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Editor's Note

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

This is the sixth issue of the journal containing five research articles, three book reviews and important primary documents having valuable information for academic analysis and strategic community debates. The articles in the winter issue deal with variety of subjects that are of immense academic importance at the regional as well as global level. Three articles — dealing with themes such as the 'US-China Relations and the South China Sea' conflict; 'The emerging strategic rivalries in the Indian Ocean Region', and 'Indo-Pakistan rivalry and Afghanistan' — provide profound insights on the changing strategic landscape in and around South Asian region — an area of deep concern for our policymakers. We have also published a work on "Non-killing and social peace through '*Qisas*'" that offers a peacebuilding framework in conflict resolution; a valuable contribution in the ongoing debates in the field of peace and conflict studies. Finally, there is a policy-relevant comparative analysis of disaster management at nuclear power plant of Fukushima and Pakistan's readiness to handle such a disaster at its nuclear power plant. With this broader scope of interest we hope that the *Journal of Contemporary Studies* is making its modest contribution in the development of theory and practice to support scholarly debates, intellectual discourse, and serves the research interest of young scholars in the field. We sincerely hope that each of these articles would motivate our varied community of readers to undertake some further research in the area.

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 study of the *Journal* will invoke curiosity among the readers to contribute their perspectives in the ongoing academic discourses. Contributions are invited from all fields including broad spectrum of related fields like political science, security studies, political economy, terrorism, politics and religion, politics of energy, feminism, media and politics, management sciences, leadership psychology, military strategy, modern history, international law, sociology, education, conflict management and resolution, urban studies, demography, social anthropology, developmental studies, foreign policy etc.

We are accepting articles for the upcoming issue of *Journal of Contemporary Studies* based on original qualitative or quantitative research, an innovative conceptual framework, or a substantial literature review that opens new areas of inquiry and investigation. Case studies and comparative analysis 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 promote interdisciplinary research and writing.

Editor
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar

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US-CHINA RELATIONS AND THE SOUTH CHINA SEA CONFLICT

Dr. Nazir Hussain* & Ms Sobeia Tabbasum*

Abstract

The US-China relations have seen many ups and downs due to conflicting perceptions and policy orientations. Presently, Chinese moves in the South Pacific Rim are perceived as a threat to the US interests in the region. This has led the United States to shift its policy preference towards the Pacific region. China has also shifted its focus towards the Oceanic affairs to attain strategic depth, as the Pacific Ocean has become important due to its trade and economic routes. Chinese rapid economic growth, expanding market and military modernization have led the US to think about China as a major competitor and a challenger rather than a strategic partner.

Key Words: *South China Sea, Hedging Strategy, Access Denial Strategy, Containment, Encirclement, Conflict Management.*

Economic growth and resources were priority of the hegemonic powers in the 20th century but in the 21st century, geopolitics has overruled the geo-economics where globalization does not work without geopolitics. Waters and sea-lanes are as much important in the 21st century as was land in the 19th and 20th centuries. The 21st century also gave oceans and maritime resources a centre stage in the global politics, hence changing the traditional concept of hegemony. In the era of globalization, the United States is facing challenge from many great powers such as Russia, Japan, Germany and China, who pose vital threat to the US hegemony and challenge its Superpower status. On the other hand, China has many territorial conflicts with its neighbouring states such as Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines and Taiwan. There are several choke-points and sea-lanes in the region where China claim indisputable sovereignty. The US is dominating the region with its alliance system in the Pacific region and the loss of US bases in the region

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would weaken its hegemonic position. Thus the Chinese policies in South China Sea are being perceived as a security threat to the US hegemony in the Pacific region.

Therefore, this research article endeavours to analyse the US-China rivalry over the South China Sea through historical claims, counter strategies and possible futuristic perspective and its implications for the region in the light of ground realities.

Theoretical Context

Many scholars have viewed the US-China relations with an eye of transition. Contrary to the US unipolar international system, China assumes that a multipolar international system would be a better approach to attain international peace. Pivotal point of relations between the two states is to attain and maintain power. Many international relations theories have discussed power variables such as classical realists; Waltz and Morgenthau assumes that the state's behaviour is driven by "Struggle for Power."¹ When a state attains a powerful status, it tries to increase it and to protect it by different means in the international system, "States have met each other in contests for power."² Organski has elaborated the power transition theory, which overrules the concept of hegemonic stability theory. He argues that this power cycle (attaining, increasing and maintaining) make states dissatisfied and the international system consist of one superpower and many great powers where the hegemon always feel threat from the rising revisionist challenger. Organski stated that "war is likely to be precipitated by a faster growing upstart in its attempt to displace the declining hegemon."³ The basic argument of Power Transition Theory clarifies the point that war looms when a secondary great power challenges a hegemon and conflict is eminent between a top ranked power and the challenger.⁴ The challenger will always be a revisionist and a dissatisfied great power whose rise will disturb the status quo of international system.

The theory argues that "the danger of a serious conflict exists only when a 'dissatisfied' power overtakes an international leader, conversely when a 'satisfied' power is poised to replace this leader, this danger can be avoided."⁵ In the 21st century, China is much dissatisfied with the current

¹ See Martin Griffiths, *International Relations Theory for the Twenty First Century*, (New York: Routledge, 2007).

² Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, (New York: Alfred K. Knop, 1976), 33, and Michael P. Sullivan, *Theories of International Relations: Transition vs. Persistence*, (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 115.

³ Ronald Tammen, et.al, *Power Transition Theory for The Twenty First Century*, (New York: Chatham House Publisher, 2000).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Steve Chan, "Exploring Puzzles in Power Transition Theory: Implications for Sino American Relations", *Journal of Security Studies*, 13:3 (2004), 103-141.

international order as it favours multipolar international system and poses a threat to the US hegemonic status. Power transition theory predicts that conflict may occur between states that do not have a tradition of friendship. The United States has strong ties with Brazil, Germany, and India and also to some extent with Russia. These powerful states are not much capable to overrule the US hegemony as they are strongly dependent on the US whether militarily or economically. But China with a potential to change the international system can alter the US position; if not the entire system but surely in the East Asia Region.⁶

The 21st century is the century of globalization and economic interdependence, and states' power is measured by its economic growth. In the Pacific, China is challenging the US hegemony through its military modernization and economic growth along with its maritime policies. The US is trying to counter this threat through geographical encirclement of China and strengthening its military and economic ties with bordering states. China with its strong economic influence on South Asia, Africa and Central Asia is challenging the US position and the pivotal point which can give leverage to China in the Pacific Region. Major conflicting maritime area in the Pacific Ocean is South China Sea, where China is strengthening its claim of territorial sovereignty. The complexity of US-China relation in the East Asian Region is well illustrated through tensions over the sea-lanes and maritime borders and jurisdiction. The South China Sea has become a major hub of trade and transportation, and the world economy is dependent on the free flow of trade through the Sea. As Mackinder's heartland in the 20th century, the South China Sea has become a heart of seas and ocean in the 21st century and the control of this area would define the control of world economy and international politics.

The South China Sea

The International Hydrographical Bureau defines the South China Sea as "the body of water stretching in a Southwest to Northeast direction, its southern border is 3 degrees South latitude between South Sumatra and Kalimantan (Karimata Straits), and northern border is the Strait of Taiwan from the northern tip of Taiwan to the Fukien coast of China."⁷ The South China Sea is a 3,500,000 square kilometre nautical area of the Pacific Ocean with different claims over un-inhabited islands. It is a region of small islands, reefs, and islets; rich in resources and geo-strategically important for trade and commerce. It is one of the busiest trade lanes in

⁶ Wang Yiwei, "The South China Sea Issue in the America's Asia Pacific Security Strategy: A Chinese Perspective", in Fu dan da xue and Meiguojinzhongxin, *New Perspectives on Sino-US Relations and Asia Pacific Security*, Shanghai: Centre for American Studies, Fudan University, 2008.

⁷ Hasjim Djalal, "Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea: In Search of Cooperation", *Indonesian Quarterly*, 18:2, (1990), 129.

the world. It links the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean as a bridge between the two major oceans. Area of South China Sea includes 250 small islands and most of them are located in the Spratly and Paracel Archipelagos, and disputed among six neighbouring states - China, the Philippines, Taiwan, Brunei, Malaysia and Vietnam. These states have claim for the two main archipelagos Spratly and Paracel.⁸ The Paracel archipelago has total land area of 10 square kilometres and sea zone is 15,000-16,000 square kilometre. While the most important and disputed area is the Spratly archipelago, which links the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean and its islands are small with no habitation. It is spread over almost 160,000 to 180,000 square kilometre sea zone area. The Spratly archipelago has 12 main islands, while 390 islets reefs, bays and banks. These islands and other features are 400 nautical miles from east to west, while 500 nautical miles from north to south. The Spratly archipelago occupy 38 percent of the South China Sea area.⁹

Geographically, the area is extended southward from China to Indonesia and Singapore and westward from the Philippines to Vietnam. In its north east region Malaysia and Brunei are situated. Bordering the South China Sea, it has East China Sea in its northeast on which China has dispute with Japan, while in the east-west it has border with the Indian Ocean, a major trading hub of the world and world economy depends on these trade routes. This geostrategic location of South China Sea has made it vital for the great powers like the US in the 21st century, who has shifted its policies from neutrality to the concern of its "core interest."¹⁰

The US Interest and Objectives

The United States as a world hegemon wants to maintain the status quo and secure its hegemony from any challenging state in the Pacific region, where its interest is threatened by the Chinese policies and sovereignty claim over the islands. The United States is a major economic stakeholder in the region and can face challenge to its economy through clashing objectives with China. The US and China are not locked in a zero-sum game but have concerns with each other's policies and strategies. Secondly, the US policies and objectives lie under the concept of "Global Commons"¹¹ that safeguard its military presence in the areas of common interest and protect the interest against any imminent challenge. In this way, the South China Sea is the most common area, as its geopolitical and

⁸ See Beina Xu, "South China Sea Tensions", *Backgrounders*, Council on Foreign Relations, May 14, 2014.

⁹ Ibid., also see "FAST FACTS: South China Sea, a decades-long source of tension," Agence France Presse, November 18, 2012.

¹⁰ Patrick M. Cronin ed., *Cooperation from Strength: The United States, China and the South China Sea*, Centre for New American Security, January 2012.

¹¹ James Kraska and Raul Pedrozo, *International Maritime Security Law*, (Leiden-Netherland: Brill Publishers, 2013), 193.

geostrategic location along with the trade routes make it a centre stage for all the major economies of the world, especially the US and China. Thirdly, the US intends to attain the capability for prevention of a rising power or any combination of powers in the East Asia region, which challenge its hegemony. As United State believes in unipolarity and prevention of any challenge to unipolarity is one of the cornerstones of the US policies. Fourth, the objective lies in the safety and security of its market and different trade routes all over the globe along with the containment of probable hurdles interrupting the access of these routes. So in the case of the South China Sea, the basic US strategy lies under the interest of freedom of navigation.¹²

The US interests are elaborated in the American National Interests Report 2000, which discussed the American concerns in peaceful resolution of the South China Sea dispute and states "The immediate US interest in the South China Sea disputes include maintaining peace, freedom of navigation and upholding law including the United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea."¹³ The US enjoys a dominant position in air, ocean and land but in the 21st century its superiority is being threatened by the Chinese maritime policies and the threat perception of the United State compels it to think from active neutrality towards active defence.¹⁴

Chinese Interest and Objectives

The Chinese interests in the 21st century can be defined through John Hemming's elaboration of Chinese "Rolling ambitions" that China is willing to seize opportunities for extending effective control over waters and trade routes that are of immense strategic importance, to continue economic growth, and its willingness to do this by using military force. China has three basic strategic objectives; one is the security of borders, which is influenced by its threat perception about the US encirclement strategy in the East Asian region. Chinese threat perception of US containment and encirclement strategy is strong after the Tiananmen Square incident (1989), which resulted in deteriorating US-China relations.¹⁵

The second objective is regional stability, which will ensure Chinese economic growth with regional economic prosperity. China is much more concerned about the resource security because of its economic and population growth. Demand of energy resources has increased with the increase in economy. China intends to get a position for uninterrupted

¹² Patrick M. Cronin ed., *Cooperation from Strength: The United States, China and the South China Sea*, Centre for New American Security, January 2012.

¹³ Yiwei, "The South China Sea Issue..." ..

¹⁴ Ashley J. Tellis and Sean Mirski ed., *Crux of Asia: China, India and the Emerging Global Order*, Washington D.C., Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013.

¹⁵ Ibid.

access to resources. The South China Sea is important not only because it is a resource rich area but also because it is a basic connecting point to basic resource areas of the world, especially the Indian Ocean, Middle East and Africa. Almost 80% estimated energy supplies of China come through the South China Sea. Chinese naval analysts perceive that the US will use its naval power to threaten Chinese trade passing through the South East Asian region.¹⁶

Comparing the objectives of both China and the US, threat perception about each other's intention is the common factor, which makes both these states dissatisfied. Encirclement and counter encirclement strategies are being made by developing cordial relations around the Chinese borders. But while considering the maritime zone as a basic area of interest both the states are focusing on the strategies, which can give them leverage without any harm to the international system.

Claims over South China Sea

Concentrating on the issue of claims between coastal states of South China Sea, there are two dimensions of claims; one is the sovereignty claim, while the other is based on the maritime area in which the territorial sea area and Chinese baseline is vital. But the current conflict on the South China Sea is the interest of major powers, where Chinese claim intersects with the US interest of freedom of navigation and open sea access. The US has objective to get free access to the South China Sea, a vital connecting point between the two Oceans- Pacific and Indian.¹⁷

As far as the sovereignty claims of coastal states are concerned, China and Vietnam claim full sovereignty on all the islands of two archipelagos, Paracel and Spratly, while the Philippines claim 8 islands of the Spratly archipelago. The Philippines' claim over the South China Sea is evident in its first official statement in 1950; the president of the Philippines stated that any occupation of Spratly by an enemy would be considered a threat to the Philippines' security.¹⁸ The Vietnamese claim was elaborated in the conference of San Francisco and claim was based on the sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratly.¹⁹ When Chinese fishermen were arrested in crescent group by South Vietnam in 1974; China protested in a way that it is clear violation of Chinese sovereignty and integrity as "Hsisha islands are part of China's territory."²⁰ Chinese sovereignty claim over islands came forth in its first declaration on

¹⁶ Bruce Vaughn, "China-South East Asian Relations: Trends, Issues and Implications for the United States," Washington DC., *CRS Report for Congress*, April 4, 2006.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Chi-kin Lu, *China's Policy Towards Territorial Disputes: The Case of the South China Sea Islands*, (New York: Routledge, 1989), 28.

¹⁹ Min GyoKo, *Island Dispute and Maritime Regime Building in East Asia*, (New York: Springer, 2010), 142.

²⁰ Ibid.

territorial sea in 1958; the Declaration emphasized that “This provision applies to all territories of the People’s Republic of China...the Changsha (Zhongsha) Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China which are separated from the mainland and its coastal islands by the high seas.”²¹

The Chinese argument is based on the historical right over these Islands as China was the first who discovered and exploited these islands. This claim showed the Chinese strategic thinking that the territory which belongs to China can never be occupied by any foreign power. The first official statement of Chinese claim of historical right was stated in 1951 by Chinese leader Zhou Enlai who discussed that the history of Paracel and Spratly “dates back to the Sung Dynasty.”²² These islands were acquired back from Japan after its withdrawal and under are now again the Chinese sovereignty. China’s indisputable sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha islands is presented by Chinese foreign ministry and published in 1980, which clearly elaborated Chinese claim that “the Xisha and Nansha Islands have been China’s territory since ancient times is fully proved by legal evidence... The Vietnamese authorities’ illegal occupation... can only serve to reveal their regional hegemonies and aggressor expansionist ambitions. China’s sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands is indisputable.”²³

As far as the role of the United States in the issue of South China Sea is concerned, it has no direct involvement in sovereignty dispute but is indirectly strengthening the dispute to make it ‘irresolvable’ for its strategic and economic interests. In 1950s and 1960s, Chinese threat perception regarding indirect involvement of the US was eminent, while countering the Philippines and Vietnamese claims China directly announced that the Philippines’ claim “is clearly product of instruction from the US government” and “American imperialism is deliberately planning to grab the Nansha Islands.”²⁴ The US-British draft treaty with Japan was considered as “Chinese territory has been traded off like petty cash.”²⁵ The Philippines’ interest in Spratly islands was described in a commentary as a “US plot of using certain ambitious elements in the Philippines for a grab at China’s Nansha Islands.”²⁶ All this perception regarding the US ambitions was a result of the previous strategy of containing China. Chinese scholar Fu Chu discussed that “the US imperialists not only militarily invade Taiwan but also support its lackeys,

²¹ “Straight Baseline: Peoples Republic of China,” International Boundary Studies Series, (Washington D.C.: Geographer, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, 1978), 1-9.

²² Lu, “China’s Policy Towards....”, 29.

²³ Timo Kivimaki, *War or Peace in the South China Sea*, (Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2002), 94.

²⁴ Lu, “China’s Policy Towards....”.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

like the Philippines and South Vietnam, in their attempt to invade South China Sea islands, including the Nansha Islands.”²⁷

The US Strategy in the South China Sea

The United States has adopted a strategy to counter Chinese threat and to achieve its objectives in the East Asian region. The United States know that antagonism and direct confrontation will harm its interest in the region and can harm the security of the entire region; as the South China Sea is not only important for China and the US but also for all major economies of international system. The United States built its strategy to counter Chinese influence through building a cooperative environment. Concerning the hegemonic order, China has become the major rival in the South China Sea and taken the place of Soviet Union. Formally, the US has no concern with the sovereignty disputes over the islands but has concerns with the innocent passage right through these waters, which may threaten in the near future if China gets full sovereignty over the South China Sea. There are three major policy options to the US; prevention, practice and deterrence; if it wants to secure its interest in the Pacific region.²⁸

Prevention is to secure the US interest “freedom of navigation.” The US is using preventive diplomacy by strengthening economic and security relations with South East Asian states in anti-hegemonic efforts of China and the current evolving order in the region. Deterrence is to restrict the possible challenge to regional hegemony. In 1995, Joseph Nye, Assistant Defence Secretary of the US declared “military action occur in South China Sea... we would be prepared to escort and make sure that navigation continue.”²⁹ To achieve this goal and to prohibit China from its hegemonic ambitions, the United States has adopted encirclement strategy through its military bases near Chinese borders in Japan, South Korea and also concluded agreements with Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia. The US has deployed almost 10,000 troops in the region. These military bases and military presences of the United States in the East Asian region strengthen Chinese threat perception. The United States is strengthening military ties with the Philippines striving for more military bases in the region to build a complete hedge against the potential threat. Practice is the third likely strategy, which means the use of force as a last resort. If prevention and deterrence fails then the practice will be the last option for the US to keep its interest intact.³⁰

²⁷ Timo Kivimaki, *War or Peace in the South China Sea*, (Denmark: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2002), 94.

²⁸ Vaughn, “China-South East Asian Relations...”.

²⁹ Yiwei, “The South China Sea Issue...”.

³⁰ Vaughn, “China-South East Asian Relations...”.

The Hedging Strategy

If the US wants to balance the power in Asia Pacific region then it must try to increase its military presence in the region. Assuming China as a capable potential challenger to the United States militarily in Asia Pacific region, the United States has adopted a hedging strategy. This strategy is proactive to manage the Chinese capability and balance the equilibrium. Considering the US as an offshore balancer in the East Asian Region its forward basing system has encouraged East Asian States to bandwagon with it. For a credible security in the region, the United State is acceptable by many South East Asian states, the Philippines and Thailand, while with the Philippines it has strong military ties.³¹

The US-Philippines military relations were revived after the Mischief Reef incident in 1995 when China occupied the disputed Spratly Island Palawan. The US-Philippines relations are influenced by a stronger state through security assistance that influences the policy of a smaller state.³² The Philippines has passed the buck to the United State when it felt less capable to fight the Chinese policies for its territorial interest; it welcomed the US to balance the equilibrium in the issue. The United State is trying to influence the Philippines policies and its decision making for the South China Sea dispute and wants to overrule and eliminate the Chinese influence from the Philippines.

The US started to fund defence projects in the Philippines like the Navy's Coast Watch South Project, which is aimed to equip the Philippines navy with radar stations and other high frequency equipment.³³ In 2008 an annual combined exercise took place at Mindanao. In 2009, the US Secretary of Defence Robert Gates visited the Philippines and discussed the matters of concern along with the assurance of building a strong Philippine military. The 2012 standoff between China and the Philippines led the US to influence the Philippines decision making and the Philippines took the issue for international arbitration, which received a Chinese aggressive response as China does not want to internationalize the issue. All these activities are linked with the US objectives to convert this alliance into a hedge against China.³⁴

In response to the US strategies, China changed its mode of policy towards cooperation to counter the United States' hedge. China has adopted "No String Policy" to create a wedge between the US and its alliance system by creating an environment of economic interdependence.

³¹ See Kevin J. Cooney and Yoichiro ed., *The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond*, (London: Taylor and Francis, 2008).

³² Giorgil Gvalia, David Siroky, Bidzina Lebanidze and Zuraib Iashvili, "Thinking Outside the Bloc: Explaining the Foreign Policies of Small States," *Security Studies*, 22, (2013), 103.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Vaughn, "China-South East Asian Relations...".

China with the objective of a Sino-centric order wants to create an integrated economy and reduce the US influence from the East Asian States and hostile bordering states like South Korea, Japan, India and Philippine.³⁵ China perceived the US-Philippines relations and security cooperation as an access policy of US to restrict Chinese strategic ambitions in the Pacific region. Considering the US policy a threat, China used the strategy of soft power and established good economic relations with the South East Asian nations. China-Philippines trade relations strengthened which resulted in an increase of 33.3 per cent in 2006. In 2004 Defence Secretary of the Philippines Avellino Cruz and Chinese Defence Secretary signed a Memorandum of Understanding and assured military exchange and a consulting mechanism, meeting common threat of terrorism and other internal security issues. And in 2007 Chinese officials promised the Philippines for security assistance.³⁶

Brendan Cooley has evaluated Chinese strategic thinking and discussed that China has created a "Charm Offensive" design from which it thinks about the need to repair its relationship with the East Asian states. China is trying to strengthen its economic influence in the region with its cultural and economic engagement. Along with that it strengthens military ties with many East Asian states to restrict them not to move towards the US.³⁷ Chinese trade with the ASEAN states is expanding 20% annually since 2008, which was \$193 billion in 2008 while in the same year the US trade with ASEAN totalled \$181 billion. Despite tensions with neighbours, the basic objective of China is to build cordial economic relations with these states for total integration.³⁸

The Sino-Philippines standoff (2012) again augmented the Chinese sovereignty claim when the Philippines warships in an area of 125 miles from the Philippines mainland caught eight Chinese boats and found that one of them was carrying illegal corals and live sharks; these were blocked by the Chinese surveillance.³⁹ Diplomatic protest came forth in both the states; the Philippines sought to discuss the issue in a regional forum but China discouraged this effort as it favours the bilateral solution of the South China Sea. This entire situation gave the US room to manipulate things. The Philippines came closer to the US after this incident, and US-Philippines forces conducted military exercises near the reef bank. The United States is trying to strengthen the alliance and semi-permanent

³⁵ C. Fred Bergsten, Bates Gill, Nicolas R. Lardy and Derek Mitchell, *China: The Balance Sheet*, New York: Public Affairs, 2006.

³⁶ Renato Cruz De Castro, "The US-Philippines Alliance: An Evolving Hedge Against an Emerging China Challenge," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 31:3, December 2009.

³⁷ Brendan Cooley, "A Sea Change or a Wave of Backlash? The South China Sea and Changing Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia," *Global Security Studies*, 3:4, Fall 2012.

³⁸ C. Fred Bergsten, Bates Gill, Nicolas R. Lardy and Derek Mitchell, *China: The Balance Sheet*, New York: Public Affairs, 2006.

³⁹ Carlyle A. Thayer, "The China-Philippines Face Off at Scarborough Shoal: Back to Square One?", 26 April 2012, available at <www.e-ir.info>.

bases of the US are now flourished all through the littoral in Mindanao. The US has joint special force in the Philippines, operating bases in Jolo and Sulu where the US troops are deployed on rotational basis. The US presence in Mindanao is positioned strategically in the South west of the South China Sea. Along with military exercises, the US is building heavy infrastructure bases in the Philippines and developing a cooperative security location in the Philippines. These locations have the potential to accommodate the US deployment in the Asia Pacific.⁴⁰

Chinese 'Access Denial Strategy'

For the national security interest, China assumes that its goals and interest of security is achievable only by the mean of influence in the areas around its periphery. For this purpose China is using the "anti-Access" or "Area Denial" strategy by deploying its surveillance system around its coast.⁴¹ This geopolitical view of China that it needs strategic depth from its maritime borders to counter the US encirclement in the East Asia is influential on its policies. This is why China is strengthening its claim over the disputed islands of the South China Sea and has published another map with 10 dashed lines by the Sino map, which showed its adamant and strong claim over the Island of Taiwan and the western shore of the Philippines territory.⁴²

China has adopted a military modernizing strategy along with the operational doctrine. Chinese military strategy is directed towards the anti-access strategy through which China can deter the potential US threats to its security. China is facing threats from the Philippines' defence modernization, Indian presence and the US interest in the South East Asian region and its aircraft carriers in the area. This can only be dealt with Chinese grand strategy, which consists on the model of geostrategic control of the region by "Island Chain theory."⁴³ For this China tries to control the region by two chains; one from its coast runs between south Japan and Indo-China, while the other between eastern Indo-China and Japan. China has used military force twice; on Paracel Archipelago in 1974, when it seized the crescent group while second on the Spratly Islands in 1988 when it seized the Johnson Reef.⁴⁴ China was able to occupy the entire South China Sea and has created nine dashed line which shows its

⁴⁰ Renato Cruz De Castro, "The US-Philippine Alliance: An Evolving Hedge Against an Emerging China Challenge," *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, 31:3, December 2009.

⁴¹ Robert Potter, "Thinking Systematically about China: Anti-Access, Submarines and the Security Dilemma," March 3, 2013, available at <www.e-ir.info>.

⁴² See Mohan Malik, "Historical Fiction: China's South China Sea Claims," *World Affairs*, May/June 2013.

⁴³ Peter Kien-Hong Yu, "The Chinese (Broken) U-shaped Line in the South China Sea: Points, Lines, and Zones," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 25:3, 2003.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

claim of sovereignty in the South China Sea. Chinese anti-access and access denial strategy are intended to restrict the US activities into its periphery, while its anti-ship ballistic missiles are capable to operate and target the entire South China Sea. Along with that China is trying to adopt a deterring strategy to restrict the US and modernize the Chinese navy, air and land forces with high technology and military equipment.⁴⁵

Future of South China Sea: Conflict Management or Conflict Escalation?

In these conflicting perceptions and strategies, the basic question arises whether the conflict over the South China Sea can be controlled or not? The first and foremost option is to resolve dispute through a bilateral or multilateral way and through conflict resolution mechanisms. But this option is not suitable for the Chinese and end objective. Chinese want to resolve the issue through customary international law as its claim is based on historic right. China submitted its 'Nine dashed line' claim to the United Nation in 2009. Moreover, the dispute resolution mechanism on regional forum like the ASEAN has also failed. China's claim of historical right is strong enough and it believes that territory of China can never be given back. The ASEAN summits and South China Sea Code of Conduct have also failed to bring a dispute resolution mechanism over the South China Sea, which has no enforcement mechanism.⁴⁶

Secondly, Chinese option of confrontation has two probabilities: confront directly with the United States or indirectly through conflict with smaller US allies like the Philippines or Vietnam. The Philippines has strong military ties with the US and China has to think that it is not competing with the Philippines but with the power of the United States. Through armed confrontation China has to lose its image of a pro-status quo power and challenge the US hegemony in the region. China can get physical presence over the claimed territories but this gain is ambiguous as the Spratly is away from the Chinese mainland, and also this is highly risky for the Chinese security.

Third and best choice with high benefit and low cost is using soft power and soft means to achieve the end objective. Although it will take time to achieve the desired objectives of territorial sovereignty, yet through economic interdependence China can overrule the influence of the US from the Pacific region. China cannot get the objective of physical presence but it can utilize maximum potential of the South China Sea. Countries in the dispute are competing over the fair distribution of resources and instead look for economic growth. Through confrontation and conflict, they have to increase their defence budgets as well. As

⁴⁵ Vaughn, "China-South East Asian Relations...".

⁴⁶ Castro, "The US-Philippines Alliance...".

defence spending of major states increase, the economic development will automatically decrease. It is in the best interest of the smaller states in the South China Sea that they make a choice, which did not hamper the interest of economic development and resource distribution of the South China Sea. Economic cooperation with major economies is the best option.

States dependent on China for economic and military security will automatically damage the economy of the US. As the Chinese economy grows, the US economy and trade declines, which may result in the change of international system.

Implications of South China Sea Conflict

The future of US-China relations is dependent on the future of dispute over the South China Sea. Conflict management mechanism seems vague and may lead towards escalation. Implications of the dispute which seem eminent are:

- Using force by China will have devastating effects on the Sino-US relations. A major confrontation between the US and China will force Japan and other South East Asian States not to remain neutral. Direct confrontation will also demolish the US support for “One China policy”.
- Failure to respond to Chinese assertiveness will clearly question the US role in the Western Pacific region and its bilateral alliance system.
- The US involvement in the conflict will lead the two states, China and the United State at worse end because the cooperation under suspicion will end directly and a clear rivalry in the shape of a new Cold War would emerge.
- Chinese claims over the Island will result in a war between the two major rivals and competitors, China and the United State. This will endanger the entire international system as Chinese are inflexible when it comes to their territory.
- Chinese limitation of the boundary line through the U-shaped line clearly indicates the Chinese ambitions of the territorial expansion. Through this expansion China can block the trade of the United State. Occupation of Spratly and Paracel will give China a leverage to limit its territorial sea boundary, 12 nautical miles from the U-shape line, which showed the South China Sea as the Sea of China, over which China has full control and China can restrict foreign powers to move into its territory.
- If China succeeds to influence the smaller claimant over the dispute then the international system will move from unipolarity towards bipolarity where China will be another power in the international system.

- At the regional level, China will become the only regional power and will overrule the hegemonic position of the United State.

Conclusion

The South China Sea has become a hotspot in the 21st century and a clear indicator of power politics in the international system. It is worth noting assumption that the state who dominates the South China Sea will influence the world. The conflict escalation over South China Sea will challenge the hegemonic global power, the USA, whose interest is to rule the world. China's major objective is to extend its territory as indicated in its claim over Taiwan and Tibet. Its territorial claim in the South East Asia is extended beyond the island of Taiwan to the South China Sea and the East China Sea. China has passed a territorial water law claiming control on the Spratly Island and Paracel Island. Under the law, China can restrict the navigation of other states for aggressive purposes. China and the ASEAN members are committed to resolve the issue through political means. However, the South China Sea is still the disputed and dangerous area.

It is in China's best interest not to confront the US militarily in the South China Sea dispute, as it would have high cost with low benefits. China has the same position which America had in the 19th and 20th centuries in the Caribbean. As the Spanish-American war in 1898 signifies the starting point of American dominance in the western hemisphere when the United States dug the Panama Canal. In the same manner, China has the desire to secure energy supplies coming from the Middle East and the Indian Ocean and ensure naval dominance in the region. After the US acquired a dominant position in the Caribbean which became an edge to its dominance in the west, in the same manner the South China Sea will become the edge to Chinese dominance in Asia and will challenge the US hegemony. This could result in another cold war but would transform the international system from unipolarity towards bipolarity/multipolarity, where the US would have competing rivals like China. As epitomised by Joseph Nye, the international system must be viewed by both eyes, through a realist lens, which predicts war in the phase of transition, and a liberalist lens, which predict cooperation as a best strategy to deal with the transitional phase of international system.

INDO-PAKISTAN ZERO-SUM RIVALRY AND AFGHANISTAN

Dr Hanifur Rehman* & Faheem Ullah Khan*

Abstract

History shows that Pakistan and India have been vying for power in Afghanistan and they have been locked in a zero-sum struggle there since the inception of both the countries in 1947. Pakistan's losses in Afghanistan are considered India's victory and vice versa. The animosity between the two adversaries has manifested itself in a competition on the soil of Afghanistan for having a political clout, reminiscent of the competition and rivalry between the Tsarist Russia and then its successor, the Communist Russia, and the British Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries, respectively, and generally known as the "Great Game." The antagonism between Pakistan and India has been so strong and deep that both the countries lose no opportunity to checkmate each other on the Afghan soil. This paper is aimed at looking into the factors of Indo-Pak rivalry in Afghanistan. It will also shed light on Indo-Afghan relations in historical perspective and India's geo-political and geo-strategic interests in Afghanistan. Besides, the paper will also address the questions that what are the interests of Pakistan and India in Afghanistan and what are the implications of Indo-Pak rivalry in Afghanistan for the region and world at large.

Key words: Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Islamists, Taliban, Kashmir.

Introduction

The prophesy of the British Indian Viceroy Lord Curzon proves very appropriate that, "*Turkistan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia, Persia.... are the pieces on a chessboard upon which is being played out a game for the dominance of the world.*"¹ Certainly India and Pakistan did not have any such ambitions for the dominance of the world

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but they surely tried, since independence in 1947, to use Afghanistan to fulfil their interests in the region such as to maximize their own interests and minimize the other's. "Afghanistan has been a prize that Pakistan and India have fought over directly and indirectly for decades".² History shows that both the countries have been vying for power in Afghanistan and have been locked in a zero-sum struggle there since their inception in 1947. Pakistan's losses in Afghanistan have been considered India's victory and *vice versa*. The animosity between the two adversaries manifested itself in the competition on the soil of Afghanistan for having a political clout, reminiscent of the competition and rivalry between the Tsarist Russia and then its successor, the Communist Russia, and the British Empire in the 19th and 20th centuries — generally known as the "Great Game." Accordingly, the antagonism between Pakistan and India has been so strong and deep that Pakistan's relations with other countries usually impinge upon its relations with India. For India, Afghanistan is an important geo-political constraint on Pakistan.³ Pakistan wants to avoid being sandwiched between two hostile nations on its eastern and western borders. Both India and Afghanistan have disputes with Pakistan. Afghanistan, a smaller country, has never accepted its border with Pakistan known as the Durand Line. Similarly, nuclearized but conventionally weak Pakistan has had a dispute with India over Kashmir. Both the Durand Line and the Kashmir disputes have been colonial legacies. Moreover, both Pakistan and India have supported different groups in Afghanistan. India acknowledged the pro-Moscow regime of People Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), while Pakistan supported the Islamists better known as Mujahideen in history. Same is the case of Taliban and the United Front often referred to, as Northern Alliance.

After the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the US Pentagon and World Trade Centre, both the nations did not stop with their hostilities to each other and more often than not they have had divergent interests in Afghanistan much to the detriment of the latter. Pakistan has often objected to Indian activism in Afghanistan. Indian consulates in the border region of Pakistan have been one of the issues between Indo-Pakistan relations.

¹ Barnett R. Rubin, *The Search For Peace in Afghanistan From Buffer State to Failed State* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995), preface.

² Robert D. Kaplan, "Behind the Indian Embassy Bombing", <<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/08/behind-the-indian-embassy-bombing/306949/>>.

³ Qadar Bakhsh Baloch, Abdul Hafeez Khan Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan: A New Imperialism in the Making", *the Dialogue*, Volume 16, III, Number 1, 22.

