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***Department of Political Science
GC University Lahore***

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DIRECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG ONTOLOGY, EPISTEMOLOGY, AND METHODOLOGY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH: AN ILLUSTRATION WITH THE CONCEPT OF POWER

Muhammad Usman Amin Siddiqi *

***Abstract:** One's views about the nature of reality and knowledge are likely to influence his sense of rationality, his idea of values and ethics, his understanding of institutions and their relation with human behavior, and the methods he thinks appropriate to study social phenomena to explain or predict human activity in social and political spheres. The paper, against this backdrop, aims at explaining how ontology and epistemology are related to methods (in terms of explanation and prediction) using example of how different ontological and epistemological perspectives affect the conception of power and the methods that are followed to study the nature and role of power in a society. Following Colin Hay and Jonathan Grix's theses of directional relationship among ontology, epistemology, and methods, the paper attempts at demonstrating how this relationship works in practice with an example of different conceptions of 'power' – understood differently in different ontological and epistemological traditions resulting in different methods of studying it. A sound comprehension of this relationship would help to be clear about the aims of our research, comprehend and indulge in theoretical debates and different approaches to social phenomena in our writings, and better understand internal inconsistencies in arguments of our own research and that of others.*

Introduction

Concepts in social sciences are interwoven to bring forth different shades of social science fabric. One's position on a concept is shaped, if not determined, by his views on other concepts, and in

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turn, his position on that concept shapes his views about others. One's views about the nature of reality (ontology) and knowledge (epistemology) are likely to influence his sense of rationality, which, in turn, is likely to shape his idea of values and ethics (universal or contextual), how he understands power (one, two, three, or multidimensional), his understanding of institutions (set of formal rules or repetitive human behaviors prevalent in a society) and how human behavior relates to his conception of institutions, and the methods he thinks appropriate to study social phenomena to explain or predict human activity in social and political spheres. It is, therefore, unlikely that an anti-foundationalist, constructivist, post-modern scholar would like to develop a universally applicable predictive theory of crime; or a hardcore positivist would like to explore and 'explain' hidden structures in a society (e.g., patriarchy or informal power structures).

This paper aims at explaining how ontology and epistemology are related to methods (in terms of explanation and prediction) using example of how different ontological and epistemological perspectives affect the conception of power and the methods that are followed to study the nature and role of power in a society. In order to do that the paper would:

1. First, attempt at defining the concepts ontology, epistemology, and methods;
2. Second, try to explain how these concepts are interrelated following Colin Hay and Jonathan Grix's thesis of a directional relationship of ontology and epistemology with methods;
3. Third, try to demonstrate how this relationship works in practice with an example of different conceptions of 'power' – understood differently in different ontological and epistemological traditions resulting in different methods of studying it.

Ontology and Epistemology

Ontology: Ontology is “theory of being.”¹ It is a central concern of metaphysics – a philosophy of reality or being. Parmenides, a pre-Socratic Greek philosopher, is considered the founder of the concept as he expressed his claim about universality of ‘being’ in his poem: “whatever you can call by any name, whatever you can think of, must be.”² For the purpose of this paper, we’ll take Norman Blaikie’s definition: “Ontology refers to the claims or assumptions that a particular approach to social [or, by extension, political] enquiry makes about the nature of social [or political] reality – claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up, and how these units interact with one another.”³

Ontological position of any social scientist consists of his or her answers to these questions: What exists that we can know about? What is the nature of the social reality? Is social reality out there independent of our thought about it or does it depend on our knowledge of it? Answers to these questions result in a continuum of ontological positions ranging from essentialist, foundationalist, or positivists claiming existence of reality independent of our knowledge about it to anti-foundationalist that argue for social construction of social reality, having realists and others somewhere in between the two extremes.

Epistemology: Epistemology is “theory of knowledge.”⁴ It is generally believed that the concept of epistemology was also first expounded by Parmenides by making systematic distinction between

¹ David Marsh and Paul Furlong, “A Skin not a Sweater: Ontology and Epistemology in Political Science,” in *Theory and Methods in Political Science*, eds. David Marsh and Gerry Stoker (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 18.

² Anthony Kenny, *A New History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 1:199.

³ Norman Blaikie, *Approaches to Social Enquiry* (Cambridge: Polity, 1993), 6, quoted in, Colin Hay, *Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 61.

⁴ Marsh and Furlong, “Skin not a Sweater, 19.

knowledge and belief.⁵ Some degree of belief is normally at play in what we know about the world around us. The relation between knowledge and belief can be either causal or constitutive.⁶ Epistemological debates revolve around one or more of the following three questions: What is knowledge, what can we know, and how do we know what we know?⁷ For the purpose of this paper, we'll again take Norman Blaikie's definition: Epistemology refers to "the claims or assumptions made about the ways in which it is possible to gain knowledge of reality."⁸

Epistemological position of a social scientist consists of the answers to abovementioned three questions and helps him prefer one explanation of social or political phenomenon over other available explanations. It determines the degree of certainty one claims for his analyses and conclusions. It also determines one's understanding of the extent of generalizability of his conclusions beyond the context of original study. The epistemological positions, like that of ontology, form a continuum ranging from positivists to interpretivists having realists and others in between.

Methods (Explanation vs. Prediction)

Terms methods and methodology are interchangeably used in research literature for explicitly predefined ways of inquiry that supposedly earn validity for the findings. However, they are not synonymous; as "[Methodology] provides a sense of vision, where it is that the analyst wants to go with the research. The techniques and procedures (method), on the other hand, furnish the means for bringing that vision into reality."⁹ In short, science or philosophy of

⁵ Kenny, *Western Philosophy*, 1:145.

⁶ Keith Hossack, *The Metaphysics of Knowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1–31.

⁷ John Greco and Ernest Sosa, eds., *The Blackwell Guide to Epistemology* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1999), 1–32.

⁸ Blaikie, *Social Enquiry*, 6–7, quoted in, Hay, *Political Analysis*, 62.

⁹ Anselm L. Strauss and Juliet M. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998), 8.

studying how a research is carried out ‘scientifically’ is known as research methodology.¹⁰ Methodology is like deciding what is it that we want to make a building for (a cinema, hotel, school, or house); whereas methods are the techniques and skills that are required for woodwork, electric wiring, sanitary, and so on in a building for which methodology has already decided what it is going to be. For the purpose of this paper, we use the term methods as a synonym of methodology, and our main concern is the outcome of methodology in terms of predictive or explanatory theory.

The underlying purpose of following a research method is to make research ‘scientific’. This scientism is primarily understood as prevalent in natural sciences especially physics.¹¹ King et. al., while presenting the characteristics that they consider necessary for any research to be ‘scientific, declare that scientific research is “an ideal to which any actual quantitative or qualitative research, even the most careful one, is only an approximation.”¹² The characteristics they outline are:

1. goal of scientific research is inference,
2. procedures are public,
3. conclusions are uncertain, and
4. content is the method¹³

The concept of power is not being defined here because that is what last part of the paper would deal with. The following section attempts are demonstrating how these concepts shape and influence

¹⁰ Pradip Kumar Sahu, *Research Methodology: A Guide for Researchers in Agricultural Science, Social Science and other Related Fields* (New Delhi: Springer, 2013), 3.

¹¹ Fritz Machlup, “Are the Social Sciences Really Inferior,” in *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*, eds. Michael Martin and Lee C. McIntyre (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 5–19.

¹² Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 3–31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 7–9.

each other while they interact in theory and practice of social research.

For the purpose of this paper, we are concerned with only first characteristic of scientific research (i.e., goal of scientific research is inference). The inference of scientific research can be of explanatory or predictive nature. Those favoring predictive theory normally practice quantitative methods; while those who favor explanation, practice qualitative methods; and then there are those who are of the view that explanation is prediction – pattern prediction as against case prediction.¹⁴ We, for the purpose of this paper, would divide methods in two types based on the form of their intended inference – explanation or prediction.

Philosophical Foundations and Methods: Interaction of the Concepts

Ontology and epistemology serve as foundations for the whole edifice of social science. They provide core assumptions that underlie an academic research by informing the choice of research questions, methods of inquiry, ‘valid’ sources of information, and the form of theory produced as a result of research process. Research methods (explanation vs. prediction) are not only related to ontological and epistemological positions of the researcher but are supposedly, in most part, determined by them.

There are two approaches as to whether or not social scientists have specific ontological and epistemological positions which determine their orientation towards their subjects and thereby shape their choice of methods and their understanding of the function of theory. Clough and Nutbrown consider it ‘endlessly reinventing the wheel’ to elaborate ontological and epistemological background of one’s research. They remark, “In our work, we have – during the course of our research careers – worked within both positivist and interpretivist paradigms... The important point here is that we adopt

¹⁴ Carl G. Hempel, “The Function of General Laws in History,” in *Readings in the Philosophy of Social Science*, eds. Michael Martin and Lee C. McIntyre (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 45–46.

research stances as they are appropriate to our work.”¹⁵ Whereas, Marsh and Furlong are of the view that ontological and epistemological positions are “like a skin not a sweater: they cannot be put on and taken off whenever the researcher sees fit.”¹⁶

Colin Hay is of the view that these concepts are closely related and have a directional relation in the sense that “ontology logically precedes epistemology which logically precedes methodology.”¹⁷ Jonathan Grix extends Hay’s directional relationship to include methods and sources (ontology – epistemology – methodology – methods – sources).¹⁸ Based on philosophical issues in relation to choice of research methods raised by Guba and Lincoln,¹⁹ John W. Creswell identifies and outlines practical implications of ontological and epistemological positions of a researcher. Guba and Lincoln compared philosophical assumptions of qualitative methods with that of positivist traditions of research; whereas Creswell compared philosophical assumptions of different facets of qualitative methodology among themselves (acknowledging that qualitative research was by then “legitimate in its own right and did not need to be compared to achieve respectability”²⁰). He added philosophical assumptions of values and language to that of reality and knowledge (ontological, epistemological, axiological, rhetorical, and methodological assumptions) and presented an analysis of their practical implications for research methods.

¹⁵ Peter Clough and Cathy Nutbrown, *A Student’s Guide to Methodology: Justifying Enquiry* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), 30, quoted in, Jonathan Grix, *The Foundations of Research* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 57.

¹⁶ Marsh and Furlong, “Skin not a Sweater,” 17.

