

Journal of Contemporary Studies

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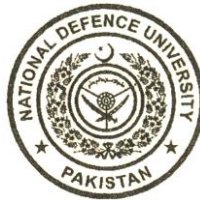
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Editor-in-Chief
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Editor's Note

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

This issue of the journal comprises of five articles, two book reviews and five documents providing valuable primary information on significant international developments. The first article, titled *US-Taliban Peace Deal: Future Scenarios* by Dr Muhammad Ali Ehsan and Raza Muhammad, argues that the most striking reason for U.S failure in Afghanistan is its inability to adopt a political strategy in Afghanistan alongside its military strategy. Now that America is pursuing political settlement in Afghanistan, it is faced with different scenarios that will affect interests of various actors in the Afghan war and its end game

The second article, *Global Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Terrorism and Proliferation Challenges: Pakistan's Perspective* by Dr. Naeem Haider and Dr. Shaheen Akhtar examines the complexity of Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) risks, threats and challenges and the states' capacities for meeting these challenges. It highlights Pakistan's proactive engagement with global CBRN security architecture and suggests certain measures to be taken for further alleviating the CBRN threat.

The third article, *Development in a Conflict Zone: The Case of Balochistan* by Muhammad Shakeel Khan, examines challenges faced while implementing development projects in conflict hit Balochistan. Based on learnings from four cases, the major barriers identified by the author are local customs and religious beliefs, lack of skilled labour, and security concerns. The strategies that can remedy these challenges are community based development, and engaging relevant powerful actors.

The fourth article, *Role of Pakistani Media in Mitigating Disaster* by Dr. Anjum Zia, Hira Nadeem and Dr. Faiza Abid analyses the role of Pakistani media in disaster mitigation through the initial, response and recovery phases, and the importance of disaster related information management. It also sheds light on the gaps in training related to media's

response to disasters, which could have far-reaching effects. It strongly urges on the need to train media personnel to improve their capacity for understanding key disaster terms and the scope of the hazard.

The last article, *Role of Hindutva and Pragmatism in Modi's Foreign Policy Towards Pakistan* by Kallimullah and Dr. Amna Mahmood, examines role of *Hindutva* as well as pragmatism in Indian foreign policy under Narendra Modi from 2014 to 2019. It argues that the rise of Modi to the corridors of power has perceptibly increased Indian hostility towards Pakistan. Modi led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has vehemently supported Hindu nationalism, commonly known as *Hindutva*, which brushes aside the ideals of secularism forming the basis of the Indian constitution. In the foreign policy realm, Modi's government has adopted pragmatism in its relations with neighbours and the Muslim world except Pakistan. Hence, there is rising Indian animosity towards Pakistan amidst the reinforced Hindu nationalism under PM Modi. The article examines role of *Hindutva* and pragmatism in Indian foreign policy under Modi from 2014 to 2019. It concludes that *Hindutva* is the driving force of Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan, rather than pragmatism.

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

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

Editor
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar

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US–TALIBAN PEACE DEAL: FUTURE SCENARIOS

Dr. Muhammad Ali Ehsan* & Raza Muhammad **

Abstract

U.S failure in Afghanistan may have many reasons but most striking is US inability to create a political Afghanistan in parallel with a military Afghanistan. The political strategy in Afghanistan was over-shadowed by military strategy. All the U.S force commanders in Afghanistan looked at Afghanistan not as a political but as a military problem. These generals remained very passionate about the military strategies geared to win the war in Afghanistan. This paper tries to determine why the achievement of the political aims of fighting the war in Afghanistan remained subservient to the achievement of the military aims; and secondly, now that the American focus is on pursuing a political settlement in Afghanistan, how likely is the U.S to achieve this aim? Which are the likely scenarios that can develop in the coming days and how will they affect interests of various actors involved in the Afghan war and its end game?

Keywords: *Taliban, American forces, Afghanistan, Peace Process, Military Strategy*

Introduction

America's desire for a political settlement that it now seeks in Afghanistan has come too late, and after paying a heavy cost. The whole Afghan conflict has brought us closer to understanding that the real-time war is no longer akin to the Clausewitzian notion of war as 'continuation of policy by other means'¹ but there are other factors too such as economics, culture, personal benefits, and electoral gains that drive and guide the course of war, and also get subsequently affected by

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¹ Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, Oxford University Press 1976, 252.

war. If the United States had maintained any 'failed assumption chart' of its political and military failures met during 19 years' long war in Afghanistan, 'incorrect political estimates' would certainly stand out as a major reason. United States realized the security of Afghan population as its top political and military priority only after General Petraeus took command of the American forces and tried to implement his counter-insurgency model of success there.² Prior to that, the US emphasized on counter-terrorism for winning the war in Afghanistan³. The US strategy in both Iraq and Afghanistan wars was re-evaluated in 2006 and 2010 respectively⁴. This was done after US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's and General William Casey's (US multi-national force commander in Iraq from 2004 to 2007) doctrine of 'achieving more with little' took the US nowhere in both these countries.

The over-emphasis by the US on the military component of war in Afghanistan may be attributed to the tyranny of 'yes man' and 'can do' culture in the military chain of command.⁵ When things are not going your way, the military strategy that is not giving the desired results should not be insisted upon — a lesson that Americans learned in Vietnam. When military, not politics, drives the war, the generals tend to remain emotionally attached with their military strategies despite them going wrong. One of the lessons learnt in Vietnam was that strategic intelligence was quite different from operational excellence and operational intelligence. When Clausewitz called war 'an act of politics' he actually meant policy as not becoming subservient to military strategies — that would guide the war in a direction different from the ends determined by policy.

The military and operational strategies in Afghanistan were continued despite failing to meet the political ends, until re-evaluated late in 2010. For a long time the question at the heart of American war in Afghanistan has been whether the war is winnable and should the US continue to fight it? Stephen M. Walt recently wrote in the Foreign Policy magazine that "all we are debating – whether in talks with Taliban or in op-ed pages back home – is the size and shape of the fig leaf designed to conceal a major strategic failure, after 18 years of war, thousands of lives

² Paula Broadwell, *ALL IN : The Education of General David Petraeus*, (Penguin Books, 2012), 69.

³ Bob Woodward, *Obamas War*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2010), 83.

⁴ Max Boot, "More Small Wars: Counterinsurgency is Here to Stay," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov/Dec 2014, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/more-small-wars>.

⁵ Ibid.

lost, and hundreds of billions of dollars squandered.”⁶ Now that the Americans are finally answering this question, it seems appropriate to reflect upon the post-war developing scenarios.

Pre-dominance of Military Strategy in Afghanistan

It is pertinent to mention that behind every US effort in Afghanistan a military mind-set was there, focused only on winning the war. Influenced and dominated for the initial five years by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld’s prejudiced ‘light footprint’ doctrine of fighting the war with speed, agility and precision;⁷ the war effort sought to pursue with vigour only the military aims. Deployment of a heavy massed force – the US Secretary of State Collin Powell’s doctrine – was rejected by Rumsfeld on the grounds that “it was an outdated Cold War imperative that was no longer necessary in the age of proxy forces, smart bombs and armed drones that could find and kill the enemy without any troops at all.”⁸ To the contrary, Gen Stanley McChrystal upon taking over the command of US forces in 2009, recognized that he lacked sufficient troops to root out the Taliban, secure the border with Pakistan, and hold the villages already cleared.⁹ US Vice President Joe Biden (2009-2017), on the other hand, considered that the policy of ‘Counter-terrorism Plus’¹⁰ focused mainly on hunting down al-Qaeda leaders in Pakistan and Afghanistan, as opposed to far more long-term counter-insurgency operations.

General David Petraeus, upon taking the US forces’ command in July 2010, changed the Tactical Directive (a document that provides detailed guidelines on the use of force in combat) and instructed the combat troops to “avoid the trap of winning tactical victories- but suffering strategic defeats – by causing civilian casualties or excessive damage and thus alienating the people.”¹¹ The three big ideas that General Petraeus communicated to his under command, US Embassy, NATO Headquarters, and even the Joint Staff at Pentagon were: “one - the military couldn’t fight and win this war alone, civilian counterparts, both local (Afghans) and international were critical; two – we are here to win; and three – we are

⁶ Stephen M Walt, “We lost the War in Afghanistan. Get over it,” *Foreign Policy*, September 11, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/09/11/we-lost-the-war-in-afghanistan-get-over-it/>.

⁷ Paula Broadwell, *ALL IN : The Education of General David Petraeus*, 58.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ C. Christine Fair, “False choices in Afghanistan,” *Foreign Policy*, 11 January, 2011, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/01/11/false-choices-in-afghanistan/>

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Paula Broadwell, *ALL IN: The Education of General David Petraeus*, 30.

not transferring but transitioning, and we are not pulling out but thinning out'.¹²

Ultimately, it was after nine years of war in Afghanistan that a General was highlighting not only the importance of winning the war but also of civilian counterparts' role in the success of the Afghan campaign. He actually called this overall approach "Anaconda Strategy".¹³ This approach featured seven categories of activity: "kinetic operations, intelligence, detainee operations, information operations, international engagement and non-kinetics by which he meant programs for jobs, education, rule of law and development."¹⁴ Interestingly only one of the seven operations involved predominant military action. General Petraeus tried to implement a strategy that was quite opposite to the advice given by former US Deputy National Security Advisor Ben Rhodes, who once said, "the [American] military can do enormous things. It can win wars and stabilize conflicts. But the military can't create a political culture or build a society."¹⁵

The real question that comes to mind is why didn't the US military change course sooner? Why did the senior civil and military leadership continue to implement their failed strategies that gave primacy to winning the war instead of addressing the political component? Eighteen years later, the US is trying for a negotiated political settlement with the Taliban – a way forward that could have been chosen much earlier; instead, in the words of Stephen M Walt, "a long series of military commanders kept promising success instead of telling the commander-in-chief that they have been given an assignment that wasn't necessary and that they could not accomplish at a reasonable cost."¹⁶

The Afghan Quagmire: A Political Problem

How politics in the US is now re-asserting more than the military component can be gauged through two statements of US President Donald Trump: "I know more about offense and defence than they will ever understand, believe me"¹⁷ and, "I know more about ISIS than the general's

¹² Ibid., 48.

¹³ Ibid., 137.

¹⁴ Ibid., 138.

¹⁵ Andrew J Basevinch, "Leave it to the Generals, A Non-Strategy for Afghanistan," *The New Republic*, November 8, 2017, <https://newrepublic.com/article/145418/leave-generals>.

¹⁶ Walt, "We lost the War in Afghanistan. Get Over it."

¹⁷ Aaron Blake, "19 Things Donald Trump Knows Better than Anyone Else, According to Donald Trump," *Washington Post*, 4 October 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/10/04/>

do. Believe me”.¹⁸ Generals have always asked for leverage and flexibility for the management and fighting of wars. There have been US Presidents who have been accused of micromanaging the wars -- President Johnson and President Obama were accused of doing the same. In fact, according to one perspective, “Former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates compared Obama to President Lyndon B. Johnson – an unrivalled military meddler. He believed that like Johnson, Obama had intruded into military matters that were beyond his purview, with results that were far from helpful.”¹⁹ The balance between the US civil-military authorities, when it comes to Afghanistan, has remained tilted in favour of the generals for a very long time and as a result, the whole idea of a political solution guiding the conduct of war was shelved and remained on the back burner. The current US Presidential assertiveness is not new and one of the many other examples is of President Abraham Lincoln and his general George McClellan, who was entrusted with the task of fighting the civil war. According to one point of view, when General McClellan showed hesitance on committing his army to the battle, President Lincoln famously asked him if he could borrow it for a while, indicating the greater Presidential assertiveness that was to come.”²⁰ The dismissal of John R. Bolton as his National Security Advisor, who was considered as a foreign policy hawk (also true in Afghanistan’s case), also vividly demonstrates President Trump’s preference for a political settlement over a military one.²¹ In the past, the US was fortunate to be served by soldier-statesmen like George C. Marshall and Dwight D. Eisenhower; however, the recent set of US generals (including some dismissed ones) such as General James N. Mattis (US Defense Secretary from 2017-18), General John Francis Kelly (White House Chief of Staff from 2017-2019), General Joseph Francis Dunford (Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff from 2015-2019) and General H. McMaster (National Security Advisor from 2017-2018) could best be termed as ‘intellectual soldiers’, but none of them can be compared to General Marshall or Eisenhower for their statesmanship. Some of these generals subscribed to President George W. Bush’s post -September 11 dream of “transforming the Islamic world by killing the terrorists in sufficient numbers ... so the jihadist threat will eventually subside”;²² this was the very reason why the US strategy in

¹⁸ White House, “Remarks by President Trump on the Death of ISIS Leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi,” October 27, 2019, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-death-isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi/>

¹⁹ Basevinch, “Leave it to the Generals, A Non-Strategy for Afghanistan.”

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Peter Baker, “Trump Ousts John Bolton as National Security Advisor,” *The New York Times*, 10 September 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/10/us/politics/john-bolton-national-security-adviser-trump.html>.

²² Basevinch, “Leave it to the Generals, A Non-Strategy for Afghanistan.”

Afghanistan was led predominantly by its military component while the political component lagged behind.

Before initiating the Doha Peace Process in Qatar with the Taliban, the Trump Administration came up with a new strategy- R4+S (regionalize, realign, reinforce, reconcile and sustain)- to end the war, which was presented to the Senate Armed Services Committee by U.S Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis in 2017.²³ Two years down the line, the strategy failed to bring about any significant change in the Afghan conflict. Regionalizing meant taking a holistic and comprehensive view and taking the regional stake-holders of the conflict on board. Realigning meant adding more advisors who could provide the support in advising and training. Reinforcing meant boosting Afghan defence. The dispatch of 3000 additional US troops to Afghanistan in 2017 was in line with supporting this component of the strategy. Mattis explained the fourth R 'reconcile' as "convincing our foes that the coalition is committed to a conditions-based outcome, we intend to drive fence-sitters and those who will see that we're not quitting this fight to reconcile with the Afghan national government."²⁴ Lastly, sustaining meant that the US was likely to stay in Afghanistan for the near future. The US 'R4+S' Afghan strategy was a shade away from pure military strategy guiding the Afghan war, and the subsequent year it was put into practice as US talks with Taliban began via the Doha Peace Process.

The Peace Process and Prospects for a US-Taliban Deal

The Taliban are brutal totalitarians and the Americans have now learnt that the kind of success they enjoyed in Iraq cannot be replicated in Afghanistan. In Iraq, the Americans "had more forces, a smaller population to secure and an easy terrain than [they] faced in Afghanistan.... Afghanistan [is] also a rural insurgency as compared to the urban insurgency in Iraq."²⁵ Americans were, to an extent, able to reshape the security environment in Iraq, but given that there are 40200 villages²⁶ in Afghanistan, with the majority under Taliban's .control, the US has could not reshape the security environment to its advantage. General Petraeus, while describing the on-ground situation, stated that "conditions in the

²³ Michael R Gordon, "Trump gives Mattis the Authority to Send more Troops to Afghanistan," *The New York Times*, 13 June, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/13/world/asia/mattis-afghanistan-military.html>.

²⁴ Aaron Mehta, "The Pentagon has a New Acronym for Afghanistan. Can it Win the War?" *Defense News*, 3 October, 2017, <https://www.defensenews.com/pentagon/2017/10/03/the-pentagon-has-a-new-acronym-for-afghanistan-can-it-win-the-war/>

²⁵ Broadwell, *ALL IN The Education of General David Petraeus*, 123.

²⁶ Bob Woodward, *Obama's War*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2010), 166.

countryside had become so dangerous that aid workers could safely travel in only 30 per cent of Afghanistan's 368 Districts."²⁷

Another important reason for unabated violence in Afghanistan has been the preference of the current American administration to keep the troops pull out 'condition based' instead of 'time based'. When the pull out conditions were time based "it was a signal to the Afghan leaders that they could take more and more responsibility for their country's security which was important for success of the mission in Afghanistan."²⁸ Now that the pull out is condition based, many actors in the Afghan war can act as spoilers to ensure that the conditions on ground are not only unfavourable for the troop pull-out but also detrimental for successful peace talks. Now the US goal in Afghanistan is to reshape the security environment by cutting up a political deal with the Taliban to end violence. History shows dreadful scenarios regarding the withdrawal of occupational forces from Afghanistan in the past. The withdrawing Soviet army saw many casualties, but it is the British withdrawal and its consequences that are more referred to in history: "In 1842, Afghan resistance forced the British military to make an ill-fated retreat from Kabul to its garrison in the city of Jalalabad, a little more than hundred miles away. Some 16000 British soldiers and camp followers began the trek. Only one man made it to safety."²⁹

It is in this historical context that smooth and agreed withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan is essential, possible only through a peace agreement with the Taliban. US military occupation has so far been unsuccessful to meet its twin goals of democratizing Afghanistan, and bringing peace and stability there. What it has been able to achieve is preventing Afghanistan from being a country that could initiate attacks akin to 9/11. Interestingly, US Senator Lindsey Graham raised this point with President Donald Trump asking him, "Do you want on your resume that you allowed Afghanistan to go back into the darkness and the second 9/11 came from the very place the first 9/11 did?"³⁰ This concern has made Americans doubtful about their absolute withdrawal from Afghanistan. The possible developing political scenarios in Afghanistan are being highlighted in contemporary debates by considering both extremes, i.e. a favourable end to the negotiations between United States and

²⁷ Broadwell, *ALL IN : The Education of General David Petraeus*, 19.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁹ Donald Rumsfeld, *Known and Unknown – A Memoir*, (New York: Penguin Group, 2011), 341.

³⁰ Bob Woodward, *Fear: Trump in the White House* (Simon & Schuster, 2018), 68.

Taliban, or failure of the peace talks.³¹ Following is an analysis of the possible outcomes of the ongoing negotiation process and the repercussions that each different projection might follow.

Possible Future Scenarios and their Implications

Scenario 1: Formalization of Taliban's political role as a result of successful peace process

Given the current political, social and security environment in Afghanistan this is the least likely future political scenario to take shape. Both the US and Afghan National Security Advisors have been against the possibility of any political rapprochement with the Taliban. John Bolton, the National Security Advisor (NSA) of United States and a leading voice against such a deal, has been dismissed and Hamadullah Mohib, the NSA of Afghanistan, has also been lashing out against the peace process.³² The Afghan government is also in a tight political spot; it opposes unconditional negotiations with the Taliban and requires that a ceasefire must last a whole month if the government is to engage in the peace process.³³ The Afghan government doubts that the Taliban have a total control over all their factions and wants the latter to demonstrate this by executing a month long ceasefire.

The Taliban on the other hand rarely respond to the Afghan government as they consider it a puppet government. In case of cessation of hostilities, the Taliban have a firm stand claiming that they will not indulge in an intra-Afghan dialogue unless the peace deal is finalized with the Americans. The American President and his security establishment also do not seem to be on the same page as far as formalizing and giving Taliban a political role in the peace agreement is concerned. The President has been lashing out at his generals, blaming their recommendations for putting the US in this situation.³⁴ He once stated: "These military guys, they don't get business. They know how to be soldiers and they know how to fight. They don't understand how much is it costing."³⁵ The views of

³¹ Ashley Jackson, "There will be no Peace for Afghanistan," *Foreign Policy*, 4 July, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/07/04/afghanistan-taliban-peace-talks-2/>

³² Peter Baker, Mujib Mashal and Michael Crowley, "How Trump's Plan to Secretly Meet with the Taliban Came Together, and Fell Apart," *The New York Times*, September 8, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/08/world/asia/afghanistan-trump-camp-david-taliban.html>.

³³ Ayaz Gul, "Afghan Government Links Peace Talks with Taliban to One-Month Cease-Fire," VOA, 29 October, 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/south-central-asia/afghan-government-links-peace-talks-taliban-one-month-cease-fire>.

³⁴ Woodward, *Fear: Trump in the White House*, 258.

³⁵ Ibid., 315.

advisors in President Trump's inner circle are also divergent regarding the peace talks and political future of Afghanistan. In a National Security Council meeting held on 18th August, 2017, General Joseph Keith Kellogg (the current National Security Advisor) advocated pulling out of Afghanistan, the CIA Director Pompeo argued for expanding the CIA paramilitary role instead of sending additional troops, while McMaster argued for staying the course'.³⁶

The results of the current Presidential elections in Afghanistan have also been withheld for the moment, and the likelihood of these elections being termed as fraudulent and controversial by the losing candidate grows with every passing day. With political instability looming in Afghanistan, the likelihood of peace talks making any headway seems unlikely and thus the idea of giving Taliban a political role in exchange for a commitment to non-violence will have to wait. It is more likely that President Trump might contest next year's elections promising American people the bringing back of troops in his second term. The President may or may not decrease the current American troop level of 14000 on Afghan soil.

Scenario 2: Peace Process fails and the United States decides to pull out its troops maintaining only a small military and civil presence in Afghanistan

There are two important factors that stand out in favour of the development of this political scenario. One, President Trump's intense desire and political commitment to the American people that he would bring US troops back. Two, Americans already have the experience of maintaining a covert army in Afghanistan and they can take up a support role to the over 3,50000 Afghan security forces including the ANA (Afghan National Army). According to one perspective, "the announcement by Mr. Khalilzad that after nine rounds of talks with Taliban, the peace agreement document had been finalized in principle was only a signature accomplishment for President Trump to help him win re-election next year."³⁷ President Ghani's preference for covert CIA forces in Afghanistan can be assessed from US Senator Graham's remark to President Trump: "Ashraf Ghani, the President of Afghanistan would allow him to have as many counter-terrorism troops as he could want, plus CIA bases wherever he wanted. It was the best listening post and platform to attack international terrorism in the world."³⁸

Bob Woodward explains this phenomenon by writing that "For years the CIA had run a 3000-men top secret covert army in Afghanistan.

³⁶ Ibid., 255.

³⁷ Peter Baker, Mujib Mashal and Michael Crowley, "How Trump's Plan to Secretly Meet With the Taliban Came Together, and Fell Apart."

³⁸ Woodward, *Fear: Trump in the White House*, 126.

The CTPT, short for Counterterrorism Pursuit Teams, were Afghan paid, trained and controlled by the CIA. They killed or captured Afghan insurgents and often went to Tribal Areas to eliminate them. Could this CIA paramilitary force be expanded?"³⁹ This scenario would never materialize if the Taliban have a political role in Afghanistan because they wouldn't allow the presence of US covert military presence in their country.

Scenario 3: Peace process fails and the United States decides to stay in Afghanistan by further reinforcing its military presence

The unfolding of this scenario would at best mean the fulfilment of the current Afghan government's desire. But it is least likely to take shape because it will be very difficult for President Trump to sell this to his people. US Afghan policy has been efficient but not effective and the difference between the two is explained by General Stanley McChrystal who writes, "Efficiency is doing things right; effectiveness is doing the right things."⁴⁰ After 18 years of war in Afghanistan and its inability to do the right things there, the United States and its public has no appetite for more body bags and hence reinforcement of its existing military presence doesn't seem to be a likely and 'popular with the American people' option.

Scenario 4: Taliban acknowledge the US role in Afghan nation building and agree that Afghanistan become a quasi US client state to jump-start political, social and economic development through sustained US economic and military aid

Without the shadow of a doubt, the likelihood of this scenario developing should be most popular with the people of Afghanistan, specially the liberal lot. The country, having been knocked out of the floor of self-sustaining economies in the world and devastated by decades of civil war, deserves all out assistance not only from the most powerful country in the world but also from the entire world community. The likelihood of this scenario unfolding is less, but not considering this option would be a great injustice to the people of Afghanistan and the sufferings they have endured at the hands of Americans for a long time. Also, it is supported by historical evidence as stated by Daniel Marston that, "It is critical to remember that today's so called enemy is likely to be part of tomorrow's solution. This has always been true, throughout the history of counterinsurgency."⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., 123.

⁴⁰ General Stanley McChrystal, *Team of Teams, New Rules of Engagement for a Complex World*, (UK: Penguin Random House UK, 2015), 81.

⁴¹ Daniel Marston, *Counter Insurgency in Modern Warfare*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2010), 1.

The Way Forward: Sustaining Peace in Afghanistan

To mitigate any threat emanating from Afghanistan and to create a stable, democratic, self-reliant and able Afghanistan, the world needs to learn from the mistakes it has committed in the past. It is necessary to view the mission and the objectives of ISAF (International Security Assistance Force) and NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in Afghanistan and carry out an analysis on whether these objectives were achieved and if not why? ISAF mission, as stated on its website, aims to support the Afghan government, for which “it conducts operations in Afghanistan to reduce the capability and the will of the insurgency, support the growth in capacity and capability of ANSF, and facilitate improvement in governance and socio-economic development in order to provide a secure environment for sustainable stability that is observable to the population”⁴². Similarly, NATO’s mission in Afghanistan has centred on creating conditions which would assist the government of Afghanistan to exercise its influence and authority throughout the country and also help in development of ANSF.⁴³

Hennery Kissinger once stated that “America struggles to define the relationship between its power and its principles”⁴⁴ and this paper emphasized that military power remained in lead, focusing on the attainment of military goals, rather than the use of political power for attaining a political end – Peace in Afghanistan. The 18-year long war that the US fought in Afghanistan was absolutely unnecessary and the US military-politico disconnect learnt no lessons from the past. In General H. McMasters’ 1997 book *Dereliction of Duty*, he called the Joint Chiefs who oversaw the Vietnam War “five silent men” who failed to establish the essential personal rapport with civilian leaders so they could speak their minds.”⁴⁵ In 18 years, the US generals could not deliver ‘suitable conditions on ground’ for determining a political end and the US Presidents also relied on their generals to execute a political strategy which in the words of Emile Simpson necessitated, “the use of armed forces that seek to establish military conditions for a political solution as against the use of armed forces that directly seeks military as opposed to political outcomes.”⁴⁶

⁴² International Security and Assistance Force website (ISAF): <http://www.isaf.nato.int/mission.html>.

⁴³ Rick Brennan, “Withdrawal Symptoms,” *Foreign Affairs*, December 2014, 35. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/withdrawal-symptoms>.

⁴⁴ Henry Kissinger, *World Order*, (Penguin Books, 2014), 8.

⁴⁵ Woodward, *Fear: Trump in the White House*, 117.

⁴⁶ Emile Simpson, *War from the Ground up: Twenty First Century Combat as Politics*, (United Kingdom: C Hurst & Co Publishers, 2012), 1.

The US must do everything possible to break the deadlock in Afghan peace process. It has to find a way to ensure that the US congress continues to pay the multi-billion dollar annual bills for maintaining and sustaining peace in Afghanistan. It must adopt a predominantly political approach. According to a source, the "US has been spending \$100 billion annually to fight this war which will be nothing compared to \$4 to \$6 billion annual support that it may extend to Afghanistan."⁴⁷ It must make the right political judgement in deciding when to hand over Afghanistan to the Afghan government. If the US won't support the Afghan government, the shrinking US troop levels and US funding may not enable the Afghan security forces to hold ground. How would post-withdrawal Afghanistan fight the war is aptly described in the words of Stephen Biddle: "The war will become a contest of stamina between Congress and the Taliban."⁴⁸ If the US spends \$50 billion annually on its intelligence⁴⁹ it can surely dedicate a sustained financial support to the Afghan government to manage the country until it attains sovereignty and self-reliance.

Conclusion

Political stabilization and not the defeat of Taliban should have been the strategic priority of the US establishment. Critics would say that how could political stability be ensured if there was no military defeat of Taliban. In the 18 years of Afghan war, defeat of Taliban as a strategic priority became more important with every passing year relative to the stabilization of the Afghan State. Even the military strategies utilized to defeat Taliban remained highly questionable. It took years for the US establishment to realize what General Stanley McChrystal suggested that "It takes a network to defeat a network." Finding a political solution to the Afghan problem was not a priority and in the words of Michael Mullen, former US Joint Chiefs of Staff, "the Afghan War remained under-resourced for many years."⁵⁰ The US must plan its future strategy according to the audience and their interpretation. Its military actions for a very long time have been politically interpreted, thus not winning the approval of domestic or international audiences. The US must realize that it is more important to control the political space in Afghanistan rather than the physical space that it has been trying to do with troop surges in the past. Unfortunately for the US, to a very large extent, the social, political and economic dynamics in Afghanistan that preceded and caused the war

⁴⁷ "Afghanistan: Has the War Cost America \$500 Billion?" *BBC News*, August 29, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-47391821>.

⁴⁸ Rumsfeld, *Known and Unknown – A memoir*, 103.

⁴⁹ Woodward, *Obamas War*, 188.

⁵⁰ Q&A: US Admiral Michael Mullen, *Aljazeera*, July 23, 2009, <https://www.aljazeera.com/focus/2009/07/200972253325298956.html>.

continue to operate even after a drop in the intensity of the war. The only goal that the US has been able to achieve is the defeat of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan; all other objectives have been partially achieved. The Taliban are brutal but the US has been no less brutal in finding a military solution to a political problem. It is appreciable that President Trump, contrary to his address at Fort Myer wherein he announced augmenting military component with more resources and giving more freedom of action to the commanders on ground for winning the Afghan War, realized the value of ending a stalemated war through negotiated settlement. For the sake of bringing stability in Afghanistan it is hoped that after the success of US-Taliban peace dialogue, the US politics would take a lead and play a role more significant than the US military for sustaining peace in Afghanistan.

