup Pakistan, a survey conducted by

15. Kanti Bajpai, "Managing Conflict in South Asia," in Paul F. Diehl, and Joseph Lepgold, *Regional Conflict Management* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 209-212.

16. M. Ramzan, "Determinants of Defense Expenditures in Pakistan and India: An ARDL Bounds Testing Approach," *Journal of Social Sciences*, 33, no 1 (2013).

17. Ramzan, "Determinants of Defense Expenditures in Pakistan and India: An ARDL Bounds Testing Approach".

18. Shah, Khattak and Attiq, "Soft Power and its Efficacy."

Gallup in 12 states showed that Pakistan is viewed negatively in all states.¹⁹

Thus, presenting itself as a moderate state, committed to international peace and security is a big challenge for Pakistan. The problem can be addressed through a *well-balanced* hard and soft power strategy.²⁰

Sources of Pakistan's Soft Power

Pakistan has potential to use its existing soft power resources to create its positive image regionally and internationally. These include rich cultural heritage, art, language, folk and *sufi* music, growing democratic values, women empowerment, proactive role in countering terrorism, huge economic potential and human resources that can be leveraged to change negative perception about the country.

Culture

Pakistan has a rich culture and is the custodian of thousands of years old civilizations; it is home to Indus valley and Ghandhara civilizations - regarded as the most ancient in the world.²¹ Apart from this, diverse groups like Persians, Greeks, Aryans, Arabs and Mughals invaded and resided in the sub-continent, leaving behind a rich and diverse cultural heritage.²² Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Taxila, Badshahi Mosque, Noor Mehal, Gulzar Mehal etc., are a few examples of the tangible aspects of Pakistani cultural and historical heritage.²³ Six historical sites of Pakistan are on UNESCO's world heritage list. These sites include Buddhist ruins at Takht-e-babri, the Mohenjo-Dero ruins, archaeological ruins, Shalimar garden, forts, Taxila, and monuments of Makli and Rohtas. Further, Pakistan is home to almost 601 languages.²⁴ Nature has also endowed Pakistan with beautiful landscapes including the beautiful

19. *Pakistan's Soft Power* (Seminar Report, Islamabad: *Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, 2016), 9.

20. Shah, Khattak and Attiq, "*Soft Power and its Efficacy*."

21. "Buddhism and the Gandhara Civilization," *Story of Pakistan*, updated June 1, 2003, <https://storyofpakistan.com/buddhism-and-the-gandhara-civilization>; Stanley Moran (ed.), *Pakistan: Society and Culture* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1957).

22. I. H. Malik, *Culture and Customs of Pakistan* (London, Greenwood publishing Group, 2006).

23. Mairajul Hamid, Saqib Mehmood, "Soft Power and Pak-India Relations," *Advanced Humanities and Social Sciences* (2016). <http://www.consortiumpublisher.ca/ft?d=1039&jnb=Advanced%20Humanities%20and%20Social%20Sciences&AspxAutoDetectCookieSupport=1>

24. I. H. Malik, *Culture and Customs of Pakistan*.

northern areas, mountain ranges, deserts etc.²⁵ Despite this assortment, Pakistan has remained unsuccessful in using this heritage as soft power. Through effective use of tourism and media, Pakistan can use its cultural diversity for building its soft image among the community of nations. However, a number of problems like terrorism, militancy, corruption and lack of funds are major hurdles in the flourishing of tourism industry.²⁶

Changes in the international system have compelled Pakistan to pay some attention to this aspect of soft power and consequently, a separate Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism has been established. The main task of this ministry is the promotion of all types of cultural heritage and values, including architecture, dance, folk-tales, cinema, music, theatre, literature, etc.²⁷ In addition to this, Pakistan has also developed a number of cultural and friendship centres for the said purpose. In December 2016, Pakistan successfully launched its first film festival at the UN headquarters, New York. Moreover, *Sufi night* and one exhibition of the contemporary art from Pakistan were arranged too.²⁸ The Foreign Office has successfully organized 'Agha Shahi Lecture series'. The major aim of these lectures was sharing of viewpoints between Pakistani and foreign intellectuals. A calligraphy exhibition was launched in a single volume named *Al-lama Bil Qalam*. Pakistan's diplomatic missions abroad celebrate national days with a cultural touch and strive to improve the image of Pakistan. Such activities are a ray of hope. However, attention should also be given to the fashion and music industries, which are relatively strong and vibrant in Pakistan.

According to Nelson Mandela, "sport has the power of changing the world,"²⁹ Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon once stated, "Sport has become world language—that breaks down all the barriers—a powerful tool of progression and development."³⁰ Pakistan has realized this potential and timely paid attention to sports also. Pakistan's first international Super Kabbadi League will begin in Pakistan in May 2018. In this league, players from seven countries will participate. Moreover,

²⁵. Mairajul Hamid, Saqib Mehmood, "Soft power and Pak-India Relations."

²⁶. A. M. Khan, *Foreign Tourism in Pakistan*. Economics, Research and Statistics Section, Ministry of Culture, Archaeology, Sports and Tourism, Division Review: part II., 1976.

²⁷. M.Y. Abbasi, *Pakistani Culture: A Profile* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1992)

²⁸. "First Ever Pakistani Film Festival Opens at UN," *The Nation*, December 4, 2016.

²⁹. Gulrukh Tausif, "Decline of Sports in Pakistan Badly Effected our Youth," *Samaa TV*, August 5, 2017, <https://www.samaa.tv/sports/2017/08/decline-of-sports-in-pakistan-badly-affects-our-youth/>.

³⁰. Ibid.

Pakistan Super League 'PSL' is successfully reviving the game of cricket and improving the soft image of the country. Also, Pakistani players are participating in all international events related to different sports like boxing, hockey, cycling, squash, football etc. Many young Pakistanis are making world records and have their names placed in Guinness World Records.

The power of the film industry can be understood in the words of Robert Frost, who said that, "Film is art, film is commerce—film is protest,-documentation, stimulus,-conversation, amusement."³¹ However, after a bad phase in 80s and 90s, Lollywood is reviving in Pakistan and producing new films. Films which did considerable business include; *Actor In Law*, *Lahore Se Agay*, *Mir Taqi Mir*, *Mah e Mir*, *Dobara Phir Se* and *Ho Mann Jahaan*.³² This huge business has encouraged producers to invest in the industry; further, new state of the art cinemas have been established all over Pakistan. The first indication of the revival of Lollywood and Pakistan's will to use it as a soft power tool was the organization of a film festival at the Asian Society in New York in 2016.³³ Fawad Khan, Saba Qamar and Mahira Khan are the Pakistani stars who are working successfully in Bollywood. Nusrat Fateh Ali, Rahat Fateh Ali, Atif Aslam etc., are among famous Pakistani singers in India. Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy, with two Oscar Awards, is also a soft projection of Pakistan's strength. Pakistan's drama and fashion industry are also very much vibrant and popular world over. Nobel Prize winner Malala Yousufzai is also a figure who reflects the soft side of Pakistan.

For attracting international tourists, media can play an important role by introducing tourist spots. It requires coordinated efforts by the government, Ministry of Culture, local tourism industry and media. The government of Pakistan should allocate money plus effective developmental, maintenance and advertisement policies, so that the world would come to explore the cultural diversity as well as social and cultural values of hospitality, friendliness and religious tolerance displayed by the citizens of Pakistan.³⁴

³¹. Ibid.

³². Suljuk Mustansar Tarar, "Reviving the Film Industry," *The News (Islamabad)*, January 4, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/176560-Reviving-the-film-industry>.

³³. Suljuk Mustansar Tarar, "Reviving the Film Industry."

³⁴. Samina Khalil, M.K. Kakar, and Waliullah, *Role of Tourism in Economic Growth: Evidence from Pakistan Economy*, (proceedings, parts I and II, 23rd Annual General Meeting and Conference of the Pakistan Society of Development Economists, Islamabad, 2008), 985-995.

Political Values

By political values, one means governmental and organizational norms and the interaction of different units of society with each other. Generally, political values include democracy, freedom of speech, economic development, interaction among different classes, social coercion, equality etc.³⁵ If these values are considered positive internationally, they can help states in gaining their desired outcomes, but if the mentioned political values of a state are viewed negatively, it diminishes a state's soft power potential.³⁶ A fragile democratic system, repeated military intervention, feeble political values, poor literacy rate, and high rate of corruption and extremism have added to the already appalling image of Pakistan internationally.

Pakistan is a democratic country with parliamentary system of government, as envisioned by the Quaid-i-Azam, its founding father. Unfortunately, Pakistan's democratic journey has not been smooth. There were military takeovers, which derailed the democratic process from 1950 to 2000. According to Hasan Askari Rizvi:

This does not mean that the people have given up on the primacy of the popular will, participatory governance, accountability of the rulers and governance for serving the people. The ideological commitment to these principles persists which will continue to question the legitimacy of non-participatory and authoritarian governance and political management.³⁷

Since 2008, Pakistan has witnessed a successful democratic transition process. Two successive governments completed their 5-year tenure. What is important is to inculcate pure democratic values by encouraging democracy within parties, ensuring proliferation of political parties, giving importance to political institutions and instilling a culture of interdepartmental cooperation.³⁸

Additionally, Pakistan can portray its soft image by highlighting women empowerment and poverty mitigation efforts. There is a 21 percent representation of women in the National Assembly of Pakistan.³⁹

35. Nicolae Kallos, Ovidiu Trasnea, "Political Values: Their Status and Social Function, *International Political Science Review* 3, no. 2 (April 1, 1982): 182-189, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/019251218200300204>.

36. M. Li (ed.), *Soft Power Chinese Emerging Strategy in International Politics* (Lanham: Lexington books, 2009)

37. Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Democracy in Pakistan," in *Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs: A Future for Democracy*, Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeiste (ed.) (Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2011), 117-136.

38. Ishrat Hussain, "Economy of Pakistan: An Overview," (Keynote Address, Expo Conference, Karachi, 2005).

39. Ibid.

For protection of women against domestic violence and harassment at work place, the central and Punjab legislative assemblies passed two bills - The Protection against Harassment of Women at Work Place 2010,⁴⁰ and Punjab Protection of Women against Violence Bill 2015. Furthermore, the vibrant media in Pakistan is playing its role in keeping check on corruption, political parties' performance, conduct of the leaders, working and performance of state institutions etc. In Pakistan, an independent judiciary is also contributing to the political stability of the country. The dismissal of serving Prime Ministers, Yousaf Raza Gillani and Nawaz Sharif, are the examples of an independent and strong judiciary in Pakistan.

Foreign Policy

Quaid-i-Azam clearly defined the principles of Pakistan's foreign policy, basing it on good relations with all countries, peace and prosperity, and adherence to the principles of the UN charter. However, due to security issues (wars with India and hostile and aggressive behaviour of Afghanistan) and Cold War politics, Pakistan was unable to follow an independent foreign policy. Under US pressure, Pakistan had to fight a proxy war in Afghanistan. After 9/11, Pakistan provided all types of support for the US invasion of Afghanistan. Yet, despite all its efforts for curbing terrorism, Pakistan has always been condemned as indulging in a 'double game' and always demanded to do more.

This is one side of the story. The other side of the narrative is that Pakistan is successfully playing its role in the war against terrorism. It also played the role of a mediator between the Taliban and the US administration. It has also provided NATO a route to Afghanistan, and has been involved in bilateral and multilateral diplomatic activities. It has improved its relations with Russia, Central Asian States, various Muslim, European and African countries etc. The Pakistani diaspora, more than 7 million in number, are effectively enhancing the soft power of Pakistan. Wherever they live in a community, it's named as Little Pakistan. These people celebrate important national days, festivals and are known for their festivities.

Pakistan has a huge potential to sustain its economy; it is the 9th largest country in terms of human capital with about 57.2 million workers, huge amounts of untapped natural and mineral resources, along with an important strategic location.⁴¹ Further, the economic condition of Pakistan has started to stabilize with the signing of China Pakistan Economic

⁴⁰. The Gazette of Pakistan, "The Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace Act 2010," March 11, 2010, <https://qau.edu.pk/pdfs/ha.pdf>.

⁴¹. Areeba Arif, "Enhancing Pakistan's Global Profile and Influence: Priorities and Policy Options," *ISSI Issue Brief*, 2016.

Corridor, and foreign direct investment has increased.⁴² In addition, its IT industry is the fastest growing in the world. There are almost 1,500 registered IT companies. Currently, the IT sector holds 2.8 billion US dollar shares in the world market and its freelance programmers are one of the most hired after Australian, British, and American free-lancers. In terms of human resource, about 60 percent of its population comprises of youth.⁴³ This huge proportion of young people can boost Pakistan's economy and its image worldwide.⁴⁴

For presenting its softer image internationally, Pakistan can also highlight its efforts for upholding international peace and stability through peacekeeping operations.⁴⁵ Pakistan is one of the largest contributors to UN peacekeeping missions. Since 1960, it has contributed more than 160,000 troops for about 42 UN such missions. Presently, it is contributing almost 7500 troops in about six UN mandated missions.⁴⁶ These missions provide a platform for the development of friendly ties with different countries. For example, by the end of Iran's UN peacekeeping mission, the Indonesian president said: "Pakistani troops in this peace keeping mission—were Pakistan's best ambassador."⁴⁷ Pakistani women's contribution to these missions helped mitigate the image of Pakistan as a state where women are suppressed.⁴⁸

In contemporary societies, electronic and print media are considered important tools of foreign policy. Undoubtedly, it is media which presents a positive or negative image of a state to the international community. The government of Pakistan should take strict measures to ban all types of content highlighting violence, terrorism and other types of negativity regarding Pakistan.⁴⁹ In this regard, the content of state-run PTV world should be improved for attracting international audience. There is also a need to produce documentaries for international viewers and ensure their

⁴². Ibid.

⁴³. Kukreja, V. & Singh, M. P. *Democracy, Development and Discontent in South Asia* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd., 2008).

⁴⁴. Ibid.

⁴⁵. Ume-Farwa, "UN Peacekeeping Missions: Pakistan's Soft Power," *ISSI Issue Brief*, June 3, 2016.

⁴⁶. Areeba Arif, "Enhancing Pakistan's Global Profile and Influence."

⁴⁷. Lt Col Kabir Ahmed et al. "The Peace Force: An Overview of Pakistan Army Contributions to UN Peacekeeping Mission," *Hilal*, 2015. <http://hilal.gov.pk/index.php/layouts/item/1666-the-peace-force-an-overview-of-pakistan-army-contributions-to-un-peacekeeping-missions>

⁴⁸. "Pakistan Proud of Women Serving in Peacekeeping Missions: Lodhi," *Dawn* (Islamabad), October 14, 2015.

⁴⁹. Y. A. Ali. *A Comparative Analysis of Media and Media Law in Pakistan* (Sang-e-meel Publications, 2012).

paid broadcast/ telecast for projecting positive aspects of the country.⁵⁰ The media should highlight the work of Abdul Sattar Edhi, Chippa and other great Pakistanis.⁵¹ Thus, in addition to electronic media, academia, scholars, think tanks, students and researchers should contribute through written material to present the true face of Pakistan, its viewpoints and constraints to the international audience.⁵²

Presently, there is a growing realization among academics, journalists, policy makers, and intellectuals in Pakistan that efforts are underway to project Pakistan's soft image and replace its negative image in the comity of nations. However, there are certain impediments such as, growing extremism, poverty, illiteracy, corruption, terrorism, sectarianism, and absence of a well-formulated policy for lobbying and positively projecting Pakistan's image.

Soft Power and India

Since its independence, India has followed the path of non-alignment and apparently distanced itself from the Cold War politics. This facilitated India in gaining likeness among the developing and developed world simultaneously. Additionally, because of its democracy, economic growth, rich culture, pluralistic society, politics, movies, music, pop culture, art and foreign policy, New Delhi has successfully promoted its soft image among the community of nations. India's former External Affairs minister Shashi Tharoor said:

India is fast becoming a superpower, not just through trade and politics, but through "soft" power, its ability to share its culture with the world through food, music, technology, and Bollywood. In the long run it is not the size of the army that matters as much as a country's ability to influence the world's hearts and minds.⁵³

According to Kadria Pethiyagoda, "Much of the globe sees India as a relatively non-violent, tolerant and pluralistic democracy with a benign international influence. Its values are seen as largely positive."⁵⁴ India employs its soft power tools progressively.

⁵⁰. Ibid.

⁵¹. *Pakistan's Soft Power* (Seminar Report).

⁵². Ibid.

⁵³. "Why Nations should Pursue Soft Power", *Ted Talks*, March 22, 2014, http://www.ted.com/talks/shashi_tharoor?language=en.

⁵⁴. Kadria Pethiyagoda, "India's Soft Power Advantage: Deeply Entrenched Factors Make India a Uniquely Attractive Great-power Partner," *The Diplomat*, September 12, 2014, <http://thediplomat.com/2014/09/indias-soft-power-advantage/>.

Culture

The Indian culture is one of the oldest cultures of the world. It has been a part of the Indus Valley civilization, that developed back in 3000 BC. It is considered the birthplace of Buddhism, Hinduism, Sikhism and Jainism. Later religions like Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Islam arrived in India, which gave a cultural diversity to the region. Also, the area remained part of rising empires, economic activities and cultural pluralism. Thus, with the passage of time, India became the center of learning, art, literature, architecture, knowledge, medicine, philosophy, commerce, trade, tourism, spirituality and much more.

Since 1950, Indian Council for Cultural Relations has been successfully utilizing the cultural potential of India to build cooperation between India and other countries, thus projecting India's soft power. Presently, the Indian government is using culture as a tool to build its relations with the world. By means of religion, it is developing relations with South East Asia, (Buddhism/Hinduism), Middle East (Islam), Europe (Christianity) etc. India rebuilt Nalanda University in 2014. This university has historical significant as it was built in the 5th century CE and became a center of learning and has been invigorated with contributions from China, South Korea, Japan and Singapore.

Indian diaspora exists throughout the world as "some 22 million ethnic Indians are scattered across every continent."⁵⁵ These people are very important for not only preserving their cultural identity but also projecting soft image of their country. Further, Indian diaspora stick to their norms, values and culture and try to pass these to the next generations. They speak their native languages, prefer their own cuisine, observe national festivals and watch Bollywood movies. They hold important political posts thus forming very strong pro-Indian lobbies. Indian food, music, dress, language, culture etc. are popular in western countries as well. Uma Purushothaman mentioned India's soft power in these words:

When Indian writers win international awards like the Man-Booker prize, when India becomes the guest of honor at international book fairs like the Frankfurt Book Fair, when Indian movies are screened at International Film Festivals like Cannes and when Indians win awards like the Nobel and Magsasay awards, India's soft power is built.⁵⁶

June 21 has been declared by the UN as the annual International Day of Yoga. This shows India's growing soft power stature. The present

55. "Diasporas: Mapping Migration," *The Economist*, November 17, 2011, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/11/diasporas>.

56. Uma Purushothaman, "Shifting Perceptions of Power and India's Foreign Policy," *Journal of Peace Studies* 17, no 2&3 (April-September, 2010).

government of Prime Minister Modi has stressed on yoga as a soft power tool and decided to establish the Ministry for Yoga in order to teach and practice yoga in foreign universities.⁵⁷

India, by dint of its culture, monuments, mosques, temples, Gurdwaras and wildlife attracts tourists from around the world. It has twenty-eight UNESCO world heritage sites. In 1997, 2.37 million foreign tourists arrived in India and this number rose to 6.97 million in 2013 with an annual growth rate of 5.9 percent.⁵⁸ The main reason behind this tourist boom is the fact that India wisely makes use of its historical and cultural links with South East Asia, Middle East, Central Asia and Europe. As mentioned by Daya Kishan Thussu:

...combination of civilization which has strong Hindu-Buddhist foundations, centuries of Islamic influence, and integration with European institutions and ideas, gives India unparalleled cultural resources to deal with diverse, globalised, and complex realities of the twenty first century.⁵⁹

Presently Indian government has adroitly blended public diplomacy with Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), the Ministry of Tourism's 'Incredible India' campaign, and the work of the Ministry for Overseas Indians.⁶⁰

Political Values

India is known as the largest democracy, a secular republic and a liberal country in the world with a constitution providing protection, equality, fundamental rights, right to religion, education and cultural rights to its citizens. India, since its independence, has believed in democratic principles and has cherished the smooth transfer of political power since 1947. It is a federation comprising of twenty-nine states and seven union territories. India has Hindus in majority, with Muslims, Sikhs and Christians as minorities. For minorities' developmental programs, the Indian government established Ministry of Minority Affairs. The Ministry for Minority Affairs, the National Commission for Minorities and the National Human Rights Commission take care of any kind of

⁵⁷ Sonali Singh, "Yoga as Indian Soft Power," *USC Public Diplomacy*, December 19, 2014. <http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/yoga-indian-soft-power>

⁵⁸ "India Tourism Statistics at a Glance," 2013, <http://tourism.gov.in/writereaddata/CMSPagePicture/file/marketresearch/Incredible%20India%20final%2021-7-2014%20english.pdf>

⁵⁹ Daya Kishan Thussu, *Communicating India's Soft Power: Buddha to Bollywood* (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2013), 11.

⁶⁰ "Rise of India as a Soft Power," *Chanakya IAS Academy*, <https://www.chanakyaiasacademy.com/images/Article-IV-Nov.pdf>.

discrimination against minorities in India.⁶¹ To create communal harmony, the Indian government celebrates minorities' festivals.⁶² India has elected President, prime ministers, and famous bollywood stars, sports stars, scientists, writers and singers from different minorities. All these people have improved the soft image of India. According to Nicolas Blarel:

India's democratic record, unprecedented for most decolonized countries could be regarded as a strong soft power resource. The new international consensus following the Cold War around democracy, human rights and market-oriented economic reforms has reinforced the appeal of India's political achievements. The stability of India's democracy over more than 60 years, especially in a neighbourhood rife with ethnic conflicts, has demonstrated that unity in diversity was possible in a democratic format and there could be an institutional alternative to Western political systems. India's democratic, federal and secular political model (although not always perfect) could be considered as an institutional model of reasonable accommodation of minority rights, and of flexible adjustment to different ethnic and linguistic claims.⁶³

Foreign Policy

India has two main objectives in being a part of soft power countries club - regional and international. At the regional level, India has ambitions to be the dominant actor of the region. This is associated with India's size, population and growing economy. Further, it is related to the decreasing role of US in the region along with growing role of China in South Asia. Currently, South Asia is seen as a China dominated region,⁶⁴ as "South Asia is steadily emerging as a strategic priority for China."⁶⁵ China's soft power tools for South Asia include Confucius Institutes, educational scholarships, cultural diplomacy initiatives and development assistance.⁶⁶

President Manmohan Singh once said, "If we as South Asians work together, there is nothing that we will not be able to achieve. India will play its part in the resurgence of South Asia." He further said,

⁶¹ India, <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/171754.pdf>.

⁶² Ibid., 22.

⁶³ Nicolas Blarel, "India: the Next Superpower? India's Soft Power: From Potential to Reality?" *LSE Research Online*, (May 2012): 30, http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/43445/1/India_India%27s%20soft%20power%28lsero%29.pdf.

⁶⁴ Parama Sinha Palit and Amitendu Palit, "Strategic Influence of Soft Power: Inferences for India from Chinese Engagement of South and Southeast Asia," *ICRIER Policy Series*, no. 3 (August 2011), 1-20, http://www.icrier.org/pdf/Policy_Series_No_3.pdf

⁶⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 15-20.

“South Asia cannot be immune to the trend of greater integration, both at the regional and global levels.”⁶⁷

The Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s foreign policy priorities focus on SAARC, China, Russia, US and Japan. The five priorities, include:

1. Economic and technological development.
2. The orientation of domestic and foreign policies toward this objective.
3. The emphasis on national power including military power.
4. Stress on soft power.
5. Reduction in self-imposed constraints on actions that other countries may construe as inimical to their interests.⁶⁸

Since 1947, India has realized importance of cultural diplomacy and in pursuit of this, the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) was established in 1950; for using Indian cultural diversity in its strategic and foreign policy objectives to constitute closer relations with different states. Further, being the largest democracy, a liberal and secular state and a growing economy having liberal film, sports, music and fashion sectors, India has gained a prestigious position in the global arena.

India’s soft power is not altogether a smooth sail. Uma Purushothaman mentions challenges to soft image of India, which include: the use of hard power (arms and police) against different regions of India like (Occupied) Kashmir, Chhattisgarh and wherever people protest against government, human rights violations, poverty, corruption, illiteracy, child labor, interference in internal affairs of neighbouring countries, desire for nuclear weapons, lack of sports culture, and growing ties of India with US and Israel.”⁶⁹

According to a 2017 Human Rights Watch Report:

Limits on free speech and attacks on religious minorities, often led by vigilante groups that claim to be supporters of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), are an increasing concern in India. In 2016, students were accused of sedition for expressing their views; people who raised concerns over challenges to civil liberties were deemed anti-Indian; Dalits

⁶⁷. “India will Contribute to South Asia’s Resurgence: Manmohan,” *The Gaea Times*, April 27, 2010, <http://politics.gaeatimes.com/2010/04/27/india-will-contribute-to-south-asias-resurgence-manmohan-31393/>.

⁶⁸. Arvind Virmani, “Recalibrating India’s Foreign Policy,” *The Hindu*, November 1, 2014. <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/comment-recalibrating-indias-foreign-policy/article6553306.ece>.

⁶⁹. Uma Purushothaman, “Shifting Perceptions of Power: Soft Power and India’s Foreign Policy.”

and Muslims were attacked on suspicion they had killed, stolen, or sold cows for beef; and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) came under pressure due to India's restrictive foreign funding regulations.⁷⁰

Further, since 1989 the ruling party BJP has adopted *Hindutva* as an ideology to establish Hindu hegemony.⁷¹ Encyclopedia Britannica calls it "... an ideology that sought to define Indian culture in terms of Hindu values."⁷² The caste system of India, which can be described as its "hidden apartheid,"⁷³ based on the religious ideology of Hinduism, is being actively practiced in India. Apart from cast system, minorities, especially Muslims, are subject to extreme violence. A number of restrictions are imposed on them; for instance, Muslims are not allowed to sacrifice cows on *Eid-ul-Azha* and Muslims are even murdered by Hindu extremists for eating beef.⁷⁴ Rampant poverty⁷⁵ and low literacy rate have also given rise to a number of separatist movements in India. Further, the rise of Hindu fanatic BJP and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) in India are indicators of Hindu extremists taking control of India, which can endanger India's soft image.

Women are subjected to extreme violence and suppression in India. Reports confirm almost 26 offenses against women per hour; these calculations only cover reported crimes as most of the misdemeanours remain unreported due to social taboos.⁷⁶ According to Thomson Reuters Foundation expert poll, India is ranked as the "fourth most dangerous country for women."⁷⁷ Crimes against women cover a large spectrum of

70. Human Rights Watch: World Report 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/india#8deaa8>.

71. English Oxford living Dictionaries, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/hindutva>.

72. "Bharatiya Janata Party: A Political Party in India," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Bharatiya-Janata-Party#ref789897>.

73. Sanjiv Pandita, "Caste Based Discrimination in India - Hidden Apartheid for Dalits," *Asia Monitor Resource Centre*, January 1, 2005, <https://amrc.org.hk/content/caste-based-discrimination-india-hidden-apartheid-dalits>.

74. Human Right Watch World Report 2017: India, "India Events of 2016", <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/india>.

75. "The Hunger Project," <http://www.thp.org/our-work/where-we-work/india/>.

76. Chaitanya Mallapur, "Crimes against Women Reported Every two Minutes," *India Spend*, September 4, 2015. <http://www.indiaspend.com/cover-story/crimes-against-women-reported-every-two-minutes-84240?>

77. Sumnima Udas, "Challenges of being a Women in India," *CNN*, Jan 12th, 2013. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/01/12/world/asia/india-women-challenge/index.html>.

offences like kidnapping, dowry deaths, forced suicide, sexual harassment, abortion of female fetus, child marriages, rapes and gang rapes etc.⁷⁸ Even the foreign female tourists are not safe in India. After reporting of rape cases of female tourists in India and the consequent decline in the rate of foreign female tourists, the Indian Tourism Ministry issued a code of conduct that advises foreigners not to wear skirts and travel alone at night.⁷⁹ Such decisions are strongly condemned and criticized.⁸⁰

Conclusion

The focus of Indian and Pakistani foreign policy even today rests upon security concerns, terrorism, mistrust of neighbours and economic development.⁸¹ Due to internal and external security issues, both countries are modernizing their defense forces and system. For India, security issues branch out from separatist movements, terrorism, human rights violations, and extremism in the shape of growing ideology of *Hindutva* etc. For Pakistan, security threats are not only external i.e., India and Afghanistan centric, but also from terrorist organizations and fundamentalist groups that are banned in Pakistan, yet are sprouting illegally. The main problem is international mistrust of Pakistan and non-recognition of its sincere efforts against terrorism.

Presently, both in India and Pakistan, there is a realization about presenting a positive image abroad, to be influential part of the international community. Therefore, both countries are deliberating on building their soft power paraphernalia. This understanding is more at an academic level among scholars and researchers. Both countries still do not have an official doctrine and well-defined soft power policy and strategy. For both the countries, it is important to first formulate an elaborate soft power policy; second, keep in mind the impediments in building a soft image of the country; third, build infrastructure to attract tourists; fourth, put their own houses in order and stop the blame game; fifth, fully support and utilize the diaspora as the ambassadors of their respective countries and, finally make use of public diplomacy, as in the present globalized world only those win who tell their stories effectively and convincingly.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ "Female Tourists should not Wear Skirts in India, says Tourism Minister," *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/29/india-female-tourists-skirts-safety-advice>.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Patryk Kugiel, "India's Soft Power in South Asia," *International Studies* 49 no. 3&4(2012):351-376, <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0020881714534033>.

STATE OF CONTROLLED MEDIA IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF PAKISTAN TELEVISION

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Abstract

Media has crossed all boundaries in the age of satellite and digital telecast. With the rise of social media it has become impossible for even the most closed political systems to foster a particular direction to national discourse. However, there are countries using state-controlled electronic media to provide their version of information to their target audiences. Pakistan is one of them. Assessing the policy of Pakistan Television (PTV) and analysing the parameters of government control over dissemination of information is the focus of the paper. It also discusses how PTV manages to hold its central position amid a large number of private channels telecasting bold discussions on controversial subjects. In this regard, an important realisation is that there is a need of compromise between controlled media and people's freedom of speech and information. It is concluded that Parliament's oversight is imperative for ensuring a more public control with special focus on diversity and pluralism.

Keywords: *Controlled Media, Globalization, Pakistan Television, Freedom of Speech, Diversity*

Introduction

Mass Media in today's world plays a significant role in reinforcing globalization, facilitating multiple flows of information and cultural exchanges among countries across the world. It is doing so through international television programs, film, music, news telecast and advanced information technologies. Since 1990's, the national media systems in many countries have become global, extending their outreach

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beyond the national level and conquering the audience worldwide.¹

Almost all public and scholarly debates on globalization agreed upon the influence of media in bringing social, cultural and political change in a globalized world. Larger numbers of cultural and sociological analysis on globalization argue that the internet, social media, information technology, mobile phones, and satellite televisions among others are the major driving forces underlying the processes of globalization. No doubt, the world has become a global village owing to these instruments responsible for 'Information Revolution.' The real function of media is to serve as a watchdog. It is responsible to watch out for citizen's interests and to play a part in keeping the government responsive to the peoples' demands.²

The recent research trends on media regulation acknowledged that most of the states which liberated media due to globalization are facing challenges posed by giant media conglomerates and media monopoly. In this context, the state is losing its control over multiple modern means of communication and spread of information. It has become difficult to isolate people in even the most repressive environments. Sharing of information through social media played an important role in organisation of protests and dawn of the Arab Spring in Egypt, Tunisia, and many other Middle Eastern countries despite strong dictatorial regimes and strict censorship of state-controlled media.