¹⁷ Hay, *Political Analysis*, 17.

¹⁸ Grix, *Foundations of Research*, 57–9.

¹⁹ Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, “Do Inquiry Paradigms Imply Inquiry Methodologies?” in *Qualitative Approaches to Evaluation in Education*, ed. D. M. Fetterman (New York: Praeger, 1988), 89–115.

²⁰ John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2007), 16.

One's answers to questions like what exists, what is its form, what are its units, how they interact, what is the nature of social reality (ontological assumptions) are bound to shape and influence the answers to questions like what and how we can know about the world (epistemological assumptions). One's position on these questions affects his choice of methods that he would like to employ to know what he thinks exists and can be known. It is rather one's position on ontology and epistemology that shapes the very questions he may ask in the first place, how he poses them, and how he sets about answering them. Foundationalists, essentialists, or positivists are primarily predictive in nature when it comes to methods of inquiry – evaluating and estimating relationships between variable X and Y; testing whether X statistically significantly affects Y; and predicting value of Y for a given value of X as well as forecasting future values of Y keeping all else equal. It is because they believe there is an absolute reality out there independent of one's thoughts about it, and that all they have to do is to find ways to get to that reality. Anti-foundationalists, interpretivists, and constructionists, on the other hand, do not aim to predict anything. They, at best, try to explain in detail the context of a social phenomenon and how it constructs human identities. It is because they do not believe in any reality independent of social construction. There is another version which claims that explanation is itself prediction but that is not our concern here for this paper.

Let's take an example of how ontological and epistemological perspectives affect methods (in terms of explanation vs. prediction). Can Western theories of criminal behavior among youth be applicable in Eastern societies like Pakistan? The answer depends on ontological and epistemological position of the person answering the question. Foundationalist ontology and positivist and post-positivist epistemologies identify youth as a natural category of population in any country. They consider deviant behavior a function of biological composition, psychological functioning, or social settings of youth committing crimes; and therefore, would consider these Western theories applicable as well as capable of making 'predictions' about youth in Eastern societies. On the other hand, postmodern traditions question universal occurrence of age categories and consider youth a socially and culturally constructed category. They offer historical

explanations of socially constructed and culturally sustained attributes or expectations attached to age groups and trace social constructions of ‘normal’ as a function of powerful discourses.²¹ For them, the answer to our question is in negative. To them, indigenous context of the issue needs to be ‘explained’ in detail to highlight cultural representations of youth and crime in any given society.

Power: An Illustration of the Directional Relationship

In order to further clarify the interplay of abovementioned concepts, let’s take the example of the concept of ‘power’ as it lends itself particularly well to illustrate the importance and impact of ontological and epistemological positions on research methods. It is because power has been understood and defined in myriad ways in commensuration with ontological and epistemological assumptions of the social scientists defining it. On one side of the continuum are positivists or methodological individualists or behaviorists and on the other side are social constructivists or post-modernists. There are many in between the two but for this paper we’ll only discuss the two extremes.

Methodological individualists and behaviorists (having individualist understanding of power) normally have foundationalist ontological position and believe in positivist epistemology. They argue for powerful role of human agency (structure-agency is an ontological concern) and propagate individualist theories of politics conceptualizing power as an ability to do or get things done. Their definition of power has an individualistic orientation as a legacy of modernism. To them, power “influences people to pursue particular objectives or adopt particular norms that direct or order their collective lives.”²²

²¹ See, for example, Sheila Brown, *Understanding Youth and Crime: Listening to Youth?* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), 4–25. Also see Jock Young, *The Exclusive Society* (London: Sage Publications, 1999).

²² Leslie Paul Thiele, “Modernity and Postmodernity,” in *Thinking Politics: Perspectives in Ancient, Modern, and Postmodern Political Theory* (New York: Chatman House, 2003), 69.

These individualist theories of power aim at explaining social phenomena as result of actions of individual agents motivated by their intentional states. Their ontologically position is that the degree and form of power held by individuals and institutions is independent of their thought about it and that there are values that “can be rationally and universally grounded.”²³ They are, therefore, mainly concerned with i) individuals wielding power; (Prime Ministers, Presidents, etc.); ii) formal institutions (cabinets, parliaments, etc.) and political processes (elections) that distribute power; and iii) moral and rational standards that individuals ought to observe while exercising their powers (rights and duties).²⁴

David Easton’s system analysis, Max Weber’s methodological individualism, and Harold Lasswell’s *Who Gets What, When, and How* are examples of individualist understanding of power. They are ‘ontological atomists,’ and believe that “basic human needs, capacities and motivations arise in each individual without regard to any specific feature of social groups or social interactions.”²⁵ They are not interested in the role of social interactions, processes, or structures in constructing human identities. Methodological individualism proposes a method that accounts for social phenomenon in terms of individual choices and acts. Therefore, the methodology they normally follow is primarily quantitative and comparative. The basic underlying ontological assumption behind comparative studies is that nature of social phenomena (in other words their ‘reality’) is independent of one’s thought about it and is same across states or systems; and by comparing institutions and structures, we can make reliable predictions and thereby can develop better institutions in future for authoritative allocation of values and resources.

²³ Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 130.

²⁴ Thiele, “Modernity and Postmodernity,” 70.

²⁵ Brian Fay, “Do We Need Others To Be Ourselves?, in *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 131.

On the other hand, constructivists or postmodernists do not even agree with Latin origin of the word ‘power’ (*potere*) that means ‘to be able,’ suggesting inherently present potentiality in the word. They are of the view that the notion that power means ‘an ability to do things’ is misleadingly oversimplified. “In its emphasis on concerted agency, the Latin root obscures the significance of power’s dispersion, circulation, and microphysical mechanics, its often automatic rather than intentional workings, and its detailed imbrication with knowledge, language, and thought.”²⁶

They are ‘ontological structuralists’,²⁷ and the idea of existence of universal human needs, capacities, and motivations does not appeal them. They are, therefore, not much concerned with the nature and degree of power held and exercised by individuals over other individuals in a society. They are rather concerned about the power that social environment exercises on individuals in constructing their identities.²⁸ They do not conceive power in traditional sense of rule-giving or domination, but embedded in a variety of domains and discourses, equated with knowledge, dispersed everywhere ensuring voluntary obedience.

Ontological position in this case is clearly anti-foundational and interpretivist as postmodernists do not recognize any kind of universality and permanence in the nature of individual power in pursuits of interests; they do not even “take for granted the unchanging nature of the social structures that shape individual human behavior.”²⁹ They rather insist that human identities are continuously constructed and developed through interactions of different forms of power. With these ontological and epistemological assumptions, they insist on explanation as a function of research method and theory. They do not intend to predict anything rather aim at understanding and explaining the social configurations of power in

²⁶ Wendy Brown, “Power after Foucault,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, eds. John S. Dryzek, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006), 65.

²⁷ Fay, “Do We Need Others, 131.

²⁸ Thiele, “Modernity and Postmodernity,” 72.

²⁹ Thiele, “Modernity and Postmodernity,” 80.

a given society. The two extreme positions on power make it clear that how positions on ontology and epistemology shape one's choice of methods in terms of its goal as prediction or explanation.

Concluding Remarks

Implications of this interaction of the philosophical foundations with research methods are both theoretical and practical in nature. First, we must know that different ontological and epistemological positions exist so that we can appreciate different types of researches and be able to recognize others' positions and also to defend our own positions. Because without recognizing the existence of different ontological positions, one might end up criticizing a research without realizing the ontological tradition the research is grounded in. Therefore, it is important not only to be aware of existence of different ontological positions but also to address one's own ontological and epistemological assumptions before choosing appropriate methods to study social phenomena. "Reluctance to address these issues (often) stems from vagueness, imprecision, or a failure to understand that there is more than one ontological perspective."³⁰

Any organized study about social phenomena should have to have a commitment to some sort of social ontology, because it should be based on a clear picture of what is social being. A sound comprehension of the relationship between philosophical foundations and the methods of research helps a researcher be clear about the aim of his research. It helps comprehend and indulge in theoretical debates and different approaches to social phenomena in one's writing. An understanding of this relationship helps understand internal inconsistencies in arguments of our own research and that of others. One can easily point out when an argument is not consistent with or embedded in ontological tradition that a particular research is based on.

³⁰ Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching* (London: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 12–13, quoted in, Grix, *Foundations of Research*, 61.

GLOBALIZATION AS A DRIVING FORCE OF ACCULTURATION: ITS IMPACTS ON THE CULTURE OF LAHORE

Dr. Khalid Manzoor Butt *

Khizar Abbass Bhatti **

Sanwal Hussain Kharl ***

Abstract: *Globalization has predisposed effects on regional cultures in various parts of the world. Many social scientists think that globalization sometimes become synonymous with American culture, so features of a local culture are predominantly affected by American food habits, pop music, films, and outfits. Acculturation, having a back force of globalization, is harbingering mélange and hybridity as a result of intermingling between global culture and local cultures, and Punjabi culture, particularly of Lahore, is no exception. Consistent flow of a particular ways of life and values from all over the world, especially American culture, due to globalization, is affecting many features of Punjabi culture. This paper provides an analysis of acculturation; mélange of American and Punjabi culture of Lahore. It will be analyzed that how cultural globalization is affecting local cultural components. The crux is to examine vicissitudes in intangible characteristics of culture such as local norms, language, values, traditions, family values and ways of thinking, rituals, and tangible features like food, sports, and demography of Punjabi culture in Lahore.*

Keywords: globalization, acculturation, mélange, Punjabi culture, vicissitude, hybrid culture

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Introduction

Specter of globalization is ubiquitous and omnipresent, visible particularly in the urban societies. Many people are in the habit of texting, chatting, reading, twittering, talking, surfing, and searching by laptops, tablets, and cell phones. It has affected the means of communication, transportation, and, especially, it has brought revolution in the information technology. It brings cyber crimes and introduces a new phenomenon of cyber war; thus, fight in the battle field seems obsolete. Now global integrated banking sector through internet banking (*e-banking*), global integration vies new modes of communications and availability of social websites like Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, Yahoo, QQ, and WeChat have enhanced the capability of surveillance and espionage manifolds. So, it has made countries highly dependent economically and functionally, leaving no human gamut untouched.