GLOBAL CHEMICAL, BIOLOGICAL, RADIOLOGICAL AND NUCLEAR TERRORISM AND PROLIFERATION CHALLENGES: PAKISTAN'S PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Naeem Haider* & Dr. Shaheen Akhtar**

Abstract

International security environment is becoming more complex and perilous. New challenges associated with Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) terrorism and proliferation warrant cooperative multilateral approaches. Evolution of these challenges necessitates augmenting existing security regimes; and negotiating new ones, where required. Therefore, states ought to cooperatively approach global challenges. Existing international security regimes have major weaknesses that merit objective consideration. Effective implementation of regimes at national level is very important, which must be comprehensive and inclusive for all stakeholders. States and international organizations need to take strategic perspective and invest in capacity building of humans and institutions. Pakistan takes its international obligations very seriously; and constructively contributes to global security framework. It has developed excellent CBRN institutions and capacity in safety, security, non-proliferation and export control. International community can immensely benefit from Pakistan's experience, capacity and positive approach to global challenges.

Keywords: CBRN Threat, Terrorism, Non-Proliferation, CWC, BWC, Pakistan

Introduction

Preventing and responding to chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) threats is an extremely complicated task. Therefore, thorough understanding, preparedness and response capabilities vis-à-vis CBRN threats and challenges are imperative. In the prevailing

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global security environment, the threat of CBRN terrorism is real and can affect any State.¹ With regard to countering these threats, the international security environment appeared optimistic after cessation of the Cold War, when measures such as the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)² entered into force (1997). This built hope that chemical weapons will be irreversibly eliminated. The Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) had already been enforced (1975) globally that banned biological weapons³ and concerted efforts were made for concluding a strict, multilaterally negotiated and non-discriminatory verification regime for the BWC. Regarding nuclear weapons, the US and Russia were striving to reduce their numbers and salience in national strategy. Despite such positive developments in the past, the ground realities today are not encouraging. For example, chemical weapons have re-emerged and have been used extensively in the recent past by both states and non-state actors. Furthermore, CBRN materials have been used repeatedly in assassinations and attempted assassinations in different parts of the world, such as Malaysia, the UK, Syria, Middle East, Ukraine, etc.⁴

The threat of using CBRN materials for terrorism has existed for several past decades. Several agencies warned and confirmed that Al-Qaeda publicly announced and made efforts to acquire and use WMDs.⁵ The Islamic State (IS) carried out Sulphur Mustard attacks in Syria. This was duly confirmed by the Joint Investigative Mechanism (JIM) of the United Nations- Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (UN-OPCW).⁶ In June 1994, Sarin gas was produced and used for terrorism in Matsumoto, Japan by Aum Shinrinkyo. Subsequently, the same cult released sarin gas in Tokyo subway in March 1995 with an aim to cause mass casualties. Anthrax attack in 2001 in the US highlighted the need for efficient national response capability and plugging the gaps in public health infrastructure. The West African Ebola outbreak in 2014

¹ Elisande Nexon, and Claude Wachtel, *EU Preparedness against CBRN Weapons*, report (Belgium, European Parliament's online database, 2019), January 2019. 2, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu>.

² OPCW, "Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling, Use of Chemical Weapons and Destruction," www.opcw.org.

³ OPCW, "Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and Destruction," United Nations Treaty Series, www.opbw.org.

⁴ Chai PR, et al., "Toxic Chemical Weapons of Assassination and Warfare: Nerve Agents VX and Sarin," *Toxicology Communications* 1, no. 1, (2017): 21–23.

⁵ Lewis A Dunn, "Can Al Qaeda Be Deterred from Using Nuclear Weapons?" Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Occasional Paper no. 3, NDU: Washington, DC, 2015.

⁶ OPCW, "2nd Report of the OPCW Fact Finding Mission in Syria: Key Findings," 2014, www.opcw.org.

demonstrated the health, economic, psychological and humanitarian consequences that an act of bio-terrorism can cause. The main contributing factors to this evolving threat are the rapid advancements in science and technology, wide availability of CBRN related knowledge and dual-use materials, changing geo-political environment, and the rise of international terrorism. This growing risk of such threats underscores the need for national and international institutional infrastructure for effective prevention and response preparedness.

This paper examines the complexity of CBRN risks, threats and challenges to both international and national security and peace; the significance of national and international implementation measures; as well as regime-based international cooperation for developing and maintaining effective national prevention, preparedness and response capabilities. It explores how states ought to develop national institutional enforcement capacities inclusive of requisite cooperation amongst stakeholders for meeting the identified challenges. It identifies gaps in relevant international regimes and suggests measures to redress them. The paper delineates Pakistan's perspective; position; and associated legislative, regulatory and administrative measures regarding CBRN related challenges. It also highlights country's proactive engagement with global CBRN security architecture and concludes by suggesting certain measures to alleviate the CBRN threat.

CRBN Terrorism: Structural Challenges

Suspected State Involvement

A major worry for the international community is the suspected involvement of states in CBRN terrorism incidents. Such developments could undermine the global arms control and non-proliferation regime. In November 2006, Alexander Litvinenko, a former Russian security official, was assassinated⁷ in London by ingestion of Polonium-210.⁸ Some believe that in 2004 Yasser Arafat, the former Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) chief, was also assassinated by employing Polonium-210 –a view moderately supported by the forensic report.⁹ Viktor Yushchenko, the Ukrainian ex-president, was similarly poisoned in 2004 when he was

⁷ R.B. McFee and J.B. Leikin, "Death by Polonium-210: Lessons Learned from the Murder of Former Soviet Spy Alexander Litvinenko," *Seminars in Diagnostic Pathology*, 26, no. 1 (Feb. 2009):61–67.

⁸ Po if ingested causes inter damage to the gastrointestinal tract and then to other vital organs.

⁹ P. Froidevaux, et al., "²¹⁰Po Poisoning as Possible Cause of Death: Forensic Investigations and Toxicological Analysis of Remains of Yasser Arafat," *Forensic Science International* 259 (November 2015): 1–9.

contesting re-election.¹⁰ In November 2017, VX Nerve Agent¹¹ was used at the Malaysian airport to assassinate half-brother of the present North Korean leader;¹² whereas in 2018, use of a new military grade nerve agent¹³ led to assassination of former Russian intelligence agent Sergey Skripal and his daughter at Salisbury in the UK.¹⁴ The same year Germany and France disrupted two Ricin terror plots due to excellent functioning of their intelligence and police services.¹⁵ Such incidents cause immense fear and collateral damage, strain bilateral relations, and punitively involve states and international organizations. Resultantly, states undergo economic losses and break-down of cooperation on vital global issues.

States' involvement is suspected in above-mentioned incidents because Polonium-210 is a highly radioactive substance and it is very difficult for terrorists to manufacture or acquire it. Its annual global production is estimated to be just around 100 grams, which implies strict governmental inventory controls and security measures. In the Salisbury (UK) incident a very pure nerve agent was used to poison Sergey Skripal and his daughter. The purity level suggests its production in a very specialized state facility. Another special feature of these attacks was targeting of all high profile people: several were former intelligence officials, one was half-brother of North Korean leader, and some were political leaders. This trend suggests that the aim of perpetrators was not to cause mass casualties, but to assassinate high profile individuals. This trend must be arrested at priority; otherwise, it could have serious implications for bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, the global non-proliferation regime, and international peace and security on the whole.

Inadequate International Cooperation

The CBRN threats and challenges are complex in nature. Developing multilateral response mechanisms require immense resources, coordination and efforts. Therefore, based on international and regional regimes, the international community must develop mutual cooperative frameworks. At times the regional geo-political environment hampers the

¹⁰ J. H. Saurat, et al., "The Cutaneous Lesions of Dioxin Exposure: Lessons from the Poisoning of Victor Yushchenko," *Toxicological Sciences* 125, no. 1 (January 2012): 310–317.

¹¹ VX is a fast reaction military grade nerve agent, which can destroy the nervous system.

¹² OPCW, "Decision: Chemical Weapons Incident in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia," report ((84th EC Session:2017) www.opcw.org

¹³ OPCW, Technical Secretariat, "Request for Information from State Parties on New Types of Nerve Agents," Note by DG OPCW (84th EC Session: 2018)

¹⁴ OPCW, "UK: Statement by H.E. Ambassador Peter Wilson Permanent Representative of the UK" report, (87th EC Session: 2018)

¹⁵ Elisande Nexon, and Claude Wachtel, *EU Preparedness against CBRN Weapons*.

spirit of cooperation. It is, therefore, imperative for states to set aside political differences and develop cooperative arrangements for timely delivery of requisite assistance and protection. Time will be of the essence in response operations, thereby, making regional response capability more effective. To address this dimension, the Director General of OPCW in 2016 established a Rapid Response Assistance Mechanism.¹⁶ Moreover, we have a good example of the European Union that has developed a comprehensive mutual cooperation legal framework for handling criminal matters. It mainly encompasses joint cooperative investigations, commonly recognized arrest warrants, sharing of evidence, etc.¹⁷ In the realm of CBRN, states share common interest i.e. preventing their misuse for terrorism, and should therefore consider this cooperation as a significant confidence building measure.

Diverse Political Interests of the States

Since 2013, both non-state actors and state have extensively used chemical weapons in Syria.¹⁸ To respond to this perilous development and serious crime against humanity, the United Nations formed a UN-OPCW Joint Investigative Mechanism (JIM) for identifying the perpetrators; JIM did excellent work in this regard. The next logical step was to hold the perpetrators accountable since strict accountability is imperative to deter such recurrences. The process of accountability and prosecution requires singleness of purpose and cooperation amongst States. In the Syrian case, due to political differences amongst States and prevailing geo-political environment, the requisite cooperation could not be achieved at the UN Security Council.¹⁹ Resultantly, the mandate of the JIM could not be renewed.²⁰

Dual-Use Materials and Technologies

The dual-use nature of chemical and biological materials and related technologies makes them easily and widely available, since they are extensively used in industry, medicine and various other fields. For national authorities the task of overseeing all dangerous transactions and preventing sensitive materials from reaching wrong hands is a daunting task. Moreover, due to the expansive scope of global supply chains and

¹⁶ OPCW, "Field Exercise to Improve OPCW's Rapid Response and Assistance Capabilities," Romania, 14 Dec, 2017.

¹⁷ The EU, "Directive 2017/541 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 15 March 2017 on Combating Terrorism," *Official Journal of the European Union*, L88/6, 2017.

¹⁸ OPCW, "Fact-Finding Mission Confirms Use of Chemical Weapons in Khan Shaykhun on 4 April 2017," 2017.

¹⁹ OPCW, "4th Special Session of the CSP," CSP Report, 27 June 2018.

²⁰ OPCW, "62nd Meeting of Executive Council," Report, 14 Jan 2019.

rapid scientific advancements, non-state actors can produce and deliver large quantities of sophisticated chemical and biological agents – attacks by Aum Shinrikyo cult in Japan being the cases in point. Fortunately, Aum could not succeed due to certain technical issues.

Lack of Capacity in Forensic Science

CBRN incidents leave behind a large crime scene with scattered evidence requiring scientific examination for credible investigation. Therefore, expertise in forensic science is crucially required for investigation process. Forensic experts require latest technology, such as mobile laboratories and backup of designated static laboratories for authentic analysis of samples. These laboratories must develop close cooperation with internationally designated laboratories. The investigators may need evidence from the conflict zones or from abroad for establishing the identity of the perpetrators, which would necessitate international cooperation. Moreover, states have to invest in developing accurate analysis' capacity, and a comprehensive system of investigation and attribution encompassing, *inter-alia*, an internationally certified system of sample collection, its analysis, preservation and management for a long time.²¹ Relevant international organizations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), OPCW, World health Organization (WHO), International Police Organization (INTERPOL) and other Centers of Excellence must extend technical support to states for building national capacities.²²

Lack of Capacity of Judicial Bodies

Judicial authorities would be required to prosecute criminal cases involving CBRN materials. Therefore, their understanding of evolving CBRN threats and related legal instruments is important. The judicial bodies have to understand the implications on national law and international peace and security, and suggest changes for national legislations and related regulations for keeping them up-to-date and effective for countering the threat. Such updated legislations would also facilitate regional and multilateral cooperation. Moreover, the CBRN investigations would be multi-dimensional in nature: first aiming at identifying the perpetrators and to hold them accountable, and second, to uncover the sources for developing or acquiring CBRN materials and technology. Investigation must provide insights on the planning and execution of the crime to help develop holistic intelligence picture for preventing future incidents by plugging gaps in national and international

²¹ OPCW, "4th Special Session of CSP in the CWC Review Conference," Report of the SAB, 30 April 2018.

²² UN 1540 Committee, "Assistance Programme Offers from International, Regional and Sub-regional Organizations, and Other Arrangements."

legislative, regulatory and administrative systems. Therefore, the national authorities and international organizations must help develop capacity and understanding of judicial officials by providing them requisite multilateral exposures.

CBRN and Gaps in Arms Control Regimes

International regimes deliver and gain strength if they are effectively and comprehensively implemented at the national level. National implementation measures requires, *inter alia*, national legislations, regulations and administrative measures; domestic and export control measures; international cooperation; effective verification regimes duly updated; and capacity building of national authorities responsible for verification and implementation. Security regimes must remain up-to-date for addressing current and evolving challenges. To plug the loopholes, certain gaps in the arms control and disarmament regimes have been identified below:

- a. Both BWC and CWC obligate states to enact national implementation legislations and regulations. National law enables prosecutors to investigate and prosecute the perpetrators. The state of fulfilling this international obligation is not very satisfactory. For example, in the context of CWC, globally 71 states have still not notified the OPCW regarding enacting national legislations, or 63 percent have adopted only the minimum essential national implementation measures.²³ Regarding BWC, the adoption of exhaustive national legislations and regulations globally for regime implementation is yet to be achieved.²⁴
- b. BWC lacks an effective verification regime,²⁵ vital for monitoring international compliance and for confidence-building amongst states. To address the issue of parties' compliance, the West led by the US has devised an ad-hoc system of submission of CBM (Confidence Building Measures) forms. This is not a regime based international obligation and thus, states evade sharing of national information due to health

²³ OPCW, "Overview of the Status of Implementation of Article VII of the Chemical Weapons Convention as at 31 July 2018," 24 August, 2018.

²⁴ VERTIC, "National Report on National Implementation Legislation," *National Implementation Measures Programme*, November 2016, 19, www.unog.ch, National Implementation.pdf.

²⁵ Ibid.

- concerns and security implications. In fact, CBMs cannot be a substitute for treaty based verification regime.²⁶
- c. BWC lacks the support of international implementation organization as OPCW provides for the CWC implementation. To address this institutional gap, international community has established an ad-hoc BWC Implementation Support Unit (ISU) that has a staff comprising just three members. Such structural deficiencies undermine global effectiveness and credibility of BWC.
 - d. Both BWC and CWC were negotiated and enforced when the challenges of international terrorism were not yet pronounced. Hence, there is a dire need to supplement these regimes and national/international implementing authorities. The issue is that the OPCW is basically designed to oversee national implementation measures, and not to address the threat of chemical terrorism. Therefore, OPCW directs inadequate resources and efforts to this challenge.
 - e. BWC and CWC have specific provisions regarding international cooperation - legally mandatory and contributive towards member states' capacity building. However, most developed states focus on the convention's non-proliferation provisions at the expense of cooperation. At times, modern technology required for legitimate peaceful purposes is denied to the developing states on the pretext of proliferation, thus undermining the spirit of cooperation amongst states.²⁷
 - f. BWC has 182 state parties.²⁸ Thus it is far away from achieving universality. Likewise, CWC has 193 States Parties but four states are not members of this regime.²⁹ Unless universality is achieved, the non-member States are the weak links that can be exploited by non-state actors and criminals. Therefore, concerted international effort is required for achieving universality of these regimes.
 - g. CWC very broadly defines Chemical Weapons. OPCW in its verification activities is mainly focused on listed schedule

²⁶ Masood Khan, "The 2nd Inter-sessional Process," in *Improving Implementation of the BWC The 2007- 2010 Inter-sessional Process*, UNIDIR, and UNODA (New York and Geneva, 2011), 42.

²⁷ OPCW, CSP Session, "Proposals and Options Pursuant to Paragraph 21 of Decision C-SS-4/DEC.3 on Addressing the Threat from Chemical Weapons Use," report and note by the DG OPCW, June 2018.

²⁸ Israel, South Sudan, Eritrea, Comoros, Micronesia, Chad, Djibouti, Kiribati, Namibia and Tuvalu have not signed the BWC.

²⁹ Egypt, Israel, North Korea and Israel are non-member States. Israel has signed but not yet ratified.

chemicals that could be used in warfare in significant quantities. Whereas, the non-state actors may not be interested to acquire and use large quantities of such warfare agents. Rather, their purpose is better served by widely available dual-use commercial chemicals. This necessitates effective domestic controls and comprehensive national implementation of multilateral regimes.

- h. Non-state actors and states are continuously using Chemical Weapons both in the battlefields and public places. This is encouraging the re-emergence of chemical weapons.³⁰ Though CWC is quite comprehensive security regime, yet its provisions that could be used against terrorism are less clear and specific. CWC generally obligates states to strictly enforce the treaty's controls, restrictions and prohibitions. Therefore, states should strictly regulate the peaceful use of both scheduled chemicals and all other toxic dual-use commercial chemicals, and related facilities.³¹ The Syrian conflict demonstrated that both military grade chemical weapons, such as sarin, and dual-use commercial chemicals such as chlorine have been used extensively in the battlefields, thereby calling for strict domestic and export controls.

Pakistan's Measures to Strengthen CBRN Regime

The above discussion shows that international cooperation for countering CBRN terrorism essentially requires multilateral treaty based regimes. Regimes specify rights and obligations of states, e.g. in 2004 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1540, legally binding all states to take national measures designed to counter proliferation and prevent non-state actors from acquiring WMD and related materials, technology and equipment. Membership of states in regimes contributes to its universality, and thus denies safe havens to terrorists anywhere in the world. Since the threat of CBRN terrorism is multidimensional, the international legal instruments provide the essential legal tools and mechanisms for conducting cross-border investigations and criminal proceedings while creating space for international cooperation in this regard. The regimes and associated organizations/bodies can regularly assess and monitor the standard of national implementation measures. Therefore, a state's membership in regimes, constructive participation in multilateral efforts, and the effective national implementation measures demonstrate the seriousness with which a state takes its international

³⁰ OPCW, "Decision: Addressing the Threat Posed by the Use of Chemical Weapons by Non-State Actors," October 13, 2017.

³¹ Ibid.

obligations, contributing in turn to its stature as a responsible actor and positive force for international peace and security.

As a responsible State Pakistan takes its international obligations very seriously, accords utmost importance to CBRN safety and security, and has established a comprehensive security regime. Pakistan is member of many international regimes, organizations, arrangements and initiatives. In the realm of arms control, international security and non-proliferation, few aspects of Pakistan's varied set of national implementation measures are discussed below.

Measures in Nuclear and Radiological Domain

Compliance with UNSCR-1540

In the post 9/11 environment, and in the aftermath of 2003 revelations of international proliferation network, the UN Security Council in 2004 adopted Resolution 1540 under Chapter-VII of the UN Charter. It is a legally binding instrument that addresses the threat posed by non-state actors and complements relevant multilateral treaties and arrangements. UNSCR-1540 includes legal, political and regulatory measures to curb proliferation of entire spectrum of WMDs. It obligates states to enforce appropriate laws, refrain from providing assistance to non-state actors, implement exports and trans-shipment controls, submit national implementation reports, etc.³² In compliance with 1540 Pakistan has instituted robust export control regime which include national measures as well proactive role in strengthening international export control regime.

Pakistan's Export Control Measures

The standards of Pakistan's export control regime (legislations, regulations and enforcement measures) are at par with international best practices. To exercise effective and comprehensive control over export, re-export, transit, and trans-shipment of sensitive goods, technologies, materials and equipment; Pakistan enacted SECA-2004 (Strategic Export Control Act).³³ It deals with nuclear and biological goods, technologies, materials and equipment, and their delivery means. Its salient provisions include: jurisdiction over citizens visiting and working abroad, licensing and record keeping provisions that cover export, re-export, transit and trans-shipment; 'Catch All' clause covering unauthorized transfer of intangible technology; prohibits diversion of controlled goods; and its penal provisions provide up to 14 years imprisonment and Rupees 5

³² UN Security Council Resolution 1540 (2004).

³³ Pakistan, "Export Control on Goods, Technologies, Material and Equipment Related to Nuclear and Biological Weapons and their Delivery System Act, 2004," Registered No. 302/ L-7646, 27 September 2004.

Million fine, plus confiscation of assets and property. For the effective implementation of SECA-2004, Pakistan has taken the following measures:

- a. In 2007, Strategic Export Control Division (SECDIV) was established.
- b. Notified an Over Sight Board (OSB) under Foreign Secretary in 2007 for monitoring implementation of this Act.
- c. Published NCL (National Control Lists) in 2005 and now the lists are reviewed annually for keeping them abreast with new developments.
- d. Published Export Control (Licensing and Implementation) Rules in 2009.
- e. Enacted Export Control Act- 1950 that restricts, controls and prohibits the import and export of goods.

Pakistan has good standing with regard to national implementation of UNSCR-1540, yet Pakistan's ranking can be further improved if BWC National Implementation Law is enacted and the national measures are appropriately show-cased at multilateral forums.

Engagement with International Export Control Regime

Pakistan is actively and constructively engaged with International Export Control Regime. In 1975 the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was created, which is implemented through its Guidelines and thus contribute to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. NSG along with Zangger Committee³⁴ governs nearly all the world trade in nuclear material, equipment and technology. In May 2016, Pakistan formally declared adherence to NSG Guidelines and submitted application for membership.³⁵ Pakistan's NCL comprehensively incorporates NSG Guidelines and EU integrated lists, and is annually reviewed. Pakistan has highly trained and qualified human resource, requisite expertise, facilities, institutions and overall capacity to produce and globally supply goods, technologies, material and services for wide variety of peaceful nuclear uses.

Pakistan follows Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) Guidelines, fulfils membership criteria and maintains engagement through MTCR outreach activities. MTCR was established in 1987 for addressing missile proliferation.³⁶ It has 34 members and restricts the proliferation of missiles, Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), complete rocket systems and

³⁴ Zangeer Committee was originated in 1971 and its mandate remain restricted to Art III.2 of NPT. NSG was formed on the premise of Art III-2 in establishing other criteria that recipient states must take for importing nuclear goods from supplier states. NSG is constantly evolving as per global challenges.

³⁵ "Pakistan Applies for Accession to NSG," *The Express Tribune*, May 2, 2016.

³⁶ MTCR was established by the US, UK, France, Japan, Germany, Canada and Italy.

related technology for delivering payload i.e. 500 kg to 300 km range and beyond.

Pakistan is member state of the CWC and BWC, which is the criteria for Australia Group (AG) membership. Pakistan maintains engagement through AG outreach activities. AG reduces risks of Biological and Chemical Weapons proliferation by regulating the export and trans-shipment of related goods, technology and materials.

Pakistan maintains engagement with Wassenaar Arrangement (WA) through its outreach activities. In 1996, WA was established, it has 41 members, and maintains national export control on conventional arms and related dual-use goods and technologies through national laws and notifying the transfer and denials of such items. Pakistan's decision and efforts to seek membership for participation in the global regime for export control demonstrates Pakistan's serious and positive approach to contribute to global efforts for preventing the spread of WMD related goods, technologies, materials and equipment.

Measures in Safety and Security Domain

Effective implementation of Convention on Nuclear Safety (CNS)

Pakistan is effectively and comprehensively implementing CNS. The CNS entered into force in 1999 for achieving higher safety levels. It has 83 signatory states and 65 ratifying states. Pakistan signed CNS in 1994 and ratified in 1997. CNS obligates states to implement international safety standards at all facilities related to nuclear energy during designing, site selection, construction, safety verifications, emergency preparedness, operations and quality assurance. Pakistan submits annual reports on national implementation of CNS to the IAEA, is implementing the Fukushima Response Action Plan (FRAP), has established Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) in 2001 for implementing its obligations under CNS, and has enacted PNRA Act as an implementing legislation. PNRA is an independent implementing and regulatory body that ensures that all responsibilities are defined, and legislations and regulations are effectively implemented.

Pakistan has established accounting and control systems for sensitive materials, based upon US National Laboratories Procedures, and has a strict inspection and verification regime. Moreover, special theft proof vehicles have been introduced, PNRA has established border controls, screening procedures, and implemented national Nuclear Security Action Plan (NSAP). The NSAP manages all radioactive sources and related activities. In this regard, PNRA carries out systematic verifications comprising *inter-alia*, both routine and surprise inspections.

For securing borders against illicit traffic and orphan radioactive sources, Pakistan has established Nuclear Emergency Management Centres. In this regard, PNRA provides education and training to personnel

of Frontier Corps, Coast Guards, National Disaster Management Agency (NDMA), Customs, law enforcement agencies, intelligence services, Emergency and Rescue Services, Pakistan Rangers, and all strategic organizations. Nuclear security, emergency preparedness, detection equipment, border monitoring, physical protection, and recovery operations are a part of training. This Centre serves as a focal point for coordinating the efforts of all relevant governmental agencies and other nuclear emergency offices established in major cities - the main responsibility is to track and effectively respond to the threats of illicit nuclear or radioactive source or a dirty bomb (Radiological Dispersal Device).

A comprehensive Nuclear Detection Architecture has been established at major entry-exit points for preventing, detecting and deterring illicit traffic of radioactive or nuclear materials. In addition, Pakistan has established sophisticated Nuclear Emergency Management System (NEMS), which is linked with National Disaster Management Authority. NEMS has been designed to effectively respond and manage any type of radiological or nuclear incident. This system is supported by highly trained human resource, latest technology and technical support provided by Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) and PNRA.

Establishing Security Training and Education Institutions

Pakistan has established specialized security, intelligence and education training institutions for ensuring security and safety of radiological and nuclear facilities and materials. In 2012 representatives from 30 member states established an International Nuclear Security and Support Centre, with a vision to create excellence in nuclear security worldwide, promote cooperation, facilitate provision of assistance, and develop sustainable national, regional, and global nuclear security training and support centres. As a responsible member, Pakistan has established specialized security and intelligence capabilities that include a Special Response Force with dedicated air-lift capability. To develop depth in defense, Pakistan has instituted an Integrated Intelligence System, which is the foundation of its nuclear security architecture. Pakistan has established a Centre of Excellence (CoE) in the field of nuclear safety and security,³⁷ comprising three institutions working in synergy and providing formal education, training and technical support to all national stakeholders and even foreign participants. These include:

- a. *Pakistan Centre of Excellence for Nuclear Security (PCENS)*, conducting specialized courses regarding physical protection, response, nuclear control and accounting, security and

³⁷ Noreen Iftikhar and Sitara Noor, "Nuclear Security Education and Training in Pakistan," *International Journal of Nuclear Security* 3, no.1 (25 July 2017), 5, idsa.in/system/files/OP-PakistanNuclearSecurity.pdf.

intelligence, as per international standards and best practices.³⁸

- b. *National Institute of Safety and Security (NISAS)*, working under PNRA, and providing nuclear safety and security training to professional technicians and managers from the regulator perspective.³⁹
- c. *Pakistan Institute of Engineering and Applied Sciences (PIEAS)*, which conducts formal nuclear safety and security degree courses including specialization in MS Nuclear Engineering and other academic programmes.⁴⁰

Effective Implementation of Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM)

Pakistan ratified the CPPNM Amended in March 2016, and has taken legislative, regulatory and administrative measures to ensure its implementation. It is the sole multilateral legal binding treaty regarding physical protection of civilian nuclear material in international nuclear transport, which entered into force in 1987. Pakistan acceded to CPPNM in 2000. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, international concerns heightened about the possibility of nuclear material falling into terrorists' hand. This treaty was inadequate for addressing the growing and complex threat of nuclear terrorism. In 1999, IAEA member states started working on the need to revise CPPNM and finally signed the amended convention in 2005. The amendment expanded the scope of CPPNM to cover protection of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes in domestic facilities, storage, use and transport.

Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident

Pakistan as a member of this Convention has developed effective, world-class response capabilities.⁴¹ This Convention aims to provide correct and timely information regarding nuclear accidents, and thus contribute to global security through international cooperation. Member states are legally obligated to develop response capability and provide timely information on the type of accident to the affected states and IAEA, enabling both to respond expeditiously.

Convention on Assistance in Case of Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency

Pakistan is a member of this Convention and has developed

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ IAEA, Convention on Early Notification of Nuclear Accident, Latest Status, <https://www.iaea.org>, accessed on November 10, 2019.

international standards of response capacity. It has also pledged assistance to IAEA in case of any nuclear or radiological emergency. This Convention sets *inter alia*, the procedures, rights and obligations for state-parties regarding cooperation for assisting the affected States. IAEA is mandated to perform the central role, and to coordinate the entire operation in the event of radiological or nuclear emergency.

Active Participation in Global Counter Proliferation Initiatives

Pakistan is actively involved in global counter-proliferation initiatives which follow as:

Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism (GICNT)

Pakistan considers that GICNT complements the IAEA nuclear security architecture, and shares its best practices in the field of non-proliferation, export controls and nuclear security.⁴² US and Russia jointly launched GICNT in 2006, a voluntary international partnership of 85 partner states and organizations to prevent nuclear terrorism through sharing of best practices. Pakistan partnered with GICNT in 2007 and has made valuable contribution to its Working Groups, by helping develop capacities of partner states in the field of response and mitigations. This positive approach has been widely acknowledged by partner states.