In majority of the academic studies in Pakistan, media policy regulation and role of state controlled channels in the era of globalization are not the subjects of rigorous discussion. However, a number of studies have analysed the role of media forms and usage of advanced means of communication besides reforms and regulations. For instance, Nizamani (2010) elaborates that mass media has restructured the power-sharing segment of the society by imposing their thoughts and opinions to the public, but indirectly they are providing the ideologies of the ruling class to the public.³ Kamel (2002) is of the view that successive governments in Pakistan have implemented several administrative and socio-economic mechanisms for creating a synchronization between the public and the

¹ Carolina Matos, "Globalization and the Mass Media," *Encyclopaedia of Globalization* (Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell, 2012), 01.

² Stig Hjarvard, "A Mediated World: The Globalization of Society and the Role of Media," *Media in a Globalized Society* (Denmark: Narayana Press, 2003), 16.

³ N. Nizamani, "VIEW: Heading towards Revolt or Disaster," *Baloch Society of North America* (BSO-NA), (2010), <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/anchorperson-an-emerging-phenomenon-in-the-electronic-media-2165-7912.1000131.php?aid=9911>.

private sector interests in order to ensure a healthy public sphere.⁴ However, studies lack research on how state-controlled channels keep a balance between state-devised policy and requirements of globalised media forms.

Since Pakistan is among the few states that have witnessed media liberalisation as a compulsion due to globalization, therefore, the government tries to not only retain but also enhance its control over state-run media houses and channels i.e. PTV by policy making, regulating and monitoring through Ministry of Information. Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) and Pakistan Television (PTV) as state-owned entities are formulating and implementing governmental regulatory reforms. This study intends to investigate questions regarding the policy of PTV, how much control and influence does the government exercise, what are the strategies used to capture audience's attention and how does this entity still hold the status of having the largest viewership in this era of globalisation. The study also circumvents around state control mechanism of PTV and issues concerning the viability of a state-controlled media in an open system, where a large number of independent private media channels are also operating.

Using the available archival material and theoretical works on globalization and media, this study focuses on media control in a globalized world. Being a qualitative study, the research entails a content analysis of some of the selected PTV current affairs programs. The news telecast includes objective presentation of facts without any analysis, but the current affairs programs provide an in-depth analysis of the national and international news and are therefore preferred by viewers. By giving historical background and taking interpretations from variety of analysts/actors on the issues in question, these programs help to develop the understanding of common viewers in turn making-up the public opinion.

To research PTV's policy in depth, four pertinent samples are studied that lay bare its policy towards some vital issues. These selected programmes cover almost the entire transmission spectrum from evening to night and are subsequently analysed to draw results. In the sample the first program is 'Evening Time', telecasted from 18.00 - 18.30 hours once a week. It has segments on different issues with a small break. This program is telecasted live from Multan Studios of PTV News. The second program is in Urdu, titled '*Such To Yeh Ha*' (it means 'Truth is This') telecasted at 20:00 hours and lasts for 45 minutes. Third program is the famous PTV *Khabernama* (News). It is aired live on all PTV channels from 21:00 to 21:30 hours, and is re-telecasted at PTV News at about 23:00 hours. The fourth and the last program is Capital View. It lasts from 23:10 to 24:00

⁴ Abdul Razzaq Kemal, "Regulatory Framework in Pakistan," *The Pakistan Development Review* 41, no.4 (2002), 319-332.

hours. It is scheduled twice a week.

Globalization and Media

Contemporary literature peeps into multi-faceted phenomenon of globalisation and its relation to media. In this regard, Terry Flew sees globalisation as a multi-dimensional ideology covering all aspects of human activity; be it economy, politics or culture.⁵ Albrow & King (1990) extend the study by saying that all the ways and processes which assimilate the people across the world in one society, are commonly named as globalization.⁶ That society would be the global society. Nonetheless, all these theories of globalizations highlight its homogeneous character. However, how far the globalization creates heterogenization or homogenization is still a debate.

The impact of globalization on local culture depends on nature and kind of a particular society and its responsiveness. It also depends on education, the means of communication, history, religion and the regime type. Sapru (2002) contends that the political system of a state functions within a world system and state boundaries just cannot restrict external influences. He further argues that the world has converted itself into a single social system due to increasing economic interdependence.

This, however, is a more optimistic depiction.⁷ Etzioni (1968) notes that some political scientists undermine multinational controls and bonds as far as societal interests are concerned. They assert that the nation-state is a unit of social analysis. They further take the nationalistic moral community as a community of values. Media being a powerful influencer on communicative discourses in society, provides the logic of discussing its role under cultural globalisation. Giddens is of the view that electronic media promotes social and cultural interactions and understandings by eradicating physical boundaries.⁸

Media plays a leading role in social change. In fact, social change and media are interdependent and influence one another in multiple ways. On one hand, the political system of a country determines the ways in which media is managed, and the media by representing public preferences might in the long-run have a role in influencing the nature of

⁵ Terry Flew, *Understanding Global Media* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

⁶ Martin Albrow, and Elizabeth King, eds., *The Globalization, Knowledge and Society: Reading from International Sociology* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 17.

⁷ R. K. Sapru, *Development Administration*, 2nd edition (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2002).

⁸ M. Albrow, and E. King, eds., *The Globalization, Knowledge and Society*.

political system that a nation or a society seeks.⁹

Etzioni argues that the state-controlled media controls the information and disseminates it to promote a particular political culture. He further theorizes that controlled media can minimize the impacts of globalization on the political culture of a country, if not ruling it out completely. This pace of change is checked by the controlled means of communication in a society. Modern forms of media, especially electronic media provides its viewers with a remarkable range of programmes starting from the ones covering political affairs to evolving issues of social relevance in the form of live coverage and discussions

Historically, many societies were unaware of their surrounding developments due to the absence of modern media. Many updates on incidents involving human rights violations, rapid political developments and terrorism could not disseminate across the world. The present day media is dynamic and alert in providing information within few seconds to viewers, helping shape their opinions and preferences. This is how they help communicate public voices to the ruling elite by providing them updated information.¹⁰

The stark reality today is that many governments control media in the name of national interests, media ethics and code of conduct. Media regulatory authorities are working in many countries to control private media. In the past, print media was controlled through news print quota, censorship and allocation of government advertisements to media houses. Now-a-days, private electronic media faces government controls through regulatory authorities that continuously monitor programs and have powers to issue licenses for new media houses.

The services are blocked and sometimes suspended for unlimited periods if some particular media houses are found telecasting anti-government or propagandist content. Intimidation, damage to property, arrests and even assaults are common against the sources and channels that disseminate propaganda, hatred and division through their channels. The control of media might come in the name of national interests, morality, ethics or others, but it cannot eradicate the impact of

⁹ Joseph Man Chan, "Media Democracy and Globalization: A Comparative Perspective," *Media Development* 1, WACC, (2002), <http://www.wacc.org.uk/publications/md/md2002-1/chan.html>.

¹⁰ N. M. Mahsud, I. A. Chaudhry, S. Amin, and M. S. Khan, "Television Channels Current Affairs Programs and Students Gratification: A Case of University of Sargodha," *Berkeley Journal of Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2013); Atif Umair, Salman Amin, Adnan Rasheed, "Effect of Private Television Channels' Current Affairs Program on Students: A Case of University of Sargodha," *Academic Research International*, no.5 (September 2014).

globalization because people switch to alternative sources in this age of media and information explosion.¹¹

Media Revolution and Communication – Historical Evolution

Marshall McLuhan first coined the term “Global Village” in 1960. In his view, the advancements in science and technology have shrunk the world into a village where people all around the world are close to one another and increasingly share their sorrows and joys. Majority of the studies by frenzied globalists claim that increased globalization has reduced the power of state. In other words, globalization has made it difficult for the state to have control over its national broadcasting space¹². One of the major examples is the ‘Tiananmen Square Demonstrations’ in China in 1989. These demonstrations, against the government were aided by increased flow of information in an age of globalized media and rapid technological advancements operating beyond its territorial boundaries.¹³

Policymaking and its regulation of communications has emerged as a big challenge to transitional societies that are experiencing increased growth of electronic media. Governments all over the world do play important role in formulating and implementing broadcast and media policies.¹⁴ Throughout the world, especially in democratic societies, regulation of media industry has generated a heated debate as the ruling class ensures that all means of communication serve their stakes.¹⁵

In majority of the developing countries especially in Asia, the government has a strong control on media exercised through different protocols and regulations.¹⁶ In the democratic states of Asia, modern

¹¹ Amitai Etzioni, *The Active Society: The Theory of Societal and Political Processes* (New York: Free Press, 1968), 607.

¹² Dumsani Mayo, “From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: Change without Change? Broadcasting Policy Reform and Political Control,” in H. Melber (ed.), *Media, Public Discourse and Political Contestation in Zimbabwe* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrika institutet, 2004), 12-28.

¹³ Ibid., 12-28.

¹⁴ R. Jensen, “First amendment Potluck,” *Communication Law and Policy* 4 no.3 (1998):563588, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/52339/1/673080374.pdf>.

¹⁵ R.W. Mc Chesney, “The Political Economy of Media: Enduring Issues, emerging Dilemmas,” New York, Monthly Review Press, 2008, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/49109567_The_Political_Economy_of_Media_Enduring_Issues_Emerging_Dilemmas_RW_McChesney.

¹⁶ Djankov, Simeon, McLiesh, Caralee, Nenova, Tatiana, Shleifer, Andrei, “Who Owns the Media?” *Journal of Law and Economics* (2003): 46, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.591.578&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

media forms are trying best to work for the betterment of public despite the fact that state's strong media regulations create multiple obstacles in their way.

Mosco (2008) ranked Political Economy of Mass Communication as one of the most important theory to study regulation and communication of media as it discussed in detail several aspects related to consumption, production and distribution of resources of communication.¹⁷ Machesney (2008) says it is helpful to study "the role of media in societies and examine how market structures, policies and subsidies, and organizational structures shape and determine the nature of media system and media content."¹⁸ Rasul (2004) argues that as all the regulatory bodies operating in a country are founded by the government, so the corporate media is the largest beneficiary of the regulations set for communication due to its greatest political influence, economic ability and promotional expertise.

McChesney (2008) elaborates his view by saying that the regulatory decisions made by the governments have a strong and direct control on competition, exclusion and inclusion of market actors, pricing and strategies of the media organizations etc. It shows that the bureaucratic powers have the tendency to control the media systems of the world.¹⁹ Therefore, political economy of communication is the most relevant theory to study the concentration of media ownership and media regulation by authorities.²⁰ This theory is also relevant to globalization.

The State-Press Relationship in Pakistan

The world has witnessed a media boom and Pakistan is no exception. There are little restrictions on international media in the country with only one exception of Indian news channels - which being overwhelmingly biased towards displaying anti-Pakistan content - have been blocked on the verdict of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The government, off and on, does impose restrictions on internet sites keeping in view the depiction of immoral content there. The government was enjoying monopoly over the media until 1980s and captivated Pakistani audience largely. However, after the emergence of Information and Communication (ICT) technologies, varied political shifts and global ideologies started to influence the political system in Pakistan. In other

¹⁷ Vincent Mosco, "Current Trends in the Political Economy of Communication," *Global Media Journal*, no.1 Canadian Edition, (2008), 45-63.

¹⁸ R.W. McChesney, "The Political Economy of Media".

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Azmat Rasul, Role of Radio in Development: The Case of Pakistan, *Journal of Mass Communication* 11, no. 2(2004), 54-67.

words, the global media started catching up with the country's television systems.²¹

Pakistan Television has remained the only government channel for many decades. It maintained monopoly over information since its inception in 1964 until the year 2002, when the government of General Musharraf decided to liberalize electronic media in his quest for enlightened moderation. However, PTV continued to work as the official channel of every government in power. It has been engaged in justifying government policies, at the same time highlighting the role and activities of government officials ranging from the office of the president to the ministers.

Objectives of PTV News

The principal objective of PTV News is to instruct, enlighten and enrich the knowledge and information of the masses for the promotion of national integration. The other objectives include taking special care of family oriented content, and avoid obscenity and vulgarity. To take special care for not using any form of derogatory language in programs and for designing of themes that avoid discrimination regarding any race, profession or creed. Most importantly, news presentation roots in fairness, reality and truth in light of the code of ethics. The general trend noticed in the case of PTV is that every ruling party along with its allies has used this media platform to propagate its achievements and defame the opposition parties and their sympathizers. Consequently, the policy of PTV has kept on changing with every new government. Starting from the liberal policies of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Islamization of Gen. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, media liberalization of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif to enlightened moderation of Gen. Musharraf, all were the beads of the same string, showing the use of national media for propagation of each successive government.

Telecast Policy of PTV

The main function of electronic media in any country is to inform, educate and entertain the masses. It also works to bring current affairs and international relations developments from across the world to its audience at home. PTV achieves these milestones by broadcasting current affairs shows, religious and entertainment programmes and historical and cultural talk shows as well. PTV works under the motto of maintaining discipline and uniting all segments of society. It aims at transmitting family

²¹ Farooq Sulehria, "DD and PTV as Victims of Media Globalization," *Asian Journal of Communication* (2016), 05, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/310838505_DD_and_PTV_as_victims_of_media_globalisation.

oriented programs with a special focus on the requirements of common people while highlighting social and health issues on priority basis. The channel's advertisements and commercials cater to the needs of societal set-ups and fully represent and advocate government's national and international aspirations.

PTVs Broadcasting Trends

In 2002, the military government of Gen. Musharraf decided to open new media houses that consequently ended the PTV's unchallenged monopoly over information. Ironically, the motivation for this opening up of media was not to liberalise the society, rather the move was motivated by security concerns and strategic need to counter anti-Pakistan campaign of India. In fact, Gen. Musharraf and his senior colleagues concluded after the Kargil conflict²² between India and Pakistan in 1999, that, it was the inability of the Pakistani electronic media that it did not match the highly active Indian satellite channels, and PTV along with its tributary channels lost the propaganda war to Indian media. This situation led to embarrassment for the Pakistani government at the international level, ultimately creating gap between the then Army Chief and the elected government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif subsequently resulting in the overturn of the democratic government and the imposition of martial law in 1999.

Soon after the coup, Gen. Musharraf decided to liberalize the Pakistani media by opening up of new channels, both for entertainment and information. Electronic media grew in Pakistan both qualitatively and quantitatively owing to Musharraf's liberal policy in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Media grew considerably both in terms of numbers of daily newspapers and magazines but also, the electronic media channels witnessed drastic rise that also contributed to liberalising PTV from the government control.

The number of private channels increased to 50 in 2008 that presented a stark contrast to 2 to 3 state-owned TV channels in 1999. Undoubtedly, the Musharraf government allowed media far more freedom of expression than any preceding Pakistani government, either military or civil. The state owned PTV News also enjoyed monopoly during that golden period of media history in Pakistan. Despite liberalization, certain areas of state were out of bounds for open discussion in media like the role

²² It was a limited and undeclared war in the Kargil district of Indian Occupied Kashmir, between India and Pakistan. The conflict started somewhere in April and concluded in July 1999. It was not on international border between the two states but along the Line of Control (LOC) in Kashmir, a disputed territory.

security forces and their operations in conflict-ridden areas, like those in Federally Administered Areas (FATA) of Pakistan and Balochistan.²³

In order to get favourable coverage by media, successive governments used policy broadcast licenses, advertising quota and newspaper declarations.²⁴ To institutionalize this control over electronic media, in June 2007, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) Ordinance was promulgated by the then government, to control and regulate private media channels. This ordinance empowered PEMRA to seal any property suspected of illegal transmission and the powers to suspend or cancel the license of any private channel on account of such activity. The government tried to use PEMRA to provide proper check over media organizations, however, this body failed to achieve its goals.²⁵ On the other hand, some media organizations started blackmailing the government and regulatory authority over such weak and inefficient regulatory mechanism. Despite all these, the government ensured that media-related policies were devised keeping in view the complex political and social systems of Pakistan.²⁶

This reality represented the fact that media's autonomy was not protected by law and was rather dependent on government's mood and choices. The Musharraf government curtailed the freedom of press and electronic media by using different constitutional and legal powers.²⁷ According to the report of Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), government began harassing media companies including the attacks on media channels, legal suits, financial damages and physical torture to journalists. CPJ also reported that on March 16, 2007, police raided the offices of Jang group in Islamabad, used tear gas and baton charged the staff just to punish Geo TV for rigorous coverage of Lawyers' Movement, which had started as a street movement to protest the then chief justice's ouster.²⁸

In 2008, the Pakistan media regained freedom of expression. However, the government continued to accuse private news channels of

²³ Marco Mezzera, and Safder Sial, "Media and Governance in Pakistan: A Controversial yet Essential Relationship," *Initiative for Peacebuilding* (Brussels, 2010), <http://gsdrc.org/document-library/media-and-governance-in-pakistan-a-controversial-yet-essential-relationship/>.

²⁴ Umar Cheema, *Challenges to the Freedom of Press in Pakistan* (Lahore: Punjab University Press, 2010).

²⁵ S. Naseer, Regulation of Electronic Media and Democracy in Pakistan, *Journal of Political Studies* 17, no. 2 (2010). 27-45.

²⁶ R. Q. Khan, "Development of Electronic Media in Pakistan," *The Post*, June 30, 2008.

²⁷ *Dawn*, March 10, 2007.

²⁸ "Attacks on the Press in 2007: Pakistan," *CPJ*, February 5, 2008, <https://cpj.org/2008/02/attacks-on-the-press-2007-pakistan.php>.

sensationalism and conservative and militaristic tendencies. The Private channels were accused of following a covert agenda campaign aiming at toppling the elected government of the then PPPP and were also blamed for being supportive of Taliban. However, media's this orientation on domestic radicalism totally changed when Taliban despicably took over seven districts of the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA).²⁹ Consequently, they challenged the writ of the government in district Swat in April 2009.³⁰

The PTV's monopoly over the airwaves was challenged for the first time in 1989 when Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government took its first step towards liberalization of the electronic media. The Shalimar Television Network (STN) received license in 1989, which was a public-sector corporation. It began its broadcast in the capital city of Islamabad and Karachi, the country's biggest city.³¹ The private sector in Pakistan had 84 fully functional channels in 2014 including thirty-five news channels and fifteen entertainment ones with four for education and one for health and agriculture each. In addition, twenty-eight foreign channels opened for providing entertainment and news to Pakistani viewers while the PTV network started eight additional channels. In this expansion period, other private channels downgraded PTV as being sub-ordinate to them in terms of popularity and ratings. However, as being a terrestrial channel, PTV holds audience in places where cable television networks are not available. Yet, PTV is still facing fierce competition with contemporary private foreign and local channels.³²

Categorization Scheme

The content of current affairs programs follows the name of program, date, timings, duration, program summary, themes discussed, objectivity and fairness, adoption of ethics and language and respect to rights etc. This scheme of investigation provides a clear picture of what

²⁹ Taliban were the freedom fighters who paid strong resistance to Soviet Union in Afghanistan from 1979 to 1986 and compelled them to liberate Afghanistan. After the evacuation of external forces internal fighting in Afghanistan among the local War Lords continued. Taliban are the most potent faction in present day's Afghanistan and are giving strong resistance to NATO forces. They are having their close collaboration with their sympathizers in border areas of Pakistan called (FATA) and Provincially Administrative Areas (PATA).

³⁰ "Pakistani Army Claims Taliban's Elimination in Swat Valley Imminent," *Guardian*, May 22, 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/may/22/pakistan-army-swat-valley-taliban>.

³¹ A. O. Ali, & S. A. Gunaratne, "Pakistan," in S. A. Gunaratne (ed.), *Handbook of the Media in Asia* (London: Sage, 2000), 151-181.

³² Farooq Sulehria, "DD and PTV as Victims of Media Globalization."

elements must be part of a channel's policy and that how these channels then manage to positively project these policies. The issues discussed here are similar as these are related to political activities taking place during the given time. Apart from political matters at national level, there were some other issues discussed pertaining to common man's problems in Pakistan.

Analysis of the Programs' Content

In order to get information as to which extent PTV is following its policy, the previous studies on PTV give ample chance to examine its working that also involves content analysis of its programs. According to the PTV policy, its programs' content focuses on themes like morality, national and civic responsibilities and protection of rights of people and anti-crime acts. Thus, the anchor-persons of these programs work to promote fair and objective ideas as envisioned by the policy through their shows and discussions. However, these objectives are well-represented in the policy framework of the government of the time. It is observed during the content analysis of selected programs that PTV is instrumental in promoting and praising those occupying high offices in government, no matter if public money funds such programs. PTV has been a mouthpiece for the ruling party or parties since its inception. It has always been used to promote, praise, and eulogize those in power at the expense of public money and taxes. Following is the analysis of some of the PTV programs:

Evening Time

This programme is on-aired from Multan Centre of PTV News. The program format includes discussions of an anchor-person with two to three guests-speakers or analysts with expertise in the issue at hand. After giving an introductory note to the topic there is a discussion with the guests keeping in view the program objectives. The most-discussed topics include arguments on strategies adopted by the government to control disaster situations, education standards in Pakistan, conflicts between India and Pakistan, terrorist operations by Pakistan Army etc. Of all the programs that were analysed, a common and identical trend is the easy-going and smooth discussion between the anchor-person and the guests. That is an important focus of PTV Policy.

Another focus of the policy is to bring under spotlight the issues of daily life of people without using any derogatory or unethical language. Another striking trend is that discussions bring forth only the efforts of the government in that particular area. Views representing the other side of the fence i.e., the opposition's viewpoint does not get enough focus or mention. Mostly discussions are prone to favour government viewpoints.

Such To Yeh Ha

Discussions always remain the part of any current affairs program or any talk show. Such programs always follow debates, negotiations, arguments to reach at a conclusion and to sort out some hidden realities about the issues at hand. This is the main reason behind telecasting current affairs program. Such To Yeh Ha ('This is the truth') is such kind of a program. The format is to raise and introduce the top story of that day, discussed by an anchor-person with some guests on the panel whose number depends on the topic under discussion. This program is different from the other selected ones in that it invites guests from both ruling and opposing parties. The atmosphere of the program remains neutral and there is a minimal usage of critical remarks among the anchor-person and the guests. Focus on divergent or opposite views remains minimal while government's stance on the particular issue is supreme. In one way or the other, respect for freedom of expression is not the general norm. Anchors guide the discussion to 'right direction' if it is turned against government.

Khabernama

News or *Khabernama*, an Urdu word for news bulletin, is one of the most important features of PTV. Breaking news are an important feature of news programs these days. When any incident occurs in any part of the country or the world, news channels telecast it immediately within seconds as 'Exclusive or Breaking News'. The news is telecasted at the peak hours of transmission with an objective of having maximum viewership. However, all news highlight the positive aspects of governmental policies/actions while reporting on any issue, whether national, international, and local sports. Neutrality factor upholds minimal criticism but tilt is visible in government's favour.

Capital View

'Capital View' is on-air at the last hour of the night transmission. This program lasts for forty- five minutes and comprises discussions of two anchor-persons. The program first presents an overview of the top stories of the day generating discussion and debating the role of different political parties for the issues under discussion. This program analyses almost every issue concerning life, ranging from political issues to every day needs of a common person. Roles played by different segments of society are also brought under discussion. Some sarcastic words are also used but there is no derogatory language with special care for promotion of national unity and integrity.

Discussion and Findings

Television these days has become an important social requirement for every segment of society as it provides information on current

incidents taking place around the world within seconds. People have become addicted to relying on this source of information at all times.³³ As we know that role of media in any society is to inform and educate masses, this demands presentation of true picture while remaining unbiased, which is a responsibility as people demand objectivity alongside reality.

The current affairs programs play a multi-dimensional role to inform and educate the masses and in generating public opinion and that largely depends upon the presentation style of anchors and their way of dealing with issues.³⁴ TV programs greatly influence students in their studies. It is analysed that the level of interest in TV programs is directly proportional to the impact on personal aspirations.³⁵ Most of the anchors in the PTV Current Affairs programs have Islamic leanings. They are comfortable in leading a national debate in the light of religious and social norms of society. A common observation suggests that anchors at private channels try to create controversies on issues in order to have better ratings for their programs.³⁶

Traditions of having government channels is not unique to Pakistan. India and Turkey also share this tradition with many other nations. In majority of cases, public sector media is always under strict control of the government while private sector media is under the control of the globalized market in which it is operating. Succeeding governments in Pakistan have adopted various administrative and socioeconomic policies, to maintain a healthy society. Among several other reasons given by government for introducing new regulatory mechanisms in country, some factors are failure of market or consideration of justice.³⁷ PTV is a corporation in public sector and from the time of its inception, the Government of Pakistan is fully in control of this organization and holds all of its shares. The policy of PTV is a clear-cut manifestation of the government's needs and requirements. The format of the content shown at PTV News simply toes the lines drawn by the regulatory laws and codes of ethics formulated for media organizations and PTV is no exception.

³³ Interview with Muhammad Zubair, News Castre, PTV News (Islamabad, December 30, 2012).

³⁴ Abdul Rehman Madni, Shahzad & MudassirAbdullah, Mudassir, "Exposure to Current Affairs Programs and viewers perception regarding role of programs & Anchors presentational style: A Case Study of Sargodha City," *The Sindh University Journal of Education* 41 (2012):1-22.

³⁵ M. R. Aleena, "Level of Interest in T.V Programmes Channel and it's Impact on Personale Aspiration of Youth," (B. A. Hons, un-published thesis, Institute of Social and Cultural Studies: University of the Punjab, 2006).

³⁶ Sushant Sareen, "Floods: Pakistan Bracing the Fallout. Vivekananda International Foundation," (2010), http://webworld.unesco.org/download/fed/iraq/english/media_elections_en.pdf.

³⁷ Kemal, "Regulatory framework in Pakistan."

Pakistan Television being the state run television has become a part of every middle class family in Pakistan and over the last 50 years its broadcast coverage has been extending gradually and continuously in all spheres. At present PTV has access to more than 80 percent of the population. This trend is a clear-cut manifestation of its acceptance by all segments of society. The reason behind its success and increased viewership is the fact that the channel has always tried to motivate public by broadcasting meaningful programmes wrapped with entertaining stuff. It promotes local heritage, national integration and unity.

With regard to the current affairs programs, it is not wrong to say that they are mirror to societal change and dynamics. It is because of the interactive and participatory nature of the current affairs programs that one finds a clear difference between viewership of current affairs programs and news broadcasts or programs.³⁸ The Current Affairs programs of PTV raise issues according to the expectations, needs and demands of its viewers on general and specific issues prevailing in society. Current affairs programs are the most viewed programs of any news channel and same is the case with PTV.³⁹

The analysis of current affairs programs clearly showed that even in this advanced and globalised world, Government TV channels still work under complete supervision of authorities. Practice of neutrality is a rare phenomenon in presentation of contents. These are the very facts that have contributed to the increased viewership of PTV across the country.

Conclusion

The present study concluded that the media systems in today's world are going beyond the boundaries of a state and have stimulated globalization as a contributing factor to eradicate the power of countries to regulate and control media and use it for cultural and educational purposes. Globalization has changed the nature of the strong relationship that existed previously between the media and the state. The state even in this global village continues to matter a lot because it is playing a big role in shaping media policy and national television systems in countries like Pakistan.⁴⁰

In developing countries like Pakistan, regulation of electronic media becomes more complex due to the liberalization of the media. The globalized media and modern means of communication pose major

³⁸ Interview with Farhan Doger, Senior Producer, PTV world for current Affairs Program (Islamabad, January 15 2016).

³⁹ Sixty percent of the students of six public universities of Islamabad replied in a field survey that PTV current affair programs are balanced and give good analysis.

⁴⁰ Matos, "Globalization and the Mass Media."

challenges to the state in terms of regulation. They require new forms of policies and decisions that cater to citizens' interests'.⁴¹

Several regulatory authorities working in the country should be accountable to the Parliament and the government's controlling authority must not meddle in their affairs. However, there remains a close relationship between media and the government. Liberating media from the clutches of a government must not create problems and complications.

PTV has maintained more than 80 percent of its viewership over a period while private channels are popular only in cities and towns. Moreover, it enjoys all the government resources and is not dependent on external sources for finances. It maintained its credibility in the age of globalization by providing high quality discussion shows and credible analysis by world's renowned scholars and academicians. Its adjustability with changing demands of modernity alongside usage of latest techniques makes it a worthy competitor to the private sector in this globalised world.

The Pakistan Television as a state- controlled channel, no longer rules the county's television market, but remains a dominant player in an extensive network of channels and still has a bigger audience. In the face of enormous technological advances and greater competition, PTV has survived and struggled to deliver its duties. Its primary responsibility of safeguarding the cultural identity of Pakistan, and its role in providing space for a diverse range of ethnic, linguistic and religious views can never be underestimated.

Media policy of any country largely depends on media monopolization in which one organization owns diverse forms of outlets like television, radio, newspaper and social media. All these forms operate under one umbrella in majority of the countries. In case of Pakistan, laws devised by PEMRA and Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) should be clearly implemented and amended according to the need of the hour and needs of the society. There is a need for diversity in content of on-aired programmes. Having uni-focused discussions with minimal level of bias will lead to diversity in contents of the programs. Media policy is to be implemented in a way that it leads to positive and constructive criticism of the government of the day. This approach is likely to enhance the credibility and stature of PTV in the present challenging times.

⁴¹ Azmat Rasul and Stephen D. McDowell, "Regulation and Media Monopoly: A Case Study of Broadcast Regulation in Pakistan," *8th International Telecommunications Society (ITS) Asia-Pacific Regional Conference on Convergence in the Digital Age* (Taiwan, 26 - 28 June 2011).

PAK-INDIA COMPOSITE DIALOGUE: TRENDS IN MEDIA COVERAGE

Dr. Muhammad Sajjad Malik*

Abstract

Pakistan and India have not had a stable relation since independence. There have been attempts thus to achieve a neighbourly relation. Amongst the efforts made, Composite Dialogue was undoubtedly an important step towards achieving peace; it was introduced in January 2004 and had eight baskets of issues to be deliberated upon. Media showed a keen interest in this peace effort and extensively covered it. The process was suspended after the Mumbai terror attack of July 2008. This study looks at the trends media coverage of the Composite Dialogue in print media in India and Pakistan. The research design is the content analysis of eight selected newspapers, four from each country (one primary and three secondary ones), during nine selected days. This composite dialogue, continued for over five years, but the coverage period for this research is three periods, each lasting for three days in January 2004, April 2005 and July 2006. The analysis and subsequent conclusion shows that media became overzealous in giving coverage to the peace process yet it followed the official narrative which was jingoistic¹, hence hindering the peace process by limiting the exposure to information and public discourse.

Key Words: *Pakistan, India, Media Coverage, Composite Dialogue, Narrative, Peace Process*

Introduction

The study looks at the media coverage of composite dialogue in the selected newspapers of Pakistan and India. The objective is to highlight the role media plays in the peace process particularly through the dialogue, and its influence on public opinion of political

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¹ Characterized by extreme patriotism, especially in the form of aggressive or warlike foreign policy.

disagreements. Media is known as the fourth pillar of the state. Its reach, scope and ever-present nature make it an important factor within any nation as well as in the international politics. It plays an important role in conveying information, forming opinions and setting of trends. It even affects social behaviour of the people. Pakistani and Indian media did take a keen interest in the peace process. As the bilateral talks created some hope for the resolution of key problems, media on the both sides actively reported the dialogue. Media is a broad term yet the focus of this study is selected print media, specifically the newspapers as the oldest tradition of reporting in the two countries. Despite TV channels and internet, press has the outreach and penetration not available to other modern sources. Dawn, The Nation, The Frontier Post and Daily Times are selected newspapers from Pakistan; while The Hindu, The India Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald have been selected from India. The aforementioned are further categorized in primary and secondary newspapers according to their scope, reach, readership and credibility. Dawn and The Hindu have been taken as primary newspapers from the two countries whereas The National, The Frontier Post and Daily Times, and The India Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald have been taken as secondary papers from Pakistan and India respectively. Such sampling provides a wider perspective. First, Dawn and The Hindu being frontline papers provide vertical sampling, while the other papers having regional focus give horizontal cross view of the coverage.