The dictum of globalization is very complex and intricate to define. Broadly speaking, it has four aspects: economic, political, technological and cultural. Basically, globalization is an economic oriented phenomenon rather a political or cultural one. It was considered for integration, interdependence, de-territorialization, and process of beyond boarder. Martin defines, “Globalization is an increasing interaction of people through the growth of the international flow of money, ideas, and culture. Globalization is primarily an economic process of integration that has social and cultural aspects. It involves goods and services, and the economic resources of capital, technology and data.”¹ One should understand that globalization and internationalization are two different notions or processes; internationalization indicates increasing significance of relations among nations or states based on treaties, alliances and agreements, and involvement of enterprises and corporations in global market, whereas globalization talks about an economic integration, free trade and free mobility of capital, ideas, and values. Basic unit of difference is nation/state. Internationalization is an inter-

¹ Martin Albrow, *Globalization, Knowledge and Society* (London: Saga Publication Limited, 1990), 61–3.

state or inter-nation course, but it is not necessitated with globalization.²

However, cultural globalization can be defined as transformation and mobility of values, ideas, and traditions around the globe to intensify and integrate social relations.³ It involves the formation of new shared values, norms, and knowledge, and alteration of old with new ones or sometimes establishment of a *mélange* embracing of different elements from multiple cultures called Hybrid Culture and the process is called Hybridization or acculturation.⁴ It welcomes interconnectedness of different cultures and produces collective cultural identities. The acculturation may be defined as a process of blending values or features of different cultures. The driver of acculturization (globalization) is affecting the traditional norms, family values, food, dress, and even the way of living of Punjabi people of Lahore.

Methodology

The research is conducted through historical, descriptive, and analytical methods of research. The data has been collected through secondary resources including books, articles, journals, magazines, and newspapers etc. This paper analyzes globalization and culture, especially Punjabi culture. Lahore is taken as a case study because of its historical, economic, and cultural significance.

Globalization and Culture: Theoretical Grounds

Globalization is a multifaceted process, affecting most of the aspects of the society including culture, which is an important aspect and recognition of any society. The culture normally is a congregation of tangible and intangible components of a community

² Herman E. Daly, "Globalization verses Internationalization," *Global Policy Forum* (1999), <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/162/27995.html>.

³ Paul James, *Globalization, Nationalism and Tribalism* (London: Saga Publication Limited, 2006), 14–17.

⁴ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture Global Mélange* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 65.

that engrosses values, traditions, norms, cuisine, religious rituals, music, sports, entertainment, language, economy, polity and dress etc.⁵ Currently, the process of globalization has accelerated, and cultures are no longer safe from its influence. The interaction between culture and globalization is constant and irreversible, that is, influencing the cultural patterns with a mutual penetration. This interaction can lead towards ‘globalization of culture’ and contributes an exchange of values.⁶ It is a force that is homogenizing the cultural differentials and influencing social diversity in the world. The roots of globalization can be traced back into the arrival of Industrial Revolution and its processes accelerated in the post-industrial society.⁷ However, social scientists gave serious attention to this phenomenon in 1980s, the crucial period of take off by globalization.⁸ The decade brought an end of the Cold War era. As a resultant, the collapse of the USSR heralded, the hegemony of the western powers led by the US further triggered Americanization of the world. Additionally, the end of Cold War introduced a new form of imperialism in the world, ‘cultural imperialism’ to infuse their products⁹ that could be defined as utilization of economic, political, and cultural structures to pressurize, control or influence other states especially the dependent ones.¹⁰ Robertson is of the view that the presence of American corporations and the other western structures

⁵ For detailed discussion, see Steven Barkan, *Sociology: Understanding and changing the Social World* (Boston: Flat World Knowledge Inc, 2011).

⁶ Raikhan et al., “The interaction of globalization and culture in the modern world,” *Social and Behavioral Sciences* Volume 122, (2014): 8–12.

⁷ Roland Robertson, “Mapping the global condition: Globalization as the central concept,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 7, no. 2-3 (1990):19.

⁸ Marilyn Strathern, “Globalisation and the new technologies of knowing: anthropological calculus or chaos?” in *Shifting Contexts* (Routledge, 2012), 124.

⁹ Dorothy E. Leidner, “Globalization, culture, and information: Towards global knowledge transparency,” *Journal of Strategic Information Systems* Volume 19, (2010), 69–77.

¹⁰ See John Galtung, “Structural Theory of Imperialism,” *Journal of Peace Research* Volume 8, no. 2 (1971): 81–117.

such as World Bank, IMF, and so on, are ostensible indications. American media, corporations, tourism, and other political or economic models are leading towards cultural imperialism; the hegemony of American Culture.¹¹ These forces are synchronizing the global culture under the camouflage of demagogic notions like modernization or global village. As stated by Pieterse, “Modernization and Americanization are the latest versions of westernization. If colonialism delivered Europeanization, neocolonialism under the US hegemony delivers Americanization.”¹²

Furthermore, sophistication in technology has shrunk distances between people, nations, and cultures. It is bringing interconnectedness among cultures that further ignites the process of acculturation. It seems that acculturation is affecting the cultural diversity. There is a confrontation between global force, which talks about homogenization and uniformity of cultures, and original cultural forces which want to preserve their cultural diversity and idiosyncratic values. In this scenario, it is a challenge to maintain the original traits and values.¹³ The results are showing that the later forces are going to be retreated in this battle. In similar fashion, Punjabi culture is being affected by Americanization and is losing ground to stand and preserve its originality.

Moreover, globalization and original culture are mingling together that can lead towards hybridity. Some experts entitle this interaction between globalization and local cultures a kind of cultural homogeneity. When two different cultures interact, outcomes are in form of homogeneity or heterogeneity.¹⁴ The chances of homogeneity are more because in case of dominance by the single would lead to it.

¹¹ Eugene Thacker, *The Global Genome Biotechnology, Politics and Culture* (London: MIT Press, 2005), 17.

¹² Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 51.

¹³ Kamila Sobol, “Globalization, national identity, biculturalism and consumer behavior: A longitudinal study of Dutch consumers,” *Journal of Business Research* Volume 82, (2018): 340–353.

¹⁴ For detailed discussion, see Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, *Globalization, Modernity and Spatialization of Social Theory: An Introduction* (London: Sage Publication, 1995).

So, it is apparent that the global culture is playing a dominant role. This is a unidirectional perspective that can shed original cultural traits by a dominant culture.¹⁵ Likewise, hybridization or homogeneity is obvious and vicissitudes in cultural values are also indispensable. Eventually, original values of Punjabi culture will be affected by ‘occupational values’¹⁶ having a global look. These occupational values control the social structure with three elements. They become operators, engineers and executives of an affected society. However, the vicissitudes in rural and urban regions of Punjabi culture are quite different.

Impacts of Globalization on Punjabi Culture: A Case Study of Lahore

Punjabi Culture is an identity of those who live in Punjab. Punjab is a Persian word ‘*punj*’ means five, and ‘*aab*’ means water, so Punjab means ‘land of five rivers’ Indus as the largest river in capacity of water and length, others are Sutlej, Jhelum, Chenab, and Ravi, all merge into the Indus River later. Punjab has been an important region historically, because of its fertile soil and capacity to produce crops and spices that attracted many invaders from all over the world – Arabs, Turks, Persians, Afghanis, French, and English. A Punjabi writer visualizes it in these words:

The Punjab, being the main gateway into India, was fated to be the perpetual field of battle and the first home of all the conquerors. Few invaders, if any, brought wives with them, and most of those who settled in their conquered domains acquired local women. Thus, the blood of many conquering races came to mingle, and many alien languages – Arabic, Persian, Pushto, and Turkish – came to be spoken in the land. Thus, too, was the animism of the aboriginal

¹⁵ Cleveland et al., “Identity, culture, dispositions and behavior: A cross-national examination of globalization and culture change,” *Journal of Business Research* Volume 69, (2016): 1090–1102.

¹⁶ Stauro C. Carr, *Globalization and Culture at Work* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2004), 236.

subjected to the Vedantic, Jain, and Buddhist religions of the Aryans, and to the Islamic faith of the Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Persians, and Afghans. Out of this mixture of blood and speech were born the Punjabi people and their language. There also grew a sense of expectancy that out of the many faiths of their ancestors would be born a new faith for the people of the Punjab.¹⁷

So, it is plausible to argue that distinctiveness of Punjabi culture and language is a result of an evolutionary process.

Punjab plays a very dominant role in Pakistan because of its populous strength, counting for more than half of the total population. Lahore is its capital city which is cosmopolitan, ancient, and a cultural hub, because of antiquities and strategic location. It exercises a potent cultural influence over Pakistan.¹⁸ That is the reason that this city is taken as a case study to investigate the impacts of globalization over Punjabi culture. So, it is necessary to discuss the reasons of growing effects of globalization, specifically in Lahore. Despite of an economic conglomeration, development, industrialization, and the abovementioned characteristics of Lahore, tourism is another important factor of globalization. It paves the way for exchange and flow of ideas, values, knowledge, images, and other intellectual items as well as people globally.¹⁹ As one facet of the global process, it is mainly dominated by the western industrialized society from where majority of the tourist originates. They serve as representatives of their cultures as well as a symbol and intrinsic part of the concerned cultural entity; hence, prove productive agents but passive recipients

¹⁷ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1963), 1: 13.

¹⁸ Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore, Past and Present* (Lahore: B.R Publishing Corporation, 1996), 19–20.

¹⁹ Donald McLeod, *Tourism, Globalization and Cultural Change* (Frankfurt: Channel View Publications, 2004), 4.

of cultural values and ideas.²⁰ In the context of Lahore, tourism is also playing an important role in globalization process and harbingering vicissitudes in Punjabi culture. The features that are being affected mostly by globalization are mentioned below:

Cuisine: Punjabi traditional dishes are quite delicious and famous. Cuisine is really influenced by agrarian lifestyle from the prehistoric Harappa Civilization. Traditional food is enriched with butter ingredients, vegetables, and a meat flavors; *Chicken Tikka* (Steam Chicken), *Paratha* (Mint Bread), *Beryani* (Chicken Rice), *Curry* (Stuffed), *Paneer* (Cheese), *Kulcha* (Bread), *Halwa Puri*, *Tandoori Chicken* (Roasted Chicken), *Bhatoora*, *Lassi* (Yogurt-based Drink) *Gajjar Halwa* (sweet made up of carrot), *Sarson ka Saaq* (stew whose main ingredient is mustard greens) and *Makki ki Roti* (flatbreads made with corn meal) are very renowned dishes.²¹

Nevertheless, the growing globalization has been affecting the traditional cuisine. *Lassi* is a common traditional drink of Punjab that has been replaced by tea, coffee, and soft drinks in case of Lahore. Previously, guests and relatives were served with *Lassi*, but now this norm is rarely found in Lahore. Now, guests are presented tea, coffee or soft drinks like Coca Cola, Pepsi, and Sprite etc. It is hard to find *Sarson ka Saag* and *Makki ki Roti*, the most famous dishes of Punjabi cuisine. Fast food such as burger, shawarma, pizza, sandwich, and French fries are quite common, and people now are more induced eating fast food, even in congregations or parties.