Indo-Afghan Convergence of Interests: The Odyssey of Relations

According to Sardar Paniker, the architect of Indian foreign policy, Burma (Myanmar), Afghanistan, Indonesia, Cambodia and Laos constituted an outer ring or secondary area of strategic importance to India. Any interference by a foreign power in the affairs of these countries would be considered as much a threat to India's security as an interference in Nepal.⁴ Afghanistan the "heart" and "cockpit" of Asia⁵ though shares no common borders with India, yet India considers Afghanistan and Central Asia as part of its "extended neighbourhood"⁶ and dates back its historical ties to ancient times.⁷ Afghanistan's importance for India is clear from Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's remarks about India's relations with Afghanistan:

Ever since India's independence, we have grown closer to each other, for a variety of reasons. The long memory of our past was there, and the moment it was possible to renew them, we renewed them. And then came mutual interest...which is a powerful factor.⁸

Both India and Afghanistan are important to each other for many reasons. Afghanistan is important to India because it is not only an entrance to resource-rich Central Asian States, but also ensure that it favours or at least remains neutral in its conflict with Pakistan. Both India and Afghanistan have disputes with Pakistan. The issue of Kashmir between Pakistan and India and the issues of Durand Line and Pakhtunistan between Afghanistan and Pakistan have led to the convergence of interests and the forging of amicable relations between Afghanistan and India. India has supported Afghanistan on the question of both Durand Line and Pakhtunistan.⁹ India and Afghanistan established formal diplomatic and political ties on January 4, 1950 by signing first friendship treaty. India allowed Pakhtunistan *Jirga* to be held in Delhi¹⁰ and the Afghan emissary Sardar Najibullah Khan made an anti-Pakistan

⁴ Mushtaq Ahmad, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* (Karachi: Space Publishers, 1967), 9-10.

⁵ Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban Islam Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia* (I.B. Taurus Publishers, 2000), 7.

⁶ Aly Zaman, "India's Increased Involvement in Afghanistan and Central Asia Implications for Pakistan", *IPRI Journal*, Vol. III, No 2 (Summer, 2003), 7 9.

⁷ Lokesh Chandra "Afghanistan and India: Historico-Cultural Perspective" ed., K.Warikoo, *The Afghanistan Crises Issue and Perspective*, 2-10.

⁸ Baloch, Niazi, "Indian Encroachment in Afghanistan...", 22, 17.

⁹ Louis Dupree, *Afghanistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 491.

¹⁰ Ian Stephen, *Pakistan: Old country/New Nation* (England: Penguins Books Ltd, 1964), 265.

speech on May 27, 1951.¹¹ Pak-Afghan relations remained hostage to the issue of Pakhtunistan until the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.¹²

India successfully exploited the dictum that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'. The Indo-Afghan nexus created a nightmarish situation for Pakistan. Closer ties between the two states put Pakistan "in the jaws of a nutcracker."¹³ By supporting Afghanistan on the Durand Line and Pakhtunistan issues India wanted to engage Pakistan on its western border so that the latter could not concentrate on its eastern border with India.

Indo-Afghan bond further strengthened when Afghanistan voted against Pakistan's membership in the UN on September 30, 1947 on Pakhtunistan issue.¹⁴ Because of that "historical-cum-political reasons" Pakistan did everything to counteract Indian intervention in Afghanistan and keep a lid on the thorny issue of Pakhtunistan".¹⁵ In the 1960s Indo-Afghan relations strengthened due to events such as the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. The security threat from China and growing Pak-China friendship enhanced Afghanistan's importance for India.¹⁶ So deep was the commonality of interests between Afghanistan and India that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had once warned the Pakistani Chief of the Army Staff that "Pakistan should be prepared for a twin attack from Afghanistan and India."¹⁷

Since 1947, India and Afghanistan enjoyed friendly when relations except for a short period of time during the Mujahedeen era as India supported Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan in 1979.¹⁸ In the initial stage, the Mujahedeen government had supported Pakistan on the question of the Kashmiris right to self-determination. Even Ahmed Shah Massoud was once quoted as saying "India has disappointed Afghans by following a wrong course in the past".¹⁹ India's interest received a setback, however, it showed its resilience and established good relations with the *Ustaz*

¹¹ Muhammad Qaiser Janjua, *In The Shadow of The Durand Line: Security, Stability, And The Future Of Pakistan And Afghanistan*. Unpublished Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, <<http://bosun.nps.edu/uhtbin/hyperion-image.exe/05Jun%5FHussain.pdf>>, 42.

¹² Shahid Javid, Burki, *Pakistan Fifty Years of Nationhood* (Lahore: Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd), 198.

¹³ Niloufer Mahdi, *Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1981 the Search for Security* (Lahore: Ferozsons (Pvt) Ltd, 1999), 13-123.

¹⁴ Khurshid Hassan, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations" *Asian Survey* Vol. 2, No. 7 (Sept 1962), 17.<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3023688>>accessed: 28 April 2010.

¹⁵ Yasser Latif, "The Beginning of the New Great Game," *The News International*, April 22, 2008.

¹⁶ Basharat Hussain "Indo-Afghan Relations Pre and Post-Taliban Developments" *Regional Studies*, Vol. XXII, No.3 (Summer 2004), Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 41.

¹⁷ Mahdi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, 123.

¹⁸ Rasul Bakhsh Rais, "Afghanistan and the Regional Powers," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No.9, (Sept 1993), 915.

¹⁹ Hussain, "Indo-Afghan Relations...",42.

(Professor) Burhanuddin Rabbani's regime which came to power after the interim setup of Sibghatullah Mojaddedi handed over power to him in 1992. Rabbani became anti-Pakistan for its undue interference in the Afghan affairs and sought India's help to counter Islamabad²⁰ against Gulbuddin Hikmatyar and later on to Taliban. India felt, Rabbani can counter the growing influence of Pakistan in Afghanistan.²¹ During Rabbani's tenure as president there was lawlessness and disturbance in most parts of Afghanistan. It was in October 1994 that a new phenomenon known as the Taliban emerged.

The Taliban and India

During the 1990s, the continuous civil war and the rapacious activities of different warlords supported by the regional powers provided another twist to the Afghan civil war which led to the emergence of the Taliban.²² Pakistan's enmity with India and its quest to have a friendly regime in Afghanistan, in order to neutralize, if not all together eliminate, Afghanistan's irredentist claims on parts of Pakistan, played an important role in the creation of the Taliban. Pakistan's Interior Minister Naseerullah Babar called Taliban Pakistan's "boys" and conceded that they were trained by Pakistan.²³

It is often pointed out by Pakistani policymakers that in case India occupied just 140 kilometres area of Pakistan, Pakistan would be wiped out because its communications, irrigation, and industry were all concentrated within this depth. The dearth of space within Pakistan compelled it to seek "the doctrine of offensive defence" in a conventional war with India to have a friendly regime in Afghanistan.²⁴

Moreover, Afghanistan was also not only to provide a base for training the '*mujahedeen*' but was also to provide a passage, after the Soviet Union, to the newly independent Central Asia States.²⁵ Pakistan pursued an ambitious policy with regard to Afghanistan. Pakistan needed Afghanistan not only to provide training ground to the Mujahidin but also to pursue its own strategic depth policy viz-a-viz India.²⁶

²⁰ Weinbaum, Marin G., "Afghanistan and its Neighbors: An Ever Dangerous Neighborhood" *United States Institute of Peace* available at <<http://www.usip.org/publications/afghanistan-and-its-neighbors-ever-dangerous-neighborhood>>, 16.

²¹ Hussain "Indo-Afghan Relations...", 47-8.

²² Rahimullah Yousafzai, "the Taliban's years in Powers" eds., Riffat Hussain, J.N. Dixit and et.al. *The Anatomy of a Conflict Afghanistan and 9/11* (New Delhi: The Lotus Collection Roli Books, 2002), 102.

²³ "Baber admits training Taliban in 1994", *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, September 8, 1998.

²⁴ Hussain, "War against terrorism...", 31-2.

²⁵ Arifa Noor, "The Saviors General," *News*, Islamabad, September 23, 2001.

²⁶ Zalmay Khalizad, "Afghanistan the Next Phase," *Perceptions* (Ankara), Vol.5, No.4, December 2000- February 2001, 8.

In order to bolster the Rabbani regime's strength against the rising power of the Taliban, India provided economic, military and diplomatic support to Rabbani and Massoud to enhance their capacity to withstand Taliban attacks.²⁷ A mini "great game" was now being played on the soil of Afghanistan by the regional states with Pakistan and its archrival India with their respective proxies in the competition. Pakistan has favoured the Islamists ever since the 1970s. After the Taliban got control of Kabul in September 1996, one month later Indian embassy had to be closed down.²⁸

The economic factor all the more caused India to oppose the Taliban because had they consolidated their power in Afghanistan, they would not have allowed India to extend the proposed gas pipeline like Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) from Central Asian Republics (CARs) to New Delhi. India is growing at the same time an energy deficient economy for which it is certainly looking different options and TAPI is one of them. India also supported Pakistan's rival in the Afghan conflict with a view to divert Pakistan's alleged help to the Kashmiri fighters and other insurgents in India.²⁹ Early 90's witnessed a new life in armed insurgency inside Indian occupied Kashmir which was credited to the diversion of Afghan *jihad* towards Kashmir as Pakistan was the architect of Afghan *jihad*, which stood victorious against the Soviets, and now it was the turn of Kashmir to be liberated from Indian occupation.

On the one hand, Pakistan was obsessed with a security threat from India and its continuous support to the Rabbani regime. Both were having Indo-centric and Pakistan-centric policies in Afghanistan much to the detriment of its people. Pakistan's security concerns viz-a-viz India can well be judged from the remarks of the Pakistan's Army Chief of the Staff, Ashfaq Pervaiz Kayani, that he would be the first one to admit that he was India-centric.³⁰ Pak-India proxy war in Afghanistan was raging in full when on September 11, 2001, the attacks on US World Trade Centre and Pentagon changed everything for everyone.

Pak-Afghan Relations and India after 9/11

The attacks on the US on 9/11 brought a paradigm shift in the political affairs of the world. The US told the world community in general and Pakistan in particular that there could not be any neutral in the war against terrorism.³¹ India without any delay agreed with the US demands

²⁷ *The Frontier Post*, Peshawar, July 16, 1994.

²⁸ Frederic Grare, *Pakistan and the Afghan conflict 1979-1985* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 193.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Bob Woodward, *Obama's War* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), 238.

³¹ George W. Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress following 9/11 attacks, September 20, 2001, accessed on July 2, 2010. Available at <<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/gwbush911jointsessionspeech.htm>> (accessed August 9, 2010).

and unconditionally offered its intelligence data on radical Islamic terrorism along with military bases against al-Qaeda and Taliban.³² India immediately identified three air bases, Avantipur, Acampur and Jamnagar, in Jammu, Punjab and Gujarat each, in addition to unspecified port facilities, as a part of its offer for operational support to the US. India's vital national interests in Afghanistan were to contain Pakistan, safeguard India's economic interests, like trade with Central Asia and the flow of gas through the proposed gas pipeline, and prevent use of Afghan soil again as training ground against India.³³ India wanted to gain advantages out of this opportunity. However, the USA needed Pakistan's support due to its geographical proximity to Afghanistan and its previous relations with the Taliban. As soon as the US president announced to wage war against Taliban, India got the opportunity to settle score both with Pakistan and Taliban.³⁴ The Indian leadership tried its best to dissuade the US and international community from getting Pakistan's help in the fight against terror. Although the most potent factor that forced Pakistan to join war on terror was the US threat but the Indian reaction was not the least factor that prompted Pakistan to work for the destruction of Taliban and reverse its decade long policy.³⁵ The Indian leadership urged that the UN Resolution 1373 should also be applied to Pakistan as there are groups fighting in Kashmir at the behest of Pakistan in conjunction and support from al-Qaeda.³⁶

By joining the war on terror Pakistan turned the table on Indian policymakers. However, India in the ultimate analyses succeeded in shifting the world focus from Kashmir and also weakened the stance of Pakistan over Kashmir. Since 9/11, Kashmir's freedom struggle is seen only through the prism of terrorism: "...India... equated the Kashmiri's struggle for self-determination to terrorist activity, supported by Pakistan."³⁷

India based its premise on the point that Pakistan is part of the problem and it should be kept out of the war on terror. The US campaign in Afghanistan against al-Qaeda and Taliban was a defining moment both for Pakistan and India. It created new strategic opportunities as well as

³² Raju G.G. Thomas, "In the Middle Ground" ed. Mary Buckley and Rick Fawn, *Global Responses to Terrorism: 9/11, Afghanistan and Beyond* (London: Rutledge, 2003), 202.

³³ Samay Ram, *The New Afghanistan: Pawn of America*, (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2004), 159.

³⁴ Zafar Habib, "Pakistan's Afghan Policy in the 1990s: Strategic Imperatives, Institutional Dilemmas and Systemic Constrains," Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, Quaid-i-Azam University (Islamabad: 2003), 160.

³⁵ Ahmed Rashid, *Descent into Chaos: How the War Against Islamic Extremism is Being Lost in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, (London: Allen Lane, 2008), 219.

³⁶ Nasim Zahra, "Anatomy of two Responses" *The News*, December 27, 2001.

³⁷ Tayyeb Siddiqui, "Why Kashmir is No More Issue," *Dawn*, Islamabad, January 24, 2010.

burdens for both. But the changes proved more advantageous to India than Pakistan.³⁸

Post-Taliban Afghanistan and India

The fall of Taliban was a “strategic debacle” for Pakistan, the new Afghan leaders were considered by Pakistan’s ISI as pro-India.³⁹ Under the new dispensation in Afghanistan that came into power under the Bonn Accords, in which an Indian-educated Hamid Karzai from the Durrani branch of the Popalzia (Pakhtun) tribe, only added to Pakistan’s “paranoia.”⁴⁰ The anti-Taliban and India friendly forces got powerful portfolios such as foreign affairs, interior ministry and defence in the new setup. “India’s... fortunes improved in Kabul as Islamabad’s [Pakistan], influence touched a nadir.”⁴¹ Indo-Afghan relations continued to improve after the fall of the Taliban and the interim administration assumed formal control. Within a short span of time five Afghan dignitaries visited India which speaks volumes about the clout India got in the post-Taliban setup.⁴²

India has also scored economic gains and is seeking for its products a lucrative market in Afghanistan. The Confederation of Indian Industries (CII) established its cell in Kabul on March 1, 2002. The CII held a ‘Made-in-India’ show in Kabul in September 2002, to introduce the Indian products in Afghanistan. The show was a success, as it was visited by 25,000 persons including 8,000 businessmen. An Indo-Afghan Business Forum (IABF) was also established to link the business communities of Afghanistan and India.⁴³ The Indian investors showed interest in setting up medical and industrial units worth \$2.5 million. Half of the 170 participating companies appointed dealers, agents and distributors for their products.⁴⁴ Encouraged by the trade fair India and Afghanistan signed the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA)⁴⁵ to boost two-way trade as Afghan President Karzai sought enhanced Indian assistance in the ongoing reconstruction efforts in the war-ravaged Afghanistan. This gives tariff concession to Afghan goods.⁴⁶ The PTA covered import of dry fruits, fruits and some other commodities from Afghanistan. According to Afghan

³⁸ Rodney Jones, “the US War on Terrorism; Religious Radicalism and Nuclear Confrontation in South Asia,” *South Asian Academic Paper* 8.x.

³⁹ Rashid, “*Descent into Chaos...*,” 87.

⁴⁰ William Maley, *Rescuing Afghanistan* (London: Hurst and Company, 2009), 109.

⁴¹ Sudha Ramachandran, “Now it’s another war in Afghanistan,” *The Statesman*, July 10, 2008.

⁴² Kadwai, “Rebuilding Afghanistan: the Resurgent Role India and Iran” ed. Ahmar, *The Challenge of Rebuilding Afghanistan*, 204; Hussain “Indo-Afghan Relations Pre and Post-Taliban Developments”, 46.

⁴³ Hussain “Indo-Afghan Relations ...,” 47-8.

⁴⁴ Kadwai, “Rebuilding Afghanistan...,” 205.

⁴⁵ Pattanaik, “Indian Interests In Afghanistan: Opportunities And Challenges.”

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Commerce Minister Mustafa Kazmi, "India is the best market for exporting Afghan goods".⁴⁷ The Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) formulated a list of 30 Indian companies for undertaking big projects in Afghanistan. Bilateral trade between India and Afghanistan reached \$358 million for the fiscal year April 2007 to March 2008.

Due to Pak-India mistrust Pakistan refused to provide transit facility to Indian goods going to Afghanistan. Pakistan allows the transit of Afghan goods to India over its territory but not vice versa.⁴⁸

India's Strategic Objectives in Afghanistan and Pakistan's Concerns

Afghanistan shares its borders with six countries namely Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, China, Iran and Pakistan. From Indian point of view each of these countries carries a high degree of importance, China and Pakistan as competitors and the rest as a means to counter them.⁴⁹ In order to enhance its manoeuvrability viz-a-viz Pakistan, India established a military base at Farkhor, an area close to the border with Afghanistan, in Tajikistan in May 2002.⁵⁰ The Indian military base at Farkhor will influence the course of events in the future.⁵¹ India's proactive role in Afghanistan was detrimental to Pakistani interests in Kabul.

Since 2001, India has committed \$1.3 billion for Afghanistan's reconstruction, becoming the sixth largest⁵² and the largest non-OECD donor to Afghanistan.⁵³ All this is done by the Indian government to win over the Afghans and establish itself as a regional power.⁵⁴ Greater role in Afghanistan would certainly provide India with the opportunity and ability to confront Pakistan with a two front scenario. The aid given to Afghanistan was divided among infrastructure repair, humanitarian assistance and institutional and human resource development.⁵⁵ The semi-military Indian Border Roads Organization (BRO) built a major highway connecting Zaranj and Delaram with the cost of \$84 million⁵⁶ on the

⁴⁷ Kadwai, "Rebuilding Afghanistan...", 206.

⁴⁸ Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Stuti Bhatnager, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations and the Indian factor," *Pakistan Horizon*, Vol. 60. No. 2, April 2007.

⁴⁹ Shah, "Pakistan, India and the Post 9/11 Afghanistan", 342.

⁵⁰ Zaman, "India's increased involvement in Afghanistan and Central Asia Implications for Pakistan, 7-9.

⁵¹ Ibid; 85.

⁵² Since 2001 India today is the sixth-largest bilateral donor in Afghanistan after the United States, Britain, Japan and Germany, and World Bank. Ramachandran, "Now it's war against India in Afghanistan" *Asia Times* 9 July 2008.

⁵³ Melanie, "Indian Involvement in Afghanistan...", 20.

⁵⁴ Alam Rind, "Afghan Dimension To Pakistan-India Relations," *The Frontier Post*, April 21, 2010.

⁵⁵ Weinbaum, "Afghanistan and its Neighbors...", 16.

⁵⁶ Pattanaik, "In the Pursuit of Strategic Depth: The Changing Dynamics of Pakistan's Afghan Policy," *Afghanistan the Challenge* ed., K. Warikoo, 157.

Pakistan border in the southwestern province of Nimruz, bordering Baluchistan.⁵⁷ The Zaranj-Delaram project runs from the Iranian border to Delaram. India can unload goods at Iran's Chabahar Port and then send the shipments overland through the Zaranj-Delaram Highway and the Garland Highway to cities across Afghanistan.⁵⁸ "The explicit intent of this project is to break Pakistan's monopoly on Afghanistan's link to the outside world through the Khyber Pass..., and re-orient Afghanistan's transport, economic and strategic focus to its west."⁵⁹ Zaranj-Delaram Highway not only provides India overland access to Afghanistan which was denied to it by Pakistan but also "gains the maximum political advantage and, of course, undercuts Pakistani influence."⁶⁰ India also helped Afghanistan and gave 300 military transport vehicles to Afghan military as a part of international efforts to build a new Afghan Army. India's assistance to Afghan National Army was termed by the Afghan defence minister an excellent example of 'regional cooperation'.⁶¹ India also provided training to Afghan bureaucracy, helped in the field of civil aviation, gave 300 transport buses and provided skills to over 3,000 Afghans with carpentry, plumbing and masonry. Thousands of scholarships were given to Afghan students for study in India.⁶² Afghans were given training in the field of policing, journalism, and medicine and computer science.⁶³ India's medical mission in Kabul, Kandahar and Herat treated over three lakh patients with free medicines.⁶⁴ India trained Afghan police and diplomats and provided assistance in such areas as education, health, and telecoms. About 4,000 Indian personnel are working in Afghanistan on various projects.⁶⁵ According to Ahmed Rashid, a leading expert on Afghan affairs, it meant to "advertise India's claim to be regional economic power, ready

⁵⁷ The construction of the road was agreed to by the two sides during Karzai visit to India in March 2003; Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee announced a grant of US \$70 million for the construction of Zaranj-Delaram Road. This road would shorten the transit distance between Iranian port city Chabahar and Delaram [Afghanistan] by over 600 kilometers. Rubin and Siddique, "Resolving the Pakistan- Afghanistan Stalemate", 14; Chandra, "India and Afghanistan: Renewing Economic Relations" *Afghanistan the Challenge* ed. K. Warikoo, 184.

⁵⁸ Ramachandran, "Now it's War Against India in Afghanistan."

⁵⁹ Lee, "India Doubles Down in Afghanistan".

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Kadwai, "Rebuilding Afghanistan...", 205.

⁶² Anwar Parveen, "Indian Interests in Afghanistan," *The Frontier Post*, 16 November 2012. Chandra, "India and Afghanistan: Renewing Economic Relations," ed., K. Warikoo, *Afghanistan the Challenge*, 182.

⁶³ Kadwai, "Rebuilding Afghanistan...", 206-7.

⁶⁴ Pattanaik, "Indian interests in Afghanistan: opportunities and Challenges."

⁶⁵ "India's military cooperation with Afghanistan has been through providing help in training the Afghan army. For instance, about a hundred Afghan officers are trained each year in Indian military academies. Indian military personnel have also been taking part in teaching basic skills to the Afghan soldiers in Afghanistan". see for detail of India's assistance to Afghanistan. Chandra, "India and Afghanistan: Renewing Economic Relations" ed. K. Warikoo, *Afghanistan the Challenge*, 180-93.

to assume regional responsibilities.”⁶⁶ India through its efforts at reconstructions and capacity-building in Afghanistan had been trying to exert its “soft power” in Afghanistan.⁶⁷ The Indian government’s sustained support for Afghanistan is construed as “strategic encirclement” of Pakistan.⁶⁸ But in spite of India’s activism in every field in Afghanistan, it is constrained by geography; Pakistan’s contiguity and Islamic ties between the two people, if not at the official level.

India’s Consulates in Afghanistan and Pakistan’s Concerns

India established a number of consulates along the Pak-Afghan border. Pakistan repeatedly held that they had ‘concrete’ evidence that these consulates were being used as cover for Indian intelligence agencies to run covert operations against Pakistan, and to incite insurgency in its largest Baluchistan province⁶⁹ as well as helping the militants in Fata.⁷⁰

Pakistan accused India of setting up networks of “terrorist training camps” inside Afghanistan, including one at the Afghan military base of Qushila Jadid, north of Kabul; near Gereshk, in southern Helmand province; in the Panjshir Valley, northeast of Kabul; and at Kahak and Hassan Killies in western Nimruz province. However, India’s spokesman, Sarna, termed these charges “rubbish.”⁷¹ Pakistani journalist Rahimullah Yousafzai stated that the Indian embassy in Kabul and its consulates in Afghanistan have cultivated relations with important military commanders, who operated close to the Pakistani border.⁷² Pakistan has time and again accused India of fomenting insurgencies or “terrorist activities” in Baluchistan and Fata through its consulates along the Pak-Afghan border.⁷³ By supporting the Baloch insurgents and other terrorists,

⁶⁶ Weinbaum. Afghanistan and its Neighbors, 16; Anwar Parveen, “Indian Interests in Afghanistan” *The Frontier Post*, 16 November 2012.

⁶⁷ Indian television, soaps and Indian films are very popular in Afghanistan. Bajoria, “India-Afghanistan Relations.”

⁶⁸ Melanie, “Indian Involvement in Afghanistan...”, 15.

⁶⁹ Grare, *Carnage Papers*, 12.

⁷⁰ Sayed Mazhar Ali Shah, “Afghanistan Ke Baharat Dost Aur Pakistan Dushman Polisiaya,” *AAj* (Urdu), 21 July 2009; Muhammad Amjad, “Operation Waziristan: An Overview,” *Dawn*, April 17, 2010.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Rahimullah Yousafzai, “Pakistan’s Loss in Afghanistan is India’s Gain” *The News*, July 13, 2003.

⁷³ Ayaz Ahmed Pirzada “Pak-Afghan Relations Victim of Mistrust,” *The Frontier Post*, July 10, 2008; Ahmed Rashid, “The Afghan Conundrum” ed., Maleeha Lodhi, *Pakistan: Beyond the ‘Crises State’* (London: Hurts & Company, 2001), 316.

India aims to dilute and weaken Pakistan's military strength on its eastern border.⁷⁴ Pakistan argues that

India does not share a border with Afghanistan....why do (they) have such a large presence in Afghanistan?⁷⁵ Pakistan criticized India for creating an anti-Pakistan Afghanistan. These Indian consulates did not have any other role except creating trouble in Pakistan....why wouldn't the consulates be somewhere in the north facing Uzbekistan and Tajikistan?⁷⁶

However, Indian stand on these consulates is that these were operational before the civil war ensued in Afghanistan in the post-Soviet withdrawal period and were meant only to oversee the developmental works in Afghanistan and make connection with the people living in the area.⁷⁷ To allay the apprehension that Pakistan nurtures about India's presence in Afghanistan, the Afghan President, Hamid Karzai, said, "India is a close friend of Afghanistan but Pakistan is a brother of Afghanistan... we are conjoined twins, there's no separation."⁷⁸

Indo-Afghan good neighbourly relations proved to be the worst scenario after the fall of the Taliban that kept India away from Pakistan's western borders.⁷⁹ There are observers who believe that Pakistan was behind the instability in Afghanistan as Pakistan would prefer "controlled instability" over US- and India-dominated stability."⁸⁰ According to Ahmad Rashid, "It is better to keep the Afghan Taliban as reserve... the Indian presence must at all cost be eliminated from Afghanistan..."⁸¹

Conclusion

Since the Pakistan and India's independence from the colonial clutches in 1947, both the countries bogged down to an unending and perennial hostility which is even fought out on the soil of Afghanistan. The main bone of contention between India and Pakistan is the core issue of Kashmir. They have fought number of wars on this issue and this might be an existential threat to millions of people as both the states possess the nuclear arsenals.

⁷⁴ Huma Mir, "Indo-Pakistan Talks and Afghanistan" *The Frontier Post*, 5 March 2010; Alam Rind, "Afghan Dimension To Pakistan-India Relations," *The Frontier Post*, April 21, 2010.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Masood Haider, "India Creating Anti-Pakistan Afghanistan," *Dawn*, Islamabad, November 10, 2010.

⁷⁷ Pattanaik, "Indian Interests in Afghanistan: Opportunity and Challenges."

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Rubin and Siddique, "Resolving the Pakistan- Afghanistan Stalemate," 14.

⁸⁰ Melanie Hanif, "Indian Involvement in Afghanistan: Stepping Stone or Stumbling Block to Regional Hegemony?", *GIGA*, No. 98, (April 2009), 14.

⁸¹ Ahmed Rashid interview published in *The News*, Islamabad, December 13, 2009.

Despite a commonality of interests between Pakistan and Afghanistan, their bilateral relations have often been sour, right from the onset of Pakistan's emergence in 1947. The main reason that hurt their relations was the utopian concept of Pakhtunistan that Afghanistan supported. Afghanistan also declared the Durand Line, drawn in 1893, null and void and claiming the Pakhtunistan areas as its own. This and other factors resulted in Afghanistan's tilt toward the then Soviet Union, and Pakistan leaning towards the USA. The issue also contributed to the arrival of Soviet forces in Afghanistan in December 1979.

The fallout of that interference and subsequent events are now part of Afghan and world history. However, the saga still continues. The "war on terror" by default is an extension of the acrimonious relationship between the two states. Both countries have suffered greatly due to their misguided policies in the past. Pakistan drafted and espoused the faulty theory of "strategic depth" to counter Afghanistan and Indian influence in the region. Hardly a day goes by without some suicide bombing or other untoward incident in both Pakistan and Afghanistan and potential threat to India's security.

To reach a win-win situation all three countries need to shun the Kautilyan policy that the enemy of one is the friend of other. Rather, they need to embrace the concept that the enemy of one is the enemy of the other. For this they need to design a joint mechanism to defeat the common enemy, terrorism, backwardness, poverty, etc. Afghanistan must assure Pakistan that its soil will not be used by any state or organisations inimical to Pakistan's interests. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto once remarked that no two countries in the world share so much in common as Pakistan and Afghanistan, and his sagacious daughter Benazir Bhutto famously remarked that there is an Indian in every Pakistani, and a Pakistani in every Indian. So all the three countries have a lot of commonalities and share much.

The way forward will be a comprehensive approach and serious regional commitment that can only be achieved if all three countries shed their rivalries and work collectively. In the post drawdown of international forces Pakistan, India and Afghanistan must strive for a shining and bright future. All stakeholders must take the "war on terror" to a logical conclusion.

All three countries must cooperate to tackle the problem of militancy and terrorism through a cohesive strategy for the future of a peaceful South Asia, Central Asia and the entire region. Economic cooperation should increase among these three countries and other countries in the region especially China. This region has a special importance and the potential to serve as a trade nucleus for the South Asian countries and also for the energy rich Central Asia. To save the region from the scourge of poverty and militancy, the best course for Pakistan and India is to "go beyond the zero-sum mentality".

NONKILLING AND SOCIAL PEACE THROUGH: QISAS– A PRAGMATIC CONFLICT MITIGATION FRAMEWORK

Muhammad Feyyaz*

وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَوةٌ يَا أُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ لَعَلَّكُمْ
تَتَّقُونَ ﴿١٧٩﴾

In the Law of Equality, there is (saving of) life to you, O ye men of understanding: That ye may restrain yourself.

Chapter 2, Al-Baqara: verse 179, Al-Qur'an

Abstract

Nonkilling has emerged as an important intellectual movement in recent past. Its proponents argue a case to create a killing-free world, and assert that it is not utopian idea but scope of such a possibility exists in real world. This article refutes this claim, arguing that nonkilling by pure reliance on pacifist frameworks has failed to yield moderating effects to prevent killing. It instead offers an alternative pathway, the Islamic concept of Qisas (retribution) to accomplish the propagated cause. Drawing upon multisource empirical data, a critical examination of nonkilling paradigm viz-à-viz Qisas is presented. It exposes theoretical gaps in the assumptions underlying nonkilling premise concomitantly highlighting why Qisas can be a more effective framework to achieve ends of peace. The discussion also traces the evolution of Qisas covering its form before, and the transformation it underwent after the advent of Islam. Further, the subjectivities and prejudices which associate Qisas with barbarism and its profile in contemporary Muslim countries are analyzed. The conclusion supports the refutation and offers some broad policy suggestions for nonkilling theorists and advocates.

Key Words: *Qisas, Diyat, nonkilling paradigm, revenge, discourse in theology, justice system*

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Backdrop

At the beginning of the third millennium, a large part of the world continues to remain enmeshed in internecine power struggles, cultural commotions and violent armed conflicts. An estimated 526,000 people died violently as a result of conflicts, homicides and killings during legal interventions each year between 2004 and 2009.¹ More than two million perished globally during 2012 alone due to interpersonal violence, intentional injury, collective violence and legal intervention.² Similarly, the average rate of onset for societal wars and their frequency does not appear to have changed much (from 3.77 to 3.35 per year) across the shift from Cold War to post-Cold War periods.³ In late 2011, there were 24 states directly affected by 32 ongoing internal wars, the number increased to 27 at the end of 2012 that have been joined by a few more in the intervening period such as Syria, Libya, Yemen, Mali and now Egypt.⁴ Whereas in the preceding 10-year period (2002–11) there were 73 active state-based conflicts, 223 non-state conflicts and 130 actors recorded as carrying out one-sided violence, including 23 in 2011.⁵ Meanwhile, almost at the matching scale, nonkilling or similar peace initiatives have turned into wider socio-intellectual movements spear headed by a range of internationally known peace and security organizations, think tanks, academics as well as inter- and intra-faith dialogue forums endeavouring to eradicate violence. Scholars engaged in different spheres of the nonkilling discourse have passionately maintained that such is not a utopian dream, arguing that space and scope of such projects is possible in existing realities.⁶ An objective assessment

¹ "Measuring problems: Global Burden of Armed Violence (GBAV) 2011," Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, Switzerland. <<http://www.genevadeclaration.org/measurability/global-burden-of-armed-violence/global-burden-of-armed-violence-2011.html>> (accessed March 8, 2015).

² WHO, "Deaths: WORLD by cause," *Global Health Observatory Data Repository*, 2012 <<http://apps.who.int/gho/data/node.main.CODWORLD?lang=en>>. (accessed February 28, 2015).

³ Monty G. Marshall, "Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) 1946-2012: State Fragility and Warfare in the Global System 2012," Center for Systemic Peace, USA. <<http://www.systemicpeace.org>>.

⁴ Allansson, Marie, Margareta Sollenberg and Lotta Themnér, "Armed conflict-Armed conflict in the wake of the Arab Spring," in *SIPRI Year Book'Armaments, disarmament and international security'* (UK-USA: Oxford University Press, 2013), 19.

⁵ Lotta Themnér and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed conflict-2002-11: Patterns of organized violence," in *SIPRI Year Book'Armaments, disarmament and international security'* (UK-USA: Oxford University Press, 2013), 41.

⁶ João Evans Pim, "Interdisciplinary Perspectives Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm," and Pikilish-Shalom "Nonkilling Political Science in the Killing Fields of International Relations," in *Nonkilling Political Science: A Critical Evaluation* Global Nonkilling, Working Papers #3, Center for Global Nonkilling, 10, 15, 41.

exemplifying enormity of violent undertones not only defies these claims, but also clearly shows that the motivation underscoring nonkilling by pure reliance on pacifist frameworks has failed to yield moderating effects to prevent killing, thereby measurably challenging the ideological content and practical worth of the nonkilling paradigm.

It is with this background that an examination of the notion of *Qisas* (Arabic equality, semantically understood as revenge) in Islam is warranted to respond to rampant violence by informing theoretical persuasions, socio-political and legal processes, mechanisms and practices for promoting ideals of peace, security and equity. Indeed, there are arguments that view this segment of the Islamic legal theory as barbarous; those are arguably subjective due to lack of proper understanding of the objective message latent in this concept. This deficiency partly owes to the void in the nonkilling literature which is wanting in the optimum exploration of potentiality of Muslims' scriptural injunctions amenable to assimilation into broad vision of a humane discourse.⁷ The principles of nonkilling have been alluded to in this study including those advocated by Islam, but these have been viewed essentially from an ethical lens that insist on outlawing manslaughter or urge restraint in causing hurt.⁸ This article seeks to offer a unique ingredient for consideration in the ongoing debate to accomplish the cause propounded by CGNK (Center for Global Non-Killing). In substance, it is not a discourse in theology, rather is an academic exercise entailing comparison of the two constructs to highlight tuniqueness of *Qisas* viz-à-viz nonkilling, as an alternative life-preserving model.

Appraising Vision, Definition and Nonkilling Approaches

During the last few years, immense amount of scholarly work has been produced mainly under the stewardship of CGNK, virtually touching every aspect of human life, including those constituting its physical surrounding.⁹ In addition, several university based centres, research institutes, independent think tanks, coalition groups, peace brigades, peace building networks and nongovernmental organizations have been founded worldwide, broadly canvassing for resolution of conflicts through peaceful means. Their approaches visualizing nonviolence through respect

⁷ This observation is based on a thorough review of the scholarship produced by Center for Global Non-killing.

⁸ Joám Evans Pim, (ed), *Nonkilling Security and the State* (Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2013); Joám Evans Pim, (ed), *Nonkilling Political Science: A Critical Evaluation* (Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2010), Joám Evans Pim, *Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm* (Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2009); Antony Adolf, *Nonkilling History Shaping Policy with Lessons from the Past* (Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2010).