The roots of the composite dialogue are traceable to May 1997 when Indian Prime Minister, Inder Kumar Gujral and his Pakistani counterpart Nawaz Sharif agreed at the SAARC Summit in Maldives to institute a structural dialogue process.² The core of the new process was that no preconditions shall be demanded by the two countries. Also, they agreed to accommodate each other's key concerns: India agreed to include Kashmir on the list of issues in return for Pakistan agreeing to talk on terrorism.

Initially, two rounds of talks were held in October and November of 1998. Later, Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Lahore to further boost the initiative. Unfortunately, these efforts collapsed due to Kargil War of 1999. Another top-level effort also failed when Agra Summit remained unfruitful. The attack on Indian parliament and consequent military confrontations of 2002 proved disastrous for peace. However, the military face-off led to a realization then that without solution of the key issues, the two countries will be locked in mortal conflicts or a cold war type confrontation.

² Sajad Paddar, "The Composite Dialogue Process between India and Pakistan: Structure, Process and Agency," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, South Asia Institute, Department of Political Science, Heidelberg University, Working Paper No 65 (February 2012), 2.

President Pervez Musharraf, who took over in 1999, was looking for positive rearrangements with India due to different reasons. So at the height of tensions, he extended a hand of friendship to India when during the SAARC Summit in Kathmandu in January 2002, he walked across the podium to shake hands with Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee.³ It was a positive gesture but still too early to start any negotiations and the two sides took more than a year before coming towards a serious reengagement. The new process of engagement started in 2003, through what India termed as “step by step” process.⁴ The positive statements and backdoor efforts bore fruit in November 2003 when the two sides agreed on a ceasefire in Kashmir. With full diplomatic activities and transport links already restored, the time had come for a more sustained peace effort.

With this, the composite dialogue process was launched in January 2004, when Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Pakistan for the SAARC Summit.⁵ It was the first comprehensive effort to resolve all problems through sustained and multi-layered talks. The main issues were divided into eight baskets or groups, and were assigned to officials and experts to sort them out. The eight groups included: 1) Peace and Security including CBMs; 2) Jammu and Kashmir; 3) Siachin; 4) Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project; 5) Sir Creek; 6) Economic and Commercial Cooperation; 7) Terrorism and Drug Trafficking; and 8) Promotion of friendly exchanges.⁶

The first meeting between foreign secretaries of the two countries was held in New Delhi in June 2004, followed by five rounds of talks on each of the eight baskets. Each round was formally closed by the foreign ministers, who also launched the next round of negotiations. The process generated a lot of optimism. The dialogue was termed as irreversible and some of the disputes like Siachen and Sir Creek were declared ripe for solution.⁷ The two sides had already agreed for the sixth round and some of the meetings were also fixed when militants attacked Indian financial hub Mumbai on November 26, 2008. India blamed Pakistan-based militants for the attack and suspended all peace engagements, including the composite dialogue.

³ Jawed Naqvi, “Musharraf offers Sustained Talks: Handshake with Vajpayee Charms SAARC,” *Dawn*, January 6, 2002, <https://www.dawn.com/news/13684>.

⁴ Paddar, “The Composite Dialogue,” 2.

⁵ Aymen Ijaz, “Analysis of Pak-India Composite Dialogue,” *IPRI Journal*, September 15, 2015, <http://www.ipripak.org/analysis-of-pak-india-composite-dialogue/>.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Jawed Naqvi, “Peace Process ‘Irreversible’: Pakistan, India to Work For Kashmir Issue Settlement: Joint Statement,” *Dawn*, April 19, 2005.

Since the peace process continued for over five years, the coverage patterns have been noted for three specified periods, each following a significant event or happening. The expanded survey of coverage gives trends of reporting in selected newspapers. The details are as follows:

- First Period for coverage lasts for three days i.e. January 4-6, 2004. This period followed the agreement between Pervez Musharraf and Vajpayee on January 4, 2004 for pursuing the Composite Dialogue, and records media's response on this development.
- Second Period also lasts for three days, i.e. April 16-18, 2005, when Pervez Musharraf visited India and records media responses to this event.
- Third and the last coverage period is from July 10-12, 2006 and provides a coverage pattern around the Mumbai train bombing of July 11, 2006.

The total coverage period spreads over nine days. Coverage of dialogue process by Dawn and The Hindu has been recorded for all three selected periods; the secondary source has been changed for all three periods. For example, The Nation, The Frontier Post and The Daily Times have respectively been used as second papers from Pakistan, one for each period, while The Indian Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald have been used as second newspapers from India. The purpose of having so many papers is to get a more representative sample. It aims to analyze the trends in coverage of the composite dialogue rather than the dialogue itself, so to analyse media's role in this peace process.

Coverage Period I: January 4-6, 2004.

1: The Primary Newspapers - Pakistan (Dawn)

Table 1:

Dawn Coverage on January 4, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Karachi	Report	Pakistan, India urged to respect rights
2	Islamabad	APP	SAARC moot to be historic: Shashank
3	Islamabad	Report	Summit opens today on optimistic note
4	Islamabad	Report	Sinha sees winds of change in region: Islamabad making history
5	Islamabad	Reuter/ AFP/APP	Vajpayee willing to hold talks with Musharraf: Indian PM arrives in Islamabad.
6	Islamabad	APP	Warm welcome accorded.

A civil society group, Pakistan-India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD), met in Karachi and urged both countries to respect the basic rights. APP reported that Foreign Secretary (FS) Shashank told media that the SAARC Summit will be historic. The paper also noted that the summit opens on January 4. Yashwant Sinha said at the SAARC journalist summit organized by SAFMA that important decisions were made at the Council of Ministers meeting. Vajpayee told PTV in an interview that Musharraf was someone he could talk to, but needed time for agreement on Kashmir. APP reported, Vajpayee was given warm welcome on arrival to attend the summit. He was the second Indian leader to land at Islamabad International Airport after late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited in 1988.

Table 2:**Dawn Coverage on January 5, 2004**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Report	Vajpayee seeks mutual trust
2	Srinagar	AFP	Kashmiris pledge to work for peace
3	Islamabad	Report	Jamali, Vajpayee hold one-on-one meeting: Talks with Musharraf today
4	Islamabad	Report	High hopes mark start of summit
5	Islamabad	Report	President pleads for end to rifts: Reception for SAARC leaders

The paper reported that the SAARC Summit had started. Vajpayee was applauded when he gave his speech. "We must make the bold transition from mistrust to trust, from discord to concord, and from tension to peace," he said. AFP reported that both hard-line and moderate separatists in Kashmir vowed to work for peace. The paper also reported that Prime Minister Zafarullah Jamali met counterpart Vajpayee and discussed the vital issues. An important meeting was scheduled between Musharraf and Vajpayee separately. It was reported that SAARC had rekindled hopes for the regional peace. President Musharraf speaking at a reception for the SAARC leaders highlighted need for peace through the resolution of the political disputes.

Table 3:**Dawn Coverage on January 6, 2004**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Report	Musharraf, Vajpayee hold historic meeting
2	Islamabad	Report	Secretary level discussion soon
3	Islamabad	APP	'New answers' being sought, says Vajpayee
4	Islamabad	APP	Joint efforts sought to resolve issues
5	Muzaffarabad	Report	MJC doubts SAARC summit's success
6	Chakothi	Report	Kashmiris hope for durable truce
7	Islamabad	Report	It might be real this time
8	New Delhi	APPk2	Indian press commends peace moves
9	Islamabad	Report	Fahim welcomes peace efforts
10	Srinagar	APP	APHC calls for SAARC's role in peace process

The coverage went dramatically up due to the meetings of Vajpayee with the Pakistan leaders. The lead of the day was a meeting between Musharraf and Vajpayee. In their 65-minute meeting, they discussed all important issues and also agreed to launch the composite dialogue.⁸ APP reported Vajpayee saying that the dialogue will continue to find a solution for the problems. Prime Minister Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali urged for collective efforts to confront the problems faced by South Asia. Chairman of the Muttahida Jihad Council and Hizbul Mujahideen commander, Syed Salahuddin said he doubted the outcome of SAARC to establish durable peace. It was also reported that hopes were high among the people living along the LoC in Azad Kashmir that the gathering of leaders will create peace.

The paper also carried an analysis that it was time for making advances towards the real peace between Pakistan and India. APP gave an overview of the Indian press which was positive about the peace moves. Leader of PPP and Chairman of the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) Amin Fahim welcomed the efforts initiated by Pakistan and India. APP in its report said that APHC leader Syed Ali Gilani urged the

⁸ "Musharraf, Vajpayee hold Historic Meeting," *Dawn*, January 6, 2004.

SAARC leaders to persuade India to initiate a serious, sincere and meaningful dialogue on Kashmir.

2: The Primary Newspapers – India (The Hindu)

Table 4:

The Hindu Coverage on January 4, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Amit Baruah & Muralidhar Reddy	India and Pakistan must keep talking: Vajpayee

The coverage was restricted to just one story. Amit Baruah and Muralidhar Reddy reported that Vajpayee said he would hold talks with Pakistani leaders during the SAARC Summit.

Table 5:

The Hindu Coverage on January 5, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Amit Baruah & Muralidhar Reddy	Vajpayee meets Jamali as ties are put on track
2	New Delhi	Neena Vyas	BJP plans to sell peace with Pakistan in poll campaign

The coverage was low and the paper carried just two stories. Vajpayee started the tour of Pakistan by having a meeting with Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali. The Hindu termed it as the end of nearly “three-year of drought” in the bilateral ties. Neena Vyas said BJP was planning to sell the idea of peace with Pakistan in the forthcoming elections.

Table 6:

The Hindu Coverage on January 6, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Amit Baruah & Muralidhar Reddy	Vajpayee, Musharraf hope peace process will continue
2	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Peace is essential for prosperity: Kalam
3	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	A step in the right direction, says Venkaiah Naidu

Despite meeting between Vajpayee and Musharraf, the coverage was limited. Amit Baruah and Muralidhar Reddy reported that Vajpayee met Musharraf in an ice-breaking meeting. President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and Home Minister L.K. Advani expressed hope that meeting with Musharraf will bring peace. Bharatiya Janata Party President Venkaiah Naidu also termed the meeting as a "positive step in the right direction."

3: The Secondary Newspapers – Pakistan (The Nation)

Table 7:

The Nation Coverage on January 4, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Shaiq Hussain	SAARC summit open today
2	Islamabad	Agencies	Vajpayee ready for Kashmir talks with Musharraf
3	Rawalpindi	Absar Alam	The ego has landed
4	Islamabad	Dilshad Azeem	JUI awaits Indian HC response to fete Vajpayee
5	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	FMs discuss Vajpayee's meetings with Pak leaders
6	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Vajpayee comes with 'Black Cats'

The lead was about the SAARC Summit being held in Islamabad. The second lead was about Vajpayee, who had landed a day before in Pakistan and was quoted as saying that India was ready to discuss Kashmir. Absar Alam reported that the Indian leader after wasting five years since 1999 had finally come to Pakistan.

There was a report that JUI-F was still waiting for a response from the Indian officials about its invitation to hold a reception for Vajpayee. Separately, the foreign ministers of Pakistan and India discussed meetings of Vajpayee with Pakistani leaders. Also, the paper published an interesting report that Indian PM brought his limousine and 25 commandoes known as 'Black Cats'.

Table 8:**The Nation Coverage on January 5, 2004**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Absar Alam	Musharraf-Vajpayee meeting today
2	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Retreat at PM House today
3	Islamabad	Shaiq Hussain	SAARC leaders focus on terror, poverty
4	Islamabad	Javed Rana	No new inclusion in SAARC: FO
5	Rawalpindi	Abrar Saeed	Pak-India CBMs be started from Kashmir
6	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Pak opposition leaders meet Vajpayee
7	Islamabad	APP	Rashid hopeful of Pak-India talks
8	Lahore	PPI	Samjhota Express resumes today

Absar Alam reported about the upcoming meeting between Vajpayee and Musharraf. The paper reported about a retreat for the leaders of SAARC at the PM House, while the leaders during the summit discussed how to combat terrorism and poverty. Javed Rana reported that Sinha and Kasuri had discussed the agenda for the meeting of leaders as Pakistan rejected the idea of inclusion of any new country into the SAARC.

The paper on the back page carried some major stories. It reported that leaders from the two sides of Kashmir demanded that the CBMs should start from Kashmir and the massacre of the people of Kashmir should be stopped. Pakistan opposition leaders from Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy met Vajpayee while Information Minister Sheikh Rashid said that the composite dialogue between the two countries will start soon. There was another important story that the Samjhota express train started between the two countries. Earlier, the road and air links were restored.

Table 9:
The Nation Coverage on January 6, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Javed Rana	Musharraf, Vajpayee for more CBMs
2	Islamabad	APP	Talks should continue: Vajpayee
3	Islamabad	Shaiq Hussain	Pakistan, India urged to resolve bilateral issues
4	Islamabad	Absar Alam	What are new question?
5	Lahore	APP	SAARC terror talks target Kashmiris, says Qazi
6	Islamabad	APP	Sheikh Rashid says joint declaration soon
7	Islamabad	Staff Reporter	Indo-Pak leaders meeting a good omen: Fahim
8	New Delhi	AFP	Pakistani baby gets gift of vision
9	Muzaffara bad	Roshan Mughal	Kashmiris protest self-determination right denial
10	Islamabad	APP	Gujral greets Vajpayee, Musharraf for a new start
11	Islamabad	Arif & Lamia Zia	Pak-India peace process overshadow summit

As Vajpayee settled in Islamabad and held preliminary talks, the coverage increased. The headline on front page was about the meeting between Musharraf and Vajpayee. They agreed on more CBMs.⁹ Leader from the SAARC nations asked the two countries to resolve their differences, while Vajpayee said that more talks were needed. Absar Alam criticised Vajpayee for saying that there were new questions in ties which needed answers. Jamaat-i-Islami chief, Qazi Hussain Ahmad criticised the SAARC anti-terror talks which he said aimed at Kashmir. Sheikh Rashid said, soon a joint declaration will be issued. Opposition leader Amin Fahim welcomed the meeting of leaders of Pakistan and India.

AFP reported a rarely good story that a 15-month Pakistani boy got vision due to the transplant of vital parts from a deceased Indian woman. Separately, the Kashmiris protested for denial of the right of self-determination. Former Indian premier I.K. Gujral welcomed the meeting of Pak-India leaders. The paper also reported that Pak-India peace parleys overshadowed the summit.

⁹ Javed Rana, "Musharraf, Vajpayee for more CBMs," *The Nation*, January 6, 2004.

4: Secondary Newspapers – India (The Indian Express)

The Indian Express is relatively smaller newspaper in circulation but is respected in the Indian policy-making circles. It has been used as secondary paper to see the coverage for the selected period from January 4-6, 2004.

Table 10:

The Indian Express Coverage on January 4, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Landing in Pak, PM sheds baggage of past, has one thing to declare: hope

It was an important day as Prime Minister Vajpayee arrived in Pakistan for the SAARC Summit. Joyti Malhotra reported from Islamabad that Prime Minister Vajpayee arrived in Pakistan and told media that he wanted to meet the leaders of Pakistan and talk about all issues including Kashmir.

Table 11:

The Indian Express Coverage on January 5, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Musharraf skips K-course at banquet, but serves bilateral talk dish
2	Islamabad	Express News Service	They all agree: no room for terror, need to unite
3	Srinagar	Mir Ehsan	Summit echoes in J-K: Change is not far away

Malhotra who had apparently flown from New Delhi to cover the trip of the prime minister in her dispatch said that Musharraf did not directly mention Kashmir at a banquet for the SAARC leaders but said that “there can be no development in the absence of peace and no peace until political disputes continue to fester.”¹⁰ The paper also said that the SAARC leaders called for action against terrorism and increasing efforts for regional cooperation. Mir Ehsan reported from Srinagar that the Kashmiri leaders were hoping the SAARC Summit to be a major step towards peace.

¹⁰ Jyoti Malhotra, “Musharraf Skips K-course at Banquet, but Serves Bilateral Talk Dish,” *The Indian Express*, January 5, 2004.

Table 12:
The Indian Express Coverage on January 6, 2004

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Mistrust brushed under huge, red carpet
2	Islamabad	PTI	Rashid can't forget the K-word
3	New Delhi	Express News service	Movement towards peace: Parties hoping for results
4	Srinagar	Agencies	Back home: Valley pins hope on Summit
5	Moscow	Dadan Upadhyay	Russia welcomes Pak-India leaders meeting
6	Islamabad	Jyoti Malhotra	Silence, men at work on peace track

The coverage went up considerably as Pak-India leaders were having meetings in Islamabad. Tracing the welcome given to Vajpayee in Pakistan, Malhotra wrote "If ever Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee wanted to contest elections from Islamabad rather than his beloved Lucknow,... winning wouldn't be difficult."

The paper also had a PTI story which said that Pakistan Information Minister Sheikh Rashid Ahmad kept harping on Kashmir as top leadership was silent about it. Separately, the paper said that BJP had described the meeting between Prime Minister Vajpayee and Musharraf as a step in the right direction.

There was a detailed report based on the input by the newswires that Vajpayee's visit had raised hopes for peace in Kashmir. Dadan Upadhyay reported from Moscow that Russia welcomed the meeting of Vajpayee and Musharraf. In a major story Malhotra reported that there was a possibility of breakthrough as officials were working out the contours of a peace process that "would give centrality to the twin issues of Kashmir and terrorism."¹¹

¹¹ Jyoti Malhotra, "Silence, men at work on peace track," *The Indian Express*, January 6, 2004.

Coverage Period II: April 16-18, 2006.

1: Primary Newspaper – Pakistan (Dawn)

Table 13:

Dawn Coverage on April 16, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Washington	Anwar Iqbal	Bush urges India to 'encourage' Musharraf
2	Islamabad	Reporter	Pakistan-India summit today
3	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	Singh call for joint anti-terror strategy

Dawn reported from Washington that President George Bush met Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh and told media that he had asked the Indian diplomat to be appreciative of Musharraf's efforts against al-Qaeda. An important story was about the landing of Musharraf in India, where he was scheduled to meet Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Natwar Singh was set to meet Musharraf before his meeting with the Indian premier. Jawed Naqvi reported that Manmohan Singh said that there was need of a joint anti-terror strategy with Pakistan to fight militancy.

Table 14:

Dawn Coverage on April 17, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Unknown	Optimistic mood prevails in New Delhi
2	New Delhi	Habib Ghori	'Musharraf in Delhi with open mind'
3	New Delhi	AFP	'We need to seize this opportunity'
4	Srinagar	AFP	'Mujahideen ready for talks with India'
5	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	Resolve Kashmir issue for peace, says Musharraf
6	Muzaffarabad	Reporter	Many AJK citizens still in Indian jails
7	Ajmer	AFP	Musharraf prays for peace, visits to Ajmer shrine
8	Islamabad	APP	APHC leaders arrive in Delhi

The coverage of relations with India went up to eight stories as Musharraf had arrived in India for talks on the sidelines of the SAARC conference. The paper reported from Indian capital that optimism was in the air as Musharraf arrived for a three-day visit to attend the SAARC

Summit and hold talks with the Indian leaders. Information Minister Sheikh Rashid Ahmad said Musharraf had gone to India with an open mind to hold dialogue. AFP reported that Musharraf was hopeful to resolve all issues through talks. He also said it was time to create peace. AFP also reported Hizbul-Mujahideen saying that it was ready for talks with India and its chief, Syed Salahuddin in an interview with the Zee News said the dialogue "should be serious and sincere and involve no political manoeuvring." Separately, Musharraf said he had brought a message of peace and solidarity but also cautioned that Kashmir could not be brushed under the carpet. The paper also reported that a number of people from Azad Kashmir were in the Indian jails. AFP reported that Musharraf visited the shrine of a Sufi saint in Ajmer and prayed for peace. APP reported that a delegation of APHC had arrived in New Delhi to meet Musharraf.

Table 15:**Dawn Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No.	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	AFP	Musharraf, joins Singh, Sonia at Delhi stadium
2	New Delhi	Unknown	Majority of Kashmiris want independence: poll
3	New Delhi	Unknown	Islamabad, Delhi sideline Iran pipeline issue in talks
4	New Delhi	Reuters	Accord to revive business council
5	Ahmedabad	AFP	Over 150 fishermen released
6	New Delhi	AFP	India offers new talks on Baglihar
7	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	India to consider Valley troops cut: Musharraf satisfied with talks
8	Lahore	Reporter	Justice basic condition: Tarar: Friendship with India

AFP reported that Musharraf joined Manmohan Singh and Congress leader Sonia Gandhi in a bullet-proof glass enclosure to catch the opening overs of the last one-day match between Pakistan and India at Feroze Shah Kotla ground. The paper said that according to the poll conducted by Synovate India, a market research agency, a majority of 53.9

per cent of the respondents in Kashmir areas of Srinagar and Rajouri chose for independence when asked in the survey to choose between staying with India or going to Pakistan or becoming an independent country. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran told a news conference that the Iran gas pipeline issue was discussed by the two sides. Reuters reported that the two countries had “positive and business-like” talks, agreeing to boost trade and transport links to bolster the peace process.

Shyam Saran said the two sides had agreed to revive a joint business council to boost economic links. AFP reported that India released 156 Pakistan fishermen jailed in Gujarat. AFP also reported that India said it was open to a new round of talks to resolve the differences with Pakistan over the construction of a hydroelectric dam in Kashmir. Separately, India promised to consider the troops reduction in Kashmir to improve ties with Pakistan. The paper quoted official sources verifying that Musharraf and Manmohan met for 20 minutes with delegations and then went for a one-to-one session that lasted more than two hours, thereby delaying a lunch that President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam was to host for Musharraf. Pakistan’s ex-President Rafiq Tarar welcomed the Pakistan-India friendship and called for basing it on principles of justice and fairness.

2: Primary Newspaper – India (The Hindu)

Table 16:

The Hindu Coverage on April 16, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Vinay Kumar	No political compromise with terror: Manmohan
2	New Delhi	Diplomatic Corresp.	Peace process will not come to a wall: Brajesh

There were two stories and both were anti-peace. Manmohan Singh was quoted as saying that efforts to derail the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service will be foiled and there will no compromise with terrorists. The former National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra said in BBC's Hardtack India programme that the trade ties between Pakistan and India will open up new avenues.

Table 17:**The Hindu Coverage on April 17, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Harish Khare	"I have come with a message of peace"
2	Ajmer	Mohammed Iqbal	Musharraf prays for peace at Ajmer dargah
3	Jaipur	Sunny Sebastian	The Khwaja has finally called Gen. Musharraf
4	New Delhi	Staff Reporter	Gursharan praise for Musharraf's mother
5	New Delhi	Amit Baruah	Musharraf is free to meet Hurriyat leaders: Saran

The coverage picked up as Musharraf reached India. Musharraf was in India to attend the SAARC Summit and responding to Manmohan Singh's call for the enduring solution to all problems, he told a gathering at the Ashoka Hotel: "It needs two hands to clap. They say it takes two to tango, we may be too old to tango, but my hand is extended to clap."¹² Musharraf also paid a visit to the shrine of 13th century saint Moinuddin Chishti before starting the official business. He had missed the opportunity in 2001 due to the failure of the Agra Summit. Indian Prime Minister's wife Gursharan Kaur praised the mother of Musharraf whom she met. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran said that Musharraf was free to meet APHC, which was contrary to the stance taken by the Indian government in 2001.

Table 18:**The Hindu Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Amit Baruah	Positive, forward-looking talks: Manmohan.
2	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Involve Kashmiris in peace process: Hurriyat
3	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	India, Pakistan to set up Joint Business Council
4	New Delhi	PTI	Musharraf gets his birth certificate
5	New	Mandira	The Begum goes

¹² Harish Khare, "I Have Come With a Message of Peace," *The Hindu*, July 17, 2005.

	Delhi	Nayar	sightseeing
6	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Two Presidents have a cozy chat
7	Jammu	PTI	Pandits' plea to Musharraf
8	New Delhi	PTI	A pleasant surprise for Advani
9	New Delhi	PTI	Javed Mir not allowed to meet Musharraf

Total 11 stories were published on the day as Musharraf got busy in meetings. According to the headline of the paper, Manmohan Singh and Pervez Musharraf agreed to increase the frequency of the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service and operationalize the Munabao-Khokhrapar rail link by the end of December. Their talks happened after the two leaders saw a cricket match between their teams at Ferozshah Kotla ground which was won by Pakistan. The APHC leaders met Musharraf for nearly three-and-a-half hours at the Pakistan House and asked that people of Kashmir should be involved in the peace process. On the national page, the main report was that both countries had decided to set up a Joint Business Council (JBC) of their apex industry associations to promote trade and address issues like the MFN and non-tariff barriers.

Musharraf was also granted birth certificate and paining of the house where he was born and had spent his childhood. Mandira Nayar reported that Sehba Musharraf visited the historical places and went for shopping. Musharraf also met Indian President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam for 50-minutes and discussed various issues, including music. The paper also reported that displaced Kashmiri Pandits urged Musharraf to renovate the Sharda Peeth shrine in Pakistan's side of Kashmir for the pilgrimage.

Musharraf surprised Advani when he presented him an album containing photographs from Advani's school days till his last visit to Pakistan. Advani, who had studied in the same school as the Pakistani President, said they had a hearty discussion for "quite some time" on their alma mater. Officials of the Pakistan High Commission turned down the militant-turned-separatist leader Javed Ahmed Mir's request to meet Musharraf.

3: Secondary Newspaper – Pakistan (The Frontier Post)

Table 19:

The Frontier Post Coverage on April 16, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	FP Report	Musharraf visit to focus on vital issues: FO

Only one story was published on the day. Foreign Office spokesperson said that Musharraf during his visit to India will focus on all important issues of concern.

Table 20:**The Frontier Post Coverage on April 17, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	APP	Musharraf, Singh vow to move on peace path
2	Washington	INP	US impressed with peace moves: Rice
3	Chennai	Inp	India test-fire Brahmos for tenth time

Musharraf had arrived in India and met Manmohan Singh but the coverage was still mute. The paper reported that the two counterparts vowed to bring peace as they met at a banquet. Musharraf also called for resolution of the Kashmir issue.¹³ Foreign Secretary Condoleezza Rice said US appreciates what Pakistan and India have achieved through their peace efforts. It was also reported that India had tested Brahmos missile for the tenth time.

Table 21:**The Frontier Post Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No.	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	APP	Pak-India warm to new land links
2	New Delhi	Online	Manmohan ruled out redrawing of Indian map
3	New Delhi	Online	Musharraf, Kalam discuss peace process
4	New Delhi	Online	Musharraf to meet Vajpayee
5	New Delhi	Online	'Pakistan not leave Kashmiris in isolation'
6	New Delhi	INP	Sonia accepts invitation to visit Pakistan
7	Islamabad	Saqlain Mehdi	Pak-India friendship responding to positive signals

¹³ "Musharraf, Singh Vow to Move on Peace Path," *The Frontier Post*, April 17, 2005.

The number of stories rose to seven as there were major developments. The paper reported that Musharraf was satisfied with his talks with the Indian leaders where he discussed all issues including Kashmir and a proposal to open up new links like the Monabao-Khokrpar rail. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran, giving details of the meeting quoted Manmohan Singh that Kashmir was an issue and India was ready to talk on it but there will not be any redrawing of the boundaries.¹⁴ Musharraf also met President Abdul Kalam and discussed the peace process. It was reported that Musharraf was also planning to meet Vajpayee. He met with APHC and said that Pakistan will not leave the people of Kashmir. There was a story that Sonia Gandhi met Musharraf and accepted an invitation to visit Pakistan. The paper also carried an analytical story that the relations between Pakistan and India were improving.

4: Secondary Newspaper - India (The Telegraph)

Kolkata-based The Telegraph has been used as secondary paper for this period.

Table 22:

The Telegraph Coverage on April 16, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	Bus onus on Pak too: Singh
2	Ajmer	Sujan Dutta	Tanks on peace path- Memories of war await Musharraf
3	Kathmandu	Bharat Bhushan	Nepal walks in Pakistan's steps

The paper reported Prime Minister Manmohan Singh saying that it was the joint responsibility of India and Pakistan to provide security to the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus. It also said that Musharraf was arriving in Delhi via Ajmer for a three-day trip. There was an interesting story about troubled history of the two countries as two tanks flanked the route Musharraf took to the *dargah* to seek the blessings of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. The tanks, once owned by Pakistan were put on display by the Indian army after being destroyed in war. There was a story linked to Pakistan, which reported that in order to understand Nepal, India should first understand Pakistan as the two countries were building their nationhood on a similar pattern in opposition to India.

¹⁴ "Manmohan Rules out Redrawing of Indian Map," *The Frontier Post*, April 18, 2005.

Table 23:**The Telegraph Coverage on April 17, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Pranay Sharma	Peace prayer on all lips

There was little coverage; in fact, only one story. The paper reported that there were prayers for peace on lips of everyone as leaders of India and Pakistan met in New Delhi.¹⁵

Table 24:**The Telegraph Coverage on April 18, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	Pranay Sharma	Play over, result withheld
2	New Delhi	S.P.S. Pannu	Finally, neighbours mean business
3	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	2005: A heart transplant

The paper carried three stories. Pranay Sharma reported that Musharraf and Singh watched a cricket match between their teams and had a long meeting. Later, Musharraf also called on Indian President Abdul Kalam who hosted lunch for him. The paper said that the two countries decided to start the railway service between Khokrapar in Rajasthan and Munabao in Sind. "All other proposals, especially those on Kashmir, put on the table by India for greater people-to-people contacts and turning the Line of Control into a soft border, were greeted warmly by the Pakistan side with an assurance of favourable consideration," reported the paper.¹⁶

Pannu reported that the two countries had agreed to set up a joint business council to promote bilateral trade. In a detailed story about Musharraf, the paper captured his media interaction like the one in 2001 during the Agra Summit, but the General said that he had come with new heart. "I beg to differ. *Phir wohi dil nahi laya hoon* (I have not come with the same heart). I would like to say *main naya dil laya hoon* (I have come with a new heart)." The reference was to a television news channel's headline, '*Phir wohi dil laya hoon*', a take-off on the title of a hit Hindi movie of the sixties.

¹⁵ Pranay Sharma, "Peace Prayers on all Lips," *The Telegraph*, April 17, 2005.

¹⁶ Pranay Sharma, "Play over, Result Withheld," *The Telegraph*, April 18, 2005.

Coverage Period III: July 10-12, 2006

1: Primary Newspaper – Pakistan (Dawn)

Table 25:

Dawn Coverage on July 10, 2006

Sr. No.	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Report	FO says no information about Indian plan for troops in Afghanistan
2	Bhubaneshwar	Report	Long-range Indian missile hits snag

Foreign office spokesperson Tasnim Aslam said that Pakistan has no information about a reported proposal for deployment of Indian troops in Afghanistan under the coalition command. AFP reported that India test-fired its longest-range nuclear-capable ballistic missile Agni- III for the first time which failed to hit its target.

Table 26:

Dawn Coverage on July 11, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	AFP	India shrugs off missile failure

Only one story was published on the day of attack on the Mumbai trains. AFP report said that Indian Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee shrugged off the unsuccessful maiden missile test by saying that the problem faced by Agni was not unusual and there is nothing to worry about it.