The first fast food restaurant was opened in 1997, and now one can see fast food shops at malls, highway sides, schools, gas stations, streets, shopping centers, airports, and even hospitals. There are 53 branches of McDonald in Pakistan, and more than 15 are in Lahore.²² KFC has 68 branches, and 14 out of total are in Lahore.²³

²⁰ See V. L. McLeod, "Tourism and the globalization of a Canary Island," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* Volume 5, no. 3, (1999): 443–56.

²¹ "Punjabi cuisine," *Wikipedia*, last modified December 30, 2018, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punjabi_cuisine.

²² "McDonald's Pakistan," McDonald's Corporation, accessed May 19, 2018, <https://mcdonalds.com.pk/learn/mcdonald-s-pakistan>.

McDonaldization is affecting Punjabi traditional foods through multinational corporations that are commingling local cuisine and setting stage for its monopoly. The wave of fast food restaurant is dominating more and more sectors.²⁴ Frank discloses:

It is important to point out how globalization affects traditional food. The idea created by fast food that it is cheaper and faster reduces the demand for traditional food. Western diet also affects health and nutrition as they are rich in animal products, refined carbohydrates and low in whole grains, fruits and vegetables. The consumption of Coca Cola, Pepsi and McDonald's is moving the world towards a deskbound lifestyle.²⁵

New generation is smitten of fast food because of its easy availability and swift making; online order, and free home delivery, whereas, traditional food and dishes are unable to compete in big and fast city Lahore. Traditional dishes take much time in cooking, but fast food like burger, pizza, and shawarma could be ready in few minutes. Certain fast foods are cheaper as compare to traditional Punjabi dishes. All these differences are generated by globalization process which is challenging the traditional cuisine of Punjab, because it discourages customers and locals to carry on them.

Language: To have common language among members forms highest communicational relations; whether it could be songs, music, dance, sculpture, poetry and humor, or consumption of leisure time in gossips, or it is congregational apparatus like marriage, concert, daily rituals and birth ceremonies or expressing personal feelings engrossing sexual activities, affections, love, respect and other hierarchical relations between women and men and it is a relationship between nature, man, and god, language is one of the

²³ "KFC Branches, Outlets, Franchises, And Shops In Pakistan," accessed May 20 2018, <http://brandspakistan.pk/kfc-outlet-54.aspx>.

²⁴ George Ritzer, *McDonaldization of Society* (New York: Sage Publication, 1993), 19.

²⁵ Frank J. Lecher, *Globalization: The Making of World Society* (Hoboken: Willey, 2009), 28.

most important characteristics of any culture. Transformation to the next generation, literary work, oration, and writing are the instruments to preserve a language, but they are somehow diminishing in case of Punjabi language. Emergence of English as lingua franca and demands of its learning has led to mushroom growth of English medium schools in Lahore in the age of globalization.

Punjabi language is no longer safe from ‘trend to blend’. In case of Lahore, private schools are growing and proudly glorifying their English medium of instruction. For example, Beacon House School System is an international company that runs largest school networks worldwide that has many branches in Lahore.²⁶ Despite of this, a score of private schools and academies have been teaching specialized courses in English. The Educators, Lahore Grammar School, Sterling Foundation School, and the Allied School System etc. are considered as the best schools in Lahore, and all are English medium. None of the private or governmental schools in Lahore has a medium of teaching as Punjabi. Though, some of the literary work had been done in Punjabi language in the decades of 1960s and 1970s. In this regard, name of Najam Hussain Sayed is at the top in criticism, poetry, and plays, but in last three decades, this legacy is decreasing whereas specter of globalization is becoming more active and potent.²⁷

In Lahore, Punjabi is mere a spoken language. Parents generally discourage their children to speak in their mother tongue and prefer English in communication; child is considered more intelligent and decent when speaks in English. Young generation like to have social conversation in Urdu or English, even those who have Punjabi as their mother language.²⁸ Youngsters seem less interested in their original values and cultural traits. Punjabi language is not an official language of the Punjab province. Generally, people of Lahore

²⁶ Beaconhouse, accessed March 10, 2018, <https://www.beaconhouse.net>.

²⁷ Alyssa Ayres, “Language, Nation and Symbolic Capital: The Case Study of Punjab,” *Journal of Asian Studies* Volume 7, no.3 (2008): 925.

²⁸ Mariyam Gillani, “Punjabi: A Tolerated Language Young Generation’s attitude,” *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* Volume 4, no.5 (2014), 131–32.

speak Punjabi but cannot write it. It is the most spoken and, simultaneously, the most neglected language of the country.²⁹ Globalization is, thus, creating threatening tendencies for Punjabi language.³⁰

Nevertheless, the government is not giving any attention to this issue. To preserve and transform Punjabi to next generation, it is required to speak and write in formal as well informal conversations, even in family, academic institutions, work places, and congregational ceremonies. But it seems that in the coming few decades if this situation continues then Punjabi language, especially literary work, will diminish. Apart from English, and, now, new trend to learn to Chinese language will also affect Punjabi language. The future of Punjabi language seems bleak and insecure due to the global process and trend to learn English and Chinese. Punjab government initiated policies and signed few MoUs with Chinese government regarding language exchange programme. Regularly, hundreds of students from Punjab are sent to China to learn Chinese language. It is not very hard to understand that what will be the future of Punjabi language in Lahore.

Dress: Turban, *shalwar* or *pajama* (trouser) and *kameez* or *kurta* (shirt) for men and *shalwar* suit and *dupatta* for women are the traditional dress codes of Punjabi culture. These have been to some extent replaced by the western dresses like T-shirts and trousers as casual wearing, and three-piece, dress pant, tie and shirt for formal meeting and gatherings in Lahore. People generally wear traditional dresses in cultural or marriage ceremonies. Western and globalized trends in fashion and garment industry are taking away people from their traditional wearing. However, women generally feel more protective in traditional dresses as compare to western outfits.³¹ The

²⁹ Muttahir Ahmed Khan, "Mother Tongue: The dilemma of Punjabi Language," *Dawn*, March 30, 2014, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1096547>.

³⁰ Pritam Singh, "Globalisation and Punjabi identity: Resistance, relocation and reinvention (yet again!)," *Journal of Punjab Studies* Volume 19, no. 2 (2012): 153–172.

³¹ See Marwan Kraidy, "Scenarios of Global Culture," (2005): 15–44.

famous and crowded markets of garments in Lahore like *Anarkali*, Hyperstar, Emporium Mall, Packages Mall, and Defence are full of western outfits. People of Lahore prefer to wear western brands like Nike, Vitoria, Oxford, Engine, Denizen, Levis, Outfitters, and Polo.³² The concept of *babu* (educated, fluent in English and well-dressed man: refers to westernized) has affected the trend to wear cultural dresses even in rural areas of Punjab. Mostly students and professionals are getting themselves away from the traditional manhood just to become *babu*. Globalization has made it very easy to access and purchase clothes online that are different from the cultural outfits.³³ For example, daraz.pk, leisureclub.pk, kaymu.pk, yayvo.com, shopdaily.pk, and many other websites provide online facility to buy western dresses. New development between Alibaba group which is an online retailer giant in China and daraz.pk will open new horizon for online buyer in Pakistan, as daraz.pk is acquired by Alibaba Group in \$150 million recently.³⁴ This joint venture can be considered as another stroke of this global process to mar local market in Lahore.

Entertainment: According to Nadia Kiwan, musical facet of culture is guided by localized style of singing, lyrics, and rhythms.³⁵ Folk, *Bhangra* and *Sufi* music is the traditional music of Punjab having *Tumbi*, *Sarangi*, *Chimta*, and *Dhole* (drum) as musical instruments. It involves customs, local scenes, rituals and vernacular dialectics of musicians. It absorbs various rites and occasions of daily life like birth, marriage, circumcision, and other mundane parties, festivals, or sports events. Unrestrained globalization has posed perilous predisposition to the survival of traditional music in Lahore.

³² “Stitchfit,” accessed March 22, 2018, <http://www.stitchfit.com/affordable-western-wear-brands-of-pakistan>.

³³ Arifa Shahid, “Ours is a Hybrid Culture,” March 30, 2014, <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/03/30/globalisation-and-pakistani-culture/>.

³⁴ “Online retailer giant Alibaba buys Daraz.pk for \$150 millions,” Pakistan Defence, accessed March 15, 2018, <https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/online-retailer-giant-alibaba-buys-daraz-pk-for-150millions.536942/>.

³⁵ Nadia Kiwan, *Cultural Globalization and Music* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 36.

It is leading towards an adulteration and hybridity, one can call it a fusion of folk with the western pop music. Traditional instruments have been replaced with new westernized electric musical instruments like guitar, keyboard, drum set, saxophone, R-8, French Synthesizer horn, and marimba etc. Songs have been influenced by rapping and versions of American pop music, represented in movies, television, music, satellite cast, and many other ways.

Likewise, Hollywood is another factor that is really undermining the local film industry in Lahore. People are fans of Hollywood and Bollywood movies rather than Punjabi movies. In the decades from 1950s to 1990s, Punjabi film industry was the largest and profitable in the subcontinent, but now, it has been shrunk by globalization that has turned preferences of young generation.³⁶ But now Bollywood movies are making more and more viewers, and it is improbable for local musical and film industry to compete them in terms of technology and budget. As foreign industry is proliferating and becoming prosperous, local cinema and theatre industry is shrinking. *Bhangra* music and dance have been blended and become a hybrid identity.³⁷ CNN, BBC and Aljazeera television channels are omnipresent in the homes. Only CNN has a network in 212 countries and over 200 million households.³⁸ TV shows that are produced in USA are overshadowing the locally produced shows from Sicily to Singapore.³⁹

Additionally, availability of dish antenna and TV cable are working as pouring oil on the burning flames by promoting Western and Indian culture through dramas, films, music, talk shows and series. Previously, *Bhangra* was performed in ceremonial gatherings, but now dance is performed on Bollywood songs. Majority of young

³⁶ Ghulam Ali Khan, "Globalization and Pakistan: Some Realities," *Adwa* Volume XXIV, (2010): 18–21.