Container Security Initiative (CSI)

Pakistan is a partner in CSI since March 2006 and Port Qasim is CSI compliant;⁴³ it is installed with Integrated Cargo Container Control facility. The aim of this initiative is to inspect and scan all US bound containers. The US launched CSI in 2002, and is functioning in Asia, Latin and Central America, North America, Europe and Middle East at 58 sea ports.

Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI)

The US launched PSI in 2003 for preventing and countering WMD shipments, their delivery systems and related materials worldwide.⁴⁴ 102 states have voluntarily endorsed the 'interdiction principles'. Pakistan supports the objective and purpose of PSI but has reservations regarding

⁴² Statement by Husham Ahmed, Director General Arms Control & Disarmament-I, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, GICNT Plenary Meeting, Buenos Aires, 5- 7 June 2019.

⁴³ Abdullah Yousaf, former Chairman Central Board of Revenue, Seminar on "Dry Ports of Tomorrow," *Port Security Pak*, Karachi, July 20, 2006, <https://portsecuritypak.wordpress.com>.

⁴⁴ Charles Wolf Jr, Brian G. Chow, and Gregory S. Jones, *Enhancement by Enlargement: Proliferation Security Initiative*, (California: RAND Corporation, 2008), 14.

its implementation and its conflict with international law especially the *UN Convention on the Laws of Seas and the International Civil Aviation Agency Protocols*. Pakistan has not endorsed the interdiction principle, yet sometimes participates in the PSI exercises as an observer.

IAEA Incident and Trafficking Database

Pakistan are participants in ITDB programme along with 138 states.⁴⁵ This IAEA information management system is voluntary in nature and supports IAEA, relevant international organizations, and participating states in enhancing security. ITDB also contributes to improving IAEA's Nuclear Security Plans.

Measures in Biological Domain

Pakistan ratified Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) in September 1974 and is comprehensively and effectively implementing the regime in Pakistan. Pakistan never pursued Biological Weapons, therefore, it joined the regime as a non-possessor State. Pakistan encourages a cooperative, multilateral, and non-discriminatory verification regime for BWC that contributes to the capacity building of member states, since the country considers ad-hoc arrangements for monitoring national compliance as a short-term approach. Pakistan shares international concerns of bio-terrorism and suggests strict national oversight and regulations on all sensitive bio-facilities. The country itself implements strict bio-security and bio-safety initiatives in light of the BWC and International Health Regulations (IHR) 2005. For addressing risks associated with biological sciences and materials, Pakistan has instituted the following legislative, regulatory and administrative measures:

National Legislative and Controlling Context comprises of national bio-related laws, and rules and guidelines for bio-safety.⁴⁶ The national legislations includes, inter-alia, Pakistan Export Control Act- 2004 (elaborated above),⁴⁷ Animal Quarantine Act- 1979⁴⁸ and Rules, Plant Quarantine Act- 1976 and Rules,⁴⁹ Drugs Act-1976 and Rules,⁵⁰ Anti-

⁴⁵ IAEA, Fact Sheet, Incident and Trafficking Data Base, 2019, www.iaea.org/factsheet-2019.

⁴⁶ Pakistan, Bio-Safety Rules, 2005, S.R.O. (1) 336 (1) 2005, Islamabad, 26 April 2005.

⁴⁷ Pakistan, Export Control on Goods, Technologies, Material and Equipment Related to Nuclear and Biological Weapons and their Delivery System Act, 2004, Registered No. 302/ L-7646, 27 September 2004.

⁴⁸ Pakistan, Animal Quarantine (Import and Export of Animal and Animal Products) Ordinance, 1979, September 17, 1979.

⁴⁹ Pakistan, Plant Quarantine Act, 1976 and Plant Quarantine Rules, 1976.

⁵⁰ Pakistan, The Drugs Act, 1976, No. XXXI, May 11, 1976.

Terrorism Act-1997,⁵¹ and Pakistan Penal Code.⁵² Moreover, Pakistan's Bio-safety Rules 2005, Bio-safety Guidelines 2005,⁵³ The safety of bio-related facilities and materials is dealt with Animal Quarantine Act 1979 and Plant Quarantine Act 1976.

Administrative Measures

Pakistan has taken following measures:

- i) Established national point of contact for BWC at Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 - ii) Conducts seminars and conferences for raising awareness regarding bio-risk management, dual-use issues of biological materials, etc.
 - iii) Ensures strict institutional oversight on biological research. The implementation of National Bio- Safety Guidelines is based on three levels i.e. National Bio-safety Committee, Technical Advisory Committee and Institutional Bio-safety Committees.⁵⁴
- a. **Regulation of GMOs** – Pakistan has developed comprehensive implementation system for regulating Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs). This is a national obligation under Cartagena Protocol on Bio-Safety, which is signed by Pakistan. In this context, Pakistan has instituted Bio-Safety Rules-2005 and National Bio-Safety Guidelines 2005.⁵⁵
 - b. **Bioethics Committee** is an advisory body under the *Pakistan Medical Research Council* (PMRC) dealing with bioethics.⁵⁶ All relevant research projects prior to their commencement are reviewed by Research Ethics Committee (REC).
 - c. **Code of Conduct for Life-Scientists** is a set of guidelines issued in 2010 for implementation. Stakeholders are encouraged to customize their codes according to their respective roles, within the broad theme of "Science for Humanity" as their fundamental objective.⁵⁷
 - d. **Network of Public Health Labs Network** was launched in

⁵¹ Pakistan, The Anti-Terrorism Act 1997, Act No. XXVII, 20 August 1997.

⁵² Pakistan, Penal Code Act, (Act XLV of 1860), 6 October 1860.

⁵³ Pakistan, Biosafety Rules 2005, Notification Document SRO (I) 336(I)/2005, 21 April 2005; and Pakistan, Environmental Protection Agency, National Biosafety Guidelines, May 2005.

⁵⁴ Pakistan, Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency, National Bio-Safety Centre Directorate.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ *Pakistan Bio-Ethics Committee*, nbcpakistan.org.pk.

⁵⁷ Pakistan, Zameer Akram, Statement to the 7th BWC Review Conference, Geneva, 6 December 2011.

2007.⁵⁸ The response from this network fulfills international obligations under IHR 2005. It keep studying various trends for establishing disease patterns, and thus also identify at-risk population. Moreover, this system is quite useful in identifying specific needs and health priorities of different areas.

All these measures are designed to strengthen biological safety and security frameworks at national and international.

Efforts in Chemical Domain

Pakistan's has also undertaken significant national measures in the chemical domain that follows as:

- a. **National Authority:** Pakistan has established a dedicated National Authority for implementation of CWC at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). It is headed by the Secretary MFA.
- b. **Implementation Legislation:** Pakistan promulgated *CWC Implementation Ordinance* in 2000 that gives effect to Pakistan's rights and obligations under CWC. This is a comprehensive and dedicated legislation that covers all aspects of CWC prohibitions, including declaration obligations, extraterritorial applications, export control regime for scheduled (listed) chemicals, penal provisions, etc.
- c. **Implementation Regulations:** Pakistan has instituted regulatory and administrative measures to prevent both individuals and entities from any proscribed activities. For this purpose, Pakistan has promulgated *CWC Implementation Rules-2010* which is a dedicated instrument in light of the CWC Implementation Ordinance. It effectively prevents and redresses any breach of the CWC.
- d. **Outreach and Capacity Building** is also ensured through an active outreach programme for raising stakeholder-awareness regarding CWC obligations. Keeping in view the threat of proliferation and terrorism, the OPCW and World Customs Organization organize capacity building courses for national authorities and customs services, which are fully availed by Pakistan.⁵⁹ Pakistan also trains and equips border security personnel and all relevant agencies to prevent, deter and investigate transfer of CBRN related material and technology.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *National Institute of Health*, Islamabad, Public Health Laboratories, www.nih.org.pk.

⁵⁹ OPCW News, "Customs and National Authorities Team up to Bolster Training in Chemical Weapons Convention Transfer Regime," The OPCW Headquarters, The Hague, 6 July 2017.

⁶⁰ Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "Pakistan Nuclear Weapons Safety and Security," *Global Village Space*, 27 February 2019.

- e. **Regional Assistance and Protection Centre:** Pakistan has established this Centre at Islamabad in November 2015, which was inaugurated by the DG OPCW. It is adequately staffed and equipped for providing assistance.⁶¹ Moreover, advanced international courses on assistance and protection are conducted here for enhancing capacities of CWC member states. Pakistan has also pledged support to the OPCW in case of any chemical accident/ incident.
- f. **Support for Negotiation to Construct New Non-discriminatory Regimes:** Pakistan realizes that CWC and BWC lack provisions that specifically deal with the issues of terrorism. Therefore, it supports new and non-discriminatory regimes that address such challenges. At the Conference on Disarmament (CD) Geneva, Pakistan supports Russian proposal of negotiating *Convention on Suppression of Acts of Chemical and Biological Terrorism*.⁶²

Conclusion

The challenges of CBRN terrorism and proliferation are significant for international peace and security. The regimes for addressing CBRN related challenges needs to be strengthened, new regimes may be concluded, and must be effectively implemented nationally and internationally. States have to work closely and cooperatively in building requisite capacities for prevention and response preparedness. As per non-proliferation regime, it is mandatory for states to encourage and promote international cooperation. CBRN threats are expansive in scope, and involves numerous stakeholders at national level. On CBRN national authorities, have to adopt an inclusive approach in both planning and implementing response contingencies. Pakistan like other developing states is constructively engaged in contributing to multilateral non-proliferation regimes and initiatives.

Pakistan takes its international non-proliferation obligations very seriously. Pakistan is constantly building its national institutions, facilities and human resource, which are continually shared with international community for capacity building. Both States and international organizations duly acknowledge Pakistan's contributions, constructive approach, standards and capacity. Pakistan's safety and security of sensitive CBRN materials, technologies and facilities is world-class that are legally and institutionally based. The international community and security system can immensely benefit from Pakistan's experience and

⁶¹ OPCW News, "OPCW Director General Visits Pakistan," 19 November 2015.

⁶² "Pakistan Committed to Chemical Weapons Convention, UN Told," *Pakistan Today*, October 25, 2018, <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/10/25/pakistan-committed-to-chemical-weapons-convention-un-told/>.

capacity. Pakistan is a valuable partner in the global peace, security and non-proliferation regime. Being a member and partner in many international regimes and arrangements, Pakistan is constructively contributing to global CBRN security framework.

DEVELOPMENT IN A CONFLICT ZONE: THE CASE OF BALOCHISTAN

Muhammad Shakeel Khan*

Abstract

All over the world, internal conflicts have created challenges for development. Balochistan, one of the provinces of Pakistan, has been facing different forms of conflict leading to issues related to socio-economic development. This qualitative-descriptive research adopts a case-study design for investigating the challenges faced by development practitioners while implementing development projects in Baluchistan, and strategies adopted to overcome the challenges. Four cases that this research focuses on include: polio campaign in four districts of Balochistan, Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP) in three districts, the Refugee Affected and Hosting Areas Project (RAHA) in two districts, and Construction of Turbat- Buleda Road in Kech district. The data collection tools are observations and in-depth interviews based on purposive sampling. It has been found that a dominance of local customs and religious beliefs, security problems, and lack of skilled labour are the main challenges inhibiting development which need to be dealt with by incorporating community based development, engagement with powerful actors, local approach and out-of-the-box solutions.

Keywords: Conflict, Development, Balochistan, BEP, RAHA, Polio Campaign, Local Approach

Introduction

End of Cold War changed the nature of conflict from inter-state to intra-state and since 2010, the number of deaths from internal conflicts have increased worldwide. In 2016, 76 percent of the total deaths in Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq were due to intra-state conflicts. Syria's death toll alone has been 400,000 since March, 2011.¹ Middle East

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¹ United Nations and World Bank, Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict (Washington DC: World Bank, 2017)

and North Africa together, comprising of 5 percent population of the world, witnessed 68 percent conflict related deaths, and 45 percent resulting from terrorism incidents². According to a World Bank report³, the number of countries affected by major or minor civil wars increased from 17 percent in 1960 to 35 percent in 2008, and among these 90 percent have a history of internal armed conflicts. As internal conflicts are increasing, so these conflicts pose challenges for development. A study⁴ illustrates that violence and development are bi-directionally correlated. There are three types of arguments regarding relationship of security and development. As per studies by Crost, Felter and Johnston⁵; Cairns and Bryer⁶; and Hoeffler and Collier⁷, the first argument posits that due to development activities, conflict in an area increases because of different reasons. The second argument⁸ states that development activities in conflict zones reduce violence. The third one (Chou⁹, Child¹⁰) suggests that there is no effect of development activities on security, which means the conflict neither increases nor decreases.

² Paul D. Williams, "Continuity and Change in War and Conflict in Africa," *Prism: a Journal of the Center for Complex Operations* 06, no. 04 (2016): 33-45.

³ The World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development*, (New York: The World Bank, 2011)

⁴ Tschirgi, Neclâ, Michael S. Lund, and Francesco Mancini, "The Security-Development Nexus," *Security and Development: Searching for Critical Connections*, ed. by Michael S. Lund, and Francesco Mancini Neclâ Tschirgi, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010) : 1-16.

⁵ Benjamin Crost, Joseph Felter, and Patrick Johnston, "Aid under Fire: Development Projects and Civil Conflict," *The American Economic Review* 104, no. 06 (June 2014): 1833-1856.

⁶ David Bryer & Edmund Cairns, "For Better? For Worse? Humanitarian Aid in Conflict1," *Development in Practice* 7, no. 4, (1997): 363-374, doi: 10.1080/09614529754152.

⁷ Paul Hoeffler, Anke Collier, "On Economic Causes of Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 50, no. 04 (1998): 563-573.

⁸ Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter, "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *Journal of Political Economy* 119, no. 04 (2011): 766-819; Andrew Beath, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov, "Winning Hearts and Minds through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan," *Center for Economic and Financial Research (CEFIR) New Economic School (NES)* 166, (2011).

⁹ Tiffany Chou, "Does Development Assistance Reduce Violence? Evidence from Afghanistan," *The Economics of Peace and Security Journal* 07, no. 02 (2012): 05-13.

¹⁰ Travers Barclay Child, *Reconstruction and Insurgency: The Importance of Sector in Afghanistan*. Department of Development Economics, Amsterdam: VU University, 2014.

It has been observed that the countries affected with violence were unable to achieve United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)¹¹ and were lagging behind in almost every development indicator.¹² These countries may not be able to achieve Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)¹³ in the future too, as almost 50% of the poor people in world will be living in conflict zones by 2030.¹⁴ Increasing number of intra-state conflicts, global ambitions for SDGs, and concentration of poor in conflict zones imply that bringing development to such regions would continue to be difficult.

The Conflict-Development Nexus

Internal conflicts challenge development practitioners around the world and researchers are keen to know about development practices in conflict zones. It is feared that countries affected with conflict will for a long time remain far from achieving SDGs; nevertheless, there are ways and means to conduct development activities in conflict zones. This paper explores challenges faced by development practitioners in conflict zones of Balochistan, and suggests strategies to be applied in order to overcome challenges and ensure development.

Conceptual Framework for Implementation of Development Projects in Conflict Zones

The conceptual framework is based on 'Greed theory of Conflict' by Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler,¹⁵ which states that when development increases, violence also increases. It means that initiation of development projects in any area ignites conflict in the project location. When conflict is exacerbated, the parties to conflict may create hurdles for development projects which leads to challenges for implementation of development projects in the field. So, after emergence of conflict, challenges are bound to surface and to counter these challenges development practitioners in the field use different strategies.

¹¹ United Nation Development Programme, "Millennium Development Goals," accessed on February 17, 2020, https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sdgooverview/mdg_goals.html.

¹² Deepa Narayan, and Patti Petesch, *Moving out of Poverty: Rising from the Ashes of Conflict* (Washington, DC: World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

¹³ Sustainable Development Goals, "Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development," accessed on February 18, 2020, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>.

¹⁴ OECD, *States of Fragility 2015: Meeting Post-2015 Ambitions* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264227699-en>.

¹⁵ Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," (policy researchworking paper 2355, The World Bank Development Research Group, May 2000), <http://www.ihmsaw.org/resourcefiles/1260034024.pdf>.

Challenges in the Implementation of Development Projects

The implementation of development activities in conflict zones is subject to numerous difficulties or challenges. The most important challenge faced is a lack of understanding about the culture of the project-area; many projects fail due to this challenge as misperceptions arise among people which act as hurdles to implementation.¹⁶ Further, during the execution of development projects in conflict zones, there is the issue of 'lack of skilled staff'¹⁷, since most skilled labour migrates from conflict zones to peaceful settlements to find jobs. Corruption is another challenge for carrying out development projects in conflict zones¹⁸ because there is a lack of institutions of accountability in these areas. When accountability bodies do not work embezzlement of development funds is an easy job.

Strategies for Implementation of Development Projects in Conflict Zones

Although, there are difficulties associated with the implementation of development projects in conflict zones but strategies to counter these may be devised. The UN and World Bank joint document *Pathways for Peace* states that each conflict is unique in its nature with roots embedded in a specific culture and area.

First, development projects can be contracted out to organizations having experience of working in conflict zones;¹⁹ the local people may have a positive perception about that intermediary organization (be it

¹⁶ Noor Elahi, Ingrid L.P. Nyborg, and Bahadar Nawab, "Participatory Development Practices: A Critical Analysis of Gender Empowerment and Development in Pre- and Post-crises Swat, Pakistan," *Forum for Development Studies* 42, no. 02 (2015): 333-356; Mahmood Monshipouri, "NGOs and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan," *International Peacekeeping* 10, no. 01 (2003): 138-155; Adam Burke, "Peacebuilding and Rebuilding at Ground Level: Practical Constraints and Policy Objectives in Aceh," *Conflict, Security & Development* 8, no. 01 (2008): 47-69.

¹⁷ Neavis Morais, and Mokbul Morshed Ahmad, "Sustaining Livelihoods in Complex Emergencies: Experiences of Sri Lanka," *Development in Practice* 20, no. 01 (2010): 5-17.

¹⁸ Yuliya G. Zabyelina, "Buying Peace' in Chechnya: Challenges of Post- Conflict Reconstruction in The Public Sector," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 8, no. 03 (2013): 37-49.

¹⁹ Kuniko Ashizawa, "Japan's Approach to Peacebuilding in Afghanistan: Money, Diplomacy and the Challenges of Effective Assistance," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 9, no. 03 (2014): 1-16; Muhammad Ammad Khan, Nazish Kanwal, and Libin Wang, "Violent Attacks on Education in the Tribal Areas of Pakistan and the Role of NGOs in Providing Educational Services," *Conflict, Security & Development* 18, no. 02 (2018): 113-136.

local semi- or non-governmental). Second, for completing development projects in conflict zones, practitioners may temporarily ally with powerful elites in the project area²⁰ resulting in local support from the people of that area.²¹ Fundamentally, project success is dependent on local support, which can be obtained in any way. Third, having local support means that people can participate in the decision-making regarding the projects implemented for them. This leads to a participatory approach in project execution.²² Fourth and last strategy is to provide basic rights to the people of project area before execution of original project²³; this may create a positive perception about the project. This strategy is useful when a large-scale project is being carried out in conflict zones.

Inter-relationship between Development and Conflict in Balochistan

The security situation in Pakistan has deteriorated during the last decade and more than 50,000 people, including civilians and law enforcement personnel, have been killed. Despite 16 percent decline as compared to 2016, 370 terrorist attacks were reported in 2017 resulting in 815 deaths and 1736 injuries. Militant groups with religious, nationalist and sectarian motives carried out these attacks. In 2017, Balochistan²⁴ remained the most affected region as it suffered 44 percent of the total

²⁰ Jonathan Goodhand, and Peter Chamberlain, "'Dancing with the Prince': Ngo's Survival Strategies in the Afghan Conflict," *Development in Practice* 6, no. 03 (1996): 196-207; Christopher Cramer, Jonathan Goodhand, and Robert Morris, *Evidence Synthesis: What Interventions have been Effective in Preventing or Mitigating Armed Violence in Developing and Middle-Income Countries?* (London: Department for International Development, 2016)

²¹ Diloru Kadirova, "Implementation of Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Aid Initiatives: Evidence from Afghanistan," *Journal of International Development* 26, no. 06 (2014): 887-914.

²² Ariel Delaney, "Endogenous Development in Somalia: Bridging the Gap between Traditional and Western Implementation Methodologies," *Development in Practice* 24, no. 5-6 (2014): 714-721.

²³ Pamina Firchow, "Must Our Communities Bleed to Receive Social Services? Development Projects and Collective Reparations Schemes in Colombia," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 8, no. 03 (2013): 50-63; Linda Agerbak, "Breaking the Cycle of Violence: Doing Development in Situations of Conflict," *Development in Practice* 1, no. 03 (1991): 151-158.; Hamish Nixon, and Richard Mallett, *Service Delivery, Public Perceptions and State Legitimacy: Findings from the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium* (London: Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium, 2017).

²⁴ Government of Balochistan, "About Balochistan," accessed on 18th February, 2020, https://www.balochistan.gov.pk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=37&Itemid=783.

attacks in Pakistan.²⁵ Although there has been a decrease in overall terrorist attacks in Pakistan but in Balochistan the situation is still grave. In 2016 alone, three suicide attacks at different localities in Balochistan killed 180 people. In the north of Balochistan religious militancy is on the rise; while in the Southern areas, where nationalist separatist insurgents are dominant, though their strength is decreasing with the time but they still are considered long-term threats. Nationalist insurgent groups are active in many districts of Balochistan, mostly in Makran division including Gwadar District - the pivot of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.²⁶ Due to security problems in the past and present, infrastructure and social development have remained a challenge in Balochistan. For example in 2018-19, the literacy rate in Balochistan remained 55.5 percent, as compared to 64.7 percent in Punjab, 62.2 percent in Sindh and 55.3 percent in KPK. Similarly, during the same year, the measles Supplemental Immunization Activities (SIAs) coverage in Balochistan remained 96 percent as compared to 102 percent in Sindh, 100 percent in KPK and 96 percent in Punjab.²⁷ The Baloch people are not willing to accept mega projects because first, they see it as a threat to their social and cultural milieu; and secondly, the influx of workers from other provinces will alter their demography. Therefore, mega infrastructure projects are resisted by Baloch insurgents.²⁸ Moreover, due to religious, nationalist and sectarian militancy, the completion of development projects such as CPEC, poses as big a challenge as an opportunity for future socio-economic uplift of the province. Although security measures have been taken for CPEC-related projects but still Chinese workers have been killed in Balochistan and Sindh.²⁹

²⁵ Muhammad Amir Rana, "Overview of Security Situation in 2017," Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) Research Journal Conflict & Peace Studies 10, no. 1 (2018): 17-24.

²⁶ China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), "Introduction," accessed on 18th February, 2020, <http://cpec.gov.pk/>; Shahzada Zulfiqar, "Bloodshed in Balochistan," in Pakistan Security Report 2016, Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), 2017: 115-121)

²⁷ Finance Division, Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Economic Survey, 2018-19, Survey, Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2019.

²⁸ Alok Bansal, "Factors Leading to Insurgency in Balochistan," Small Wars & Insurgencies 19, no. 02 (2008): 182-200.

²⁹ Safder Sial, "CPEC Security Developments in 2016," in Pakistan Security Report 2016, by Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), 2017: 101-108)

Methodology

This is a qualitative research based on interpretation and description of non-numeric data. Case study design has been used to study in detail the relationship between conflict and development in Balochistan. For this research, four case studies/development projects have been selected, implemented in conflict zones of Balochistan based on the nature of projects. Two are social sector projects: polio campaign in Balochistan and Balochistan Education support Project (BEP). The other two are infrastructure projects including Refugee Affected and Hosting Areas Project (RAHA), and construction of Turbat- Buleda Road.

The data has been collected from development practitioners who have experience in implementation of development projects in conflict zones. The sample size for this research is 40; ten personnel from each project. The entire sample was interviewed using semi-structured interviews. Most of the interviews were conducted in Quetta, and some in Pishin – all in July 2018. Purposive Sampling of two kinds has been used for sample selection: fixed purposive sampling that helps in having sample units before start of field work (for sample types 1 and 3 listed below), and sequential sampling that helps find more samples through references and answers of original samples (for sample types 2 and 4 listed below). Four types of people working in conflict zones in Baluchistan have been included in the sample:

1. The managers, project directors or officers who have executed/ are executing infrastructure development projects
2. The contractors of infrastructure development projects
3. The managers or project directors who have executed/are executing social sector development projects
4. The field staff involved in implementation of social sector development projects

For analysis of data thematic analysis of case study has been used and Robert K. Yin method of 'analysis of themes' has been employed, because it deals with multiple case studies for examination.

Results and Analysis

The data collected for four cases shows that development practitioners faced multifarious challenges in implementation of development projects and had to devise strategies to deal with those challenges.

Case 1: Polio Campaign in Balochistan

In Pakistan, polio vaccination started in 1994 and formal campaigns were initiated in 1996 in specified centres. Till date Pakistan has achieved considerable progress in polio eradication, although security threats to polio workers remain a challenge; this is a challenge in all

provinces but in Balochistan the situation is grave. On 18th January, 2018, two female polio workers were killed in Quetta,³⁰ which led to disruption of the campaign. Quetta region consisting of district Quetta, Pishin and Killa Abdullah, is most security sensitive with maximum number of reported cases. This region has been designated as 'Tier 1', which means that it is a high risk area for polio campaigns.³¹

Challenges

Data collected through interviews suggests that the challenges confronted by Polio workers in the field include repeated campaigns, religion-based refusals, spill-over effects, and social media propaganda. Examples across the world suggest that after three or four campaigns polio gets eradicated, however, in Pakistan the case differs. Due to repeated rounds of polio campaigns people get suspicious of polio vaccines which are given twice or thrice in a month. As shared by a polio vaccinator: "When we go for polio vaccination, people ask too much questions about repeated campaigns and get suspicious of us. The response of people (community) is really disturbing for us in existing environment of fear".³² Many people in Balochistan refuse to vaccinate their children due to religious reasons as shown by this interview response:

There are sermons of religious scholars that in polio drops there are ingredients which are prohibited in Islam and misconception that it will make children impotent. There is propaganda that in polio drops there are ingredients of pork. Even sometimes educated people refuse to vaccinate their children. Majority of religious refusals are in Quetta, Pishin and Killa Abdullah.³³

There is spill-over effect of polio virus, which means that Afghanistan and Pakistan are mutually dependent on each other for eradication of polio, as each day thousands of people from both sides cross the border for trade and other purposes. In simple words, polio in Pakistan can't be eradicated without its eradication in Afghanistan as stated by this interviewee:

³⁰ Syed Ali Shah, "2 Female Polio Workers Shot Dead in Quetta," *Dawn*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1383730>.

³¹ End Polio Pakistan, "Latest on Polio," accessed July 31, 2018, <http://www.endpolio.com.pk/>

³² Fahmida Ahmed, (Polio Vaccinator, EOC Quetta Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 12, 2018.

³³ Nawaz Bugti (Chief of Section, Health, Planning and Development Department, Government of Balochistan), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 9, 2018.

Polio cannot be totally eradicated from Pakistan because of spill-over effect from Afghanistan and the same is true for Afghanistan due to the reason that thousands of people cross borders of both countries on a daily basis. Further, if a single case is not found in Balochistan, it can still not be declared polio free because people travel from one province to another province and there are chances that a virus affected child may transmit it to another province.³⁴

There is also propaganda against polio campaigns on social media that's why people hesitate to vaccinate their children with polio drops. One polio worker states that "When we go to field people ask too much questions about credibility of polio campaigns. These questions are based on contents of propaganda available on social media".³⁵

Response Strategies

The strategies being used to counter these challenges include: community-based vaccination, engagement of religious scholars, awareness campaigns, and campaigns at grassroots level. To overcome the obstacles faced by repeated campaigns, polio administration hired local polio workers in the Quetta region. This approach is referred to as community-based vaccination. According to an administrative official:

Almost 4000 workers have been hired for Quetta region. The purpose of this is risk reduction, as polio workers can move freely in those streets as they are known by members of that community. Further, polio workers do not have to travel on vehicles to perform their duties. This means that 'local approach' was used because local support is needed to perform any activity. Due to community based vaccination, there is social mobilization within the community. Some years ago polio refusals were around 15000 to 20000 but now at maximum there are 2000 refusals.³⁶

To counter refusals based on religious grounds, religious scholars have been engaged in polio campaigns to raise awareness in people regarding polio vaccination, as one of the interviewees revealed:

The religious *ulemas* (scholars) are engaged in polio awareness campaigns. For this purpose, 'provincial scholar task force' and 'religious support persons' are designated to resolve religious issues. In provincial task force, well-known religious scholars work to mitigate religious misconceptions regarding polio vaccination on the provincial level. In addition, in 'religious support persons',

³⁴ Jamil Khan (Monitoring Officer, Provincial EOC), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 12, 2018.

³⁵ Arslan Baloch (Polio Worker, EOC Quetta Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 12, 2018.