Table 27: Dawn Coverage on July 12, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Mumbai	Report	Terror bombs cause mayhem on Mumbai's lifeline
2	Washington	Reuters	Kasuri says blasts show need for talks
3	New Delhi	Jawed Naqvi	Singh vows to defeat forces of terrorism
4	Islamabad	AP	A despicable act: president and PM

The paper reported that bombs ripped through seven packed commuter trains and stations during the rush hour in Mumbai, killing at least 163 passengers and injuring about 600. Reuters reported that the terrorist attack in Mumbai shows Pakistan and India should address their outstanding issues. Jawed Naqvi reported Manmohan Singh's condemnation, saying his government had been sworn-in to "defeat forces of terrorism". AP reported that President Musharraf and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz condemned bombings on the commuter trains as a "despicable act of terrorism."

2: Primary Newspaper - India (The Hindu)

The Hindu contained no story related to Pakistan on either 10th or 11th of July. However, it did contain eight stories on July 12.

Table 28:

The Hindu Coverage on July 12, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Mumbai	Bureau Report	Terror strikes Mumbai, over 147 killed
2	Washington	PTI	Kasuri, Rice discuss India-Pakistan dialogue
3	New Delhi	Amit Baruah	Pakistan flexible on Foreign Minister-level talks
4	New Delhi	Special Corresp.	No brakes on peace process: Centre
5	Srinagar	UNI	Lashkar-e-Taiba denies hand
6	New Delhi	Staff Report	Lashkar conduit arrested, RDX seized

The main story was about the terror attacks in Mumbai which killed at least 147 people. PTI reported that Pakistan Foreign Minister was in the US and met Condoleezza Rice. Amit Baruah reported that Pakistan was flexible about who would represent India in talks in absence of a full-fledged Foreign Minister. It showed that the dialogue process was intact despite the attacks. In another report, the paper said that Union Home Secretary Vinod Kumar Duggal made it clear that the peace process would neither be slowed nor halted due to the attacks. In another report, Lashkar-e-Taiba condemned the attacks and denied its involvement. Separately, Delhi Joint Commissioner of Police Karnal Singh said the Special Cell arrested a man allegedly working as the conduit for the LeT.

3: Secondary Paper - Pakistan (Daily Times)

Table 29:

Daily Times Coverage on July 10, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Staff Report	ANP delegation leaves for India

The paper published only one story about India. It was reported that a delegation of six members of Awami National Party headed by Asfandiyar Wali left for India on the invitation of the Indian government.

Table 30:

Daily Times Coverage on July 11, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Fida Hussain	'IPI gas pricing issue to be resolved in July'

There was a story about the IPI price issue. Fida Hussain reported that Iran told Pakistan and India that it was ready for resolving the price of Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline.

Table 31:

Daily Times Coverage on July 12, 2006

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	Staff Report	Pakistan condemns blasts, attacks
2	Srinagar	AFP	7 tourists killed in held Kashmir

Two stories were published one day after the attack. Indian financial hub Mumbai was hit by bombings and Pakistan's Foreign Office condemned the act of terrorism.¹⁷ AFP reported that seven tourists were killed in the held Kashmir.

4: Secondary Newspaper - India (Deccan Herald)

Deccan Herald is published by The Printers (Mysore) Private Limited set up by K. N. Guruswamy in 1948. The group also publishes Prajavani, Sudha and Mayura from it forte Karnataka. It caters to sizeable

¹⁷ "Pakistan Condemns Blasts, Attack," *Daily Times*, July 12, 2006.

audience in the state and helps to understand the level of interest in Pakistan-India conflict from that region. Its coverage as second paper deals with the period of July 10-12, 2006.

Table 32:**Deccan Herald Coverage on July 10, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Islamabad	UNI	45 die in PIA plane crash
2	New Delhi	PTI	India, Pak, Iran to discuss pricing of pipeline gas in Aug.

The main Pakistan related story was about PIA Fokker crash in Multan, which killed 45 people. Another story was by PTI that officials of India, Pakistan and Iran will meet to resolve the issue of natural gas price that Tehran wants to sell to the South Asian countries.

Table 33:**Deccan Herald Coverage on July 11, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	Mumbai	PTI	138 dead, 257 injured in Mumbai serial blasts
2	Srinagar	IANS	Five killed as serial blasts rock Srinagar

The pattern of coverage was same as the previous day, as just two stories were published. The main story was about Mumbai train serial blasts that killed more than 100 people. Though, Pakistan was not mentioned in the news but terrorism in India was sure to drag in Pakistan. Another bombing story was by IANS news agency which said that five people were killed and 26 injured in four blasts in Srinagar.

Table 34:**Deccan Herald Coverage on July 12, 2006**

Sr. No	Dateline	Byline	Headline
1	New Delhi	K. Subrahmanya	Rattled UPA govt. suspects LeT link
2	New Delhi	PTI	India will win war against terror: PM
3	New Delhi	PTI	Govt. claims some "leads" on serial blasts

It was next day to the Mumbai train attack and there should have been more stories but the paper restricted its coverage to just three stories. The blasts in Srinagar and Mumbai rattled the Congress government which immediately held an important meeting. "We have reasons to believe that some Kashmir-based terrorist group, possibly Lashkar-e-Taiba may have had a hand in the Mumbai blasts," an official source told the newspaper.¹⁸ PTI reported Manmohan Singh as saying that India will win the war against terrorism. Separately, PTI said that government claimed it had some information about the people behind the Mumbai train attack.

Analysis of the Trends in Media Coverage

The launch of composite dialogue process was the first of its kind, a comprehensive effort to resolve almost all contentious issues between Pakistan and India. It generated great hopes for peace. Media has the potential to support democracy and strengthen conflict resolution; it plays an agenda-setting role. Hence, media is expected like other actors to be prone to minimizing or exaggerating the conflict depending on its relative position to power. Hence, the study sufficiently shows that the coverage of the entire peace dialogue was quite extensive as well as mostly positive and conciliatory on Pakistan's side and belligerent on India's side. Overall, for the studied time periods media wasn't able to affect the outcome of this dialogue, and mostly both sides took on the tone of the national narrative and policy.

The research shows that total 139 stories were published during selected 9 days of coverage in the selected newspapers. A major proportion, i.e. 87 stories were published in the Pakistani newspapers, while 52 were published in the Indian newspapers. It means that Pakistan's share in the media coverage was 62.5 percent while the same for Indian media was 37.5 percent. It shows that Pakistani media was more active to cover the peace process and highlight the efforts for creating peace between the two countries, as compared to Indian counterpart.

The coverage shows that Dawn published 47 stories in 9 days, while The Nation, The Frontier Post and Daily Times collectively published 40 news items. In contrast, The Hindu published 28 stories in the 9 days of coverage, while Indian Express, The Telegraph and Deccan Herald collectively carried 24 stories. It means that Dawn outshined The Hindu in 9 days of coverage and similarly the three Pakistani papers used as secondary sources also beat their Indian opponents in numbers. Pakistani media showed more enthusiasm at the launch of the composite dialogue

¹⁸ K. Subrahmanya, "Rattled UPA Govt. Suspects Let Link," *Deccan Herald*, July 12, 2006.

and the papers published 46 stories in the three-day of coverage in January 2004. The share of Indian media in the same period was just 16 stories.

Similarly, when Musharraf visited India April 2005, Pakistani papers published 30 stories in three days of coverage, while Indian papers published 23 stories. Though, these stories were originating from India, but the share of Pakistan media was higher. However, the Indian media surpassed the Pakistani one in coverage of the third part following the train attack in Mumbai in July 2006. The Indian papers published 13 stories in three days of coverage while Pakistani papers carried 11 stories. It shows that Indian media is more interested in negative stories which are related to terrorism and extremism instead of positive stories linked with peace and prosperity. India's share, during the first and second periods of coverage having more positive developments, was low as compared to Pakistani media. Irrespective of the number of stories published by individual newspapers, it showed that there was huge interest in the dialogue process.

Another aspect of the coverage was that media showed that the peace process had created hope but it was "brittle and ephemeral" as there were concerns that any single act of terror may reverse the gains.¹⁹ The Mumbai attacks of Nov 26, 2008 confirmed the fears. The important aspect of the five-year peace dialogue was that it's the first determined effort to resolve issues through talks. Its key achievements were a number of CBMs (Confidence Building Measures) agreed in conventional and non-conventional sectors, which helped to improve mutual trust.²⁰

When Musharraf visited New Delhi in April 2015, the peace process was declared irreversible but a year later it was put on hold after train attack. It was revived after Musharraf and Manmohan Singh met on the side lines of NAM summit held in Cuba in August 2006. This also shows that direct communication between leaders can play an important role

The number of stories published and their content analysis shows that despite constraints, media plays its role in informing the masses, sharing analysis and pursuing a peace-making agenda promoting hope at national level. Even if the goals are not always met, media continues to emphasize the significance of peace as well as a potential way forward.

Conclusion

The composite dialogue created an opportunity for peace and media played its role in highlighting and reinforcing the process. The study records the negative or positive coverage of the dialogue, and concludes

¹⁹ P.R. Chari et al, *Four Crises And A Peace Process* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 2007), 212.

²⁰ Paddar, "The Composite Dialogue,"19.

the affect media can have on International dialogues and conflict resolution. It is evident from the analysis that Pakistani media gave positive coverage and had a conciliatory policy right from the start which continued till the suspension of the talks in 2006. Contrarily, selected print media in India tried to privatize the conflict to events alone and in quantity Pakistan had more articles than India. The survey of contents of selected media of both states depicts that over 62 per cent news stories project the negative side of the ties. Also, most of the materials published or aired come through official sources, which indicate that the narrative of Pak-India political and strategic ties is controlled by the state authorities. Same results have been observed during interviews of experts which reinforce the fact that negativity about each other runs deep. News coverage spurred by the state officials also raises serious questions about the neutrality of media on both sides. Especially with the Indian media the coverage became more active after the train attack incident and they published more stories. It also spotlighted what would happen with the peace efforts if there were more attacks. Eventually, the peace process came to a halt after the Mumbai attacks of November 26, 2008; India's coverage is prejudiced towards the nationalistic policy lines. The media does manipulate the "emotional" quality of the public perception involved in issues of peace and conflict between Pakistan and India.

It is therefore recommended that media should be treated as a stakeholder and sensitized on importance of peaceful relationship between Pakistan and India. Donors that are interested in conflict prevention and sustaining stability should support local media. Local media often yields non-tangible results in war-torn communities, such as increased levels of trust, increased hope in the future of the country, and the ability to contribute to a peaceful society.

Guarantees regarding the media and freedom of the press—as well as efforts to promote professional, objective, unbiased reporting—should be an integral part of any successful peace agreement. Training and retooling of media practitioners is required to reorient them to framing and reframing their presentations and interpretation of messages so that those likely to ignite tension and conflict can be avoided. It further recommends that the concept of conflict sensitive journalism as a course in the training of media practitioners must be made mandatory.

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF IDEATIONAL FORCES IN INDO-PAK RELATIONS

Fareha Iqtidar Khan*

Abstract

The article explores the construction of relations between India and Pakistan with regard to the intangible ideational forces, which add to the material side of the equation. It examines the role of ideational forces in shaping the identity, security dynamics and political relations between the two countries. The analysis detects whether the underlying factor of the conflict can be attributed to the prevalent discourse, inspired by ideology, history and concomitant with identity. Speech acts are rather important in terms of relations between countries; where a change in rhetoric may have an impact on the progression of ties. A critical discourse analysis reveals the varied ways in which the ideational factors of religion and historical experiences come into play in the states' discourse, the media narrative and the non-state actors' narrative. Analysing the ideational aspect of discourse is essential; as these narratives take the shape of policy decisions and state behaviour; they generate a continuous cycle of mistrust and animosity amid both the countries.

Key words: *Ideational Forces, Discourse Analysis, Religion, Historical Experiences, Narratives*

Introduction

The enmity between Pakistan and India has been an impediment for peace in the South Asian region since the creation of the two states in 1947. The conflict that started with rivalling identities later took upon dimensions of border issues and water dispute. The two sides have fought four wars and today both are nuclear power states. Both the countries maintain an almost constant antagonistic disposition towards each other. However, there has been rarely any stagnancy in their ties. Although, the rivalry keeps on evoking global attention, enough could not

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be done to resolve the conflict. The enduring conflict between the two countries has been a point of much academic deliberation.

Major part of International Relations' research that evaluates ties between India and Pakistan adheres to the Realist perspective. However the conflict between the two South Asian states is not limited to material aspects, such as balance of power, territorial disputes and atomic weapons alone. Rather history is marked by a variety of instances of non-material divides including controversy of Urdu and Hindi language or clashing standpoints regarding cow slaughter. The material aspects of the Indo-Pakistan conflict can be adequately explained by the ideational factors that impart meaning to the rivalry and underlie it. In particular, Constructivism - that gives weightage to beliefs, culture, values, customs, historical events, intersubjective meanings, can be very useful in studying and evaluating the Indo-Pakistan relations.

The study explores whether the causal variable shaping the unique India-Pakistan ties relates to ideational forces or not. It studies the role of ideational forces in shaping the identities of the two states along with their security dynamics and political relations. Moreover, the varied ways in which the ideational factors of religion and historical experiences manifest themselves in the state narrative, the media narrative and the non-state narrative of the two states have been analysed. Also, the interplay of these distinct discourses in shaping the inter-state relations has been deduced.

Ideational Forces and the Framing of National Identity

Constructivism holds that people associate with one another and form group identities on the basis of ideas. A state determines its identity and stakes on the grounds of mutually held ideas. Therefore, identities of states evolve from these ideas.¹ The conflict between Pakistan and India has always encompassed the problem of identity. Rather, the equation amid the two has contributed in forging and changing their identities. The upsurge of Hinduism and Islamic nationalism, and the part they have in designing the ideological parameters and identities of the two states, play a vital role in the persistence of conflict between the two.²

Burke opines that no other set of global religions are more incompatible to each other than Islam and Hinduism.³ Looking into the

¹ Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1999): 1.

² Vali Nasr, "National identities and the India-Pakistan conflict," In *The India-Pakistan Conflict: An Enduring Rivalry*, Edited by T.V. Paul (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 178.

³ S.M. Burke, *Mainsprings of Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), 12.

Hindu social order, there are internal divisions of doctrine along with societal discord. On the contrary, Islam is an entity greater than only being a belief-system; it is also a fraternity, a 'nation'.⁴ Islam is a global and extrovert religion while Hindu religion is a local and introvert one.⁵ The injunctions of the two religions hindered their corresponding sets of believers from turning into a uniform, harmonious people in the sub-continent, regardless of living alongside each other for a long stretch of time.⁶

Within the sub-continent, an increasing number of followers of Hinduism and Islam engaged in creating derogatory myths about each other, a practice that is continuing till date.⁷ Besides, the independence of the two states materialized along with widespread bloodshed, thus accentuating their determination to uphold that every person needs to have his place, retain a consistent 'national identity' and be a citizen of a country. It fortified the notion that accomplishment of separate homelands was predestined. Such a perspective has essentially wrought the outlook of the two adjoining yet antagonistic countries. The neighbours thus have their interest in the maintenance of expressions of otherness, primarily by educational, political, administrative and governmental means.⁸ Moreover, the official identity of both the states is evidently different. Indians have been living in an officially secular country while Pakistanis have been inhabitants of an Islamic dominion.⁹

Hinduism and Indian Identity

Indian state took into account the multiplicity in its ethnicity, language, religion and culture, and subsumed it in the Nehruvian expression of 'unity in diversity'.¹⁰ In order to cater to such diverse kinds of identities, the major Indian leaders adopted a dual plan. Firstly, they adopted "composite nationalism" and secondly relied on democratic

⁴ Ibid., 13-14.

⁵ Ibid., 27.

⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁷ Stephen P. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (Washington D.C.: Brooking Institution Press, 2004), 20-21.

⁸ Sanjay Chaturvedi, "Process of Othering in the Case of India and Pakistan," Royal Dutch Geographical Society, KNAG (2002):152. onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-9663.00191/pdf

⁹ Stephen P. Cohen, *Shooting for a Century: The India-Pakistan Conundrum* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2013), 17.

¹⁰ Jawaharlal Nehru, "Unity in Diversity," (Speech, Hyderabad, January 15-18, 1953), Indian National Congress, <https://www.inc.in/en/media/speech/unity-in-diversity>.

principles to resolve disputes.¹¹ 'Composite nationalism' or 'secular nationalism' stresses on pluralistic (co-existing) and syncretised (amalgamation of cultural values) system, while 'Hindu nationalism' calls for absorption, into the overriding ethos of Hinduism.¹²

The Hindu nationalistic wave has truly confronted the secular outlook of the Indian state since the end of 1980s.¹³ I.K. Shukla, a renowned Indian anti-Fascism activist, has highlighted the increasing role of *Hindutva* in India. "Indian identity is Hindu identity... India can be kept secular only if its Hindu identity can protect India (-M. M. Joshi)."¹⁴ For Hindu nationalists, Hindu faith imparts the Indian state its unique character. Therefore, the rest of the belief-systems ought to adapt to the hub that is Hinduism. They hold that as the Indian territory has historically remained inhabited by the followers of Hinduism therefore it needs to be regarded as a Hindu realm¹⁵ Conversely, for Gandhi, anyone can be Indian if he accepts the ethos of India as his.¹⁶ However, majority of leadership from India were against the idea of creating an independent state for the Muslims living in the sub-continent, since the notion existed in utter contrast to the model of a united, secular country.¹⁷

Islam and Pakistani Identity

The ideational forces of ideology, culture, norms and language together laid down the foundation for Pakistan's identity in the form of the Two Nation theory. 'Muslim nationalism' was based on religion as an indicator of identity. It also catered to the rise of the Muslim nation in a setting where they did not have sway.¹⁸ Jinnah aimed at instituting a 'liberal democratic Muslim welfare state in Pakistan'.¹⁹

Pakistan was formally turned into an Islamic republic as a result of the Objectives resolution in 1949. The document called for a just society, democratic norms, harmony, egalitarianism, and liberty, "as enunciated by Islam", later leading to disagreements regarding what the religion entailed

¹¹ Vibha Pingle and Ashutosh Varshney "India's Identity Politics: Then and Now," *Managing Globalization* (2006),361, http://ashutoshvarshney.net/wp-content/files_mf/indiasidentitypoliticsthenandnow11.pdf.

¹² Ibid., 364.

¹³ Ibid., 362-363.

¹⁴ I.K. Shukla, *Hindutva: An Autopsy of Fascism as a Theo Terrorist Cult and Other Essays* (Media House: Delhi, 2003), 36.

¹⁵ Ibid., 362-363.

¹⁶ Pingle and Varshney, "India's Identity Politics," 369.

¹⁷ Cohen, *Shooting for a Century*, 60.

¹⁸ Nasr, "National Identities," 180.

¹⁹ Javid Iqbal, *Islam and Pakistan's Identity* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2003), 353-354.

of a country.²⁰ The identity of Pakistan, after initially being constructed on the idea of two-nation theory, has continually being shaped by its animosity with 'Hindu' India.²¹

Thus following its creation, "Islamic Pakistan" has been describing its identity in relation to the opposition to "Hindu India".²² The impact of exploiting atrocious recollections of independence by both the parties, in order to sustain distrust and perpetuate animosity has been extensive.²³ Otherness has come to be crucial for consolidating nationhood in the two states; as signboards of land demarcation, as indicators of antagonistic ties, and as means of countries' safety and autonomy. New Delhi and Islamabad; alongside the hegemonic designs of their respective ideational outfits, continue to draw, reinforce and legitimize borders amid 'Self' and the 'Other'.²⁴

Role of Ideational Forces in Shaping Indo-Pakistan Security Dynamics

The strategies of New Delhi and Islamabad have remained under the influence of ideational discrepancies and history. The choices made by both the sides in their external policies attest to the significance and weightage of their intersubjective understandings and security outlook vis-à-vis each other. The two sides have grown accustomed to viewing any issue concerning their inter-relations from the standpoint of security, given the violence and reservations of the bygone days. Besides, the outlook of policy-makers has had a significant part in modelling the security strategies of the countries.²⁵

Generally, the external policy of Islamabad remains to have a profound religious impression.²⁶ As for India, it keeps on paying tribute to Gandhi's statute of 'non-violence' yet only verbally. ²⁷ Every time the external conditions bettered, New Delhi and Islamabad have constantly reverted to their individual permanent leitmotifs of non-alignment and

²⁰ Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 16.

²¹ Ian Talbot, *Reinventing the Nation: India & Pakistan* (London: Arnold, 2000), 214.

²² Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, 15.

²³ Chaturvedi, "Process of Othering," 152.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 158.

²⁵ Moonis Ahmar, "Security Perceptions in the Indo-Pakistan Relationship" *Pakistan Horizon* 37, no. 1 (First Quarter 1984): 102-103. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41403911>.

²⁶ Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan: Ideology and Foreign Policy," *Asian Affairs* 10, no. 1 (Spring, 1983): 49, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30171948>.

²⁷ Burke, *Indian and Pakistani Foreign Policies*, 33.

Islamic unanimity respectively.²⁸ Pakistani state felt vulnerable from a couple of threats; Indian threat and Communist ideology. Therefore, Pakistan allied with the West in an attempt to ensure its safety from both the entities.²⁹ As for New Delhi, it remained committed to non-alignment for decades after its independence though lately there has been a gradual movement toward multi-alignment.³⁰

New Delhi's view regarding Islamabad has oscillated amid the points of disengaging completely and engaging comprehensively.³¹ Islamabad on its own, and augmented by its rapport with Beijing, is a vital liability for the security matrix of New Delhi. The former is therefore considered as an obstruction in New Delhi's quest to attain the aims of its national grand strategy.³² New Delhi believes that a robust Islamabad will eventually create imbalance in the immediate power equilibrium.³³ In addition, Indian security apprehensions vis-à-vis Pakistan, in most cases emerge as a manifestation of the ideational difference of religion. Islamabad is blamed for interfering in Indian domestic matters on grounds of displaying apprehension for the treatment of the Indian Muslims. Also, New Delhi accuses Islamabad for prompting the Khalistan movement, of the followers of Sikhism, in India. Similarly, Islamabad does not skip a chance to bring up the Kashmir dispute on every global and Muslim forum.³⁴

On the other hand, the ideational force of history provides the foundation of Pakistan's security perceptions about India. Indira Gandhi declared as a premier of India that, "I am proud of my forefathers but I will never forgive them for accepting division of India." She vowed that she should be evaluated during her term for the manner in which she undoes that fault of the previous Indian leaders.³⁵ It is such long held ambitions of retrieving the '*Akhand Bharat*' or United India that make up one of the foundational blocks for the Indian goal of regional hegemony. That is why Islamabad perceives New Delhi's power positions, ranging from its army's

²⁸ Ibid., 113.

²⁹ Ibid., 50.

³⁰ M. K. Narayanan, "Non-Alignment to Multi-Alignment," *The Hindu*, September 22, 2016. <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/Non-alignment-to-multi-alignment/article13982580.ece>.

³¹ Shaukat Iqbal, *The New Great Game and Security Challenges for Pakistan* (Karachi: Paramount Books Ltd, 2015), 219.

³² Ibid., 220.

³³ Ahmar, "Security Perceptions," 110.

³⁴ Ibid., 109-110.

³⁵ Iqbal, *The New Great Game*, 221.

dominance to such projected situations as Indian acquisition of veto power and rise as a great power, as a risk to its safety.³⁶

Ideational Forces and Indo-Pakistan Security Issues

The major issue areas in the security dynamics between the two states can be explained by their ideational context. The tussle for Kashmir may be viewed through the prism of contending notions of pluralistic secular Indian identity versus Islamic Pakistani identity.³⁷ Before partition, the Hindu rajas established an institutional mechanism that ignored the larger Islamic community.³⁸ Pakistani notion of self that sees the overtly Muslim territory of Kashmir like an integral portion of the state's religious character is erected in competition to the official secularity of India which espouses that Kashmiri customs and language can be well-kept in the heterogeneity of India.³⁹ The problem unavoidably returns to the kind of ties amid Islamabad and New Delhi.⁴⁰

The issue of Kashmir and the clash regarding water distribution are interlinked. The contested river structure provides sustainability to populations on both sides of the border.⁴¹ Weighing the valid apprehensions; including ensuring qualitative and quantitative balance, costing, suitability according to the rainy weather, is in itself quite troublesome. In addition, the matter has attained a rather intense emotionally and ideationally charged angle.⁴²

As for nuclearization, the military in Islamabad and the ruling party in New Delhi were the key agents in generating the core discourses in this regard. India used the ideational force of '*Hindutva*' for framing the narrative and garner acceptability for the move. The construction of the Pakistani narrative was based on the notion of an 'Islamic bomb'⁴³ and the

³⁶ Ahmar, "Security Perceptions," 108.

³⁷ Matthew Hill and Nishank Motwani, "Language, Identity and (In)Security in India-Pakistan Relations: The Case of Kashmir," *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 40, no. 1(2017): 123 .

³⁸ Ayman A. Khondker, "The Factors Affecting South Asian National Hierarchy," Research Paper, Hamilton: Colgate University, 2015, http://asianstudies.buffalo.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/36/2015/09/MGR2015_AymanKhondker.pdf.

³⁹ Hill and Motwani, "Language, Identity and (In)Security," 123-124.

⁴⁰ Cohen, *Shooting for a Century*, 51.

⁴¹ "Kashmir and the Politics of Water," *Al Jazeera*, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/kashmirtheforgottenconflict/2011/07/20117812154478992.html>.

⁴² Cohen, *Shooting for a Century*, 43-44.

⁴³ Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Can the Islamic Bomb become Reality? *EACPE*, <http://eacpe.org/content/uploads/2014/02/Is-the-Islamic-Bomb-for-real.pdf>.

Indian threat.⁴⁴ The ideational factors played a vital role along with the tangible aspects of might and supremacy. The contradictory ideational forces shaping the states' identities were further cemented by the establishments on both the sides, to ensure validation of their decisions on going nuclear.⁴⁵

The withdrawal of American forces from Afghan soil will provide Indian and Pakistani sides an arena for proxy confrontations, yet again.⁴⁶ Overall, the scenario of the region is stuck amid terrorist threat and the dynamics of nuclear policies that is worsened by the dearth of negotiation, absence of procedures for arms control, continued distrust and the upsurge of fundamental political entities.⁴⁷ Although the nuclear option is archaic, yet it is not completely out of the question. The security perceptions can be backslid by deconstructing the outlooks of the two sides, increasing engagement and finding out spheres of shared concerns.

Impact of Ideational Forces on Indo-Pakistan Political Ties

Outlook regarding the interests of the two states takes shape from history. Their outlooks have a tendency to continue the old pattern between the two states.⁴⁸ Various forces at work in the Pakistani and Indian state have led to the generation of contradicting historic versions, as is usually anticipated from such countries that have remained antagonistic toward one another for over seven decades. The ideational forces of history and religion are being utilized by the establishment for framing their narratives and creating a 'social reality'.⁴⁹ Religious ideology has an impact on the conflicts between countries from the perspective of the differences in ideology amid the conflicting states; particularly in a situation when a country based on religion comes in conflict with a

⁴⁴ Pervez, *Socially Constructed Security Dilemma*, 173-174.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁴⁶ Frederic Grare, "India-Pakistan Relations: Does Modi Matter?" *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2015):109. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2014.1002158>.

⁴⁷ Zulfqar Khan, "India-Pakistan: Emerging Trends in Strategic Dynamics," *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 13, no. 3 (December 2015): 592, <http://dx.doi.org/10.14731/kjis.2015.12.13.3.577>.

⁴⁸ Sanjeeb K. Mohanty, "South Asian Conflicts : Potent Sources and their Significance," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 70, no. 4 (October - December, 2009):1205-1211, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42744030> 1205-1211.

⁴⁹ Haider K. Nizamani, *The Roots of Rhetoric: Politics of Nuclear Weapons in India and Pakistan* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2000).

country espousing secularism. This scenario most probably causes the conflict to turn violent.⁵⁰

Pakistani Official Discourse and Ideational Factors

As per the overriding geostrategic perspective of the officials in Islamabad, New Delhi has imperialist tendencies and harbours ambitions to demote Islamabad to a subservient position.⁵¹ In the case of Pakistani official narrative, the use of ideational forces largely accounts for substantiating the ‘otherness’ of India. Islamabad’s acts cannot be considered the only reason of Indo-Pakistan strained ties. Hindu nationalistic movements have performed a vital part in the Indian state from the early 1990s. Nevertheless, the kind of links between religion and state in Islamabad and their coming into contact with the politics of New Delhi have heightened the acrimony.⁵²

Pakistan defines itself as opposed to a “Hindu India” that never approved of the independence of the separate Muslim homeland and has been attempting to dismember it as per the state narrative. I.K. Shukla, a renowned Indian anti-Fascism activist, has highlighted the increasing role of *Hindutva* in India.⁵³ Within Pakistan, the nation-wide propagation of this account, apart from creating bitterness toward the Indian state, has caused trouble for the Hindu community living within Pakistan. Nevertheless, the development of National Action Plan (NAP) for fighting extremist activities works towards keeping the biased outlook vis-à-vis minority groups in check.⁵⁴ Mainstream religious clergy have arisen as strong political entities.⁵⁵ Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl’s Secretary General and Deputy Chairman of Senate Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri, injured in the explosions in Mastung in May 2017, stated that, “*Indian conspiracy has led to instability in Pakistan.*” He asserted while pointing toward India that everybody realizes “*what forces were involved in the attack. India has still*

⁵⁰ Peter S Henne, “The Two Swords: Religion-state Connections and Interstate Disputes,” *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 6 (November 2012): 755, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41721660>.

⁵¹ Sanjay Chaturvedi, “Process of Othering in the Case of India and Pakistan,” 2002, Royal Dutch Geographical Society KNAG, 153. onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-9663.00191/pdf.

⁵² Henne, “The Two Swords,” 764.

⁵³ I. K. Shukla, *Hindutva: An Autopsy of Fascism as a Theo Terrorist Cult and Other Essays* (Delhi P Media House, 2003): 36.

⁵⁴ Umair Jamal, “The Plight of Pakistan’s Hindu Community,” *The Diplomat*, June 23, 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/the-plight-of-pakistans-hindu-community/>

⁵⁵ Maleeha Lodhi, *Pakistan Beyond the ‘Crisis State’* (Oxford University Press: Karachi, 2011): 101

not accepted Pakistan's independence."⁵⁶ Here the ideational factor of historical experiences is employed to construct the negative-other representation of India. The classic rhetoric of New Delhi not accepting the independence of Pakistan has been incorporated. In addition, India is explicitly accused for creating instability in Pakistan.

Within the state, there are few that call for establishing a theocracy including Jamaat-e-Islami. While a number of people maintain that Islamic ideology is not much pertinent to the state, majority of the population remains impartial between the couple of standpoints.⁵⁷ The strong linkage between the creation of Pakistani state and the religion of Islam intensify the importance of sacred symbolism in the political discourse.⁵⁸ Thus, faith itself does not lead to violent actions rather it is the employment of religious principles by politicians that may cause strong actions based on religion.⁵⁹ However, 'Jinnah's Pakistan' may thrive until such Muslim population exists in the state that relates to the identity and destiny of other Muslims, and has compassion for the self-respect of minority and marginalized groups.⁶⁰

Indian Official Discourse and Ideational Factors

India on many accounts has specified that it is a secular country. However, under the title of *Hindutva*, Indians are seeing an upsurge and spread of Hindu nationalist propensities. Thus, nationalistic ideas have taken a new form in India. They are today meant to be situated in a persistent clash with Islamabad.⁶¹ Within politics, the upsurge of Hindu nationalist tide, has led to the creation of a smooth network amongst related sections in 'civil society'; including Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), Shiv Sena, political domain i.e. Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and the administration headed by BJP in the centre. RSS and VHP apparently maintain substantial sway over the strategies on fundamental matters concerning 'national identity'.⁶² Their objectives include: emphasizing the significance of Hindu religion for the

⁵⁶ "India should Know Pakistan is a Nuclear State: Abdul Ghafoor Haideri," *The Nation*, May 18, 2017, <http://nation.com.pk/national/18-May-2017/india-should-know-pakistan-is-a-nuclear-state-abdul-ghafoor-haideri>.