³⁷ Sharma and Hutnyk, *Dis-orienting Rhythms: The Politics of the New South Asian Dance Music* (London: Zed Books, 1996), 61–70.

³⁸ "Globalization and Culture," *Sunny Levin Institutes*, www.globalization101.org/.

³⁹ Marwan M. Kraidy, *Corporate Transculturism* (Temple University Press, 2005), 76.

generation is not able to perform their traditional dance in Lahore. Pritam Singh while discussing the effects of globalization on Punjabi cinema says, “It does not mean that the future is shaped only by globalization,”⁴⁰ but it seems that the future will be shaped by globalization, at least exposure until now is stating in this manner. The movies from 2000 to 2010, made by Punjabi film industry are not only below the standard but have also misrepresented the culture of Punjab that pushes the viewers to opt Hollywood and Bollywood. Image of Punjabi *Mutyaar* (girl) is really affected and marred in these movies because of misrepresentation. This approach by Punjabi film directors really has affected the local cinema. The cinemas showing Punjabi movies attract viewers mainly of labor and uneducated class, located on Abbot Road and McLeod Road. On contrary, the cinemas which show movies of Hollywood and Bollywood are used to drench with viewers and are profitable like Super cinema, IMAX, Emporium and Cinestar in Defence, Model Town, Johar Town and Gulberg. Indeed, this is very catastrophic for local Punjabi theatre and film industry. There is no second opinion that theatre is source of promotion and presentation of cultural life and values, and if it gets affected, it becomes difficult to eulogize cultural preponderance.

Family Values: Family is a primary unit and institution in every society. Children get social and cultural orientation from their parents and family. When it is affected, role of family members is changed too. Family values are getting altered because of globalization. Historically, Punjabi society is patrimonial, and female member has less to say in domestic decision making. But in Lahore, their role is expanded because of their growing economic activities and their women have been excelled in education and economy. Joint family system is metamorphosing into a nuclear family system. Boys and girls enjoy freedom to choose their mates within family and out. Collectivistic look of traditional family system is transforming into individualistic, due to globalization. Basically, globalization is altering traditional gender role.⁴¹ Clan and *bridary* (kinship) system

⁴⁰ Singh, “Globalisation and Punjabi identity.”

⁴¹ Arifa Shahid, “Globalization and Pakistani Culture,” <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/03/30/globalisation-and-pakistani-culture/>.

that was very strong is now losing its grounds in Lahore, which is a strong social preponderance of Punjab in cities and crucially in rural areas. Marriage within clan or cast was preferred whereas outside clan it was considered as a social sin. Now, this trend is being changed, especially in cities where education and wealth is considered an alternative parameter for the selection of the mate despite of their kinship, background, or clan affiliation.

Economy: As mentioned above, globalization is an economic phenomenon; impacts on local economy are indispensable. Swift communication and extension of transportation network have eased accessibility between vernacular and international market. Interdependence and integration of various industries have been revolutionized by globalization as in the case of Lahore that spurs economic growth. Punjabi society has agrarian based economy. Where globalization bestows many benefits for local farmers, it is creating problems too. Development of infrastructure has granted access to the local market.⁴² Peasant can easily move their raw material and crops to the market in a comfortable way and quickly.

Economic globalization is a force of industrial economy that is benefiting multinational companies, particularly American companies over local industries. It has provided a dominant position to American market over local mores.⁴³ Lahore is not a rural area, but it provides the most active and feasible local market to Punjabi farmers of the neighboring regions and localities. Globalization sets platform for economic mobility for *Lahories*. Squirearchy is selling their lands to establish industries in Lahore. This trend is not confined to any class or category, marginalized cultivators are leaving agricultural sector, and landed aristocracy is moving into metropolitan cities like Lahore for settlement because their offspring study in large cities. So, they are investing their surplus in non-agrarian sector.⁴⁴ This change is causing more urbanization in

⁴² Ghulam Ali Khan, "Globalization and Pakistan."

⁴³ "Globalization and Culture," *Sunny Levin Institutes*.

⁴⁴ Bhupinder Singh, "Imagining Punjab in the Age of Globalization," a reader's words: Literature, Politics. Paradise, Labyrinths (blog), November 5, 2006, <https://bhupindersingh.ca/2006/11/05/imagining-punjab-in-the-age-of-globalization/>.

Pakistan. According to the official results of census of 1998 and 2017, population of Lahore has experienced a tremendous growth. Lahore has over 11 million inhabitants that were only 5 million in 1998; urbanization rate in Punjab has increased from 31percent (1998) to 37 percent (2017),⁴⁵ especially it is creating more problems for cities like Lahore regarding housing, sanitary, water supply, traffic, and education. Numbers in population has increased, but numbers in universities and school are still static. However, private school system has spread like a mushroom in Lahore. Interactivity between global and local market at the stage of liberal economy is leading towards hybridity. This hybrid child is named *glocalization* of market that refers think globally but act locally.⁴⁶ Nexus between local market management and global forces widens horizon of business that is benefiting local or small business and retailers. It provides opportunity to local business to ship their commodities abroad in short time. It also renders international customers to local goods and local market that increases competition between global forces and local forces in arena of international market. In this sense, it helps to connect local market business with global and multinational companies, undermining phenomenon of territorial limitations and tariffs.

Suggestions and Conclusion

The impacts and severity of globalization are very much clear. It is also conspicuous that globalization is affecting cultural diversity in the world, holding the flag of homogenization of economy. It has posed threats through altering local economic and cultural values and is promoting global and American pop cultural values that have occupational values for indigenous people of Punjab. It has heralded vicissitudes in Punjabi language, dress, culture, and family values. Salam Rushdie argues about acculturation in this globalized world, “Do cultures actually exist as separate, pure, defensible entity? Is not *mélange*, adulteration, impurity, and pick in mix at the heart of the

⁴⁵ “Pakistan Bureau of Statistics,” accessed March 14, 2018, <http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/>.

⁴⁶ See Carr, *Globalization and Culture*.

idea of modern?”⁴⁷ That is what happening with Punjabi culture in Lahore: the hub of Punjabi culture is now going to become fulcrum of hybridity, adulteration, and *mélange*. This *mélange* has the ingredients of western, American, and Neo-imperial cultures through the process of acculturation, of which globalization is a driving force.

However, it has been discussed above that how this trend to blend spreading contagious bacteria through technological advancement and economic interdependence and integration. This process is taking different forms and methods to practice its activities, whether they are positive or negative. Admittedly, the process of acculturation led by globalization is posing severe threats to social facets and Punjabi cultural identity in Lahore. Inventions of new technologies in video games and mobiles are affecting cultural values of Punjab. Either we say it is globalization or Neo-imperialism, but the point is that cultures are commingling at accelerated speed and pace: its ultimate target is cultural diversity. If this speed of homogenization of cultures is be carried out by forces of globalization, it will seriously affect Punjabi cultural distinction or diversity in Lahore. It will be blended, if not restrained by the government, and will a become hybrid culture as well as Lahore is concerned.

Likewise, effective measures should be taken by the government for preservation of original traits and values of Punjabi culture. For this purpose, Punjabi language should be compulsory at primary and secondary level like in Sindh province where Sindhi language is a compulsory subject in schools. Classical Punjabi literature should be taught at graduate level as a compulsory subject. Further, Punjabi debate competitions should be arranged in educational institutions. Punjabi sports competitions should be organized at tehsil, district, and provincial level. Cultural festivals should be conducted to promote Punjabi food. Punjabi outfit shows and competitions should be organized to encourage local industry and cultural dresses. In addition, the government should make it mandatory for every channel shown in Punjab province to have some broadcasting related to Punjabi culture on daily basis. Measures should be taken to translate knowledge and literature from foreign

⁴⁷ Kraidy, *Corporate Transculturism*.

languages to Punjabi. Parents and families should be sensitized that there is no harm in speaking with their children in Punjabi. Leaders, celebrities, and dignitaries should take the lead and launch consistent campaigns for the promotion of Punjabi language and make it a matter of pride; *Punjabi wen tey bol Punjabi* or I am proud to be a Punjabi. International Punjabi conferences should be organized and award for best book and literature in Punjabi should be given. Finally, the government should encourage Punjabi movies and music. The suggestions could be helpful in promoting culture values and preservation of originality of Punjabi culture. In a globalized world, we cannot live aloof, so the better solution is to promote and preserve Punjabi language.

ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND LEVANT AND SYRIAN CRISIS: CHALLENGE OR OPPORTUNITY FOR MAJOR POWERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Abstract: *Syrian crisis and emergence of Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) are the two major developments that have immensely influenced the contemporary Middle Eastern politics. This research focuses on studying state's behavior to secure its national objectives when a challenge arises. Amongst multiple perspectives of international politics, realism provides basic framework for understanding a state's behavior to ensure and safeguard its national interest. This paper studies that how regional and extra-regional powers are viewing Syrian crisis and the rise of Islamic State of Iraq and Levant, while using secondary resources of data collection. The study analyzes the standpoint of Iran and Saudi Arabia along with Russia and the United States of America regarding Syrian crisis and ISIL as a challenge or opportunity for the accomplishment of their goals in the region. The study suggests that the realist intentions of regional and extra-regional powers are the primary factors vis-à-vis disturbed geo-political landscape of Middle Eastern region. It is power politics of these powers that has made the region prone to the rise of violent non-state actors, such as Islamic State of Iraq and Levant. In addition to that, where ISIL and Syria Crisis posed a threat to the national interests of major powers in the region, it also provided them an opportunity to fill the power vacuum, and to establish themselves in the region as hegemons.*

Keywords: realism, major powers, Middle East, ISIL, Syria, Iran, Turkey, Russia, Saudi Arab, America

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Introduction

The Syrian crisis and rise of ISIL are usually referred as the result of flaws in the regional order of the Middle East. Some scholars express that it is the weak nation state system that leads towards emergence of ISIL and has plunged Syria into civil war and eventually as a battle ground for the international rivalry. However, one aspect which is usually blindsided by academicians is the generation of fault lines in the Middle Eastern political scenario as consequences of the major power politics that has its roots in colonial period. However, the events in current history that Middle East witnessed, for instance, the US invasion of Iraq and Arab Spring generated the power vacuums that gave birth to the rise of ISIL and caused instability in the Middle Eastern region. These states manipulate the regional dynamics in their favor to secure their own national interests vested in the region. This research study would go back to the roots of theoretical paradigms of International Relations to understand that how major powers change and challenge regional orders in their favor.