⁹ Joám Evans Pim, (ed), "Nonkilling Political Science...".

for life by accent on peace education,¹⁰ or nonviolent conflict to fight for rights, freedom, or peace through disarmament etc, all aim at making the world a safer place for humanity.¹¹ Obviously nonkilling is situated at the heart of all of these orientations; therefore, despite following different organizational philosophies, ultimately they converge on nonkilling. GNK (Global Non-Killing) can be reckoned a novel experience in these efforts by directly focusing on “Thou Shall Not Kill.” Among others, religious and spiritual traditions have found particular attention with the writers of GNK experimentation. This is abundantly symbolized in the body of ‘Interdisciplinary Perspectives Toward a Nonkilling Paradigm’.¹² These deliberations discuss at length nonkilling traditions and principles underlying sacred scripts of all major worldly and divine religions as well as personal charismas of a few distinguished individuals who occupy unique place in the history of global peace overtures.¹³

Originally, however, the concept of nonkilling as is now understood in the academic lexicon was innovated by Glenn Paige during the last decade which stemmed and refined overtime from several of his anthologies, more importantly ‘political science: to kill or not to kill’ and ‘Nonkilling Korea’, envisioning a nonkilling society.¹⁴ He envisaged such a collectivity to be.¹⁵

[A] human community, smallest to largest, local to global, characterized by no killing of humans and no threats to kill; no weapons designed to kill humans and no justifications for using them; and no conditions of society dependent upon threat or use of killing force for maintenance or change.

This has found its definitional manifestation in the “absence of killings, threats to kill, and conditions conducive to killing in human society”¹⁶ that has since become a normative basis for framing nonkilling narratives and interventions to advance theoretical and practical dimensions of the discourse. Nevertheless, integrity and virtue signifying nonkilling appeal notwithstanding, it is an inherently flawed, subjective and incoherent theory which is sharply at odds with the Machiavellianism (dominance through persuasive manipulation of others), anarchy-prone

¹⁰ Edward J. Brantmeier, Jing Lin and John P. Miller (eds), *Spirituality, Religion and Peace Education* (USA: Information Age Publishing, 2009).

¹¹ See International Center on Nonviolent Conflict at <www.nonviolent-conflict.org/> and Jay’s peace and nonviolence links.

¹² Joám Evans Pim, “Interdisciplinary Perspectives....”.

¹³ Antony Adolf, *Nonkilling History Shaping Policy with Lessons from the Past* (Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2010).

¹⁴ Glenn D. Paige, *Nonkilling Global Political Science* (Honolulu: Center for Global Nonkilling, 2009); Glenn D. Paige, “A Nonkilling Korea: From Cold-War Confrontation to Peaceful Coexistence,” *Social Alternatives* 21, no. 2 (2002); Glenn D. Paige, “Political Science: To Kill or Not to Kill?,” *Social Alternatives* 19, no. 2 (2000).

¹⁵ Paige, “*Nonkilling Global Political Science*”, 21.

¹⁶ Pim, “Interdisciplinary Perspectives...”, 11.

and interest-centric dynamics characterizing the real world. The spectre of hazards and debilitating ramifications of climate change, population growth and the fast dwindling natural resources will further accentuate contested incompatibilities between and among humans. Arguments in favour of nonkilling underlined by measurability of goals through quantification and the open-ended nature of its realization, as well as in signifying “nonviolence” and “peace” as abstractive and passive ideas therefore seem devoid of reasoned articulation.¹⁷ In reality besides acknowledging the uncertain nature of human conditions, all peace ideals without exceptions are generally open-ended; their forms may differ. Identically, the notion of problematization of human safety to be paramount in human thinking, which has been claimed as a paradigm shift, is difficult to reconcile due to the widely established recognition of this aspect by responsible entities and stakeholders.¹⁸

A few provocative arguments by Collyer and John Kavanaugh who support nonkilling further dilute the intellectual basis of the case.¹⁹ The former notes that the “familiar word, nonviolence, is almost comforting in its generality” while nonkilling “confronts and startles us with its specificity.” This is indeed true insofar semantics is concerned. In spirit, nonviolence also propagates avoiding harm which is fatal. Its proponents are interested more in saving human life than enfolding entire biological collectivity and its ecology into its fold such as in Jainism which is not realistic either.²⁰ The message undergirding nonviolence is quite driven by extant realities; it too is pacifist as nonkilling. John Kavanaugh’s moral thesis on nonkilling in *Who Counts as Persons?* is equally puzzling and deficient of rationality. For example, while explaining how “[t]he principle of nonkilling is not a recommendation of passivity,” he supports intervention as “primary commitment to the inherent dignity of personal life... on behalf of the defenseless or the victim” but with a moral limit inhibiting “direct intended killing of the aggressor.”²¹ Transcending traditional positions in Christian theology, Kavanaugh pins intentional killing as intrinsically wrong regardless of the motive or consequences —

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Edwards Clayton K, “The Basis of the Nonkilling Belief,” *Asteriskos* 3, no. 4 (2007): 33-39.

¹⁹ Charles E. Collyer, “A Nonkilling Paradigm for Political Scientists, Psychologists, and Others,” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 9, no. 4 (2003): 371-372; Gilbert Meilaender, “Choose life,” Review of John F. Kavanaugh, *Who Count as Persons? Human Identity and the Ethics of Killing*, *The Review of Politics*, 2002.

²⁰ For example see home, mission statements and basic concepts on webpages of Center for non-violence and peace studies USA: <<http://web.uri.edu/nonviolence/>>; Meta center for non-violence USA: <mettacenter.org/>; Center for nonviolence and social justice: <www.nonviolenceandsocialjustice.org/> and Centre for applied nonviolent action and strategies, Belgrade: <<http://www.canvasopedia.org/>>.

²¹ John F. Kavanaugh, *Who Count as Persons?: Human Identity and the Ethics of Killing*, (Georgetown University Press, 2001), 123.

noble, socio-politically obligated or otherwise, justifying its need.²² Freddoso, Meilaender, Sweetman and a few others have shown serious reservations on these assertions. Freddoso is particularly critical with regard to Kavanaugh's silence on failing to draw the line between intentional killing and those forms of punishment, such as torture or mutilation, that also "negate personhood," i.e., treat someone as a nonperson.²³ And secondly, the ruling out by Kavanaugh of intentional killing of anyone at all, even male-factors who threaten the common good in the serious ways that are commonly thought to justify war and capital punishment, creates ambiguity about his notion of morality.²⁴

Sweetman contends Kavanaugh's 'right to life as absolute', controversial wherein the latter terms intentional killing of an aggressor even in self-defence morally wrong.²⁵ At the same time to avoid being labelled as total pacifist, Kavanaugh proposes that we can defend ourselves against an intruder short of killing him. Whether or not he is insinuating use of force for the purpose of incapacitating an assailant, is not made clear. Identically confusion in leaving vague the arguments used to support just war theory reflected in the failure to declare the Gulf or all wars as immoral further add to the superficiality of Kavanaugh standpoint. These somewhat contradictory positions are antithetical to reality where states, societies and individuals that are faced with grave perils to their existence by terrorism, tyranny, oppression, aggression, genocide, violent persecution etc, are being asked to refrain from undertaking protective measures to survive. Decidedly, in majority of the cases, innate good sense and civilized behaviour prevents people from stepping over the line and breaking the law. Fear of punishment also throws in for a good measure in shaping the mindsets. Yet, however, there are those who for whatever reasons are unable to hold back from committing heinous crimes, including cold-blooded murder.²⁶ How to deal with such lot? — the question remains unanswered in Kavanaugh's thesis. Furthermore, being entirely non-detering it does not become sufficiently clear how nonkilling as well as the ethical position taken by Kavanaugh, is distinguished from nonviolence in terms of passivity unless it intends to shift heightened if not harsh focus on legal and physical enforcements in preventive as well as interventionist frameworks by violating basic rights of citizenry; which at least Kavanaugh does not seem to approve. On the other hand,

²² Ibid, 92.

²³ Alfred J.Freddoso, Book Review, John F. Kavanaugh, *Who Count as Persons? Human Identity and the Ethics of Killing*, Afreddoso papers February 1, 2002.

²⁴ *ibid*.

²⁵ Brendan Sweetman, Book Review, John F. Kavanaugh, *Who Count as Persons? Human Identity and the Ethics of Killing*, *The National Catholic Bioethics Quarterly* (2003Winters).

²⁶ *The World's Worst Murders: 100 Murders That Horrified the World*, (London: Chancellor Press, 2001), 70.

Meilaender considers Kavanaugh's comparison of acts of terrorism by non-state actors as moral equivalence of states' military responses to strategic threats as implausible.²⁷

Undeniably, nonkilling behaviour is a reasonable possibility; it is true that 95 countries have completely abolished the death penalty,²⁸ and propensity for interstate armed conflicts is also on decline²⁹ sustaining assertions for a safer world. Yet it is a fact that myth surrounding "man the hunter," clamouring that humans are not necessarily prone to violence and killing, has not settled in its favour.³⁰ It may be noted that the number of people who were killed in non-conflict settings—such as in Central and South America and the Caribbean and in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa from 2004 to 2009—was far greater than those who were put to death in conflicts, and phenomenally so during 2011.³¹ This pattern replicates with equal intensity within developed and resource rich societies, US, Russia, China, South Africa etc, where penchant for criminal homicide manifests markedly.³²

It will be instructive here to cite two verses from the Qur'an that Shia theologians most often employ to argue case for establishment of a government and which, in general terms, depict the nature of man. They contend that Islam regards it absurd and unrealistic to say that society is needless of government and brute force, even when it possesses sound training, knowledge of law and what is beneficial and harmful.³³ The claim is predicated first, on the verses about the creation of Adam, wherein the creation of man has been explained in such a manner that his weakness and possibility of going astray is clearly indicated (Chap 2, Al-Baqara, verse 30):

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً قَالُوا أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ﴿٣٠﴾

²⁷ Gilbert, Choose life.

²⁸ Amnesty International 2013, "Death sentences & executions in 2012," *Amnesty International publications*, UK, 51.

²⁹ Neil Melvin, "Overview," in SIPRI Year Book 'Armaments...', 17-18.

³⁰ Robert W. Sussman and Joshua L. Marshack, "Are Humans Inherently Killers?" *Global Nonkilling Working Papers #1*, 2010, Center for Global Nonkilling, Honolulu.

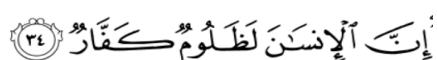
³¹ WHO, "Deaths: WORLD by cause..."

³² United Nations office on Drug and Crime, "Homicide statistics 2013."

³³ Professor Muhammad Taqi Misbah Ayatullah Yazdi, *Islamic Political Theory (Statecraft) Volume 2*. (Iran: The Ahl al-Bayt ('a) World Assembly (ABWA), 2008).

“When your Lord said to the angels, ‘Indeed I am going to set a viceroy on the earth,’ they said, ‘Will you set in it someone who will cause corruption in it, and shed blood, while we celebrate Your praise and proclaim Your sanctity?’ He said, ‘Indeed I know what you do not know’.”

The second verse (Al-Ibrahim, verse 34) wherein God describes man as “*zalum*” which is the superlative degree (Sighah al-Mubalighah) and means “most unfair”, indicates that inequity, insolence and ungratefulness in human beings is such that it cannot be neglected, and human societies will always be replete with injustice and ingratitude.



“Indeed man is most unfair and ungrateful!”

Further, a major discrepancy in the definition of nonkilling is its implicit condoning of all violence other than that is fatal by emphasizing only on or absence of threats of killing, thereby dismissing enormity of deaths produced by intentional injuries. This accentuation at once strips this formulation of its moral fibre by creating a nonkilling particularism. Perhaps, it is for that reason (with deference) that justifications to prove and locate nonkilling geo-biological spaces sounds like a far cry in a world where one person is murdered every 60 seconds and one person dies in armed conflict every 100 seconds. Mapping trends and patterns of lethal violence from across 186 countries, Global Burden of Armed Violence 2011 dataset substantiates colossal human loss through violent social crimes by describing that roughly 12.2 per cent of the lethal violence occurred in armed conflict settings, while 87.8 per cent in the non-conflict settings.³⁴ This translates to 55,000 direct conflict deaths and 396,000 intentional homicide victims per year. The 55,000 average deaths per year in armed conflicts around the world can be compared to the estimated 48,800 people who die violently on average each year only in Brazil.³⁵ The latest data by Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development indicates a further bleak situation in which more than 740,000 men, women and children die each year as a result of armed violence.³⁶ The majority of these deaths — 490,000 — occur in countries that are not affected by armed conflicts.

³⁴ “Measuring problems: Global Burden of Armed Violence (GBAV) 2011”.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ See “What is Declaration,” Geneva Declaration of Armed Violence and Development, 2014, <<http://www.genevadeclaration.org/the-geneva-declaration/what-is-the-declaration.html>>, (accessed March 9, 2015).

Revenge in pre-Islamic period

Revenge or 'badal' (the right of blood feuds) in Pashtu is a common feature of many cultures around the world.³⁷ In pre-Islamic Arabia, tribalism was the dominant lifestyle governed by indigenous norms accumulated over time as the human experiences progressed in these areas. During this 'Age of Ignorance', bravery and strength in battle, patience in disaster, insistence on seeking revenge, being truthful even at the risk of one's life, were all perceived as virtues and praised.³⁸ Since there was no government, hence there was no law and no order. Arbitrary actions consistent with self or groups' interests defined rules to sustain social institutions and relational aspects. The only protection for a man's life was the certainty established by custom, that it would be dearly bought: blood for blood and a life for a life. The vendetta, *tha'r* in Arabic, was one of the pillars of Bedouin society.³⁹ Consequently, if the Arabs ever exercised any modicum of restraint, it was not because of any susceptibility to questions of right or wrong but because of the fear of provoking reprisals and vendetta which consumed entire generations.⁴⁰ Generally, in case of tribe member being killed, all members would act together to take revenge. The conflict continued even after the belligerents had killed each other off, because previously uninvolved families and/or tribal members expanded the fight seeking revenge. The ancient tribal custom of '*fasil*' (an Iraqi term for compensation or a negotiated settlement), presented a way to defuse the perpetuated cycle of revenge. '*Fasil*' could be exercised even after intentional killings, and did not have to be necessarily financial.⁴¹ The perpetrator could agree to be exiled from a neighbourhood, village or region which is peculiar to Arab setting.⁴² Individually, if the person who was responsible for seeking revenge failed to do so, they were believed to be covered in dishonour.⁴³ This pattern of revenge seeking was subjective and undifferentiated. Maududi (2011 [1972]) has eloquently explained it in the exegesis written by him. In this age, blood of kin was regarded more precious by a tribe than those from

³⁷ Pashtu is a widely spoken language by ethnic community, known as pathan or pakhtun, residing in parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan in addition to by diaspora settled in Middle East, western Europe, China etc.

³⁸ NihalSahinUtku, "Arabia in the Pre-Islamic Period," The lastprophet.info, June 13, 2013, <<http://www.lastprophet.info/arabia-in-the-pre-islamic-period>>, (accessed March 8, 2015)

³⁹ Sayed Ali Asgher Razwy, *Restatement of History of Islam*, UK: World Federation of KSI Muslim Communities, n.d., <<http://www.al-islam.org/restatement/3.htm>>, (accessed March 8, 2015).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "Arab Cultural Awareness: 58 Fact sheets," US Army Training and Doctrine Command – 2006, <<http://fas.org/irp/agency/army/arabculture.pdf>>, (accessed March 9, 2015).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Utku, Arabia in the Pre-Islamic Period.

whom revenge was to be exacted.⁴⁴ This psychological orientation-cum-tradition led them to take numerous lives including that of the killer. Life for a life was practically a misnomer. A key characteristic overriding the tradition was the adapted notion of equalizer in the course of score settling — by carrying out lethal disposal of not only the murderer, but coupled with that slaying a person equal in social status of the victim. At times, this value entailed condoning the life of the murderer if he was of a menial social ranking.⁴⁵ Likewise, it was common that for a killed slave, free men or vice versa, were avenged. Same was true of feuds involving women, whose revenge was taken by killing men of the killer's tribe.⁴⁶

Islam retained revenge in its message; its methodological and human dimensions however underwent revolutionary changes by effecting profound modification in the Arab sense of justice. It mitigated horrors of pre-Islamic custom of retaliation but further in order to meet the strict claims of justice, prescribed equality with strong recommendation for mercy and forgiveness as described in Al-Baqara, verse 178.⁴⁷

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِصَاصُ فِي الْقَتْلِ الْحُرُّ بِالْحُرِّ
وَالْعَبْدُ بِالْعَبْدِ وَالْأُنْثَىٰ بِالْأُنْثَىٰ فَمَنْ عُفِيَ لَهُ مِنْ أَخِيهِ شَيْءٌ فَإِنِّبَاعٌ
بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَأَدَاءٌ إِلَيْهِ بِإِحْسَنٍ ذَلِكَ تَخْفِيفٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَرَحْمَةٌ
فَمَنِ اعْتَدَىٰ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَلَهُ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ ﴿١٧٨﴾

O you who believe! The Law of Equality is prescribed to you in case of murder: The free for the free, the slave for the slave, and the woman for the woman. But if any remission is made by the brother of the slain, then grant any reasonable demand, and compensate him with handsome gratitude. This is a concession and a mercy from your Lord.

Qisas in Islam

Textually, revenge has been enjoined in the Quran as *Qisas*, which means equality. Jurists have carefully laid down that the law of *Qisas* refers to murder only. It is not applicable to manslaughter due to mistake or an accident for which there is no capital punishment.⁴⁸ It is interesting to note

⁴⁴ Syed Abu al-A'la Maududi, trans-mufasir, *Tafheem-ul-Qur'an*, Vol 1 (Lahore: Idara Tarjaman-al-Qur'an, 2011 [1971], note 177, 137.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 138.

⁴⁶ Ahmad Raza Khan and Syed Muhammad Naeem-ud- Din, trans-mufasir, *Kanzal Iman* (Lahore-Karachi: Zia ul Qur'an publications, n.d.), 736.

⁴⁷ Abdullah Yusuf Ali, trans-mufasir, *The Holy Quran: text, translation and Commentary* (New Delhi: Farid Book Depot (Pvt) Limited, n.d. [1938]), 71.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

the translation of *Qisas* by some eminent translators⁴⁹ and research-scholars as 'retaliation'.⁵⁰ Similarly, there is a category of researchers who do not have grounding in theology, but have ventured into commentaries on revenge by applying theological perspectives. For example, Hawkins and Strickland — two western writers while analyzing the sociological aspects of ethnic communities residing along Pakistan-Afghan borders — have examined this aspect from the prism of Sharia'h (Islamic jurisprudence). Hawkins has asserted that the act of revenge must be in proportion to the insult received which he also supports by referring to Quranic injunctions stipulating restrictions on revenge.⁵¹ Strickland interprets the legal theory of *Qisas* in Sharia'h by unravelling it as *total* retribution.⁵² Theologically, both positions are counterfactual. Hawkins mentions verse 190 of Chapter 2, Al-Baqara from Quran which addresses restraint during war. Strickland does not completely describe the divine commandment which, besides ordaining *Qisas* as necessary (but not obligatory), also lays down alternative mechanisms in the form of *Diyat* (restitution) or voluntary remission "by way of charity", which is reckoned by divinity "an act of atonement [by aggrieved]."⁵³ Women and children are not liable to pay *Diyat*.⁵⁴

These latter provisions in the Qur'an were an advancement from the Mosaic Law (Torah) or Pentateuch which simply warranted "*Life for life, eye for eye, nose for nose, ear for ear, tooth for tooth and wounds equal for equal.*"⁵⁵ Maududi compares condoning by victims to epitomizing human spirit.⁵⁶ Strickland's construction of expiation in Sharia'h as *total* possibly draws inspiration from narratives where *Qisas* is translated as retaliation without distinction of moral limits. On the contrary, equality (*Qisas*) in legal terms commands just the matching response and not more.⁵⁷ Unlike earlier customs, when blood revenge could be taken upon any member of the clan of the perpetrator, *Qisas* made the actual perpetrator alone guilty, and alone liable to punishment which was to be exact equivalent of the crime.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, trans., *The meaning of the Glorious Quran* (Hyderabad-Deccan: Government Central Press, 1938), 178.

⁵⁰ Cyril Glasse, *The concise encyclopedia of Islam* (revised edition) (UK: Stacy International, 2001-2), 372.

⁵¹ Lieutenant Colonel Jonathan Hawkins, "The Pashtun Cultural Code: Pashtunwali," *Australian Defence Force Journal* 180 (2009): 16-27.

⁵² Major Richard Tod Strickland, "The way of the Pashtun: Pashtunwali," *Canadian Army Journal* 3 (2007): 44-5.

⁵³ Ali, *The Holy Quran: text, translation and commentary*, 71.

⁵⁴ Thomas W. Arnold, M.Th Houtsma and A.J. Wensinck, *First Encyclopedia of Islam: 1913-1936, Vol II* (New York-Koln E.J. Brill, 1987), 981.

⁵⁵ Ali, *The Holy Quran: text...*, 262.

⁵⁶ Maududi, *Tafheem-ul-Qur'an*, Vol 1, 138.

⁵⁷ For law of equality see notes 182-183 and Verse 45, Surah Al-Maida, (Chapter 5), Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran: text, translation and commentary*, 71, 262.

⁵⁸ Glasse, *The concise encyclopedia of Islam*, 372.

Abdullah Yusuf Ali, a renowned translator and exegete of the twentieth century South Asia, is of the opinion that to translate *Qisas* as retaliation is incorrect since retaliation in English has a wider meaning, equivalent almost to returning evil for evil, and would more fitly apply to the blood feuds of the 'Days of Ignorance'.⁵⁹ The law of equality instead takes account of three conditions in the civil society: free for free, slave for slave, and woman for woman. Among free men or women, all are equal.⁶⁰ For example, if one slave kills another, the owner of the latter may demand the life of the former, or the value of his own slave, or the owner of the former surrender his slave in compensation.⁶¹ Essentially, it "requires the satisfaction of the aggrieved rather than the punishment of the aggressor" by concentrating against the aggressor.⁶²

The spirit draws its root from the fundamentals of the justice system of Islam and valuation for life. The Qur'an does not give a dictionary definition of justice, but it links the concept to the notions of balance, equity, righteousness, proper measuring, truth, personal growth and development and the state of natural order. It contrasts justice with transgression, oppression, evil, falsehood and the disturbance (*fitnah*) in the natural order.⁶³ The Book, the Balance and Iron, have been divinely conceptualized as the emblems to hold the society together viz. revelation which commands good and forbids evil; justice which gives each person his due; and the strong force of the law, which maintains sanctions against evil doers.⁶⁴ Another dimension of *Qisas* is its conflation with preservation of life which is described in verse 179 of Al-Baqara, shown below. This has been misconstrued by many as God's sanction to kill indiscriminately or brutalization of society.

وَلَكُمْ فِي الْقِصَاصِ حَيَوةٌ يَا أُولِي الْأَلْبَابِ لَعَلَّكُمْ
تَتَّقُونَ

*In the Law of Equality, there is (saving of) life to you, O ye men
of understanding: That ye may restrain yourself*

⁵⁹ Ali, "The Holy Quran: text ...", 71.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Thomas W. Arnold, *First Encyclopedia of Islam*, 980.

⁶² Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* (London: Macmillan & CO Limited, 1958), 355.

⁶³ "A Study Research Report on *Qisas/Diyat Law*," National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), 2006, Pakistan, <http://www.ncsw.gov.pk/prod_images/pub/Report_Qisas_Diyat.pdf>. (accessed March 8, 2015).

⁶⁴ Anwar Baig Khan, *Shariah, Justice & Islamic Law* (Lahore: Hassan & Haider law books publishers, 2011). Also see Chapter 57, Al-Hadit verse 25 of the Quran.

The criticism and objections that are propounded in connection with the issue of *Qisas* have been succinctly summarized by Islamic scholar Ayatullah al-Uzma Hajj Shaykh Nasir Makarim Shirazi, reproduced here:⁶⁵

- 1) The crime perpetrated by a killer is nothing more than taking the life of a person, but *Qisas* repeats the same act!
- 2) *Qisas* is just plain vengefulness and brutality.
- 3) Murder is not a crime that takes place at the hands of sound individuals; surely the murderer suffers from some psychological disorder and ought to be treated, and *Qisas* can not be a remedy for such sick individuals.
- 4) Issues that are related to social order need to develop in step with the society; hence, laws that used to be implemented fourteen hundred years ago should not be implemented in today's society!
- 5) Is it not better that instead of *Qisas* the killers are placed in prisons, compelled to work and utilized for the benefit of the society. In this way, not only would the society remain protected from their evils but simultaneously, they could be utilized to the maximum extent possible.

This aspect needs deliberation at some length to highlight its varied perceptions and connotations to understand its deeper meaning. In the first place, attention is required to six verses (27-31) of Chapter 5, Al-Maida, that narrate heinous killing of innocent Abel by his brother Cain. This parable is then extended to capture conditions of anarchy among Israelites and it is commanded in the same Chapter in verse 32 (cited below) that taking a single life is like decimating the whole mankind, and saving one life amounts saving the whole humanity. This message has been deductively universalized by Muslims in later centuries to explicate the significance of human life in Islam.

مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ كَتَبْنَا عَلَىٰ بَنِي إِسْرَءِيلَ أَنَّهُ مَن قَتَلَ نَفْسًا
يَغْتَرِ نَفْسٍ أَوْ فَسَادٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَتَلَ النَّاسَ
جَمِيعًا وَمَنْ أَحْيَاهَا فَكَأَنَّمَا أَحْيَا النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا وَلَقَدْ
جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ بَعَدَ ذَلِكَ فِي
الْأَرْضِ لَمُسْرِفُونَ



*For that cause We decreed for the Children of Israel that
whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter*

65 Ayatullah al-Uzma Hajj Shaykh Nasir Makarim Shirazi, "180 Questions Enquiries About Islam Volume Two: Various issues," chapter 22, UK: The Islamic Education Board of the World Federation of Khoja Shia Ithna-Asheri Muslim Communities, n.d., <http://www.al-islam.org/180_questions_vol2/>. (accessed March 8, 2015).

or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind, and whoso saved the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind. Our messengers came unto them of old with clear proofs (of Allah's sovereignty), but afterwards lo! many of them became prodigals in the earth.

This commandment admits instinct of self-preservation as a basic natural urge of life in all its gradations. But figuratively for human beings, as noted by Dr. Khalid Alvi, the self to be preserved is not only the individual physical entity; his essential self is a social self, which is to be regulated by a socially embedded cycle of crime-punishment-save equation.⁶⁶ By this measure a correlation of individual with society is implied in the cited verse. In spirit each incident of murder must generate a wave of anxiety until and unless *Qisas* is taken in order to eliminate dangerous individuals for the development of a society.⁶⁷ Muslim scholars, therefore, assert that it is not the religious punishments which are barbaric but rather the crimes which call them into operation. The whole system of punishments is primarily a deterrent.⁶⁸

On the same grounds doing away with capital punishment has been opposed; *Qisas* is life only if it retains its presence to condition the mischief in society. A society that abolishes all jurisprudential semblances to punish murderers is unlikely to preserve life which is the spiritual theme of *Qisas*.⁶⁹ Also, a society in which the penalties set forth in Islamic Sharia'h are disregarded is doomed to corruption and (moral) bankruptcy.⁷⁰ Equally significant is the fact that in punishing those guilty of such acts (murder...), no transgression, no 'overkill', and especially, no torture should be allowed.⁷¹ When a person is sentenced to suffer *Qisas* for injuries the sentence shall direct that the *Qisas* be carried out in the like manner the offender inflicted such injury on the victim.⁷² In order to get an objective sense of the notion of equality, it is imperative that verses describing *Qisas* (Al-Baqara, 178-9), are read in conjunction with verse 194 (shown below) from the same Chapter that insists on maintaining

⁶⁶ Dr. Khalid Alvi, *Islam ka Moasharati Nizam (social system of Islam)* (Lahore: Al-Faisal Nashran, 2009), 620.

⁶⁷ A Study Research Report on *Qisas/Deyat Law*, "NCSW; Shirazi, 180 Questions Enquiries About Islam.

⁶⁸ Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic political thought* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic book trust, 2001), 159.

⁶⁹ Maududi, *Tafheem-ul-Qur'an*, Vol 1, 139.

⁷⁰ Dr. Omer F. Atari trans. Dr. Suleiman Bin Abdul Rahman Al-Hageel, *Human rights in Islam and their applications in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, first edition* (Riyadh: King Saud University Islamic University, 2001), 154.

⁷¹ Hamid, *Modern Islamic political thought*, 155-56.

⁷² Jan Michiel Otto, (ed), *Sharia Incorporated: A comparative overview of the legal systems of twelve Muslim countries in past and present* (Amsterdam: Leiden University Press, 2010), 591.

symmetry in all spheres of social life including war and revenge seeking, emphatically forbidding excesses.⁷³ The Muslims have been commanded to exercise self-restraint as much as possible. Force is to be used for self-defence or self-preservation, but self-restraint is pleasing in the eyes of Allah. Even when during fighting, it should be for a principle, not out of passion.⁷⁴

الشَّهْرُ الْحَرَامُ بِالشَّهْرِ الْحَرَامِ وَالْحُرُمَتُ قِصَاصٌ فَمَنِ اعْتَدَى عَلَيْكُمْ
فَاعْتَدُوا عَلَيْهِ بِمِثْلِ مَا اعْتَدَى عَلَيْكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ
الْمُتَّقِينَ

The prohibited month for the prohibited month, and so for all things prohibited, there is the law of equal if then anyone transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.

A few oral traditions (*hadith*) of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) ascribed to his companions (*sahaba*) expand the law of equality into further details.⁷⁵ First, murderer should be handed over to the family of victims who may decide to avenge the crime, condone him or take compensation from him. In the present era this function has been taken over by the state. Saudi Arabia is unique in this respect where relatives of the victim are allowed by the state law to execute the murderer at will. Opinions, however, differ among theologians over the role of the state in case the murderer is forgiven by the aggrieved party. Maududi asserts that the state does not have the right to interfere in case of pardon by the victim's relatives; Yousuf Ali is inclined toward the primacy of the state as the final arbiter in adjudicating such matters to maintain peace and order.⁷⁶

In addition to retributive value of *Qisas* for those who are not deterred by anything but punishment, Islamic penal code is also an instrument of correction for those for whom punishment is merely a promise given in good faith.⁷⁷ This is based on the belief that human beings are naturally predisposed to avoid pain and discomfort, hence will

⁷³ Ali, "The Holy Quran: text...", 78.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Muhammad Mian Siddique, trans., *Qisas and Diyat* Edition 2009 (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute-International Islamic University, 2009), 44-45.

⁷⁶ Maududi, *Tafheem-ul-Qur'an*, Vol 1, 139; Ali, *The Holy Quran: text, translation and commentary*, 262.

⁷⁷ Al-Hageel, *Human rights in Islam and their applications in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, first edition, 153.

avoid disobedience of divine injunctions. Furthermore, due to resulting low level of crime, people will be free to devote themselves to fruitful labour and production, which will lead to the spread of ease and prosperity among all members of the society, affecting rise in income and virtuousness.⁷⁸ In *Qisas*-related cases under prosecution, complainants are encouraged to accept *Diyat* in lieu of *Qisas*. At times, this may entail persuasive efforts by judiciary spanning over several years. In Nigeria, at least one state (Kano) has made this more attractive by enacting that the state must pay if the defendant and his family cannot.⁷⁹ Such leniency follows from the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who was inclined to milder punishments or to the minimum prescribed penalty for the crimes brought before him, on case to case basis.⁸⁰

The law of *Qisas* at times has been faced with puzzling questions such as disposal of a spouse who has killed the partner and father who kills his son. Sheikh Abdel Khaliq Hasan Ash-Shareef (2013), a prominent Egyptian Muslim scholar, states that a spouse could be executed if he/she kills his/her spouse, as none of them is considered the origin of the other.⁸¹ So if a husband kills his wife, his punishment may reach to execution and the same will be valid for a wife. However, decrees on penalty for a father are divided. The underlying rationale quoting Prophet Muhammad (PBUH): “No father should be killed (executed) for killing his son,” holds that a father is not expected to kill his child on purpose. Some Muslim scholars, therefore, see it unimaginable for a father to intentionally murder his son. Accordingly, a suspected father may not be executed for killing his son as this is most probably not an intentional killing. Ash-Shareef quotes Imam Malik, leader of Sunni Maliki school of thought, to have opined that if a father kills his son definitely on purpose, without any doubt, he may be executed. This judgment brings in focus the role of a judge who is considered to have the right to afflict the proper punishment on the criminal on the basis of the proofs he has regarding the case.⁸²

***Qisas* in Contemporary Muslim World**

The institutionalization and practice of *Qisas* in the constitutional mechanisms and legal processes of contemporary Muslim societies demonstrate diverse standards. Regardless of the nature of the government – Islamic, monarchical or secular – *Qisas* can be witnessed in several social settings both as part of legal stipulations as well as

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Otto, *Sharla Incorporated: A comparative overview of the legal systems of twelve Muslim countries in past and present*, 604.

⁸⁰ Glasse, *The concise encyclopedia of Islam* (revised edition), 372.

⁸¹ Ash-Shareef, Abdel Khaliq Hasan, “Fatwa on Executing a Father for Killing His Son by on Islam Fatwa,” On Islam, 2013, <<http://www.onislam.net>>. (accessed March 2, 2015).

⁸² Ibid.

normative traditions. It is conceded, however, that acquiring reliable data dealing essentially with *Qisas* barring a few cases, has been a predicament to cohere a clear picture on profiling implementation of *Qisas*. Available statistics from open sources on murder rates and executions do not differentiate between causation leading to deaths. Besides, there are some inherent limitations to produce a standardized dataset on murder rates such as different definitions of murder, time differential in data collection using different methods and potential of manipulation of figures by countries, which make an objective comparison that much difficult. Furthermore, while Islamic jurisprudence is uniformly applicable to all Muslim societies, all predominantly Muslim countries do not follow the Sharia'h law due to varying political ideologies underpinning state structures ranging from 'puritan' to 'moderate' to 'secularist'.⁸³

Most Muslim countries have mixed systems. These systems postulate the hegemony of the national constitution and rule of law, while at the same time allowing the rules of Islam to play a dominant role and influence certain areas of national law.⁸⁴ Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, Malaysia, Oman, Egypt, Mauritania, Morocco, Qatar and United Arab Emirates can all be classified in this category.⁸⁵ Several countries, including Lebanon and Indonesia have mixed jurisdiction courts based on residual colonial legal systems and supplemented with Sharia'h.⁸⁶ It may be noted that in many of these countries, Islam is the official religion listed in the constitution, but governments only derive their legitimacy from Islam short of declaring full integration of Sharia'h into judicial system. A few of the non-Muslim Asian as well as western countries such as India, Thailand, UK and Tanzania have also selectively instituted Islamic provisions where civil courts apply Sharia'h or secular law according to the religious backgrounds of the defendants. Similar examples can be seen in Nigeria and Kenya, which have Sharia'h courts that rule on family law for Muslims. Besides, there are a tiny number of countries which follow Sharia'h law for all areas of jurisprudence.⁸⁷ A classic example is Saudi Arabia, while Iran also follows Sharia'h law for all areas of jurisprudence.⁸⁸ In Iran, Iraq and Pakistan, it is also forbidden to enact legislation that is antithetical to Islam.⁸⁹ An illuminating research into legal systems by leading legists reveals that *Qisas* provisions are in force only in five

⁸³ Otto, *Sharia Incorporated: A comparative overview of the legal systems of twelve Muslim countries in past and present*, 82.