³⁶ Bilal Khan (Monitoring Officer, EOC Quetta Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 11, 2018.

local level religious scholars are hired to spread awareness about benefits of polio vaccination.³⁷

To overcome propaganda on the social media and through other means, awareness campaigns have been launched to counter misconceptions regarding polio vaccination as stated by this official:

First of all, there is mobilization by polio workers during vaccination campaigns, in which they tell people that polio drops are not dangerous for health of children. Secondly, religious scholars are engaged to counter religious refusals. Thirdly, there are advertisements regarding benefits of polio vaccination by government of Pakistan on print, electronic and social media. Fourthly, people are also informed about benefits of polio vaccination at local level through advertisements at billboards in cities.³⁸

In order to counter challenge of administrative bottle-necks, nowadays polio campaigns are performed at district level but before that, polio drops were given at selected centres of the city. The launching of polio campaigns at district level has made the task easy as this statement shows:

We [Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI)] provide vaccines and other equipment to Deputy Commissioner, and then a committee is formed at district level called District Polio Control Room (DPCR) in the DC³⁹ office. All DPCR meetings of pre and post campaigns are chaired by DC. In these meetings DHO⁴⁰ and district representatives of donors are to be present. Before campaigns DPCR meeting is held, targets are set and at the end of campaign, again meeting is called, and day-to-day progress of campaign is analysed.⁴¹

Case 2: Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP)

The Balochistan Education support Project (BEP) is funded by Global Partnership for Education (GPE) with a grant of US \$34 million. It started in 2015 and was implemented with the help of World Bank,

³⁷ Dr. Aftab (Coordinator, EPI Balochistan), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 9, 2018.

³⁸ Bilal Khan (Monitoring Officer, EOC Quetta Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 11, 2018.

³⁹ Finance Department, Government of Balochistan, "Officers in Category-II: The Balochistan Delegation of Financial Powers and Re-Appropriation Rules, 2019," accessed on February 18, 2020, <https://www.balochistan.gov.pk/>.

⁴⁰ Health Department, Government of Balochistan, "Provincial Setup," accessed on February 18, 2020, <https://www.balochistan.gov.pk/>.

⁴¹ Dr Aftab (Coordinator, EPI Balochistan), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 9, 2018.

Education Department of Government of Balochistan (GoB) and United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Further, Education Department, GoB has established Project Management Unit (PMU) to manage and implement project activities. The project is being implemented in all districts of Balochistan. There are three main components of the project which include: access and equity, quality and increased accountability, and technical assistance for management and monitoring.

The results of in-depth interviews show that there are some challenges encountered by project staff of 'Balochistan Education Support Project' in the field, along with strategies being adopted to cope with the challenges.

Challenges

Irresponsible attitude of the community, government's slow response and misperceptions about NGOs are the major challenges faced by this project. It has been found that the community's response to project staff involved in coordination of project activities is not good:

Some members of the community do not allow construction of schools and have disputes with contractors. Secondly, sometimes there are problems of land acquisition from the community because when the school was built no formal agreement was signed with the community. These things are creating problems for us, said a social organizer.⁴²

The government's response towards project activities is very slow:

The response of staff of Education Department is not encouraging as they are not interested that a parallel system should run successfully. The teachers' unions do not welcome such initiatives because it is undermining their authority. Further, government has slow process of performing tasks.⁴³

People's perception about NGOs is not very positive particularly in Pashtun areas due to religious orthodoxy: In many areas, religious people are not allowing co-education system and are not coordinating with our staff as they think that project activities are being handled by NGOs. In one of the schools, religious scholar of the area demanded for enrolment of children of his immediate family instead of the whole public. Due to this situation, we cancelled school related project activities.⁴⁴

⁴² Gulab Khan (Social Organizer, SPO Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 20, 2018.

⁴³ Asmat Zehri (Education Officer, BEP Khuzdar Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 16, 2018.

⁴⁴ Hameed Khan (Monitoring Officer-II, BEP Quetta Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 16, 2018.

Counter-Strategies

The strategies adopted for successful implementation of the project are: community support process (CSP), implementation through local organizations and real time monitoring system. To overcome irresponsible attitude of the community, the project started community support process (CSP) for smooth implementation of project activities as reflected by the interviews:

With community support, we identified absent teachers, fined and even terminated through the platform of parents-teacher school management committee (PTMC). Sometimes, we solve problems regarding schools with the help of community support process.⁴⁵

To deal with the challenge of misperceptions about NGOs, the project adopted monitoring of the schools through local organizations of the particular area:

For monitoring of schools, local organizations are hired for the project. In Khuzdar region (Khuzdar, Awaran, Lasbella and Kalat districts), we also hired local partners for monitoring purpose. These organizations hire local people for monitoring of schools. The success of monitoring system is that local people are involved in monitoring system.⁴⁶

To counter the challenge of government's slow response, real time monitoring system is adopted by the project as the traditional method of government monitoring was not providing desired results:

For monitoring purpose project gave me an android device installed with apps. When I visit schools, I used to send pictures of schools and reports of attendance to higher authorities. In this case nobody can influence higher authorities.⁴⁷

Case 3: Refugee Affected and Hosting Areas Project (RAHA)

Refugee affected and hosting areas (RAHA) project started in 2009 and ended in 2015. The project was implemented in two phases: first from July 2009 to June 2011, while second from July 2011 to June 2015. The total cost of first phase was US \$22 million, funded by the Japanese government, while the second phase was sponsored by European Union with 40 million euros. The project aimed to compensate the local communities affected by Afghan refugees by improving their livelihoods,

⁴⁵ Beeberg Mengal (Monitoring Coordinator, BEP Khuzdar Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 18, 2018.

⁴⁶ Asmat Zehri (Education Officer, BEP Khuzdar Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 16, 2018.

⁴⁷ Ghulam Nabi (Monitoring Associate, BEP Quetta Region), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 18, 2018

rehabilitating their social service infrastructure and the environment. Interviews with staff of RAHA revealed that they faced some challenges in the field and had to come up with suitable strategies to deal with them.

Challenges

The challenges that field staff and monitoring officers faced in implementation of project activities included: law and order issues, community's lukewarm attitude, harsh winter weather, and lack of skilled staff. Poor state of law and order was a major hindrance, as shared by a project official: "In Chaghai, when we visited sites for construction purposes, people looked at us with suspicion and perceived us as government agents."⁴⁸

The response of the community was not very encouraging and they refrained from coordinating with the project staff. One of the respondents said,

I have observed that some members of the community have high expectations from the project, so they have high demands for their areas which were not fulfilling the criteria of the project. So such schemes were dropped and for this reason the community resisted and created hurdles in construction activities of the schemes.⁴⁹

Due to the harsh winter season, the construction activities of the project had to be halted, which posed another challenge:

The weather of project locations is very cold in winter season and in peak winter the temperature goes to -10 C. As majority of the components of the project involve construction work, so in extreme winter season it was not possible to work. This season spans over almost four months from December to March. During this season, project activities slowed down, due to which schemes cannot be completed on time, leading to cost escalation.⁵⁰

Interviews also showed the average quality of construction work due to lack of skilled labour:

We were unable to find good engineers. Although, government has provided engineers of good calibre but still they lack technical skills. Due to lack of skilled engineers, infrastructure

⁴⁸ Javed Baloch (Social Mobilizer, RAHA District Chaghai), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 16, 2018.

⁴⁹ Jamal Ahmed (Monitoring Officer, RAHA District Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 18, 2018.

⁵⁰ Mohsin Hasan (Assistant Engineer, RAHA District Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 18, 2018.

schemes could not be constructed of good quality. Due to low quality schemes, project reputation may get damaged”.⁵¹

Remedial Measures

These measures adopted to alleviate the situation included participative development and government ownership. To deal with challenges of law and order and lukewarm attitude of the community, the project administration adopted the approach of participative development. It means that the community was involved in the development process:

We involve the community in development process. Through community organizations (COs), RAHA gave community management trainings to communities of the project area. In these trainings awareness was given to communities to sustain these schemes.⁵²

To overcome slow pace of work or a complete halt during the winter season, and lack of skilled labour, the project was brought under ownership of the government as shared by this official:

Although majority of funding of the project was from donors and UNDP was managing the project but government of Balochistan owned the project due to its significance. For this purpose, Planning and Development Department (P & DD), GOB played key role and helped the project in tackling governmental issues.⁵³

Case 4: Construction of Turbat-Buleda Road (19.12 KM)

This project was included in provincial development budget of 2006 and construction work started in 2009. Initially, the total approved cost was Rs 929.119 million for 19.12 KM, but now the cost of the project has risen to Rs 1472.836 million.⁵⁴ From 2009 till July 2018 the project could not be completed due to deteriorated law and order situation. During construction of the project in 2012, terrorists attacked the manpower involved with the project which resulted in the death of 7 labourers and damaging of construction equipment. Due to terrorist attacks, work was suspended for about one and a half years. The work was again started

⁵¹ Muhammad Bilal (Provincial Coordinator, RAHA Head Office, Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 19, 2018

⁵² Javed Baloch (Social Mobilizer, RAHA District Chaghai), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 16, 2018.

⁵³ Muhammad Bilal (Provincial Coordinator, RAHA Head Office, Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 19, 2018.

⁵⁴ Azmat Budhani and Hussain Bux Mallah, “Collective for Social Science Research,” *Research Collective*, March 2007, http://www.researchcollective.org/Documents/Mega_Projects_in_Balochistan.pdf.

and this time the project met the same fate and two labourers were killed by terrorists and contractor machinery was severely damaged.⁵⁵

Challenges

The discussions with staff and contractor revealed the hurdles facing the project completion, which included, law and order issues, difficult terrain and litigation issues. There are problems of law and order on the site due to which construction had to be stopped many times as per the contractor: "My workers have been killed in terrorist attacks and we faced losses of millions of rupees due to damage of construction machinery".⁵⁶ According to another official associated with the project:

During visit of the road some years ago, we were advised not to go beyond some areas due to bad law and order situation. Even government engineers in the district were not ready to go in those areas for inspection.⁵⁷

Due to difficult terrain, there are difficulties in construction work and movement of equipment:

Although road is 19.12 Km but it is in difficult mountainous range. In such terrain there is need of cutting and blasting of mountains for construction of road. Due to this reason, survey of road proved difficult because very expensive and latest tools were used for conducting survey. Further, when construction of the road started, then first activity was cutting and blasting of mountains for construction of the road. The cutting and blasting of mountains proved a very difficult, expensive and time-consuming task.⁵⁸

Due to law and order situation, litigation battles started between the contractor and the government as discussed by the contractor:

I have filed a petition against the government in High Court of Balochistan because I am not satisfied with existing rates as I have borne losses of human lives and millions of rupees. Further, in

⁵⁵ Nawaz, interviewed by Muhammad Shakeel Khan, Progress of Turbat-Buleda Road, July 7, 2018).

⁵⁶ Ahmed Khan (Contractor, Turbat-Buleda Road), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 24, 2018

⁵⁷ Anwar Jan Shahwani (Monitoring Officer, Planning and Development Department, Government of Balochistan, Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 22, 2018.

⁵⁸ Dilnawaz Dashti (Ex- Executive Engineer, Road, District Turbat/Deputy Project Director, Turbat-Buleda Road), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 24, 2018.

such circumstances the government wanted to change the award of contract, which is unacceptable for me.⁵⁹

Strategies Adopted

Despite the above challenges the field staff used some means to construct some portions of the road. These include deployment of security on site, and allocation of high rates to the road project. To address law and order related issues, security forces were deployed on the site of road construction. Same strategy was used by bringing infrastructure development to foment peace by the security forces of Pakistan in Karachi, Swat and former FATA.⁶⁰ As shared by one of the officials related with the project: "The deployment of FC gave positive results and work was started. In my opinion it should continue till completion of the project."⁶¹ Also, to deal with challenges of difficult terrains and litigation issues, government approved high rates above permissible limits for the project. As shared in one interview, "Government provided high rates for the construction of road so that work may be completed within revised schedule".⁶²

Findings and Recommendations

From the data collected for four cases and analysed, some findings have emerged with regard to challenges and strategies. Development practitioners need to pay attention to these for moving towards successful implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan.

Challenges

Challenges facing development projects in Baluchistan, collectively extracted and generalized from discussions with project staff of the four cases include: dominance of customs and norms, hegemony of rigid religious thought, security issues and scarcity of technical labour.

⁵⁹ Ahmed Khan (Contractor, Turbat-Buleda Road), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 24, 2018.

⁶⁰ Dr. Najimdeen Bakare Khan and Ms. Faryal, "Peace and Sustainable Development," *Development Advocate Pakistan* (UNDP) 6, no. 03 (September 2019): 2-7.

⁶¹ Dilnawaz Dashti (Ex- Executive Engineer, Road, District Turbat/Deputy Project Director, Turbat-Buleda Road), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, July 24, 2018.

⁶² Anwar Jan Shahwani (Monitoring Officer, Planning and Development Department, Government of Balochistan, Quetta), in discussion with Muhammad Shakeel, 22nd July, 2018.

Dominance of Customs and Norms

Majority of the community members were not ready to accept activities of the projects because they thought that these are detrimental to their social norms and culture, hence the community members' non-cooperation with project staff. In case two (BEP), the people showed a negative response with respect to engagement in development activities of schools. In case three (RAHA Project), the lukewarm response of the community indicates that at the initial stage, community members were not ready to accept project activities due to perceived clash with their culture.

Prevalence of Rigid Religious Thought

The results illustrate that people in Balochistan are dominated by orthodox religious thought due to which they cannot give space to development activities which were portrayed negatively by local religious leaders. In case one (Polio Campaign in Balochistan), the challenge of religiously-motivated refusals indicates that people refused to vaccinate their children due to sermons of different religious scholars. They thought that it is a conspiracy of non-Muslims to make children of Muslims impotent. So, orthodox religious thought played a key role in such refusals. In case two (BEP), misperceptions about NGOs in conjunction with orthodox religious beliefs led people to think that female staff of NGOs are immoral.

Security Issues

Several security problems were faced during implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan. Due to law and order issues, project activities were delayed. In case three (RAHA) and four (Turbat-Buleda road), there was a common challenge of deteriorating law and order situation. Due to this deterioration, projects faced delays, wastage of resources and stoppage of work. So due to initiation of development projects, security issues have emerged.

Scarcity of Skilled Labour

For any project's success, technically skilled labour is required, but in Balochistan due to law and order related hurdles, there is lack of skilled labour. In case two (BEP), the challenge of government's slow response indicates that there is an issue of human resource not only in development projects but also in the government. Due to this, government employees respond slowly to the queries of different agencies. In case three (RAHA Project), lack of skilled labour meant that the project could not find qualified engineers for construction work, due to which they faced issue of quality of work.

Strategies

The collective results indicate four strategies which include community based development, engagement with powerful actors, local approach, and out-of-the-box solutions.

Community Based Development

Community is involved in development process, and project needs are identified in consultation with the community. In case two (BEP), the strategy of Community Support Process (CSP) shows that identification of schools in this project was done by the public in response to an advertisement and then scrutinized schools were built. In case three (RAHA Project), the strategy of Participative Development illustrates that for construction of different schemes, community members were involved through constitution of community organizations (COs).

Engagement with Powerful Actors

The results show that in conflict zones there are some peaceful powerful actors, engagement with whom may lead to successful completion of project activities. In case one (Polio Campaign in Balochistan), the strategy of 'engagement with religious scholars' showed that although technically religious scholars have nothing to do with polio campaigns but they were involved because they have a say in society. In case four (Turbat-Buleda Road), the strategy 'deployment of security on site' indicates that security forces were involved for construction of road.

Local Approach

The local approach implies that for carrying out development in conflict zones, it is important that local people be entrusted and be taken as partners in the task of development. In case one (Polio Campaigns in Balochistan), the strategy 'community based vaccination' wherein local people were hired for polio vaccination helped improve public perception. This tool proved to be successful because polio campaign coverage has increased after this. In case two (BEP), the strategy 'implementation through local organizations' shows that to achieve project objectives, local NGOs and organizations can be effectively involved for monitoring of schools.

Out-of-the-box Solutions

It has been found that for conducting development activities in conflict zones of Balochistan, there is a need to apply methods other than traditional ones. In case two (BEP), 'real time monitoring system' was adopted where monitoring of schools was not done in the traditional way of government inspection, rather android devices were installed with apps and provided to monitoring officers for inspection of schools. In case four (Turbat-Buleda Road), the strategy 'allocation of high rates' indicates that

high rate tenders were given to the contractor of the project because of bad law and order situation.

Policy Recommendations

Keeping in view the findings of the study, the following are recommended for successful implementation of development projects in conflict zones of Balochistan:

Community based development

It is recommended that first of all those schemes should be initiated which are needed by the community. Further, needs are to be identified on a priority basis by community members. When needs are identified then schemes should be designed accordingly. Otherwise, externally imposed schemes in any area might lead to increased intensity of conflict in the area. When projects are started with the consultation of community members, then implementation of projects becomes easier. Further, those projects which were based on community identified needs, proved to be more successful. These projects achieved their objectives and were beneficial for the community. Such projects will not clash with cultural interests of the community as well. So, in conflict zones of Balochistan, community based projects have proved to be more successful.

Assessment of Socio-economic and Political Context

Before initiating development projects in conflict zones, feasibility study should be carried out. It should be seen whether the project aligns with the culture and customs of that society or not. Project objectives and activities should not clash with the norms of the society. Secondly, research findings indicate that the project should not damage the religious sentiments of any religion, sect or cast, because religious concerns are dominant in conflict zones of Balochistan. Thirdly, misperceptions within the society regarding the project should be removed from the minds of people through awareness campaigns. Lastly, it must be ensured that a project employs skilled staff for execution of the project, failing that its own performance will suffer. Skilled labour may be found for projects in conflict zones by providing security and attractive pay packages.

Localized Development

For conducting development activities in conflict zones of Balochistan, local approach to development should be followed. It means that first of all, local people should be hired for performing project tasks because they are aware of the local environment. Secondly, they will be helpful in tackling local issues during implementation phase. Thirdly, it will prove a useful tool for promoting a positive perception of projects within society. Moreover, in localized development, project administration can delegate some of their tasks to local organizations. Through this way

implementation of the project will be easy and also increase employment ratio in the community.

Innovative Development

It means that while undertaking development activities in conflict zones of Balochistan, instead of traditional methods, new and innovative methods should be used. It will facilitate members of the community, ensure timely completion of project, and aid in achieving objectives of the project. The bureaucratic way of carrying out development work might lead to delays in performing tasks. So, some new methods should be used, for example in Polio Campaign, one window operation was started instead of utilizing the existing bureaucratic channels due to which the number of polio cases were reduced. Similarly, in construction of the Turbat- Buleda road, rates above government ceilings were given to the contractor due to which work started again. These examples show that innovative methods may be applied for implementation of development projects in conflict zones which might be helpful in achieving objectives of a project.

Conclusion

In conflict zones it is not easy to carry out development activities in a smooth way. There are challenges associated with projects implemented in these areas, as faced by development practitioners all over the world. Balochistan is also a victim of deteriorated law and order situation due to which the development process is facing challenges. The analysis of four selected cases including Polio campaign in Balochistan, Balochistan Education Support Project (BEP), Refugee Affected and Hosting Areas Project (RAHA) and Construction of Turbat- Buleda Road show that project administrations face challenges in the field. To deal with those challenges they adopted effective strategies for implementation of those projects.

In the end, it is recommended that to implement development projects in conflict zones it is needed to focus on community based development, assessment of socio-economic and political context, as well as localized and innovative development.

ROLE OF PAKISTANI MEDIA IN MITIGATING DISASTER

Dr. Anjum Zia*, Hira Nadeem** & Dr. Faiza Abid***

Abstract

When natural disaster strikes, mass media have the ability to gather information and disseminate verified information quickly. In the case of Pakistan, destruction from predictable and semi-predictable disasters can be mitigated if awareness is timely spread to improve preventive, precautionary and rehabilitative measures. The present qualitative study explores the role of Pakistani media in disaster mitigation. The data was collected through in-depth interviews of experienced government officials and journalists. The results suggest that the role of media in disaster mitigation has not been significant during preparedness phase of natural disasters, whereas media coverage was quite appreciable during response and recovery phases. However, improvement is still needed w.r.t. media's role in resource management, providing early warning and panic management. Media coverage can also increase political involvement by making leaders more responsive. There is a need to train media personnel to improve their capacity for understanding key disaster terms and the scope of the hazard.

Keywords: *Media's Role, Disaster Mitigation, Pakistan, Natural Disasters, Awareness, Training*

Introduction

Asia is the continent where disasters occur very frequently. There is no country in Asia that is immune from disasters, though vulnerability to disasters varies. Be it natural disasters,

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environmental emergencies, man-made disasters, or pandemic emergencies, all can seriously affect the health as well as socio-economic conditions of countries and communities. Research shows that more than 95 per-cent of total deaths caused by disasters take place in the developing nations. Similarly, natural disasters cause twenty times more damages in developing states in contrast to the industrialized states.¹

Pakistan is exposed to almost all kinds of disasters. Overall, a significant increase in the number of disasters has been reported in the last few decades. These increasing numbers of disasters have continued to expose millions of people to suffering and poverty in Pakistan. The continuing war against terrorism in the region, internal conflicts, as well as climate change have affected the climate, thus leading to droughts, floods and other disasters almost every year which affect the large populations residing in the affected areas.²

Human beings have a nearly zero control over the outbreak of natural disasters, therefore, disaster management efforts mainly emphasize on impact mitigation in order to alleviate the sufferings caused by them.³ Mass media in today's world has a critical role to play in disaster mitigations efforts because of its ability to influence public attitudes, which in turn can influence legislative actions.⁴ Further, ICT (Information and Communications Technology) serves a valuable early warning tool to alert the potential affectees of a natural disaster. Although, the use of internet can be affected in some areas, yet the ones connected can be accessed to disseminate information.⁵

Pakistani media has seen a quantum progress in the last decade. Today, it has the power to play a vital role in almost every sphere of life. It has the power to influence people; one of the main aims of mass media is to enlighten people and create awareness by sharing information. Although Pakistani media has come under fire for its irresponsible

¹ Nobhojit Roy, Purvi Thakkar, and Hemant Shah, "Developing-World Disaster Research: Present Evidence and Future Priorities," *Disaster Med Public Health Prep* 5, no. 2 (June 2011): 112–16.

² Lubna Rafiq and Thomas Blaschke, "Disaster Risk and Vulnerability in Pakistan at a District Level," *Geomatics Natural Hazards and Risk* 3, no. 4 (2012): 324–41.

³ Deirdre T. Guion, Debra L. Scammon, and Aberdeen Leila Borders, "Weathering the Storm: A Social Marketing Perspective on Disaster Preparedness and Response with Lessons from Hurricane Katrina," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 20–32.

⁴ Adeline Levine, *Love Canal: Science, Politics, and People* (University of Michigan, Lexington Books, 1982).

⁵ Munib ur Rahman et al., "Implementation of ICT and Wireless Sensor Networks for Earthquake Alert and Disaster Management in Earthquake Prone Areas," *Procedia Computer Science* 85 (January 1, 2016): 92–99.

reporting, lack of objectivity, sensationalism and political contamination of the content, yet the role of media cannot be underestimated. Role of the media 'becomes crucial when it reports a disaster state'.⁶ Research has also shown that 'traditionally, during crisis communication, media of news serve as mediator between the public at large and emergency managers. In general, television, radio and print messages travel a long distance and reach a large audience'.⁷

In the past, Pakistani media has played quite an appreciable role in disaster management by motivating the nation to stand united during times of crisis, but it can do a lot more.⁸ There is a need for greater media involvement in disaster mitigation. The Pakistani media needs to specifically focus on resource management, providing early warnings and panic management. It can also increase political involvement in order to make leaders more responsive and can trigger donations from the international community. Information conveyed in an effective manner can contribute in mitigating disaster or in damage control.⁹ Disaster mitigation involves pre-disaster preparation as well as post-disaster response, rescue and rehabilitation efforts with government in the lead role. The role of government includes but is not limited to agenda setting, involving major stakeholders in planning, but also legislation and rules implementation. Media can play a responsible and significant role in mitigation phase by helping out the governments in performing the roles narrated above.

Scholars opine that media plays a leading role in changing the mind-set of society, making it more proactive rather than reactive. Another responsibility of media is to construct credible and valuable messages for the public. Sensational news can reinforce panic, fear, and chaos that may cause greater losses.¹⁰ Moreover, disaster-warning systems do not work independently; mass media has the ability to gather information from various sources and report it to the public after

⁶ Emily Ying Yang Chan, *Public Health Humanitarian Responses to Natural Disasters* (Routledge, 2017).

⁷ Mark Latonero and Irina Shklovski, "Emergency Management, Twitter, and Social Media Evangelism," *International Journal of Information Systems for Crisis Response and Management* 3, no. 4 (2011): 5.

⁸ Muzammil Zaidi, "Poor Disaster Management," *Dawn*, April 23, 2012, <https://www.dawn.com/news/712713/poor-disaster-management>.

⁹ Enrico L. Quarantelli, "Implications for Programmes and Policies from Future Disaster Trends," *Risk Management* 1, no. 1 (1999): 9–19.

¹⁰ Sulman Khalid, "The Role of Media in Disaster Management," *Pakistan Press Foundation*, December 16, 2013, <https://www.pakistanpressfoundation.org/the-role-of-media-in-disaster-management/>.

verification.¹¹ Thus, media has to be more proactive about disaster coverage. There is also a need to train media persons, which will enhance their understanding of key disaster terms and the scope of the effects of a disaster.

The rationale of this study is to analyze the role and importance of media in mitigating disasters. This article contributes towards understanding the possible nexus between media, public awareness and disaster mitigation, and how can this nexus be put to effective use by disaster management authorities. It also tries to establish whether media plays a proactive or reactive role in mitigating disasters, through investigating if media personnel are trained in disaster reporting or not.

Previous studies have established that media plays a significant role in the development and progress of society. The advent of the century witnessed a flux in electronic media including television and FM channels in Pakistan. These channels can reach the public at large and cover almost every part of the country. Today, electronic media is playing a significant role in opinion formation. Media is also establishing an early warning system in far-flung, disaster prone areas.¹² FM radio channels also play a role in providing information and educating the public because they have access to remote areas. Positive media contribution can develop a more healthy community having adequate awareness and preparedness about mitigation of disasters.

Providing early warning to alert communities at risk for taking precautionary measures is an essential function that media can perform in the pre-disaster phase. This requires providing information and encouraging people's active participation.¹³ The intelligent role of media can increase the efficiency of disaster and crisis communication by manifolds and thorough training of media personnel for disaster and crisis communication with the masses serves as an essential prerequisite.¹⁴ The impact of media on disaster risk perception at the end of both public and the government is also very crucial.¹⁵

During an ongoing disaster, media works as a double-edged sword that can have both negative and positive outcomes. On one side, curtailing

¹¹ Havidan Rodriguez, Enrico L. Quarantelli, and Russell R. Dynes, *Handbook of Disaster Research* (Springer, 2007).

¹² Lubna Zaheer, "Natural Catastrophes and Role of Pakistani Mass Media," *Journal of Political Studies* 23, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 207–232.

¹³ Sulman Khalid, "The Role of Media in Disaster Management."

¹⁴ David Plance, "Breaking News: The Role of the Media in Disasters," (Master's Thesis, Charles Town, West Virginia: American Public University System, 2012), 7.

¹⁵ Peter Vasterman, C. Joris Yzermans, and Anja J. E. Dirkzwager, "The Role of the Media and Media Hypes in the Aftermath of Disasters," *Epidemiologic Reviews* 27, no. 1 (July 2005): 107–14.

the spread of misinformation and anti-social agendas is an important part of disaster mitigation efforts as it can have adverse effects on the efficacy of public information and warning systems. On the other hand, a good synergy between disaster managers and media broadcasting centers can enhance effective communication of required messages that promote safety of public and response partners.¹⁶

Many studies on the role of media in disaster response suggest the usage of multiple media types with a special emphasis on social media for communication between the government/responding organizations and the public (e.g, Dethridge & Quinn¹⁷; Fry and Binner¹⁸; Song & Yan¹⁹). This study differs from them in terms of its focus and design. Researched discussing media's role in the mitigation phase is hardly available in the existing body of literature. Therefore, the current study aims to explore the role of Pakistani media in mitigating disasters with special reference to its proactive or reactive role.

Disasters in Pakistan

The word disaster has French origin, which means a bad omen, a cursed star, or a dangerous situation. According to World Health Organization, "a disaster is an occurrence disrupting the normal conditions of existence and causing a level of suffering that exceeds the capacity of adjustment of the affected community".²⁰ Pakistan faces mainly two types of disasters including natural and human induced disasters. Natural disasters are caused by natural events or natural phenomena i.e. earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, avalanches, landslides, cyclones, droughts, river erosions etc. Whereas human induced disasters are caused by human activities, mistakes, actions or experiments; for instance transport accidents, terrorism, oil spills, urban fires, civil conflicts, Chemical Nuclear Radiological (CNR) accidents etc.²¹

¹⁶ David Plance, "Breaking News: The Role of the Media in Disasters," 8.

¹⁷ Lisa Dethridge and Brian Quinn, "Realtime Emergency Communication in Virtual Worlds," *International Journal of Disaster Resilience in the Built Environment* 7, no. 1 (February 2016): 26–39.