Theoretical framework

Conflict is a part of international politics. With the rise of non-state actors, which believe in using violence to accomplish their objectives, the task for the states to secure their national objectives has become more challenging and daunting. Thus, states go to any length to counter the formidable situation generated ahead of them. This makes it a necessary for states to identify pattern of behavior of different actors in the wake of any ominous challenge. One of the dynamics of Middle Eastern politics is active participation of regional and trans-regional powers. The term great power, major power, or global power can be explained as a state which possesses economic, military, and political power and can exercise its influence on other states and non-state actors' policies.¹ In the Middle Eastern politics, the role of the USA and Russia qualifies them as major powers.

¹ Daniel Abebe, "Great Power Politics and the Structure of Foreign Relations," *Chicago Journal of International Law* (2009): 5.

Regional powers, as explained by Huntington, are states that possess significant power relation in a region, but do not have the power to extend their influence outside that particular region.² Osterud discusses the characteristics of a regional major power as a state that is a part of the geographical boundaries of a region, has influence in the regional political design, and can become a major power. Furthermore, major power can sustain in case of any coalition formed in the region.³ In the light of the Middle Eastern regional dynamics, Iran and Saudi Arab are the most capable states to be entitled as major regional powers amongst all the Middle Eastern states.

The ISIL and Syrian conflicts are the two on-going phenomena of the Middle East which are shaping and reshaping the regional dynamics. Rooted in the thoughts of Machiavelli, the realist perspective provides that states are rational and prudent actors which are goal oriented and driven by unregulated competition amongst themselves in the international politics.⁴ They evaluate their foreign policies through meticulous calculations, and execute their decisions in terms of power, as the status of a state in international system is determined by power it can carry out.⁵ In addition to that, politics among nations is all about competition, rivalry, and struggle for power.⁶ With respect to major powers, the key assumptions of realist tradition maintain that major power is a primary actor that formulates power structure of the world. The anarchic system, offensive and defensive capabilities of a state, and uncertainty in the international system raise concerns amongst states about their survival and the desire to prefer maintenance of status quo in their own favor which

² Samuel P. Huntington, "The Lonely Superpower," *Foreign Affairs* (1999): 37.

³ Oyvind Osterud, "Regional Great Powers," in *Regional Great Powers in International Politics*, Iver B. Neumann, (Basingstoke, 1992), 10.

⁴ Jack Donnelly, *Realism and International Relations* (Denver: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 34.

⁵ Alan James, "The realism of realism: the state and the study of international relations," *Review of International Studies* 15, no. 3 (1989): 159.

⁶ Scott Burchill, "Realism and Neo-Realism," in *Theories of International Relations*, ed. Scott Burchill, et al. (New York: St. Martin press, 1996), 78.

makes states cautious and rational actors. Realist tradition also describes that major powers believe in system of self-help and that every state ensures that no other state gets benefit at her expense. Middle East is the most turbulent region in the world, filled with war and destruction, and the active role of major powers, regional and extra regional, is undeniable. Thus, a constant pattern of states, striving for ensuring their survival and protecting their national interests, is seen in the Middle Eastern politics which creates a security dilemma.

ISIL and Syrian Crisis: An Overview

ISIL is the Middle East based terrorist organization,⁷ which has its roots in Al-Qaeda. The death of Osama Bin Laden was viewed as an end of the era of terrorism. Yet the advent of ISIL as fresh wave of terrorism shocked the world in 2014. Because of its brutal and catastrophic acts, ISIL can be termed as a political extremist entity with a rigid and staunch attitude and policy towards the Middle Eastern region as well as the world outside. The Islamic State possesses appalling philosophy along with its policy of coercion to force other states to bow down to its status as the new leader of world. In addition to that, ISIL follows an ideological route to establish a world that is free from infidels as well as *takfiris*. The geographical establishment of ISIL caliphate is around the territories of Iraq and Syria, which are already facing internal, regional, and

⁷ The Islamic State of Iraq and Levant is described as a terrorist organization by several think tanks such as RAND. (Terrorist Organization), <https://www.rand.org/topics/the-islamic-state-terrorist-organization.html>. (accessed on 6 January 2019), See UN Report on Al-Qaeda and ISIL, stating both of them as organization as well as a network, where ISIL is termed as an emerging network at several places, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2018/14. (accessed on 6 January 2019). Also see, the US Department of State's website where ISIL is designated as a terrorist organization <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>. (accessed on 6 January 2019).

international challenges.⁸ The ruthless transnational terrorism conducted by ISIL has startled policymakers around the world, but one of the primary reasons behind ISIL rapid establishment was that no state, within and outside Middle Eastern region, was successful in calculating it as a potential threat. Furthermore, ISIL established itself in the geographical region which was not significant for the strategic interests of political actors in the Middle East. These miscalculations proved lethal slip-ups, which served as an opportunity for ISIL to launch itself as a self-proclaimed Caliphate, adamant to accomplish its objectives.

In addition to the threat of losing a major territory of Iraq, the danger to lose Syria to the terrorist elements became a threat to the regional as well as trans-regional power in the wake of Syrian crisis. Furthermore, the Syrian crisis that defines the contemporary political map of the Middle East is not a new aspect of the Middle East as its history is rich with military coup and authoritarian regimes. The 40 years rule of Moamar Qaddafi in Libya, twenty four years rule of Saddam Hussain in Iraq, and thirty three years long span governance of Ali Abdallah Saleh in Yemen display that once in power, Arab world tends to retain its power by using all possible measures. Syria is no exception where Hafez-ul-Assad's father ruled Syria for about three decades (1971-2000), and after his demise, his son Bashar-ul-Assad assumed office of the President. Even before beginning of the Arab Spring, Syria was facing several domestic challenges ranging from absence of political freedom, lack of economic opportunities, unemployment, and corruption under the regime of President Bashar-ul-Assad. However 2010 was the year that marked the beginning of a wave of democratization in the Middle East and Africa, where a lot of authoritarian regimes were toppled down. It was 2011, when the Arab Spring reached to Syria, where protestors who were mirroring the Arab Spring in neighboring countries, asked Assad to step down; however, Assad's regime was determined to secure its position at any cost. Soon the protestors versus government feud intensified and turned into a civil war, affecting the geo-political landscape of the

⁸ Christopher M. Blanchard, and Carla E. Humud, *The Islamic State and U.S. Policy* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2017).

Middle East in the wake of emergence of ISIL in Syrian neighborhood of Iraq. Hence, the civil war was expanded to the level where multiple regional and trans-regional actors started to support either the Assad regime or the rebels, creating the situation more tumultuous and complicated. Russia and Iran chose to support the Syrian government whereas Turkey, Saudi Arab, and the US started supporting the anti-Assad forces in the region. Since 2012, Russia, the US, Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arab, and other forces contributed in curbing ISIL as well as established their role in Syria through multiple strategies, including militarily involvement in the crisis and training and supporting several non-state actors against ISIL and each other. Russia and Iran started military operation against ISIL in 2015, whereas the US along with its allies started air strikes against ISIL in Syria in 2014, after forming a coalition force. Later on, both Russia and the US started accusing each other of conducting airstrikes over each other instead over ISIL, creating a chaos in the region. Thus, shifting the Syrian civil war into Syrian crisis, a conflict amongst those powers who wanted Assad to stay in power versus those powers who wanted to topple down his regime.⁹ The Syrian crisis, in a nutshell, is an ongoing tug of war amongst multiple states, each exasperating its best to secure their national interests. Till now, the world has faced a severe refugee catastrophe along with the humanitarian calamity, resulted as the consequence of Syrian crisis. The Syrian war proved to be one of the most lethal events in terms of the consequences it bore on the national, regional, and international levels. A large number of forces are working with or against Assad's regime in Syria, making the search for peace and stability a challenge for international community. However, it is worth mentioning that all the elements involved, instead of creating a stability, are striving to safeguard their own interests in the region. It would not be wrong to say that the current Middle Eastern politics now revolves around Syrian crisis and ISIL.

⁹ Marc Lynch, *The New Arab Wars: Uprisings and Anarchy in the Middle East* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2016), 13.

Historical Contextualization

Through the lens of realism, every state strives hard for accomplishment of its national interest, which, in turn, determines its relationship with other states as well. The Middle Eastern regional landscape has witnessed power struggle at various levels. In the race for controlling scarce resources, Middle East remained an arena of politics for global powers during the period of colonialization and post-colonialization, either as a direct colony or by using ‘mandates’ of international organizations like League of Nations. In addition, the competition amongst states to control the global resources lead to multiple secret agreements between several colonial powers which are now known as Hussain-Mcmohan agreement, Sykes-Picket agreement, and Balfour declaration has sealed the fate of the Middle Eastern politics, which the world is still experiencing in the form of Israel-Palestinian issues. Later on, the cold war period also witnessed that how interests, the lust for power, and domination of the two super powers divided the world into two blocks. It is the same desire or hegemonic design that led the world plunged into Suez Canal crisis. In the post-cold war era, the world witnessed war on terrorism initiated by the USA as a display of its military, economic, and political muscle in Iraq and Afghanistan, which shuffled the Middle Eastern political scenario. However, the rise of 21st century is marked with a more active and effective role of violent non-state actors as well. The weak system of nation states in the Middle East paved the way for the rise of non-state actors. These non-state violent actors displayed state-like behavior and ambitions.¹⁰ They expanded their capacity from regional to global level and played a decisive role in determining the contours of Middle Eastern politics.¹¹ Middle Eastern political history is filled with violent non-state actors and authoritarian regimes. In addition to that, some of the organizations

¹⁰ Burcu Sari, “Transnational Terrorism under Structural Realism,” (Master thesis, Bilkent University Turkey, July 2003), <http://www.thesis.bilkent.edu.tr/0002301.pdf>.