⁸⁴ Michiel Otto, "Sharia and National Law...", 8.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Toni Johnson and Lauren Vriens, "Islam: Governing under sharia," *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 9, 2013, <<http://www.cfr.org/religion/islam-governing-under-sharia/p8034>>. (accessed February 26, 2015).

⁸⁷ Helen Ziegler and Associates - Shariah Law, <<http://www.hziegler.com/articles/shariah-law.html>>. (accessed on March 8, 2015).

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Toni and Lauren Vriens, "Islam: Governing under sharia."

countries i.e. Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Iran, Pakistan, and North Nigeria, whereas the legal situation in Afghanistan is uncertain.⁹⁰ Besides, parallel with national laws, many of Muslim countries have significant proportion of their population inhabiting in rural and tribal environment which profoundly blend legal provisions with social traditions especially in ungoverned or geographically remote regions. Revenge in such settings assumes exclusive or adapted connotation assimilating strands of juridical or traditional moorings depending upon the degree of statehood being exercised in territorial jurisdiction of the country. Other than in Arab peripheries, the tribal areas of Pakistan, the Kurdish regions of Turkey and the Pakhtun dominated areas of eastern Afghanistan are a few such examples. Decentralized sanctions carried out by the victim are common in societies without state law, but in these areas the local social code of conduct, is unusual in imposing an affirmative duty to seek revenge; failing to do so can cause one to suffer a reputational sanction in being thought of as a coward.⁹¹ A statement by former Turkish President Abdullah Gul in response to reprisal killings during May 2009 in Kurdish south eastern Turkey that "Everybody should think seriously about tradition, blood feuds and animosity standing before human life in this era we are living in," amply illustrates the depth and bitterness of blood feuds, clan rivalries and vendettas in Kurd ethnicity.⁹²

By the end of 2012, more than two-thirds (140) of the countries in the world had abolished the death penalty in law or practice. As many as 97 countries abolished it for all crimes, 35 in practice (Russian Federation etc) and eight others for ordinary crimes such as Brazil.⁹³ *Russian Federation introduced a moratorium on executions in August 1996. Amnesty International reports that despite the declaration, executions were carried out between 1996 and 1999 in the Chechen Republic.*⁹⁴ The 58 countries that retain this punishment include the overwhelming majority of the most populated nations in the world –Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Nigeria, Pakistan and the United States. Of them, 25 are Muslim states, including 10 having the highest population in Muslim world. All of these 58 countries make up approximately 66 percent of the world's population, reflecting acknowledgement of the magnitude of homicide being experienced by these countries.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Otto, "Sharla Incorporated: A comparative overview...", 633.

⁹¹ Tom Ginsburg, "An Economic Interpretation of the Pashtunwali," Draft paper. University of Chicago Law School. April 15, 2011, <<http://home.uchicago.edu/~tginsburg/pdf/articles/AnEconomicAnalysisOfThePashtunwali.pdf>>. (accessed March 8, 2015).

⁹² Daren Butler, "Blood feuds and gun violence plague Turkey's southeast". Reuters, May 5, 2009.

⁹³ Amnesty International 2013, "Death sentences & executions in 2012."

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ bid.

Iran (317), Saudi Arabia (143), Pakistan (135), Egypt (48) and Iraq (33) top the list of 38 countries for carrying out executions. On the other hand, none of these countries appear anywhere among a sample of 46 countries recorded for higher murders by firearms.⁹⁶ In fact, none of the Muslim countries rank in top ten countries with highest murder rates. In particular, Iran, Jordan, Bahrain, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, UAE, Maldives and Malaysia figure out conspicuously for low rates of intentional homicide in the UNOD Chomicide statistics report 2013 during a time span of 16 years – 1995 to 2011. All have capital punishment in vogue. Even among the top ten countries with the lowest reported crimes rates during 2013, four are Muslims i.e., Bangladesh, Syria, Mali (both pre-war) and Yemen.⁹⁷

Pakistan (besides Sudan) is an exception in registering escalation in incidence of murders among those where *Qisas* is enforced. Between 1998 and 2011, murder count in former country has fluctuated from 8,906 to 13,860, observing alarming rise since 2008.⁹⁸ *Qisas* is not as effective here due to manipulative exploitation of the law by privileged strata of the society. Nigeria has of late become more violent compared to earlier period of its existence due to various radical movements operating in the country for a systemic change in the socio-political order. However, the Sharia'h-abiding states of Nigeria have been by and large peaceful until the emergence and beginning of a terror campaign by the zealots of Boko Haram seeking to enforce Islam in the entire country.

Ironically, a distinct culturally embedded and tacitly endorsed characteristic of most Muslim societies is the phenomenon of honour killing, which accounts for higher number of homicides mostly victimizing women. While Islamic teaching does not encourage killing in the name of honour,⁹⁹ these crimes occur in an attempt by the conservative elements fearful of their culture and traditions changing before their eyes, and seek to codify 'culture' and 'tradition' by use of lethal force.¹⁰⁰ Iraq, Egypt, Palestine, Turkey and Pakistan experience most occurrences of this kind. For example, during 2013, 811 cases of honour killing were reported in Pakistan, mostly from urban centres of the country.¹⁰¹ Sections 302-310 of Pakistan Penal Code explicitly lay down a law on *Qisas* and *Diyat*. While

⁹⁶ "Higher murders by firearms," Nationmonitor.com, <<http://www.nationmaster.com/statistics/stats>>. (accessed September 24, 2013).

⁹⁷ "As of September 14, 2013, the maps of world listed on its website," <<http://www.mapsofworld.com/world-top-ten/countries-with-lowest-murder-rates.html>>.

⁹⁸ United Nations office on Drug and Crime, "Homicide statistics 2013".

⁹⁹ Muhammad Niaz, Mufti Muhammad Mushtaq Ahmed, Abdullah Abdullah, Fazle Omer and Naeqeb Hussain Shah, "Honor Killing in Pakistan: An Islamic Perspective," *Asian Social Science* 8.10 (2012): 180-185.

¹⁰⁰ Beena Sarwar, "There is no 'honour' in killing," *The Hindu*, September 8, 2008.

¹⁰¹ "Stat: Killings 2013," Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, <<http://www.hrcp-web.org>>. (accessed February 24, 2015).

punishment for intentional murder (*qatl-i-amd*), is death as *Qisas*; at the same time it makes such offenses compoundable (open to compromise as a private matter between two parties) by providing for *Qisas* or *Diyat*. The heirs of the victim can forgive the murderer in the name of God without receiving any compensation or *Diyat* (Section 309), or compromise after receiving *Diyat* (Section 310). Once such a pardon has been secured, the state has no further writ on the matter although often the killers are relatives of the victim. Mysterious release of CIA operative in Pakistan, Raymond David, accused of murdering two Pakistani citizens in Lahore in January 2011 and pardon extended to killers belonging to influential families of Shahzeb Khan by his parents during September 2013 allegedly under pressure exemplify abuse of *Qisas* to further vested interests.¹⁰²

Conclusion and Policy Suggestions

Nonkilling as a spiritual philosophy has been an organic constituent of all religious traditions. Yet, humankind has continued to substitute justice with cruelty, peace with conflict and reason with greed. Consequently, the concept of reward and penalty has coexisted concomitantly to incentivize a harmonious social order. Retaining capital punishment by countries with highest population concentrations is one such proof that suggests the need for criminal justice system in maintaining internal peace and order. Without indulging into debate whether or not humans are intrinsically prone to violence, nonkilling in contemporary setting characterized by rational underpinning, exclusionary politics, social inequalities and structural imperialism, does not appear to be a pragmatic goal. Defence against its being non-passive is tenuous at best due to the absence of persuasive reasons and empirical exemplification.

Concerns of human rights organizations notwithstanding, the effectiveness of *Qisas* as conflict mitigating framework and failing that *Diyet* which mostly involves forbidding monetary sums in checking tendencies, incidence and proliferation of violence is clearly established by this study.¹⁰³ It is equally true, however, that while *Qisas* is effective in ensuring inter/intra community peace in tribal settings and in a few countries, it has not reduced instances of intentional injuries or homicide in mainstream societies due to expediencies of real-politick, inefficient and corrupt criminal justice system. The law in itself is credible. It is driven by a strong moral force respecting the right to life for all, viz-à-viz unbound vengeance, retaliation, or vendetta which is not advocated by Islam, with

¹⁰² Mazak Mazzeti, "Mysterious release of CIA operative in Pakistan," *New York Times*, April 9, 2013; "Shahzeb's murderers get pardon by family," *Pakistan Today*, September 9, 2013.

¹⁰³ See e.g., "Govt hope to get Satinah off death row by paying 'diyat'," *Jakarta Post*, July 22, 2013.

the purpose to actualize a social contract that comprehensively serves the ends of nonkilling. Significantly, therefore, all misgoverned Muslims yearn for a return to a rule of law, the *Sharia'h*, "a just legal system, one that administers the law fairly."¹⁰⁴ That further exposes the objective state of the appalling conditions besetting human living.

The proponents of nonkilling contend that the idea has entered the 21st century not simply as a normative principle but as an approach to global problem solving, based on practical applications and empirical findings.¹⁰⁵ To the contrary, the analysis has shown that current emphasis of nonkilling envisaging global transformation to realize its purpose is simply rhetoric without much substance. It is considered more prudent to apply the approach selectively appropriate to the varied conditions of violence instead of its indiscriminate universal usage. Dramatic fluctuation of rates of lethal violence on annual basis and in particular countries, reinforces this observation evident from dropping of number of victims of intentional homicides from 397,000 in 2004 to 368,000 in 2006, while in 2009 these figures increased to 423,000.¹⁰⁶ This may save the labour of researchers, practitioners and those who fund for such endeavours by addressing where such resources are critically needed. For this to achieve, it will be essential to bifurcate nonkilling research, theory and practice into inter- and intra-state contexts to calibrate policy applications consistent with killing trends among and between nations and societies. It will be imperative also that nonkilling as an approach should envisage absence of grievous injury and propensity for it, in order to reinforce its intellectual appeal. These variables should redefine existing thought of nonkilling.

Qisas is an Islamic provision; therefore, it is not applicable to societies following non-religious legal precepts and practices. This underscores the requirement to build nonkilling models suited to the needs of secular and semi-secular societies. This will entail academic and scientific rigor in designing such constructs that generate penal codes based on the idea of proportionate punishment to transform human aspirations for peace, harmony and coexistence into reality.

In essence, nonkilling with its current postulates and urging is a fascination abated by its overemphasized decorousness and lack of rational viability. A realistic review is warranted of its fundamentals in order to embellish and harmonize it with realism pervading the psychosocial and ideological bent of the human nature, which submits to the mechanisms and institutions that restrain its innate instincts to kill. Recourse to *Qisas* is one such effective measure to establish order and stability in the anarchic world we inhabit.

¹⁰⁴ Abdul Rashid Moten, Review - Noah Feldman, *The Fall and Rise of the Islamic State* by, *Intellectual Discourse* 17, no. 1 (2009): 107-22.

¹⁰⁵ Pim, "Interdisciplinary Perspectives..." 10.

¹⁰⁶ Measuring problems: Global Burden of Armed Violence (GBAV) 2011.

DISASTER MANAGEMENT AT NUCLEAR POWER PLANT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FUKUSHIMA AND PAKISTAN

Maimuna Ashraf*

Abstract

The dangers of nuclear tragedy are in debate since the first nuclear reactor was built in 1942. Any disaster can be hard to handle but a nuclear disaster requires even more complex management apparatus. In history there have been many nuclear tragedies at NPPs including the severe nuclear disasters of Three Miles Island (1979) and Chernobyl (1986). However Fukushima Daiichi disaster (2011) which was ignited by earthquake accompanied tsunami hoisted multiple apprehensions about safety of NPPs. Japan being an exceedingly well-organized nation towards managing natural disasters and upholding nuclear safety, found it difficult to manage the nuclear catastrophe. Pakistan has so far avoided any nuclear debacle and has a Nuclear Emergency Response Plan (NERP) prepared by Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA), Strategic Plans Division (SPD) and Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC). However in case of any tragedy, Nuclear Emergency Management System (NEMS), National Disaster Management Agency (NDMA) and other organizations will launch an integrated response. A clear account does not necessarily certify that a nuclear tragedy cannot take place in future. In spite of these facts, serious concerns have been expressed after Fukushima nuclear disaster on Pakistan's capability to handle any plausible nuclear disaster; therefore the critical examination of Pakistan's nuclear disaster management is imperative for both authenticating the official stance of Pakistan as well as judging the validity of criticism levelled against the Pakistani nuclear industry's disaster mismanagement apparatus. The research

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thus aims to investigate the Pakistani nuclear establishment readiness to handle a Fukushima level disaster. In order to reach a conclusion about the country's capability to handle such a serious tragedy at NPP, the researcher selected few significant variables from Fukushima Daiicche case-study and investigated them in Pakistan's existing nuclear management apparatus.

Key Words: *Fukushima Disaster, Chernobyl, NEMS, NERP, NDMA, PNRA, SPD, PAEC.*

Introduction

The recorded human history has indefinite episodes of deluge, pandemics, plagues, epidemics, earthquakes, famines and volcanic outbursts. In early times when scientific awareness was vague, these adverse incidents were anticipated wrongly and were believed as 'God's wrath' to humans' evil acts.¹ Human beings were weak and defenseless to natural catastrophes and the furthestmost imperative objective of their lives was to stand for the ferocity of nature. By the time as the world developed, the force and figures of natural and human-made disasters also increased. These devastating disasters coerced humans to take measures for handling these disasters. Hence, the account of disasters and its management is as old as the human history itself.² The preeminent historic instance of disaster and its management can be witnessed seventy-five hundred years back. The religious example is about the 'Noah's Ark'.³ The narrative of Noah's ark conveys imperative teachings about the management of disasters. God directed his Prophet to make the Ark in order to guarantee protection from the imminent tragedy and to assure safety in cyclone and overflow. The story of Prophet Noah consequently enlightens that security and safety can be achieved by preparedness, even the Prophet adopted measures to handle the forthcoming disaster and planned for the life after it.

In early eras, the societies were just threatened by natural disaster because the world was not urbanized. However as the world has been

¹ Anne-Caroline Rendu, Didier Grandjean, Klaus R. Scherer and Terence MacNamee, "The wrath of the gods: appraising the meaning of disaster," *SAGE Publications*, no. 2 (2008):192, doi: 10.1177/0539018408089078.

² Frederick S. Tipson, "Natural Disasters as Threats to Peace," *United States Institute of Peace*, Special Report 324 (2013). <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR324-Natural%20Disasters%20as%20Threats%20to%20Peace.pdf> (accessed on September, 19, 2013).

³ Bennett-Smith, Meredith, "Evidence suggests Noah's Ark Flood Existed, Says Robert Ballard, Archaeologist Who Found Titanic," *The Huffington Post*, Dec, 12, 2012.http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/12/10/evidence-noahs-flood-ark-real-robert-ballard-archeologist-titanic_n_2273143.html (accessed on November, 16, 2013).

developing and becoming more industrialized and urbanized, it is getting more exposed to severe natural and man-made disasters.⁴ A disaster of any kind can cause serious damage to people, infrastructure or environment but a nuclear disaster can be the most complicated and perilous tragedy to handle. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) defines a nuclear radiation accident/disaster as “an event in which the radioactive release causes for serious dangerous consequences to society, environment and infrastructure. Examples include lethal effects to individuals, large radioactivity release to the environment, or reactor core melt.”⁵

The potential nuclear risks are in debate since 1942, when the first nuclear reactor was built. Many constructive measures were taken with time for nuclear safety, however regardless of such measures there have been several nuclear debacles in history. The foremost serious nuclear disasters in history are Three Mile Island (USA-1979), Chernobyl (USSR-1986) and Fukushima Daiichi (Japan-2011). All of these three nuclear accidents took place at NPPs thus the danger of a nuclear event at NPP is quite real.⁶

The nature and severity of any nuclear event is categorized by International Nuclear/Radiological Event Scale (INES) of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The INES classifies the nuclear events at 1-7 levels. The nuclear events of less severity and safety significance are categorized at Level 1-3, and are named ‘incidents’. Whereas the nuclear events of greater severity and safety significance are placed at Level 4-7, and are called ‘accidents’. The severity of an event is about 10 times greater for each increase in level on the scale.⁷ The nuclear accidents with major release of radioactive material with widespread health effects have been placed at Level 7 and are declared as ‘Major Accidents’. The accidents with significant release of radioactive material are placed at Level 6 and are called ‘Serious Accidents’. The accidents that cause limited release of radioactive material and results in at least several deaths from radiation are placed at Level 5 and are named as ‘Accident with Wider Consequences’. The accidents with minor release of radioactive material with at least one death from radiation are put at Level 4 and are called

⁴ United Nations Human Settlements Programme, “Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007,” *EARTHSCAN*, London (2007): 169-174.

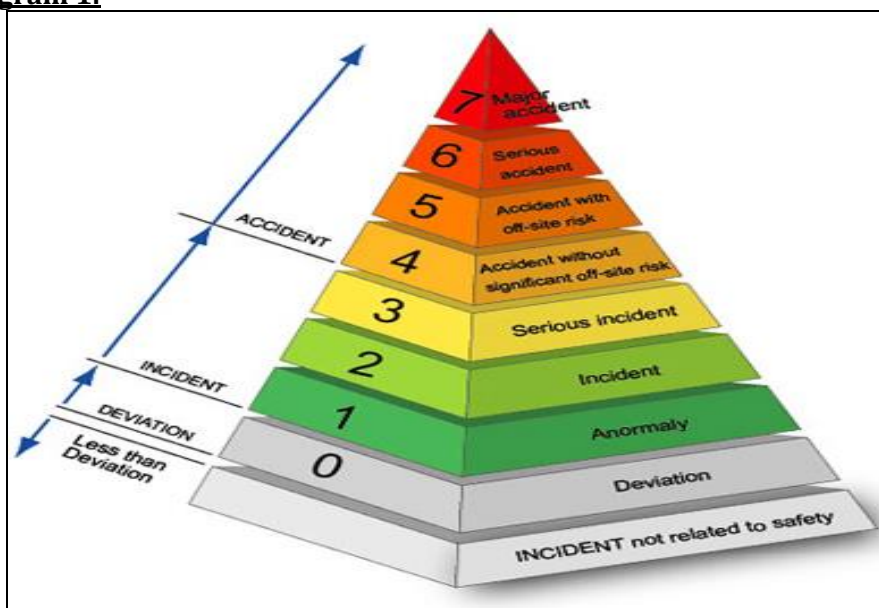
⁵ IAEA Safety Glossary, “Terminology Used In Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection,” *International Atomic Energy Agency*, Vienna (2007). http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/Pub1290_web.pdf (accessed on Sep., 18, 2014)

⁶ *The Fukushima Nuclear Accident and Crisis Management* (The Sasakawa Peace Foundation: 2012), 6-8. http://www.spf.org/jpus/img/investigation/book_fukushima.pdf. (accessed on Sep., 12, 2014)

⁷ “INES- The International Nuclear and Radiological Event Scale,” *International Atomic Energy Agency*. <http://gnssn.iaea.org/regnet/Pages/INES.aspx> (accessed on Sep., 17, 2014)

'Accidents with Local Consequences'. These are the four Levels of nuclear 'Accidents' and after it the nuclear tragedies are called 'Incidents'.⁸

Diagram 1:



In 2011, "The Guardian" published a list of 33 serious nuclear incidents and accidents at NPPs, ranked by INES. The Chernobyl (1986) and Fukushima Daiichi (2011) were placed at Level 7 by INES due to the significant release of radioactivity in these nuclear accidents.⁹ The global developmental practices are nevertheless constructive but the Fukushima tragedy, which was instigated due to earthquake/tsunami, forced states to reconsider their safety standards at NPPs. Pakistan has a small nuclear industry and till writing of these lines has successfully escaped any nuclear tragedy. Yet it does not refute the possibility that a nuclear tragedy can happen in future.

Importantly, nuclear disaster management is possible, provided the nuclear industry and government adopt appropriate procedures to address the nuclear related problems. For instance, the Nuclear Disaster management (NDM) requires several technical measures and special equipments to reduce the dangers of radioactivity. The response engages a number of organizations and ministries (i.e. defense, energy, interior,

⁸ "INES- The International Nuclear and Radiological Event Scale," *International Atomic Energy Agency*. <http://gnssn.iaea.org/regnet/Pages/INES.aspx> (accessed on November, 12, 2013)

⁹ Nuclear Accidents- And How They Are Ranked. <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/ccc?key=0AonYZs4MzIZbdFc0cVRMVDR5c1ZmeC1lR2hac0xjMXc&hl=en#gid=1> (accessed on 11 September, 2013)

foreign affairs, health, food, environment etc), in addition involves a comprehensive synchronization and coordination. Whereas any accident at a nuclear power plant (NPP) involves an onsite as well as offsite response and in case of meltdown when the neighbouring areas are in danger then an evacuation plan has also to be instigated. Moreover if the nuclear fallout spreads then neighbouring countries have to be informed. The nuclear disaster management includes a huge decontamination process to sanitize things, food and people. A persuasive management and supervision is mandatory for the effective implementation of disaster reduction procedures. This requires inclusive management, altogether by the country establishment and primarily by the people.¹⁰

Pakistani officials affirm that an appropriate nuclear disaster management apparatus has been established by Pakistan's nuclear establishment and the absence of any recorded accident in the Pakistan nuclear industry also confirms it. In spite of these facts, serious concerns have been expressed after Fukushima nuclear disaster on Pakistan's capability to handle any plausible nuclear disaster; therefore the critical examination of Pakistan's nuclear disaster management is imperative for both authenticating the official stance of Pakistan as well as judging the validity of criticism levelled against the Pakistani nuclear industry's disaster mismanagement apparatus. The research thus aims to investigate the Pakistani nuclear establishment readiness to handle a Fukushima level disaster. In order to reach a conclusion about the country's capability to handle such a serious tragedy at NPP, the researcher selected few significant variables from Fukushima Daiiche case-study and investigated them in Pakistan's existing nuclear management apparatus.

Theory of Disaster Management

In order to elucidate the concerns that how disasters takes place, what can be the possible reactions before, during and after a disaster, the scholars and professionals pursued to construct a theory about disaster. Disaster has been originated from the French word 'Desastre' which means 'Bad Star'. 'Des' refers to bad and 'aster' refers to star.¹¹ The shortest definition of disaster is given by Quarentelly "Disaster is a catastrophic incident that goes beyond the capacity".¹² If such a serious

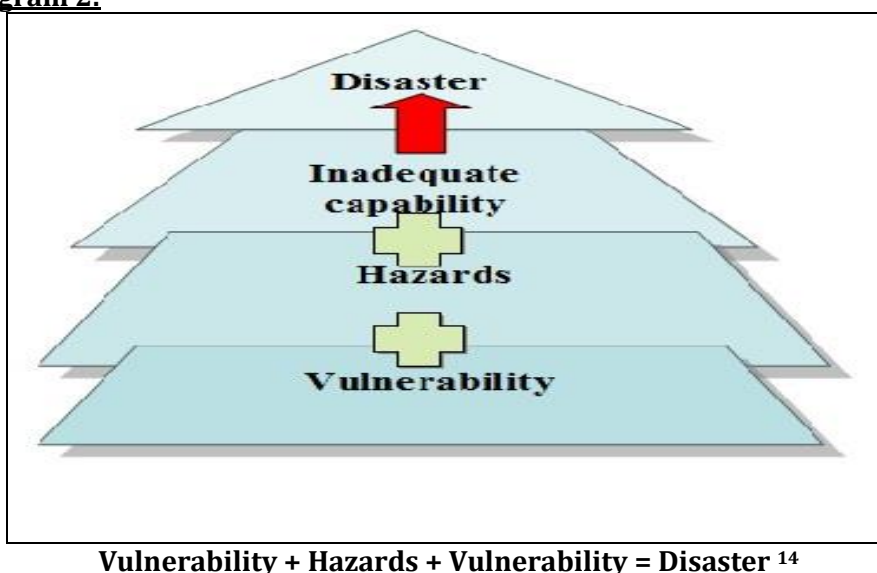
¹⁰ "IAEA Safety Standards for Protecting People and the Environment: Severe Accident Management Programmes for Nuclear Power Plants," *International Atomic Energy Agency*, 1376. (2009). http://www-pub.iaea.org/MTCD/publications/PDF/Pub1376_web.pdf (accessed on September, 16, 2012).

¹¹ Himayatullah Khan, Asmatullah Khan, Laura Giurca and Vasilescu, "Disaster Management Cycle: A Theoretical Approach," *Management and Marketing Journal* 6, 1. (2008): 1. <http://www.mnmk.ro/documents/2008/2008-6.pdf> (accessed on November, 17, 2013)

¹² "Definition of Disaster". *CYEN*. <http://www.cyen.org/innovaeditor/assets/Disaster_Management_Notes_and_Questions.pdf>, (accessed on November. 17, 2013)

disorder to human life is caused by natural hazard then it is called as “*natural disaster*”, where as a serious human disorder caused by industrial or technological hazards is called “*human-induced disaster*”. Disaster that can be foreseen with higher accuracy and gives respond time is called *slow-onset*, contrarily, disaster that is unable to foreseen, occur abruptly and gives no respond time is called *quick-onset*.¹³ A disaster either natural or man-made is a phase of risk processes that makes the adjustment complicated and paralyzes the regular life. Disasters are a combination of hazard, human vulnerability and inadequate capability or actions to reduce the possible negative cost of threat, which is shown in above diagram.

Diagram 2:



Risk (R) is the outcome of vulnerability (V) and hazard (H). It is usually conveyed by the equation ***R (Risk) = H (Hazard) x V (Vulnerability)***. Risk can be defined as the likelihood of dangerous outcomes or probable losses in the form of casualties, damages, injuries, property or environmental damages and economic disruption, due to interactions between made-made or natural vulnerable situations and hazards.¹⁵

¹³ Don Schramm and Richard Hansen, Disaster Management Center, *Aim & Scope of Disaster Management: Study Guide and Course Text*, 1991, University of Wisconsin-Madison. <http://epdfiles.engr.wisc.edu/dmcweb/AA02AimandScopeofDisasterManagement.pdf>, (accessed on Nov. 18, 2013)

¹⁴ “Introduction to Disaster Management,” VUSSC.http://www.col.org/SiteCollectionDocuments/Disaster_Management_version_1.0.pdf(accessed on August, 13, 2013)

¹⁵ Training Manual, *Conceptual and Institutional Framework of Disaster Management*, 2012, An Initiative of National Disaster Management Authority and Indira Gandhi

The term “disaster management” includes the entire subject of disaster associated activities. In history, the term disaster management was merely associated to the post-disaster activities which were supposed to be handled by relief organizations, however in modern times it is more associated to the pre-disaster measures. The “disaster management” thus involves combination of necessary measures, procedures, plans, approaches and actions that can be taken before, during and after a disaster with an objective to prevent a disaster, reduce the damages and recover from its devastation.¹⁶ The history of disaster and its management is very old but the ‘disaster management approach’ is relatively new in theory and practice. The rising number of serious disasters with an increasing number of human losses faced by national and international crisis management organizations, led to introduce ‘disaster management’ as an advanced subject in management sciences. The success of disaster management depends on the capability of disaster associated organizations to investigate the potential risks and formulate the emergency plans which society can understand and execute. All these procedures and actions are encompassed in the standard disaster management theory.¹⁷

The approaches that are adopted before a potential disaster takes place are termed as pre-disaster activities. The approaches carried out in pre-disaster phase are disaster risk reduction, mitigation and preparedness. The measures taken to ensure preparedness are devised after assessing the nature of hazards, risks and vulnerabilities. Pre-disaster measures facilitate the reduction of severity of disaster.¹⁸ In case the potential disaster materializes, certain measures are to be adopted to reduce the lethality of event. The measures if taken properly, timely and efficiently can mitigate the impacts of disaster. The approaches executed during disaster phase are termed as response and relief actions. This phase demands comprehensive coordination of first responders, civil-defense institutions, medical centers and relief organizations.¹⁹

National Open University, Delhi. <<http://www.ignou.ac.in/upload/Conceptual%20and%20Institutional%20Framework%20of%20Disaster%20Management.pdf>>, (accessed on November. 20, 2013)

¹⁶ Corina Warfield, The Disaster Management Cycle, <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/disasters/1-dm_cycle.html>, (accessed on September, 19, 2014)

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “Predisaster activities,” *World Health Organization*.http://www.searo.who.int/entity/emergencies/documents/WHO_Predisaster_Activities.pdf. (accessed on September, 13, 2014).

¹⁹ Ibid.

Diagram 3:

The post-disaster measures are very crucial because the delay in disaster relief actions can hoist the damages. The success of post-disaster approaches is directly proportional to the coordination of society and organizations involve in response, recovery and rehabilitation activities.

The organizational factors thus have a fundamental function in understanding, preventing and handling any type of nuclear accident. The two prominent theories; 'Normal Accident Theory' and High Reliability Organizations' have appropriately addressed the organizational aspects of safety. The Normal Accident Theory was introduced after Three Mile Island nuclear accident (1979), the theory supports the idea that accidents are 'normal' and the existing complex technological systems makes the hazardous accidents highly unavoidable. Conversely, High Reliability Theory argues that appropriate organization design and its management procedures can assure the safety from extremely hazardous accidents.²⁰

Consequently, the nuclear disaster management approaches are devised by related organizations to deal with the long term potential radiation affects that may cause harm to the workers, people and environment. The nuclear disaster management approach works according to the disaster management theory, framework (discussed above) and country's nuclear disaster plan.²¹

Fukushima Daiichi Disaster: Case-Study

On March 11, 2011, earthquake accompanied by tsunami hit the Pacific Coast of Tohoku, Japan. The earthquake was of magnitude 9.0 on

²⁰ Scott, Sagan. *The Limitation of Safety- Organizations, Accidents and Nuclear Weapons*. Princeton University Press. (1993).

²¹ "Nuclear Emergency response Plan." *California Department of Public Health*, <http://www.cdph.ca.gov/healthinfo/environhealth/documents/nerp/nerp.pdf> (accessed on June, 10, 2013 and also accessed on September, 10, 2014)

Richter scale and is called as *Great East Japan Earthquake* due to severe seismic tremors. The earthquake and high tsunami waves widely affected the Japan's biggest island, Honshu, where five nuclear power plants were located; Higashi NPP, Fukushima Daiichi NPP, Fukushima Daini NPP, Tokai Daini NPP and Onagawa NPP.²² The damage was caused on four NPPs but the most serious tragedy was triggered at Fukushima Daiichi NPP, which was placed at Level 7 on INES. The Fukushima Daini was put at level 3, Onagawa at level 1 while the Tokai Daini was placed at level 0.²³ The research is thus focused on Fukushima Daiichi NPP due to the severity of accident happened there.



NPP Sites of "Pacific Coast of Tohoku"²⁴

What went wrong at Fukushima Daiichi?

The tsunami hit the six nuclear reactors located at Fukushima Daiichi NPP, operated by the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO). The Units 1, 2 and 3 were operating normal whereas the Unit 4, 5 and 6 were shutdown for scheduled inspections. Due to seismic movement, the off-site power from main grid was totally cut off at all Fukushima Daiichi NPP and emergency shut-down feature commenced at Units 1 to 3. After the offsite power lost, the onsite Emergency Diesel Generators (EDGs) were kicked in to provide power for the emergency core cooling systems.²⁵ The 14m high

²² "IAEA International Fact Finding Expert Mission Of The Fukushima Daiichi NPP Accident Following The Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami", IAEA Mission Report.(2011). http://www-pub.iaea.org/mtcd/meetings/pdfplus/2011/cn200/documentation/cn200_final-fukushima-mission_report.pdf.P-11-12.(accessed on September 15, 2014)

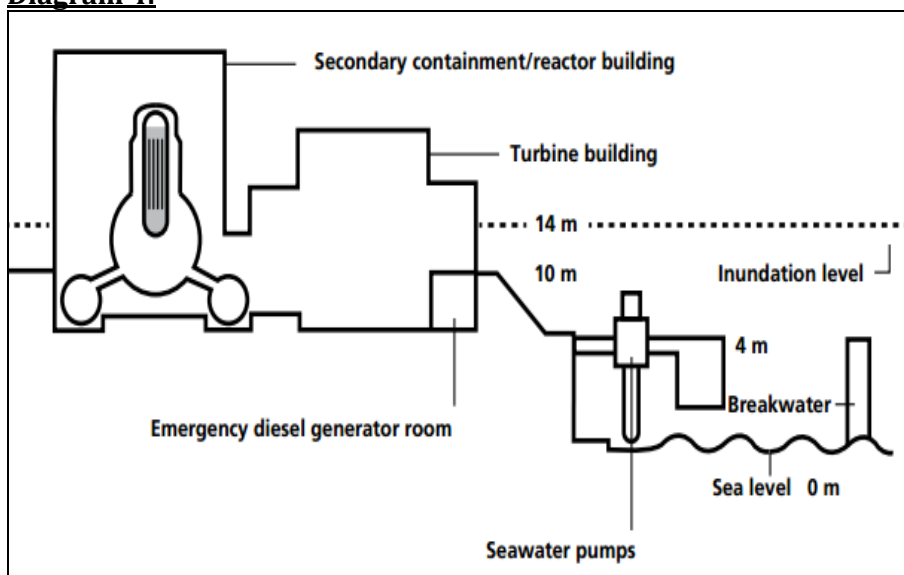
²³ Phillip Lipsy, Kenji Kushida and Trevor Incetri."The Fukushima Disaster and Japan's Nuclear Plant Vulnerability in Comparative Perspective", *Environmental Science & Technology*.(2013). P-6082.<http://web.stanford.edu/~plipsy/LipsyKushidaIncetriEST2013.pdf>. (accessed on September, 16, 2014).

²⁴ Ibid. p-23.

²⁵ "The Official Report of The Fukushima Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation Commission", *The National Diet of Japan*, (2012). p-12. https://www.nirs.org/fukushima/naic_report.pdf. (accessed September, 14, 2014).

tsunami waves flooded the 10m elevated plant and completely destroyed the 12 out of 13 EDGs.

Diagram 4:



*Reactors at Fukushima Daiichi damaged by tsunami*²⁶

The sea water was injected through seawater pump but after sometime the tsunami also annihilated the seawater cooling pumps and the electric wiring system. Due to the absence of electricity and physical damage to pathways; the excess to control room, instrumentation of control systems, lightning, communication and monitoring of equipments became extremely complicated. It became difficult to cool down the reactors hence the steam generated and the reactors started heating up. To relieve pressure, superheated steam was released which caused hydrogen explosions at units 1 to 4. The hydrogen explosion destroyed the outer shell of reactors, thus consequently reactors 1 to 3 suffered meltdown. The radioactive material released and later the low contaminated water was released into the sea in order to treat the highly contaminated water.²⁷

²⁶ James M. Acton and Mark Hibbs, "Why Fukushima Was Preventable", *Carnegie Endowment*. (2012). <http://carnegieendowment.org/files/fukushima.pdf>. (accessed on September, 17, 2014).

²⁷ "The Official Report of The Fukushima Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation Commission", *The National Diet of Japan*, (2012). P-13-14. https://www.nirs.org/fukushima/naic_report.pdf. (accessed September, 14, 2014).

What could have mitigated the disaster?

The Fukushima disaster was instigated due to natural hazards but some human-induced errors augmented the tragedy. There were serious problems which placed the disaster at INES 7, i.e. the elevation of NPP, the location of EDGs, height of seawater pumps, errors in preparedness measures, delay in onsite response and absence of some significant safety procedures. The Onagawa was more closed to epicentre but survived tsunami because the plant's seawall was 14m high, enough for high tsunami waves. On the contrary the seawall at Fukushima Daiichi was 10m high; the physical structure of plant was designed to survive 5.7m high tsunami waves while the tsunami waves were 14m high. The EDGs at Fukushima Daiichi were damaged because they were placed at the plant's elevation level.²⁸ The tsunami waves would not wipe out the EDGs if the seawall was higher or if the EDGs were located at elevated place. The damages could have been mitigated if the electric circuits and backup power cooling systems were waterproof. The EDGs at other four NPPs survived tsunami consequently the damages were not as severe as at Fukushima NPP.