¹⁸ John Fry and Jane M. Binner, "Elementary Modelling and Behavioural Analysis for Emergency Evacuations Using Social Media," *European Journal of Operational Research* 249, no. 3 (March 16, 2016): 1014–23.

¹⁹ Xiaolong Song and Xiangbin Yan, "Influencing Factors of Emergency Information Spreading in Online Social Networks: A Simulation Approach," *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* 9, no. 1 (2012).

²⁰ World Health Organization, "Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic Violence against Women," (Geneva: World Health Organization, 2001).

²¹ Sayeeda Amber Sayed and Pedro Arcos González, "Flood Disaster Profile of Pakistan: A Review," *Science Journal of Public Health* 2, no. 3 (2014): 144–49.

Disasters mostly come without early warnings but floods and droughts take gradual course and do not cause rapid destruction. The damage caused can be prevented or reduced if proper measures are taken in advance. If the institutions are strengthened and communication media are used properly for this purpose, it can create a difference. Pakistan stands fourth in the world rankings of disaster prone regions, where 11,872,500 people are living in vulnerable areas. Earthquakes, floods, landslides, droughts, cyclones and avalanches are the natural disasters that repeatedly affect Pakistan.²²

Pakistan has been facing disasters since its inception and has experienced massive destruction at the hands of both natural and man-made disasters throughout history. From the year 2000 till date, Pakistan has faced 97 major and minor catastrophes with 83,073 dead, 52,975,809 affected and a total loss of around US \$ 25,752,648, according to Emergency Event Database.²³

Out of these 97 natural disasters, 50 were floods which proves that these are permanent source of threat to lives, materials, resources and infrastructure. Floods and droughts have become a regular part of our national life.²⁴ Out of all climatic disasters, floods have been striking the country almost every year. Floods and droughts are traceable, which makes them predictable. Out of all the natural hazards that Pakistan has faced in 21st century, the deadliest predictable disasters were the floods in 2010 and the Thar drought in 2014. These catastrophes are distinct in terms of the damage they caused and lives they affected.

Disaster management in Pakistan has largely remained disappointing. Factors responsible for its unsatisfactory function include lack of resources as well as lack of proactive approach and transparency.²⁵ Pakistani media has played a pivotal role in attracting attention of the community at large towards these disasters that destroyed infrastructure and uprooted millions of people. As a response, National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) and Provincial Disaster Management Authorities (PDMAs) were established to make coordinated efforts for overcoming such crises.

Communication is the key to success in all phases of disaster

²² Shahid Ahmad et al., "Drought Mitigation in Pakistan: Current Status and Options for Future Strategies," IWMI Working Paper 85 (International Water Management Institute, 2004).

²³ Emergency Events Database (EM-DAT), "The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database," (Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters (CRED), 2010).

²⁴ Pradeep Nair, "Role of Media in Disaster Management," *Mass Communicator* 4, no. 1 (2010): 36–40.

²⁵ Irshad Ali Sodhar, "Disaster Management in Pakistan," *Jahangir World Times Blog*, 2011.

management, be it mitigation, preparedness, response or recovery.²⁶ Role of media cannot be ignored in any of the phases as almost 25 percent of all news stories in media are connected to crises, disasters and hazards.²⁷ In one way or the other, media is the fourth pillar of the state. It acts as a communication link between victims, donors, survivors and the public; media is a central force that binds the outer world with the center of disaster.²⁸ Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah rightly pointed that, "the Press is great power and it can do good as well as harm. If rightly conducted, it can guide and instruct public opinion."²⁹

According to Pakistan Disaster Knowledge Network (PDKN), media can play a positive role by disseminating warnings, providing information to communities, creating awareness about precautionary measures to be taken to avoid damage, influencing decision-makers and bridging any communication gap. Knowing the information dissemination systems of different media and having an efficient information dissemination plan for disaster pre-warning plays a very important role in reducing losses and ensuring the safety of human beings.³⁰ Media plays a vital role in disaster management by educating the people about disasters through enabling discussions about disaster preparedness, response and recovery. Media can communicate information to the people and concerned authorities in order to prevent damage and minimize losses. Information regarding prevention and early warning can help in mitigation of disasters.

Disasters can strike any region at any time. Disaster management includes all steps that are taken to prevent or reduce damage caused along with providing relief and rehabilitation. Government institutions as well as other organizations can provide assistance in disaster management. Some of the humanitarian agencies and public sector departments are persistently providing relevant information to stakeholders but there is a chance of biasness that may mislead and therefore disrupt the whole

²⁶ Anam Muzamill, "A Comparative Study of Natural Disasters News Coverage in Pakistan by Dawn & the News (The Case of Earthquake 2005, & Floods 2010)," (International Conference on Communication, Media, Technology and Design, Istanbul, Turkey: 2012), 1–5.

²⁷ Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time* (Northwestern University Press, 2004).

²⁸ Simon Cottle, "Rethinking Media and Disasters in a Global Age: What's Changed and Why It Matters," *Media, War & Conflict* 7, no. 1 (2014): 3–22.

²⁹ Quaid-e azam, "Quotes," Pakistan, http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/Quaid/quotes_page3.html

³⁰ Nan Zhang et al., "Dynamic 8-State ICSAR Rumor Propagation Model Considering Official Rumor Refutation," *Physica A: Statistical Mechanics and Its Applications* 415 (December 1, 2014): 333–346.

process. Pakistan has a weak disaster management system;³¹ therefore, the role of media in disaster management has gained much importance. Electronic and print media disaster reporting provide required information at different stages for better preparedness and timely response. They also empower hazard-prone communities to hold private and public organizations accountable.

Methodology

This qualitative research has used both primary and secondary data sources. The secondary data was collected through literature review based on media content and practitioners' experiences. Primary data was gathered by conducting in-depth unstructured interviews with sources having experience related to disaster management and media.³² In-depth interviews are appropriate for acquiring deeper knowledge about the subject under study.³³ The respondents belonged to top or mid-level hierarchy of the disaster-managing authorities or media organizations.

Findings and Analysis

Findings are presented below on the basis of themes selected while interviewing the respondents.

Importance of media in disaster management

On this theme, majority of the respondents said that media has a significant role in our lives as people take aspirations from it. All the respondents agreed upon the importance and significant role of media in creating awareness about social and current issues. Media plays a critical role in social reform of a country; without its support no task can be accomplished in this age.³⁴ Therefore, it has importance in spreading public awareness regarding predictable disasters as the damage caused by them can be mitigated. Mass media can play an important role both before and after the disaster. Mass media have some definite characteristics that make them beneficial for disaster communication.³⁵

³¹ Sayeeda Amber Sayed and Pedro Arcos González, "Flood Disaster Profile of Pakistan: A Review."

³² Robert G. Burgess, "The Unstructured Interview as a Conversation," in *Field Research* (Routledge, 2003), 107–10, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203379998-25>.

³³ Lubna Zaheer, "Print Media Coverage of Natural Disasters and Its Impact on Disaster Management in Pakistan (The Case of Earthquake 2005, Flood 2010 and Famine 2014)," (PhD Thesis, Lahore, University of the Punjab, 2015).

³⁴ Ali Zarqa, "Media Myths and Realities in Natural Disasters," *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2013): 125–33.

³⁵ Pradeep Nair, "Role of Media in Disaster Management."

However, one of the respondents Syed Eusaf Viqar, Deputy Director, Response, National Disaster Management Authority (NIDM) stated that 'although media has a role in spreading awareness but for media, mostly, bad news is news'. He further said that 'basically media's role is to sensitize about issues like disaster management but this role hasn't been played effectively'.³⁶ Similarly, another respondent Brig (R) Sajid Naeem, Senior Capacity Building Specialist, National Institute of Disaster Management (NIDM) said that, 'Media covers disaster when news value develops after an event occurs not before that for awareness. Media doesn't give solutions to the problems. The change doesn't come overnight. Just by briefly highlighting an issue, it cannot be solved'.³⁷

Majority of the respondents agreed that 'media coverage revolves around efforts by the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers and government officials. Media does not have a role in policy formation but an important role in advocacy and should be responsible for removing the misconceptions that exist about disasters.' The respondents also informed that 'PEMRA and public service law have announced the policies under which disaster management authorities and media houses are bound to broadcast/print public service messages but most of our private media hardly follows it.'

In the view of interviewee, Brig. Sajid Naeem, Senior Capacity Building Specialist, NIDM, there are two phases of disaster management: pre- and post- disaster management, in both of which print and electronic media is used. He explained, 'Pre is preparatory phase and post is called response phase. Preparatory phase starts from risk assessment i.e. to assess that what type of issues are being faced by the vulnerable community.' He further said that these issues have to be highlighted by the media.³⁸ Majority of the respondents stated that 'media's role is positive in terms of highlighting the issue but in order to take the credit of breaking news, it creates panic or frustration among the general public during the disaster. During an ongoing disaster, accurate information is more important than timely information'. The respondents pointed out, 'Media should follow the standpoint and perspective of the disaster management authority.'

Findings show that National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), District Disaster Management Authorities (DDMAs) and Provincial Disaster Management Authorities (PDMAs) have developed a

³⁶ Syed E. Viqar, (Deputy Director Response, National Disaster Management Authority (NIDM)) in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Prime Minister House, NDMA office, Islamabad, July 26, 2017.

³⁷ Brig. Sajid Naeem, (Senior Capacity Building Specialist, (National Institute of Disaster Management (NIDM))), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, NIDM, Islamabad, July 30, 2017.

³⁸ Ibid.

system to communicate/use media for pre and post disaster phases. But, unfortunately, media is not sensitized to play an effective role during the pre-disaster phases. The information or warnings are shared with the masses after the news value develops depending on the policy of the organization. A study by Zubair Ahmed concludes that a strong political commitment is required to mitigate the disasters in Pakistan. His research considers the socio-political situation of Pakistan where the legislature, the judiciary and the executive are pillars of government, while the establishment, civil society (including international organizations) and media are the undeclared pillars of government.³⁹

Media and Disaster Management in Pakistan

Regarding the nexus between media and disaster management in Pakistan, Deputy Director Media, National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), Syed Eusaf Viqar said, 'NDMA established a media cell in 2014 with a proper team that monitors media coverage. District Disaster Management Authorities (DDMAs) and Provincial Disaster Management Authorities (PDMAs) all are connected with media focal persons along with NDMA. Under the 18th Amendment, disaster management was devolved to the provinces with the centre having a coordinating role. In the event of a disaster, DDMAs have to respond first, then it would be PDMA's turn to respond and finally NDMA gets involved.'⁴⁰

A respondent from media, Dr. Waqar Chaudhary, Resident Editor Pakistan Observer Lahore, Former Regional Director, Associated Press of Pakistan added that 'there is no proper coordination between media and PDMA. Media coordinates with disaster management authorities only during an emergency or if NDMA arranges any meeting and shares information about any danger or precaution. The partnership of disaster management authority with the media is very important and needs to be improved'.⁴¹ The media representative including P. J. Mir, Group president, Din News and Media Group Lahore suggested that "PDMA should provide figures and statistics regularly during disasters regarding damage and casualties and stay in touch with the media." He further said that "media can criticize people and government on various points to control disasters such as construction of dams and reservoirs, etc. as a social cause but they

³⁹ Zubair Ahmed, "Disaster Risks and Disaster Management Policies and Practices in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Disaster Management Act 2010 of Pakistan," *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 4 (June 1, 2013): 15–20.

⁴⁰ Syed E. Viqar, (Deputy Director Response, National Disaster Management Authority (NIDM)) in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Prime Minister House, NDMA office, Islamabad, July 26, 2017.

⁴¹ Waqar Chaudhary, (Resident Editor Pakistan Observer Lahore), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Daily Pakistan Observer, Lahore, November 14, 2017.

primarily focus on earning money.”⁴² Dr. Waqar Chaudhary also mentioned that “media sells news information as a commodity and also safeguards its own political agendas”.⁴³

The findings concluded that due to poor coordination between media and PDMA, it is not included in the agenda of media houses to collect information about any danger or relevant precautions to avoid a disaster, which is very important as a social cause. Similarly, the disaster management authorities are not providing relevant figures and statistics regularly to the media. Therefore, the role of media is not effective in this regard and most media houses are focusing on their financial benefits instead of their social responsibility. The data exposed that dependency of media on financial supporters and the affiliations of their owners also constrain media personnel from working freely. A study confirmed the same views that “despite all the roles that media has to play, it can’t be denied that media are also exploited by various sponsors to attain their own vested goals through publicity and image-building”.⁴⁴

Media, Public Awareness and Mitigation

An interviewee, Commander Syed Eusaf shared that “authorities have complete information about predictable disasters. They earmarked vulnerable areas after the 2010 floods and information is timely circulated among media organizations but the media usually just shares it (with the public) through a ticker without giving proper coverage or importance. He further said that “role of PTV (as a state channel) is significant in this regard.”⁴⁵ A relevant study in this regard concludes that providing warnings is undoubtedly the most obvious role of media in disaster management. Media is essential for warnings to be effective.⁴⁶ He further said that “NDMA tries to contact media regularly but media persons do not respond, and only consult and give proper coverage after the disaster reaches extreme proportions. However, it does have some positive effects in the form of increase in rescue and recovery efforts by pleading

⁴² P. J. Mir, (Group President, Din News and Media Group Lahore), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Din News office, Lahore, December 6, 2017.

⁴³ Waqar Chaudhary, (Resident Editor Pakistan Observer Lahore), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Daily Pakistan Observer, Lahore, November 14, 2017.

⁴⁴ Zubair Ahmed, “Disaster Risks and Disaster Management Policies and Practices in Pakistan: A Critical Analysis of Disaster Management Act 2010 of Pakistan.”

⁴⁵ Syed E. Viqar, (Deputy Director Response, National Disaster Management Authority (NIDM)) in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Prime Minister House, NDMA office, Islamabad, July 26, 2017.

⁴⁶ Joseph Scanlon, Gillian Osborne, and Scott McClellan, *The 1992 Peace River Ice Jam and Evacuation: An Alberta Town Adapts to a Sudden Emergency* (Ottawa: Emergency Communications Research Unit, 1996).

charitable actions from the people”.⁴⁷ Although, there are some negatives about the way media has been covering disasters but its importance can’t be denied due to the significant role it plays or can play in all the stages of dealing with any disaster.⁴⁸

Thus, media in Pakistan is not playing a proactive role; rather it is playing a reactive role in reporting disasters, Dr. Babar Alam, Operations Officer, World Health Organization, mentioned during interview. He further said that “media does not warn people about disasters or create awareness about precautions.”⁴⁹ Nashmia Mahmood, Health Officer, United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Pakistan mentioned in her interview that, “communication is the key to successful disaster mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery”.⁵⁰ Accurate information disseminated to the general public, to elected officials, community leaders, and the media reduces risk, saves lives and property, and accelerates recovery efforts.⁵¹ Some of the natural disasters can be prevented if media timely educates people about the consequences of their dangerous activities and hazardous actions.

It can be said that the Pakistani media is doing reactive reporting instead of proactive one. It highlights an issue only when it gets worse as the news value increases. Media doesn’t positively impact preparedness phase of disaster management. The study suggests that media can be helpful in preparedness phase of semi-predictable disasters in terms of awareness raising, evacuation and precautionary measures need to be taken.⁵² Pakistani media’s performance is a big question mark because it has its own issues to resolve. It is more involved in politics than social and other crucial human issues. Further, a journalist’s experience of covering a natural disaster is an eye-opener, but it is also a learning experience

⁴⁷ Syed E. Viqar, (Deputy Director Response, National Disaster Management Authority (NIDM)) in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Prime Minister House, NDMA office, Islamabad, July 26, 2017.

⁴⁸ Pradeep Nair, “Role of Media in Disaster Management.”

⁴⁹ Babar Alam, (Operations Officer, World Health Organization), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, World Health Organization office, Gulberg, Lahore, October 8, 2017.

⁵⁰ Nashmia Mahmood, (Health Officer, United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF)), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Pakistan, Serena, Islamabad, January 3, 2018.

⁵¹ Anam Muzamill, “A Comparative Study of Natural Disasters News Coverage in Pakistan by Dawn & the News (The Case of Earthquake 2005, & Floods 2010).”

⁵² Lubna Zaheer, “Print Media Coverage of Natural Disasters and Its Impact on Disaster Management in Pakistan (The Case of Earthquake 2005, Flood 2010 and Famine 2014),” 116.

because covering from the studio and covering a disaster on the spot are very different from each other.⁵³

Mobilizing the community and preparing for a disaster are the ultimate solution, and media doesn't currently have a significant role in this regard. Therefore, it can be concluded that media's role in mitigating a disaster is not note-worthy at present. On one hand, the data discloses the negatives of media practices and on the other hand, a few respondents believe that disaster reporting and media coverage post-disaster have positive effects as they can increase rescue and relief efforts, attract local financial aid and international donations, and above all it can bring an issue to the notice of the high-ups.

Findings also show that media can hold people accountable not just after a disaster has struck but even before it happens, based on the level of preparations that officials and authorities have made for a possible calamity like floods that occur every year in the monsoon season. Media can question authorities in advance about mitigating measures they have taken.

Media Personnel Training

"Trained media professionals are required in order for media to play its role effectively" as stated by interviewee, P. J. Mir, Group president, Din News and Media Group Lahore.⁵⁴ It appeared in the data that when it comes to disaster coverage, the reporters learn by experience as there isn't any special team related to disasters, and disaster reporting falls under general reporting. Therefore, it can be said that this lack of training causes issues in responsible reporting. A study stressed on the dangers of poor education of reporters and stated that media personnel hardly have any proper education or training regarding disaster reporting and disaster management principles.⁵⁵ Another study concluded that the people from media must be willing to educate themselves and learn the terminologies and practices related to disaster management as proper education related to disasters ensures better performance of media personnel in disasters.⁵⁶

On the basis of respondents' views, it can be argued that there is a lack of coordination and planning by media, as media doesn't co-ordinate with authorities as it should. For this reason, it is important that reporters as well as anchor-persons from all media houses must be educated

⁵³ Peter Vasterman, C. Joris Yzermans, and Anja J. E. Dirkzwager, "The Role of the Media and Media Hypes in the Aftermath of Disasters."

⁵⁴ P. J. Mir, (Group President, Din News and Media Group Lahore), in discussion with Hira Nadeem, Din News office, Lahore, December 6, 2017.

⁵⁵ Sonya Forte Duhe, "Communicating Katrina: A Resilient Media," *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 26, no. 2 (August 2008): 112–27.

⁵⁶ Pradeep Nair, "Role of Media in Disaster Management."

regarding disaster management to eliminate the lack of coordination and emphasize on a proper mechanism for disaster reporting in pre- and post-disaster phases. The study reveals that media has an important role to play in preparedness phase of disaster management. Timely mass awareness campaigns through the media may help prevent and/or mitigate losses due to a disaster.⁵⁷ However, it was found in qualitative data that media coverage is not casting any impact on preparedness phase of disaster management currently in Pakistan.⁵⁸

Conclusion and Recommendations

On the basis of results of this qualitative study, it can be concluded that the media has become an integral part of proper functioning of society. Communication has importance in all the fields and its significance in disaster management cannot be overlooked. Natural disasters are increasing the world over primarily due to climate change, and Pakistan is a disaster-prone country where every year different types of disasters cause massive destruction. Therefore, it is important to find a solution for disaster mitigation through public awareness in pre-disaster phase. However, the findings of this research revealed that media does not play the role that it should play in the pre-disaster phase and it has failed the masses in this regard. Media is not as active in pre-disaster phase as it should be for disaster mitigation.

It was also found that media does not question authorities on time; even the coordination of disaster management organizations with media is poor. The media only gets active during the post-disaster phase. Disaster reporting does help the masses in post-disaster phase by giving information but it doesn't make proactive efforts to reduce the damage in advance that any predictable disasters can cause. The media has become reactive and it hardly takes proactive measures. Apart from this, a major setback is the lack of training and education of media personnel in the field of disaster reporting.

Media should also provide information to people about high risk situations from time to time as a social cause, not making it a matter for more earning. As per PEMRA rules it is legally binding on Pakistani media houses to educate the masses about disasters/risks through social service messages, but news channels and newspapers hardly follow such rules at most times. The findings pertinently emphasize that the mass media can contribute significantly to minimizing the exposure and vulnerability of the potential victims. Hence, it can be said that the media needs to ensure

⁵⁷ Stephen Rattien, "The Role of the Media in Hazard Mitigation and Disaster Management," *Disasters* 14, no. 1 (March 1990): 36–45.

⁵⁸ Lubna Zaheer, "Print Media Coverage of Natural Disasters and Its Impact on Disaster Management in Pakistan (The Case of Earthquake 2005, Flood 2010 and Famine 2014)."

proper planning as well as a mechanism for disaster mitigation awareness and reporting in all phases by taking proactive steps.

Media Houses in Pakistan

Following are some recommendations drawn from the literature review and in-depth interviews of several relevant people: Media houses should ensure that the news content being shared is authentic. They should follow reporting ethics and be sensitive while reporting about a disaster. They should be active in all phases of disaster management. They should train media personnel to enhance their capacity for understanding key disaster terms and the scope of the disaster. Media organizations should set a separate department for crisis and disaster reporting. They should have specialized trained beat reporters for disasters. They should try to be pro-active by using the power to influence the masses, timely and wisely. They should stay in contact with authorities throughout the year and give disaster awareness its due importance.

Disaster Management Authorities

They should have regular interaction with media houses and provide them with important information. They should closely monitor disaster news stories covered by media. They should ensure that media shares timely and reliable information and public service messages. They should properly use all the resources at disposal for spreading disaster-awareness. Relevant laws and code of conduct should be formulated. The laws and rules that already exist should be properly enforced and practiced. They can also increase political involvement in order to make leaders more responsive and trigger donations from the international community. They should formulate effective policies and try to find constructive long term solutions.

Media Users

They should keep an eye on all reports related to potential disaster situations. They should be vigilant and active in their response. They should take the reports and warnings given by media seriously. They should take proactive preparatory measures based on past experiences and reports. They should make contributions in efforts to deal with disasters. They should provide feedback to media houses to focus on this issue more often.

This study opens avenues for future research. Researchers may study the media's patterns of disaster coverage using content analysis method; comparative analysis of role played by different modes of media communication i.e. print, electronic or social media in disaster mitigation can also be done; or an ethical perspective on relation of media to disaster mitigation would also be an interesting domain to inquire.

ROLE OF *HINDUTVA* AND PRAGMATISM IN MODI'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS PAKISTAN

Kallimullah*, Dr. Amna Mahmood**

Abstract

The rise of Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi to the corridors of power has perceptibly increased Indian hostility towards Pakistan. In the domestic politics of India, Bharatiya Janata Party under Narendra Modi has vehemently supported Hindu nationalism, commonly known as Hindutva, which brushes aside the ideals of secularism forming the basis of the Indian constitution. In the foreign policy realm, Modi's government has adopted pragmatism in its relations with neighbours and the Muslim world except Pakistan. Hence there is rising Indian animosity towards Pakistan amidst the reinforced Hindu nationalism under PM Modi. The article examines role of Hindutva as well as pragmatism in Indian foreign policy under Modi from 2014 to 2019. It concludes that Hindutva is the driving force of Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan, rather than pragmatism.

Keywords: India, Secularism, Hindutva, BJP, Modi, Foreign Policy, Pakistan-India relations

Introduction

Foreign policy of a nation is meant to maximise its national interests and is a reflection of its domestic dynamics and interests. For maximizing Indian interests, Prime Minister Nehru grounded its post-independence foreign policy in the ideals of secularism and non-alignment – Nehruvian idealism.¹ During this period India earned the status of world's largest democracy, aided by its secular values and a

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¹ Anirudh Deshpande, "Revisiting Nehruvian Ideals in the Context of Contemporary Imperialism," *Political and Economic Weekly* 41, no. 52 (30 Dec, 2006)

foreign policy based on peaceful co-existence.² Non-alignment remained another celebrated component of Indian policy of this period, which was practically abandoned in the 1970s when India signed a defence pact with the Soviet Union, though in principle it continued for quite some time.

Nehru's secularism formed the ideological basis of the Indian state, in contrast to the two-nation theory of All India Muslim League (AIML), which provided the ideological basis for creation of Pakistan. The concept of 'Mother India,'- India is for all of its inhabitants regardless of their religion, caste and creed was adopted officially and constitutionally irrespective of ground realities. Although it provided some constitutional safeguards to the minorities living in India, but the Hindu majority and Hindu revivalist movements continued to work for making India a Hindu state.

This political idealism and secularism started weakening after the demise of Nehru though the Indian National Congress (INC) tried to continue with the policy but Hindu nationalists started dominating over Nehruvian policies. Indian foreign policy was no exception to these developments. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was formed in 1980 and was brought to prominence through the *Ram Janmabhoomi* movement in Ayodhya, Uttar Pradesh; led by BJP leaders and *Sangh Parivar* including Hindu nationalist organizations like *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS), *Bajrang Dal*, *Shiv Sena* and *Vishva Hindu Parishad* (VHP). As a corollary, the BJP emerged pre-eminently as a right-wing Hindu nationalist party³ leading the movement for the demolition of Babri Mosque in 1992. After the rise of BJP to the corridors of power under A.V. Vajpayee (1999-2004), pragmatism became a feature of Indian domestic and foreign policies. This pragmatism, based on Hindu nationalism however, strengthened the Hindu right-wing influence in politics and *Hindutva* ideology continued to flourish even under subsequent Congress' rule (2004-2014).

Since 2014, under Narendra Modi, *Hindutva* ideology seems to have started changing the very nature of Indian polity -- undermining

² The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, known as the Panchsheel Treaty: Non-interference in others internal affairs and respect for each other's territorial unity integrity and sovereignty (from Sanskrit, panch: five, sheel: virtues), are a set of principles to govern relations between states. As given as the stated foreign policy of India. "Revitalising Panchsheel," *Ministry of External Affairs*, [www.mea.gov.in > articles-in-indian-media > Revitalising+Panchsheel](http://www.mea.gov.in/articles-in-indian-media/Revitalising+Panchsheel), assessed on 13/02/2020.

³ A 2009 report written by Justice Manmohan Singh Liberhan is quoted in this book on page 84. This report declared that 68 people were found responsible for the demolition of Babri Mosque. Most of them were the leaders of BJP, prominent among them were L.K. Advani, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Murli Manohar Joshi, Manooj Singh, Ram Mandir, vol. 1, (Neelkanth Prakashan, 2018), https://books.google.com.pk/books?id=SGloDwAAQBAJ&sitesec=buy&source=gbs_atb, pp. 83-84, assessed on 3/02/2020.

secular ethos of the Indian constitution and challenging the survival of minorities in India. Laws like Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019⁴ and National Population Register (NPR),⁵ mainly targeting the Muslims, threaten to leave millions stateless.⁶

Although successive Indian governments adopted a tough stance towards Pakistan, but the *Hindutva* driven government of Narendra Modi has proven to be quite rigid by ruling out all avenues for rapprochement. The domestic rise of *Hindutva* ideology poses an equally serious threat to regional peace, as the intolerance towards Muslims is evidently transcending from the domestic to the external sphere -- Indian dealings with Pakistan and Kashmiris being a case in point.⁷ Indian government used the Pathankot incident⁸ as an excuse for suspending the dialogue between India and Pakistan. Later, the Pulwama attack⁹ was used as a justification to launch 'surgical strikes' against Pakistan by crossing the international border for the first time after 1971, stirring up the possibility of a direct clash between the two nuclear powers.

Since 2014, Narendra Modi has pursued a policy of isolating Pakistan in the region as well as globally. This was justified by blaming Pakistan for the indigenously motivated Kashmiri resistance movement, labelled as terrorism by India. In its 2014 election manifesto, BJP, using national security argument, pledged zero tolerance towards terrorism by

⁴ Snigdha Poonam, "The 3 Most Polarizing Words in India 'Jai Shri Ram'", *Foreign Policy*, February 13, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/02/13/jai-shri-ram-india-hindi/>

⁵ Bharti Jan, "NPR update begins on April 1, President to...", *Times of India*, February 17, 2020. http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/74166482.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst.

⁶ India Code, "Citizenship Act, 1955 - India Code," [indiacode.nic.in › bitstream › Citizenship.Act.1955](http://indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/Citizenship.Act.1955), accessed on 3/02/2020

⁷ Kashmir is a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. It is on the agenda of UN Security Council, where plebiscite was suggested to exercise the established right of self-determination of Kashmiris.

⁸ It was a terrorist attack and Indian National Security Advisor claimed that terrorist came from Pakistan. Pakistan immediately registered FIR against unknown terrorist on the basis of evidence initially provided by India and requested India to conduct joint investigation. However India called off the process of comprehensive dialogue on the pretext of this terrorist attack. Imran Gabol, "Pathankot Air Base Attack: FIR Registered in Gujranwala against Attackers, Abettors," *Dawn*, February 19, 2016, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1240574>.