⁵⁷ Akbar Ahmed, "Why Jinnah Matters," in *Pakistan Beyond the 'Crisis State' ed.*, Maleeha Lodhi (Oxford University Press: Karachi, 2011), 21.

⁵⁸ Henne, "The Two Swords," 756.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 754.

⁶⁰ Ahmed, "Why Jinnah Matters," 34.

⁶¹ Pingle and Varshney, "India's Identity Politics," 365-366.

⁶² Muthiah Alagappa, ed. *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space* (California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 499.

state as well as to develop the integrity of the Hindus. This notion of *Hindutva* is opposed to 'composite nationalism' and also the caste-based Hindu ideological system prevalent for a century.⁶³

The BJP-RSS partnership has seriously attempted to 'saffronise' history and inquiry.⁶⁴ As the party gained political rein in the country, stern extortions are being faced by the followers of all religious minorities even low-caste Hindus.⁶⁵ The election of Narendra Modi as a PM appeared as a key cessation from the revered secular ideal of the country. His part in Gujarat pogrom also stayed controversy-ridden.⁶⁶ The government, since the day of its installation, has assumed a firebrand stance vis-à-vis Islamabad. It therefore does not come as a surprise that there has been an increase in scuffles along the Line of Control and 'Working Boundary'.⁶⁷ The regional stability is threatened by the emergent tide of Hindu fanaticism.⁶⁸

The violent Hindu jingoism⁶⁹ has polarised the Indian masses. The split is amid those who value the secular ideals of Nehru versus those who revere Modi for allowing them to feel proud of their state.⁷⁰ As for Pakistan, following 1980s, Islamabad has hardly been bringing up the matter of New Delhi during the period of elections. Seemingly, a harsh stance vis-à-vis Islamabad is what impresses the Indian vote bank.⁷¹

The role of ideational forces in the form of religion, hate speech, 'anti-other' notions and suppression of minorities is rather pronounced in the case of the Indian side of the equation as compared to the Pakistani

⁶³ Pingle and Varshney, "India's Identity Politics," 365-366.

⁶⁴ Ian Talbot, *Reinventing the Nation: India & Pakistan* (London: Arnold, 2000), 285.

⁶⁵ Aymen Ijaz, "Growing Hindu Extremism in India: Implications for Neighbouring Countries," IPRI Talks, December 4, 2015, <http://www.ipripak.org/growing-hindu-extremism-in-india-implications-for-neighbouring-countries>.

⁶⁶ Arif Rafiq, "Beware the Emerging New India," *TRT World*, 2017, <http://www.trtworld.com/opinion/beware-the-emerging-new-india-404084>.

⁶⁷ Ejaz Hussain, "BJP's Recent Win and Implications for Pakistan," *Daily Times*, updated: March 13, 2017, <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/14-Mar-17/bjps-recent-win-and-implications-for-pakistan>.

⁶⁸ Ijaz, "Growing Hindu Extremism in India."

⁶⁹ Jingoism means extreme patriotism, especially in the form of aggressive or warlike foreign policy. "The popular jingoism that swept the lower-middle classes".

⁷⁰ Irfan Husain "Why the Anger?" *Dawn*, July 29, 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1348305/why-the-anger>.

⁷¹ Nadeem F. Paracha, "India's Strange Preoccupation with Pakistan," *DW*, October 24, 2015, <http://www.dw.com/en/indias-strange-preoccupation-with-pakistan/a-18803683>.

side. According to the Universal Periodic Review of India submitted to the United Nations (UN) in 2017, the tendency of Indian parliamentarians and members of Central Council of Ministers undertaking hate speech provoking violent actions, has ascended from May 2014. Particularly hate speech that incites mobs of *Hindutva* enthusiasts to carry out violent activities toward Muslims and Christians.⁷² Despite of being an ideological state, the discourse emanating from Pakistani officials at present is not as religiously charged as that arising from India.

Narrative of Radical Non State Actors and Indo-Pakistan Relations

Certain non-state actors (NSAs) in both the countries employ terminologies and descriptions streaked with religion and sacred notions to structure the discourse regarding the unique personality and true pursuit of a people.⁷³ The interlinking of discourses of nationalism and religion ought to be deliberated - on the end where they are generated - as well as on the end where the discourses are received. Rhetoric can resonate on the level of religion; it might be understood on the grounds of religion and sacred ideals by a number of the recipients of the discourse.⁷⁴ Also, the impact, connotations, and reverberation of nationalistic rhetoric, is dependent on not the narrative alone but also on the purpose of the narrator and the manner in which the narrative is construed.⁷⁵

Radical Non -State Actors in Pakistan and Indo-Pakistan Relations

Islamic fanaticism is damaging to both the countries and their relations with one another. As religion made inroads into politics during the era of General Zia, some militant outfits cashed into the religious sentiment to encourage their recruits. Although faith based groupings have existed and played a part in the society after the independence, yet the novelty is their engagement in politics. With the passage of time, these groupings have grown aggressive in their response to the adversary - Indian state and the Western states, but have also fashioned themselves as the defender of the state ideology.⁷⁶

⁷² Evangelical Fellowship of India, *Religious Minorities in India: Targetted Hate and Violence by Non State Actors, and Issues of Impunity* UPR, Human Rights Council (April-May 2017):4 <http://www.worldevangelicals.org/un/pdf/UPR2016>.

⁷³ Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism," 10.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Mohanty, "South Asian Conflicts," 1202.

The non-state extremist forces took over the rationale behind the creation of a Muslim state in the sub-continent and tinted it with their fanatic version. The fanatic take-over of the state's description regarding the emergence of the country is a vital factor behind the sourness of ties between the neighbouring countries.⁷⁷ Also, following the assault on the World Trade Centre (WTC) in 2001, there is an up-surge in the international concern regarding the augmenting capability and impact of religious NSAs in the Pakistani society, as a factor for transforming the state.⁷⁸

A range of extremist groupings misuse faith as a way to attain different goals ranging from acquisition of power, eliminating sway of the West to recompense for any alleged unjust treatment received.⁷⁹ Various non-state radical outfits have been operating in the country including Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM), Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM),⁸⁰ Lashkar-e-Jhangvi,⁸¹ Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), and the Afghan Taliban, among the rest.⁸² LeT or 'Army of the Pure' originated in late 1980s. Following September 11 attacks, which led to the banning of the organization by the Pakistani establishment, the group went covert. It split, used various aliases, and quit taking blame for assaults. Nevertheless, the outfit was allegedly involved in numerous noticeable assaults across the border,⁸³ including train explosions of 2006.⁸⁴

Hafiz Saeed, head of LeT, while addressing a gathering for the cause of Kashmir, stated: "Now the Kashmiri Mujahideen are giving a befitting reply to India at Akhnoor, Uri and other places. It is not me alone but now Baloch people and other Pakistanis are with us."⁸⁵ The term

⁷⁷ Lodhi, *Pakistan beyond the 'Crisis State'*, 126.

⁷⁸ Abdul Rauf Iqbal & Muhammad Ahsan, "Mobilization Enablers for Religious Non-State Actors in Pakistan," *ISSRA Papers* 8, (2016):129-130. http://www.ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/issra-paper/ISSRA_Papers_Vol8_Issue1_2016/07_RA_Abdul_Rauf.pdf

⁷⁹ Lodhi, *Pakistan beyond the 'Crisis State'*, 130.

⁸⁰ Zahid Hussain, *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2007): 25.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 173.

⁸³ Carin Zissis, "Terror Groups in India, *Council on Foreign Relations*," November 27, 2008, <https://www.cfr.org/backgroundunder/terror-groups-india>.

⁸⁴ A series of seven bomb blasts occurred on the local railway network in Mumbai causing heavy loss of life.

⁸⁵ PTI, "Kashmiri Militants giving India 'Befitting Reply': Hafiz Saeed," *Economic Times*, January 13, 2017, <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/kashmiri-militants-giving-india-befitting-reply-hafiz-saeed/articleshow/56528649.cms>.

'*Mujahideen*' highlights the religious undertones of the Indo-Pak conflict around Kashmir. While "Baloch people and other *Pakistanis are with us*" reflects the role of religion in forming identity in the sub-continent. "...*befitting reply to India*" mirrors the anti-India sentiment grounded in historical experiences. Such strong subjects shaped by the radical groups display the partial narrative of the radical non-state actors imbued with ideational forces of Islamic ideology and anti-India sentiment. It indicates how the ideational factors, in the non-state narrative, affect the Indo-Pak relationship.

The non-state discourse has varied avenues to influence the masses' perception about the other, through religious seminaries, mosques, and philanthropic organizations of the extremist outfits. The inculcation of religion, and in some instances historical experiences, in the non-state narrative allows the substantiation of negative intersubjective understanding of India in Pakistan.

Radical Non- State Actors' Narrative in India and Indo-Pak Ties

Within India various non-state Hindu radical groups, are operating to impose their vision of Hindu nationalism on the Indian state. These advocates of *Hindutva* describe the civilization prevailing in India as Hindu, consider Indian state as a Hindu entity and strive for establishing the dominance of the followers and ethos of Hinduism.⁸⁶ For instance, a prominent RSS frontrunner Bhaiyyaji Joshi in 2014, gave a blanket statement declaring that people residing in "Hindustan are Hindus"⁸⁷

Nationalistic drives based on Hinduism in India comprise of three noticeable groups: BJP, RSS and VHP. BJP operates in the domain of politics and VHP in culture.⁸⁸ As for RSS, it is one of biggest volunteer-based NGO in the world. It works for the formation of "United India", which may truly represent Hindu values or the *Hindutva* doctrine of the organization. The organization even demanded a saffron-coloured flag, which is representative of the Hindu faith and rejected the three-coloured one for the Indian state.⁸⁹ RSS ensures analysing the philosophy and theory along with taking practical steps for the propagation of *Hindutva*.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Sudha Ramachandran, "Hindutva Terrorism in India," *The Diplomat*, July 7, 2017, <http://thediplomat.com/2017/07/Hindutva-terrorism-in-india/>.

⁸⁷ "Yogi Adityanath says Nothing Wrong with Hindu Rashtra Concept, BJP Defends him," *Hindustan Times*, April 6, 2017, <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/up-cm-yogi-adityanath-says-there-s-nothing-wrong-with-hindu-rashtra-concept-bjp-defends-him/story-ajcX0rQV7bpclddf80P8I.html>.

⁸⁸ Pingle and Varshney, "India's Identity Politics," 372.

⁸⁹ Sen, *The Argumentative Indian*, 52.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Moreover, the radical groups are carrying out religious conversions under the guise of “*gharwapsi*” or ‘home coming’ asserting the rhetoric that all that live in India have been Hindus in the past. Leader of Dharam Jagran Manch, a Hindu extremist organization stated, “31st December, 2021 is the last for Christianity and Islam in this country.”⁹¹

According to the constitutional directives of India, minorities are guaranteed liberty to observe their religious principles. Yet presently the minorities are finding it difficult to fulfil the basic need to affiliate with a community and express freely. Although, fanatic Hindu elements have been attacking the minorities especially Muslims in the past as well, yet certain organizations might be more blatant and treacherous than the earlier demonstrations of extremist elements.⁹² “Re-imagination” project of *Hindutva* is being carried out by the Sangh family. Within the alleged secular pluralist state of India, the followers of Islam have been coerced to undergo religious conversions to the Hindu faith. Their residences are set to fire and individuals are killed for consumption of cow meat.⁹³ Even graver has been the blanket statement of RSS frontrunners declaring that people residing in “Hindustan are Hindus”⁹⁴ With the same token, a vitalised RSS during the rule of Modi, has motivated its zealots to carry out acts against the minorities primarily Muslims. They themselves have imposed ban on cow slaughter; not essentially instructed by law, via vigilante justice and mob killings.⁹⁵ They are carrying out religious conversions under the guise of “*gharwapsi*” or ‘home coming’ asserting the rhetoric that all that live in India have been Hindus in the past.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Chandrakant Naidu, “The Biggest Problem with Gharwapsi: There’s no Escape from Caste,” *Firstpost*, December 27, 2014, <http://www.firstpost.com/india/the-biggest-problem-with-ghar-wapsi-theres-no-escape-from-caste-2016963.html>.

⁹² Mandakini Gahlot “Filmmaker’s View: India’s Hindu Fundamentalists,” *Al Jazeera*, updated October 8, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2015/10/indias-hindu-fundamentalists-151008073418225.html>.

⁹³ “India’s Hindu Fundamentalists,” *Al Jazeera*.

⁹⁴ “Yogi Adityanath says Nothing Wrong with Hindu Rashtra Concept, BJP Defends him,” *Hindustan Times*, updated April 06, 2017, <http://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/up-cm-yogi-adityanath-says-there-s-nothing-wrong-with-hindu-rashtra-concept-bjp-defends-him/story-aJcX0rQV7bpclddfm80P8I.html>.

⁹⁵ Shahzaib Khan, “India’s Age of Extremism”, *The Express Tribune*, July 14, 2017.

⁹⁶ Chandrakant Naidu, “The biggest problem with gharwapsi: There’s no escape from caste.”

N. S. Ashave meant to unify Indians on the grounds of shared religion, language and rival state.⁹⁷ Apart from highlighting ideological differences, Indian NSAs have equated Pakistan being an Islamic country, to it being a fanatic power. The use of ideational factors including religion, and history in the discourse is largely contributing to negative intersubjective understanding between the masses of the two sides. It leads to the sourness of ties amid them. The non-state extremist forces in Pakistan took over the reasoning behind the creation of Pakistan and moulded it with their extremist version. Besides, in the case of India the frenzied non-state organizations work as a spiritual authority for the ruling coalition party as well. Ideational forces of religion in the form of *Hindutva* and historical experiences in the shape of anti-Muslim sentiments, are being employed to consolidate the negative other-representation of Pakistan. Misrepresentation of history is also rife to find justification for the conversion of minorities to Hinduism. The inculcation of ideational forces in the non-state narrative allows the substantiation of negative intersubjective understanding of Pakistan in India.

Ideational Forces in the Media Discourse and Indo-Pakistan Relations

Within the Indo-Pakistan region, a distinctive characteristic of the mass media is the part played by the press through the history. From working as an upholder of over-all community concerns, to turning into a narrator of struggle for independence, to successively running a vigorous campaign for the establishment of autonomous bodies within the two states, the press has shown that media could act as a catalyst in progress and growth of countries.⁹⁸

The media unites as well as disconnects the distinct character and outlooks of the two neighbouring states. Through the years it has facilitated in reinforcing animosity as well as reminiscing of the shared past. Media can simply be a reflection of the truth. However, there is an intrinsically distorted element inherent in media - slanted, sensationalized and selective.⁹⁹

The dynamics between the two states are constructed on the basis of their perceptions of one another. The imageries of 'Other' are not kept

⁹⁷ Ramachandra Guha, "Why India Cannot be Hindu Pakistan," *Hindustan Times*, August 13, 2016, <http://www.hindustantimes.com/columns/why-india-cannot-be-a-hindu-pakistan/story-eWDSfReKg9yd6hJCR9YKwK.html>.

⁹⁸ Javed Jabbar, *Prospects of Improving Pakistan-India Relations through Media* (Islamabad: PILDAT, August 2012), 22, <http://www.pildat.org/Publications/publication/FP/ProspectsofImprovingPakistan-IndiaRelationsthroughMedia.pdf>.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

restricted to the ruling class. Rather the concept of the 'Other' is transmitted to the grassroots via media.¹⁰⁰ Besides, the way in which specific update is chosen for noticeable presentation and the way in which it is framed and projected largely defines opinions.¹⁰¹ Media could have a direct impact on policy decisions, or an indirect one via affecting the outlook of the masses. In either situation, the narrative presented by media in both the states is linked to the policy choices made by the state, and is thus pertinent for garnering understanding about the dynamics of the relationship.¹⁰²

The relationship between media and politics is interdependent, innate and essential. Every facet of the state, overtly or covertly is under the impact of politics and thus pertinent to the media. It is when the biased opinions or stakes of the people in government begin shaping the policy of media, that the interaction amid the two entities turns into a source of apprehension. However, this factor is more relevant in internal political matters than in Islamabad's policies concerning New Delhi, whereby mostly the media is intently in line with the state's professed policy. Similar is generally the case with New Delhi.¹⁰³

In the case of Pakistani media, religion and historical customs have been highlighted, but for those aspects that might facilitate normalisation of ties between the two states. Also, the media narrative usually identifies national jingoism based on religion as a source to fulfil political purposes. On the other hand, the Hindu extremist segments and their role in marginalizing the Muslim community in India are also presented as a source of concern.

Indian media on the one hand forwards the state narrative by focusing on the incidences of Islamist religious extremism in Pakistan. At the same time, to enhance the positive self-representation, there is a growing trend in the Indian electronic, print and especially social media to denounce any acts of Hindu jingoism with the tag of 'Not in my name'. The rhetoric condemns the policy decisions of the state and extremist actions of non-state actors that are purported onto religion. Thus, the Indian media plays a dual role. On the one hand, the media presents the acts of lynching and border skirmishes as based on religion and past events and resentment. At the same time, media is also attempting to construct the

¹⁰⁰ Sanjay Chaturvedi, "Process of Othering in the Case of India and Pakistan," *Royal Dutch Geographical Society KNAG* (2002): 153, onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1467-9663.00191/pdf

¹⁰¹ Jabbar, *Improving Pakistan-India Relations*. 23.

¹⁰² Sunniva Lagnestål Melhuus, *Perceptions of a Conflict – A Qualitative Analysis of Indian and Pakistani Mass Media* (Karlstad: Karlstad University (Spring 2013), 12-13.

¹⁰³ Javed Jabbar, *Role of Pakistani Media in Pakistan-India Relations*.

narrative in such a manner that challenges the acrimonious version presented by the state and non-state actors.

Though the part of media pertaining to news reporting might always have the antagonism and strain that portray schism and stances in the domain of politics. Yet, the other part of analysis and contemplation, that might have fewer readers daily but that has a stable snowballing impact adds to create an atmosphere where transformation in the existing state of affairs is probable.¹⁰⁴ As a consequence, the ideational forces of religion and history work their way into the media narrative in two ways. On one hand, the state narrative is consolidated by the media, grounding their political choices in religion and historical experiences. On the other hand, there is a growing trend of activism in the print media on both sides of the border, calling for watering down the negative impact of religion on the ties between the states.

Conclusion

Indo-Pakistan discourse, emanating from political elite, non-state actors and media sources has kept on underscoring religion and history, thus negatively affecting each other's perceptions. In the case of Pakistan, employing Islam for nation's unification and security stayed supreme. Islamic ideology has been employed to unite the people in times of uncertainty. Faith has been used as leverage against the outer Indian problem, and to unify the masses internally. Religious fervour has steadily built in, prompting the people and framing the grounds for policy decisions. In the case of India, the plurality of the masses defines Indian secular identity on one hand while on the other end the gradual empowerment of radical forces defines the Indian identity around Hindu nationalism – thus the belief in the notion of *Hindustan is for Hindus*. The nostalgia of the lost territory of *Akhand Bharat* has remained the driving force in determining their security dynamics.

Religion is much more influential in the state narrative of India as compared to Pakistan, despite the former being a secular state. In the case of Pakistan, historical experiences of partition and violent clashes are employed to consolidate the image of India as a threat, thus reinforcing the inter-subjective understanding between the two states.

In the narrative of radical non-state actors, religion is the vital feature for both the states. The non-state discourse emanating from India is replete with the quest for mobilizing the masses for the creation of *Hindu Rashtra* (state) in India, marginalizing the minorities, and treating Pakistan as an Islamist extremist state. NSAs in Pakistan have grown aggressive with time. They have presented themselves as the defender of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 23.

the purported state ideology against Indian and Western influences and have used religion as a means to achieve power and influence.

Media narrative plays a dual role. It underscores the religious and ideological differences and historical dimension while framing the dynamics between the two states. Concurrently, it laments that the equation amid the two states is being negatively impacted by the religious zeal and long-held bitterness of the masses. It is disappointing that the impasse in Indo-Pakistan ties is continuing particularly in a scenario where collaboration is required on various matters at the level of the region. In addition, the attitude of PM Modi and RSS toward Islamabad reinforces the government's perception of New Delhi as the gravest threat to the state. Media has a part to perform in such a situation. It should not abandon the notion of increased public interaction as a challenge to the official discourse.

The interplay of the different discourses reveals that the state narrative is reproduced as well as challenged by the media narrative. As for the non-state narrative, it is influential vis-à-vis the state policies in India given the close ties between the NSAs and the state. In both Pakistan and India, the non-state discourse has varied avenues to influence the masses' perception about the other: religious seminaries, mosques, temples and philanthropic organizations.

As these narratives take the shape of policy decisions and state behaviour, they generate mistrust and animosity among states. Negative interstate behaviour translates into negative inter-subjective understandings that further enable such use of religion and historical experiences in the discourse, and the cycle continues. In the Indo-Pakistan relationship, the projection of the past is real. Historical experiences have over time transformed and mutated to attain new features. As the enmity has grown old, these mutated historical accounts have gained intensity. The initiators hold grievances and crises recur as the underlying issues are not catered for. Whenever conflicts arise, the government's apprehensions regarding loss of popular support creates space for ideational, primarily ideological forces to impact the actions of the government. In the absence of continued negotiations over age-old clashes, the threat of nuclear crisis will prevail in the region. The inability of the two leaderships to attain a modus vivendi on unresolved matters reflects their incapacity to persuade their nations towards transforming antagonistic ties such that may benefit the two sides.

INDIAN FACTOR IN PAK-IRAN RELATIONS

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Abstract

The anomaly in Pak-Iran relations started due to Afghanistan, and served as a stimulus for Indo-Iranian strategic convergence in the longer run. India's ties with Iran cater to its ambition of circumventing Pakistan in its western backyard. India has been trying to bring Afghanistan into its sphere of influence through Iran, to undermine Pakistan's interest. This has adversely impacted Pak-Iran ties and rejuvenation has become a formidable challenge. The paper argues that Pakistan and Iran have to resurrect mutual strategic relationship. Notwithstanding Chabahar and Gwadar projects, both need to recalibrate their bilateral ties with respect to regional dynamics, to explore the potential for entente, and to neutralize Indian factor in the relations. For Pakistan, Iran provides connectivity to Central Asian Republics (CARs). There is also a great potential for boosting energy trade, developing border security mechanism and a joint plan to address the issue of terrorism.

Key Words: *Pakistan, Iran, India, Afghanistan, Strategic Convergence, Persian Gulf, Chabahar, Gwadar, Energy Trade, Border Security.*

Introduction

In 2001, the Taliban rule ended in Afghanistan after the US invasion, and relations between Iran and Pakistan regained their friendliness of yesteryears. Pakistan and Iran have enjoyed a full-scale repertoire of relations till 1979. The Indian factor became a variable in Pak-Iran relations during Arab-Israel war, when there was boost in Indian

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oil imports from Iran. That variable became significant for the first time during 1990s, with the broader contours of Indo-Iranian strategic and economic bond to be established only in early twenty first century. India seeks hegemony in South Asia and is pursuing this design by increasing its relative power vis-a-vis Pakistan. For that particular purpose, it has established deep linkages with Pakistan's western neighbours.

Now, India envisions geo-strategic and politico-economic ties with Iran to circumvent Pakistan, and therefore acts as an irritant in Pak-Iran relations. This paper is structured in two parts. It first provides a detailed account of the Indo-Iranian collaboration in different spheres since 2001 and its impacts on Pak-Iran bilateral relations. The second part provides a way forward on how to tackle these irritants effectively. Pakistan, out of necessity, must initiate the necessary counter measures - political, diplomatic, economic, and military - to neutralize this very potent challenge.

The Contours of Indo-Iranian Bilateral Relationship

One of the main reasons why this issue is worth pondering over is that there are multiple facets of India and Iran's bilateral relations. Provided the convergence is not limited to an area or two, the chances of their multifaceted bilateral dynamics effecting third party interests become ever larger. Some of the important areas of Indo-Iranian ties are discussed in the remainder of this section.

The Geo-political Dimension

The geographic proximity of Iran, by virtue of being located in West Asia, has been significant to India for carving a geo-political alliance. There are seven countries i.e. Iraq, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Turkey, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, that Iran shares long land borders with.¹ George Nathaniel Curzon has stated that, "Turkestan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia and Persia, to many these names breathe only a sense of utter remoteness or a memory of strange vicissitudes. To me I confess, they are the pieces of a chessboard upon which is being played out a game for the domination of the world".² Iran's geography provides a gateway for regional powers to landlocked Central Asian Republics (CARs) and specifically to Afghanistan, the battle-ground for world powers.

Then the direct link that Iran has to Persian Gulf imparts greater significance to the country for manoeuvring the politics of Gulf region, since it provides access to Gulf of Oman and Strait of Hormuz. Yet another

¹ World atlas, "Which Countries Border Iran?," <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/which-countries-border-iran.html>.

² George N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), 3.

pertinent feature of its geographical proximity is that it is linked to South Asian region through Pakistan. The land and sea routes of Iran allow West Asian states and CARs to access the prime markets of Europe, South Asia and South-East Asia. South Asia, being the most densely populated region of world with only India and Pakistan's estimated population of 1.5 billion, along with Iran and Afghanistan remains a prime target for world powers to pursue 'Realpolitik' interests.

According to Sunil Dasgupta, "currently, Pakistan enjoys a terrain advantage against India on its eastern front, which it would lose if India could attack from the western border as well".³ For that matter, Iran is the only country that counter balances Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan.

The Defence Partnership

India and Iran first entered a defence and military pact in 1983 when they established an Indo-Iranian Joint Commission that spurred the defence coherence. Memorandas of Understanding (MOUs) on defence cooperation were signed in 2001, and the New Delhi declaration was a milestone in their defence and strategic partnership. The ground work was done by Tehran declaration as it paved the way for the historic Indo-Iran Defence Agreement signed on 19 January 2003; a week later, the 'New Delhi declaration' and related agreements were signed in New Delhi.⁴ This provided India with an opportunity to use Iran's bases in time of war against Pakistan. It was during the signing of MoUs in 2001 when Defence Secretaries of both India and Iran supposedly discussed arms sales to Iran including Indian Konkurs anti-tank guided weapons and spare parts.⁵

In 2017, New Delhi promulgated a 'Look West' policy to develop and sustain a multifaceted presence in the greater Middle East. Iran unquestionably is an instrumental player in this set up.⁶ This gamut of Indo-Iranian convergence and defence cooperation has left Pakistan in a quandary. These defence pacts and bolstered military connections gave an impetus to strategic congruence. While Iran was looking for a partner to provide advanced military technology to boost its defence, India is eager to

³ Sunil Dasgupta, "Pakistan Responds to New Ties between India and Iran," in Strategic Partnership between India and Iran, ed. Robert M. Hathaway

(Special Report, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center, April 2004), 20-26, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/asia_rpt_120rev_0.pdf.

⁴ Shah Alam, "Iran-Pakistan Relations: Political and Strategic Dimensions," *Strategic Analysis* 28, no.9 (2004):537.

⁵ Calabrese, "Indian-Iranian Relations in Transition"; "India-Iran Military Ties Growing," *Strategic Affairs* (June 2001):12.

⁶ Rasheeda Bhagat, "India's Well-Timed 'Look West' Policy," *The Hindu Business Line*, July 26, 2017. <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/indias-welltimed-look-west-policy/article9789561.ece>.

have an extended outreach in West Asia for security purposes and more importantly, for becoming a key player in regional dynamics.

An Intertwined Geo-Economy: Comparative Analysis

India is the second largest country of the world in terms of population, and according to a 2017 report by World Economic Forum (WEF), it is the seventh biggest economy of the world, worth around \$ 1.8 trillion. Pakistan, on the other hand falls in mid-twenties on that list. Iran holds some of the world's largest deposits of proven oil and natural gas reserves, ranking as the world's fourth and second largest reserve holder for oil and natural gas respectively, thereby making Iran a natural attraction for growing Indian economy. Iran also ranks amongst the world's top 10 oil producers and top 5 natural gas producers.⁷ Its estimated oil and gas reserves are 7.5 percent and 15 percent of the world's total respectively.

India is the third largest crude oil consumer after US and China. India now imports more than 80 per cent of its oil requirements and 40 per cent of its natural gas needs.⁸ India imports most of its oil from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states, but Iran was the 22nd trading partner of India in 2014. India and Iran have extended collaboration in other endeavours, with the two entering into a new round of negotiations in July 2009 regarding the development of the Farzad B offshore "gas field."⁹

Table 1:
Iran's Export and Import Share with China & India

Partners	Export %	Import %
China	25.5	29
India	4.6	11.9

As Pakistan factors in, on 4th March 2004, Pak-Iran Preferential Trade agreement (PTA) was signed. The ratification process took about two years and it was implemented by Pakistan on 1st September, 2006 and

⁷ US Energy Information Administration, "Country Analysis Brief : Iran," *IEEE*, July 21, 2014. http://www.ieee.es/en/Galerias/fichero/OtrasPublicaciones/Internacional/2018/EIA_Iran_9abr2018.pdf

⁸ V. Raghuraman, "World Dependence on Iranian Oil: Sanctions on Iran and Impact on India," in *Troubling Tehran: Reflections on Geopolitics*, ed. Arun Vishwanathan and Rajaram Nagappa (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2013), 97.

⁹ *Ibid.*

by Iran on 6th November 2006.¹⁰ As per the data of Trade Map, Pakistan's export to Iran stood at \$ 32.29 million while Pakistan's imports from Iran stood at \$ 260.89 million during 2015.¹¹ Also discussions are underway for Free Trade Agreement (FTA) according to which trade will boost up to \$ 5 billion.”

Table 3: **Pakistan's Imports and Exports with Iran**¹²

Year	Exports (Million \$)	Imports (Million \$)
2007-08	103.1	381.4
2008-09	400	900
2009-10	207	962
2010-11	162	572
2011-12	153	153
2012-13	98	168
2013-14	53	164
2015-16	32.2	260

The data shows that Pakistan's economic relations are lagging behind India on trade partner list. This raises a pertinent question as to why Pakistan could not manage to keep trade with Iran at a reasonable level.¹³ Also, Pakistan cannot match the statistics and terrain advantage that India enjoys with huge potential of consumer market. India has a population of more than 1.2 billion - five times more than that of Pakistan. The population will continue to increase in the next two to three decades and then this intertwined geo-economy and geo-strategy will play its part in enabling India to use these as strategic tools.

The basis of lack of trade between Pakistan and Iran largely relates to external factors i.e. western sanctions, US pressure and Pakistan's position as a strategic and ideological partner of Saudi Arabia. Despite sanctions, India continued to import oil from Iran on barter system. It was more of a geo-strategic compulsion that spurred Indo-Iranian geo-economic ties. Sanctions on Iran were lifted recently which led to a new era of hope and bolstering of ties with its neighbours.

Lack of clarity in Trump administration's Iran policy is a major hurdle for any agreement to work properly. India will benefit more as

¹⁰ Ministry of Commerce, "Tariff Preferences Granted by Iran to Pakistan," *Commerce*, http://www.commerce.gov.pk/PIPTA/TARIFF_PREFERENCES_GRANTED_BY_IRAN_TO_PAKISTAN.pdf.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "Iran-Pakistan Trade on the Decline", *Financial Tribune*, April 07, 2017 19:58.

compared to Pakistan, with regard to natural resources, as soon as sanctions are lifted from Iran. India will also gain from the already established links in Afghanistan that provide another source of rich energy resources and minerals, stocked in places like Hajigak and Zabul province.