After the loss of offsite power, a backup 66kV transmission line was tried to feed reactor 1 but failed due to mismatched sockets.²⁹ There was absence of some valid tools while the staff at site was not well trained to response effectively and timely in such a serious accident. This shows that effective preparedness measures were not in place for potential risks. To make excess easy to control room in severe nuclear tragedy, the control room must have been located at an elevated place at plant or at distance from the plant. In result of total breakdown of communication, the onsite establishment and central government was oblivious to each other's situation and actions. Thus, some serious gaps in preparedness and response declare the Fukushima tragedy a purely man-made disaster.

The possible danger of tsunami was estimated after 2002 and a research for potential 10-15m high tsunami was also conducted in 2008 but TEPCO underestimated the tsunami risks. Though TEPCO was aware of risks and essential safety procedures were recommended.³⁰ Hence the negligence within TEPCO's safety culture was another reason behind this serious accident.

²⁸ Phillip Lipsy, Kenji Kushida and Trevor Incetri. "The Fukushima Disaster and Japan's Nuclear Plant Vulnerability in Comparative Perspective", *Environmental Science & Technology*. (2013). P-6083. <http://web.stanford.edu/~plipsy/LipsyKushidaIncetriEST2013.pdf>. (accessed on September, 16, 2014).

²⁹ "The Official Report of The Fukushima Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation Commission", *The National Diet of Japan*, (2012). p-13-14. <https://www.nirs.org/fukushima/naic_report.pdf>. (accessed September, 14, 2014).

³⁰ Ibid., p-44.

Pakistan's Nuclear Disaster Management: Case-Study

Pakistan has a small nuclear industry and all its NPPs are under IAEA safeguards but the risks of natural hazards and man-made errors after Fukushima disaster have ignited worries. Pakistan has currently three operational commercial NPPs. The first NPP known as Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP-1) is sited on Arabian Sea Coast and become operational in 1972. The KANUPP-II (K-2), KANUPP-III (K-3) and KANUPP-IV (K-4) will be established with Chinese help to produce 2400 megawatts. The other two operational commercial NPPs, Chashma Nuclear Power Plant-1 (CHASNUPP-I) and Chashma Nuclear Power Plant-II (CHASNUPP-II) are sited nearby Mianwali, Punjab. Both NPPs were installed by PAEC with Chinese support in 2000 and 2011 respectively. CHASNUPP-III and CHASNUPP-IV are underway projects of 340 megawatts and will be inaugurated soon.³¹ Pakistan has lately announced to build 32 NPPs to generate 40,000 megawatts as part of "Nuclear Energy Vision 2050". These developments and Fukushima nuclear event ignited fears that any tragedy can put 20 million people of Karachi at risk.³²

Nuclear Security Action Plan (NSAP)

Any state possessing nuclear technology cannot rule out the possibility of a nuclear tragedy. Pakistan has therefore installed a nuclear disaster management apparatus to protect workers, public and environment from the lethal effects of radiation. The Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) is responsible for nuclear safety in country and works with IAEA and Convention on Nuclear Safety (CNS) to corroborate safety standards on all its NPPs.

To assess the potential risks to nuclear safety, a mechanism based on gap analysis and IAEA nuclear safety standards was developed, and a Nuclear Security Action Plan (NSAP) was devised by PNRA with collaboration of Strategic Plans Division (SPD) and Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in 2006. The plan was prepared to establish an effective response in nuclear related event. The salient features of NSAP includes the appropriate determination of emergency planning zones, availability of necessary resources for implementing necessary protective measures, management/administrative arrangements among various organizations involved in the response and protection actions, interface arrangements, information transmission and exchange, protective

³¹ "Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority".<http://www.pnra.org/c1.asp>. (accessed on September, 13, 2014).

³² Beenish Altaf, "Safety and Security of Pakistan's Nuclear Power Plants-Analysis," *Eurasia review*, March 7, 2014. <http://www.eurasiareview.com/07032014-safety-security-pakistan-nuclear-power-plants-analysis/>. (accessed September, 14, 2014).

measures (potassium iodine administration, access control, sheltering, evacuation etc).³³

Mitigation and Preparedness

Pakistan has clear distinction of its onsite (on NPPs) and offsite (organizations) nuclear emergency force. Many nuclear safety regulations are envisaged to ensure preparedness and mitigation. PNRA regulations PAK/909 demands emergency plan from licensee and approval of plan is mandatory before fuel is brought in nuclear installation. The regulation PAK/914 on the “Management of Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency” deals with establishment of onsite and offsite emergency response plans. In 2013, PNRA assessed on-site emergency exercises at K-1. The regulations for Safety of Nuclear Installations and Site-Evaluation are dealt under PAK/910 of PNRA. The Safety of NPP Design is verified and review periodically under regulations PAK/911.³⁴PNRA also regularly conduct drill exercises of all organizations involved in emergency plan, to improve and ensure the effective implementation of the nuclear emergency response plan.

IAEA has issued an implementing guide about Design Basis Threat (DBT) which assists to draft a safety plan by assessing hazards and vulnerabilities. Pakistan has adequate measures to functionalize DBT. The country has an evacuation and decontamination plan to handle the radioactive exposure in a nuclear unfortunate incident. For this matter, the Nuclear Security Emergency Coordination Center (NuSECC) works round the clock and has network of 6 emergency mobile labs in different cities of country. Moreover, the Nuclear Security Training Center (NSTC) provides training for officials from NPPs, operators of radiation facilities, first responders (onsite) and personnel from various organizations.³⁵

Response

If a nuclear event goes beyond the capacity of onsite responders, it becomes the responsibility of National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA). The National Disaster Response Plan (NDRP) of NDMA covers the nuclear and radiological events. The Nuclear Emergency Management System (NEMS) is an extensive body of SPD and functions in collaboration with NDMA. In case of a tragedy, both NEMS and NDMA would ensure the implementation of required measures for a timely and effective

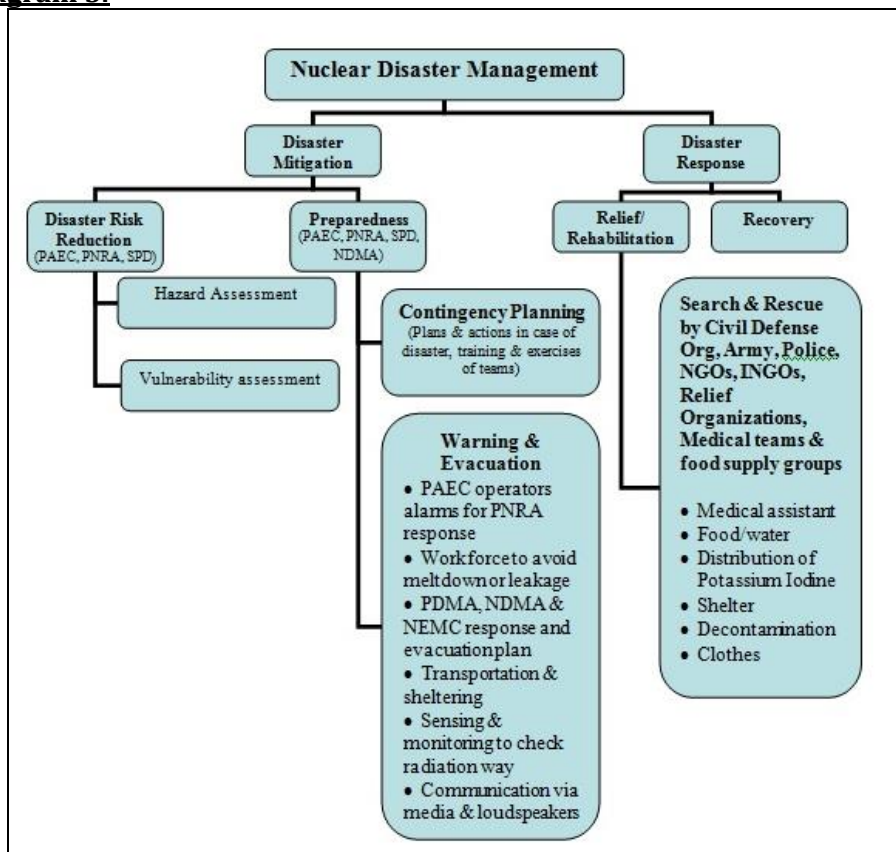
³³ “Nuclear Security Action Plan,” *Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority*. <http://www.pnra.org/nsap.asp>. (accessed September, 12, 2014).

³⁴ Convention on Nuclear Safety, Special National Report by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, for Second Extraordinary Meeting, August, 2012, p.44-45.

³⁵ “Nuclear Security Action Plan,” *Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority*. <<http://www.pnra.org/nsap.asp>>. (accessed September, 12, 2014).

response.³⁶ The evacuation and decontamination plan will be carried out by these organizations and by other trained workforce. To review the preparedness and response measures, ten training courses were organized by PNRA in the year 2013 for police, civil-military organizations, Rescue teams, Frontier Constabulary (FC), SPD), Bomb Disposal Squads, intelligence teams, health institutes and PAEC.³⁷

Diagram 5:



An overview that how Pakistan's Nuclear Disaster Management Apparatus likely to work in a nuclear tragedy³⁸

In a nutshell (as shown in diagram above), the country's nuclear disaster management apparatus would likely to work as accordingly. The

³⁶ "Convention On Nuclear Safety," Special National Report by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for Second Extraordinary Meeting. (2012): 43-44. <http://www.pnra.org/reports/Special%20National%20Report%202012-Pakistan.pdf>. (accessed on September, 15, 2014).

³⁷ "PNRA Annual Report 2013," Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority. <http://www.pnra.org/pnrrpt/PNRA%20Annual%20Report%202013.pdf>. (accessed September, 12, 2014)

³⁸ Researcher's own effort and understanding.

PAEC operators would alarm PNRA to activate emergency response. The onsite trained workers would take measures to avoid any possible radioactive exposure. If radiation spreads, the NDMA and NEMS would trigger a national level response. All ministries, civil-defense institutions and relief organizations etc will be informed to conduct a response. The evacuation plan and the plan to distribute potassium iodide would be launched. To communicate and guide general public about further instructions, the local cables and mosque loudspeakers will be used.

Comparative Analysis of Fukushima and Pakistan

Pakistan has a robust nuclear emergency plan to handle a nuclear event which has been discussed above, yet a comparative analysis of Fukushima Daiichi and Pakistan is imperative to check the validity of concerns levelled against Pakistan's nuclear management apparatus. The researcher has picked few crucial variables related to NPPs, critically evaluated its existence, checked its effectiveness and ultimately compared Pakistan's capability to handle a Fukushima level disaster. The variables discussed below are seismic design of NPP, seismic risks, elevation of plant, status of EDGs, height of seawater pumps, evacuation plan and distribution of potassium iodide. The comparison of each variable is as follows:

1. The seismic design of a nuclear power facility ensures the reactor's capacity to survive earthquake and tsunami. The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power facilities were capable to withstand an earthquake of magnitude 6.7 at Richter scale while the earthquake that hit reactors on March 11, 2011 was of 9.0 at Richter scale.³⁹ The ground acceleration at Fukushima varied from 0.30g to 0.55g⁴⁰ which causes severe seismic tremors but the design value of KANUPP-1 is 0.1g⁴¹ and is said to withstand the ground acceleration of 0.2, which is far less than Tohoku earthquake.
2. The Pacific Coast of Tohoku has four tectonic plates; Eurasian plate, North American plate, Philippines sea microplate and Pacific plate. The Tohoku earthquake occurred on the boundary of the North

³⁹ "Nuclear Power Plants and Earthquakes", *World Nuclear Organization*.(2014). <http://www.world-nuclear.org/info/Safety-and-Security/Safety-of-Plants/Nuclear-Power-Plants-and-Earthquakes/>. (accessed on September, 12, 2014).

⁴⁰ William Parker, "Damager from Earthquakes 'Not a Significant Risk' for San Onofre". (2014). http://www.songscommunity.com/docs/cep_seismic.pdf. (accessed on Sep. 17, 2014).

⁴¹ "Convention On Nuclear Safety," Special National Report by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for Second Extraordinary Meeting. (2012). P-14.<http://www.pnra.org/reports/Special%20National%20Report%202012-Pakistan.pdf>.

- American plate and the Pacific plate.⁴² In Pakistan, three active tectonic plates (Arabian plate, Eurasian plate and Indian plate) at Makran and Gwadar coast can affect K-1 of Arabian Sea coast.
3. The distance of Fukushima Daiichi NPP from earthquake was 178km.⁴³ Whereas Karachi is located approximately at distance of 150-200km from the triple junction of tectonic plates at Makran and Gwadar coast⁴⁴. Hence in case of severe collision of these tectonic plates, serious risks like Fukushima tragedy can be posed to K-1.
 4. After the Tohoku earthquake, the 14m high tsunami waves reached the Fukushima Daiichi NPP within about 46 minutes.⁴⁵ On other hand, Pakistan's chief meteorologist stated that an earthquake of 9 at Richter scale in Makran trench would create 23feet high tsunami waves that would reach within 90 minutes at Arabia sea coast.⁴⁶ However in 1945, the waves that hit Karachi coast were 4m high.
 5. The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power reactor facilities were located at 10m high above the sea-level while KANUPP-1 is 11.9m (39feet) above the sea-level.⁴⁷ The EDGs at Fukushima were placed at 10m whereas in Pakistan the emergency cooling systems are placed at 11.89m.⁴⁸ Pakistan's NPPs are located at higher elevation than Fukushima nonetheless the NPP height must be corresponding to the maximum wave height recorded within 300km as recommended by IAEA 2010. It is argued in a recent study that K-1 has plant elevation lower than the recorded wave run-up.⁴⁹

⁴² "IAEA International Fact Finding Expert Mission Of The Fukushima Daiichi NPP Accident Following The Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami", IAEA Mission Report.(2011). <http://www-pub.iaea.org/mtcd/meetings/pdfplus/2011/cn200/documentation/cn200_final-fukushima-mission_report.pdf>P-19. (accessed on Sep. 15, 2014)

⁴³ "Fukushima Nuclear Accident Analysis Report", *Tokyo Electric Power Company*. (2012). P-7.http://www.tepco.co.jp/en/press/corp-com/release/betu12_e/images/120620e0104.pdf. (accessed on Sep. 16, 2014).

⁴⁴ Roger Bilham, Sarosh Lodi, Susan Hough, Saria Bukhary, Abid Murtaza Khan and S, Rafeeqi. "Seismic Hazard in Karachi, Pakistan: Uncertain Past, Uncertain Future", *Seismological Research Letters*, 78 (6). (2007). P-601.http://pasadena.wr.usgs.gov/office/hough/bilham_et_al_2007SRL.pdf. (accessed on Sep. 13, 2014).

⁴⁵ "IAEA International Fact Finding Expert Mission Of The Fukushima Daiichi NPP Accident Following The Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami", IAEA Mission Report. (2011).

⁴⁶ "1945: The Tsunami That Devastated Makran", *Dawn.com*. <<http://www.dawn.com/news/1131310>>. (accessed on Sep. 17, 2014).

⁴⁷ "Convention On Nuclear Safety," Special National Report by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for Second Extraordinary Meeting. (2012). P-10.<http://www.pnra.org/reports/Special%20National%20Report%202012-Pakistan.pdf>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.,P-12.

⁴⁹ Phillip Lipy, Kenji Kushida and Trevor Incetri. "The Fukushima Disaster and Japan's Nuclear Plant Vulnerability in Comparative Perspective", *Environmental Science & Technology*.(2013). P-6084.

6. At Fukushima NPPs, the sea water pumps were 4m high from sea-level and were badly destroyed due to tsunami. At KANUPP-1, the pump house floor is 2.74m high and in most awful scenario can be demolished by severe gushing of water and wreckage.⁵⁰
7. The EDGs and cooling power systems worked for about 30 hours at reactors of Fukushima Daiichi. Whereas K-1 has mobile EDGs, passive emergency cooling systems and fire water tanks to cool-down reactors for about 72 hours.⁵¹
8. In case of serious nuclear disaster, the evacuation of people away from the contaminated area is an essential step for public safety. Almost 185,000 residents were evacuated from vicinity of 20km and around 200,000 people evacuated from ten towns of surrounding areas of Fukushima NPP.⁵² As a protective measure from radiation exposure, Japan distributed 230,000 units of potassium iodide to evacuated centers around NPP. Pakistani nuclear establishment says that in case of serious nuclear tragedy, an area about 5km will be evacuated and evacuation plans are in place for it. Pakistan is working to extend evacuation plans in circumference of 15km which covers people up to 100,000. Moreover, country has enough stock of potassium iodide for people in vicinity of K-1.⁵³

Recommendations

A number of views, opinions, suggestions and recommendations can be derived from the above mentioned facts and analysis. As it is known fact that countries having NPPs keep on reassessing/re-evaluating the seismic hazards, potential risks, vulnerabilities, technological features and emergency zones with time and events, therefore suggestions focusing on these are deliberately ignored. The international safety standards about NPPs have been revised after Fukushima accident and many states including Pakistan has taken improved safety measures. Pakistani nuclear establishment has increased the quantity of EDGs nonetheless an improved protective measure would be the water proofing of electric circuits and EDGs. The emergency power system should be placed at much

⁵⁰ "Convention On Nuclear Safety," Special National Report by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for Second Extraordinary Meeting. (2012). P-12.

⁵¹ "Nuclear Power: 'K-2, K-3 Nuclear Reactors More Safe Than Fukushima". *The Express Tribune*.<http://tribune.com.pk/story/662959/nuclear-power-k-2-k-3-nuclear-reactors-more-safe-than-fukushima/>. (accessed on September, 13, 2014).

⁵² Zbigniew Jaworowski, "Japanese Nuclear Power and Wrath of Nature". <http://www.21stcenturysciencetech.com/Articles_2011/Japan_nuclear_Jaworowski.pdf> (accessed on September, 18, 2014); Larry Greenemeier. "Does Potassium Iodide Protect People from Radiation Leaks/", *Scientific American*.(2011). <<http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/japan-earthquake-tsunami-radiation/>>. (accessed on September, 26, 2014).

⁵³ "Nuclear Power: 'K-2, K-3 Nuclear Reactors More Safe Than Fukushima".

elevated place, behind flood-proof doors or in watertight bunkers. To avoid any possible risk, an emergency control room must be built at a much elevated location away from K-1, which can be used in an extreme tragedy.

An evacuation plan about K-1 is in place but as the contamination zone extends up to 50 miles⁵⁴ thus an option to gradually but persistently move away citizens from the vicinity of NPP should be examined. Such a strategy will help in handling less people and avoiding chaos in emergency situation because a populated and economically significant Karachi cannot afford heavy population or trademarks near NPPs. Pakistan has recently announced plan to construct 32 NPPs at 8 sites across country and reportedly 6 sites have been identified so the possibility to purchase extensive land in vicinity of these NPPs must be investigated. For instance Kaemari town is located 16km away from K-2, so is it affordable to purchase this land or what can be the alternative measures to keep the area less populated around 30km. The operational lifetimes of 32 new NPPs is supposed about 60 years hence in absence of imperative actions the area around NPPs will be heavily populated in six decades. Conversely, as the safety of these NPPs is concerned, these plants are based on ACP-1000 model which has been recognized to be fully compliant with all the safety standards set by IAEA.⁵⁵

Pakistan seems to launch an allied response in case of a nuclear disaster thus it is argued that which would be principal responsible body to launch and lead the response if a nuclear mishap happens. Who will be questioned and who would be liable? There are apprehensions about NDMA (tasked for evacuation plans and other significant actions in nuclear emergency plan) due to its substandard performance to handle natural hazards in country. It would be accordingly more organized for Pakistan to have a principal and liable 'Federal Nuclear Emergency Management Agency' to deal with nuclear/radiological related accidents.

At last but not the least, the general public must be trained to respond nuclear tragedy in an organized manner. The people living in vicinity of NPPs must be informed about protective measures, possible risks, evacuation plan and sheltering sites etcetera in order to avoid chaos and ensure efficiency in a nuclear event. The electronic media, cable advertisements, pamphlets, drill exercises and seminars can be the ways to develop the desired awareness.

⁵⁴ "Backgrounder on Emergency Preparedness at Nuclear Power Plants", *United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission*. <http://www.nrc.gov/reading-rm/doc-collections/fact-sheets/emerg-plan-prep-nuc-power-bg.html>. (accessed on September, 29, 2014).

⁵⁵ "Chinese Reactor Design Passes Safety Review", *World Nuclear News*. <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/NN-Chinese-reactor-design-passes-safety-review-0812145.html>. (accessed on April, 3, 2015)

Conclusion

The Nuclear Disaster Management is a complex *modus operandi* that involves serious analysis, planning and premeditated course of action. It requires scientific information, technical equipment, comprehensive preparedness, systematic arrangement and timely response. The most imperative step of disaster management is to identify the hazards, which can result in casualties, injuries or any kind of damage to infrastructure, economy or environment. The subsequent important course of action is to devise a 'disaster risk review' of the potential 'hazard zones'. This includes the assessment of the severity and exposure of potential disaster, and the requisite capacity to handle the tragedy. On the basis of this assessment, the response is prepared and shared with concerned organizations and public.

The Fukushima disaster was instigated by earthquake accompanied by tsunami but worsened due to the absence of measures, timely response and human-made errors. The effects could be mitigated; some serious gaps were witnessed in preparedness and response approaches which declare the Fukushima tragedy a purely man-made disaster. Every state possessing nuclear technology is vulnerable to natural and human-induced disasters and is responsible to adopt imperative measures; Pakistan in this regard is not an exceptional case. Pakistan has an effective management apparatus at NPPs which has successfully avoided any tragedy till now. The Nuclear Emergency Response Plan (NERP) is in practice with the coordination of PNRA, SPD and PAEC. The plan includes all the ministries, law & enforcement agencies, relief organizations, disaster management authorities, medical institutes, first responders, operators, counter intelligence teams, workforce and the public in vicinity of NPPs. Generally speaking states make threat assessments and in according to assessed threat, it develops a Design Basis Threat (DBT) that helps to prepare a security plan. The IAEA has issued an implementing guide about DBT. In this regard, adequate measures are in place. The capacity to provide necessary technical support in implementing necessary protective and response measures are available within the country along with monitoring equipment as well as assessment capabilities.

Moreover after the Fukushima Daiichi disaster, the safety procedures have been reassessed and revised; yet some additional measures are required keeping in view the Fukushima level severe nuclear tragedy. To conclude, the handling of nuclear disaster like Fukushima is quite challenging but manageable.

THE EMERGING STRATEGIC RIVALRIES IN INDIAN OCEAN REGION: AN ANALYSIS OF INDO-AMERICAN AMBITIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHINA

Dr. Hasan Yaser Malik*

Abstract

Since the end of cold war the balance of power has dominantly shifted to the pax Americana making the United States of America the leading hagemon in world politics. The onset of war on terror since 2001 and consequent US global policies in pursuit of Bush doctrine of pre-emption have created a global power imbalance. China being part of an energy-rich Caspian Region and in proximity of the oil-rich Persian Gulf has emerged as the largest economy of the world. In order to sustain its global economic stature China needs to secure its trade beyond Asia by securing the sea lines of communications in Indian Ocean. In order to counter balance Chinese influence in Indian Ocean, the USA has adopted a New Defence Strategy. It has made major strategic restructuring in Indian Ocean first time since 1945. It has plans to shift 60 per cent of its naval vessels to South Pacific by 2020. This paper is an analysis of the implications of the US strategy in Indian Ocean for Chinese strategic designs.

Key Words: Indian Ocean, Strategy, Caspian Region, war on terror, hagemon

Introduction

China shares its territorial boundaries with fourteen countries and covers an area of over 28,073 kilometres. China has a coast line measuring 14,500km including Yellow, East China and South China Sea (SCS). The communist revolution (1929-1949) resulted in the loss of a portion of its original national territory (The island state of Taiwan now)¹. The consequent establishment of a communist

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¹ Michal Lee Lanning, Lieutenant Colonel Retired, *The Military 100* (Pakistan Services Book Club Press, Rawalpindi, 2000), 182.

government of Chinese Communist Party in October 1949 was a natural set back to the capitalist US in global politics. The USA did not recognize new communist state of China for about three decades. The main concern was the loss of huge market and American governments extended maximum possible commercial and military support to Taiwan during this period. On the other hand the relationship between Maoist China and former USSR were not at their best. The winds of change in global politics for instance detente and Vietnam War made it strategic rational choice for the US to connect diplomatic ties with communist China. In 1972 former US President Richard Nixon visited Mao Zedong, which was facilitated by Pakistan. Resultantly China adopted a policy of non-confrontation and concentrated on its economic growth.

The socialist economy of China developed rapidly during 1980s and post-Cold War 90s; by September 2009 the foreign exchange reserves of China touched US \$2,273 billion combined with GDP growth rate of 9.1 per cent.² The emergence of socialist China as a military and economic competitor concerned the strategists of the USA. In the wake of War on Terror and revival of pre-emption doctrine of the USA, first time since 1945, a major restructuring of US forces in Indian Ocean took place. The doctrine of pre-emption coupled with probability of long-term US presence in the region compelled other major powers including China to beef up their military budgets. On the other hand, pursuance of the policy brought the US under severe economic implications and forced the US to revisit the Pre-emption Policy and to adopt a new Defence Strategy Guidance in Jan 2012 (entitled as Sustaining US Global leadership). The USA prioritised its strategic and economic options for 21st Century Defence with a view to offset the Chinese economic and military ingress in Indian and Pacific Oceans. It is felt that China has capability to influence Indo-US presence in the energy-rich Indian Ocean Region (IOR). In order to maintain its domination in IOR against the Chinese, 'String of Pearls Strategy' the US is shifting 60 per cent of its naval resources in Asia Pacific Region (APR) by repositioning its vessels to South Pacific so as to remain poised towards Indian and Pacific Oceans including SCS. Considering the Chinese presence in IOR, its economic concerns and dispersed deployment of its navy, the US is also supporting India in its efforts to emerge as an Indian Ocean naval power to counter China.

Chinese Independent Foreign Policy of Peace

The rise of China as the largest economy in world has its roots in its independent and peaceful foreign policy. The Chinese leadership

² Charlos A Piggot, *China in the World Economy: The domestic policy challengers*, (Paris: OECD Press, France 2002), 60.

propagates five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as are appended below³:

- Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- Mutual non-aggression.
- Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
- Equality and mutual benefit.
- Peaceful coexistence.

Beijing has also increased its participation in peacekeeping operations, supporting contingents in East Timor, Congo, Liberia and elsewhere.⁴ Apart from these peacekeeping efforts it has covertly contained Russo-Afghan War.⁵

Chinese Geo-Political Interests in IOR

The emerging power China is at the crossroads of energy rich IOR, and Caspian Region. It has a unique historical legacy and discreet foreign policy choices. China has not been involved in offensive strike for last two centuries. Though it possesses an important regional economic and military route Wakhan Corridor that had been used as a trade link between Caspian Region and IOR for long, yet it has not opened this corridor for the deployment of NATO forces in Afghanistan. China will not risk doing anything which can go against the vital Chinese economic concerns. China wants to secure its economic routes passing through Afghanistan and even Pakistan leading to much wanted Gwadar Port at the choke point energy rich Hurmoz in IOR.⁶ The presence of the US in Afghanistan is making China compromise its regional domination, however, analysts and economists are of the view that China being a growing economy can wait, and the US being a deficit economy has reason to get concerned. Although all regional and extra regional players understand that the stability in Afghanistan is central to regional and economic interests, yet every player has a self-centred approach. The IOR rivalry is a zero sum game among major players where stakeholders are not willing to share a chunk of pie with others. As per China, the point of

³ Speech by Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China at Rally Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

⁴ Harold J Johnson, *UN Peacekeeping: Status of long standing operation and US interest in supporting them* (USA, Washington DC: General Accounting Office, 1997), 2.

⁵ A James Gregor, *The China Connection: U.S Policy and People's Republic of China* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1986), 228.

⁶ China builds a plan to defend Afghan resource projects, 2013, <<http://www.syedfazlehaider.com/china-builds-a-plan-to-defend-afghan-resource-projects/>>, (accessed May 23, 2013).

concern is not only the USA but also the aspirant India that is eager to fill in the power vacuum in IOR created by awaited ouster of the USA forces.⁷

China's economic policies are growth oriented and despite being a controlled economy of a socialist government it does not interfere with the internal and domestic politics of its allies. China believes in stable governments to prosper and grow while the US believes in regime change. China wants an Afghan Government to be strong enough to enforce complete withdrawal of the US forces so that China can continue its economic policies exclusive of the expected US interference in the region. Recent decision of Pakistani Government to hand over the functioning of Gwadar Port to China and concluding a deal with the Iran to construct 753km long gas pipeline with Chinese support, speaks of Chinese interests and the US concerns.⁸ In pursuance of its policies, India is aligning its regional and extra regional interests with the US interests. India views Chinese economic span broaden and China's opening border at Wakhjir pass with cautiousness.⁹ This outflanking move will put India at disadvantage as it will enhance the ties between an emerging trio of Afghanistan, China and Pakistan. India does not enjoy a much needed trade access to Afghanistan through Pakistan and is dependent on the Iranian Chahbahar Port. It will be prudent to note that the US has never raised its eyebrows over India for its involvement in Iran.

Chinese presence at Gwadar Port in the west of India is being termed as an Indian encirclement by China and at present Iran seems to be the only hope for its opportunities. India is rightfully concerned that once the US will be leaving Afghanistan, Russia will reach out to Afghanistan and Pakistan with a view to not only improve their trade but also the relations with the neighbouring Muslims living in south; en route to the warm waters. India is quite alarmed over the emerging Pakistan-Russian relations; the visit of Pakistani Army Chief to Russia in September 2012 and Russian promises of investment to improve the Pakistani Industry are being certainly viewed as point of concern by India. Indian stance is surely apprehensive over the pledges made by the Chinese Premier Li Keqiang during his visit to Pakistan on May 22, 2013 whereby it was announced that "whatsoever happens at the international scene, our relations with Pakistan will continue to flourish and strengthen further."¹⁰ India is making an all out effort to forestall it by projecting a much propagated threat of religious extremism from Pakistan.

⁷ Bob Woodward, *Obama's Wars; The Inside Story*. (UK: Simon & Schuster UK Limited, 2010), 8.

⁸ Khaleeq Kiani, "Gwadar port to be transferred to Chinese firm; Cabinet ratifies Iran pipeline agreement," *Daily Dawn*, Lahore, January 31, 2013.

⁹ Sujan Dutta, "Outflanking move near Afghan border with interests for India: Ex-chief New Delhi," *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, June 5, 2012.

¹⁰ *The Dawn*, Islamabad, May 23, 2013.

The US Interests and Concerns

The strategic significance of the Central Asian region is due to its large hydrocarbon reserves, which are mostly intact as yet. Fifty one per cent of the US oil needs (19.5 million barrels daily) are being met through import. It is estimated that by 2020, the US will have to import 64 per cent of oil (25.8 million barrels daily) to suit its requirements. The US is importing much of its oil from Venezuela and Persian Gulf while Europe fulfils its requirements from Persian Gulf and the North Sea.¹¹ From the eastern power block China has already reached the Caspian region and is using the hydrocarbon resources by constructing pipelines to meet its growing energy needs. In the north, Russia is still maintaining its influence over the CARs; which is not appreciated by the strategists of the US as it wants an influence which suits its demands and interests. Europe is also enhancing its access to Caspian region; which further concerns the US as it is still fixed in the targets of Afghan invasion and putting Iran under strict economic sanctions. In order to reach up to the CARs and Caspian Sea the US needs an approach or combination of approaches in form of trade routes. Despite being sole superpower the US is losing in terms of time.

Geo-Political Significance of Asia Pacific Region for China and US

The significance of politics played among major powers mainly China and the US in and around Indian Ocean and Pacific is interconnected. These politics between China and the USA for dominant influence are directly affecting littoral states. The littoral states include 15 African, 2 Asian 4 Australian and 2 Oceanic states. The politics of littoral states were dominated by Soviets and Americans during Cold War. Contemporarily China has replaced Soviet Union in the region. The Indian Ocean offers prime SLOCs linking with Europe, Middle East, Africa, Asia and Americas through Europe. It provides 40 per cent of petroleum from the Persian Gulf oilfields and Indonesia.¹² Large hydrocarbon reserves from Middle East, Iran and Western Australia combined with energy reserve of CARs have caught the attention of all regional and extra regional key players for the 'New Great Game'. The sailing of comparatively superior flow of energy vessels has invited the piracy at African Coast.

In order to offset the effects of rising militarisation in Central Asian Region, China has constructed a dynamic Gwadar Port in Pakistan at the gate of the most important choke point; Hurmoz Strait in the Indian Ocean

¹¹ J. David Brown, *Bridges* (London: Macmillan Publishing House, 1993), 130.

¹² Shojai Siamack, *The New Global Oil Market: Understanding Energy Issues in the World Economy*, (USA: Green Wood Publishing Group, 1995), 6.

which can provide China a base in proximity of the US 5th Naval Fleet.¹³ The Gwadar Port will also provide the facility of being a hub for oil and gas pipelines linking to Central Asian Region to warm waters through KKH and Afghanistan. A marine capability at Gwadar has concluded sensitivities regarding Chinese geo-political aims in the arena. As highlighted by various stakeholders, possible Chinese militarisation, only 500km away from Hurmoz may offer apprehensions about Beijing's "string of pearls" strategy because of the Chinese strategic presence in IOR.

Gwadar Port as envisaged by China is conventional shipping facility to link China with Indian Ocean SLOCs. The recent launch of Chinese aircraft carrier has added the anxieties for the US and its dependent ally, India over the military challenge springing from the fastest rising Asian Giant. The China has accomplished assembly of the new China-Kazakhstan energy pipeline in 2009 along China-Kazakhstan border to Caspian by filling it up from Tengiz Oil Field.¹⁴ China's hierarchy seems taciturn to keep on subcontracting their national SLOCs to the U.S and ally India.

Chinese have crafted ingress in Myanmar involving several projects such as fuel expansion by construction of harbours and docks, development of oil plus gas terminus, road construction, and pertinent outlays which will strengthen the oil and gas conductive passage from the Middle East to main land China avoiding its security concerns at Malacca; a three-kilometre shipping chokepoint monitored by the US China has recently announced plans to construct a 810km long rail linkage between Ruili (China) and Kyaukphyu (Myanmar) via Muse, whereas Thailand is involved in building Dawei Port.¹⁵ On completion, Dawei Port in Myanmar will have capacity to anchor vessels up to 300,000 tons. This continental infrastructural connectivity will link China with Indian Ocean via Vietnam. This port will surely reduce the cost and risk carrying energy supplies and other logistics to SCS through Kra Isthmus instead of Malacca Bottleneck. Moreover, Chinese are also taking part in development of Maldives and are establishing the Chinese institutions and universities. Other Island like Seychelles, where Chinese President Hu Jintao visited in 2007, much to Delhi's surprise, Beijing is now training the small island nation's defence forces and providing military hardware such as turboprop aircraft for surveillance.

¹³ Walter Russell Mead's blog, "China to Add Pakistan's Gwadar Port to String of Pearls," available at the blog <the-american-interest.com/wrm/2012/08/31china-to-add-pakistan-gwadar-port-to-string-of-pearls/>, (accessed December 11, 2012).

¹⁴ KMG, "Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline," <www.King.kz/en/manufacturing/oil/Kazakhstan-china/>, (accessed December 11, 2012).