⁹ It was a suicidal attack by a young Kashmiri Adil Ahmed Dar in Pulwama District of Occupied Kashmir in which 40 Indian soldiers were killed. Sameer Yasir "Tracking the Path, that led to Pulwama," *BBC News*, 1 May, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47302467>

so-called Pakistan-backed terrorist groups.¹⁰ Before 2019 elections, while BJP showed commitment to having good relations with all neighbouring countries, it simultaneously ran a campaign to project Pakistan as a major national security threat.¹¹ His policy towards Pakistan is driven by Hindu nationalism. In contrast, Modi's pragmatism is quite pronounced in his policies towards the Muslim states of South Asia and Persian Gulf, including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran, Saudi Arabia (KSA), and United Arab Emirates (UAE). Further, Modi's policies towards Muslims in India and Kashmiris in Indian Occupied Kashmir turned out to be even more aggressive than in his first term (2014-2018) – clearly reflective of growing influence of *Hindutva* ideology. This anti-Muslim approach of Modi within India (influenced by *Hindutva*) is also visible in his anti-Pakistan agenda.

This study identifies *Hindutva* ideology as being the guiding principle of Modi's foreign policy vis-a-vis Pakistan, which may have devastating implications for regional peace and security. PM Modi's *Hindutva* obsession is likely to herald a fundamental change in India-Pakistan relations. Even if nuclear deterrence upholds the status-quo in India-Pakistan strategic equation, regional stability would continue to be at stake. Modi's second term in office reflects that the domestic politics would overshadow pragmatism in its policy formulation vis-à-vis Pakistan and is likely to continue if BJP wins the next elections as well. For this reason, *Hindutva* ideology must be understood for comprehending Modi's Pakistan policy.

Evolution of *Hindutva* and Hindu Nationalism

Hinduism is hard to characterize as one unified religion since it is a fusion of different offshoots and sects. Likewise, Hindus follow a variety of practices and religious beliefs, divided across regional, ethnic and cultural foundations. They worship multiple gods based on divergent interpretations of religious writings and celebrate various religious/cultural festivals based on preferred set of beliefs held in different regions and localities. This diversity calls for having a common ground for Hindu nationalism, hence the proposition of '*Hindutva*' ideology.¹² This ideology is often referred to as an Indian nationalist (right-wing religious) movement, which is considered a paradoxical phrase by different scholars. The *Hindutva* ideology also involves the

¹⁰ BJP Election Manifesto 2014 - Narendra Modi, *cdn.narendramodi.in › uploads › 2014/04 › Manifesto2014highlights*, accessed on 16/02/2020.

¹¹ Atiq Durrani, "Pakistan and Modi's Foreign Policy," *Stratagem*, 2015, <http://stratagem.pk/setting-the-record-straight/pakistan-and-modi>, accessed on 3/02/2020.

¹² An ideology seeking to establish the hegemony of Hindus and the Hindu way of life.

integration of social and political ideals advocated by *Sangh Parivar*.¹³ The prominent political branch of this *Parivar* is Bharatiya Janata Party—the modern political manifestation of *Hindutva* ideology.¹⁴ Knowing the beginning and evolution of *Hindutva* ideology is essential to comprehend India's domestic politics and BJP's domestic and foreign policies.

Swami Dayananda, who established the *Arya Samaj*,¹⁵ was known as an adept interpreter of the *Vedas* (Hindu religious text). He believed that their descent from the Aryan race – belonging to Tibetan region – was the actual reason of Hindu superiority. Thus all Hindus living in the Indian subcontinent were of a superior race that had endured despite outside incursions. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (who opposed Gandhi's non-violence movement) was an advocate of Hindu militarism and coined the term *Hindutva*. He also went to jail because of his rebellious movement, charged of crimes against the British Crown. He penned his seminal book during detainment that provides an ideological foundation for the *Hindutva* philosophy.¹⁶ *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu* published in 1928 was his most compelling book, where he delineated the *Hindutva* philosophy and distinguished it from the traditional concept of Hinduism.¹⁷

Hindutva ideology was mainly concerned with countering two rising threats: foreign influences including British rule and proselytizing of lower caste Hindus by Christians and Muslims. This was evident in Savarkar's public addresses¹⁸ where he encouraged his supporters to battle against foreign influence and to be a true Hindu. Golwalker in his book warns the foreigners in India that:

The foreign races in Hindustan must adopt the Hindu culture and language--- must learn to respect and hold in worship the Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of the Hindu race and

¹³ Martha Craven Nussbaum, *The Clash Within: Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁴ A. Mohapatra, "Out of Saffron Ashes: Revival of Hindutva in India," Honors Thesis (Baylor University, Waco, Texas. 2016), accessed June 10, 2019. https://baylor-ir.tdl.org/baylorir/ir/bitstream/handle/2104/9744/Anuja_Mohapatra_honorsthesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

¹⁵ Arya Samaj is a monotheistic Indian Hindu reform movement that promotes values and practices based on the belief in the infallible authority of the Vedas. The Samaj was founded by the Sannyasi (ascetic) Dayanand Saraswati on 10 April 1875.

¹⁶ C. Bhatt, *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁷ Lise McKean, *Divine Enterprise: Gurus and the Hindu Nationalist Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹⁸ Ibid.

culture and may only stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation claiming nothing, not even citizen's rights.¹⁹

Hindutva is derived from Hinduism, which can be explained as 'Cultural Nationalism' since it is a blend of culture and religion. To promote Hinduism in India, there are many different conservative Hindu organizations working under different names, for example, the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (RSS) set up in mid 1920s, the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (VHP) formed in 1964, and the *Bharatiya Janta Party* (BJP) set up in late 1970s. In spite of working as independent entities, they back each other because of their similar beliefs and motivation. That is why with BJP's government in power, RSS assumed a central role in politics, further aided by branches like political BJP, religious VHP and social and cultural RSS according to their nature of work.²⁰

In search of Hindu religious identity, VHP has created the concept of joint Hindu nation by promoting common historical founder (Rama). It trained Hindu missionaries to preach to the Dalits and declared Ayodhya as the Hindu religious city (in an attempt to imitate Islam and Christianity).²¹ Efforts were made in different time periods to abolish the caste system and other discriminatory practices in India, but hatred against lower castes destroyed these efforts. One VHP leader Kailash Chandra wrote in *Hindu Vishwa*²² that Christian missionaries and later Muslims tried to destroy the caste system.²³ Hindu preachers smartly included Buddhists and Jains into Hinduism, even though these religions emerged as a reaction to Hindu violence against lower castes. By the efforts of Dr. Ambedkar, leader of lower caste Hindus, a large number of Dalits converted to Buddhism; however, Hindu conservatives still called them Hindus claiming that these philosophies (Buddhism and Jainism) evolved within Hindu religion.²⁴ Moreover, a large number of Dalits continued to register as Hindu, despite having converted to other religions to avail quotas in jobs, free schooling facility etc. provided by the Indian Constitution.

¹⁹ M.S. Golwalkar, *We or Our Nationhood Defined* (Bharat Publications, 1939).

²⁰ M. Katju, *Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Indian Politics* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Ltd, 2003).

²¹ R. Thapar, "Some Thoughts On The Present Situation," in *Communalism, Civil Society and The State*, by K. Pannikar and S. Muralidhara (New Delhi: Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust, 2003).

²² Jagdish Chandra Sharda Shastri, *Memoirs of a Global Hindu* (New Delhi: Vishwa Niketan, 2008), 23-27

²³ K. Chandra, *Soya Bharat chete' (India should wake up)*, (*Hindu Vishwa*, January 1990): 13-14.

²⁴ M. Katju, *Vishwa Hindu Parishad and Indian Politics* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Ltd, 2003).

BJP politicians tried to increase their influence over other communities and engender a uniform Hindu culture for their political gains. Previously, Hindu extremists used the excuse of civilising other communities to suppress their culture, calling them *Vanyasis* (residents of jungle) instead of *Adiyasis* (original inhabitants).²⁵ These right-wing organizations taught people in villages about Hinduism. They also brainwashed children in Hindu temples and residential schools to accept the Hindu lifestyle. In the past decade, Christian organizations in tribal areas have been attacked by these extremists. They believe that conversion to any foreign religion and its preaching is against Hinduism and the native culture.²⁶

Contrarily, Gandhi's non-violence doctrine and Nehru's way of governing through the Indian National Congress (INC) forged a different kind of nationalism (based on pluralism, democracy, socialism and secularism) called "the Nehru Consensus".²⁷ Despite being against the beliefs of radical and racist right wing philosophy of *Hindutva*, Nehru's secularism remained very popular for the early decades of Indian history.²⁸

Between 1948 and 1950, RSS was banned, thousands of its members arrested, and others went underground, due to violent activities and connections with Gandhi's assassination.²⁹ Later RSS developed again by restoring its branches and tried reshaping the society under Hindu principles by taking less radical positions under Golwalker's guidance (who did not support RSS participation in politics).³⁰

For decades, the principles of *Hindutva* remained active within a secular democracy, and were partly used by INC and its allies to appeal to

²⁵ Zubaida Zafar, Shoukat Ali, and Sheeba Irfan, "Origin of 'Hindutva' and Its Reflections in Modi's Doctrine," *Journal of Indian Studies*, (July-December 2018), 3.

²⁶ C. Shah, "Ideology, Strategies, and the Experience of Gujarat," *Warning Signs of Fundamentalisms* 9(2004): 61-70.

²⁷ "Nehruvian Consensus under Siege," *The Hindu*, November 14, 2019, www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/nehruvian-consensus-under-siege/article29965455.ece; Sirijan Mitra Das, "Modi Model, a Break from 'Nehruvian Consensus'?" *The Times of India*, May 28, 2014, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Modi-model-A-break-from-Nehruvian-Consensus/articleshow/35649672.cms>.

²⁸ S.W. Hibbard, *Religious Politics and Secular States: Egypt, India, and the United States* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

²⁹ T.B. Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

³⁰ A. Mohapatra, "Out of Saffron Ashes: Revival of Hindutva in India," Honors Thesis, (Baylor University, Waco, Texas. 2016), https://baylor-ir.tdl.org/baylorir/ir/bitstream/handle/2104/9744/Anuja_Mohapatra_honorsthesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, accessed on 12/02/2020.

the Hindu vote bank for ensuring electoral victories. The electoral outcomes till 1990s show that extremist parties like RSS could not inspire the voters at a massive scale, thereby *Hindutva* could not find much space in Indian secular democracy.³¹

Pragmatism vs *Hindutva* Ideology under BJP's Rise and Rule

The Concept of Pragmatism

In the literal sense, pragmatism describes the philosophy of "doing what works best."³² In political philosophy, pragmatism is a concept put forward by an American school of thought that evaluates beliefs and theories on the basis of their success after practical application. Peirce is known as the father of pragmatism, while John Dewey and William James played an important role in its refinement and popularization. Britannica explains it as a philosophy that gained popularity in the first quarter of twentieth century based on the principle that the usefulness, workability, and practicality of ideas, policies, and proposals are the criteria of their merit. It stresses the priority of action over doctrine, of experience over fixed principles, and it holds that ideas borrow their meanings from their consequences and their truths from their verification. Thus, ideas are essentially instruments and plans of action.³³

The opposite of this concept of pragmatism is idealism. John Dewey rejected dualistic epistemology in favour of the naturalistic approach in modern philosophy. He believed that human beings should actively adapt to their environment. In the Indian context, a 'pragmatic' approach to foreign policy means the rejection of Nehruvian 'idealism'. A pragmatic leader would pursue power and material interests instead of continuing India's earlier reliance on 'moral posturing'. The rise of BJP to power was considered as reinforcing pragmatism in Indian politics by pursuing a realistic foreign policy capable of overcoming the gaps left by the idealism of earlier decades. Even in the current scenario, Indian media considers PM Modi as a pragmatic leader capable of bringing radical changes to Indian foreign policy by dispensing with idealism. The idea that power of the government should be used for establishing a Hindu state – Hindustan for Hindus – is the goal of those supporting this approach. Thus the inadvertent consequence of BJP's rise to power was the rise of

³¹ T.B. Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*.

³² Dictionary Definition: Vocabulary.com, [www.vocabulary.com › dictionary › pragmatic](http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/pragmatic), accessed on January 15, 2020.

³³ Encyclopaedia Britannica, "The Classical Pragmatists," <https://www.britannica.com/topic/pragmatism-philosophy/The-classical-pragmatists>, accessed on January 15, 2020.

Hindutva ideology, which the Congress leadership's secularist slogans had been denying all along;³⁴ even today under PM Modi, it is *Hindutva* in the guise of pragmatism that is becoming the core of Indian domestic policies as BJP has provided a conducive environment for its flourishing.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the BJP re-energised *Hindutva* within Indian politics. BJP challenged the secular model of Indian National Congress and gradually started giving a tough opposition to the ruling alliance. BJP came with an economic agenda and gathered popular vote to execute its reform program, while not keeping *Hindutva* on the back seat. Although, BJP leaders had previously supported anti-Muslim violence such as the demolition of the Babri Mosque in 1992, but it succeeded in forming its national government in the late-1990s. BJP managed to execute economic reforms in the provinces it ruled – this helped the BJP-led alliance to gain a majority in 2002 and 2014 elections. In the case of PM Modi, in all of his election campaigns, Modi avoided communal speeches and adopted a moderate approach, downplaying radical *Hindutva* ideology.³⁵ He rather played on the slogans of stability and economic development. Contrarily, in 2019 elections, BJP won an overwhelming majority using anti-Pakistan rhetoric and promoting *Hindutva* sentiments within India.

After successful implementation of *Hindutva* driven policies as the Chief Minister of Gujarat in 2002, Modi used that confidence to transform India into a Hindu religious state under this ideology after gaining national level electoral victory in 2014. Since the BJP sponsored National Democratic Alliance (NDA) won clear-cut majority in 2014 elections, it confirmed that the idea of pragmatic redefinition of internal and external policies was sold successfully to the masses. In his second term, Modi is more confident in taking ownership of his *Hindutva* beliefs while openly rejecting Nehruvian ideology; accusing it of neglecting Indian national interests and holding it responsible for serious foreign policy failures and diplomatic losses which weakened India.

A clear majority of the Indian population bought BJP's political and economic vision as it represented the dream of making India a powerful state on the world stage. Besides subscribing to the *Hindutva* creed, Modi remained pragmatic in his approach towards development. Since 2014, economy has been the government's top-most priority, and successful economic growth has allowed easy execution of more aggressive and amoral policies. Under Modi, India's foreign policy formulation has completely deviated from the patterns of earlier years-- along with a shift from idealism to realism, the impact of Indian bureaucracy and

³⁴ "Pragmatism in Indian Foreign Policy: How Ideas Constrain Modi," *International Affairs*, 93(1) (January 2017) doi: 10.1093/ia/iw001.

³⁵ A. Mohapatra, "Out of Saffron Ashes: Revival of Hindutva in India."

intelligentsia has become dismal. In domestic policymaking, *Hindutva's* influence has increased manifold.³⁶

Since Modi has come into power, fear has risen in Indian minorities as growing intolerance and the new norm of communal violence threatens the ethnic minorities. Many social activists and members of civil society, who believe the communal politics of BJP to be the reason behind religious violence, have raised voices against this. The Ayodhya Movement of the 1990s, the demolition of Babri mosque, and Gujarat riots in early 2000s by Hindu nationalist organisations were the instances of communal brutality³⁷ smartly exploited by the BJP. The history of Hindu-Muslim rivalry was largely exploited by the BJP: it used communal violence as a political tool to increase BJP's vote bank as *Hindutva* ideology portrays the ethnic minorities as threats to Hindu identity. Ever since, India has been transformed into a hell for minorities and a threat for Pakistan, reinforcing the latter's belief in two nation theory.

Given the domestic popularity of NDA's economic liberalization agenda (the larger reason for its 2019 re-election), the sitting regime needs to prove its economic worth – BJP direly needs to take effective measures for poverty alleviation and rural development. Indian politics, by and large, has become a two party system with power alternating between INC and BJP. BJP's emphasis on *Hindutva* ideology in domestic affairs, and steps such as actions against liberal actors, beef bans and communal violence, may lead to changes in the voting trend as manifested by BJP losses in recent elections in Bihar and Delhi. This indicates a tough future competition between BJP and Congress.

In considering the reasons for the revival of *Hindutva* ideology in India and its political mainstreaming, several explanations are proposed. A popular academic notion about *Hindutva's* rise in India is its re-emergence as a reaction to globalisation whose devastating effects created gaps in the political sphere for extremists. The revival of religious politics is a world-wide trend, e.g. rise of conservative Christian groups in the US and of conservative Muslims in Egypt.³⁸ In India, the minorities' rights movements of the 1980s and 1990s are considered another reason for *Hindutva's* revival. Moreover, communal issues including the 1980s Sikh separatist struggle in Punjab and the Kashmiris' struggle for self-determination apparently further provoked Hindu nationalism in Indian

³⁶ A. Mohapatra, "Out of Saffron Ashes: Revival of Hindutva in India."

³⁷ T.B. Hansen, *The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*.

³⁸ C. Kinnvall, *Globalization and Religious Nationalism in India: The Search for Ontological Security* (New York: Routledge, 2006; S.W. Hibbard, *Religious Politics and Secular States: Egypt, India, and the United States* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)

society. However, the coherent effort which paved the way for BJP's rise was the *Ram Janambhoomi* campaign to rebuild the temple of Ayodhya in the place of Babri mosque.

Additionally, a few scholars attribute the rise of BJP to the decline of Congress (in the 1970s and more particularly, the 1980s), which created a political vacuum that was filled by BJP emerging as a strong opposition. India's corporate sponsored-democracy where any party can get power through political patronage can also be counted as a reason for BJP's rise that is skilled enough to grab elite's attention and patronage. The above listed factors have been identified as short-term factors by few scholars and most credit for BJP's success goes to its economic policies and ideology of Hindu nationalism.³⁹ *Hindutva* as an ideology is not only active on the domestic front, but has also made inroads into Modi's foreign policy initiatives and responses towards Pakistan.

Guiding Principles of Modi's Foreign Policy

As identified earlier, pragmatism and *Hindutva* ideology are the two guiding principles of Indian foreign policy under PM Modi, of which the latter is predominantly followed when dealing with Pakistan. Modi has adopted an 'India first' approach – the first priority being the strengthening of national power according to realist paradigm. For that end, he overcame the hesitation to make radical foreign policy changes. India's 'Look East' policy' proclaimed in 1993 was transformed into an 'Act East Policy' under PM Modi displaying his pragmatism.⁴⁰ This was reflected in his economic development plan as well, focusing on having increased international trade and internal reforms to attract foreign direct investment. Lowering of trade barriers, demonetization to control black money, and tax reform have been enacted to make India a business friendly economy.

Despite Modi's non-impressive record of economic performance, India emerged as the fastest growing economy under his leadership; growth rate increased to around seven percent from that of four percent per annum before 2014. Bureaucratic hurdles were also eradicated to make India more business friendly, helping it to rise by 65 places in the World Bank's 'ease of doing business' rankings.⁴¹ International trade ties

³⁹ Kenchen Chandra, "Why Ethnic, Parties Succeed," *E-scholarship*, December 20, 2003, <https://escholarship.org/content/qt0vb620b2/qt0vb620b2.pdf>.

⁴⁰ Suresh Parabhu, "Indian Commerce Minister Defined This Policy as an Effort to Increase India's Commercial Ties with The Eastern Neighbours, while Talking to Press in ASEAN-India Summit," Youtube, January 26, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=805YurMaHzA>.

⁴¹ "How has India's economy fared under PM Narendra Modi?" *DW*, <https://www.dw.com/en/how-has-indias-economy-fared-under-pm-narendra-modi/a-48251747>, accessed on February 10, 2020.

were improved not only for economic dividends but for maneuvering against China. Also, India managed to develop good relations with Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Israel at the same time, for both economic and political gains. One more characteristic of Modi's pragmatism is to attract Indian diaspora by strengthening relations with non-resident Indians and Indian-origin communities abroad.

Simultaneously, Modi administration is keen to promote India's religious and cultural identity, as it is a way of showing adherence to *Hindutva* for the BJP. Though the direct impact of these religious and cultural connections on Modi's foreign policy may be subtle, but it is important. Narendra Modi is personally known as taking Hindu beliefs and traditions very seriously. His decision of contesting election for parliamentary seat from Varanasi, a religious pilgrimage city about 800 miles from his native Gujarat where he has never lived, shows his attachment with *Hindutva* ideology.⁴² The first post-election specific policy announcement by PM Modi was to clean up the sacred, yet toxically polluted, River Ganges.⁴³ He thus has a direct appeal for those who appreciate India's Hindu identity in the comity of nations.

Modi's Policy towards Pakistan

The shift in Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan became evident soon after Modi's election. Initially, there was a display of cordiality when the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif accepted the invitation to participate in the new Indian Prime Minister's oath-taking ceremony in 2014. However, later the Indian PM refused to participate in a foreign secretary level dialogue scheduled to be held in Islamabad around that time. Soon afterwards, Ajit Kumar Doval, former chief of the Intelligence Bureau, was appointed as national security adviser to the Prime Minister of India.⁴⁴ No significant improvement in bilateral ties has been witnessed since then.

Keeping in view the mutual hostility between India and Pakistan, the future bilateral equation might see either a maintenance of status-quo, or a further deterioration of ties. However, relations between the two countries dipped after an exchange of air strikes in February 2019 and India's unilateral adventurism in Indian Occupied Kashmir in August 2019

⁴² In 2014 Modi contested elections from Vadodara in Gujarat, and Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. He won both but chose the Varanasi seat rather than the one from his own state.

⁴³ Archana Chaudhary, and Rakteem Katekey, "Modi Invokes Mahatma Gandhi to Clean Mother Ganga," *Bloomberg*, 28 May, 2014, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-05-27/india-s-new-leader-channels-gandhi-to-clean-mother-ganga>.

⁴⁴ Doval is one of the founding members of the Vivekananda International Foundation- a group of right-wing Hindu nationalists closely linked to RSS.

(revocation of article 370 of Indian constitution).⁴⁵ Since India has not reciprocated Pakistan's peace gestures such as the safe return of Indian Air force pilot and offering investigations and cooperation over all Indian claims of Pakistan's involvement in various incidents, the possibility for Indo-Pak rapprochement under Modi regime appears meagre.

Unfortunately, recent and evolving trends reinforce the second possibility, i.e. deterioration of ties. This time around, under the robust influence of *Hindutva* ideology, the conflict situation has become far more intense and protracted than Kargil or the 2001-2002 standoff. The Modi government continues to adopt anti-Pakistan policies which include: non-engagement with Pakistan at bilateral or multilateral levels, revoking the MFN (Most Favoured Nation) status, boycotting the 19th SAARC summit hosted by Pakistan, and abandoning of sports and cultural exchange activities – all these contradict the essence of confidence building measure (CBMs)⁴⁶ agreed in the 1999 Lahore Agreement. Modi's reference to Balochistan in his speech on Independence Day in 2016, and blaming Pakistan for the Uri attack in September 2016, all point towards Modi's extreme stance towards Pakistan. Similarly, India blamed Pakistan for Pulwama attack on its para-military forces in Indian occupied Kashmir, making it a justification for Balakot airstrikes in February 2019. Prior to these, the arrest and trial of Indian spy Kalbhushan Jadhav complicated the situation.⁴⁷ All these manifest a constantly deteriorating relationship.

India's strategy aims at developing bilateral relations with extended neighbours like Iran and Afghanistan, so as to encircle Pakistan. There are clear evidences of Indian interference in Balochistan using Afghan soil, as mentioned in Modi's speech.⁴⁸ Projects like development of the Chabahar Port in response to the Gwadar Port was an attempt to increase India's maritime navigation in international waters and to counter Pakistan-China strategic cooperation.

There is least possibility of improving relations under PM Modi unless third parties such as the United States or China offer help, and given

⁴⁵ Modi government revoked Article 370 granting special status to Occupied Kashmir and declared it a part of Indian union. To avoid Kashmiris' reaction, India imposed locked down on 8 million people, badly hampering their access to food, medicines, education, telephone and internet services.

⁴⁶ Naeem Ahmad Salik, "Confidence Building Measures between India and Pakistan," *NDU Journal*, 2010.

⁴⁷ A. Ranjan, "Assessing Modi's Neighbours First Policy," *Daily Times*, June 5, 2017, accessed on May 20, 2019. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/8242/assessing-modis-neighbours-first-policy>.

⁴⁸ Manu Balachandran, "Balochistan is now officially an Arrow in India's Quiver against Pakistan," *QZ*, September 16, 2016, <https://qz.com/india/782147/narendra-modis-message-to-the-un-balochistan-is-now-officially-an-arrow-in-indias-quiver-against-pakistan/>.

that India accepts such an offer for mediation. As a matter of fact, the Indian foreign policy towards Pakistan has not been friendly for the greater part of history, but Modi's approach towards Pakistan is ever-more aggressive since his pragmatism is overridden by his *Hindutva* driven beliefs in the case of Pakistan.

Conclusion

Modi's obsessive adherence to *Hindutva* ideology since 2014 has worsened India-Pakistan relations, cutting down any pathways for improvement that could be found under Nehruvian idealism despite recurring tensions. This study concludes that India has selectively followed idealism and secularism in its external and internal policies. But with the rise of BJP to power, its internal policies began to be directed by religious elements to bolster its status as a Hindu state for the political consumption of the domestic audience. Particularly under the Modi regime, whereas in external relations Modi managed to appear pragmatic in dealing with the rest of the world but in the case of Pakistan his extremist *Hindutva*-inspired policies became quite evident. PM Modi in his first term worked to strengthen India's economy to attract FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) and world-wide trading relations - significant not only economically but also strategically- but consistently avoided mending ties with Pakistan. It also improved relations with other South Asian states in its effort to isolate Pakistan.

Confident of India's reliable economic and political relations with all these countries, Modi's pragmatism found the right time to aggressively impose *Hindutva* both domestically and in its relations with Pakistan after 2019. This is evident in Modi government's move to annex Kashmir under the Indian Union in sheer violation of both the Indian constitution and UN Security Council resolutions. It is also extending its claim to Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan which is very provocative and India never did it before. Extreme human rights violations have been committed in Occupied Kashmir by locking down eight million Kashmiris, while the UN, the major powers and the Muslim world have failed collectively to serve the cause of humanity, as it might come at the cost of their vital economic relationship with India. Modi's government, being pragmatic, probably anticipated a weak response – with only voices being raised from a few official forums in solidarity with Pakistan. The evolving scenario is disconcerting as India has suspended bilateral engagement with Pakistan. Hence, there is a rising threat of war where an indefinite standoff may escalate into a nuclear exchange – if this happens, it is not only South Asian peace but the entire humanity that is at stake.

Book Reviews

Book Title: **Hacking the Bomb: Cyber Threats and Nuclear Weapons**

Author: **Andrew Futter**

Publisher: Georgetown University Press: Washington DC, 2018, 216.

Andrew Futter's *Hacking the Bomb* explains the threats evolving from the latest technological domain of cyberspace, a domain of conflict, and its implication on safety, security and reliability of nuclear weapons, support systems and operations. The book and research work by the author is in itself a remarkable piece of study and research of its kind covering a totally new dimension and canvas of cyber-nuclear nexus and security unlike most of the existing literature and research studies which substantially focus on military, legal, and technical facets of cyber studies.

The book comprises of four parts. Apart from the introduction and conclusion, each section consists of two chapters. The main argument of the book is twofold: first, the approach, manner and way of thinking about management and control of nuclear weapons is being transformed by the burgeoning cyber age. Cyber technology is driving broader nuclear security and strategy arrangements. Second, the dangers, uncertainties and risks involved in the cyber-nuclear nexus are amply detailed in the book. The scope and range of these challenges are diverse, such as the safety, security and reliability of nuclear forces as well as command and control systems and operations; intensified nuclear mistakes and accidents; new issues related to information systems security and protection of sensitive or classified information; the cyber-nuclear security dilemma and obstacles; and the set of complications for strategic and cross domain deterrence.

To comprehensively unpack these associated challenges, the author highlights and outlines eight key dynamics and vital themes that flow throughout the book to give depth and context to the author's overarching arguments. First, nuclear weapons and cyber capabilities are two essentially different and distinct concepts. Second, the management of nuclear weapons has always been difficult; and nuclear weapons as well as command and control, and support systems have always been vulnerable to attacks and interference. That said, there is no ultimate solution. Third, there may not be an involvement of cyber-attacks or attackers at all in some of the evolving cyber challenges given the risks of complexity involved in the utility of cyber technology and systems which might go wrong or fail by themselves. Fourth, a range of diverse and distinct cyber threats related to kinds of cyber operations are posed by evolving cyber technologies. Fifth, the capabilities and intensions of actors vary in the cyber-nuclear realm given the two distinct and plausible goals of cyber-attacks: (1) *disabling* nuclear weapons from being used and operations

planned accordingly; and (2) *enabling* nuclear weapons directly or indirectly to be used, launched or detonated. Sixth, cyber domain and operations must not be viewed as a separate domain apart from other traditional military domains of operation but considered part of other kinetic, conventional military or even nuclear operations. Seventh, during nuclear crises, the impact of cyber threats and challenges will be exacerbated and magnified given the time constrained environment and high trigger/alert situation of adversaries located at close geographical proximities like India and Pakistan, and the pressure on decision makers when the nuclear information space is fogged and clouded by misinformation and broader interruptions thereby creating a more complex digitized or cyber-enabled 'fog of war'. Finally, nuclear modernization is a double-edged sword. This is primarily in connection with the rise and emergence of new challenges, issues and vulnerabilities with the development and modernization of nuclear systems and infrastructure; particularly the nuclear command and control, and support systems. Simply put, the more nuclear systems are sophisticated and digitized, the more they are vulnerable to cyber threats and attacks; and the simpler the design and apparatus of nuclear systems, the safer and more secure they might prove to be.