There are a number of reasons that contribute to the low trade volume between Iran and Pakistan. These include: high non-tariff barriers in Iran; high customs duty on items in which Pakistan has comparative advantage (e.g. textile); slow process of import approvals in Iran; lack of enabling infrastructure that can facilitate trade on Pakistan's side; poor rail, road and air connectivity between the two countries; and less number of land border trade posts. Despite the abysmal trade relations, Pakistan and Iran have, initiated a broad range of institutionalized steps under the ECO framework that provide tremendous opportunities for widening the scope of their trade relations.

Pakistan's Concerns

The Afghanistan Factor in Indo-Iranian Equation

Afghanistan has been at the centre of Indo-Iran nexus since USSR's withdrawal from Afghanistan and this serves as a bone of contention between Pakistan and Iran. For maximizing their influence and strategic gains in the war-torn country, both India and Pakistan supported opposite groups. Afghanistan became an enabling factor for India-Iran ties, while Pakistan backed the Taliban. India and Iran started to cooperate closely on the Afghan question, much to Pakistan's alarm, which wanted to keep the Afghanistan question between Iran and itself. India was also invited by Iran in the conference 'Friends of Afghanistan' that was held in Iran in October 1996.

Pakistan and Afghanistan have rarely been at ease with each other even though both are neighbouring Muslim countries, and share over 2,500 kilometres long land border, called Durand Line - demarcated in 1893 following an agreement between the British Empire and the Afghan King. Pashtun tribes on two sides of that border are divided by this demarcation line. The Pakhtunistan and border-line issues have remained a hurdle for forging a stable bond, but Pakistan and Afghanistan, both familiar with each other's interests, have shown concerns towards each other.

In order to access the sea, landlocked Afghanistan has to pass through either Pakistan or Iran. Pakistan perceives strong Indian involvement in Afghanistan and on its western flank a potential threat. An Agreement on Strategic Partnership (ASP) was signed by India and Afghanistan in 2011. This agreement establishes strong links between Afghanistan and India against the interest of Pakistan. India now plays a proactive role in Afghanistan with the help of large aid packages, infrastructural and capacity building programmes.

During the latter half of last decade, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and Shiv Shankar's meeting showed a commitment to strengthen their hold in Kabul and back Hamid Karzai. India has already invested over \$960,000 over Route 606 which is also known as Delaram-Zaranj Highway inside Afghanistan.¹⁴ Pak-Afghan bilateral ties deteriorated in 2008 after Hamid Karzai's statement that he will send his military inside Pakistan to carry out an operation against Afghan Taliban.¹⁵

It is quite clear that Afghanistan is primed to be a strategic and political pawn of India. Iran provides a channel to India to bring in Afghanistan to carry out activities of sabotage. According to Saghafi-Ameri, "the main causes of the present situation in Afghanistan include lack of proper planning, shifting policies, inattention to geopolitical realities and over-reliance on military power without necessary attention to development and civilian assistance plans."¹⁶ US withdrawal from Afghanistan will create power vacuum and that is a source of concern for both Pakistan and India. Iran is just about to get free from some of US sanctions and is in embryonic stage to influence the regional politics. Pakistan is irritated by Indian ambition to completely overthrow Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan for which it has used all possible means. Pakistan has shown its concern over Research and Analysis Wing's (RAW) active involvement in Baluchistan and Sindh through Iran.

India's major aim is to counter and contain China, but regionally it has been an arch rival to Pakistan and its intransigence has always remained a major hurdle in mitigating tensions. Pakistan and Iran, being directly connected to Afghanistan, are disadvantaged due to the possibility of spill over of instability from Afghanistan whereas India remains aloof of it. Pakistan's envoy to the USA, Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry expressed the same concern to a Washington based think tank. According to him, India does have strategic interest in Afghanistan. It could be a part of the double squeeze strategy against Pakistan.¹⁷ India has shown its agitation and opposition over reconciliation process with Taliban because a stable Afghanistan does not serve its interest.

¹⁴ Fayyaz Hussain, "India Financing New Road Network to Connect Iran with Central Asia Via Afghanistan," *Daily Pakistan*, May 2, 2016.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Saghafi-Ameri, "Prospects for Peace and Stability in Afghanistan," *SIPRI* June 2011, <http://www.sipri.org/research/conflict/afghanistan-regional-dialogue-1/publications-1/ARD01.pdf>.

¹⁷ Correspondent, "US Audience LOL Safter Pakistan Diplomat says They Harbor No Terrorists," *India Today*, June 8, 2017 <https://www.indiatoday.in/world/story/pak-diplomat-laughed-at-for-saying-no-safe-sanctuaries-in-pak-981654-2017-06-08>.

Collaboration over Chabahar: Strategic Considerations

Chabahar is a warm water port just 72 km away from Pakistan's 'Gwadar Port'. The meaning of Chabahar - 'four seasons of spring' - itself describes its importance. Iran declared Chabahar a special economic zone in 1992 and later signed a deal with India and Russia to develop a North South Transport Corridor (NSTC) in St. Petersburg. In January 2003, the governments of Afghanistan, India and Iran met in Tehran to sign the Memorandum on Development and Construction of the Transit and Transport Infrastructure. That agreement also included the reconstruction the Delaram-Zaranj highway to connect Iran and Afghanistan. Pakistan perceives this as a threat due to Chabahar's nearness to the Makran Coast, to China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and its potential for to become a multi-purpose military base.

These ports are the focus of regional politico-economic alliances but the imperativeness of this mega project is its strategic aspect. During the 70s, Pakistan offered the port of Gwadar to US even though the Shah of Iran had already declared to invest in building the 'blue water' port of Chabahar. This development was meant to counter USSR and its ally 'India' strategically. The first project run by the Indians plans to link Chabahar by rail to the mineral rich area of Hajigak (its mineral assets are estimated at \$1-\$3 trillion) and the copper mines of Zabul Province. Afghanistan will also be linked to Turkey through Herat-Mashhad route.

Nirupama Rao, former foreign secretary of India, while talking about Chabahar at a conference, held by Tehran's Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS) and New Delhi's Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis (IDSA) in 2010 said that the project is "at the heart of the common vision that India and Iran have for Afghanistan and the region."¹⁸ Harsh Pant, took a similar line while sharing his thoughts on the matter and said that, "For Iran, Chabahar is a significant project because it portrays Iran as not entirely isolated." He further said that, "From India's perspective, Chabahar is crucial because of the access to Afghanistan and Central Asia. The port is important for both sides."¹⁹

The port will take the Indo-Iranian relations to the next level and will conversely help India remain a key stakeholder in the gulf politics and the region at large. The development of the port will also ensure India's easy accessibility to Balochistan and Sindh, where its agencies and other sources perform espionage and sabotage-related activities.

¹⁸ Vijay Prashad, "India's Iran Policy: Between US Primacy and Regionalism," *Working Paper Series 19, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs American University of Beirut*, November 2013, 6.

¹⁹ Harsh V. Pant, "India-Iran Cooperation at Chabahar Port: Choppy Waters," *Center for Strategic and International Studies* (March 2018):1-2.

Iran's ambassador to Pakistan Mehdi Hunar Dost declared that the project is not limited to just Iran and India, Pakistan and China can also join the project. According to him, Gwadar and Chabahar is not a case of rivalry. Iranian ambassador's approach is based on extending the regional coherence and establishing Iran as pivot of regional politics. The CPEC on the other hand will boost the regional connectivity and economic development of the region and beyond. The project was launched in 2015 with a worth \$46 billion but now Chinese investments under the flagship Belt & Road initiative have reached almost \$62 billion.²⁰

The development of Gwadar is destined to serve China's interests, boost its influence in the region, and to help it reach the markets of Africa and Europe through cheaper means. Additionally, Pakistan is also expected to gain in terms of development of infrastructure, energy projects and enhanced employment opportunities. The work started on the port in 2002 but due to unforeseen circumstances, the progress could not meet the standard, causing delays. Later in April 2015, 51 MoUs were signed including the one to develop Gwadar port, the 'heart of economic corridor'.

Gwadar port provides China with a direct access to Indian Ocean. This will enable China to overcome the hurdles in staying connected with this part of world and to Europe and Africa. It will be a strategically prime route for China, and in any worst-case scenario or time of conflict in the South China Sea, will serve as an alternative. It is also important for Pakistan as it lies at the mouth of Strait of Hormuz and provides Pakistan a space to strategically manoeuvre the politics of the region to its favour.

Soon after Pakistan and China joined hands to establish the deep-sea port in early 2000s, India showed its reservations. Robert Kaplan writes that, "the Indians' answer to Sino-Pakistani cooperation at Gwadar was a giant new \$8 billion naval base at Karwar, south of Goa on India's Arabian coast, the first phase of which opened in 2005."²¹

CPEC will become the juggernaut of Pakistan's economy and India's inclusion in the project is India's choice. According to Ambassador Fauzia Nasreen, India would have shown signs to join the CPEC if it would see it as solely economic project rather than as a strategic blueprint.²² Iran is also concerned over the delay in Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline, whereas, Pakistan feels restricted in this regard due to international sanctions on

²⁰ Sajjad Hussain, "China's CPEC Investment in Pakistan Reaches \$62 Billion," *Live mint*, April 12, 2017, <https://www.livemint.com/Politics/dB5tQKISoKNrvl7EwDPFbP/Chinas-CPEC-investment-in-Pakistan-reaches-62-billion.html>.

²¹ Christophe Jaffrelot, "A Tale of Two Ports", *Yale Global*, January 7, 2011, <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/tale-two-ports>.

²² Interview by the author with Amb. Fauzia Nasreen, Advisor (SDGs), COMSATS (Islamabad, June 12, 2017).

Iran. Iran's distress can also be due to Pakistan's alternate gas projects such as Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) and Qatar LNG.

Potential for Indian Influence in the Persian Gulf

India's growing interest in the security of Strait of Hormuz and its growing military relationship with Iran (to use it as a counterweight to Pakistan in the Persian Gulf), is a source of concern for Pakistan.²³ Furthermore, India's strategic posturing in the Indian Ocean Rim continues unabated. Its acquisition of port facilities at Duqm, Oman and Chabahar poses real threats to Pakistan and its interests in the region. These positions straddle the Strait of Hormuz and place Pakistan's Sea Lines of Communications (SLOCs) and Makran Coast within India's strategic reach. Indian presence in the Gulf would enable it to manoeuvre the power politics of the region and control the channel especially in a potential war time scenario.

Gwadar is a deep-sea port located in Pakistan's Balochistan province at the mouth of Persian Gulf. The port is 553 km away from Karachi and 72 km from the Iranian border. It is placed just outside the Strait of Hormuz, the gateway to Persian Gulf and is a key sea trade route. For that purpose, it can prove to be Pakistan's economic hub with all the regional strategic importance ensured. The issue at hand that leads to a potential conflict of interest is the Indo-Iranian joint venture - Chabahar port, and the North-South Transport Corridor (NSTC) it entails; it becomes an issue because a strong Indian presence in the Gulf and Strait of Hormuz is a pre-requisite for meeting these ends. India and Iran conducted naval exercises in 2003 and 2006 in the Indian Ocean with the latest one conducted in January 2016 code-named 'Velayat 95'. The exercises were held in an area of 2 million square kilometres, spanning the Strait of Hormuz, the Sea of Oman, north of the Indian Ocean and the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait.²⁴ The exercises were aimed at boosting the defensive capabilities of India vis-a-vis Pakistan.

Indo-Iranian ties and External Interference in Balochistan

The political dimension of Indo-Iranian nexus and RAW's active involvement in Pakistan, apart from their strategic coherence is evident from the defence cooperation. India has got a direct route through Iran to reach Pakistan and plan activities to promote instability in Pakistan. Iran shares a common border with Pakistan connecting Baluchistan, the largest province of Pakistan by land area, which is also rich in mineral and energy

²³ Siddharth Ramana, "The Pakistan Factor in the India-Iran Relationship," *Strategic Analysis* 36, no. 6 (2012): 941.

²⁴ "Iran Launches Major Naval Exercise in Northern Indian Ocean," Press TV, Feb 26, 2017 08:59AM, <http://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2017/02/26/512124/Iran-Indian-Ocean-Habibollah-Sayyari>.

resources. Although the border issue was settled back in 60s, but the sectarian entanglement still halts relations as Iran often alleges Pakistan of providing sanctuaries to anti-Shia militant groups such as 'Jundullah' and 'Jamat-ul-Ahrar' based in Pakistan. Iran also perceives a threat from the Pakistan-Saudi alliance as a counterbalance to Iran's role in Middle East.

Pakistan is facing problems in its security domain due to the insurgencies led by Baloch separatist organizations along the Iran-Pakistan border. Pakistan views this as an outcome aided by Indian intelligence agencies that aim to destabilize Balochistan and deteriorate its law and order situation. The geostrategic location of Balochistan has gained significance with the initiation of CPEC as it focuses on making Gwadar a trade hub and to develop industries in Balochistan.

The Kalbhushan Jadav case raised serious concerns in Pakistan, as it proved the use of Iranian soil by Indian agencies for perpetrating illegal activities in Pakistan. Prime Minister Modi has provoked such intentions and came straight by crossing red lines during media appearances. In an address to the nation on India's Independence Day in 2016, Modi talked about the situation in Balochistan and later urged Indian diplomats and media to highlight this issue in world capitals.²⁵ His stance over Balochistan is supported by some of Baloch insurgent leaders such as Khalil Baloch, Chairman of the Baloch National Movement and Brahamdagh Bugti, leader of separatist Balochistan Republican Party (BRP), thus reinforcing the evidence of Indian efforts to destabilize Pakistan by creating havoc in the province.

The responsibility equally lies with Pakistan because it has failed to solve the conundrum of Balochistan. There certainly is a lack of true leadership in the province, but the Indian narrative and direct involvement have proved to be catalysts for the situation in the province. In March 2016, Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) head Major General Asim Bajwa, briefed on the arrest of Indian Navy officer and spy Kalbhushan Jadav, and stated that his goal was to disrupt development of the CPEC, with Gwadar port as a special target. He maintained that, "this is nothing short of state-sponsored terrorism... There can be no clearer evidence of Indian interference in Pakistan."²⁶

Kalbhushan Yadav held an Iranian passport and was guilty of involvement in activities of espionage and sabotage against Pakistan. The alleged spy was impeding the law enforcement agencies' efforts to restore peace in Balochistan and Karachi. RAW is the chief source of all the material aid given to destabilize the peaceful environment and plan, coordinate and organize such activities inside Pakistan. The agent himself

²⁵ News correspondent, "US Refuses to Support Modi's Position on Balochistan," *Dawn*, September 16, 2016, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1284025>.

²⁶ News correspondent, "Govt Airs Video of Indian Spy Admitting Involvement in Balochistan Insurgency," *Dawn*, March 29, 2016.

confessed about his active involvement in such activities and about being funded by Indian embassy in Zahedan.

That was the point of concern and debate when President Hassan Rouhani paid an official visit to Pakistan last year and met with top military and political leadership. At the occasion Pakistan's top brass military issued a clear statement by General Raheel Sharif saying that, "there is one concern that RAW is involved in Pakistan, especially in Balochistan, and sometimes it also uses the soil of our brother country Iran."²⁷

On his return to Iran, the Iranian President denied Pakistani stance and said that India is a friend and no further discussion was held over Pakistan's concern by stating that, "whenever Iran comes closer to Pakistan such rumours are spread."²⁸ Uzair Baloch, a Lyari gangster, also confessed before Joint Investigation Team (JIT) about his connection with Iranian Intelligence. He fled to Iran after the Rangers launched an operation in Karachi in 2013. He was living with his friend, Malik Baloch, in Chabahar, where he met Haji Nasir who held dual nationality, adding that Haji Nasir offered Baloch to shift him to Tehran permanently where he would be provided a residence with no cost as he [Nasir] had "good relations with Iranian intelligence officers and he can arrange his meeting with them."²⁹

The Iranian soil has proved to be a safe haven for RAW to operate in Pakistan especially in Balochistan. Indian agitation is obvious as it tries to hinder normal state of affairs in Pakistan so that the latter can't obstruct Indian interests in the region.

The Way Forward

While suggesting any way forward for Pak-Iran convergence of interests in regional dynamics and bilateral relations, it is pertinent to mention that there are other major irritants such as US and Saudi factor in the Pak-Iran relations. These major irritants also needed to be dealt with rationally. To neutralise India factor, Pakistan has to balance the equation by enhancing its ties with Iran. Under President Rouhani, Iran has displayed pragmatism that provides an encouraging environment. In March 2016, President Hassan Rouhani concluded six MoUs, including a "Five-Year Strategic Trade Cooperation Plan" with Pakistan to bolster bilateral relations in the areas of trade, economy and energy. The two

²⁷ Azam Khan, "Iran's Help Sought to Stop RAW-Backed Terror," *The Express Tribune*, March 27, 2016.

²⁸ "Rouhani Denies Discussing 'RAW's Involvement in Balochistan' with Pakistani Leadership," *Dawn*, March 26, 2016, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1248078>.

²⁹ Imran Ayub, "Uzair admitted to Espionage a Year Ago, Reveal Documents," *Dawn*, April 13, 2017.

sides have also agreed to deliberate on the ways to boost bilateral trade by means of preferential trade and to move forward for a free-trade agreement through an opening of two additional crossing points along their border to encourage and facilitate trade and people-to-people contacts that have suffered due to sanctions.

Strategic Coherence

Both neighbours should understand each other's stakes in the regional dynamics and promote a trust-worthy environment for developing a strategic entente. Pakistan and Iran should adopt a moderate policy that serves strategic coherence. As India is establishing a deep relation with Israel - much to the dismay of Iran, and US is also tilting towards India, China and Russia, considering this shift will knit stronger bilateral bonds. This provides an opportunity for bridging Pak-Iran divergences by adopting collective mechanisms and determining one's friends and foes in the backdrop of regional realities. .

The Indo-Iranian alliance in Afghanistan is yet another counterweight to Pakistan but it will also hurt Iran consequently due to the spill over effect. Iran should minimize and check the Indian agencies' free access to Afghanistan, which is exacerbating the complexity of the situation. India is moving towards US strategically which will bring Iran and Pakistan closer to Russia and China in geo-strategic terms. Pakistan and Iran should reduce the trust deficit and use Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) as the platform.

Iran should be added in quadrilateral coordination group as it is a direct stake-holder in Afghanistan. Pakistan and Iran must try to convince the militant groups within their reach, not to act against each other. Moreover, Pakistan and Iran have to tone down the sectarian militancy and sectarian-backed groups from acting against each other.

Both Iran and Pakistan see the so-called Islamic State, which has an embryonic presence in South Asia, as a threat. Still, balancing Iran-Arab relations will be a difficult and an uphill task for Pakistan, especially when Pakistanis' are employed in the Gulf and it is mostly their remittances that keep the country's economy afloat. Notwithstanding these difficult circumstances, Pakistan will have to remain neutral and alert against the import of toxic ideology of fresh violence at home.

Resolution of Afghanistan Imbroglia

Afghanistan is a pivot point for South Asian politics. It has proved a catalyst for Pak-Iran divergences and must be resolved by adopting collective mechanisms. The Indo-Iranian alliance in Afghanistan is to counterweigh Pakistan but it will also hurt Iran consequently due to spill over effect. India's relations with the US are now reinvigorating to strategic engagement, which encourages Iran and Pakistan to join hands on geostrategic issues with Russia and China, on the SCO forum. A growing

alignment in how Iran and Pakistan view stability in Afghanistan can now be seen. . Iran's approach is more pragmatic now as evident from shift in Tehran's stance over reconciliation talks with Taliban. Iran, disapproving any kind of negotiations with the Taliban till 2009, has offered to play its role in mediating with Taliban. It has now not only expressed support for the Pakistan-backed reconciliation process in Afghanistan but also hosted multiple Afghan Taliban negotiations.

Iran as a Partner in CPEC

Iran has shown interest to join the CPEC. While India is currently halting the building of Indo-Iranian joint venture Chabahar, Pakistan should welcome this Iranian move whole-heartedly as it will be a game-changer for bilateral economic ties. Iran also invited Pakistan on the inauguration of Chabahar port, which was much regarded as a positive gesture.

Cooperation on Border Security Mechanism

Pakistan and Iran have to negotiate on border security issues. The fencing of a porous border needs to be done in order to check the cross-border movement of anti-state elements. Joint security forces can be the best option and intelligence sharing can also help reduce it. To this end, border control technologies need to be incorporated in manning cross-border check posts and streamlining rules against smuggling and illegal cross border traffic.

Working on Economic Ties

Pakistan and Iran can use the platform of ECO (Economic Cooperation organization) and SCO for forging better economic linkages. India has continued to trade with Iran despite sanctions and recently France has signed a deal of gas export from Iran worth \$ 1 billion. Pakistan should build its side of gas pipelines and establish banking channels.

Gwadar will also provide an opportunity to spur deep economic ties with Iran if Iran joins CPEC. An agreement like FTA should be streamlined for encouraging local businesses and industrial units to get advantage of each other's commodities and manufactured products. The economic interdependence and intertwined interests will bring fruitful convergences and will establish strong political and strategic bonds. The growing ties between China and Iran is an important factor that needs to be weighed by the leadership in Pakistan to immediately take necessary steps for bringing up a trilateral cooperation framework between Pakistan, Iran and China.

Enhancing Social and Political bonds

Pakistan and Iran share a common religion and culture that provide huge potential to bolster their relations in this domain. Working in

this direction will not only integrate the society but will also help shun the coldness. Religious scholars from both sides should sit together to revamp and recalibrate the religious harmony leaving behind the curse of sectarianism. There should be free and easy access to community on either side of border. Scholars and political leaders' regular visits from either side will also enable understanding of each other's cultures and strengthening of bilateral bonds. This social and cultural stage will provide an impetus to better collaboration and coordination in other spheres as well.

Conclusion

The Indian presence on Pakistan's western border and its strong ties with Iran has now become a catalyst for the other major irritants that have not only scuttled the Pak-Iran relations but also considerably threaten Pakistan's sovereignty and security as well. The cross-border terrorism that affects both states' relations also gives India the opportunity to exploit the Pak-Iran equation in its own interests. The sectarian divide is also a discouraging factor for Pak-Iran ties; it distracts the two states and provides India a further opportunity to exploit the situation and get closer to Iran – something counterproductive to Pakistan's interests.

There is thus need for Pakistan to find ways to address the India factor in its ties with Iran, since vital interests are at stake due to the increasing Indo-Iranian closeness. A number of potential avenues of bringing betterment have been discussed in the segment on 'the way forward'. Pakistan must sit with Iran to find a durable and acceptable solution to remedy the fractured relations. Both states must correspond to challenges of cross-border infiltration and Shia-Sunni divide accordingly.

The major areas of bilateral strategic convergence are the economic and security sector; cooperation in these two would mutually reinforce each other. Strong trade and business ties with Iran will not only help improve Pakistan's economic situation, but will also lead to greater stability and economic prosperity in the region. Pakistan and Iran are bound to share the neighbourhood, which compels both states to foster healthy relations by utilizing the opportunities in economic, societal and strategic realms – thus engendering greater cohesion. There is a need of deconstructing the security paradigm based on the values of strategic competition and reconstruct one based on ideals of strategic cooperation.

Book Reviews

Title: China-Pakistan Relations - A Historical Analysis

Author : Ghulam Ali.

Publisher : Oxford University Press: Pakistan, 2017, 278.

In the prevailing regional geo-political environment, China has emerged as a key player in Asia. Most of the states in South, Central and West Asia, the area that has traditionally been considered the exclusive domain of the US influence, now look towards China as a leading power likely to determine the future pace and direction of the region's political, economic, and geo-strategic orientation. In this backdrop, the emerging broad-spectrum relations between Pakistan and China have come to occupy a significant place on the regional and global geo-political canvasses, catching the attention of authors, experts and analysts the world over. The recently published book by Ghulam Ali titled, *China-Pakistan Relations – A historical Analysis* is also a befitting contribution in this regard.

On the whole, the book by Ghulam Ali is an excellent delineation of the various geo-political developments between China and Pakistan over a period of six decades (1950-2015). The author has taken a historical approach to describe these developments, interspersed with some fascinating pieces of analysis, thus, tracing the underlying logic as well as the reasons that actually steered the wheel of history to shape the nature of relations between the two states. Ghulam Ali has also expertly narrated some very interesting details of the bilateral ties between China and Pakistan – the events which largely constituted the foundations on which the edifice of a broader relationship between China and Pakistan rests today.

To begin with, Ghulam Ali unfolds the story of the formative years of China-Pakistan relations, explaining why the two nations were destined to come closer right from the outset and how “Pakistan's participation in the western defence pacts and pro-US policies” led to unfriendly ties between the two states. However, later developments such as the border dispute between China and India were, in fact, responsible for shaping the enduring nature of the Pak-China equation. It can be inferred that the Sino-Pakistan *entente cordiale* developed and strengthened partially due to common hostility towards India. Ghulam Ali believes that the nature of Pak-US relations also played an important role in bringing Pakistan closer to China. He opines that the arms embargo and the strenuous nature of US-Pakistan relations generally increased Pakistan's dependence on China (Chapter-2). On the other hand, Pakistan's role in the US-China rapprochement improved its alliance with China and the US, while the same adversely impacted the Pak-USSR ties. It was only after the Pak-India war of 1971 that China started building economic and strategic

infrastructure in Pakistan, which according to the author, was an indication of China's long-term interests in Pakistan. Consequently, by mid 1970s, "China indicated that it would expand the nature of its relationship with South Asian countries, adopt a balanced policy towards Indo-Pakistan disputes, and restore relations with India". This was a significant policy stance on the part of China, explaining the future orientation of Chinese policy towards the region. The most important outcome of this orientation vis-à-vis Pakistan was a neutral stance on the Kashmir issue by China. However, interestingly, the Chinese pragmatism did not falter when it came to its special relations with Pakistan: "Beijing continued to support our nuclear and missile program and remained Pakistan's most reliable arms supplier and source of economic assistance", explains Ghulam Ali.

Nevertheless, it was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that placed Pakistan in the central position between the US and China, "bringing a new level of cooperation between them" (Chapter-3). In the same context, it is pertinent to note that frequent changes of government in Pakistan had little impact on the nature of China-Pakistan ties. Though China gradually improved its ties with India, it wasn't done at the cost of relations with Pakistan, says Ghulam Ali. He also believes that "most of the changes in China's policy were a result of overall restructuring in foreign relations rather than an attempt to merely please India". On the other hand, while Pakistan faced US sanctions time and again, China was always there to compensate, particularly in the realm of defence equipment. This role played by China largely constituted the essence of the permanent nature of ties between Pakistan and China.

The most interesting part of the book is Chapter 5 in which the author has adroitly analysed the post 9/11 scenario in the context of China- Pakistan relations. In this part, the writer has tried to bring home the point that the changes in the security environment triggered by 9/11, in fact, strengthened our ties with China, creating opportunities for both the nations to upgrade their relationship to the level of strategic partnership. For instance, China's help in building some mega projects in Pakistan, such as Gwadar Port, are part of the same reality. In consequential terms, China has gained access to some of the natural resources of Pakistan and has ability to gain access to larger markets through Pakistan. The most significant manifestation of Chinese outreach in Pakistan is CPEC, which the author has discussed in detail in the sixth chapter.

In a nutshell, Ghulam Ali's book explains that geography and common regional security concerns provided the basis for ideal relations between China and Pakistan. However, there are also some other factors responsible for the kind of relationship that exists between the two states. The evolving stature of China in the region has come to diversify the nature of its ties with Pakistan, and CPEC, which is a corollary to China's ambitious One Belt One Road initiative, is the outcome of the same Chinese

re-orientation. If CPEC is implemented, notes Ghulam Ali in the concluding part, it will take the relationship between Pakistan and China to new heights.

The book by Ghulam Ali is a valuable addition to the literature available on the history of Pak-China relations. The episodic presentation of the political, economic and strategic developments between the two states, coupled with argumentative commentary by the author - where the situation demands - makes the reading quite interesting as well as informative. Additionally, use of simple and comprehensible language has helped author describe the most complicated and intricate aspects of statecraft in a convenient manner, reflecting the author's command over the issue-area - he has discreetly catered to the needs of the variety of readers, ranging from experts to the general public. In this regard, the author deserves a word of appreciation and due credit for striking a delicate balance between the general interests of the readers and the requirements of writing a historical political analysis of issues. Consistency in the overall argument is another noteworthy aspect of the book; nowhere the author seems to have lost his ground. Scanning through the pages of the book, and the vicissitudes in Pak-China relations it entails,, the reader gets convinced of the logic that the author desires to bring forth at the end of his analysis. This makes the effort by Ghulam Ali a must read for people who wish to find wiser ways of dealing with the subject.

Reviewed by Syed Raghav Ali, Ph.D Scholar at the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, National Defence University, Islamabad.

Title: **Neighbours in Arms: An American Senator's Quest for Disarmament in a Nuclear Subcontinent.**

Author: Larry Lee Pressler.

Publisher: Penguin Random House: India, 2017, 262.

Pressler Amendment in the US Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was the culmination of US Congress-based endeavours aimed at obstructing Pakistan's path towards the attainment of nuclear weapons capability. The amendment was signed into law by President Reagan on 8th August 1985 and was invoked for the first time by President George H.W. Bush in 1990. The amendment linked the US assistance and sales of military equipment and technology to Pakistan to two mandatory certifications from the US President: one that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear weapon and second, that the particular assistance package approved by the US President will drastically scale down the risks of nuclear weapons possession by Pakistan. The domain of "assistance" was stretched to include both military and economic spheres. The US-Pakistan bilateral relations took a nosedive after enactment of Pressler amendment. Three colossal losses on Pakistan's part in 1991 were: suspension of \$200 million as aid, halting the sale of 28 F-16s, and cancellation of joint military exercises between the US and Pakistan. Though the amendment was revoked during the Clinton administration but it defines one of the ebbs in the seven decades of Pak-US diplomatic voyage.

Larry Lee Pressler, a three-time Republican US Senator from South Dakota, was the prime architect of Pressler amendment during his stint as head of the US Senate's Arms Control Sub-committee. His book "Neighbours in Arms: An American Senator's Quest for Disarmament in a Nuclear Subcontinent" primarily explicates his struggle for preparation and approval of Pressler amendment. He has claimed to be the opponent of nuclear armament in the subcontinent but his efforts were Pakistan-specific, whereas India fully took the advantage and celebrated his spiteful actions against Pakistan. As he proposed his amendment against Pakistan in 1980s, he never even thought of framing similar legislation for curbing nuclear advances in India. The book also entails his acrimonious experience of the Vietnam War, the journey towards the US Congress, the role of Octopus in US decision making and his empathetic viewpoints for the masses in India. The book written by Pressler depicts him as a "tendentious person" towards India vis-à-vis Pakistan, as President Reagan also once enquired him for being over-influenced by Indian-American community. Pressler, a die-hard opponent and critic of Pakistan's nuclear programme, has remained tight-lipped in his written work over India's possession of nuclear weapons. Given the fact that both Pakistan and India are non-signatories to the NPT, the US nuclear-related policies and actions must have been even-handed for both as a consequence. Being an ardent advocate of US-India Civil Nuclear

Agreement, Pressler has supported the deal by calling this agreement “indispensible” for the needs of billions of impecunious Indians in order to ameliorate their life standards that have been facing prolonged hours of blackout in their villages. He has justified the NSG waiver granted to India for implementation of civil nuclear agreement and called it the need of the hour. Alike India, Pakistan also grapples with poverty and long hours of power cuts but Pressler has remained cold hearted for the flat broke residing in Pakistan.