¹¹ Şaban Kardaş, “The Transformation of the Regional Order and Non-state Armed Actors: Pathways to the Empowerment,” in *Non-State Armed Actors*, ed. M. Yeşiltaş et al. (Ankara: Springer, 2018), 24.

Hezbollah, Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood,¹² for instance, have marked their role in different states and conflicts of Middle East such as Israel-Palestine issue.¹³ However, these regional organizations were limited to the Middle Eastern politics only. The dramatic power show of ISIL at regional and global level has startled the world.

This research study intends to understand the patterns that how regional powers (Saudi Arab and Iran) and major powers (Turkey, US, and Russia) are adopting their foreign policies in the wake of challenges to their national interests. The study focuses on ISIL and Syria because the Syrian crisis and turbulent in Iraq gave ISIL the opportunity to capture the Syrian territory and establish Islamic caliphate while the Syrian crisis was already serving as battle ground for major power rivalry.

Dynamics of the Middle Eastern Politics

The events of the rise of ISIL and Syrian crisis have their roots in the dynamics of the Middle Eastern politics. They are not product of any surprise event that took the world surprisingly. As a matter of fact, the civil wars, revolutions, division in the Middle Eastern states, and the foreign influence have contributed in the emergence of both phenomena.

Arab Spring: ISIL and Syrian Crisis: Arab Spring, a wave of democratization, started from Tunisia in December 2010 which quickly spread across the Middle East. Before 2011, Middle East was largely governed by two types of regimes, either authoritative government dominated by a single party rule such as in Libya, Syria, Tunisia, and Egypt or by monarchs as in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Gulf States, and Jordan. Middle East experienced a series of initially peaceful and, then, violent protests where masses demanded for

¹² It is worth mentioning that except Al-Qaeda, the status of these organizations as terrorist organization is recognized by few states, whereas some states denounce their status as a terrorist organization at all.

¹³ Sven Pöhle, "Islamist Terror Groups in Africa and Middle East," June 26, 2014, <http://www.dw.com/en/islamist-terror-groups-in-africa-and-middle-east/a-17739751>.

regime change and democratic rights. Scholars mention many economic and social factors that lead to the demand of change including unemployment, sense of deprivation, youth bulge, role of social media and discrimination against particular groups or ethnicities. Arab Spring which started from Libya proved as a major shock to the already turbulent Middle East. It threatened and challenged the monarchial, autocratic and dictatorial rules in many states of the Middle East. The peaceful protests in Libya, which bore its fruits to several countries, soon shifted into proxy and civil wars in Yemen and Syria whereas the revolutionary armed groups along with the remnants of Saddam's army transformed into militias, supporting ISIL to achieve its political objectives. A report published by Hague Center of Strategic Studies states that the emergence of ISIL is product of the time, geography, and circumstances; the withdrawal of the US from Iraq, Arab Spring, and Syrian civil war in 2011¹⁴ provided it a platform to establish and claim its authority in some provinces of Iraq and Syria. It provided non-state actors the desired power vacuum to establish their hold in the Middle Eastern grounds. In addition to that, the Arab Spring attracted major powers to intervene and manipulate the chaotic order in their favor.¹⁵

Civil Wars: The Arab Spring proved as a relative success for the Tunisians, yet threat of the emergence of a militia in the region is not out of probability. Libya and Egypt proved that change in the regime as a result of Arab Spring proved more fatal as it was followed by more violence and socio-political upheavals. A large number of states in the post-Arab Spring world fell into civil wars including Yemen and Syria which have now turned into a tug of war between major and regional powers of Iran and Saudi Arab who are supporting different factions that want to assume power in Yemen.

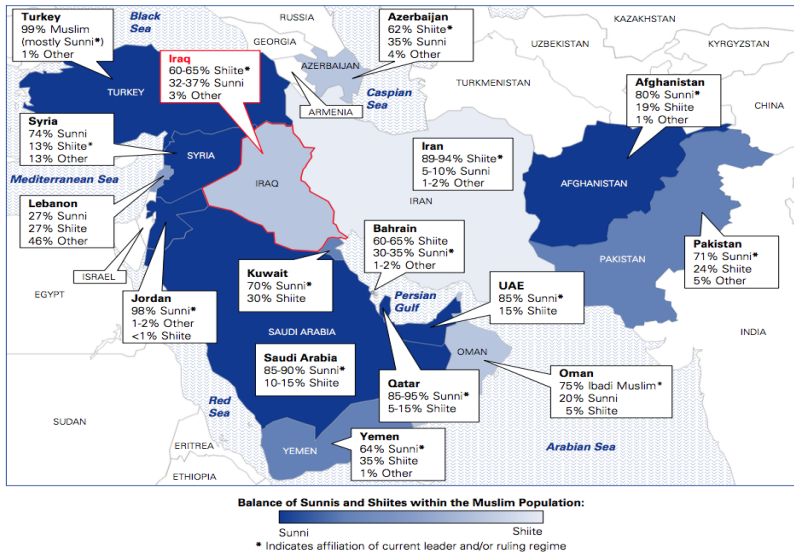
Ethno-sectarian Division: The issue of national interest between Iran and Saudi Arab ranges from physical to psychological array. Both of the states possess pride of being a major regional power and are following the policies to counter the ethno-sectarian rival, generated several challenges in the region as both of them are

¹⁴ W. T. Oosterveld et al., *The Rise and Fall of ISIS: From Evitability to Inevitability* (The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, 2017).

¹⁵ Ibid.

driven by the desire to create their own spheres of influence on petroleum rich Middle Eastern region. To understand the pattern of competition and cooperation, it is a pre-requisite to understand how each member state perceives its own objectives in the region and perceives others as a challenge to their security and objectives.

Figure 1: Ethno-sectarian division of Middle East



Source: Tyler Durde, 2016, <https://www.zerohedge.com/sites/default/files/images/user92183/imageroot/2016/01/SunniShiiteMap.png>.

Iran's foreign policy ambitions involve spread of its influence first in the Middle East and eventually around the globe. Due to its historical ties with the Middle East, Iran is interested in a subordinated Iraq, which would help her in competing with Arab countries' dominance in the region and control Persian Gulf as well as Mediterranean Sea. Out of the chaos in Middle East since 2003, Iran gained pivotal role in the Middle Eastern countries. For Iran, Syria proved as a long term ally and a sectarian friendly country that also provides a strategic route to Lebanon.¹⁶ For Iran, its nexus with Lebanon and Syria serves a triangular resistance set up against

¹⁶ Jonathan Spyer, "Is it Iran's Middle East Now?" November 9, 2015, <http://www.meforum.org/5622/iran-middle-east>.

Israel.¹⁷ Saudi Arab, on the other hand, views Iran as her rival in the region, mainly due to Iran's foreign policy objective that revolves around expansion of Islamic Revolution in other Middle Eastern countries. Whereas Iran welcomes the Arab Spring, Saudi Arab along with other monarchies in the region saved itself from the influence of revolutionary wave that shook the Middle East. Saudi Arab is considered as the leader of Sunni majority Muslims around the world, and, thus, Iran finds a gap of legitimacy in Sunni Arab states with the majority population that belongs to Shia' sect which Iran supports and intends to fill it. Thus, it can be stated that Saudi Arab and Iran's regional foreign policies are primarily responses to each other's foreign policy agendas in the region.

Interference of trans-regional major powers: Middle East served itself as a battle ground for multiple major powers. Its history is enriched with the events that conforms that how major powers used the Middle East to accomplish their objectives. The rise of ISIL and its powerful influence in the Middle Eastern politics is associated with the war on terrorism that lead to the chaos in Iraq's politics. The major powers under the flag of the US did not adopt a careful post-invasion policy, forcing Iraq and other states in the region to plunge into anarchy. The contradicting interests and objectives of these nation states are contributing in worsening the situation instead of turning towards a peaceful conclusion of Syrian crisis and elimination of ISIL.

National Interests of US, Russia, Turkey, Saudi Arab, and Iran in the Middle East

The pattern of power politics in Middle Eastern region is complex and dynamic due to involvement of large number of actors, each with their own intentions and national interests which eventually contributed in shaping the Middle Eastern region. Russia possesses a number of national interests in the Middle East generally and in Syria in particularly. The first and foremost Russian foreign policy

¹⁷ Shahram Akbarzadeh, "Iran's Uncertain Standing in the Middle East," *The Washington Quarterly* (2017): 112.

objective is to secure Russian territory from the new emerging wave of Islamist radicalism in the shape of ISIL that might otherwise expand into Russia which is already facing challenge of Islamic radical organization in the former Soviet Republics, now known as the Central Asian Republics. Along with that, Russia wants to ensure that there is no threat to its naval facility in Syria which provides Russia an open trade and strategic route. Furthermore, the fall of Ba'athist regime would mark as victory of the US and a challenge to Russian to Russia's geo-political ambitions. The probability that the fall of Ba'athist regime would also give rise to violent non-state radical organizations in the Middle East would eventually challenge Russia's security in the region and at home.¹⁸ Russia also wants to install friendly regimes in the region to create long lasting geo-political alliances, to guarantee its military presence in the region, specifically around Mediterranean to grab a major share in arms, oil, and other commodities along with the development of opportunities for investment into Russia from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states and to create an influence in the setting of oil and petroleum prices.¹⁹ Russia's historical rivalry with the US and her allies forced her to develop cordial relations with Iran. Like other states, Iran also acquires certain foreign policy ambitions in the region. Firstly, Iran's foreign policy principles involve spread of its influence first in Middle East and then eventually around the globe. Due to its historical ties, religious affiliation in Middle East Iran's interested in a subordinated government in Iraq, to compete with Arab countries dominance in the region and control Persian Gulf as well as Mediterranean Sea. Out of the chaos in Middle East since 2003, Iran gained pivotal role in the Middle Eastern countries, for Iran, Syria proved as a long term ally and a sectarian friendly country that also provides a strategic route to Lebanon.²⁰ For Iran, its nexus with

¹⁸ Mark N. Katz, "Russia and the Conflict in Syria: Four Myths," *Middle East Politics* (2013): 40.