In the evolving and burgeoning cyber age; to highlight, examine, assess and address the multiple challenges to nuclear weapons and systems; this book adapts a four-part frame work that focuses on the distinct dynamics and facets of the cyber-nuclear nexus. In doing so, these numerous cyber dynamics and facets are placed in a broader and historical context to consider what is evolving and changing and what is not, how and why that evolution is taking place, what is latest and what is obsolete etc; thereby providing the foundational grounded basis for analysis, understanding and policy recommendations. The Book under review boasts of a high degree of applicability not only at the global level, but also at the regional level like in nuclear armed South Asia. Future conflicts between the nuclear armed South Asian rivals might involve highly sophisticated cyber technologies and weapons as force multipliers to conventional offensive tools, as well as a source and domain of conflict in itself to target the adversary's national security infrastructure and infrastructure. Cyber capability might be used simultaneously with kinetic conventional operations or as a stand-alone capability which could be launched at a place and in time of a state's own choosing. That said, in either scenario, there is a greater risk and chance of escalation up to the nuclear level which might involve tactical or even strategic nuclear weapons depending upon the death and destruction caused by a cyber-attack.

Notwithstanding, each of the aforementioned scenarios will pose significant challenges to the overall strategic stability of the South Asian region and will have grave consequences for strategic thinking and policy

making keeping in view perceptions, fears, uncertainties regarding the opponent's cyber capabilities and intentions. This in turn, would drastically increase concerns, tensions, and perceived vulnerabilities on both sides, consequently affecting the existing notions and thinking on escalation (complicated escalation ladder leading to inadvertent deepening of crisis), as well as signalling and overall nuclear crisis management.

Reviewed by Sirtaj Khan, MPhil Scholar, Department of Strategic Studies, National Defence University, Islamabad.

Title: Line on Fire: Ceasefire Violations and India-Pakistan Escalation Dynamics**Author: Happymon Jacob****Publisher:** Oxford University Press, New Delhi, India, 2019, 401.

Line on Fire is a book that furnishes an extensive understanding of the dynamic forces at play across the Line of Control (LoC) between Pakistan and India. It attempts to debunk prevalent ideas regarding the reasons of ceasefire violations (CFVs) in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) and problematizes prevalent wisdom about crisis escalation. The author establishes a causative linkage between CFVs and India-Pakistan escalatory dynamics.

Jacob is an academic and teaches disarmament studies at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. His participation in numerous closed-door track-two dialogues on CFVs and escalation dynamics persuaded him to further investigate the matter. Jacob in this broad study adopts an objective approach and gauges the ingrained stances and attitudes on both sides of the LoC with pragmatism and reason. He examines vital facets of the India-Pakistan relationship within the context of the predominant subject of Kashmir. The author has also deliberated on the causes of the breakdown of the ceasefire. His visit to Pakistan gave him a fresh perspective, allowing him to refine his viewpoint and opinions.

The book is based on the postulation that incorrect identification by New Delhi and Islamabad about the reasons of CFVs and the link between CFVs and escalatory dynamics have resulted in the adoption of flawed policies by the two sides for catering to frequent CFVs and worsening relations. Such an incorrect identification is brought about by insufficient understanding of the grounds of CFVs. The book provides an array of reasons for the failure of the ceasefire. Jacob questions the prevailing understanding regarding crisis escalation in the region and also gives an outline of the evolving borders between India and Pakistan through history. The main study however is delimited from the year 2003 to 2017. The 2003 ceasefire agreement was different from the earlier two since it was not a war-termination agreement rather a consensus between the two sides to avoid firing. The book explains why the agreement fell apart every once in a while.

The author has divided the book into seven chapters including introduction and conclusion. The second chapter furnishes a theoretical basis for the book. It closes by emphasizing the capacity of CFVs to elicit escalation on both sides of the LoC. The third chapter studies the managing of the boundary running across J&K. The fourth chapter presents an analysis of CFVs based on statistics and history. The fifth chapter is relatively lengthy. It reveals various triggers of CFVs in J&K which have not been examined previously. Political influences and

autonomous military factors (AMFs) are investigated in further subsections. The sixth chapter provides empirical data to indicate how India-Pakistan escalatory dynamics and CFVs in J&K are interrelated.

Jacob points out how the existing conventional literature about escalation follows remarkable events, and the subsequent collective national choices regarding undertaking or forsaking escalation, degree of escalation and time of retreat and negotiating peace. He, however, focuses on the ability of AMFs to cause the crisis to escalate, at times in the absence of an approval from the political leadership in both the states. The analysis is thus ingenious in numerous ways. Despite the fact that the conventional justification provides a rather orderly archetype to decipher escalatory undercurrents, the description in this book rather complicates the orthodox wisdom.

Another aspect further worsening a crisis situation between Pakistan and India is the piercing narrative espoused by the political leaders in both the countries, in the case of violations of the ceasefire line. The statements made during such a scenario usually hint at a nuclear standoff. The political standpoints of both the states regarding the disputed territory are practically manifested in the happenings along the LoC. In the view of New Delhi, such cross-border skirmishes allow Islamabad to infiltrate terrorists across the Indian border. From the standpoint of Islamabad, New Delhi violates the armistice and undertakes escalation, causing diversion from the matters of global concern that meanwhile take place within Indian-held Kashmir. Moreover, the national atmosphere in the two states is wrought with jingoistic narratives and media propaganda, affecting their policies. Even stabilization of the conflict turns out to be an issue, much less managing the conflict or working to resolving the matter.

The conflicting political dynamics and subsequent CFVs result in escalation, which may spiral drastically into inadvertent consequences. The recent Pulwama attack in Indian-occupied Kashmir and the crisis that ensued could not be reckoned by the international powers. The undervalued danger of CFVs leading to alarming levels of escalation further emphasizes the importance of understanding the escalation dynamics between the two nuclear powers. Such an understanding might facilitate policymakers in the two states to solemnize a wide-ranging ceasefire agreement.

In such a scenario, the absence of a formal ceasefire agreement (CFA) between Islamabad and New Delhi is highlighted by the author. He has defined escalation as sudden intensification of political, military, and diplomatic tensions between countries in general atmosphere of adversarial relations that may or may not lead to a war. The definition allows the reader to consider escalation taking place as a result of autonomous military factors. These factors range from personality features of military leaders to emotional condition of the forces on duty.

The role of such factors is vividly analysed with the help of interviews with military individuals from both the countries. Jacob suggests that political leaders have permitted AMFs along the LoC to turn into the primary reason of crisis escalation. He also vouches for a resolution in the form of a formal ceasefire agreement, compounded with improved interaction between the two militaries. Such an agreement will also help in facilitating the bilateral dialogue process.

Line on Fire is based on exhaustive research as the author benefitted from field trips and meetings with pertinent civilian and armed personnel belonging to either side of the boundary. The book is a must read for anyone in search of an impartial insight on the situation of ceasefire alongside the LoC and the manner it affects the scenario of skirmishes eclipsing Islamabad and New Delhi.

Reviewed by Fareha Iqtidar Khan, M.Phil IR, National Defence University, Islamabad.

Documents

Document: 1

Prime Minister Imran Khan's speech at the 74th session of UN General Assembly in New York, September 27, 2019.

I stand here at this forum of world leaders where we have a chance to discuss the problems the world is facing.

I especially came to this forum despite a difficult time in my country; facing challenges... I would not have come had there not been a very urgent problem that the world must address.

First let me talk about climate change; I have seen a lot of leaders talk about this. But I don't see world leaders really realizing the urgency of the situation. We have a lot of ideas; but as they say, ideas without funding is mere hallucination.

Pakistan is among the top 10 nations in the world affected by climate change. We depend on our rivers, we are mainly an agricultural country. 80 percent of our water comes from the glaciers and these are melting at an alarming pace.

We detected 5000 glacier lakes in our mountains. If nothing is done, we fear humans are facing a huge catastrophe.

In KP, a province of Pakistan, we planted a billion trees in 5 years. Now we are targeting 10 billion trees. But one country can not do anything. This has to be a combined effort of the world.

My optimism comes from the fact that the Almighty has given humans great powers. We can do great things. And this is where I want the United Nations to take the lead in invoking this will.

Rich countries who contribute the most to green house gas emissions must be held accountable.

Mr. President; every year billions of dollars leave poor countries & go to rich countries. Billions of dollars siphoned by corrupt politicians to tax havens, expensive properties bought in western capitals. It is devastating to the developing world.

Corruption is impoverishing the developing world. Difference b/w rich & poor countries is growing due to this. Money laundering is not treated the same as drug money or terror financing. Today poor countries are being plundered by their elites.

In my country, when I took charge of our government a year back, in the 10 years preceding that our total debt went up 4 times. As a result; the total revenue we collect in one year, half of it went into debt servicing.

How will we spend on our 220 million population when our money was plundered by the ruling elite? And when we located properties of these corrupt leaders in western capitals, we find it so difficult to retrieve it.

If we retrieve the plundered money, we could spend it on human development. But there are laws protecting these criminals. We don't have the money to hire lawyers worth millions of dollars.

The rich countries must show political will; they can not allow this flight of capital from poor countries through corruption. How can poor countries meet the United Nations SDG's when money for human development can easily leave our countries?

There must be a deterrent; the corrupt ruling elite must not be allowed to take money out and park it in tax havens. Why is it legal to have tax havens where you have these secret accounts?

The world is changing; if the poor get poorer and the rich get richer, there will be a crisis soon. It will lead to a major crisis. The world bank, the IMF, the Asian developing bank must find a way to stop this plunder.

My third point is Islamophobia; there are 1.3 billion Muslims in the world. Muslims living across all continents. Islamophobia has grown since 9/11 and it is alarming. It is creating divisions.

Muslim women wearing Hijab has become a problem. It is seen as a weapon. A woman can take off her clothes in some countries but she can not put more on? And why has this happened? Because certain western leaders equated Islam with terrorism.

What is radical Islam? There is only ONE Islam and that is the Islam of Prophet (PBUH).

Why is there Islamophobia? How will an average American differentiate between a moderate Muslim and a radical Muslim? This has nothing to do with our religion.

We have faced Islamophobia while travelling abroad; and in European countries it is marginalising Muslim communities. And marginalisation creates room for and leads to radicalisation.

My point here is that we must address this. Post 9/11, war against "radical Islam" started, rather than Muslim leaders trying to explain to the West that there is no such thing as radical Islam.

There are radical fringes in every society, but the basis of ALL religion is compassion and justice.

Unfortunately the Muslim leaders were unable explain. We failed as the Muslim world to explain that there is no such thing as radical Islam. In Pakistan; we were the eye of the storm & our govt coined a term "enlightened moderation."

About Suicide attacks; because the 9/11 bombers did suicide attacks, all sorts of theories came out like those about virgins in heaven. This bizzare thing happened where suicide attacks were equated with Islam.

No one bothered researching the Tamil Tigers and the Japanese Kamikaze bombers. No one blamed religion when they carried out suicide attacks and rightly so because no religion teaches violence.

Most important thing I want to say, to explain this Islamophobia, I've played cricket in the West & I know how the western mind works. One of the reasons for Islamophobia; in 1989 this book was published maligning, ridiculing our Prophet (PBUH).

The west could not understand what was the problem. They don't look at religion the way that we do. And so; in their eyes Islam was an intolerant religion. It became a watershed.

And every 2-3 years someone would malign our Prophet (PBUH), Muslims would react, and the west would term them intolerant.

I blame some people in the West who provoked Muslims. But this is where majority of the Muslim leaders let the Muslim community down. Our Prophet (PBUH) was the witness to our Divine book, the Holy Quran.

The Prophet (PBUH) is the ideal we want to live up to. He created the state of Medina which was a welfare state.

I hear such strange things about Islam that it is against women and minorities. The state of Medina was the first that took responsibility of women; the widows, the poor. State announced all humans were equal; whatever the colour of their skin.

The Prophet (PBUH) announced that one of the greatest deeds is to free a slave. But if you have to; treat them as an equal member of the family. And as a result, the unprecedented happened, slaves became kings, and slave dynasties were formed.

Again; with minorities. In Islam, it was a sacred duty to protect places of worship of all religions. It was announced that all human beings were equal. The 4th caliph of Medina lost a court case against a Jewish citizen. No 1 was above the law.

When a Muslim community is unjust to a Minority, it is going against the teachings of our religion. Our Prophet (PBUH) lives in our heart, and when he is maligned, it hurts us.

I always imagined what I would say and educate the world about Islam if I ever stood on this forum.

In western society, the holocaust is treated with sensitivity because it hurts the Jewish community. So that's the same respect we ask for; do not hurt our sentiments by maligning our Holy Prophet (PBUH). That is all we ask.

Now I want to move on to talk about Kashmir. When we came into power; my first priority was that Pakistan would be that country that would try its best to bring peace.

Joining the war on terror, Pakistan went through one of its worst periods. We lost 70,000 people to the war, 150 billion dollar to our economy.

We joined the war against the Soviets in the 1980's. Pakistan trained the then "Mujahedeen" at the behest of the Americans. The Soviets called them terrorists, the Americans called them freedom fighters, then.

Soviets left, US packed up. Come 9/11, now that we had to join the US & tell the same indoctrinated people this is now not a "freedom struggle" but "terrorism". They suddenly saw us as collaborators; it became a nightmare & they turned against us

70,000 Pakistanis lost their lives, due to a war Pakistan had nothing to do with. No Pakistani was involved in 9/11. So when we came into power; we decided to disband all militant groups. And this was a decision taken by all political parties.

I know that India keeps saying we have militant organisations but I invite UN observers to come and see for themselves. Secondly we started mending fences. We engaged with Afghanistan, Iran.

And then India; let me tell you my relationship with India. Because of cricket, which is followed with great passion in the subcontinent, I have great friends in India. I've always loved going to India.

So my first move was to reach out to Modi & I said let's work our differences, leave our past behind & our main priority should be our people as we have similar problems; poverty & climate change. Highest number of people reside in subcontinent.

On zero response from India; we thought we should wait till the Indian elections since BJP is a nationalist party. Meanwhile, a Kashmiri boy radicalized by Indian forces blew himself up on an Indian convoy. Immediately India blamed Pakistan.

I told India to give us any proof and we'd act. We had actual proofs of Indian intervention in some terrorist attacks in our Balochistan province. We even caught their spy Kulbhushan Yadav who admitted to crimes.

Instead of sharing proofs of any Pakistani's alleged involvement in Pulwama attack, they tried to bomb us. We retaliated. We captured their pilot; but returned him the next day because we did not want the situation to escalate.

In the election campaign, Mr. Modi used terms like "This was just a trailer. The movie is yet to come." We thought post the elections we would go back to a normal relationship. But that was not the case.

Post the elections, we realised Indians were trying to push us on the FATF blacklist to economically isolate us. That's when we realised there was an agenda.

And then the revocation of the article 370 happened which used to give Kashmir special status. They escalated the number of troops in Kashmir and put 8 million people under curfew.

Mr. President; I have to explain what the RSS is. Mr Modi is a "life member" of RSS. An organisation inspired by Hitler and Mussolini. They believed in racial superiority the same way that the Nazi's believed in the supremacy of the Aryan race.

This Is open knowledge. RSS believes in the racial superiority of Hindus. It was hatred for the Muslims & Christians. They believe that the

golden age of Hinduism halted b/c of Muslim rule. They openly stated hatred for Muslims and Christians.

This is all open knowledge. You can all just google the founding fathers of the RSS like Golwalkar. This ideology of hate murdered Mahatma Gandhi.

The hate ideology allowed RSS goons under Modi's CM ship in Gujarat to butcher 2000 Muslims. The Congress party gave a statement that terrorists were being trained in RSS Camps. Modi was not allowed to travel to the US.

What kind of a mindset locks up 8 million people? Women, children, sick people. What I know of the west, they wouldn't stand for 8 million animals to be locked up. These are humans.

Arrogance has blinded PM Modi and BJP. This racial superiority; what does he think is going to happen when he lifts the curfew?

You think Kashmiris will accept a new status quo under revocation of Article 370. 100,000 Kashmiris killed, thousands of women raped. UN reported on this. But the world did nothing & sees India as a huge market. Materialism has trumped humanity.

What will happen when the curfew is lifted? Modi says this is done for the prosperity of Kashmir. But what will happen when 8 million Kashmiris come out of a lockdown and face 900,000 troops? I fear there will be a bloodbath.

The way Kashmiris are caged like animals in homes. Their political leadership arrested, even pro India ones. 13,000 boys picked up & taken to unknown locations. Youngsters blinded with pellets. This will only lead to further radicalisation.

We fear another Pulwama incident. And for that, India will again blame Pakistan.

Indian FM says Pakistan has 500 terrorists waiting on the border. What will 500 terrorists do against 0.9 million troops? They just want an excuse, the catchword & mantra of Islamic terrorism.

The phrase Islamic terrorism allows India to dismiss human rights and further increase cruelty on the people of Kashmir.

Why would we ever want to disrupt peace? But it's because there is no other narrative left for India. There will be another Pulwama incident because of their own cruelty in Kashmir, they will blame us and try to bomb us again.

Don't you think that 180 Million Muslims will be radicalised in India as they see 8 million Kashmiris locked up? And what about 1.3 billion Muslims who are watching this knowing that this is only happening to Kashmiri Muslims.

How would the Jewish community react if even 8000 Jews were under lockdown? How would the Europeans react? How would any human community react? Are we children of a lesser God? Don't u know this causes us pain.

We've been brought up watching films; a good guy doesn't get justice.... he picks up a weapon, and a whole cinema cheers him on. What has been the response of the world community on any atrocities in the Muslim world?

I picture myself in Kashmir, locked up for 50 days. Hearing about rapes, the Indian army going around. Would I live with this humiliation? You are forcing people towards radicalisation.

When people lose the will to live, they pick up guns. A movie "Death Wish" depicts how a boy picks up guns and starts killing all muggers. If you are doing this to human beings, pushing them, you are leading to radicalisation.

This is one of the most critical times. Pakistan will be blamed should something happen. Two nuclear armed nations almost went head to head in February. And this is why the UN has a responsibility. This is why you came into being in 1945!

I feel we are back in 1939; Munich. Czechslovakia has been taken. Will the word community appease a market of 1.2bn or will it stand up for justice and humanity? If a conventional war starts between 2 countries, nuclear countries anything could happen.

Supposing a country 7 times smaller than its neighbour; faced with a question. Either you surrender, or you fight till the end. I ask myself this question. And my belief is 'La ilahailAllah', there is no God but one. We will FIGHT!

I am not threatening here about a nuclear war; it is a worry. It is a test for the United Nations. You are the one who said Kashmir right to self determination. This is not the time for appeasement like that in 1939 in Munich.

This is the time when you, the United Nations, must urge India to lift the curfew; to free the 13,000 Kashmiris who have disappeared meanwhile and this is the time when the UN must insist on Kashmir's right to self-determination!

Source: <https://www.brecorder.com/2019/09/27/524851/full-transcript-of-prime-minister-imran-khans-speech-at-the-unga/>

Document:2**Message of Prime Minister Imran Khan on Inauguration of Kartarpur Corridor, November 9, 2019.**

I wish to congratulate the Sikh Community, residing on both sides of the border and the world over, on this historic day of inauguration of Kartarpur Corridor. The significance of this event for the Sikh Community, on 550th birth anniversary of Baba Guru Nanak DevJi, can be well understood by the Muslims who know what it means to visit holy places.

The inauguration of Kartarpur Corridor is a manifestation of the fact that our hearts are always open for the followers of different religions as enjoined by our great religion and envisioned by our Father of the Nation. Today we are not only opening border but also our hearts for the Sikh community. This unprecedented gesture of goodwill from the Government of Pakistan is a reflection of our deep respect for Baba Guru Nanak DevJi and religious sentiments of Sikh Community who always wanted to have an easy access to the shrine of their spiritual leader and perform their religious obligations.

The inauguration today is also a testimony of our commitment towards peace of the region. We believe that the road to prosperity of region and bright future of our coming generation lies in peace. We believe that interfaith harmony and peaceful coexistence will provide us an opportunity to work for larger interests of people of the sub-continent.

While congratulating the Sikh Community once again, I also wish to thank all those who contributed towards transforming this vision in reality in record time of 10 months only.

Source: https://pmo.gov.pk/messageDetail.php?message_id=167

Document: 3**Trump's 2020 State of the Union Address of the Union Address at the House Chamber, United States Capitol, February 5, 2020, United States.**

President Trump spoke of a “great American comeback” in his third State of the Union address, February 5, 2020.

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, the first lady of the United States — (applause) — and my fellow citizens:

Three years ago, we launched the great American comeback. Tonight, I stand before you to share the incredible results. Jobs are booming, incomes are soaring, poverty is plummeting, crime is falling, confidence is surging, and our country is thriving and highly respected again. (Applause.) America's enemies are on the run, America's fortunes are on the rise, and America's future is blazing bright.

The years of economic decay are over. (Applause.) The days of our country being used, taken advantage of, and even scorned by other nations are long behind us. (Applause.) Gone, too, are the broken promises, jobless recoveries, tired platitudes and constant excuses for the depletion of American wealth, power and prestige.

In just three short years, we have shattered the mentality of American decline, and we have rejected the downsizing of America's destiny. We have totally rejected the downsizing. We are moving forward at a pace that was unimaginable just a short time ago, and we are never, ever going back. (Applause.)

I am thrilled to report to you tonight that our economy is the best it has ever been. Our military is completely rebuilt, with its power being unmatched anywhere in the world — and it's not even close. Our borders are secure. Our families are flourishing. Our values are renewed. Our pride is restored. And for all of these reasons, I say to the people of our great country and to the members of Congress: The state of our Union is stronger than ever before. (Applause.)

The vision I will lay out this evening demonstrates how we are building the world's most prosperous and inclusive society — one where every citizen can join in America's unparalleled success and where every community can take part in America's extraordinary rise.

From the instant I took office, I moved rapidly to revive the U.S. economy — slashing a record number of job-killing regulations, enacting historic and record-setting tax cuts, and fighting for fair and reciprocal trade agreements. (Applause.) Our agenda is relentlessly pro-worker, pro-family, pro-growth, and, most of all, pro-American. (Applause.) Thank you. We are advancing with unbridled optimism and lifting our citizens of every race, color, religion and creed very, very high.

Since my election, we have created seven million new jobs — five million more than government experts projected during the previous administration. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate is the lowest in over half a century. (Applause.) And very incredibly, the average unemployment rate under my administration is lower than any administration in the history of our country. (Applause.) True. If we hadn't reversed the failed economic policies of the previous administration, the world would not now be witnessing this great economic success. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate for African-Americans, Hispanic Americans and Asian-Americans has reached the lowest levels in history. (Applause.) African-American youth unemployment has reached an all-time low. (Applause.) African-American poverty has declined to the lowest rate ever recorded. (Applause.)

The unemployment rate for women reached the lowest level in almost 70 years. And, last year, women filled 72 percent of all new jobs added. (Applause.)

The veterans unemployment rate dropped to a record low. (Applause.) The unemployment rate for disabled Americans has reached an all-time low. (Applause.)

Workers without a high school diploma have achieved the lowest unemployment rate recorded in U.S. history. (Applause.) A record number of young Americans are now employed. (Applause.)

Under the last administration, more than 10 million people were added to the food stamp rolls. Under my administration, seven million Americans have come off food stamps, and 10 million people have been lifted off of welfare. (Applause.)

In eight years under the last administration, over 300,000 working-age people dropped out of the work force. In just three years of my administration, 3.5 million people — working-age people — have joined the work force. (Applause.)

Since my election, the net worth of the bottom half of wage earners has increased by 47 percent — three times faster than the increase for the top 1 percent. (Applause.) After decades of flat and falling incomes, wages are rising fast — and, wonderfully, they are rising fastest for low-income workers, who have seen a 16 percent pay increase since my election. (Applause.) This is a blue-collar boom. (Applause.)

Real median household income is now at the highest level ever recorded. (Applause.)

Since my election, U.S. stock markets have soared 70 percent, adding more than \$12 trillion to our nation's wealth, transcending anything anyone believed was possible. This is a record. It is something that every country in the world is looking up to. They admire. (Applause.) Consumer confidence has just reached amazing new highs.

All of those millions of people with 401(k)s and pensions are doing far better than they have ever done before with increases of 60, 70, 80, 90 and 100 percent, and even more.

Jobs and investments are pouring into 9,000 previously neglected neighborhoods thanks to Opportunity zones, a plan spearheaded by Senator Tim Scott as part of our great Republican tax cuts. (Applause.) In other words, wealthy people and companies are pouring money into poor neighborhoods or areas that haven't seen investment in many decades, creating jobs, energy, and excitement. (Applause.) This is the first time that these deserving communities have seen anything like this. It's all working.

Opportunity zones are helping Americans like Army veteran Tony Rankins from Cincinnati, Ohio. After struggling with drug addiction, Tony lost his job, his house and his family. He was homeless. But then Tony found a construction company that invests in opportunity zones. He is now a top tradesman, drug-free, reunited with his family, and he is here tonight. Tony, keep up the great work. Tony. (Applause.) Thank you, Tony.

Our roaring economy has, for the first time ever, given many former prisoners the ability to get a great job and a fresh start. This second chance at life is made possible because we passed landmark criminal justice reform into law. Everybody said that criminal justice reform couldn't be done, but I got it done, and the people in this room got it done. (Applause.)

Thanks to our bold regulatory reduction campaign, the United States has become the No. 1 producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world, by far. (Applause.) With the tremendous progress we have made over the past three years, America is now energy independent, and energy jobs, like so many other elements of our country, are at a record high. (Applause.) We are doing numbers that no one would have thought possible just three years ago.

Likewise, we are restoring our nation's manufacturing might, even though predictions were, as you all know, that this could never, ever be done. After losing 60,000 factories under the previous two administrations, America has now gained 12,000 new factories under my administration, with thousands upon thousands of plants and factories being planned or being built. (Applause.) Companies are not leaving; they are coming back to the U.S.A. (Applause.) The fact is that everybody wants to be where the action is, and the United States of America is indeed the place where the action is. (Applause.)

One of the biggest promises I made to the American people was to replace the disastrous NAFTA trade deal. (Applause.) In fact, unfair trade is perhaps the single biggest reason that I decided to run for President. Following NAFTA's adoption, our nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs. Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do so, and then absolutely nothing happened. But unlike so

many who came before me, I keep my promises. We did our job. (Applause.)

Six days ago, I replaced NAFTA and signed the brand-new U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement into law. The U.S.M.C.A. will create nearly 100,000 new high-paying American auto jobs, and massively boost exports for our farmers, ranchers, and factory workers. (Applause.) It will also bring trade with Mexico and Canada to a much higher level, but also to be a much greater degree of fairness and reciprocity. We will have that: fairness and reciprocity. And I say that, finally, because it's been many, many years that we were treated fairly on trade. (Applause.)

This is the first major trade deal in many years to earn the strong backing of America's labor unions. (Applause.)

I also promised our citizens that I would impose tariffs to confront China's massive theft of America's jobs. Our strategy has worked. Days ago, we signed the groundbreaking new agreement with China that will defend our workers, protect our intellectual property, bring billions and billions of dollars into our treasury, and open vast new markets for products made and grown right here in the U.S.A. (Applause.)

For decades, China has taken advantage of the United States. Now we have changed that, but, at the same time, we have perhaps the best relationship we've ever had with China, including with President Xi. They respect what we've done because, quite frankly, they could never really believe that they were able to get away with what they were doing year after year, decade after decade, without someone in our country stepping up and saying, "That's enough." (Applause.) Now we want to rebuild our country, and that's exactly what we're doing. We are rebuilding our country.

As we restore — (applause) — American leadership throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere. (Applause.) That's why my administration reversed the failing policies of the previous administration on Cuba. (Applause.)

We are supporting the hopes of Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans to restore democracy. The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicolás Maduro. (Applause.) Maduro is an illegitimate ruler, a tyrant who brutalizes his people. But Maduro's grip on tyranny will be smashed and broken.

Here this evening is a very brave man who carries with him the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of all Venezuelans. Joining us in the gallery is the true and legitimate president of Venezuela, Juan Guaidó. (Applause.) Mr. President, please take this message back to your homeland. (Applause.) Thank you, Mr. President. Great honor. Thank you very much.

Please take this message back that all Americans are united with the Venezuelan people in their righteous struggle for freedom. Thank you very much, Mr. President. (Applause.) Thank you very much.

Socialism destroys nations. But always remember: Freedom unifies the soul. (Applause.)

To safeguard American liberty, we have invested a record-breaking \$2.2 trillion in the United States military. (Applause.) We have purchased the finest planes, missiles, rockets, ships and every other form of military equipment, and it's all made right here in the USA. (Applause.)

We are also getting our allies, finally, to help pay their fair share. (Applause.) I have raised contributions from the other NATO members by more than \$400 billion, and the number of Allies meeting their minimum obligations has more than doubled.

And just weeks ago, for the first time since President Truman established the Air Force more than 70 years earlier, we created a brand-new branch of the United States Armed Forces. It's called the Space Force. (Applause.) Very important.

In the gallery tonight, we have a young gentleman. And what he wants so badly — 13 years old — Iain Lanphier. He's an eighth grader from Arizona. Iain, please stand up.