The cardinal reason stated by Pressler for his anti-Pakistan nuclear drive was Pakistan’s suspected utilization of US aid - he has repeatedly used the phrase US tax payers’ money - for preparation of nuclear weapons but he failed in describing any such authentic appropriation made by Pakistan either from economic or military aid. This spawns a new postulate in the minds of readers: “A state can prepare nuclear weapons from its own resources as NPT is not violated if native technology and self-generated revenue are used”, meaning the rich states may be allowed preparation of nuclear weapons. NPT—the cornerstone of non-proliferation regime prohibits nuclear-weapons acquisition for every state regardless of its economic prowess. Security needs compel the states for nuclear option as evidenced from the case of Pakistan: the strategic equilibrium perturbed by India in 1998 after nuclear detonation inevitably needed to be countered, in order to maintain parity.

Pressler has highlighted and berated the presence of a highly powerful decision-making caboodle in the US under the name of Octopus—a blend of different state institutions prime being the Pentagon, State Department and CIA. He has accused the Octopus for creating encumbrances in implementation of Pressler amendment and its successful efforts during the Clinton administration for revoking the same. The book is strewn with Pressler’s criticism for the Octopus but as usual when it comes to India, he has lauded the Octopus for its role in framing the US-India civil nuclear agreement and calls for increasing its efforts for concluding the agreement at the earliest. Pressler has discussed the role of lobbying in the US and utilization of millions of dollars by states on hiring the lobbyists. It goes without saying that Pressler has been working till-date for a strong Indian lobby coupled with the presence of Indian-Americans in his constituency who would also support his election campaigns. Pressler prides himself on being a widely revered personage in India. While sharing his 1992 visit to the subcontinent, he states that he became ebullient on effusive welcome given to him upon his arrival in India; whereas he has expressed deep grudge over the chilly welcome given at airport during his arrival to Pakistan. His meetings with the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan were also cancelled. Generally, Pakistan’s hospitality at state level has always been admired by foreign delegations but that was not the case for Pressler, who recommended aid suspension to Pakistan thereby scaling up its economic woes. After being

so negative against Pakistan, how had he imagined of an India-like welcome in Pakistan?

Pressler thereby, has not only recommended declaration of Pakistan as a rogue and terrorist state but simultaneous creation of US-India super alliance alike that of the US-UK and US-Israel alliances besides enactment of more Pressler amendments in the future. Pakistan has not only facilitated the US-led war in Afghanistan for last four decades but it has given inexplicable sacrifices that no leader, either of the US or Pakistan, had ever thought since the inception of war in 1979 and its relapse in 2001. Pressler's recommendations for Pakistan, a major non-NATO ally, depict only contempt, disregard and nefarious intentions for a country that has bore the maximum brunt of US policies in the region. In one of the chapters of this book, Pressler glosses the 1979 sting operation carried out by the FBI for bribing the candidates campaigning for President of the United States. Pressler was campaigning that year and he refused a bribe of \$ 50,000 from a FBI agent who introduced him as an Arab sheikh. After few months, the scandal surfaced as "ABSCAM Scandal" and it became evident that Pressler was the only public official who turned down the bribe offer. Eventually the phrase "Pressler Standard" was coined, meaning "turning down the offered bribe." Pressler Standard refers to the level of honesty and integrity retained by Mr. Pressler in his affairs but for Pakistan "Pressler Standard" is a standard of measuring hypocrisy and malice only.

The chapters and contents of this book are in utter juxtaposition with its name. "Neighbours, Arms, Disarmament and Nuclear Subcontinent" are the prime words in the name and introductory phrase. In contradiction to the phrase "neighbours in arms" the entire book bristles with Pressler's discussion on possession of nuclear weapons by Pakistan; no mention of India's nuclear program which dates back to early 1960s with first device detonated in 1974. Similarly "nuclear subcontinent" implies both nuclear India and nuclear Pakistan but Pressler's nuclear disarmament approach is confined to Pakistan only. He has also discussed Glenn and Symington amendments that tied provision of aid to Pakistan's non-possession of enrichment and reprocessing technology and lauded their architects. In the book, Pressler has blinded India's enrichment and reprocessing capabilities. His entire effort and discussion revolves around a single parameter: "His proposed impediments in Pakistan's route to becoming nuclear Pakistan." Even at the end, the appendix entails timeline of Pakistan's nuclear events only; India has also a nuclear history but Pressler considers India a *de jure* nuclear power like the five veto-wielding nations.

Reviewed by Mr. Tariq Asad, a Civil Servant in Ministry of Information, Broadcasting and National Heritage.

Title: **A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order**

Author: Richard Haas

Publisher: Penguin Press: New York, 2017, 352.

In today's world, power is broadly diffused and impacts of a state's actions are no longer contained within its own boundaries. *A World in Disarray: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis of the Old Order* by Richard Haas, is a prudent analysis of the above assertion and what can be done to address it.

The author presides over the Council on Foreign Relations. He has previously served as senior adviser on Middle East to President George H.W. Bush. He has received the Presidential Citizens Medal among other honours. He has also written or edited a dozen books on world affairs and foreign policy.

This book comprises of three parts. The first chronicles the evolution of the international system since the Peace of Westphalia, through the world wars, until the culmination of the Cold War. The idea is that despite the dynamic changes during that period, the overall mechanics of world operations remained the same. It is taken as World order 1.0. The second part analyses the quarter century since the end of Cold War. The proposition is that the era presents a departure from the previous order. The discussion focuses primarily on the chief regions of the world and generally on the world in its entirety. A portion of this part describes existing state of affairs, the reasons that led to the current situation and the future implications of the scenario. The last part of the book emphasizes the need for the United States to contain vicious competition among the major powers in future, along with recommendations for a restructured world order.

Haas highlights the fact that although the concept of state sovereignty reigns supreme in the international system, yet the new global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, and migration call for a new way to look at things. The existing world order is quickly turning defunct given the new dynamics of the global system. Also, states are no longer the sole stake holders in the world system. Non-state actors are also significant actors; ranging from multinational corporations to terrorist organizations. Power is increasingly becoming diffused thus leading to the decentralization of decision-making. The author underlines the need for a new world order that he calls the World order 2.0. The world order needs to be adjusted according to an increasingly interconnected world.

The author points out that the notion of an "international community" is an ambition rather than a reality. No state would overlook the prospect of pursuing its interest - especially the major powers - merely because the United Nations disapproves of the act. This is particularly true as long as the legitimacy of UN Security Council remains questionable

given the uneven significance it ascribes to nations. There is a considerable difference between the aspirations for a globalized world and the existing reality of the world order. This difference is a major cause behind the disarray in the present world. No broad agreement exists regarding the things to do, the actors to carry them out and the method of taking such decisions.

In today's world, power is too diffused among too many entities. Haas reiterates that despite being the strongest power, the United States cannot act unilaterally. A single state can no longer enforce a world order on its own. In addition, the drift toward disorder is, time and again, aggravated by the action or inaction of the United States along with other powers. Also, the actions of the United States across the world are not acts of philanthropy; rather they are essential to maintain its national security. Thus, its foreign policy needs to encompass an effort to discourage violent encounters between major powers. This is because, firstly, a confrontation will be costly. Secondly, such rivalries will make collective action against international challenges very difficult. Contention among major powers is the natural state of global affairs. Thus, the other major powers need to know that the United States has the capacity and resolve to counter their actions. Apart from deterrence, economic and diplomatic interdependence can also help ward off conflict.

A vital part of World order 2.0 envisioned by the author is encapsulated in the concept of sovereign obligation. It is a departure from the theory of Responsibility to Protect (R2P), that entails "sovereignty as a responsibility". The latter includes a regime's responsibility to its people and if it falls short, the regime loses some of its conventional defences and benefits of sovereignty. This concept provides room for military intervention by other states, thereby undermining sovereignty. Sovereign obligation, on the other hand, is defined as "legitimacy that embraces not just the rights but also the *obligations* of sovereign states vis-à-vis other governments and countries." In an extensively interconnected world, boundaries cannot protect a state against the adverse effects of actions carried out in any other state. Matters falling under the header of sovereign obligation are diverse, ranging from climate change and cyber security to the economic realm. However, the idea is different from R2P, since sovereign obligation does not tend to subjugate state sovereignty.

Furthermore, the notion of sovereignty as responsibility is grounded in realism while the concept of sovereign obligation emerges from idealism. While discussing the way forward for American foreign policy, the author emphasizes that it is crucial to prevent the recurrence of an international system where entities constantly interfere in the matters of each other. Still more important is to stay away from attempts of coup or take-over.

Disarray might lead to crisis. Although some segments believe that crises provide the incentive for action, yet the cost of any crisis in the

present world, be it an armed conflict or an epidemic, will be immense. Hence, a better scheme will be to begin heading in the direction of an adapted order rather than to wait for a crisis leading to an overhaul. The conditions and potentiality of piecing together a new international operating system are favourable.

The book underscores that United States is still the driving actor in the international order. However, the superpower needs to make informed adjustments in its policies as well as contribute in shaping an international system conducive to meet the present world challenges. *A World in Disarray* is a significant read for everyone attempting to decipher the existing state of international system.

***Reviewed by Fareha Iqtidar Khan, M.Phil in International Relations,
National Defence University, Islamabad.***

DOCUMENTS

Document: 1

Joint Communiqué of the Leaders Roundtable of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation

May 14 – 15 2017.

Beijing, China.

Opening Remarks

We, President Xi Jinping of the People's Republic of China, President Mauricio Macri of the Republic of Argentina, President Alexander Lukashenko of the Republic of Belarus, President Michelle Bachelet Jeria of the Republic of Chile, President Milos Zeman of the Czech Republic, President Joko Widodo of the Republic of Indonesia, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan, President Uhuru Kenyatta of the Republic of Kenya, President Almazbek Atambayev of the Kyrgyz Republic, President Bounnhang Vorachith of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte of the Republic of the Philippines, President Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation, President Doris Leuthard of the Swiss Confederation, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of the Republic of Turkey, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev of the Republic of Uzbekistan, President Tran Dai Quang of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Prime Minister Hun Sen of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Prime Minister Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama of the Republic of Fiji, Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras of the Hellenic Republic, Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary, Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni of the Italian Republic, Prime Minister Najib Razak of Malaysia, Prime Minister Jargaltulgyn Erdenebat of Mongolia, State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Prime Minister Beata Szydlo of the Republic of Poland, Prime Minister and President-elect Aleksandar Vucic of the Republic of Serbia, President of the Government Mariano Rajoy Brey of the Kingdom of Spain, and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, attended the Leaders Roundtable of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation on 15 May 2017 in Beijing. We also welcome the participation of Secretary General Antonio Guterres of the United Nations, President Jim Yong Kim of the World Bank Group, Managing Director Christine Lagarde of the International Monetary Fund. The Leaders Roundtable was chaired by President Xi Jinping of the People's Republic of China.

General Context

We are mindful that the world economy is undergoing profound changes, presenting both opportunities and challenges. This is an era of opportunity, where countries continue to aspire for peace, development and cooperation. The UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with the set of Sustainable Development Goals at its core provides a new blueprint of international cooperation.

In this context, we welcome bilateral, triangular, regional and multilateral cooperation where countries place emphasis on eradicating poverty, creating jobs, addressing the consequences of international financial crises, promoting sustainable development, and advancing market-based industrial transformation and economic diversification. We note with appreciation that various development strategies and connectivity cooperation initiatives have been put forward, providing broad space for strengthening international cooperation.

We further recognize the challenges that the world economy faces. While it is currently experiencing modest recovery, downside risks remain. The growth of global trade and investment remains tempered, and the rules-based multilateral trading regime is yet to be strengthened. All countries, especially developing ones, still face common challenges of eradicating poverty, promoting inclusive and sustained economic growth, and achieving sustainable development.

Noting that the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (The Belt and Road Initiative) can create opportunities amidst challenges and changes, we welcome and support the Belt and Road Initiative to enhance connectivity between Asia and Europe, which is also open to other regions such as Africa and South America. By providing important opportunities for countries to deepen cooperation, it has achieved positive outcomes and has future potential to deliver more benefits as an important international initiative.

We also emphasize the opportunities which can be created by communication and coordination among other global, regional and national frameworks and initiatives for promoting cooperation in connectivity and sustainable development, such as 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, Addis Ababa Action Agenda, Agenda 2063 of the African Union, Ancient Civilizations Forum, APEC Connectivity Blueprint, ASEAN Community Vision 2025, Asia-Europe Meeting and its group on path-finder of connectivity, Caravanserai Customs Initiative, China and Central and Eastern European Countries Cooperation, China-Europe Land-Sea Express Route, East-West Middle Corridor Initiative, EU-China Connectivity Platform, EU Eastern Partnership, Eurasian partnership based on the principles of equality, openness and transparency, Initiative for the Integration of Regional Infrastructure in South America, Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025, Main Directions for Economic Development of the Eurasian Economic Union until 2030, Paris Agreement

on Climate Change, Trans-European Transport Networks, Western Balkans 6 Connectivity Agenda, WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement.

We reaffirm our shared commitment to build open economy, ensure free and inclusive trade, oppose all forms of protectionism including in the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative. We endeavor to promote a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system with WTO at its core.

Cooperation Objectives

We stand for enhancing international cooperation including the Belt and Road Initiative and various development strategies, by building closer collaboration partnerships, which include advancing North-South, South-South, and triangular cooperation.

We reiterate the importance of expanding economic growth, trade and investment based on level-playing field, on market rules and on universally recognized international norms. We welcome the promotion of industrial cooperation, scientific and technological innovation, and regional economic cooperation and integration so as to increase, inter alia, the integration and participation of micro, small and medium enterprises in global value chains. Attention should be paid to tax and fiscal policies, prioritizing growth and productive investment.

We stand for strengthening physical, institutional and people-to-people connectivity among all countries. The least developed countries, landlocked developing countries, small island developing states and middle-income countries deserve special attention to remove bottlenecks of development and achieve effective connectivity.

We endeavor to expand people-to-people exchanges, promote peace, justice, social cohesion, inclusiveness, democracy, good governance, the rule of law, human rights, gender equality and women empowerment; work together to fight against corruption and bribery in all their forms; to be more responsive to all the needs of those in vulnerable situations such as, children, persons with disabilities and older persons; and help improve global economic governance, and ensure equal access by all to development opportunities and benefits.

We are determined to protect the planet from degradation, including through taking urgent action on climate change and encouraging all parties which have ratified it to fully implement the Paris Agreement, managing the natural resources in an equitable and sustainable manner, conserving and sustainably using oceans and seas, freshwater resources, as well as forests, mountains and drylands, protecting biodiversity, ecosystems and wildlife, combating desertification and land degradation so as to achieving sustainable development in its three dimensions in a balanced and integrated manner.

We encourage the involvement of governments, international and regional organizations, the private sector, civil society and citizens in fostering and promoting friendship, mutual understanding and trust.

Cooperation Principles

We uphold the spirit of peace, cooperation, openness, transparency, inclusiveness, equality, mutual learning, mutual benefit and mutual respect by strengthening cooperation on the basis of extensive consultation and the rule of law, joint efforts, shared benefits and equal opportunities for all. In this context we highlight the following principles guiding our cooperation, in accordance with our respective national laws and policies:

- a) Consultation on an equal footing: Honoring the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and international law including respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries; formulating cooperation plans and advancing cooperation projects through consultation.
- b) Mutual benefit: Seeking convergence of interests and the broadest common ground for cooperation, taking into account the perspectives of different stakeholders.
- c) Harmony and inclusiveness: Acknowledging the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognizing that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to sustainable development.
- d) Market-based operation: Recognizing the role of the market and that of business as key players, while ensuring that the government performs its proper role and highlighting the importance of open, transparent, and non-discriminatory procurement procedures.
- e) Balance and sustainability: Emphasizing the importance of economic, social, fiscal, financial and environmental sustainability of projects, and of promoting high environmental standards, while striking a good balance among economic growth, social progress and environmental protection.

Cooperation Measures

We affirm the need to prioritize policy consultation, trade promotion, infrastructure connectivity, financial cooperation and people-to-people exchanges, and we highlight concrete actions, in accordance with our national laws and regulations and international obligations where applicable, such as:

- a) Pursuing dialogue and consultation in order to build synergies in development strategies among participating countries, noting the efforts to strengthen cooperation in coordinating development of the Belt and Road Initiative with other plans and initiatives as

mentioned in Paragraph 6 and to promote partnerships among Europe, Asia, South America, Africa and other regions.

- b) Conducting in-depth consultation on macroeconomic issues by optimizing the existing multilateral and bilateral cooperation and dialogue mechanisms, so as to provide robust policy support for practical cooperation and the implementation of major projects.
- c) Strengthening cooperation on innovation, by supporting innovation action plans for e-commerce, digital economy, smart cities and science and technology parks, and by encouraging greater exchanges on innovation and business startup models in the Internet age in respect of intellectual property rights.
- d) Promoting practical cooperation on roads, railways, ports, maritime and inland water transport, aviation, energy pipelines, electricity, fiber optic including trans-oceanic cable, telecommunications and information and communication technology, and welcoming the development of interconnected multimodal corridors, such as a new Eurasian Land Bridge, Northern Sea Route, the East-West Middle Corridor etc., and major trunk lines to put in place an international infrastructure network over time.
- e) Maximizing synergies in infrastructure planning and development by taking into account international standards where applicable, and by aiming at harmonizing rules and technological standards when necessary; fostering a favorable environment and predictability for infrastructure investment by private capital; promoting public-private partnership in areas that create more jobs and generate greater efficiency; welcoming international financial institutions to increase support and investment for infrastructure development.
- f) Deepening economic and trade cooperation; upholding the authority and effectiveness of the multilateral trading system, and working together to achieve positive outcomes at the 11th WTO ministerial conference; promoting trade and investment liberalization and facilitation; enabling the general public to benefit from trade.
- g) Expanding trade by nurturing new areas of trade growth, promoting trade balance and promoting e-commerce and digital economy, welcoming the development of free trade areas and signing of free trade agreements by interested countries.
- h) Advancing global value chains development and supply chain connectivity, while ensuring safer work places and strengthening social protection systems; increasing two-way investment, and enhancing cooperation in emerging industries, trade and industrial parks and cross-border economic zones.

- i) Enhancing cooperation in ensuring the protection of the environment, of bio-diversity and of natural resources, in addressing the adverse impacts of climate change, in promoting resilience and disaster-risk reduction and management, and in advancing renewable energy and energy efficiency.
- j) Regarding the process of customs clearance, strengthening cooperation on information exchange and on developing mutual recognition of control, mutual assistance of enforcement, and mutual sharing of information; enhancing customs cooperation with a view to facilitating trade including by harmonizing procedures and reducing costs, and in this regard, strengthening cooperation in protecting intellectual property rights.
- k) Jointly working on a long-term, stable and sustainable financing system; enhancing financial infrastructure connectivity, by exploring new models and platforms of investment and financing and improving financial services; assessing the opportunity to better serve local financial market; and encouraging development-oriented financial institutions to play an active role and strengthen cooperation with multilateral development institutions.
- l) Contributing to a stable and equitable international financial system; promoting openness and connectivity among financial markets, including through mutual cooperation on payment systems and the promotion of financial inclusion; encouraging financial institutions to establish commercial presence in relevant countries and regions; promoting bilateral local currency settlement and cooperation agreements, and facilitating the development of local currency bonds and stock markets; encouraging dialogues to enhance financial cooperation and fend off financial risks.
- m) Promoting people-to-people exchanges and bonds by deepening practical cooperation on education, science, technology, sport, health, think-tank, media, capacity building including through internships.
- n) Encouraging dialogues among civilizations, cultural exchanges, promoting tourism and protecting the world's cultural and natural heritage.

http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-05/15/c_136286378.htm

Document: 2**Vladimir Putin spoke at the opening of the Belt and Road International Forum in Beijing.****May 14, 2017.**

Beijing.

THe forum took place in the Chinese capital was attended by a number of heads of state and government, presidents of large international organisations, specifically top officials of 28 countries, United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, International Monetary Fund Managing Director Christine Lagarde and World Bank President Jim Yong Kim. The forum brought together over 1,000 participants.

Speech at the One Belt, One Road international forum by President of Russia Vladimir Putin is stated below:

Mr President Xi Jinping, heads of state and governments, colleagues, ladies and gentlemen, It is a great honour for me to participate in the opening ceremony of the Belt and Road international forum. President Xi Jinping informed us about his plans to hold such a representative event back in September at the Russian-Chinese summit in Hangzhou. Of course, we supported this initiative immediately. Possible concepts for the forum were presented even earlier. Without a doubt, these plans allow for discussion of the huge Eurasian continent's future in an extended format. Our continent is the home of great civilisations. Peoples of diverse cultures and traditions have lived alongside each other and engaged in trade for centuries.

As you know, the famous Silk Road that once connected almost all of Eurasia ran from one oasis to another, from one water well to another. In the well-known Chinese book, *I Ching*, with its elaborate language, the well is a symbol of vitality that brings people together to communicate with each other, build trust, connections and friendships. This historical experience of cooperation and mutual understanding is just as important to us in the 21st century at a time when the world is facing very serious challenges and threats. We have exhausted many former models and indicators of economic development.

In many countries the concept of a social state, coined in the 20th century, is now in crisis. These days, it is not only unable to ensure the steady growth of people's wealth but can hardly maintain current levels of growth. The risks of a disrupted global economic and technological space are becoming increasingly obvious. Protectionism is becoming a common practice that manifests itself in unilateral illegitimate restrictions, including how technology is supplied and distributed. The ideas of openness, freedom of trade are often rejected even by those who supported them so vigorously in the past.

The disparity in socioeconomic development and the crisis the globalisation model finds itself in are fraught with negative consequences both for relations between states and for international security. Poverty, lack of financial security, and the massive gap in the level of development between countries and regions fuel international terrorism, extremism and illegal migration. We will not be able to tackle these challenges unless we overcome this stagnation in global economic development.

Let us not forget about those threats that stem from regional conflicts. Areas of smouldering disagreements still exist across Eurasia. In order to eliminate those conflicts, first of all, we need to abandon hostile rhetoric, mutual accusations and rebukes that only aggravate the situation. Altogether, none of the old approaches to conflict resolution should be used to solve modern problems. We need fresh and stereotype-free ideas. I believe Eurasia can work out and propose a constructive and positive agenda on issues relating to security, improving relations between states, economic development, social change, better administration and the search for new forces capable of driving growth.

For the global community, we must be an example of a collective, innovative and constructive future based on justice, equality and respect for national sovereignty, international law and the unwavering principles of the United Nations. However, desire and will alone are not enough to follow through on this agenda. Efficient tools for this type of cooperation are required. These can be created through integration. Today there are many thriving integration projects in Eurasia. We support them and are vested in their further development.

Many are aware of the fact that Russia and its partners are building the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU). The parties of the EAEU have similar views on Eurasian integration and it is very important to us that the leaders of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are participating in this forum.

We welcome China's One Belt, One Road initiative. By proposing this initiative, President Xi Jinping has demonstrated an example of a creative approach toward fostering integration in energy, infrastructure, transport, industry and humanitarian collaboration, about which I have just talked at length. I believe that by adding together the potential of all the integration formats like the EAEU, the OBOR, the SCO and the ASEAN, we can build the foundation for a larger Eurasian partnership. This is the approach that, we believe, should be applied to the agenda proposed today by the People's Republic of China.

We would welcome the involvement of our European colleagues from the EU states in this partnership. This would make it truly concordant, balanced and all encompassing, and will allow us to realise a unique opportunity to create a common cooperation framework from the Atlantic to the Pacific – for the first time in history.

Colleagues, it is necessary that already today, we start acting upon the development strategy of the large Eurasian partnership. Thus, we can set an ambitious goal of making the flow of goods across as expedient, convenient and unhindered as possible. Just now, in his address, President Xi Jinping spoke about lifting bureaucratic barriers for trade flows between China and Kazakhstan. We can see it happening along other routes. Of course, it is much easier and more efficient to work with the most advanced logistics technology while minimising associated administrative costs. In achieving this goal, we can rely on the substantial and valuable experience of the World Trade Organisation. Let me remind you that last February, WTO's Trade Facilitation Agreement came into effect. Of course, we must expand such agreements and develop a more robust Eurasian agreement on facilitating trade.

Additionally, I would like to stress that Russia is not only willing to be a reliable trading partner but also seeks to invest in the creation of joint ventures and new production capacities in partnering states, to invest in industrial facilities, sales and services. It is important that entrepreneurs and business people in our countries earn money and achieve success, create competitive technology and production alliances together. In order for this cooperation to be efficient, we must seek unification and, eventually, develop common standards, technical regulations for traditional industrial and agricultural goods as well as new hi-tech products.

Furthermore, it is necessary to eliminate infrastructure restrictions for integration – mainly by creating a system of modern and well-connected transport corridors. Russia with its unique geographic location is willing to engage in this joint activity. We are consistently upgrading our maritime, railway and road infrastructure, expanding the capacity of the Baikal-Amur Mainline and the Trans-Siberian Railway, investing significant resources into improvements to the Northeast Passage in order for it to become a global competitive transport artery. If we look at the bigger picture, the infrastructure projects within the EAEU and the One Belt, One Road initiative in conjunction with the Northeast Passage can completely reconfigure transportation on the Eurasian continent, which is the key to exploring new territory and intensifying economic and investment activity. Let us pave these roads to development and prosperity together. Large projects in infrastructure, energy, transport and modern hi-tech industries certainly require substantial private investments. Therefore, it is important to create convenient, clear and predictable conditions for investors and to establish the smooth exchange of best practices. For example, we have used the experience of the Asia-Pacific countries to develop preferential terms for investors in the Priority Development Areas in Russia's Far East.

We expect newly established financial institutions like New Development Bank (BRICS Development Bank) and the Asian

Infrastructure Investment Bank to offer a supporting hand to private investors. And of course, quality integration is only possible with the support of strong human capital, qualified professionals, advanced technology and research.

To create this foundation, we propose that the development of joint education platforms be stepped up and that the interaction between universities and business schools be strengthened. My invitation remains open for joint work within major scientific centres and research projects, including the development of large international research facilities and laboratories for collective use.

Colleagues, It is obvious that the ideas and initiatives of this forum's participants require further discussion. And we are certainly willing to get involved in these talks. Let me take this opportunity to invite political figures and representatives of civic and business communities to visit Russia this year, to attend the St Petersburg International Economic Forum in June and the Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok in September.

On a final note, I would like to stress that Russia does not simply view the future of the Eurasian partnership as the mere establishment of new ties between states and economies. This partnership must shift the political and economic landscape of the continent and bring peace, stability, prosperity and a new quality of life to Eurasia. Understandably our citizens need security, confidence in the future and the opportunity to be productive and improve the wealth and well-being of their families. It is our common duty and responsibility to ensure they have these opportunities. In this respect, the greater Eurasia is not an abstract geopolitical arrangement but, without exaggeration, a truly civilisation-wide project looking toward the future. I believe that by maintaining the spirit of cooperation, we can achieve that future. I want to thank President Xi Jinping for this well-timed initiative, promising such splendid prospects for cooperation.

Thank you for your attention. I wish you all good luck in the tasks that we'll take on together.

**<http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/statements/544>
91**

Document: 3**President Trump's Speech to the Arab Islamic American Summit
May 21, 2017.**

Riyadh, Saudia Arabia.

I want to thank King Salman for his extraordinary words, and the magnificent Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for hosting today's summit. I am honored to be received by such gracious hosts. I have always heard about the splendor of your country and the kindness of your citizens, but words do not do justice to the grandeur of this remarkable place and the incredible hospitality you have shown us from the moment we arrived.

You also hosted me in the treasured home of King Abdulaziz, the founder of the Kingdom who united your great people. Working alongside another beloved leader – American President Franklin Roosevelt – King Abdulaziz began the enduring partnership between our two countries. King Salman: your father would be so proud to see that you are continuing his legacy – and just as he opened the first chapter in our partnership, today we begin a new chapter that will bring lasting benefits to our citizens.

Let me now also extend my deep and heartfelt gratitude to each and every one of the distinguished heads of state who made this journey here today. You greatly honor us with your presence, and I send the warmest regards from my country to yours. I know that our time together will bring many blessings to both your people and mine.

I stand before you as a representative of the American People, to deliver a message of friendship and hope. That is why I chose to make my first foreign visit a trip to the heart of the Muslim world, to the nation that serves as custodian of the two holiest sites in the Islamic Faith.

In my inaugural address to the American People, I pledged to strengthen America's oldest friendships, and to build new partnerships in pursuit of peace. I also promised that America will not seek to impose our way of life on others, but to outstretch our hands in the spirit of cooperation and trust.

Our vision is one of peace, security, and prosperity—in this region, and in the world.

Our goal is a coalition of nations who share the aim of stamping out extremism and providing our children a hopeful future that does honor to God.

And so this historic and unprecedented gathering of leaders—unique in the history of nations—is a symbol to the world of our shared resolve and our mutual respect. To the leaders and citizens of every country assembled here today, I want you to know that the United States is eager to form closer bonds of friendship, security, culture and commerce.

For Americans, this is an exciting time. A new spirit of optimism is sweeping our country: in just a few months, we have created almost a million new jobs, added over 3 trillion dollars of new value, lifted the burdens on American industry, and made record investments in our military that will protect the safety of our people and enhance the security of our wonderful friends and allies – many of whom are here today.

Now, there is even more blessed news I am pleased to share with you. My meetings with King Salman, the Crown Prince, and the Deputy Crown Prince, have been filled with great warmth, good will, and tremendous cooperation.

Yesterday, we signed historic agreements with the Kingdom that will invest almost \$400 billion in our two countries and create many thousands of jobs in America and Saudi Arabia.

This landmark agreement includes the announcement of a \$110 billion Saudi-funded defense purchase – and we will be sure to help our Saudi friends to get a good deal from our great American defense companies. This agreement will help the Saudi military to take a greater role in security operations.

We have also started discussions with many of the countries present today on strengthening partnerships, and forming new ones, to advance security and stability across the Middle East and beyond.

Later today, we will make history again with the opening of a new Global Center for Combating Extremist Ideology – located right here, in this central part of the Islamic World. This groundbreaking new center represents a clear declaration that Muslim-majority countries must take the lead in combatting radicalization, and I want to express our gratitude to King Salman for this strong demonstration of leadership.

I have had the pleasure of welcoming several of the leaders present today to the White House, and I look forward to working with all of you.

America is a sovereign nation and our first priority is always the safety and security of our citizens. We are not here to lecture—we are not here to tell other people how to live, what to do, who to be, or how to worship. Instead, we are here to offer partnership – based on shared interests and values – to pursue a better future for us all.

Here at this summit we will discuss many interests we share together. But above all we must be united in pursuing the one goal that transcends every other consideration. That goal is to meet history's great test—to conquer extremism and vanquish the forces of terrorism.

Young Muslim boys and girls should be able to grow up free from fear, safe from violence, and innocent of hatred.

And young Muslim men and women should have the chance to build a new era of prosperity for themselves and their peoples. God's help, this summit will mark the beginning of the end for those who practice terror and spread its vile creed. At the same time, we pray this

special gathering may someday be remembered as the beginning of peace in the Middle East – and maybe, even all over the world.

But this future can only be achieved through defeating terrorism and the ideology that drives it.

Few nations have been spared its violent reach.

America has suffered repeated barbaric attacks – from the atrocities of September 11th to the devastation of the Boston Bombing, to the horrible killings in San Bernardino and Orlando.

The nations of Europe have also endured unspeakable horror. So too have the nations of Africa and even South America. India, Russia, China and Australia have been victims.

But, in sheer numbers, the deadliest toll has been exacted on the innocent people of Arab, Muslim and Middle Eastern nations. They have borne the brunt of the killings and the worst of the destruction in this wave of fanatical violence.

Some estimates hold that more than 95 percent of the victims of terrorism are themselves Muslim.

We now face a humanitarian and security disaster in this region that is spreading across the planet. It is a tragedy of epic proportions. No description of the suffering and depravity can begin to capture its full measure.

The true toll of ISIS, Al Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, and so many others, must be counted not only in the number of dead. It must also be counted in generations of vanished dreams.