¹⁵ World Maritimes News, "Myanmar: Dawei Port Development Program Move India," July 24, 2012, <worldmaritime.com/archives/62050> (accessed December 11, 2012).

China's Security Policy

It refers to security of Chinese SLOCs extending from China to Sudan.¹⁶ SLOCs pervading bottle necks like Bab el Mandeb, Malacca, Hormuz and Lombok Strait. 'String of Pearls' pronounces expression of Chinese growing strategic impact by means of its determination to upsurge its way in harbours and airports combined with geo-political association to endeavour for having a 'harmonious ocean'. In 1993 it became net oil importer and is responsible for 40 per cent of world oil growth and since 2003 has become second largest consumer oil, increasing oil demand of 9.96 million barrels a day.¹⁷ Fifteen per cent of Chinese oil needs are met through Sudan. China has concluded various oil field development contracts with Iran. Recent Surge of piracy in the proximity of Horn of Africa and situation in Darfur has bugged the Chinese policy to handle such aggressions. 'String of pearls' provides it the much needed security. Kra Isthmus will provide a secure and an alternative route instead of longer, vulnerable and a US dominated Malacca in between Hambantota to Shanghai.¹⁸

Indian Objectives in Oceanic Heartland against China

Where, on the one hand, era of complex interdependence has prospects for peace for states, on the other it also carries possibilities for adversity. India and China also have clashing interests in IOR. India for instance wants to extend its inspiration across ocean through clientele, capital, and geo-political partnership with the US and Central Asia & the Caucasus¹⁹. It is already enhancing associations in Africa, Arabian Peninsula and Asiatic Monsoon thus entailing more fuel guarantees for accomplishment of its aims. India urges to rise as overriding authority in next decade. It is doing its level best to restrict, restrain or at least slow down China from becoming an overarching regional naval power.²⁰ India's multinational companies in Yemen have attained licence for drillings and exploration of blocks.

¹⁶ Avery Goldstein, *Rising to the Challenge, China's Grand Strategy and International Security*, (California USA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 17.

¹⁷ David Blumenthal, Tju Liang Chua and Ashleigh Au, *Dong Business in China: Upstream oil & gas*, in China Report (China: Jurs Publications, 2000), V-3.1-V-3.33.

¹⁸ Investments News and Commentary from Emerging Markets in Asia-China, "India and ASEAN (2009) Kara Canal/ India Ocean/South China Sea Project to be Re-Visited," available at <www.2point6billion.com/news/2009/03/18/Kra-Canal-Indian-Ocean-1250.html>, (accessed December 11, 2012).

¹⁹ Rizwan Zeb, "USA in Central Asia & the Caucasus," *Regional Studies* (Journal) Vol I, XXII, No.1, Winter 2003-04, Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, 48.

²⁰ Basharat Hussain, "Indo-Afghanistan Relations: Pre & Post-Taliban Developments," *Regional Studies*, Vol.XXII, No.3, 2004, 49.

US Involvement in Indian Ocean Region (IOR)

The United States of America perceives a variety of possible threats to its security in the Indian Ocean Region, oscillating between pressures from regional power to non-state players. There are consistent safety worries, vacillating from SLOCs safety to increase in non-conventional weapons. The threat of Islamic expansion is a sore point; increasing profoundly. There is substantial US defence spending slash worth US \$1.2 trillion will consequently causes decrease in the US potentials to pledge in the Indian Ocean region.²¹ The Asiatic 'pivot' lays more emphasis on the US defence in the IOR as well. Decrease in the dedicated US defence capitals, and lack of British and French interests may cause power vacuum in IOR.²² The vacuum is likely to cause a shift in the US defence assets from the North to South Pacific by shifting 60 per cent of its naval fleet to Hawaii.²³ This significant power vacuum needs to be filled by the US allies like Indonesia, Australia and India, who can assume greater responsibilities for regional security in the absence of the US. The US wants to ensure security of maritime chokepoints and SLOCs.

Round for Ascendancy in Asia Pacific Region

It includes two broad categories of states which are endeavouring for authority and enhancing the maritime interests in Indian Ocean; firstly; the chief stakeholders, such states seek dominance in entire oceanic region. Convincingly, China and the US have capability and determination to contest with the littoral states. Secondly; the regional players who seek domination primarily in relevant oceanic portion for their securities, such countries include Australia, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, UK, India and Pakistan. Such states will not be able to exert an independent pressure and will be wooed by the big players to meet their strategic objectives.

Formulation of New Defence Strategy by the US

The US Pre-emption Policy which was adopted in September 2002 suffered and could not achieve the desired results.²⁴ The implications of

²¹ US News, "Debate club, Are cuts to defense Budget Necessary?", available at <www.usnews.com/debate-club/are-cuts-to-the-defense-budget-necessary>, (accessed December 11, 2012).

²² Kamal Kumar, *Indian Ocean as a zone of peace problems and prospects*, (India: APH Publishing Corporation, 2000), X.

²³ Gaddi Nate, "Hawaii Could Benefit from US/China Tensions," available at <bigislandnow.com/2012/09/18/hawai-could-benefit-from-uschina-tensions/>, (accessed December 11, 2012).

²⁴ Daniel Ryan, "The Bush Doctrine of Preemption under President Obama," <http://www.abanet.org/intlaw/students/student_competition.html>., (accessed May 14, 2013).

policy botched the US to maintain its diplomatic acceptance.²⁵ While pursuing its Pre-emption Policy to enhance its global leadership role the US expended lots of resources by waging wars all across the globe, hence losing its economic and diplomatic strength.²⁶

Considering the diplomatic, economic and military implications of Pre-emption Policy, which being not in line with Article 2 (4) and 51 of chapter VII of UN Charter failed, the US global leadership depends upon its fiscal strength which is not supported by its deficit economy so its influence in IOR against emerging Chinese influence is compromised.²⁷ The Pre-emption Policy proved the words of the former US National Security Advisor and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger where he once said that "Unfettered right of pre-emption to any state is not in any ones interest." The Obama Administration has revised the above-mentioned policy and adopted a New Defence Strategy aiming at Sustaining US global leadership by adopting following spectrum.²⁸

Features of the US Defence Strategy in IOR

America has an explicit strategy in Indian Ocean Region through which it wants to establish a flexible and enduring presence. The US is concerned about Chinese presence and influence in Indian Ocean Region. It rather perceives wide range of potential threats to its interests in the IOR, ranging from state-based threats (such as from China and Iran) to non-state actors.

The US perceives China as a significant strategic concern across the entire Indo-Pacific oceanic region. China is also seen as a long-term threat to the US interests in the Indian Ocean.²⁹ Among main strategic goals in Indian Ocean the US wants to cut down its defence budget to US \$987 billion over a decade.³⁰ It also wants to maintain its dominance in IOR against the Chinese by shifting 60% of its naval resources in APR by

²⁵ Richard L Kuglar, <www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA509588>, (accessed May 27, 2013).

²⁶ <http://www.defense.gov/382815A5-3AE5-4B85-9F3F-A56B0113B271/FinalDownload/DownloadId-8273F03548261DA22E074212BBD08087/382815A5-3AE5-4B85-9F3F-A56B0113B271/news/Defense_Strategic_Guidance.pdf>.

²⁷ Michael, "25 Horrible Statistics About the US Economy that Barack Obama Does Not Want You to Know," <<http://endoftheamericandream.com/archives/25-horrible-statistics-about-the-u-s-economy-that-barack-obama-does-not-want-you-to-know>>, (accessed May 14, 2013).

²⁸ Julian E Barnes, "US Plans Naval Shift Toward Asia: Pacific to Host 60% of Navy by 2020, Defense Secretary Says, Rejecting View that Move is Designed to Contain China", <<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303552104577439943137674490.html>>, (accessed May 14, 2013).

²⁹ David Brewster, "US strategic thinking about the Indian Ocean", *Interpreter* (Online), June 26, 2013, <<http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2012/06/26/US-strategic-thinking-about-the-Indian-Ocean.aspx?COLLCC=3765442410&>>.

³⁰ Ibid.

repositioning its vessels to South Pacific.³¹ The IOR makes an interesting case study of collision and convergence of strategic interests of the US and China in the region.

Implications of New US Defence Strategy

The Implications for China



<<https://www.google.com/search?q=Google+maps+indian+Ocean+region&biw=1366&bih=657&tbnm>>.

The US has always tried to create supremacy in IOR by establishing the marine bases e.g. the one in Diego Garcia.

Chinese analysts have seen the US presence in Diego Garcia and IOR as part of a larger strategy to maintain the US control of East Asia at China's expense.³²

Currently China has become more concerned about the US bases in Japan and Guam, which are perceived as key links for maritime power projection. In addition to this China's growing interests in maritime

³¹ Goldstein, "Rising to the Challenge...", 17.

³² Jing Hai, "The US Navy Pacific Fleet's Five Great Naval Bases and Their Relevant Statistics," *People's Navy*, March 4, 2006, 4.

resources, trade and commerce may make it develop naval development westward.

As an effort to secure its vital interests in the Indian Ocean littoral, China has established a complex “soft power” web of diplomacy, trade, humanitarian assistance, arms sales, port construction, and even strategic partnerships with countries in the region. The goal of this strategy is to maximize access to resource inputs and trade in peacetime, while raising the political costs of any severing of seaborne energy supplies in times of crisis by hostile naval powers.³³

The future stability of the Indian Ocean security environment depends on the extent to which the interests of the region’s major stakeholders can coexist.

Moreover, the takeover of Gwadar Port by China as a gateway to energy rich Persian Gulf, at 34km narrow strait of Hurmoz from where 40% of world oil is transported is a point of concern for the US and India; as China now dominates the most important chokepoint in IOR³⁴. China also plans to construct a Kra Canal across the Kra Isthmus in Thailand linking Andaman Sea with SCS which will diminish the US domination at 3km narrow Strait of Malacca; the second important chokepoint in IOR³⁵. While being at Gwadar China can be influential at Babul Mandab which is the third important chokepoint of IOR. In addition to the above mentioned scenario the tension between Japan and China over the uninhabited Diaoyu Island was intensified on September 2, 2012. The Diaoyu Island is controversial territory as it is controlled by Japan but claimed by China and Taiwan. The Island is geographically situated on top of vast oil deposits and has a long history of straining relations between China and Japan. Therefore, the confrontations like ‘Scarborough Shoal’ a disputed reef, where Chinese and Philippine boats faced off earlier this year, are the Chinese concerns. Moreover, Japan is cooperating with the Philippines and Vietnam over the territorial disputes with China in SCS. On the other hand the US can be influential against North Korea by establishing a military base in south of South Korea on Jeju-do Island.³⁶ The US is also likely to assist littoral states of SCS to deny the Chinese claims of SCS to pressurise China even overtly. Apart from China and India, other littoral states are

³³ Marc Lanteigne, “China’s Military Security and the Malacca Dilemma,” *Asian Security*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2008), 143-161.

³⁴ Sutirtho Patranobis, “China’s control of Gwadar will deter India, says report,” *Hindustan Times*, <<http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/China/China-s-control-of-Gwadar-will-deter-India-says-report/Article1-1015684.aspx>>, (assessed May 28, 2013).

³⁵ Lily Kuo, “Global trade’s fastest-growing choke point is about to get more congested,” <<http://qz.com/84041/the-global-oil-trades-newest-choke-point-is-in-the-straits-of-malacca/>>, (assessed May 13, 2013).

³⁶ Jhon Letman, “Jeju Island Base Divides Korean, International Green Groups,” <<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/08/jeju-island-base-divides-korean-international-green-groups/>>, (assessed May 28, 2012).

also improving their naval capabilities. Vietnam has purchased six Russian submarines, Indonesia has already acquired a small fleet of submarines and Singaporeans have upgraded their own existing fleet.³⁷

The Implications for the US

It is estimated that by 2020, the US will have to import 64 per cent of oil (25.8 million barrels daily) to suit its requirements. Presently, the US is importing much of its oil from Venezuela while Persian Gulf and Europe fulfils its requirements from Persian Gulf and the North Sea.³⁸ Considering the depleting status of these reserves and hydrocarbon resources of Central Asian Republics (CARs) and Caspian Region have emerged as substitute to existing resources. The energy security of the US has compelled it to join 'New Great Game', which has few implications for the US. For instance in order to reach out to the resources of CARs and Caspian Region the US needs a peaceful route and in accordance with the latest regional scenario and the situation of Afghanistan the Iranian Route in the south is not suitable to be adopted in near future.

The US perceives a comparatively varied variety of likely threats to its securities in the IOR, oscillating between pressures from regional power to non-state players. There are consistent safety worries, vacillating from SLOCs safety to increase in non-conventional weapons. The US distinguished China as a substantial geo-political rival in IOR and the consequent US defence spending slash worth US \$1.2 trillion is also causing a decrease in the US potentials to influence IOR.³⁹ A decrease in dedicated the US defence capitals and lack of British and French interests may cause power vacuum in IOR.⁴⁰ The vacuum is likely to shift in the US defence assets to South Pacific by shifting 60% of its naval fleet to Hawaii.⁴¹ Though there are 320,000 US troops are currently deployed in the region i.e. South Korea, Philippines and Japan with a small marine force based in Australia⁴², the large part of power vacuum is likely to be filled by the US allies like Indonesia, Australia and India, who can assume greater responsibilities for regional security in the absence of the US, so it wants a strong Indian Navy to have an influence in the IOR.

It is to be noticed that the new bases aren't designed for a permanent American presence. In Darwin, Australia, for example, Marines train for a

³⁷ <<https://wealthcycles.com/features/global-trends-2030-predicts-power-shift-from-us-to-asia>>, (accessed April 6, 2013).

³⁸ Brown, *Bridges*.

³⁹ US News, "Debateclub. Are cuts to defense Budget Necessary?"

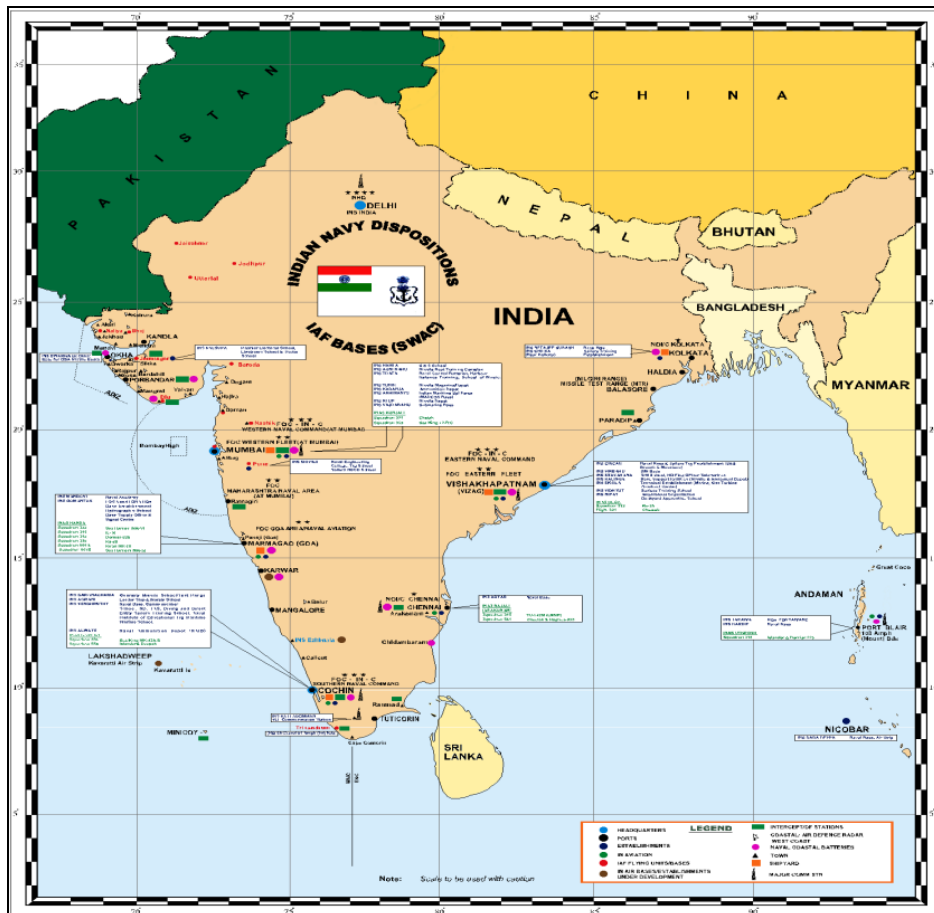
⁴⁰ Kamal Kumar, "*Indian Ocean...*".

⁴¹ Gaddi, "Hawaii Could Benefit from US/China Tensions".

⁴² Simon Copeland, "The US Naval Pivot to the Asia Pacific Region: A Strategic Red Herring?", <<http://blog.futureforeignpolicy.com/2013/01/28/the-us-naval-pivot-to-the-asia-pacific-region-a-strategic-red-herring/>>, (accessed on April 6, 2013).

short time before boarding ships to visit and training with other Asian nations⁴³.

Indian Interests in IOR against China



<<https://www.google.com/search?q=Google+maps+indian+Ocean+region&biw=1366&bih=658&tbnm>>

India wants to extend its inspiration across ocean through clientele, capital, and geo-political partnership with the US, Central Asia and Caucasus⁴⁴. It is looking for permanent access to the Iranian energy reserves as later houses 10% of planet's established oil stocks and in 2009 India imported 16.5% of its oil from Iran.

International security analysts value the safety of the chokepoints and stay confident over the rest of the ocean. Indian Navy along with the US operates between Qatar and SCS. Indian Navy also guards two of its offshore island chains of Andaman and the Lakshadweep Islands. India has

⁴³ Barnes, "US Plans Naval Shift..." (accessed on May 10, 2013).

⁴⁴ Rizwan Zeb, 'USA in Central Asia...', 48.

opened a permanent base at Lakshadweep on the pretext of piracy incidents. Since 2004 with the help of the US, Indian Navy is trying to have more influence in the IOR but despite being the largest littoral state, Indian Navy is finding it difficult to achieve its expectations. Chinese presence at Gwadar, Hambantota and the Great Coco Island in the Bay of Bengal is further enhancing Indian security concerns. India is asserting to build a Blue Water Navy (BWN); the addition of a leased Russian build Akula-II Class submarine in combination with an old unreliable air craft carrier Gorchakov have further added to the Indian ambitions. The nuclear propelled 13,500 ton Nerpa that has been leased for US \$1 billion for 10 years is likely to be based at Vishakhapatnam.⁴⁵ Akula has the ability to operate with stealth and can remain undetected for weeks; even the US could not detect its presence in the Gulf of Mexico for weeks until it reached back Russia. The nuclear attack submarine (SSN) with displacement of 13,500 tons if armed with long-range cruise missile has the capability to hit a ballistic submarine up to the range of 1,860km and can fire torpedoes and lay mines. The Indian version is expected to be armed with the Club Missiles up to the range of 300km only.⁴⁶ It can also influence Malacca Strait while being positioned at Nicobar Islands. It cannot be used in combination with Russian build air craft carrier (Gorchakov) that has gone through major conversion of its Flattop in 2004 and its 7 out of 8 boilers are under repair since 2012 hence the SSN cannot perform its priority one task of supporting a Battle Group.⁴⁷ Akula-II can control the transit lanes and areas including blue, yellow and white around 7,517km long Indian Coast.⁴⁸ Indian Navy is presently operating 14 conventional submarines which are likely to increase to 20 with induction of six Scorpenes by the year 2018. This strength will reduce to 15 by 2020 with decommissioning of five Kilo Class boats. Therefore, despite induction of six Scorpenes, India will be short of 15 submarines against the projected strength of 30 conventional submarines by 2020. Indian Navy has the facility to carry out planned 45 days maintenance and short refit of one year at Vizag. However, even the Kilo Class submarines are being sent to Russia for long refits. Indian Navy also guards two of its offshore island chains of Andaman and the Lakshadweep Islands, which can act as an outer layered defence. The Indian navy is geared up to position vessels in SCS to safeguard its offshore oil interests at Nam Con Son basin in the

⁴⁵ Russia to modernise Akula Class submarines, <<http://www.defence.pk/forums/indian-defence/241253-russia-modernise-akula-class-submarines.html#ixzz2PPu7Cyc8>>, (accessed May 17, 2013).

⁴⁶ <<http://www.defencereviewasia.com/articles/104/ANTI-SHIP-MISSILES>>.

⁴⁷ James R. Holmes, <<http://thediplomat.com/the-naval-diplomat/2012/10/08/indias-aircraft-carrier-challenge/>>, October 8, 2012>, (accessed May 17, 2013).

⁴⁸ <http://www.mongabay.com/reference/new_profiles/182in.html>, (accessed May 17, 2013).

southern coast of Vietnam against the global concerns over the likely naval concerns in dubious region.⁴⁹

Implications for Pakistan; a Gateway to Caspian Region

Considering the increasing influence of Indian Navy and interests of extra regional forces in IOR, Pakistan needs to adopt an offensive naval strategy; making the Pakistan Navy capable enough to conduct self-sustained operations in IOR to support its allies. Allowing China to establish a naval base at Gwadar can ease out its Pakistani concerns regarding Indian naval advancements and the presence of 5th US Naval Fleet in Persian Gulf. It will also provide Pakistan Navy time and opportunity to improve its offensive capabilities. As the US is frustrated for a quick access to CARs through Pakistan and Afghanistan so it is the time for Pakistan to get Nuclear powered Submersive Ship with Ballistic Missile (SSBN) submarines from Russia, China or Germany. China is building a BWN to protect its interests in IOR and SCS which will have implications on Pakistan too. The Russian President Putin announced in 2012 to rebuild BWN in Pacific Ocean instead of Atlantic and North Sea. South Korea plans to build a BWN by building a Strategic Mobile Fleet at planned Jeju Island Naval Base.

Analysis

India's sizable market, its software potential, geographical expanse including 7,517km long coast and expanding global presence have made it increasingly important country for the US. Indians are alarmed over the Chinese string of pearls strategy which will put India to a military handicap in IOR. The recent transfer and handing over of Gwadar Port to China by Pakistan and conclusion of a deal between Iran and Pakistan to complete the Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline against the US concerns further frustrated India.⁵⁰ The Chinese conflicts in SCS and East China Sea have enhanced anxieties for the US and India though they have no territorial claims over SCS, yet are viewing it as an antechamber of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Considering its economic problems leading to unemployment of millions of its youth in 2000 the US had budget surplus of US \$236 billion which was converted into budget deficit worth US \$565 billion in 2004⁵¹. While losing its might in Indian Ocean and the much required stability in

⁴⁹ Indian Navy prepared to deploy to South China Sea, <<http://in.reuters.com/article/2012/12/03/south-china-sea-india-navy-oil-ongc-idINDEE8B209U20121203>>, (accessed May 17, 2013).

⁵⁰ Rajeev Sharma, "Will China's takeover of Pak's Gwadar port be a game changer?", *First Post* (India), February 4, 2013.

⁵¹ George Soros, *The Bubble of American Supremacy, Correcting the Misuse of American Power*, (United States of America: Public Affairs, 2004), 88.

the region, the US must end this war on terror which it started and must arrest its supremacy in the world.⁵² The Obama Administration has proposed US \$1.3 billion budget cut on shipbuilding, resulting in scrapping of projects to build 16 ships by 2017 which will have no phenomenal impact on its vessels strength as of today the US holds more than 300 ships.⁵³ The deployment of Defence Shield Project in Eastern Europe and Turkey by the US has raised concerns for Russia that will try to influence the US domination in IOR by concentrating its naval vessels in Pacific. This will compel Russia to have an access to warm water of Indian Ocean through SCS. By enhancing the US influence on Australian Port of Darwin it is trying to dominate the Sunda and Lombok Straits, hence influencing another approach to Pacific Ocean in east of Australia. By engaging global international partners like NATO in various operations the US is not only influencing the global environment but also saving on money and repute to meet great challenges.

China being at Gwadar, the most strategic place among the strings at the gateway of Hurmoz, can pressurise the US as China will influence the most vital chokepoint in IOR. The South Asian ports combined with the conduits feeding China will allow its vessels to unload oil avoiding bottle neck at Malacca which will diminish Chinese dependence over vulnerable SLOCs. Myanmar's Sittwe Port and Coco Island are key localities linked to China's concerns in Myanmar with whom India shares 1,600km of boundaries. Myanmar also functions as an entry to South East Asia while being on the eastern flank to Bay of Bengal. Chinese are constructing a signal intelligence setup on Great Coco's Islands only 241km away from Andaman Islands allowing China to screen Indian communications and missile bases at Orissa and to counter the Indian presence at Andaman Islands. China and Thailand have already planned to dig canal across the Kra Isthmus which will link SCS with Bay of Bengal, thus securing it SLOCs against the US 7th Fleet in Malacca Strait and Pacific Ocean. The US intends to position four Littoral Combat Ships (LCSs) at Singapore by 2017 (first one was sailed in March 2013 for 10 months deployment) to monitor China in SCS.⁵⁴ The US plans to rotate its marines for six month training deployment from Darwin and Philippines, hence will have a naval presence in proximity of SCS. ASBMs, attack submarines, and supporting C4ISR systems are viewed as key elements of China's emerging anti-access force. Other force components like ASCMs, LACMs and mines are important too. The previous Bangladesh government had offered China to take full advantage of regional scenario as Bangladesh and India are involved in a dispute over the South Talpati Island since 1971. It is fact

⁵² Ibid, 22.

⁵³ <<http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CREC-2011-11-04/pdf/CREC-2011-11-04.pdf>>

⁵⁴ <<http://www.maritimeindia.org/382815A5-3AE5-4B85-9F3F-A56B0113B271/FinalDownload/DownloadId-EFBE79E1E792617C5291F139C17E7CA2/382815A5-3AE5-4B85-9F3F-A56B0113B271/pdf/Maritime%20Perspectives.pdf>>.

that Pakistan provides the shortest, established and a secure route to Europeans, East Asian and Pacific Nations to Caspian Region via Gwadar Port and Pakistan has the capability to safeguard its marine interests including EEZ and SLOCs so it must make a timely and a pragmatic policy to suit its interests. The security of waters between Hurmoz Strait and Lakshadweep Sea hinges between India and Pakistan over Kashmir Issue. It is the time that UN and the regional powers must help resolve Kashmir and all the disputes in the strategic Rim land so as to have safe, developing and secure SLOCs. India is strategically sandwiched between Hurmoz and Malacca. Whoever controls Hurmoz and Malacca has India on its mercy so Chinese presence at Gwadar has disturbed India. While following the US suit to counter terrorism; it has always left no stone unturned to malign Pakistan. By doing this India has tried to divert the global and international attention over Kashmir Issue which can be a nuclear flashpoint between the two nations⁵⁵. By losing Kashmir amounting to the loss of a geo-politically important piece of land, it will have to give freedom to the Maoists and Nagas in its north and east. While blaming Pakistan of terrorism it is forgetting its own state patronised terrorist activities against its minorities despite propagating itself a secular state. Recent acceptance of the Hindu Terrorism by no less than its own interior minister Mr. Shinde insisted that 'India should be declared as a terrorist state for promoting terrorism on its land' in February 2013 is an eye opener for the international community⁵⁶.

India is involved in creating disturbance in Balochistan. Christine Fair, a leading American expert on South Asia said, "Having visited the Indian mission in Zahedan, Iran, I can assure you they are not issuing visas as the main activity. Moreover, India has run operations from its mission in Mazar and is likely doing so from the other consulates it has reopened in Jalalabad and Qandahar along the border."⁵⁷ Seemingly the frustrated US is trying to pressurise Pakistan through Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) over its concerns regarding Iran Pakistan Gas Pipeline and the handing over operation of Gwadar Sea Port to China. Leaving aside India there would be more submarines in the IOR, providing a little leverage to Indian Navy to make best use of a SSN which has been taken over on lease only for 10 years under strict conditions. India needs to have a SSBN to influence the Strait of Hurmoz while remaining in Indian territorial waters because of its range and proximity. Indian Navy will try to be more assertive over its claim on Talpati Island in Bay of Bengal to enhance its domination and to secure the oil reserves. Chinese presence at Gwadar and its increasing economic influence in Afghanistan is likely to compel India to resolve Sir

⁵⁵ Kamal Matinuddin, "India- Pakistan Standoff," *Regional Studies*, Vol. XXI, No.3: 27-28.

⁵⁶ Pramod Kumar, "India keen to develop Iran's Chahbahar Port," <www.dredgingtoday.com>, (accessed May 2013).

⁵⁷ Christine Fair, "Analysts say India Fanning unrest in Balochistan", *Daily Times*, Islamabad, August 18, 2011.

Creek issue with Pakistan. Although Indian Navy is prepared to send its ships in SCS, yet it will not venture to involve in any tussle with China. Indian Navy will enhance its cooperation with Singapore, Vietnam, Philippines and Australian Navy vnder the US ambit. In order to enhance its influence at the chokepoint of Babul-Mandab and to improve naval coordination with the US in Persian Gulf Indian Navy will increase its anti-piracy role.

Recommendations

Considering its geo-political importance and regional dimensions Pakistan should not only look up to the regional power but should also try to have good relations with Germany, Turkey and Russia. Considering its limitation of having a limited strategic depth it should try to get a SSBN for a triad second strike capability from Germany, China or Russia by 2020. As per the regional situation Pakistan should support China but should also make some gains by getting good quality of navel surveillance system and vessels. It must improve its relations with Muslim neighbour Iran and should see Chahbahar Port with a competitive spirit. More efforts should be made to obtain information regarding Indian Navy submarines tactics and operational doctrine for exploitation. Mr. Panetta said about their relationship with China, "We both understand the conflicts we have, but we also both understand there is no alternative but to engage."⁵⁸

Conclusion

An insight about strategic value of IOR has been highlighted in the paper by emphasising on implications and analysis for the regional and extra regional forces. The geo-strategic value indicates that every country including the US wants to share maximum opportunities while making use of these SLOCs. However, the US and India have a few concerns over the domination of the IOR by the China. India being the only country that has concerns over it may not like it but in future it will try to share the opportunities of IOR. Being the Muslim neighbour and located on the cross roads between energy rich Central Asian States, and Caspian Region and oil rich Strait of Hurmoz; Pakistan has a few implications over it which it needs to handle very pragmatically in line with the interest of the regional powers. The paper suggests instead of pursuing the policies to dominate the IOR the US should play its potent role for regional peace and stability as it remains a corner stone for the economic and diplomatic expansion in the IOR.

⁵⁸ Barnes, "US Plans Naval Shift...",

Book Reviews

WORLD ORDER

Author: Henry A. Kissinger
Publisher: New York : Penguin Press, 2014

The term 'world order' is largely associated to the rules that govern the relationship between states dominated by the world's great powers. Arguably, in the presence of hegemonic unipolar world order other world orders also work. For example, in the contemporary US global hegemony through global institutions, multi-polar power blocs and federations can also be seen. The significant cases in this regard can be Russia, Japan, China, India; federations like EU, and bodies like BRICS, ASEAN and SCO, trying to compete or sometimes co-exist with the hegemonic world order. Such empirical evidence provides plausibility to count different poles in the world order, hence, argument in favour of multipolarity.

Likewise, different ideological and systemic conceptions also prevail in world politics ranging from monarchy to republics and notions of globalization, cosmopolitanism and global caliphate system. Similarly, there exist different norms and structures to establish peace ranging from pacifism to realism and from collective security to balance of power system. In theory and practice of international relations there are different old and new debates about the world order like hegemony, perpetual peace versus perpetual war, emancipation through classless society, imperialism, end of history, clash of civilizations and so on. The debate of world order is quite an old one. Historically, world order has been dominated by powerful regional empires, balance of power systems, and bi-polarity.

Historically, a few countries have almost exerted hegemonic influence, hence, hegemonic order, for example, the Roman Empire, British Empire and post-colonial hegemonic powers, United States and Russia, surfaced with their specific conception of world order. The post-Cold War era came with the hegemonic globalization order of the US, albeit multi-polar world order where the EU, Russia, China, and the US share power and maintain order. While world order is currently carried out by the US as "hegemonic globalization", but trends toward multi-polar world order to represent the diverse needs of a complex world are increasingly evident.

The meta-challenges of contemporary world politics include chaos, conflicts and wars around the world; be it uncertainty in Afghanistan and Iraq, uneven Indo-Pak relations, conflict in Ukraine, extremism in Syria and Iraq, epidemic in Africa, tensions over South-China seas, global threat

of terrorism from non-state actors and slump in global economy, all indicates the presence of multiple global orders. What are the different world orders, their evolution, competition, scope and limitation of liberal world order in the 21st century and how the US can construct a global architecture of cooperation and security under its leadership is what Henry Kissinger's new book "World Order" offers to the reader.

Henry A. Kissinger served as National Security Advisor and then Secretary of State under Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, and has advised many other American presidents on foreign policy. He received the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, and the Medal of Liberty. He is the author of numerous books and articles on foreign policy and diplomacy. At the age of 91, Henry Kissinger writes "World Order" with echo of American idealism and deviation from his most-loved hardcore realism. His latest reading of history reveals him the space for domestic factors in foreign policy, international cooperation, role of soft power and erosion of power from state to non-state actors and individuals. Today's Kissinger is a reluctant realist; the one prone towards constructivists' position so, arguably, a constructivist-realist. Contextualized in history, his take on global order is very clear "No truly global 'world power' has ever existed... Without a global world power, obviously, there can be no world order."

Quite impressively, "World Order" offers comprehensive historical narratives to make sense of the evolution and decay of different global political arrangements ranging from the global system of empires to the global system of sovereign nation states and from decolonization to unipolar liberal world order. It traces the roots of different world orders grounded in varied political thoughts, narratives and historical experiences of different societies and groups around the globe. Kissinger extensively engages the heroic, moral, and idealistic history of US where ideas were protected and promoted with persuasion and coercion whatever deemed fit to the policymakers. The American commitment to its ideas and ideals remained unshaken be it war with Britain, Latinos, Fascists, Bolsheviks or radical Islamists. In a remarkable way, Kissinger takes his reader on a tour of various civilizations of the past including the Roman Empire, Muhammad's (PBUH) period of Islam, the religious wars in the Europe, the Chinese experience with society, the formation of modern European states, the history of empires, decolonization, the post-WWII growing hegemony of the US and Russia, the age of American unipolarity, and contemporary challenges to the US hegemony.

The way Fukuyama made assertion in his thesis on 'the end of history', Kissinger maintains that America's commitment to its ideals like protecting and expanding freedom for all nations, market economies all over the world and cooperation in global issues ultimately proved successful and still relevant as it offers the best model to be followed by all nations. Kissinger suggests that America must play its leading role in

promoting and enforcing on all states; “an inexorably expanding cooperative order of states observing common rules and norms, embracing liberal economic systems, forswearing territorial conquest, respecting national sovereignty, and adopting participatory and democratic systems of governance.” The writer seems too permissive when he suggests the use of all kinds of force to deal with state and non-state actors in order to promote ‘American version of world,’ one wonders; is it freedom or denial of freedom?

Arguably, American idealism successfully transformed into reality in numerous historical instances but the shift from bipolarity was misread as unipolarity instead of multipolarity hence, one can clearly gauge the failure of problem-solving approach America proudly owns. The post 9/11 world politics is what America made of it by its unparalleled military might — a chaos in South Asia and Middle East and increased sense of insecurity all over the world. The American commitment to its ideals is laudable, but when coupled with unquestioned coercion, it proved to be disastrous for many parts of the world.

Undoubtedly, the US is struggling hard to continue its commitment to maintain its leadership and its version of the global order to build a future of peace, progress and prosperity but results are inconsistent. The regions of the world are under multiple world orders be it Indian, Chinese, Islamic or Eurasian, and the most challenging version is the one coming from the Asia-Pacific and the Middle East. The “World Order” illustrates the belief of Kissinger, like most of the American intellectuals, on the indispensability of American leadership in service of a just and liberal world order.