Iain has always dreamed of going to space. He was the first in his class and among the youngest at an aviation academy. He aspires to go to the Air Force Academy, and then he has his eye on the Space Force. As Iain says, "Most people look up at space. I want to look down on the world." (Laughter and applause.)

But sitting behind Iain tonight is his greatest hero of them all. Charles McGee was born in Cleveland, Ohio, one century ago. Charles is one of the last surviving Tuskegee Airmen — the first black fighter pilots — and he also happens to be Iain's great-grandfather. (Applause.) Incredible story.

After more than 130 combat missions in World War II, he came back home to a country still struggling for civil rights and went on to serve America in Korea and Vietnam. On Dec. 7th, Charles celebrated his 100th birthday. (Applause.) A few weeks ago, I signed a bill promoting Charles McGee to Brigadier General. And earlier today, I pinned the stars on his shoulders in the Oval Office. General McGee, our nation salutes you. Thank you, sir. (Applause.)

From the pilgrims to the Founders, from the soldiers at Valley Forge to the marchers at Selma, and from President Lincoln to the Rev. Martin Luther King, Americans have always rejected limits on our children's future.

Members of Congress, we must never forget that the only victories that matter in Washington are victories that deliver for the American people. (Applause.) The people are the heart of our country, their dreams are the soul of our country, and their love is what powers and sustains our country. We must always remember that our job is to put America first. (Applause.)

The next step forward in building an inclusive society is making sure that every young American gets a great education and the opportunity to achieve the American Dream. Yet, for too long, countless American children have been trapped in failing government schools. To rescue these students, 18 states have created school choice in the form of Opportunity Scholarships. The programs are so popular that tens of thousands of students remain on a waiting list.

One of those students is Janiyah Davis, a fourth grader from Philadelphia. Janiyah. (Applause.) Janiyah's mom, Stephanie, is a single parent. She would do anything to give her daughter a better future. But last year, that future was put further out of reach when Pennsylvania's governor vetoed legislation to expand school choice to 50,000 children.

Janiyah and Stephanie are in the gallery. Stephanie, thank you so much for being here with your beautiful daughter. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

But, Janiyah, I have some good news for you, because I am pleased to inform you that your long wait is over. I can proudly announce tonight that an Opportunity Scholarship has become available, it's going to you, and you will soon be heading to the school of your choice. (Applause.)

Now I call on Congress to give one million American children the same opportunity Janiyah has just received. Pass the Education Freedom Scholarships and Opportunities Act — because no parent should be forced to send their child to a failing government school. (Applause.)

Every young person should have a safe and secure environment in which to learn and to grow. For this reason, our magnificent first lady has launched the Be Best initiative to advance a safe, healthy, supportive and drug-free life for the next generation — online, in school and in our communities. Thank you, Melania, for your extraordinary love and profound care for America's children. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

My administration is determined to give our citizens the opportunities they need regardless of age or background. Through our Pledge to American Workers, over 400 companies will also provide new jobs and education opportunities to almost 15 million Americans.

My budget also contains an exciting vision for our nation's high schools. Tonight, I ask Congress to support our students and back my plan to offer vocational and technical education in every single high school in America. (Applause.)

To expand equal opportunity, I am also proud that we achieved record and permanent funding for our nation's historically black colleges and universities. (Applause.)

A good life for American families also requires the most affordable, innovative, and high-quality health care system on Earth. Before I took office, health insurance premiums had more than doubled in just five years. I moved quickly to provide affordable alternatives. Our new plans are up to 60 percent less expensive — and better. (Applause.)

I've also made an ironclad pledge to American families: We will always protect patients with pre-existing conditions. (Applause). And we will always protect your Medicare and we will always protect your Social Security. Always. (Applause.)

The American patient should never be blindsided by medical bills. That is why I signed an executive order requiring price transparency. (Applause.) Many experts believe that transparency, which will go into full effect at the beginning of next year, will be even bigger than health care reform. (Applause.) It will save families massive amounts of money for substantially better care.

But as we work to improve Americans' health care, there are those who want to take away your health care, take away your doctor, and abolish private insurance entirely.

AUDIENCE: Booo —

THE PRESIDENT: One hundred thirty-two lawmakers in this room have endorsed legislation to impose a socialist takeover of our health care system, wiping out the private health insurance plans of 180 million very happy Americans. To those watching at home tonight, I want you to know: We will never let socialism destroy American health care. (Applause.)

Over 130 legislators in this chamber have endorsed legislation that would bankrupt our nation by providing free taxpayer-funded health care to millions of illegal aliens, forcing taxpayers to subsidize free care for anyone in the world who unlawfully crosses our borders. These proposals would raid the Medicare benefits of our seniors and that our seniors depend on, while acting as a powerful lure for illegal immigration. That is what is happening in California and other states. Their systems are totally out of control, costing taxpayers vast and unaffordable amounts of money.

If forcing American taxpayers to provide unlimited free health care to illegal aliens sounds fair to you, then stand with the radical left. But if you believe that we should defend American patients and American seniors, then stand with me and pass legislation to prohibit free government health care for illegal aliens. (Applause.)

This will be a tremendous boon to our already very strongly guarded southern border where, as we speak, a long, tall and very powerful wall is being built. (Applause.) We have now completed over 100 miles and have over 500 miles fully completed in a very short period of time. Early next year, we will have substantially more than 500 miles completed.

My administration is also taking on the big pharmaceutical companies. We have approved a record number of affordable generic drugs, and medicines are being approved by the F.D.A. at a faster clip than ever before. (Applause.) And I was pleased to announce last year that, for the first time in 51 years, the cost of prescription drugs actually went down. (Applause.)

And working together, Congress can reduce drug prices substantially from current levels. I've been speaking to Senator Chuck Grassley of Iowa and others in Congress in order to get something on drug pricing done, and done quickly and properly. I'm calling for bipartisan legislation that achieves the goal of dramatically lowering prescription drug prices. Get a bill on my desk, and I will sign it into law immediately. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: H.R.3! H.R.3! H.R.3!

With unyielding commitment, we are curbing the opioid epidemic. Drug overdose deaths declined for the first time in nearly 30 years. (Applause.) Among the states hardest hit, Ohio is down 22 percent, Pennsylvania is down 18 percent, Wisconsin is down 10 percent — and we will not quit until we have beaten the opioid epidemic once and for all. (Applause.)

Protecting Americans' health also means fighting infectious diseases. We are coordinating with the Chinese government and working closely together on the coronavirus outbreak in China. My administration will take all necessary steps to safeguard our citizens from this threat.

We have launched ambitious new initiatives to substantially improve care for Americans with kidney disease, Alzheimer's, and those struggling with mental health. And because Congress was so good as to fund my request, new cures for childhood cancer, and we will eradicate the AIDS epidemic in America by the end of this decade. (Applause.)

Almost every American family knows the pain when a loved one is diagnosed with a serious illness. Here tonight is a special man, beloved by millions of Americans who just received a Stage 4 advanced cancer diagnosis. This is not good news, but what is good news is that he is the greatest fighter and winner that you will ever meet. Rush Limbaugh, thank you for your decades of tireless devotion to our country. (Applause.)

And, Rush, in recognition of all that you have done for our nation, the millions of people a day that you speak to and that you inspire, and all of the incredible work that you have done for charity, I am proud to announce tonight that you will be receiving our country's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. (Applause.)

I will now ask the first lady of the United States to present you with the honor. Please. (Applause.)

(The Medal of Freedom is presented.) (Applause.)

Rush and Kathryn, congratulations. Thank you, Kathryn.

As we pray for all who are sick, we know that America is constantly achieving new medical breakthroughs. In 2017, doctors at St. Luke's Hospital in Kansas City delivered one of the earliest premature babies ever to survive. Born at just 21 weeks and 6 days, and weighing less than a pound, Ellie Schneider was a born fighter. Through the skill of her doctors and the prayers of her parents, little Ellie kept on winning the

battle of life. Today, Ellie is a strong, healthy two-year-old girl sitting with her amazing mother Robin in the Gallery. Ellie and Robin, we are glad to have you with us tonight. (Applause.)

Ellie reminds us that every child is a miracle of life. And thanks to modern medical wonders, 50 percent of very premature babies delivered at the hospital where Ellie was born now survive. It's an incredible thing. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Our goal should be to ensure that every baby has the best chance to thrive and grow just like Ellie. That is why I'm asking Congress to provide an additional \$50 million to fund neonatal research for America's youngest patients. (Applause.)

That is why I'm also calling upon members of Congress here tonight to pass legislation finally banning the late-term abortion of babies. (Applause.) Whether we are Republican, Democrat, or independent, surely we must all agree that every human life is a sacred gift from God.

As we support America's moms and dads, I was recently proud to sign the law providing new parents in the federal work force paid family leave, serving as a model for the rest of the country. (Applause.)

Now I call on the Congress to pass the bipartisan Advancing Support for Working Families Act, extending family leave to mothers and fathers all across our nation. (Applause.)

Forty million American families have an average \$2,200 extra thanks to our child tax credit. (Applause.) I've also overseen historic funding increases for high-quality child care, enabling 17 states to help more children, many of which have reduced or eliminated their waitlists altogether. (Applause.) And I sent Congress a plan with a vision to further expand access to high-quality child care, and urge you to act immediately. (Applause.)

To protect the environment, days ago I announced that the United States will join the One Trillion Trees Initiative, an ambitious effort to bring together government and private sector to plant new trees in America and all around the world. (Applause.)

We must also rebuild America's infrastructure. (Applause.) I ask you to pass Senator John Barrasso's highway bill to invest in new roads, bridges, and tunnels all across our land.

I'm also committed to ensuring that every citizen can have access to high-speed Internet, including and especially in rural America. (Applause.)

A better tomorrow for all Americans also requires us to keep America safe. That means supporting the men and women of law enforcement at every level, including our nation's heroic ICE officers. (Applause.)

Last year, our brave ICE officers arrested more than 120,000 criminal aliens charged with nearly 10,000 burglaries, 5,000 sexual assaults, 45,000 violent assaults, and 2,000 murders.

Tragically, there are many cities in America where radical politicians have chosen to provide sanctuary for these criminal illegal aliens.

AUDIENCE: Booo —

THE PRESIDENT: In sanctuary cities, local officials order police to release dangerous criminal aliens to prey upon the public, instead of handing them over to ICE to be safely removed.

Just 29 days ago, a criminal alien freed by the sanctuary city of New York was charged with the brutal rape and murder of a 92-year-old woman. The killer had been previously arrested for assault, but under New York's sanctuary policies, he was set free. If the city had honored ICE's detainer request, his victim would still be alive today.

The state of California passed an outrageous law declaring their whole state to be a sanctuary for criminal illegal immigrants — a very terrible sanctuary — with catastrophic results.

Here is just one tragic example. In December 2018, California police detained an illegal alien with five prior arrests, including convictions for robbery and assault. But as required by California's Sanctuary Law, local authorities released him.

Days later, the criminal alien went on a gruesome spree of deadly violence. He viciously shot one man going about his daily work. He approached a woman sitting in her car and shot her in the arm and in the chest. He walked into a convenience store and wildly fired his weapon. He hijacked a truck and smashed into vehicles, critically injuring innocent victims. One of the victims is — a terrible, terrible situation; died — 51-year-old American named Rocky Jones.

Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in cold blood. Rocky left behind a devoted family, including his brothers, who loved him more than anything else in the world. One of his grieving brothers is here with us tonight. Jody, would you please stand? Jody, thank you. (Applause.) Jody, our hearts weep for your loss, and we will not rest until you have justice.

Senator Thom Tillis has introduced legislation to allow Americans like Jody to sue sanctuary cities and states when a loved one is hurt or killed as a result of these deadly practices. (Applause.)

I ask Congress to pass the Justice for Victims of Sanctuary Cities Act immediately. The United States of America should be a sanctuary for law-abiding Americans, not criminal aliens. (Applause.)

In the last three years, ICE has arrested over 5,000 wicked human traffickers. And I have signed nine pieces of legislation to stamp out the menace of human trafficking, domestically and all around the globe. My administration has undertaken an unprecedented effort to secure the southern border of the United States. (Applause.)

Before I came into office, if you showed up illegally on our southern border and were arrested, you were simply released and allowed

into our country, never to be seen again. My administration has ended catch and release. (Applause.) If you come illegally, you will now be promptly removed from our country. (Applause.)

Very importantly, we entered into historic cooperation agreements with the governments of Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. As a result of our unprecedented efforts, illegal crossings are down 75 percent since May, dropping eight straight months in a row. (Applause.) And as the wall rapidly goes up, drug seizures rise, and the border crossings are down, and going down very rapidly.

Last year, I traveled to the border in Texas and met Chief Patrol Agent Raul Ortiz. Over the last 24 months, Agent Ortiz and his team have seized more than 200,000 pounds of poisonous narcotics, arrested more than 3,000 human smugglers, and rescued more than 2,000 migrants. Days ago, Agent Ortiz was promoted to Deputy Chief of Border Patrol, and he joins us tonight. Chief Ortiz, please stand. (Applause.) A grateful nation thanks you and all of the heroes of Border Patrol and ICE. Thank you very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

To build on these historic gains, we are working on legislation to replace our outdated and randomized immigration system with one based on merit, welcoming those who follow the rules, contribute to our economy, support themselves financially, and uphold our values. (Applause.)

With every action, my administration is restoring the rule of law and reasserting the culture of American freedom. (Applause.) Working with Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell — thank you, Mitch — (applause) — and his colleagues in the Senate, we have confirmed a record number of 187 new federal judges to uphold our Constitution as written. This includes two brilliant new Supreme Court justices, Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh. Thank you. (Applause.) And we have many in the pipeline. (Laughter and applause.)

My administration is also defending religious liberty, and that includes the constitutional right to pray in public schools. (Applause.) In America, we don't punish prayer. We don't tear down crosses. We don't ban symbols of faith. We don't muzzle preachers and pastors. In America, we celebrate faith, we cherish religion, we lift our voices in prayer, and we raise our sights to the Glory of God.

Just as we believe in the First Amendment, we also believe in another constitutional right that is under siege all across our country. So long as I am president, I will always protect your Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms. (Applause.)

In reaffirming our heritage as a free nation, we must remember that America has always been a frontier nation. Now we must embrace the next frontier, America's manifest destiny in the stars. I am asking Congress to fully fund the Artemis program to ensure that the next man and the first woman on the Moon will be American astronauts — (applause) — using

this as a launching pad to ensure that America is the first nation to plant its flag on Mars. (Applause.)

My administration is also strongly defending our national security and combating radical Islamic terrorism. (Applause.)

Last week, I announced a groundbreaking plan for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Recognizing that all past attempts have failed, we must be determined and creative in order to stabilize the region and give millions of young people the chance to realize a better future.

Three years ago, the barbarians of ISIS held over 20,000 square miles of territory in Iraq and Syria. Today, the ISIS territorial caliphate has been 100 percent destroyed, and the founder and leader of ISIS — the bloodthirsty killer known as al-Baghdadi — is dead. (Applause.)

We are joined this evening by Carl and Marsha Mueller. After graduating from college, their beautiful daughter Kayla became a humanitarian aid worker. She once wrote, "Some people find God in church. Some people find God in nature. Some people find God in love. I find God in suffering. I've known for some time what my life's work is, using my hands as tools to relieve suffering." In 2013, while caring for suffering civilians in Syria, Kayla was kidnapped, tortured, and enslaved by ISIS, and kept as a prisoner of al-Baghdadi himself. After more than 500 horrifying days of captivity, al-Baghdadi murdered young, beautiful Kayla. She was just 26 years old.

On the night that U.S. Special Forces Operations ended al-Baghdadi's miserable life, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Mark Milley, received a call in the Situation Room. He was told that the brave men of the elite Special Forces team that so perfectly carried out the operation had given their mission a name: "Task Force 8-14." It was a reference to a special day: Aug. 14 — Kayla's birthday. Carl and Marsha, America's warriors never forgot Kayla — and neither will we. Thank you. (Applause.)

Every day, America's men and women in uniform demonstrate the infinite depth of love that dwells in the human heart.

One of these American heroes was Army Staff Sgt. Christopher Hake. On his second deployment to Iraq in 2008, Sergeant Hake wrote a letter to his 1-year-old son, Gage: "I will be with you again," he wrote to Gage. "I will teach you to ride your first bike, build your first sand box, watch you play sports, and see you have kids also. I love you son. Take care of your mother. I am always with you. Daddy."

On Easter Sunday of 2008, Chris was out on patrol in Baghdad when his Bradley Fighting Vehicle was hit by a roadside bomb. That night, he made the ultimate sacrifice for our country. Sergeant Hake now rests in eternal glory in Arlington, and his wife, Kelli, is in the Gallery tonight, joined by their son, who is now a 13-year-old and doing very, very well. To Kelli and Gage: Chris will live in our hearts forever. He is looking down on you now. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you very much. Thank you both

very much.

The terrorist responsible for killing Sergeant Hake was Qassim Suleimani, who provided the deadly roadside bomb that took Chris's life. Suleimani was the Iranian regime's most ruthless butcher, a monster who murdered or wounded thousands of American service members in Iraq. As the world's top terrorist, Suleimani orchestrated the deaths of countless men, women, and children. He directed the December assault and went on to assault U.S. forces in Iraq. Was actively planning new attacks when we hit him very hard. And that's why, last month, at my direction, the U.S. military executed a flawless precision strike that killed Suleimani and terminated his evil reign of terror forever. (Applause.)

Our message to the terrorists is clear: You will never escape American justice. If you attack our citizens, you forfeit your life. (Applause.)

In recent months, we have seen proud Iranians raise their voices against their oppressive rulers. The Iranian regime must abandon its pursuit of nuclear weapons; stop spreading terror, death, and destruction; and start working for the good of its own people.

Because of our powerful sanctions, the Iranian economy is doing very, very poorly. We can help them make a very good and short-time recovery. It can all go very quickly, but perhaps they are too proud or too foolish to ask for that help. We are here. Let's see which road they choose. It is totally up to them. (Applause.)

As we defend American lives, we are working to end America's wars in the Middle East.

In Afghanistan, the determination and valor of our warfighters has allowed us to make tremendous progress, and peace talks are now underway. I am not looking to kill hundreds of thousands of people in Afghanistan, many of them totally innocent. It is also not our function to serve other nations as law enforcement agencies. These are warfighters that we have — the best in the world — and they either want to fight to win or not fight at all. We are working to finally end America's longest war and bring our troops back home. (Applause.)

War places a heavy burden on our nation's extraordinary military families, especially spouses like Amy Williams from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and her two children — 6-year-old Elliana and 3-year-old Rowan. Amy works full-time and volunteers countless hours helping other military families. For the past seven months, she has done it all while her husband, Sgt. First Class Townsend Williams, is in Afghanistan on his fourth deployment in the Middle East. Amy's kids haven't seen their father's face in many months. Amy, your family's sacrifice makes it possible for all of our families to live in safety and in peace, and we want to thank you. Thank you, Amy. (Applause.)

But, Amy, there is one more thing. Tonight, we have a very special surprise. I am thrilled to inform you that your husband is back from

deployment. He is here with us tonight, and we couldn't keep him waiting any longer. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome home, Sergeant Williams. Thank you very much.

As the world bears witness tonight, America is a land of heroes. This is a place where greatness is born, where destinies are forged, and where legends come to life. This is the home of Thomas Edison and Teddy Roosevelt, of many great generals including Washington, Pershing, Patton, and MacArthur. This is the home of Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Amelia Earhart, Harriet Tubman, the Wright Brothers, Neil Armstrong, and so many more. This is the country where children learn names like Wyatt Earp, Davy Crockett, and Annie Oakley. This is the place where the pilgrims landed at Plymouth and where Texas patriots made their last stand at the Alamo — (applause) — the beautiful, beautiful Alamo.

The American nation was carved out of the vast frontier by the toughest, strongest, fiercest, and most determined men and women ever to walk on the face of the Earth. Our ancestors braved the unknown; tamed the wilderness; settled the Wild West; lifted millions from poverty, disease, and hunger; vanquished tyranny and fascism; ushered the world to new heights of science and medicine; laid down the railroads, dug out the canals, raised up the skyscrapers. And, ladies and gentlemen, our ancestors built the most exceptional republic ever to exist in all of human history, and we are making it greater than ever before. (Applause.)

This is our glorious and magnificent inheritance. We are Americans. We are pioneers. We are the pathfinders. We settled the New World, we built the modern world, and we changed history forever by embracing the eternal truth that everyone is made equal by the hand of Almighty God. (Applause.)

America is the place where anything can happen. America is the place where anyone can rise. And here, on this land, on this soil, on this continent, the most incredible dreams come true.

This nation is our canvas, and this country is our masterpiece. We look at tomorrow and see unlimited frontiers just waiting to be explored. Our brightest discoveries are not yet known. Our most thrilling stories are not yet told. Our grandest journeys are not yet made. The American Age, the American Epic, the American adventure has only just begun.

Our spirit is still young, the sun is still rising, God's grace is still shining, and, my fellow Americans, the best is yet to come. (Applause.)

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/05/us/politics/state-of-union-transcript.html?auth=link-dismiss-google1tap>

Document: 4**Speech by Xi Jinping at the Reception in Celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China, September 30, 2019.**

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Comrades and Friends,

In this golden season of autumn, we are gathered here to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. For the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and Chinese sons and daughters at home and abroad, this is a joyful moment - a moment to celebrate the 70th birthday of our great People's Republic and to salute the epic progress of our motherland during the past seven decades.

Over the past 70 years, under the strong leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Chinese people, with great courage and relentless exploration, have successfully opened the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Along this path, we have ushered in a new era. Having caught up with the world in great strides, we are now marching forward at the forefront of the times with boundless energy!

Over the past 70 years, the Chinese people, with perseverance and strenuous efforts, have made development achievements that are the marvel of the world. Absolute poverty, which has haunted the Chinese nation for thousands of years, will soon become a thing of the past. This will be a great miracle in human history!

Over the past 70 years, the Chinese people, upholding an independent foreign policy of peace, have forged ahead along the path of peaceful development. Guided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, we have deepened friendship and cooperation with other countries and made an important contribution to building a community with a shared future for mankind and advancing the noble cause of peace and development for humanity!

Seventy years are but a fleeting moment in human history. But for the Chinese people, for our nation, these have been 70 years of epoch-making changes. The Chinese nation has realized a tremendous transformation: it has stood up, grown rich and is becoming stronger; it has come to embrace the brilliant prospects of national renewal. This phenomenal transformation brings infinite pride to every son and daughter of the Chinese nation!

Here on behalf of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, I pay high tribute to the Chinese people of all ethnic groups and all CPC members, to officers and men of the People's Liberation Army and members of the armed police, and to all the other political parties and personages with no party affiliations in China! I wish to convey sincere

greetings to fellow Chinese in the Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions, in Taiwan and residing abroad! I also wish to express heartfelt thanks to all the countries and international friends who have given support and help to the development of New China!

Comrades and Friends!

Unity is iron and steel; unity is a source of strength. It is what has enabled the Chinese people and the Chinese nation to move forward against all risks and challenges, from one victory to another.

In our new journey, we must hold high the banner of unity and rally closely around the CPC Central Committee. We must cement the great unity of all our ethnic groups, and strengthen the great unity of all Chinese sons and daughters at home and abroad and of all political parties, organizations, ethnic groups, social strata and fronts. We must maintain the close bond between the CPC and the people and promote patriotism. Thus we will create an unparalleled force that will power the ship of our national renewal to clip waves and reach its destination.

Comrades and Friends!

We will continue to fully and faithfully implement the principles of "One Country, Two Systems", "Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong", "Macao people administering Macao" and a high degree of autonomy. We will act in strict accordance with the Constitution and the Basic Laws. We are confident that with the full backing of the motherland and the concerted efforts of our fellow Chinese in Hong Kong and Macao who love the motherland as well as their communities, Hong Kong and Macao will prosper and progress alongside the mainland and embrace an even brighter future!

We will uphold the one-China principle and the "1992 Consensus", promote the peaceful development of relations across the Taiwan Strait, and deepen cross-Strait economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation to the benefit of people on both sides. The complete reunification of the motherland is an inevitable trend; it is what the greater national interests entail and what all Chinese people aspire for. No one and no force can ever stop it!

We will hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation and mutual benefit, and keep firmly to the path of peaceful development. We will stay committed to opening-up and work with people in all countries to build a community with a shared future for mankind, and to create a world bathed in peace and development.

Comrades and Friends,

The Chinese people are great people, the Chinese nation is a great nation, and Chinese civilization is a great civilization. History will shed light on the future, and our journey ahead will be a long one. We are convinced that the Chinese people and the Chinese nation, with a proud civilization spanning over five millennia and great accomplishments during the past 70-year history of New China, will write a more brilliant

chapter in our new journey toward the realization of the Two Centenary Goals and the Chinese Dream of great national renewal.

Now please join me in a toast:

To the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China;

To the prosperity and strength of China and the happiness and well-being of the Chinese people of all ethnic groups;

To the friendship and cooperation between the people of China and all other countries; and

To the health of all the guests, comrades and friends present.

Cheers!

Source: https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1704400.shtml

Document: 5**Remarks by H.E. Mr. Fu Cong Director-General of the Department of Arms Control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China on "JCPOA: Possible Steps to Prevent Further Escalation and Sustain the Deal" at the 2019 Moscow Nonproliferation Conference November 10, 2019.**

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Several days ago, the Iranian government announced the fourth step of scaling down its commitments under the JCPOA. While noting that many countries have expressed concerns on Iran's latest moves, the Chinese side reminds all parties to keep the following two fundamental points in mind.

First, the root cause of the current tension of the Iranian nuclear issue lies with the US policy of maximum pressure against Iran. The situation was originally calm until the US reimposed unilateral sanctions on Iran and impeded implementation of the JCPOA by others through long-arm jurisdiction. As a result, Iran is forced to reduce its nuclear commitments since it cannot enjoy the economic benefits embedded in the nuclear deal. This is the logic behind the Iranian nuclear crisis.

Second, Iran's reduction of its commitments under the JCPOA does not pose substantial nuclear proliferation risk. Iran is still fulfilling its NPT full-scope Safeguards obligations, and has repeatedly reiterated its readiness to reverse course at any time once the economic benefits are guaranteed.

Having said that, one cannot fail to recognize that the current situation of the Iranian nuclear issue is heading towards a dangerous direction. And therefore, the international community should make concerted efforts to seek a political and diplomatic solution. In this regard, China wishes to make the following points:

First, the fundamental principle of multilateralism should be upheld. The JCPOA is a hard-won victory of multilateral diplomacy, reached through negotiations and endorsed by the UN Security Council. Preserving the JCPOA serves the good purpose of safeguarding multilateralism, the authority of the UN Security Council, and the international order based on international law. In this connection, I wish to recall that at the Foreign Ministers' Meeting in September, all the remaining parties reaffirmed their commitment to the full and effective implementation of the JCPOA.

Second, the balance between rights and obligations under the JCPOA should be maintained. The nuclear deal not only limits Iran's nuclear program, but also guarantees Iran's economic benefits. The balance disrupted by the US withdrawal from the deal and resumption of sanctions on Iran need to be restored. We encourage our European

colleagues to make more efforts to ensure that the Instrument for Supporting Trade Exchanges (INSTEX) achieve tangible results, expand the coverage of INSTEX to energy fields and open it up to Non-EU countries at an early date. We also support any diplomatic effort conducive to safeguarding the JCPOA, including the Credit Line Mechanism proposed by France. The priority in this regard should be to push the US to lift or at least ease sanctions against Iran. Otherwise, no mechanism could get off the ground.

Third, disputes should be resolved through dialogue and consultation. Instead of finger-pointing, all parties should seek to resolve issues related to JCPOA implementation within the framework of the Joint Commission, and refrain from resorting to the Dispute Settlement Mechanism, much less the Security Council. Otherwise, we may risk a spiral escalation. Regarding the concerns on "the sunset clause" of the JCPOA and regional security issues, a new platform could be set up to seek long-term solutions through dialogue on equal footing and on the basis of maintaining the integrity of the JCPOA.

Fourth, peace in the region should be the overriding objective of all related efforts. The situation in the Gulf region and the Iranian nuclear issue are intertwined with each other, casting a long shadow on the global energy supply and international security and stability. China calls upon the countries in the Gulf region to refrain from hostile rhetorics and actions, and engage in dialogue on regional security issues. Meanwhile, we call upon countries outside the region to promote peace and stability, rather than inciting hostility and confrontation in that region.

As a party to and strong supporter of the JCPOA, China has taken a firm position in safeguarding its normal trade with Iran, despite the unilateral sanctions imposed by the US. The modernization of the Arak heavy-water reactor is a core project of the JCPOA. China, as one of the co-chairs of this project, together with the UK, has spared no effort in advancing the modernization process. China is also actively carrying out its commitments related to reactor design, fabrication of initial core load of fuel, and equipment supply, and remarkable progress has already been achieved in this regard. China will continue to push forward the project in accordance with the JCPOA and the consensus reached among the parties. Meanwhile, we hope that all parties concerned could play a more active role in this process and provide more concrete support to the project.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the Iranian nuclear issue can not be resolved overnight. We need wisdom and patience, but we are confident that political and diplomatic solutions to the Iranian nuclear issue can be found, as long as all parties stay in unity and stick to preserving and implementing the JCPOA.

Thank you very much.

Source:https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1714619.shtml

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Dawn (Islamabad), July 30, 2007.

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