The Middle East is rich with natural beauty, vibrant cultures, and massive amounts of historic treasures. It should increasingly become one of the great global centers of commerce and opportunity.

This region should not be a place from which refugees flee, but to which newcomers flock.

Saudi Arabia is home to the holiest sites in one of the world's great faiths. Each year millions of Muslims come from around the world to Saudi Arabia to take part in the Hajj. In addition to ancient wonders, this country is also home to modern ones—including soaring achievements in architecture.

Egypt was a thriving center of learning and achievement thousands of years before other parts of the world. The wonders of Giza, Luxor and Alexandria are proud monuments to that ancient heritage.

All over the world, people dream of walking through the ruins of Petra in Jordan. Iraq was the cradle of civilization and is a land of natural beauty. And the United Arab Emirates has reached incredible heights with glass and steel, and turned earth and water into spectacular works of art.

The entire region is at the center of the key shipping lanes of the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and the Straits of Hormuz.

The potential of this region has never been greater. 65 percent of its population is under the age of 30. Like all young men and women, they

seek great futures to build, great national projects to join, and a place for their families to call home.

But this untapped potential, this tremendous cause for optimism, is held at bay by bloodshed and terror. There can be no coexistence with this violence.

There can be no tolerating it, no accepting it, no excusing it, and no ignoring it.

Every time a terrorist murders an innocent person, and falsely invokes the name of God, it should be an insult to every person of faith. Terrorists do not worship God, they worship death.

If we do not act against this organized terror, then we know what will happen. Terrorism's devastation of life will continue to spread. Peaceful societies will become engulfed by violence. And the futures of many generations will be sadly squandered.

If we do not stand in uniform condemnation of this killing—then not only will we be judged by our people, not only will we be judged by history, but we will be judged by God.

This is not a battle between different faiths, different sects, or different civilizations.

This is a battle between barbaric criminals who seek to obliterate human life, and decent people of all religions who seek to protect it.

This is a battle between Good and Evil.

When we see the scenes of destruction in the wake of terror, we see no signs that those murdered were Jewish or Christian, Shia or Sunni. When we look upon the streams of innocent blood soaked into the ancient ground, we cannot see the faith or sect or tribe of the victims – we see only that they were Children of God whose deaths are an insult to all that is holy.

But we can only overcome this evil if the forces of good are united and strong – and if everyone in this room does their fair share and fulfills their part of the burden.

Terrorism has spread across the world. But the path to peace begins right here, on this ancient soil, in this sacred land.

America is prepared to stand with you – in pursuit of shared interests and common security.

But the nations of the Middle East cannot wait for American power to crush this enemy for them. The nations of the Middle East will have to decide what kind of future they want for themselves, for their countries, and for their children.

It is a choice between two futures – and it is a choice America CANNOT make for you.

A better future is only possible if your nations drive out the terrorists and extremists. Drive. Them. Out. DRIVE THEM OUT of your places of worship. DRIVE THEM OUT of your communities. DRIVE THEM OUT of your holy land, and DRIVE THEM OUT OF THIS EARTH.

For our part, America is committed to adjusting our strategies to meet evolving threats and new facts. We will discard those strategies that have not worked—and will apply new approaches informed by experience and judgment. We are adopting a Principled Realism, rooted in common values and shared interests.

Our friends will never question our support, and our enemies will never doubt our determination. Our partnerships will advance security through stability, not through radical disruption. We will make decisions based on real-world outcomes – not inflexible ideology. We will be guided by the lessons of experience, not the confines of rigid thinking. And, wherever possible, we will seek gradual reforms – not sudden intervention.

We must seek partners, not perfection—and to make allies of all who share our goals.

Above all, America seeks peace – not war.

Muslim nations must be willing to take on the burden, if we are going to defeat terrorism and send its wicked ideology into oblivion.

The first task in this joint effort is for your nations to deny all territory to the foot soldiers of evil. Every country in the region has an absolute duty to ensure that terrorists find no sanctuary on their soil.

Many are already making significant contributions to regional security: Jordanian pilots are crucial partners against ISIS in Syria and Iraq. Saudi Arabia and a regional coalition have taken strong action against Houthi militants in Yemen. The Lebanese Army is hunting ISIS operatives who try to infiltrate their territory. Emirati troops are supporting our Afghan partners. In Mosul, American troops are supporting Kurds, Sunnis and Shias fighting together for their homeland. Qatar, which hosts the U.S. Central Command, is a crucial strategic partner. Our longstanding partnership with Kuwait and Bahrain continue to enhance security in the region. And courageous Afghan soldiers are making tremendous sacrifices in the fight against the Taliban, and others, in the fight for their country.

As we deny terrorist organizations control of territory and populations, we must also strip them of their access to funds. We must cut off the financial channels that let ISIS sell oil, let extremists pay their fighters, and help terrorists smuggle their reinforcements.

I am proud to announce that the nations here today will be signing an agreement to prevent the financing of terrorism, called the Terrorist Financing Targeting Center – co-chaired by the United States and Saudi Arabia, and joined by every member of the Gulf Cooperation Council. It is another historic step in a day that will be long remembered.

I also applaud the Gulf Cooperation Council for blocking funders from using their countries as a financial base for terror, and designating Hezbollah as a terrorist organization last year. Saudi Arabia also joined us this week in placing sanctions on one of the most senior leaders of Hezbollah.

Of course, there is still much work to do.

That means honestly confronting the crisis of Islamist extremism and the Islamist terror groups it inspires. And it means standing together against the murder of innocent Muslims, the oppression of women, the persecution of Jews, and the slaughter of Christians.

Religious leaders must make this absolutely clear: Barbarism will deliver you no glory – piety to evil will bring you no dignity. If you choose the path of terror, your life will be empty, your life will be brief, and YOUR SOUL WILL BE CONDEMNED.

And political leaders must speak out to affirm the same idea: heroes don't kill innocents; they save them. Many nations here today have taken important steps to raise that message. Saudi Arabia's Vision for 2030 is an important and encouraging statement of tolerance, respect, empowering women, and economic development.

The United Arab Emirates has also engaged in the battle for hearts and souls—and with the U.S., launched a center to counter the online spread of hate. Bahrain too is working to undermine recruitment and radicalism.

I also applaud Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon for their role in hosting refugees. The surge of migrants and refugees leaving the Middle East depletes the human capital needed to build stable societies and economies. Instead of depriving this region of so much human potential, Middle Eastern countries can give young people hope for a brighter future in their home nations and regions.

That means promoting the aspirations and dreams of all citizens who seek a better life – including women, children, and followers of all faiths. Numerous Arab and Islamic scholars have eloquently argued that protecting equality strengthens Arab and Muslim communities.

For many centuries the Middle East has been home to Christians, Muslims and Jews living side-by-side. We must practice tolerance and respect for each other once again—and make this region a place where every man and woman, no matter their faith or ethnicity, can enjoy a life of dignity and hope.

In that spirit, after concluding my visit in Riyadh, I will travel to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and then to the Vatican – visiting many of the holiest places in the three Abrahamic Faiths. If these three faiths can join together in cooperation, then peace in this world is possible – including peace between Israelis and Palestinians. I will be meeting with both Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas.

Starving terrorists of their territory, their funding, and the false allure of their craven ideology, will be the basis for defeating them.

But no discussion of stamping out this threat would be complete without mentioning the government that gives terrorists all three—safe harbor, financial backing, and the social standing needed for recruitment.

It is a regime that is responsible for so much instability in the region. I am speaking of course of Iran.

From Lebanon to Iraq to Yemen, Iran funds, arms, and trains terrorists, militias, and other extremist groups that spread destruction and chaos across the region. For decades, Iran has fueled the fires of sectarian conflict and terror.

It is a government that speaks openly of mass murder, vowing the destruction of Israel, death to America, and ruin for many leaders and nations in this room.

Among Iran's most tragic and destabilizing interventions have been in Syria. Bolstered by Iran, Assad has committed unspeakable crimes, and the United States has taken firm action in response to the use of banned chemical weapons by the Assad Regime – launching 59 tomahawk missiles at the Syrian air base from where that murderous attack originated.

Responsible nations must work together to end the humanitarian crisis in Syria, eradicate ISIS, and restore stability to the region.

The Iranian regime's longest-suffering victims are its own people. Iran has a rich history and culture, but the people of Iran have endured hardship and despair under their leaders' reckless pursuit of conflict and terror.

Until the Iranian regime is willing to be a partner for peace, all nations of conscience must work together to isolate Iran, deny it funding for terrorism, and pray for the day when the Iranian people have the just and righteous government they deserve.

The decisions we make will affect countless lives.

King Salman, I thank you for the creation of this great moment in history, and for your massive investment in America, its industry and its jobs. I also thank you for investing in the future of this part of the world.

This fertile region has all the ingredients for extraordinary success – a rich history and culture, a young and vibrant people, a thriving spirit of enterprise. But you can only unlock this future if the citizens of the Middle East are freed from extremism, terror and violence.

We in this room are the leaders of our peoples. They look to us for answers, and for action. And when we look back at their faces, behind every pair of eyes is a soul that yearns for justice.

Today, billions of faces are now looking at us, waiting for us to act on the great question of our time.

Will we be indifferent in the presence of evil? Will we protect our citizens from its violent ideology? Will we let its venom spread through our societies? Will we let it destroy the most holy sites on earth?

If we do not confront this deadly terror, we know what the future will bring—more suffering and despair.

But if we act—if we leave this magnificent room unified and determined to do what it takes to destroy the terror that threatens the world—then there is no limit to the great future our citizens will have.

The birthplace of civilization is waiting to begin a new renaissance. Just imagine what tomorrow could bring.

Glorious wonders of science, art, medicine and commerce to inspire humankind. Great cities built on the ruins of shattered towns, New jobs and industries that will lift up millions of people. Parents who no longer worry for their children, families who no longer mourn for their loved ones, and the faithful who finally worship without fear.

These are the blessings of prosperity and peace. These are the desires that burn with a righteous flame in every human heart. And these are the just demands of our beloved peoples.

I ask you to join me, to join together, to work together, and to FIGHT together— BECAUSE UNITED, WE WILL NOT FAIL.

Thank you. God Bless You. God Bless Your Countries. And God Bless the United States of America.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-trumps-speech-arab-islamic-american-summit/>

Document: 4**Joint Statement – United States and India: Prosperity Through Partnership.
June 26, 2017.**

President Donald J. Trump hosted Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India at the White House on June 26 for an official visit to Washington, D.C.

In marking 70 years of diplomatic relations between India and the United States, the leaders resolved to expand and deepen the strategic partnership between the countries and advance common objectives. Above all, these objectives include combatting terrorist threats, promoting stability across the Indo-Pacific region, increasing free and fair trade, and strengthening energy linkages. President Trump and Prime Minister Modi expressed confidence that, together, the United States and India will provide strong leadership to address global challenges and build prosperity for their citizens in the decades to come.

Democratic Stalwarts in the Indo-Pacific Region

As responsible stewards in the Indo-Pacific region, President Trump and Prime Minister Modi agreed that a close partnership between the United States and India is central to peace and stability in the region. Recognizing the significant progress achieved in these endeavors, the leaders agreed to take further measures to strengthen their partnership. In accordance with the tenets outlined in the U.N. Charter, they committed to a set of common principles for the region, according to which sovereignty and international law are respected and every country can prosper. To this end, the leaders:

- reiterate the importance of respecting freedom of navigation, overflight, and commerce throughout the region;
- call upon all nations to resolve territorial and maritime disputes peacefully and in accordance with international law;
- support bolstering regional economic connectivity through the transparent development of infrastructure and the use of responsible debt financing practices, while ensuring respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the rule of law, and the environment; and
- call on other nations in the region to adhere to these principles.

President Trump welcomed further Indian contributions to promote Afghanistan's democracy, stability, prosperity, and security. Recognizing the importance of their respective strategic partnerships with Afghanistan, the leaders committed to continue close consultations and cooperation in support of Afghanistan's future.

In accord with India's Think West policy, President Trump and Prime Minister Modi resolved to increase cooperation, enhance diplomatic consultations, and increase tangible collaboration with partners in the Middle East.

The leaders strongly condemned continued provocations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), emphasizing that its destabilizing pursuit of nuclear and ballistic missile programs poses a grave threat to regional security and global peace. The leaders called on DPRK to strictly abide by its international obligations and commitments. The leaders pledged to work together to counter the DPRK's weapons of mass destruction programs, including by holding accountable all parties that support these programs.

Shoulder-to-Shoulder Against Terrorism

The Leaders stressed that terrorism is a global scourge that must be fought and terrorist safe havens rooted out in every part of the world. They resolved that India and the United States will fight together against this grave challenge to humanity. They committed to strengthen cooperation against terrorist threats from groups including Al-Qa'ida, ISIS, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Tayyiba, D-Company, and their affiliates. India appreciated the United States designation of the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen leader as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist as evidence of the commitment of the United States to end terror in all its forms. In this spirit, the leaders welcomed a new consultation mechanism on domestic and international terrorist designations listing proposals.

The leaders called on Pakistan to ensure that its territory is not used to launch terrorist attacks on other countries. They further called on Pakistan to expeditiously bring to justice the perpetrators of the 26/11 Mumbai, Pathankot, and other cross-border terrorist attacks perpetrated by Pakistan-based groups.

The leaders announced increased cooperation to prevent terrorist travel and to disrupt global recruitment efforts by expanding intelligence-sharing and operational-level counterterrorism cooperation. They welcomed commencement of the exchange of information on known and suspected terrorists for travel screening. They further resolved to strengthen information exchange on plans, movements and linkages of terrorist groups and their leaders, as well as on raising and moving of funds by terrorist groups.

The leaders also affirmed their support for a U.N. Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism that will advance and strengthen the framework for global cooperation and reinforce the message that no cause or grievance justifies terrorism. They also pledged to work together to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems and to deny access to such weapons by terrorists and non-state actors.

Growing Strategic Convergence

President Trump and Prime Minister Modi pledged to deepen defense and security cooperation, building on the United States' recognition of India as a major defense partner. The United States and India look forward to working together on advanced defense equipment and technology at a level commensurate with that of the closest allies and partners of the United States. Reflecting the partnership, the United States has offered for India's consideration the sale of Sea Guardian Unmanned Aerial Systems, which would enhance India's capabilities and promote shared security interests.

Resolving to expand their maritime security cooperation, the leaders announced their intention to build on the implementation of their "White Shipping" data sharing arrangement, which enhances collaboration on maritime domain awareness. President Trump welcomed Prime Minister Modi's strong support for the United States to join as an Observer in the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium. Noting the importance of the upcoming MALABAR naval exercise, the leaders determined to expand their engagements on shared maritime objectives and to explore new exercises.

As global non-proliferation partners, the United States expressed strong support for India's early membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the Wassenaar Arrangement, and the Australia Group. President Trump reaffirmed the support of the United States for India's permanent membership on a reformed U.N. Security Council.

Increasing Free and Fair Trade

The leaders committed that the United States and India — leading engines of growth in the global economy — should intensify their economic cooperation to make their nations stronger and their citizens more prosperous. Noting that extensive economic and tax reforms launched in their respective countries will unlock immense economic opportunities for both countries, the leaders committed to further expanding and balancing the trade relationship and to removing obstacles to growth and jobs creation. They also resolved to pursue increased commercial engagement in a manner that advances the principles of free and fair trade. To this end, the United States and India plan to undertake a comprehensive review of trade relations with the goal of expediting regulatory processes; ensuring that technology and innovation are appropriately fostered, valued, and protected; and increasing market access in areas such as agriculture, information technology, and manufactured goods and services. President Trump and Prime Minister Modi further committed to strengthening cooperation to address excess capacity in industrial sectors. They called on their teams to find creative ways to improve bilateral trade.

Surveying United States-India energy ties and the two countries' respective energy strategies, the leaders affirmed the continued importance of their Strategic Energy Partnership and of leveraging new opportunities to elevate cooperation to enhance global energy security. The leaders called for a rational approach that balances environment and climate policy, global economic development, and energy security needs.

President Trump affirmed that the United States continues to remove barriers to energy development and investment in the United States and to U.S. energy exports so that more natural gas, clean coal, and renewable resources and technologies are available to fuel India's economic growth and inclusive development. Prime Minister Modi and President Trump looked forward to conclusion of contractual agreements between Westinghouse Electric Company and the Nuclear Power Corporation of India for six nuclear reactors in India and also related project financing. Both leaders welcomed upcoming visits between India and the United States that will expand energy and innovation linkages across the energy sector and deepen cooperation, including on more efficient fossil fuel technologies, smart grids, and energy storage. They supported financing of energy projects, including clean coal projects, by Multilateral Development Banks to promote universal access to affordable and reliable energy.

Recognizing that we are in an increasingly digital world, the leaders agreed to intensify the mutually beneficial partnership to fully harness their innovation capabilities to solve global developmental challenges. As global partners, the United States and India resolved to further strengthen their collaboration in health, space, oceans, and other areas of science and technology. The leaders also agreed to strengthen their cooperation to address the growing threats and challenges from malicious cyber activity and committed to work together to promote an open, interoperable, secure, and reliable cyberspace environment that supports innovation, economic growth, and commerce.

Applauding the entrepreneurship and innovation of Indians and Indian-Americans that have directly benefited both nations, President Trump welcomed India's formal entry into the International Expedited Traveler Initiative (Global Entry program) in order to facilitate closer business and educational ties between the citizens of India and the United States.

President Trump gladly accepted Prime Minister Modi's invitation to visit India. They look forward to working together in a spirit of friendship in the years to come.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/united-states-india-prosperity-partnership/>

Document: 5**Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord****June 1, 2017.**

Rose Garden.

The President: Thank you very much. (Applause) Thank you. I would like to begin by addressing the terrorist attack in Manila. We're closely monitoring the situation, and I will continue to give updates if anything happens during this period of time. But it is really very sad as to what's going on throughout the world with terror. Our thoughts and our prayers are with all of those affected.

Before we discuss the Paris Accord, I'd like to begin with an update on our tremendous -- absolutely tremendous -- economic progress since Election Day on November 8th. The economy is starting to come back, and very, very rapidly. We've added \$3.3 trillion in stock market value to our economy, and more than a million private sector jobs.

I have just returned from a trip overseas where we concluded nearly \$350 billion of military and economic development for the United States, creating hundreds of thousands of jobs. It was a very, very successful trip, believe me. (Applause) Thank you. Thank you.

In my meetings at the G7, we have taken historic steps to demand fair and reciprocal trade that gives Americans a level playing field against other nations. We're also working very hard for peace in the Middle East, and perhaps even peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Our attacks on terrorism are greatly stepped up -- and you see that, you see it all over -- from the previous administration, including getting many other countries to make major contributions to the fight against terror. Big, big contributions are being made by countries that weren't doing so much in the form of contribution.

One by one, we are keeping the promises I made to the American people during my campaign for President -- whether it's cutting job-killing regulations; appointing and confirming a tremendous Supreme Court justice; putting in place tough new ethics rules; achieving a record reduction in illegal immigration on our southern border; or bringing jobs, plants, and factories back into the United States at numbers which no one until this point thought even possible. And believe me, we've just begun. The fruits of our labor will be seen very shortly even more so.

On these issues and so many more, we're following through on our commitments. And I don't want anything to get in our way. I am fighting every day for the great people of this country. Therefore, in order to fulfill my solemn duty to protect America and its citizens, the United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord -- (applause) -- thank you, thank you -- but begin negotiations to re-enter either the Paris Accord or a really

entirely new transaction on terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers. So we're getting out. But we will start to negotiate, and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. And if we can, that's great. And if we can't, that's fine. (Applause.)

As President, I can put no other consideration before the wellbeing of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simply the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to the exclusive benefit of other countries, leaving American workers -- who I love -- and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories, and vastly diminished economic production.

Thus, as of today, the United States will cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contribution and, very importantly, the Green Climate Fund which is costing the United States a vast fortune.

Compliance with the terms of the Paris Accord and the onerous energy restrictions it has placed on the United States could cost America as much as 2.7 million lost jobs by 2025 according to the National Economic Research Associates. This includes 440,000 fewer manufacturing jobs -- not what we need -- believe me, this is not what we need -- including automobile jobs, and the further decimation of vital American industries on which countless communities rely. They rely for so much, and we would be giving them so little.

According to this same study, by 2040, compliance with the commitments put into place by the previous administration would cut production for the following sectors: paper down 12 percent; cement down 23 percent; iron and steel down 38 percent; coal -- and I happen to love the coal miners -- down 86 percent; natural gas down 31 percent. The cost to the economy at this time would be close to \$3 trillion in lost GDP and 6.5 million industrial jobs, while households would have \$7,000 less income and, in many cases, much worse than that.

Not only does this deal subject our citizens to harsh economic restrictions, it fails to live up to our environmental ideals. As someone who cares deeply about the environment, which I do, I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States -- which is what it does -- the world's leader in environmental protection, while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world's leading polluters.

For example, under the agreement, China will be able to increase these emissions by a staggering number of years -- 13. They can do whatever they want for 13 years. Not us. India makes its participation contingent on receiving billions and billions and billions of dollars in foreign aid from developed countries. There are many other examples. But

the bottom line is that the Paris Accord is very unfair, at the highest level, to the United States.

Further, while the current agreement effectively blocks the development of clean coal in America -- which it does, and the mines are starting to open up. We're having a big opening in two weeks. Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, so many places. A big opening of a brand-new mine. It's unheard of. For many, many years, that hasn't happened. They asked me if I'd go. I'm going to try.

China will be allowed to build hundreds of additional coal plants. So we can't build the plants, but they can, according to this agreement. India will be allowed to double its coal production by 2020. Think of it: India can double their coal production. We're supposed to get rid of ours. Even Europe is allowed to continue construction of coal plants. In short, the agreement doesn't eliminate coal jobs, it just transfers those jobs out of America and the United States, and ships them to foreign countries.

This agreement is less about the climate and more about other countries gaining a financial advantage over the United States. The rest of the world applauded when we signed the Paris Agreement -- they went wild; they were so happy -- for the simple reason that it put our country, the United States of America, which we all love, at a very, very big economic disadvantage. A cynic would say the obvious reason for economic competitors and their wish to see us remain in the agreement is so that we continue to suffer this self-inflicted major economic wound. We would find it very hard to compete with other countries from other parts of the world.

We have among the most abundant energy reserves on the planet, sufficient to lift millions of America's poorest workers out of poverty. Yet, under this agreement, we are effectively putting these reserves under lock and key, taking away the great wealth of our nation -- it's great wealth, it's phenomenal wealth; not so long ago, we had no idea we had such wealth -- and leaving millions and millions of families trapped in poverty and joblessness.

The agreement is a massive redistribution of United States wealth to other countries. At 1 percent growth, renewable sources of energy can meet some of our domestic demand, but at 3 or 4 percent growth, which I expect, we need all forms of available American energy, or our country -- (applause) -- will be at grave risk of brownouts and blackouts, our businesses will come to a halt in many cases, and the American family will suffer the consequences in the form of lost jobs and a very diminished quality of life.

Even if the Paris Agreement were implemented in full, with total compliance from all nations, it is estimated it would only produce a two-tenths of one degree -- think of that; this much -- Celsius reduction in global temperature by the year 2100. A tiny, tiny amount. In fact, 14 days

of carbon emissions from China alone would wipe out the gains from America -- and this is an incredible statistic -- would totally wipe out the gains from America's expected reductions in the year 2030, after we have had to spend billions and billions of dollars, lost jobs, closed factories, and suffered much higher energy costs for our businesses and for our homes.

As the Wall Street Journal wrote this morning, "The reality is that withdrawing is in America's economic interest and won't matter much to the climate." The United States, under the Trump administration, will continue to be the cleanest and most environmentally friendly country on Earth. We'll be the cleanest. We're going to have the cleanest air. We're going to have the cleanest water. We will be environmentally friendly, but we're not going to put our businesses out of work and we're not going to lose our jobs. We're going to grow; we're going to grow rapidly. (Applause)

And I think you just read -- it just came out minutes ago, the small business report -- small businesses as of just now are booming, hiring people. One of the best reports they've seen in many years.

I'm willing to immediately work with Democratic leaders to either negotiate our way back into Paris, under the terms that are fair to the United States and its workers, or to negotiate a new deal that protects our country and its taxpayers. (Applause)

So if the obstructionists want to get together with me, let's make them non-obstructionists. We will all sit down, and we will get back into the deal. And we'll make it good, and we won't be closing up our factories, and we won't be losing our jobs. And we'll sit down with the Democrats and all of the people that represent either the Paris Accord or something that we can do that's much better than the Paris Accord. And I think the people of our country will be thrilled, and I think then the people of the world will be thrilled. But until we do that, we're out of the agreement.

I will work to ensure that America remains the world's leader on environmental issues, but under a framework that is fair and where the burdens and responsibilities are equally shared among the many nations all around the world.

No responsible leader can put the workers -- and the people -- of their country at this debilitating and tremendous disadvantage. The fact that the Paris deal hamstringing the United States, while empowering some of the world's top polluting countries, should dispel any doubt as to the real reason why foreign lobbyists wish to keep our magnificent country tied up and bound down by this agreement: It's to give their country an economic edge over the United States. That's not going to happen while I'm President. I'm sorry. (Applause)

My job as President is to do everything within my power to give America a level playing field and to create the economic, regulatory and tax structures that make America the most prosperous and productive

country on Earth, and with the highest standard of living and the highest standard of environmental protection.

Our tax bill is moving along in Congress, and I believe it's doing very well. I think a lot of people will be very pleasantly surprised. The Republicans are working very, very hard. We'd love to have support from the Democrats, but we may have to go it alone. But it's going very well.

The Paris Agreement handicaps the United States economy in order to win praise from the very foreign capitals and global activists that have long sought to gain wealth at our country's expense. They don't put America first. I do, and I always will. (Applause)

The same nations asking us to stay in the agreement are the countries that have collectively cost America trillions of dollars through tough trade practices and, in many cases, lax contributions to our critical military alliance. You see what's happening. It's pretty obvious to those that want to keep an open mind.

At what point does America get demeaned? At what point do they start laughing at us as a country? We want fair treatment for its citizens, and we want fair treatment for our taxpayers. We don't want other leaders and other countries laughing at us anymore. And they won't be. They won't be.

I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris. (Applause) I promised I would exit or renegotiate any deal which fails to serve America's interests. Many trade deals will soon be under renegotiation. Very rarely do we have a deal that works for this country, but they'll soon be under renegotiation. The process has begun from day one. But now we're down to business.

Beyond the severe energy restrictions inflicted by the Paris Accord, it includes yet another scheme to redistribute wealth out of the United States through the so-called Green Climate Fund -- nice name -- which calls for developed countries to send \$100 billion to developing countries all on top of America's existing and massive foreign aid payments. So we're going to be paying billions and billions and billions of dollars, and we're already way ahead of anybody else. Many of the other countries haven't spent anything, and many of them will never pay one dime.

The Green Fund would likely obligate the United States to commit potentially tens of billions of dollars of which the United States has already handed over \$1 billion -- nobody else is even close; most of them haven't even paid anything -- including funds raided out of America's budget for the war against terrorism. That's where they came. Believe me, they didn't come from me. They came just before I came into office. Not good. And not good the way they took the money.

In 2015, the United Nation's departing top climate officials reportedly described the \$100 billion per year as "peanuts," and stated that "the \$100 billion is the tail that wags the dog." In 2015, the Green Climate Fund's executive director reportedly stated that estimated funding needed would increase to \$450 billion per year after 2020. And nobody

even knows where the money is going to. Nobody has been able to say, where is it going to?

Of course, the world's top polluters have no affirmative obligations under the Green Fund, which we terminated. America is \$20 trillion in debt. Cash-strapped cities cannot hire enough police officers or fix vital infrastructure. Millions of our citizens are out of work. And yet, under the Paris Accord, billions of dollars that ought to be invested right here in America will be sent to the very countries that have taken our factories and our jobs away from us. So think of that.

There are serious legal and constitutional issues as well. Foreign leaders in Europe, Asia, and across the world should not have more to say with respect to the U.S. economy than our own citizens and their elected representatives. Thus, our withdrawal from the agreement represents a reassertion of America's sovereignty. (Applause) Our Constitution is unique among all the nations of the world, and it is my highest obligation and greatest honour to protect it. And I will.

Staying in the agreement could also pose serious obstacles for the United States as we begin the process of unlocking the restrictions on America's abundant energy reserves, which we have started very strongly. It would once have been unthinkable that an international agreement could prevent the United States from conducting its own domestic economic affairs, but this is the new reality we face if we do not leave the agreement or if we do not negotiate a far better deal.

The risks grow as historically these agreements only tend to become more and more ambitious over time. In other words, the Paris framework is a starting point -- as bad as it is -- not an end point. And exiting the agreement protects the United States from future intrusions on the United States' sovereignty and massive future legal liability. Believe me, we have massive legal liability if we stay in.

As President, I have one obligation, and that obligation is to the American people. The Paris Accord would undermine our economy, hamstring our workers, weaken our sovereignty, impose unacceptable legal risks, and put us at a permanent disadvantage to the other countries of the world. It is time to exit the Paris Accord -- (applause) -- and time to pursue a new deal that protects the environment, our companies, our citizens, and our country.

It is time to put Youngstown, Ohio, Detroit, Michigan, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania -- along with many, many other locations within our great country -- before Paris, France. It is time to make America great again. (Applause) Thank you. Thank you. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much. Very important. I'd like to ask Scott Pruitt, who most of you know and respect, as I do, just to say a few words. Scott, please. (Applause.)

ADMINISTRATOR PRUITT: Thank you, Mr. President. Your decision today to exit the Paris Accord reflects your unflinching commitment to put America first.

And by exiting, you're fulfilling yet one more campaign promise to the American people. Please know that I am thankful for your fortitude, your courage, and your steadfastness as you serve and lead our country.

America finally has a leader who answers only to the people -- not to the special interests who have had their way for way too long. In everything you do, Mr. President, you're fighting for the forgotten men and women across this country. You're a champion for the hardworking citizens all across this land who just want a government that listens to them and represents their interest.

You have promised to put America First in all that you do, and you've done that in any number of ways -- from trade, to national security, to protecting our border, to rightsizing Washington, D.C. And today you've put America first with regard to international agreements and the environment.

This is an historic restoration of American economic independence -- one that will benefit the working class, the working poor, and working people of all stripes. With this action, you have declared that the people are rulers of this country once again. And it should be noted that we as a nation do it better than anyone in the world in striking the balance between growing our economy, growing jobs while also being a good steward of our environment.

We owe no apologies to other nations for our environmental stewardship. After all, before the Paris Accord was ever signed, America had reduced its CO2 footprint to levels from the early 1990s. In fact, between the years 2000 and 2014, the United States reduced its carbon emissions by 18-plus percent. And this was accomplished not through government mandate, but accomplished through innovation and technology of the American private sector.

For that reason, Mr. President, you have corrected a view that was paramount in Paris that somehow the United States should penalize its own economy, be apologetic, lead with our chin, while the rest of world does little. Other nations talk a good game; we lead with action -- not words. (Applause.)

Our efforts, Mr. President, as you know, should be on exporting our technology, our innovation to nations who seek to reduce their CO2 footprint to learn from us. That should be our focus versus agreeing to unachievable targets that harm our economy and the American people.

Mr. President, it takes courage, it takes commitment to say no to the plaudits of men while doing what's right by the American people. You have that courage, and the American people can take comfort because you have their backs.

Thank you, Mr. President.

END

4:03 P.M. EDT

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/06/01/statement-president-trump-paris-climate-accord>

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Pakistan: Rs.200.00 per copy inclusive of postage.
Rs.350.00 annually (two issues) inclusive of postage.

Overseas: US\$10.00 per copy inclusive of postage.
US\$20.00 annually (two issues) inclusive of postage.

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Printed by
NDU Press, Islamabad