Being a reluctant realist, Kissinger generously entertains the tools of foreign policy other than military. Deviating from his earlier hardcore realist position he develops significant case for soft power that should be appreciated and celebrated by constructivists and neoliberals alike. Taking agentialists position, Kissinger recognizes the role of actors other than state and diffusion of power from state to individuals and non-state actors. The space for cooperation is well appreciated by the writer when he refers to the global issues requiring cooperation from states, non-states, NGOs, and individual citizens together to fix those global issues. For today’s Kissinger, foreign policy is as much for people as it is about states. Kissinger rightly notes that “Any system of world order, to be sustainable, must be accepted as just — not only by leaders, but also by citizens — a complete revision in his realists thoughts.

The continuity of American trademark of liberal idealism and self-righteousness received considerable place in the book. In the continuation of “who are we” by Huntington, Kissinger maintains that, “our country is at its best, and our leadership in the world is strongest, when we are united behind a common purpose and shared mission, and advancing shared prosperity and social justice at home. Sustaining America’s leadership in

the world depends on renewing the American dream for all our people." Nevertheless, the book offers an array of hope for at least, some hopeless Americans and a compelling case for the staunch believers of "American Dream" and "Captain America."

All in all, "World Order" is intellectually engaging, well-argued and impressively substantiated historical narrative. Arguably, his long-term and first-hand experience in the corridors of power makes his work near to authentic and reliable. Although there are little exaggerations about the American idealism, yet the writer very brilliantly links the dots to his central arguments. The way central idea is executed, complex historical details are intelligently handled, command over the language and flow of central idea is demonstrated has made the case convincing for the reader. The writer rightly admits that there has never been a hegemonic world order by any single state but still insists on its viability under the exceptional leadership of the US — a realist in idealist shoes. Kissinger analyzes and suggests on how to build a new global order in a new world of increasing extremism and open access to technology. With his lifetime experience in foreign affairs, Kissinger has made his case in an illuminating fashion. For a student of history and politics, along with other similar text, "World Order" can best serve as recommended text to taste the American official version of foreign affairs, American self-image and Americanism.

Reviewed by Tasawar Hussain, Lecturer, Department of International Relations, National Defence University

BALANCING WITHOUT CONTAINMENT: AN AMERICAN STRATEGY FOR MANAGING CHINA

Author: Ashley J. Tellis

Publisher: New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2013

The need for a new American strategic perspective, to manage and not to contain China, stems from the fact that the two leading strategic 'debates' have been centred on China's rise. The first debate was representation of a subset of American thinking about China which propagated policy of embracing China's rise and engaging with it at all levels. This perspective has been a common feature in the statements of President Clinton who said, "Our engagement with China is the best way to advance our ideals"; and also President Obama's stance to welcome 'China's rise'. The second subset of American thinking about China's rise propagates pessimistic implications of China's rise; this school of thought is neither positive about the consequences of a communist authoritarian oligarchy in Beijing, nor about an offensive posture adopted by China. These two dominant strands of thinking have been divided into two categories of engagers and the hawks. But what has been missing are the grey areas which Ashley Tellis attempts to unearth in his book *'Balancing Without Containment: An American Strategy for Managing China'*. in which a balanced strategic approach of cooperation and competition can be achieved at the same time. This publication tries to fill the gap in Western strategic thinking and culture about the People's Republic of China.

Ashley Tellis's provides a comparative strategy for the United States to address the challenges regarding the 'Rise of China', and simultaneously acknowledges the advantages of economic interdependence with China. He is critical of the 'containment' strategy as that is 'politically, economically and practically an unthinkable approach' and is a repetition of the Cold-War style 'oppositionalism'. He offers an alternative strategy which is tailored to adjust to the circumstances of modern globalization and preserves the interests of United States. Tellis rebukes those who believe that international engagement will domesticate China as a good international citizen. He asserts the various aspects of China's rise that are worrying. Tellis warns about the lucid ambitions of China, "Beijing seeks to recover the centrality it enjoyed in Asian geopolitics until the coming of colonialism," He points out that the objective of China is to enforce a hierarchy in Asia with Beijing position at the top and this is respected by its neighbours. According to him Beijing demands a special role that is at the centre of the world's political system

which is a permanent presence as a rule-maker of all high tables of international governance.

Chinese views regarding the global order, Tellis describes, are conditioned by an ancient culture that is based on the idea that order is only possible through comprehensive centralization. Tellis points out that the rise of PRC has been accompanied by 'pernicious nationalism' which the Chinese Communist Party has encouraged to buttress its shaky legitimacy. He argues that these factors challenge the traditional assumptions that once China develops into a prosperous state it will behave as a responsible international citizen. The behaviour of the PRC, according to him, seems to be getting worse in terms of their coercive actions.

Tellis rejects the quasi-essentialist theories about 'Chineseness' and quasi-Kantian notions of 'democratic peace' as he is essentially a realist. He believes that the rise of China presents serious challenges. One of the grave challenges includes the loss of primacy to China which would undermine the national security interests of United States. Therefore, Tellis contends that the objective of United States grand strategy should be to prevent this from happening. This needs to be carried out in a careful manner in which China's development is not stopped but the possibility of Beijing converting this rise to power transition that undermines and replaces the US lead global operating system is obstructed.

Tellis, then explores the various options that have been pointed out in the past for United States. The first option is centred on suppression of China through deliberate force but is not feasible in the contemporary era. The second option is based on changing the '*internal character of China itself*' by the process of democratization that is based on the belief that democratic governance could reduce the risk of losing American hegemony. This approach is also disfavoured by Tellis as according to him it would lead to an inflammation of China-United States relations and it provides an unclear idea of how democratization can remove the threat to the US interests. The third approach is the Cold-War style containment, which he believes is outdated in the contemporary era and remains inappropriate in the Chinese context. This argument is based on the premise that Chinese imperialism and ideology is viewed differently by United States as compared to Soviet Union.

Tellis then outlines the strategies to confront challenges to US Primacy. The best approach according to him is to balance Beijing's growing capabilities by pursuing policies that simultaneously increase China's stake in the existing global system. The advantage of balancing according to him is that it will not require United States to try to stop China's economic expansion.

Tellis contends that balancing is composed of four important elements. Firstly, it requires supporting the rise of states around China. The increasing coordination and collaboration between these states will

enhance their ability to resist misuses of power by PRC in the region. Secondly, this balancing should include the selective deepening of globalization which would be carried out by involving the states of the Pacific Rim in a network of trade and investment liberalization agreements. These include the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), the proposed free-trade area between the United States and the European Union; and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) involving Australia, Brunei, Chile, Canada, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the United States, and Vietnam and the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) including Canada, the United States, and Mexico. The success of this approach is based on the premise that China should be kept out of these regional free trade agreements for as long as possible. The third element of balancing strategy would involve the military which will be used as deterrent force to reassure the US allies and dissuade PRC's heavy handedness with its neighbours. The military superiority should be maintained indefinitely according to Tellis. The fourth element of strategy is revitalization of the domestic economy. This, he points out can be carried out by releasing the Schumpeterian '*gales of creative destruction*' of free market innovation. The identification of such gales that provide fast paced technological change and economic innovation is the key to economic capacity, productive efficiency and long-term growth. Tellis recommends that the serious competitive strategy with China would involve the promotion of highest level of technical change '*across the spectrum of civilian to military endeavours*'.

The strengths of this book lie in its influencing style and tone that deserves attention by the US policy community. The weaknesses are its attempts to offer a fresh outlook but sharing similarities with US National Security Council document NSC 68. The document has involved a similar balancing approach in addition to the emphasis on domestic economic vigour, productivity and technological innovation. Furthermore Tellis's criticism of the US Cold-War strategy appears biased as it was not as rigid as it has been presented by him.

This book would inspire a new generation of readers, eager to learn more about American strategic thinking and strategy to counter the Rise of China. It strengthens the arguments with historical evidence and applies it to the present day situation.

Reviewed by: Arshmah Jamil, M.Phil scholar of Department of International Relations, National Defence University

THE CHINA-PAKISTAN AXIS: ASIA'S NEW GEOPOLITICS

Author: Andrew Small

Publisher: London: C Hurst & Co, 2015

Andrew Small is Transatlantic Asia expert at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. He has conducted research in the areas of Chinese foreign and economic policy issues in Beijing, Brussels, London, and now in Washington, D.C. His book *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics* is outcome of years he spent on research on the subject. He has travelled across China and Pakistan, interviewed people both in Beijing and Islamabad, visited libraries and collected primary and secondary data. In his book he has claimed that this relationship to be the world's most important and least understood alliances.

The relationship between Pakistan and China plays a central role in geopolitics of the whole Asia. In wake of recent developments in the region, for instance, India's rise, post-American Afghanistan, threat of nuclear terrorism, new map of mines, ports and pipelines, China has become a great economic and military ally of Pakistan. The author has highlighted Pak-China relationship from the aspect of these dynamic developments. He claims that though each country has been the other's only 'all-weather' friend, yet the relationship is still little understood.

This book sets out to relate some stories behind some of most sensitive aspects of relationship, including Beijing's support for Pakistan's nuclear programme, China's dealings with the Taliban, and the Chinese military's planning for crises in Pakistan. And it describes a relationship increasingly shaped by Pakistan's internal strife, and the dilemmas China faces between the need for regional stability and the imperative for strategic competition with India and the USA.

The author considers this relationship as most important state-to-state relation case study in the backdrop of recent history and provides a concise, informative and authoritative study on the subject. As the US pivots toward (East) Asia, Andrew Small shows us how China is moving beyond traditional concepts of Asia.

Mr. Small argues, China's ties with Pakistan, which were established during Mao's rule, are based on many common interests. Six years of research have enabled Mr. Small to produce a detailed account of decades of close dealings between the two countries. During that time he won the confidence of many sources in the Chinese army, military intelligence and the security services.

He describes Sino-Pak relations as a friendship that is more enduring and has far better prospects than Pakistan's up-and-down connection with America. The high points of that relationship — when Pakistan facilitated the groundbreaking visit of Henry Kissinger to China in 1971 which led in turn to

Richard Nixon's historic trip to Beijing and later during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan — have long since passed.

China helped Pakistan acquire the nuclear bomb, and is its biggest supplier of military equipment. Now it is building two sizeable civilian nuclear reactors that should help ease the country's chronic energy shortfall. As China expands its reach throughout Asia, Pakistan has become central to its plans for a network of ports, pipelines, roads and railways that will bring oil and gas from the Middle East. The Chinese government is offering tens of billions of dollars for Pakistani projects. As America's influence recedes, China is stepping in, though officials will doubtlessly keep a wary eye on Pakistan's nuclear weapons.

The book investigates one of the very significant aspects of the relationship, reciprocity; the author goes on painting the relationship from both perspectives – how China is using Pakistan and how Pakistan is using China. This is a very interesting aspect of the friendship, stretched over the decades. During the diplomatic isolation, Pakistan has supported China much many years by working as the bond between Mao and Nixon and in the Cold War. This time, Pakistan's support for China has been to help it move from regional power to global power through development and construction of roads, highways, utilizing the coal power, extension of linkage with Gulf States as well as other nations of the world. For Pakistan, on the other hand, China is working as the best ally during its instability and weakness in economy by complementing and supporting through developmental projects when West withdrew its support to some extent. It is also very important that China has been diplomatic proctor of Pakistan since long and this relation is still growing further.

The author sheds light on the Sino-Pakistan relationship in detail by discussing in the context of the United States and India. The friendship between the two countries is termed "All -weather" but traditionally the relationship has been based on many aspects including strategy, business, policy and external stakeholders.

In the initial chapters of the book the author mentions India-centric aspect to describe close ties of Pakistan and China. The argument is built on the history of Indo-Pak antagonism and wars fought between the two countries. He also takes into account the evolution and, lows and highs in the relationship of India-China and India America. Issue of Afghanistan is particularly discussed in the book as a significant external factor affecting Pak-China relations. There are separate detailed accounts of the issues of Muslim majority province in China and role of Pakistan to help curb radicalism. The author has also built an empirical account of trilateral relationships in this context: India-Pakistan-China, America-Pakistan-China and Afghanistan-Pakistan-China.

The concluding chapter analyzes details of role of China and its shifting responsibilities from a regional to global power and from a power to a stabilizer. China is now looking forward to exert its economic weight to balance out the West with its neighbours. Pakistan needs development in its

infrastructure and China has the best opportunity to use its investment policies for this purpose.

Although the author analyzed multiple aspects in detail, yet there are some grey areas which are overlooked. China has changed and its leadership has also changed, but the author has not discussed comprehensively about the impact of this change on the friendship of Pakistan and China. Similarly, it is a real fact that every country keeps its national interests safe. Last time there was news that China is yearning to purchase Canadian CANDU brand nuclear reactors but Pakistanis are looking for Chinese brand. Similarly, Pakistan has coal in abundance and electricity can be generated at the cheapest but still it is not properly and thoroughly worked upon through mutual collaboration. On the basis of these and many other observations, it can be said that the friendship between China and Pakistan is based on national interests.

–However, realistically speaking, the importance of China for Pakistan has increased tremendously. Pakistan's traditional adversary, India, fluctuating ally the USA, and time tested friend China, all are going through political changes. There is new government in India, and the US is preparing for next elections. After the election, Modi's government is looking for getting the status of great power. For this purpose the Indian prime minister visited the US where he was warmly welcomed, and India also warmly invited the US president. Indian Prime Minister Modi has visited Japan, and has also hosted the Chinese president. In this scenario, it seems that Pakistan would need wise diplomacy during this state of affairs; it should not only rely on Arab friends but also develop bonds with other developed nations of the world especially the US and China.

Conclusively, this is a comprehensive study about the true and pragmatic relationship existing between Pakistan and China. The book depicts the experiences of the author throughout the text. The book also provides insight to strengthen the relationship and the impact of this friendship on both economies as well as security situation in the region.

Reviewed by Dr. Muhammad Zia-ur-Rehman, Assistant Prof. Department of Leadership and Management Sciences, National Defence University, Islamabad.

DOCUMENTS

Documents 1

TEXT OF OBAMA'S SPEECH AT ANTI-EXTREMISM SUMMIT, FEBRUARY 19, 2015

Remarks as delivered by President Barack Obama in a speech at a summit on countering violent extremism at the US State Department, February 19, 2015.

President Barack Obama: Thank you very much. Thank you, John. Good morning, everyone. I want to thank John Kerry, not only for his introduction, but for the outstanding leadership of American diplomacy. John is tireless. If he has not visited your country yet, he will soon. And I want to thank you and everybody here at the State Department for organizing and hosting this ministerial today.

Mr. Secretary General, distinguished guests, we are joined by representatives from governments, because we all have a responsibility to ensure the security, the prosperity and the human rights of our citizens.

And we're joined by leaders of civil society, including many faith leaders, because civil society — reflecting the views and the voices of citizens — is vital to the success of any country. I thank all of you and I welcome all of you.

We come together from more than 60 countries from every continent. We speak different languages, born of different races and ethnic groups, belong to different religions. We are here today because we are united against the scourge of violent extremism and terrorism.

As we speak, ISIL is terrorizing the people of Syria and Iraq and engaging in unspeakable cruelty. The wanton murder of children, the enslavement and rape of women, threatening religious minorities with genocide, beheading hostages.

ISIL-linked terrorists murdered Egyptians in the Sinai Peninsula, and their slaughter of Egyptian Christians in Libya has shocked the world. Beyond the region, we've seen deadly attacks in Ottawa, Sydney, Paris, and now Copenhagen.

Elsewhere, Israelis have endured the tragedy of terrorism for decades. Pakistan's Taliban has mounted a long campaign of violence against the Pakistani people that now tragically includes the massacre of more than 100 schoolchildren and their teachers. From Somalia, al-Shabaab terrorists have launched attacks across East Africa. In Nigeria and neighbouring countries, Boko Haram kills and kidnaps men, women and children.

At the United Nations in September, I called on the international community to come together and eradicate violent extremism. And I challenged countries to come to the General Assembly this fall with

concrete steps we can take together. And I'm grateful for all of you for answering this call.

Yesterday at the White House, we welcomed community groups from the United States, and some from your countries, to focus on how we can empower communities to protect their families and friends and neighbours from violent ideologies and recruitment.

And over the coming months, many of your countries will host summits to build on the work here and to prepare for the General Assembly. Today, I want to suggest some areas where I believe we can focus on as governments.

First, we must remain unwavering in our fight against terrorist organizations. And in Afghanistan, our coalition is focused on training and assisting Afghan forces, and we'll continue to conduct counterterrorism missions against the remnants of al-Qaeda in the tribal regions.

When necessary, the United States will continue to take action against al-Qaeda affiliates in places like Yemen and Somalia. We will continue to work with partners to help them build up their security forces so that they can prevent ungoverned spaces where terrorists find safe haven, and so they can push back against groups like al-Shabaab and Boko Haram.

In Iraq and Syria, our coalition of some 60 nations, including Arab nations, will not relent in our mission to degrade and ultimately destroy ISIL. And as a result of a separate ministerial here yesterday, many of our governments will be deepening our cooperation against foreign terrorist fighters by sharing more information and making it harder for fighters to travel to and from Syria and Iraq.

Related to this, and as I said at the United Nations last fall, nations need to break the cycles of conflict — especially sectarian conflict — that have become magnets for violent extremism. In Syria, Assad's war against his own people and deliberate stoking of sectarian tensions helped to fuel the rise of ISIL.

And in Iraq, with the failure of the previous government to govern in an inclusive manner, it helped to pave the way for ISIL's gains there.

The Syrian civil war will only end when there is an inclusive political transition and a government that serves Syrians of all ethnicities and religions. And across the region, the terror campaigns between Sunnis and Shia will only end when major powers address their differences through dialogue, and not through proxy wars. So countering violent extremism begins with political, civic and religious leaders rejecting sectarian strife.

Second, we have to confront the warped ideologies espoused by terrorists like al-Qaeda and ISIL, especially their attempt to use Islam to justify their violence. I discussed this at length yesterday. These terrorists are desperate for legitimacy. And all of us have a responsibility to refute

the notion that groups like ISIL somehow represent Islam, because that is a falsehood that embraces the terrorist narrative.

At the same time, we must acknowledge that groups like al-Qaeda and ISIL are deliberately targeting their propaganda to Muslim communities, particularly Muslim youth.

And Muslim communities, including scholars and clerics, therefore, have a responsibility to push back, not just on twisted interpretations of Islam, but also on the lie that we are somehow engaged in a clash of civilizations; that America and the West are somehow at war with Islam or seek to suppress Muslims; or that we are the cause of every ill in the Middle East.

That narrative sometimes extends far beyond terrorist organizations. That narrative becomes the foundation upon which terrorists build their ideology and by which they try to justify their violence. And that hurts all of us, including Islam, and especially Muslims, who are the ones most likely to be killed.

Obviously, there is a complicated history between the Middle East, the West. And none of us I think should be immune from criticism in terms of specific policies, but the notion that the West is at war with Islam is an ugly lie. And all of us, regardless of our faith, have a responsibility to reject it.

At the same time, former extremists have the opportunity to speak out, speak the truth about terrorist groups, and oftentimes they can be powerful messengers in debunking these terrorist ideologies. One said, "This wasn't what we came for, to kill other Muslims." Those voices have to be amplified.

And governments have a role to play. At minimum, as a basic first step, countries have a responsibility to cut off funding that fuels hatred and corrupts young minds and endangers us all. We need to do more to help lift up voices of tolerance and peace, especially online.

That's why the United States is joining, for example, with the UAE to create a new digital communications hub to work with religious and civil society and community leaders to counter terrorist propaganda.

Within the US government, our efforts will be led by our new coordinator of counterterrorism communications — and I'm grateful that my envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Rashad Hussain, has agreed to serve in this new role. So the United States will do more to help counter hateful ideologies, and today I urge your nations to join us in this urgent work.

Third, we must address the grievances that terrorists exploit, including economic grievances. As I said yesterday, poverty alone does not cause a person to become a terrorist, any more than poverty alone causes someone to become a criminal.

There are millions, billions of people who are poor and are law-abiding and peaceful and tolerant, and are trying to advance their lives and the opportunities for their families.

But when people — especially young people — feel entirely trapped in impoverished communities, where there is no order and no path for advancement, where there are no educational opportunities, where there are no ways to support families, and no escape from injustice and the humiliations of corruption — that feeds instability and disorder, and makes those communities ripe for extremist recruitment.

And we have seen that across the Middle East and we've seen it across North Africa. So if we're serious about countering violent extremism, we have to get serious about confronting these economic grievances.

Here, at this summit, the United States will make new commitments to help young people, including in Muslim communities, to forge new collaborations in entrepreneurship and science and technology. All our nations can reaffirm our commitment to broad-based development that creates growth and jobs, not just for the few at the top, but for the many.

We can step up our efforts against corruption, so a person can go about their day and an entrepreneur can start a business without having to pay a bribe.

And as we go forward, let's commit to expanding education, including for girls. Expanding opportunity, including for women. Nations will not truly succeed without the contributions of their women. This requires, by the way, wealthier countries to do more. But it also requires countries that are emerging and developing to create structures of governance and transparency so that any assistance provided actually works and reaches people. It's a two-way street.

Fourth, we have to address the political grievances that terrorists exploit. Again, there is not a single perfect causal link, but the link is undeniable. When people are oppressed, and human rights are denied — particularly along sectarian lines or ethnic lines — when dissent is silenced, it feeds violent extremism. It creates an environment that is ripe for terrorists to exploit. When peaceful, democratic change is impossible, it feeds into the terrorist propaganda that violence is the only answer available.

And so we must recognize that lasting stability and real security require democracy. That means free elections where people can choose their own future, and independent judiciaries that uphold the rule of law, and police and security forces that respect human rights, and free speech and freedom for civil society groups. And it means freedom of religion — because when people are free to practice their faith as they choose, it helps hold diverse societies together.

And finally, we have to ensure that our diverse societies truly welcome and respect people of all faiths and backgrounds, and leaders set the tone on this issue.

Groups like al-Qaeda and ISIL peddle the lie that some of our countries are hostile to Muslims. Meanwhile, we've also seen, most recently in Europe, a rise in inexcusable acts of anti-Semitism, or in some cases, anti-Muslim sentiment or anti-immigrant sentiment. When people spew hatred towards others — because of their faith or because they're immigrants — it feeds into terrorist narratives.

If entire communities feel they can never become a full part of the society in which they reside, it feeds a cycle of fear and resentment and a sense of injustice upon which extremists prey. And we can't allow cycles of suspicions to tear at the fabric of our countries.

So we all recognize the need for more dialogues across countries and cultures; those efforts are indeed important. But what's most needed today, perhaps, are more dialogues within countries — not just across faiths, but also within faiths.

Violent extremists and terrorists thrive when people of different religions or sects pull away from each other and are able to isolate each other and label them as "they" as opposed to "us;" something separate and apart. So we need to build and bolster bridges of communication and trust.

Terrorists traffic in lies and stereotypes about others — other religions, other ethnic groups. So let's share the truth of our faiths with each other. Terrorists prey upon young impressionable minds. So let's bring our youth together to promote understanding and cooperation.

That's what the United States will do with our virtual exchange program — named after Ambassador Chris Stevens — to connect 1 million young people from America and the Middle East and North Africa for dialogue. Young people are taught to hate. It doesn't come naturally to them. We, adults, teach them.

I'd like to close by speaking very directly to a painful truth that's part of the challenge that brings us here today. In some of our countries, including the United States, Muslim communities are still small, relative to the entire population, and as a result, many people in our countries don't always know personally of somebody who is Muslim. So the image they get of Muslims or Islam is in the news. And given the existing news cycle, that can give a very distorted impression.

A lot of the bad, like terrorists who claim to speak for Islam, that's absorbed by the general population. Not enough of the good — the more than 1 billion people around the world who do represent Islam, and are doctors and lawyers and teachers, and neighbours and friends.

So we have to remember these Muslim men and women — the young Palestinian working to build understanding and trust with Israelis, but also trying to give voice to her people's aspirations.

The Muslim clerics working for peace with Christian pastors and priests in Nigeria and the Central African Republic to put an end to the cycle of hate. Civil society leaders in Indonesia, one of the world's largest democracies. Parliamentarians in Tunisia working to build one of the world's newest democracies.

Business leaders in India, with one of the world's largest Muslim populations. Entrepreneurs unleashing new innovations in places like Malaysia. Health workers fighting to save lives from polio and from Ebola in West Africa. And volunteers who go to disaster zones after a tsunami or after an earthquake to ease suffering and help families rebuild.

Muslims who have risked their lives as human shields to protect Coptic churches in Egypt and to protect Christians attending mass in Pakistan and who have tried to protect synagogues in Syria.

The world hears a lot about the terrorists who attacked Charlie Hebdo in Paris, but the world has to also remember the Paris police officer, a Muslim, who died trying to stop them. The world knows about the attack on the Jews at the kosher supermarket in Paris; we need to recall the worker at that market, a Muslim, who hid Jewish customers and saved their lives.

And when he was asked why he did it, he said, "We are brothers. It's not a question of Jews or Christians or Muslims. We're all in the same boat, and we have to help each other to get out of this crisis."

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen ! I thank you for being here today. We come from different countries and different cultures and different faiths, but it is useful for us to take our wisdom from that humble worker who engaged in heroic acts under the most severe of circumstances.

We are all in the same boat. We have to help each other. In this work, you will have a strong partner in me and the United States of America.

Thank you very much. *Applause.*

<<http://www.voanews.com/content/text-of-obamas-speech-to-anti-extremism-summit/2650640.html>>

Documents 2

US-INDIA JOINT STATEMENT

September 30, 2014

The Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, and the President of the United States of America, Barack Obama, met this morning. Marking their first bilateral summit, the President recognized the Prime Minister's historic election victory in the largest democratic election ever held.

The two leaders extolled the broad strategic and global partnership between the United States and India, which will continue to generate greater prosperity and security for their citizens and the world. Prime Minister Modi emphasized the priority India accords to its partnership with the United States, a principal partner in the realization of India's rise as a responsible, influential world power. Given the shared values, people-to-people ties, and pluralistic traditions, President Obama recognized that India's rise as a friend and partner is in the United States' interest. They endorsed the first "Vision Statement for the Strategic Partnership" as a guide to strengthen and deepen cooperation in every sector for the benefit of global stability and people's livelihoods over the next ten years. They committed to a new mantra for the relationship, "Chalein Saath Saath: Forward Together We Go."

The two leaders recognized that the bilateral relationship enjoys strong support in both countries, which has allowed the strategic partnership to flourish even as the governments change. Welcoming the wide range of collaborative activities undertaken to improve their citizens' lives, both leaders agreed to revitalize the existing partnership and find new areas for collaboration and mutual benefit.

Economic Growth

Noting that two-way trade has increased fivefold since 2001 to nearly \$100 billion, President Obama and Prime Minister Modi committed to facilitate the actions necessary to increase trade another fivefold. President Obama and Prime Minister Modi recognized that US and Indian businesses have a critical role to play in sustainable, inclusive, and job-led growth and development.

In order to raise investment by institutional investors and corporate entities, the leaders pledged to establish an Indo-US Investment Initiative led by the Ministry of Finance and the Department of Treasury, with special focus on capital market development and financing of infrastructure. They pledged to establish an Infrastructure Collaboration Platform convened by the Ministry of Finance and the Department of Commerce to enhance participation of US companies in infrastructure projects in India.

In this context, the US government welcomes India's offer for US industry to be the lead partner in developing smart cities in Ajmer (Rajasthan), Vishakhapatnam (Andhra Pradesh) and Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh). The Prime Minister will welcome two trade missions in 2015 focused on meeting India's infrastructure needs with US technology and services.

They also committed to a new partnership to advance the Prime Minister's goal of improved access to clean water and sanitation for all. USAID, through the Urban India Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) Alliance, will serve as knowledge partner to help leverage private and civil society innovation, expertise, and technology, such as with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, to support the Prime Minister's 500 Cities National Urban Development Mission and Clean India Campaign.

The President welcomed the Prime Minister's ambitious plan to extend basic financial services to all its citizens, giving them powerful tools to manage their finances and more fully participate in India's growing economy. The President and Prime Minister underlined the important contribution that US locomotive technology, equipment to monitor rail system assets, and US best practices can play in modernizing India's vast railway network, including accessing programs of US Trade and Development Agency in this work.

The leaders discussed their concerns about the current impasse in the World Trade Organization and its effect on the multilateral trading system, and directed their officials to consult urgently along with other WTO members on the next steps. The leaders committed to work through the Trade Policy Forum to promote a business environment attractive for companies to invest and manufacture in India and in the United States. Agreeing on the need to foster innovation in a manner that promotes economic growth and job creation, the leaders committed to establish an annual high-level Intellectual Property (IP) Working Group with appropriate decision-making and technical-level meetings as part of the Trade Policy Forum. They recognized in particular the contribution of the Indian and US Information Technology (IT) industry and the IT-enabled service industry in strengthening India-US trade and investment relations.

The two leaders committed to hold public-private discussions in early 2015 under the Commercial Dialogue on new areas of cooperation, including innovation in advanced manufacturing. In order to share best practices in manufacturing and work toward greater harmonization of standards, the National Institute of Standards and Technology's Manufacturing Extension Partnership program will start a dialogue with Indian counterparts. The two countries plan to work expeditiously through several joint initiatives to facilitate greater confidence in cross-border trade and investment.

The President also offered to support the Prime Minister to achieve his goal of preparing young Indians for 21st century jobs through

new partnerships to share expertise and global standards for skills development in India, including by reinvigorating the Higher Education Dialogue.

The leaders look forward to the annual US-India Economic and Financial Partnership in early 2015. They also welcomed the expansion of the partnership in oversight of financial institutions, including between Reserve Bank of India and the US Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System and the Office of the Comptroller of Currency. They also agreed to reinvigorate the India-US CEO Forum, and welcomed India's offer to host the Forum for the second time in early 2015.

Energy and Climate Change

The two leaders reaffirmed their commitment to implement fully the US-India civil nuclear cooperation agreement. They established a Contact Group on advancing the implementation of civil nuclear energy cooperation in order to realize early their shared goal of delivering electricity from US-built nuclear power plants in India. They looked forward to advancing the dialogue to discuss all implementation issues, including but not limited to administrative issues, liability, technical issues, and licensing to facilitate the establishment of nuclear parks, including power plants with Westinghouse and GE-Hitachi technology.

Recognizing the critical importance of increasing energy access, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and improving resilience in the face of climate change, President Obama and Prime Minister Modi agreed to a new and enhanced strategic partnership on energy security, clean energy, and climate change. They agreed to strengthen and expand the highly successful US-India Partnership to Advance Clean Energy (PACE) through a series of priority initiatives, including a new Energy Smart Cities Partnership to promote efficient urban energy infrastructure; a new program to scale-up renewable energy integration into India's power grid; cooperation to support India's efforts to upgrade its alternative energy institutes and to develop new innovation centers; an expansion of the Promoting Energy Access through Clean Energy (PEACE) program to unlock additional private sector investment and accelerate the deployment of cost-effective, super-efficient appliances; and the formation of a new Clean Energy Finance Forum to promote investment and trade in clean energy projects.

Both leaders are committed to working towards a successful outcome in Paris in 2015 of the conference of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), including the creation of a new global agreement on climate change.

The leaders recalled previous bilateral and multilateral statements on the phase-down of hydrofluorocarbons (HFCs). They recognized the

need to use the institutions and expertise of the Montreal Protocol to reduce consumption and production of HFCs, while continuing to report and account for the quantities reduced under the UNFCCC. They pledged to urgently arrange a meeting of their bilateral task force on HFCs prior to the next meeting of the Montreal Protocol to discuss issues such as safety, cost, and commercial access to new or alternative technologies to replace HFCs. The two sides would thereafter cooperate on next steps to tackle the challenge posed by HFCs to global warming.

They launched a new US-India Partnership for Climate Resilience to advance capacity for climate adaptation planning, and a new program of work on air quality aimed at delivering benefits for climate change and human health.

They also launched a new US-India Climate Fellowship Program to build long-term capacity to address climate change-related issues in both countries. The President and Prime Minister instructed their senior officials to work through the US-India Energy Dialogue, US-India Joint Working Group on Combating Climate Change, and other relevant fora to advance these and other initiatives.

The leaders welcomed the conclusion of a Memorandum of Understanding between the Export-Import Bank and the Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency, which would make up to \$1 billion in financing available to bolster India's efforts to transition to a low-carbon and climate-resilient energy economy, while boosting US renewable energy exports to India. The two leaders reiterated the importance of conserving India's precious biodiversity and agreed to explore opportunities for collaboration on national parks and wildlife conservation.

Defense and Homeland Security Cooperation

The Prime Minister and the President stated their intention to expand defense cooperation to bolster national, regional, and global security. The two leaders reaffirmed that India and the United States would build an enduring partnership in which both sides treat each other at the same level as their closest partners, including defense technology transfers, trade, research, co-production, and co-development.

To facilitate deeper defense cooperation, they welcomed the decision to renew for ten more years the 2005 Framework for the US-India Defense Relationship and directed their defense teams to develop plans for more ambitious programs and activities. The two leaders also agreed to reinvigorate the Political-Military Dialogue and expand its role to serve as a wider dialogue on export licensing, defense cooperation and strategic cooperation.

The leaders welcomed the first meeting under the framework of the Defense Trade and Technology Initiative in September 2014 and

endorsed its decision to establish a Task Force to expeditiously evaluate and decide on unique projects and technologies which would have a transformative impact on bilateral defense relations and enhance India's defense industry and military capabilities.

The President and Prime Minister welcomed cooperation in the area of military education and training, and endorsed plans for the United States to cooperate with India's planned National Defence University. They also decided to expand military-to-military partnerships including expert exchanges, dialogues, and joint training and exercises. They also committed to enhancing exchanges of civilian and military intelligence and consultation.

The leaders agreed to intensify cooperation in maritime security to ensure freedom of navigation and unimpeded movement of lawful shipping and commercial activity, in accordance with accepted principles of international law. To achieve this objective, the two sides considered enhancing technology partnerships for India's Navy including assessing possible areas of technology cooperation. They also agreed to upgrade their existing bilateral exercise MALABAR.

The leaders reaffirmed their deep concern over the continued threat posed by terrorism, most recently highlighted by the dangers presented by the ISIL, and underlined the need for continued comprehensive global efforts to combat and defeat terrorism. The leaders stressed the need for joint and concerted efforts, including the dismantling of safe havens for terrorist and criminal networks, to disrupt all financial and tactical support for networks such as Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammad, the D-Company, and the Haqqanis. They reiterated their call for Pakistan to bring the perpetrators of the November 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai to justice.

They pledged to enhance criminal law enforcement, security, and military information exchanges, and strengthen cooperation on extradition and mutual legal assistance. Through operational cooperation through their law enforcement agencies, they aimed to prevent the spread of counterfeit currency and inhibit the use of cyberspace by terrorists, criminals, and those who use the internet for unlawful purposes, and to facilitate investigation of criminal and terrorist activities. The leaders also committed to identify modalities to exchange terrorist watch lists. President Obama pledged to help India counter the threat of improvised explosive devices with information and technology. The leaders committed to pursue provision of US-made mine-resistant ambush-protected vehicles to India.

The President and Prime Minister looked forward to easing travel between their two countries, as India introduces visa-on-arrival for US citizens in 2015 and works toward meeting the requirements to make the United States' Global Entry Program available to Indian citizens.

High Technology, Space and Health Cooperation

Fundamental science and high technology cooperation has been a critical pillar of the strategic partnership, the two leaders confirmed, and they looked forward to renewing the Science and Technology Agreement in order to expand joint activities in innovative technology. The Prime Minister welcomed the United States as a partner country, for the first time, at India's annual Technology Summit in November 2014. In addition, they committed to convene the ninth High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG). They plan to launch new partnerships to source and scale innovation for the benefit of citizens in both countries and to harness innovation to solve global development challenges.

The President welcomed India's contribution and cooperation on high-energy physics and accelerator research and development with the US Department of Energy. The President thanked the Prime Minister for his offer to have US institutions partner with a new Indian Institute of Technology.

The leaders committed to partner on the Digital India initiative, with the goal of enhancing digital infrastructure, deploying e-governance and e-services, promoting industry collaboration, and digitally empowering India's citizens. The President welcomed India's proposal to establish the Global Initiative of Academic Networks (GIAN, or Knowledge) under which India would invite and host up to 1,000 American academics each year to teach in centrally-recognized Indian Universities, at their convenience.

The two leaders exchanged congratulations on the successful entry into orbit of their respective Mars missions, which occurred two days apart. They welcomed the establishment and planned first meeting of the NASA-ISRO Mars Joint Working Group under the US-India Civil Space Joint Working Group. The leaders also look forward to the successful conclusion of a new agreement to support the NASA-ISRO Synthetic Aperture Radar (NISAR) mission, to be launched in 2021.

The United and India also intend to start a new dialogue on maintaining long-term security and sustainability of the outer space environment, including space situational awareness and collision avoidance in outer space.

The President and Prime Minister recognized the extensive ongoing cooperation in the health sector which they will put to use in preventing the spread of the Ebola virus. The President welcomed India's contribution to the UN Fund and donation of protective gear to the effort against Ebola, and thanked the Prime Minister for encouraging Indian-owned businesses in West Africa to contribute to the fight against Ebola. The Prime Minister also offered to deploy Indian expertise in the fight against Ebola, including by investing its resources in producing modelling of the spread of the disease, jointly producing rapid deployable

diagnostics, and considering joint training of response personnel. The United States stands ready to amplify India's efforts to achieve a further reduction in preventable child and maternal deaths, including replicating India's successful approaches in other countries.

The leaders agreed to launch a new phase of the India-US Vaccine Action Program to develop affordable vaccines for dengue, malaria, and tuberculosis, and the establishment of an adjuvant development centre. They also agreed in principle to initiate cooperative activities to increase capacity in cancer research and patient care delivery, including by developing collaborative programs for and with India's upcoming AIIMS-National Cancer Institute. The President welcomed India's offer to take a leading role in the Global Health Security Agenda.

Global Issues and Regional Consultations

Highlighting their shared democratic values, the President and Prime Minister recognized the critical role that women play in India and the United States, as shown by India's "Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao" ("Save Daughters, Celebrate Daughters, Educate Daughters") initiative. They looked forward to holding a Women Empowerment Dialogue in order to exchange best practices to enhance the role of women in their countries, and they asserted zero tolerance for violence against women.

As a critical step in strengthening global nonproliferation and export control regimes, the President and Prime Minister committed to continue work towards India's phased entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the Wassenaar Arrangement and the Australia Group. The President affirmed that India meets MTCR requirements and is ready for membership in the NSG. He supported India's early application and eventual membership in all four regimes.

As active participants in the Nuclear Security Summit process, the United States and India welcomed progress toward reducing the risk of terrorists acquiring nuclear weapons or related materials, and noted their shared commitment to improving nuclear security nationally and globally. They reviewed their bilateral dialogue on nuclear security and endorsed working through India's Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership to reinforce safe and secure use of nuclear energy worldwide. They also pledged to strengthen their efforts to forge a partnership to lead global efforts for non-proliferation of WMDs, to reduce the salience of nuclear weapons in international affairs, and to promote universal, verifiable, and non-discriminatory global nuclear disarmament.

Noting India's "Act East" policy and the United States' rebalance to Asia, the leaders committed to work more closely with other Asia Pacific countries through consultations, dialogues, and joint exercises. They

underlined the importance of their trilateral dialogue with Japan and decided to explore holding this dialogue among their Foreign Ministers.

The President and Prime Minister emphasized the need to accelerate infrastructure connectivity and economic development corridors for regional economic integration linking South, Southeast, and Central Asia. The President reiterated that the United States, through its New Silk Road and India-Pacific Economic Corridor, is promoting the linkage of India to its neighbours and the wider region to enable a freer flow of commerce and energy.

The President and Prime Minister noted the success of their countries' collaboration on agricultural innovation in three African countries. They announced a new agreement to expand joint development initiatives in third countries in a range of sectors, including agricultural productivity, clean energy, health, women's empowerment, and disaster preparedness. They also look forward to continuing the productive cooperation in Afghanistan on promoting women's economic empowerment.

The Prime Minister and the President reaffirmed their shared interest in preserving regional peace and stability, which are critical to the Asia Pacific region's continued prosperity. The leaders expressed concern about rising tensions over maritime territorial disputes, and affirmed the importance of safeguarding maritime security and ensuring freedom of navigation and over flight throughout the region, especially in the South China Sea. The Prime Minister and President called on all parties to avoid the use, or threat of use, of force in advancing their claims. The two leaders urged the concerned parties to pursue resolution of their territorial and maritime disputes through all peaceful means, in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law, including the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

India and the United States pledged to consult closely on global crises, especially unfolding events in Syria and Iraq. The two leaders committed to exchange information about nationals returning from these conflict zones, and to seek cooperation in protecting and responding to the needs of civilians stranded in the middle of these conflicts.

Recognizing the importance of their respective strategic partnerships with Afghanistan, the leaders asserted the importance of a sustainable, inclusive, sovereign, and democratic political order in Afghanistan, and committed to continue close consultations and cooperation in support of Afghanistan's future.

They stressed the need for diplomacy to resolve the serious concerns of the international community regarding Iran's nuclear program, and called on Iran to comply with its UN Security Council-imposed obligations and to cooperate fully with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The two leaders expressed concerns over the continued development by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) of its nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs, including its uranium enrichment activities. They urged DPRK to take concrete actions toward denuclearization and other goals, as well as to comply fully with all its international obligations, including all relevant UN Security Council resolutions, and to fulfil its commitments under the 2005 Joint Statement of the Six-Party Talks.

The President expressed appreciation for the contributions of Indian peacekeepers to global peace and stability for the past 60 years, and welcomed the partnership with India to train third country peacekeepers at India's training centre in New Delhi. The President reaffirmed his support for a reformed UN Security Council with India as a permanent member, and both leaders committed to ensuring that the Security Council continues to play an effective role in maintaining international peace and security as envisioned in the United Nations Charter.

The President also affirmed his commitment to enhancing India's voice and vote in international financial institutions, and ensuring that resources are made available and are used creatively through multilateral development banks for infrastructure financing.

The President thanked the Prime Minister for the gracious invitation to return to the great nation of India. In conclusion, the two leaders affirmed their long-term vision for a resilient and ambitious partnership through the first "Vision Statement for the Strategic Partnership," which they will hold up as the guiding framework for their governments and people.

<<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/30/us-india-joint-statement>>

Documents 3

TEXT OF JOINT DECLARATION ON STRENGTHENING PAKISTAN-TURKEY STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP

February 17, 2015

Reaffirming the immutable bonds of common faith, shared history, cultural affinity and brotherhood between the peoples of Pakistan and Turkey;

Underscoring the unique and abiding character of Pakistan-Turkey relations, marked by exceptional mutual trust, understanding and goodwill;

Expressing profound satisfaction at the continued development and expansion of bilateral relations in the political, economic, security and cultural domains;

Reiterating the commitment to continue to transform the cordial bilateral relationship into a robust strategic partnership;

Emphasizing the common vision of the two countries for peace and development for their peoples and the region;

Reaffirming the resolve to fight extremism and terrorism in all forms and manifestations;

Strongly condemning the defamation campaign against the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the religion of Islam;

Stressing the need for respecting all religions and calling for criminalization of all acts of Islamophobia;

Reaffirming the commitment to continue efforts to promote better understanding and inter-faith harmony;

Endorsing the results of the meetings of the Joint Working Groups of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council (HLSCC), held in Islamabad, on 16 February 2015;

We, as the co-chairs of the 4th Meeting of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council, held in Islamabad, on 17 February 2015, with the participation of:

- H.E. Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, H.E. Idris Güllüce, Minister of Environment and Urbanization, H.E. Nihat Zeybekci, Minister of Economy, H.E. Taner Yıldız, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, H.E. Mehmet Müezzinoğlu, Minister of Health, H.E. Lütfi Elvan, Minister of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communication,
- H.E. Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Adviser to the Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs, H.E. Mr. Khurram Dastgir Khan, Minister for Commerce, H.E. Mr. Muhammad Ishaq Dar, Minister of Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics and Privatization, H.E. Senator Pervaiz Rashid, Minister for Information,

Broadcasting and National Heritage, H.E. Mr. Ahsan Iqbal, Minister of Planning, Development and Reforms, H.E. Mr. Kamran Michael, Minister for Ports and Shipping, H.E. Mr. Khawaja Muhammad Asif, Minister for Water and Power, H.E. Ms. Saira Afzal Tarar, Minister of State for National Health Services,

- Other prominent dignitaries and officials,
- Have decided as follows:

Political Cooperation

- The HLSCC shall continue to serve as the highest level political forum and provide strategic focus and direction to the relationship in all dimensions.
- The Joint Working Groups shall ensure effective implementation and follow-up of the decisions taken at the HLSCC meetings.
- Intensive exchanges shall be promoted at the leadership, parliamentary, business, cultural, civil society, media and people-to-people levels.
- The excellent mutual cooperation and collaboration in international organizations, particularly in the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Economic Cooperation Organization, as well as international initiatives such as Istanbul Process-Heart of Asia will be further enhanced and deepened, including extending support for our candidatures, coordinating policies and taking joint initiatives.
- Both sides agree on the need to make the United Nations Security Council more representative, democratic, transparent, effective and accountable, and that UNSC reform should be comprehensive and it should take place by widest consensus possible.
- The next annual consultations at the level of Foreign Ministers shall be held in Turkey, in 2015.
- The next Bilateral Political Consultations at the level of Foreign Secretaries shall be held in Islamabad, before the end of 2015.

Security and Defence Cooperation

- Cooperation in the fight against terrorism and extremism, organized crime and drug trafficking shall be further intensified.
- Bilateral cooperative endeavours, including police training, capacity-building, personnel exchanges and exchange of experience shall be further enhanced.
- In follow-up of the High Level Military Dialogue Group (HLMDG) meeting in Rawalpindi, in October 2014, both sides would intensify politico-military cooperation, while defence-related industries would focus on joint defence production and related research and development activities.

- Additional opportunities shall be pursued for intensified engagement including through joint exercises, increased defence personnel exchanges and defence dialogues.

Finance and Banking Cooperation

- Cooperation in the fields of finance and banking including insurance, capital market, anti-money laundering, budget, financial reporting and audit shall be enhanced.

Trade and Economic Cooperation

- Intensified trade and commercial cooperation matching the excellent political relationship would constitute a central priority. Concerted steps shall be taken for realizing the vast untapped potential for bilateral trade and commercial cooperation.
- Special emphasis shall be placed on further deepening the involvement of the private sector, enhancing business-to-business interface and facilitating transportation of merchandise.
- The two sides agreed to provide favorable investment climate to their respective investors.
- The next session of the Joint Business Council (JBC) shall be held in Turkey in first half of 2015, with both sides ensuring that the JBC's activities fully reinforce the efforts for increased trade and investment promotion.
- The decisions of the 15th Session of Pakistan-Turkey Joint Ministerial Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation (JEC), held in Ankara, in October 2014, shall be implemented with a view to providing further boost to trade and economic cooperation.
- Building upon their previous efforts and progress achieved for concluding a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA), the two sides will consider to commence negotiations on a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) covering trade in goods, services and investment after completing the compulsory and procedural requirements in both countries.
- The two sides shall also tap opportunities for enhanced cooperation through market access initiatives under regional organizations such as the OIC, D-8 and ECO.

Energy Cooperation

- Both sides express their willingness to improve energy cooperation – with focus on petroleum, natural gas, coal, hydroelectric, geo-thermal and renewable resources such as wind and solar power.

- Pakistan side invites Turkish companies to invest in energy sector projects in Pakistan, especially in the field of coal based power generation and power transmission sector.
- Both sides express their willingness for the Turkish Petroleum International Company (TPIC) to trade oil products to private and public companies of Pakistan under prevalent rules/policy.

Communications and Transportation Cooperation

- A meeting of Joint Road Transport Commission shall be organized during 2015 to finalize the modalities involved in enforcement of the Bilateral Road Transport Agreement.
- Efforts shall be expedited to provide capital to finance scheduled service of the ECO Container Train for the first six months (two service per month) as well as sales and marketing expenses in order to generate commercial cargo to sustain profitable operation of the train.
- Possibilities of Joint Ventures between Pakistan Railways and Turkish Railway Machinery Company, Turkish Wagon Industry and Turkish Locomotive Industry shall be explored.
- To enhance cooperation in maritime transportation, a joint meeting of Pakistani Port Authorities shall be organized and Turkish Port Authorities to discuss and formulate a detailed plan for development/establishment of Vessel Tracking System (VTS).
- With a view to strengthening the bilateral relations in the civil aviation sector, the two sides will hold a bilateral civil aviation meeting at the earliest convenience and consider a further increase in the frequencies of scheduled flights between the two countries.
- The two sides confirm their willingness to encourage cooperation in the field of information and communication technologies, broadband and postal services within the framework of equality, reciprocity and common interest in accordance with the legislation and regulations of each country.
- The Postal Authorities shall pursue collaboration in the fields of:
 - a. International and local remittance services between Turkey and Pakistan; and
 - b. Express and Logistic Services and E-commerce through Postal Network for enhancing cooperation in ICT-based postal services between the two countries.

Cultural and Tourism Cooperation

- The two sides shall support organizations which promote cultural events with the participation of cultural delegations, including art and art exhibitions, festivals, meetings and conferences.

- Joint research programmes shall be undertaken in the fields of archeology, conservation of monuments and archeological sites and museums.
- The two sides shall exchange publications and reports on recent research on archeological sites and museums.
- Visits of the delegations consisting of archeologists, museologists and conservationists of monuments and archeological sites to the important historical sites, historical monuments, museums and conservation laboratories shall be exchanged.
- Cultural troupes shall be exchanged for performance in major cities of the two countries.
- The two sides shall expedite the process of establishment of their respective cultural centers.
- The two sides shall hold seminars on Allama Muhammad Iqbal and Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi on reciprocal basis.
- The two sides shall exchange documentaries to be shown on national Television Networks of Turkey and Pakistan on reciprocal basis for the promotion of culture and heritage.
- Visits of journalists, media representatives, film crews, tour operators, airway company representatives, opinion leaders etc. shall be encouraged to increase tourism demand in both countries.
- Both sides shall exchange information on investment opportunities in the field of Tourism.
- Both sides shall organize cultural activities mutually in 2015-2016 in accordance with internal procedures.

Education and Science Cooperation

- Student and faculty exchange programmes, institutional linkages between higher educational institutions in both countries and holding of Educational Expos shall be increased.
- The two sides will share experience on the establishment of TVET schools.
- The Turkish side shall provide Training of Trainers (Master Trainers) for general as well as Technical and Vocational Education.
- Sister School on General and Technical and Vocational Education will be declared for sharing experience through diplomatic channels.
- Both sides shall provide teachers, curriculum and training materials for introduction of Urdu and Turkish languages courses on reciprocal basis.
- The Parties shall endeavour to increase provision of scholarships for undergraduate, graduate (Master, PhD), research and language

course levels each year in the fields that are needed in their respective countries within the limits of available means.

- Within the existing framework, cooperation shall be intensified in science, technology, innovation, entrepreneurship, and research & development through sharing of information, experience, joint R&D projects, seminars, conferences and mutual exchange of professionals in the agreed areas of mutual interest.

Agriculture Cooperation

- Cooperation in the field of food and agriculture shall be comprehensively upgraded.
- Both sides shall benefit from each other's experience and strengths in diverse sectors including agricultural research, plant and animal health and agricultural infrastructure and irrigation systems.

Follow-up

The six Joint Working Groups of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council shall continue their work to develop and implement specific programmes and projects.

The next meeting of the High Level Strategic Cooperation Council shall be held in Ankara, in 2016. The dates shall be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

Muhammad Nawaz Sharif
Prime Minister of the Islamic
Republic of Pakistan

Ahmet Davutoğlu
Prime Minister of
the Republic of Turkey
February 17, 2015, Islamabad

<<http://www.mofa.gov.pk/pr-details.php?prID=2578>>

Pakistan-US Strategic Dialogue — Joint Statement

January 13, 2015 Islamabad

Pakistan Adviser to the Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz and US Secretary of State John Kerry met in Islamabad on January 13, 2015, for the fifth Ministerial level Pakistan-US Strategic Dialogue. The last Ministerial level session of the Strategic Dialogue was held in Washington on January 27, 2014.

The Adviser welcomed Secretary Kerry to Islamabad as an old friend of Pakistan. The two leaders reviewed progress made in bilateral relations in the past year, and held wide-ranging discussions on sustaining and further building the momentum in bilateral cooperation. Secretary Kerry conveyed that a strong, prosperous and democratic Pakistan is an essential partner for the United States in advancing the shared goal of a stable and peaceful region. Both sides reiterated their commitment to an enduring partnership between Pakistan and the United States, which is vital for regional security and stability. The two leaders reaffirmed the importance of the Pakistan-US Strategic Dialogue for providing vision and direction for a strong and cooperative partnership between the two countries.

Secretary Kerry conveyed condolences on the tragic loss of lives in the terrorist attack on Army Public School in Peshawar on 16th December 2014. He expressed solidarity with the people of Pakistan and appreciation for Pakistan's efforts to fight terrorism.

Secretary Kerry expressed appreciation for the sacrifices of Pakistan's military personnel and civilians in the fight against terrorism and extremism, and he commended Pakistan's resolve and the steps being taken to tackle terrorism in a comprehensive and robust manner. He welcomed assurances of Pakistan's intent to dismantle all militant safe havens for terrorist and criminal networks. Building on the concrete results being achieved by operation Zarb-e-Azb, the two leaders discussed Pakistan's efforts to strengthen governance, expand development, and facilitate the return and rehabilitation of temporarily displaced persons in the tribal areas. Secretary Kerry pledged to continue US support for these efforts and has committed approximately \$250 million to assist in the relief, return and rehabilitation of TDPs, and will continue discussions as needs emerge.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction that the Working Groups constituted under the rubric of the Strategic Dialogue contribute to strengthening bilateral cooperation and advancing shared interests, including in Pakistan's economic growth, increased trade and energy cooperation, regional stability, and countering extremism and terrorism.

Both sides reviewed the progress made by the Working Groups on (1) Economic and Finance; (2) Defence; (3) Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism; (4) Security, Strategic Stability, and Non-proliferation; and (5) Energy. The two leaders affirmed their commitment to convene the inaugural session of the Working Group on Education, Science and Technology in 2015. They also acknowledged the importance of ongoing cooperation through assistance authorized under legislation known as the “Kerry-Lugar-Berman” act. Finally, they decided that the Working Groups are to continue meeting according to a mutually determined schedule.

Fostering Economic Growth

Adviser Aziz and Secretary Kerry reaffirmed their shared commitment to expanding and deepening bilateral economic, trade and investment cooperation. The Economic and Finance Working Group reviewed the progress made in promoting bilateral economic relations in October 2014 in Washington. The United States acknowledged the progress made by Pakistan in steadying its economy and advancing the reform agenda defined by Prime Minister Sharif and his government in close cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and other multilateral institutions. Secretary Kerry welcomed Pakistan’s efforts to improve its anti-money laundering and counterterrorism financing framework in cooperation with the Financial Action Task Force (FATF).

Both sides acknowledged the importance of expanded trade and investment ties as the key to a sustainable, balanced and enduring partnership. Recalling the deliberations of the Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) Council meeting in May 2014 in Washington, the two sides committed to work towards smooth and effective implementation of the Joint Action Plan launched at the TIFA meeting. In this regard, Pakistan, while renewing its desire to seek a relationship based on trade and investment, not solely aid, underscored its desire for greater market access for its products through all means available.

The two sides also renewed their support for the third US-Pakistan Business Opportunities Conference and the Pakistan-US Economic Partnership Week to be organized in Islamabad to encourage increased bilateral trade and investment.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the activities of the US-Pakistan Women’s Council and welcomed the forthcoming launch of the Women’s Entrepreneurship Center in Islamabad. In addition, both sides committed to a particular focus on women’s issues in the next meeting of the Economic and Finance Working Group. They also affirmed their commitment to expand the participation of women in the economy under the Memorandum of Understanding on Joint Efforts to Empower Women and Promote Women’s Entrepreneurship.

Secretary Kerry renewed the US commitment to supporting private sector-led growth in Pakistan. Both leaders also welcomed the completion of the cooperative agreements of the Pakistan Private Investment Initiative (PPII) to leverage private equity for small and medium enterprises, and expressed hope that the financial closure of the projects will begin in 2015. The two leaders also welcomed the launch by USAID of four new partnerships with private-sector banks in Pakistan to improve access to finance for small businesses.

Support for Energy Sector

The two sides reviewed the progress of the Energy Working Group since it last met in Washington in November 2013. Pakistan thanked the United States for the invaluable assistance in supporting Pakistan's efforts to resolve its energy crisis. In this regard, Pakistan also thanked the United States for its support for financing of Dasu Hydropower Project by the World Bank and for funding renewable energy projects through USAID and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC).

Both countries expressed their satisfaction over the convening of the Diamer Bhasha Dam Project Business Opportunities conference by USAID and the US Chamber of Commerce on October 8, 2014, in Washington. The United States reaffirmed its support for exploring the potential of the Diamer-Bhasha Project to meet Pakistan's critical energy and water needs. Pakistan looked forward to the completion of the feasibility study of the Diamer-Bhasha Project being conducted by USAID.

Pakistan and the United States also underscored the importance of intensifying efforts to facilitate regional energy connectivity and continuing to upgrade Pakistan's transmission infrastructure. Pakistan appreciated the facilitative role of the United States for the Central Asia – South Asia electricity transmission project (CASA-1000).

Both sides expressed support for cooperation in expanding power generation capacity, including hydroelectric and renewable resources to bring additional capacity to the grid while minimizing the energy sector's contribution to global climate change; promoting the efficient use of energy resources; fostering development of Pakistan's gas resources and their efficient utilization; and continuing reforms to the energy sector to ensure its financial sustainability and to attract private sector investment.

Education Sector Cooperation

The two leaders recalled the shared intent expressed by President Obama and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in October 2013 to further promote educational and research opportunities, and they welcomed the creation of the Working Group on Education, Science and Technology. They noted that the Working Group is intended to facilitate greater academic linkages and promote scientific and technological research

collaboration between educational and research institutions of the two countries to foster economic growth. They looked forward to the early convening of the Working Group meeting.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the increase in US-Pakistan university partnerships in a range of fields, as well as the wide range of educational exchange programs including the Fulbright Program, to further promote educational and research opportunities for Pakistani students, especially women and girls. Both sides committed to continue working together to increase access and improve the quality of basic education throughout Pakistan.

Defence and Security Cooperation

The two leaders discussed Pakistan's continuing efforts to defeat terrorism. Secretary Kerry expressed support for the Pakistan military's on-going operations in the tribal areas and the progress achieved so far. Secretary Kerry and Adviser Aziz agreed that US security assistance has been effective and well deployed to assist Pakistan in its counter terrorism efforts.

Both sides expressed satisfaction on the outcome of the 23rd round of the Defence Consultative Group (DCG) held in Washington December 2014 and committed to areas for future defence cooperation. They noted that the DCG Working Group played a role in strengthening cooperation to support both countries' security interests. Both sides renewed their mutual commitment to a strong defence relationship.

Both the Adviser and Secretary Kerry condemned terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. The Adviser shared his perspective on effective counter terrorism cooperation and stressed that there is no distinction between good and bad militants. Secretary Kerry emphasized the need for effective action against all violent extremists that threaten regional security. The two Leaders emphasized that no country's territory should be used to destabilize its neighbors. The United States and Pakistan renewed their common resolve to promote peace, stability, and transparency throughout the region and to eliminate the threats posed by extremism and terrorism. Both sides pledged to coordinate and cooperate on UN designations for terrorists.

Both sides expressed satisfaction at the outcome of the Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism (LECT) working group held in Islamabad on January 12. The Adviser appreciated US support to bolster Pakistan's counterterrorism (CT) and law-enforcement capacity. Both sides discussed steps to reinforce counterterrorism cooperation, share best practices towards developing a counter-narrative to militancy and violent extremism, enhance the overall rule of law, ensure ongoing cooperation to counter improvised explosives devices, and continue

support for Pakistan's efforts to stabilize the border areas and improve border management.

Pakistan and the United States attach high importance to preventing the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery to states as well as non-state actors. The US and Pakistan stand together in achieving the objectives of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1540, and both have consistently supported and implemented relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions.

The United States welcomes Pakistan's ongoing efforts to harmonize its strategic trade controls with those of the multilateral export control regimes. Furthermore, the United States has full confidence in nuclear security in Pakistan and appreciates Pakistan's proactive engagement with the international community including through its hosting of IAEA training activities at its Nuclear Security Center of Excellence and its active participation in the Nuclear Security Summits.

In this context, the two sides look forward to continuing the bilateral dialogue on Security, Strategic Stability and Non-Proliferation (SSS&NP). Both sides recognize their shared interest in strategic stability and emphasize their commitment to meaningful progress in the future.

Regional Cooperation

Secretary Kerry and the Adviser noted that a peaceful, stable, independent, united and prosperous Afghanistan is vital for peace and stability in the region. Secretary Kerry welcomed the renewed and intensified engagement between Pakistan and Afghanistan, including President Ashraf Ghani's visit to Pakistan. Secretary Kerry encouraged continued dialogue and cooperation between both sides, recognizing the importance of cooperation to the stability of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the broader region.

The two sides recognized that terrorism represents a common challenge to the region that requires common endeavors. They shared their mutual conviction that a stable, well-managed and peaceful Pakistan-Afghanistan border is vital for the success of counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and counter-IED efforts, with complementary coordinated counterterrorism efforts against militants conducted on both sides of the border. Both sides welcomed the steps being taken to strengthen Pakistan-Afghanistan bilateral mechanisms for enhanced security cooperation, including measures for effective border management and controls.

Both delegations recognized that an inclusive Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace and reconciliation process is vital for achieving long-term peace, stability and progress in Afghanistan and the region. They welcomed the call by the new Afghan government to the Afghan Taliban

and all armed opposition groups to resolve differences through political means. The Foreign Affairs Adviser reaffirmed that Pakistan would continue to facilitate the efforts of the Afghan government for peace and reconciliation.

The two sides also concurred that regional economic cooperation is crucial to reinforcing Afghanistan's national efforts for economic development and deeper regional integration. Secretary Kerry welcomed Pakistan hosting the 5th Ministerial Meeting of the Heart of Asia-Istanbul Process in 2015 and congratulated Pakistan on hosting productive Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Coordination Authority meetings earlier this month.

The Adviser and Secretary Kerry stressed that improvement in Pakistan-India bilateral relations would greatly enhance prospects for lasting regional peace, stability, and prosperity, as it would significantly benefit the lives of citizens on both sides of the border.

Enduring Partnership

The Foreign Affairs Adviser and Secretary Kerry affirmed their commitment to a long-term and strong partnership between Pakistan and the United States anchored in the enduring friendship between their two peoples, which is not only in the interest of the two countries but also vital for the peace, stability and prosperity of the region. Affirming that both the United States and Pakistan are committed to democracy, human rights, freedom, and respect for international law, the two leaders reiterated their commitment to deepen and enhance the relationship between the peoples of the United States and Pakistan. The two sides committed to meet again for the Ministerial-level Strategic Dialogue in 2016.

<<http://www.mofa.gov.pk/pr-details.php?prID=2488>>

Documents 4

PARAMETERS FOR A JOINT COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF ACTION REGARDING THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM

Below are the key parameters of a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran's nuclear program that were decided in Lausanne, Switzerland. These elements form the foundation upon which the final text of the JCPOA will be written between now and June 30, and reflect the significant progress that has been made in discussions between the P5+1, the European Union, and Iran. Important implementation details are still subject to negotiation, and nothing is agreed until everything is agreed. We will work to conclude the JCPOA based on these parameters over the coming months.

Enrichment

- Iran has agreed to reduce by approximately two-thirds its installed centrifuges. Iran will go from having about 19,000 installed today to 6,104 installed under the deal, with only 5,060 of these enriching uranium for 10 years. All 6,104 centrifuges will be JR-is, Iran's first-generation centrifuge.
- Iran has agreed to not enrich uranium over 3.67 percent for at least 15 years.
- Iran has agreed to reduce its current stockpile of about 10,000 kg of low-enriched uranium (LEU) to 300 kg of 3.67 percent LEU for 15 years.
- All excess centrifuges and enrichment infrastructure will be placed in IAEA monitored storage and will be used only as replacements for operating centrifuges and equipment.
- Iran has agreed to not build any new facilities for the purpose of enriching uranium for 15 years.
- Iran's breakout timeline - the time that it would take for Iran to acquire enough fissile material for one weapon - is currently assessed to be 2 to 3 months. That timeline will be extended to at least one year, for a duration of at least ten years, under this framework.

Iran will convert its facility at Fordow so that it is no longer used to enrich uranium

- Iran has agreed to not enrich uranium at its Fordow facility for at least 15 years.
- Iran has agreed to convert its Fordow facility so that it is used for peaceful purposes only - into a nuclear, physics, technology, research center.
- Iran has agreed to not conduct research and development associated with uranium enrichment at Fordow for 15 years.

- Iran will not have any fissile material at Fordow for 15 years.
- Almost two-thirds of Fordow's centrifuges and infrastructure will be removed. The remaining centrifuges will not enrich uranium. All centrifuges and related infrastructure will be placed under IAEA monitoring.

Iran will only enrich uranium at the Natanz facility, with only 5,060 hR-i first-generation centrifuges for ten years.

- Iran has agreed to only enrich uranium using its first generation (JR-i models) centrifuges at Natanz for ten years, removing its more advanced centrifuges.
- Iran will remove the 1,000 IR-2M centrifuges currently installed at Natanz and place them in IAEA monitored storage for ten years.
- Iran will not use its IR-2, IR-4, IR-5, IR-6, or IR-8 models to produce enriched uranium for at least ten years. Iran will engage in limited research and development with its advanced centrifuges, according to a schedule and parameters which have been agreed to by the P5+1.
- For ten years, enrichment and enrichment research and development will be limited to ensure a breakout timeline of at least 1 year. Beyond 10 years, Iran will abide by its enrichment and enrichment R&D plan submitted to the IAEA, and pursuant to the JCPOA, under the Additional Protocol resulting in certain limitations on enrichment capacity.

Inspections and Transparency

- The IAEA will have regular access to all of Iran's nuclear facilities, including to Iran's enrichment facility at Natanz and its former enrichment facility at Fordow, and including the use of the most up-to-date, modern monitoring technologies.
- Inspectors will have access to the supply chain that supports Iran's nuclear program. The new transparency and inspections mechanisms will closely monitor materials and/or components to prevent diversion to a secret program.
- Inspectors will have access to uranium mines and continuous surveillance at uranium mills, where Iran produces yellowcake, for 25 years.
- Inspectors will have continuous surveillance of Iran's centrifuge rotors and bellows production and storage facilities for 20 years. Iran's centrifuge manufacturing base will be frozen and under continuous surveillance.
- All centrifuges and enrichment infrastructure removed from Fordow and Natanz will be placed under continuous monitoring by the IAEA.
- A dedicated procurement channel for Iran's nuclear program will be established to monitor and approve, on a case by case basis, the

supply, sale, or transfer to Iran of certain nuclear-related and dual use materials and technology - an additional transparency measure.

- Iran has agreed to implement the Additional Protocol of the IAEA, providing the IAEA much greater access and information regarding Iran's nuclear program, including both declared and undeclared facilities.
- Iran will be required to grant access to the IAEA to investigate suspicious sites or allegations of a covert enrichment facility, conversion facility, centrifuge production facility, or yellow cake production facility anywhere in the country.
- Iran has agreed to implement Modified Code 3.1 requiring early notification of construction of new facilities.
- Iran will implement an agreed set of measures to address the IAEA's concerns regarding the Possible Military Dimensions (PMD) of its program.

Reactors and Reprocessing

- Iran has agreed to redesign and rebuild a heavy water research reactor in Arak, based on a design that is agreed to by the P5+1, which will not produce weapons grade plutonium, and which will support peaceful nuclear research and radioisotope production.
- The original core of the reactor, which would have enabled the production of significant quantities of weapons-grade plutonium, will be destroyed or removed from the country.
- Iran will ship all of its spent fuel from the reactor out of the country for the reactor's lifetime.
- Iran has committed indefinitely to not conduct reprocessing or reprocessing research and development on spent nuclear fuel.
- Iran will not accumulate heavy water in excess of the needs of the modified Arak reactor, and will sell any remaining heavy water on the international market for 15 years.
- Iran will not build any additional heavy water reactors for 15 years.

Sanctions

- Iran will receive sanctions relief, if it verifiably abides by its commitments.
- U.S. and E.U. nuclear-related sanctions will be suspended after the IAEA has verified that Iran has taken all of its key nuclear-related steps. If at any time Iran fails to fulfill its commitments, these sanctions will snap back into place.
- The architecture of U.S. nuclear-related sanctions on Iran will be retained for much of the duration of the deal and allow for snap-back of sanctions in the event of significant non-performance.
- All past UN Security Council resolutions on the Iran nuclear issue

will be lifted simultaneous with the completion, by Iran, of nuclear-related actions addressing all key concerns (enrichment, Fordow, Arak, PMD, and transparency).

- However, core provisions in the UN Security Council resolutions - those that deal with transfers of sensitive technologies and activities - will be re-established by a new UN Security Council resolution that will endorse the JCPOA and urge its full implementation. It will also create the procurement channel mentioned above, which will serve as a key transparency measure. Important restrictions on conventional arms and ballistic missiles, as well as provisions that allow for related cargo inspections and asset freezes, will also be incorporated by this new resolution.
- A dispute resolution process will be specified, which enables any JCPOA participant, to seek to resolve disagreements about the performance of JCPOA commitments.
- If an issue of significant non-performance cannot be resolved through that process, then all previous UN sanctions could be re-imposed.
- U.S. sanctions on Iran for terrorism, human rights abuses, and ballistic missiles will remain in place under the deal.

Phasing

- For ten years, Iran will limit domestic enrichment capacity and research and development - ensuring a breakout timeline of at least one year. Beyond that, Iran will be bound by its longer-term enrichment and enrichment research and development plan it shared with the P5+1.
- For fifteen years, Iran will limit additional elements of its program. For instance, Iran will not build new enrichment facilities or heavy water reactors and will limit its stockpile of enriched uranium and accept enhanced transparency procedures.
- Important inspections and transparency measures will continue well beyond 15 years. Iran's adherence to the Additional Protocol of the IAEA is permanent, including its significant access and transparency obligations. The robust inspections of Iran's uranium supply chain will last for 25 years.
- Even after the period of the most stringent limitations on Iran's nuclear program, Iran will remain a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which prohibits Iran's development or acquisition of nuclear weapons and requires IAEA safeguards on its nuclear program.

Guidelines for Contributors

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Reference to a Newspaper:	<i>Dawn</i> (Islamabad), July 30, 2007.
Reference to an Internet Source:	Hamid Hussain, "The Tale of a Love Affair that Never Was: United States-Pakistan Defence Relations," <i>Pakistan Horizon</i> June, 2002, www.pakistanhorizon.com/2002/june/loveaffair.ht ml . (accessed September 2, 2009)

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1. British spellings should be used.
2. Date should be written as December 7, 2007.
3. Abbreviations should be written in brackets after writing within bracket after spelling the acronym in full at first use, e.g., the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Subsequently only SAARC should be used without bracket.
4. Word "per cent" should be used instead of sign "%".

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