¹⁹ Dimitri Trenin, *Russia in The Middle East: Moscow's Objectives, Priorities, and Policy Drivers* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2016), https://carnegieendowment.org/files/03-25_16_Trenin_Middle_East_Moscow_clean.pdf.

²⁰ Spyer, "Iran."

Lebanon and Syria serves a triangular resistance set up against Israel.²¹

Another major extra-regional player in the Middle Eastern politics is the US that remained active in the Middle Eastern politics since the end of the World War II. The stature of the US as a strong major power's policy revolved around the establishment and survival of the Zionist state, Israel, at the cost of Palestinians and the Arab world. In addition to that, the US wanted to ensure non-disruptive supply of oil from the Middle Eastern region and particularly from Persian Gulf by adopting policies ensuring that none of the governments in the region to prove hurdle to its national interests. Furthermore, the US also supported and promoted the establishment of democratic regimes through economic and political reforms in the region and also kept a check on transnational as well as regional and state's sponsored terrorist elements which could challenge the US interests in the region.²²

The role and influence of Saudi Arab in the regional dynamics of the Middle East is evident that the Kingdom, too, possesses certain goals here. Riyadh enhances its influence in the Middle Eastern region through its religious status along with its policy of supporting and expanding its ideological and religious regime. Saudi Arab extracts its threat in the region from revolutionary Iran. The desire to be a religious leader of Muslims around the world created ethno-sectarianism as one of the most vigorous dimensions in the Middle Eastern politics. The sectarian polarization defined the contours of the Middle Easter in the geographical region under the flag of Iran and Saudi Arab, creating a visible sectarian based distinction amongst the states in the Middle East. The sectarian polarity provided both the states to follow certain policies to accomplish their regional interests. This rivalry is visible in Iraq after the end of Saddam regime, and currently in Syria. This sectarian polarity along with Iran's ambition to gain nuclear weapons contributed to further aggravate the security challenges in the Middle Eastern region for Saudi Arab where the rise

²¹ Akbarzadeh, "Iran's Uncertain Standing," 120.

²² Ian O. Lesser, Bruce R. Nardulli, and Lory A. Arghavan, "Sources of conflict in the greater Middle East," *Sources of conflict in the 21st century: Regional futures and US strategy* (1998): 171–229.

of ISIL contributed in and worsening the situation in Syria.²³ Turkey, on the other hand, is also ready to play role of regional hegemon or arbitrator in the Middle Eastern politics. According to Tim Manhoff, Turkey's foreign policy towards Syria and ISIL reflects that Turkey will not compromise on its quest to regain its status of a regional power and hegemon. Amongst other major powers, Turkey shares a unique position in the Middle East with reference to ISIL and Syrian crisis, as it is fighting with Kurdish ethnic group to prevent their emergence as a separate nation state. The weakened Syria and violent ISIL provides suitable grounds for Kurds to establish themselves in the region, which is a direct blow to the Turkish national interests in the region. Thus, one can define Turkish interests in the region into multiple dimensions where Turkey believes in combating terrorism along with its allies and international community. However, for Turkey, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) and Democratic Union Party (PYD) are the terrorist organizations that Turkey intends to counter, but now it has expanded its anti-terrorist policy to ISIL as well. As a matter of fact, Turkey is willing to replace the US role in Syria and against ISIL after the US. President Trump announced to withdraw its forces from Syria. One of the other national interests Turkey has in Syria is to impede all possible ways through which it can contain Kurdish territorial gains which might eventually result in an autonomous Kurdistan in the region. To prevent that, Turkey in 2016, initiated Operation Euphrates Shield to achieve two objectives along with her allies: to push ISIL away from its borders and to create a Turkish buffer zone in Northern Syria. These operations eventually resulted in establishing Turkey as one of the major powers in the region as well as diminished the role of PYD as the primary force in fight against ISIL. In nutshell, Turkish objectives in the Middle East could be viewed as Turkey's attempt to establish itself as a regional hegemon, to secure its borders from ISIL, PYD, and PKK, to prevent emergence of an autonomous Kurdistan, to display that Turkey has the potential to collaborate with international community and power to exercise its influence in Syria.

²³ Ibid., 175.

ISIL and Syrian Crisis: Challenge or Opportunity?

This section of the paper would analyze that how the US, Iran, Turkey, Russia, and Saudi Arab view the Syrian crisis and the ISIL establishment in the region while protecting their national interests.

The weak political systems, chaos in the Middle East, civil wars, and sectarianism provided a favorable environment to the mushroom grown and establishment of violent non-state actors. Amongst them, ISIL rose to immense prominence. The Syrian government's domestic condition forced it to keep a blind eye towards the increasing strength of ISIL in the Syrian territory. The wave of Arab uprising that started from Tunisia soon reached to Syria, and a movement of protest initiated against Ba'ath regime. In the beginning of the Arab Spring, Iran supported the protestors with the hope that it would alter the autocratic regimes in the region with Islamic government. However, such sentiments of Iran were tarnished when Arab Spring reached to Syria. Syria proved itself as Iran's strategic partner in the Mediterranean and Levant region. Initially, in response to the protests, Assad opted for a two-pronged strategy. Firstly, he announced reforms and a new constitution for the Syrians. Secondly, he started using military muscle, violent crackdown to arrest the protestors and crumble the anti-government protests.²⁴ However, as Iran and Syria were intended, the situation in Syria became worse, involving a large number of actors with their own interests. In 2012, Iran also presented a six point agenda to find solution of the Syrian crisis, but the anti-Assad regimes rejected as it did not provide a clause regarding removal of Ba'athist regime.²⁵ However, Iranian foreign policy towards Syria is multi-faceted, aligned with its foreign policy ambitions. By keeping Syria close in the wake of Syrian crisis, Iran has successfully engaged the Syrian territory for its benefit in case of any Israeli aggression and by providing a safe passage to Iranian supported Hezbollah. In addition

²⁴ Christopher Phillips, *The Battle For Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* (London: Yale University Press, 2016), 8.

²⁵ Jubin Goodarzi, "Iran: Syria as the first line of defence," in *The Regional Struggle for Syria*, edited by Julien Barnes-Dacey et al., (London: European Council on Foreign Relations, 2013) 25–32.

to that, as per Iranian foreign policy of extending its influence, Iran supported Assad regime by all means. Iran extended political as well as economic hand to Syria by signing multiple banking and economic Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs), some of which though never materialized because of security dynamics of Syrian crisis.

Iran's policy towards Syria is a display of Iran's foreign policy in the region that is to support the weak states in the region while protecting its own security and national interests. The Syrian crisis provided sanctions-stricken Iran with an opportunity to gain allies and sympathizers in the region, keeping in view its foreign policy ambitions of attaining nuclear power, economic, political and ideological interests Iran is pursuing to accomplish in future.

Since its inception, ISIL openly declared the Shia' sect of Islam as non-Muslims; hence, creating a direct challenge to the ideological roots of Iran and its allies in the region. The control of Iraqi territory in the Middle East and establishment of a state considered as a direct challenge to Iran's national security as well as strategic ambitions in the Middle East. Iraq holds a significant position for Iran 'because of its Shia' majority population, existence of two religious sacred places Najaf and Karbala, as well as after 2003, and Iraq gained status of a major economic partner of Iran in the wake of sanctions imposed by the US on Iran. Furthermore, with the establishment of Maliki's government in 2008, Iraq became a true ally of Iran. The advent of ISIL, in the wake of regional power competition with Saudi Arab, a *Sunni* ideological group in Iraq's territory challenged Iran's strategic, economic, and religious objectives in the Middle East. With the aggressive advancements of ISIL in Iraqi cities to claim as a part of the Caliphate, the threat to Iranian national interests increased as well. ISIL forces put Iran-Iraq's billion dollars export list at stake. Despite all the risks and threats, Tehran adopted an indirect approach to counter the threat by providing logistical and economic support to the groups that could counterweight the ISIL. The crisis in Syria and Iraq put Iran into a difficult situation, as both states are symbol of Iran's influence in the region, and Iran cannot afford to loosen its grip in the both states.²⁶

²⁶ Dina Esfandiary and Ariane Tabatabai, "Iran's ISIL policy," *International Affairs* (2015): 1–15.

Syria, ISIL, and Russia

While keeping in view the geo-political and geo-strategic worth of the Middle East for Russia, it would not be an exaggeration that Russia has adopted a realistic and opportunistic foreign policy towards the Middle East. The US. actions in the Middle Eastern politics opened avenues for Russia to exercise its influence realistically. The Russian assessment of shift in global political order from a uni-polar to a multi-polar one gave it an opportunity to re-establish itself as a dominant factor in the Middle Eastern politics. Not only Russia, by adopting policy of securing Assad's regime, gained trust and support of Iran, it also expressed that Moscow is willing to play its role as a mediator and sympathizer of Iran as well. The military intervention, system of political and economic aid and assistance ensured that Russia is a sympathizer of Iran and Syria. For Moscow, ISIL poses a threat to its regional as well as domestic dynamics. ISIL on one side challenges Russian national interests in the region, as a small chunk of Russian speaking population also joined ISIL. Along with al-Qaeda and its remnants in Afghanistan, Russia is also facing issues in its backyard (Central Asia) in term of terrorist organizations like Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, all in the name of spreading their version of Islamic ideology in the region. In the absence of visa management system and permeable borders, the primary concern for Russia is return of those terrorist citizens along with ISIL fighters into Russia, putting its natural security at stake.²⁷

Syria, ISIL, and Saudi Arab

It is worth to mention here that the Syrian crisis does not pose a direct military threat to Saudi Arab's regime. The Saudi's involvement in the Syrian crisis is a reaction to Iran's regional policy. The sectarian determinant of Syrian crisis forced Saudi Arab to support the cause of overthrowing the Shia' Alawaite regime of Assad who ruled the Sunni majority population in Syria. The Iranian

²⁷ Payam Mohseni, *Disrupting the Chessboard* (Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School, 2015), <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/disrupting-chessboard>.

support policy to design a crescent of pro-Iranian states in the region challenges Saudi's aspirations to stay the leader of the Middle Eastern politics. After increase in the insecurities amongst Iran and Saudi Arab, the latter chose to escalate its influence in Syria while intervening directly in the civil war of Yemen to counter *Houthi*, who serve as Iranian proxy in the region. The demise of Ba'athist regime in Syria would serve this purpose of Riyadh. To achieve the above mentioned objectives, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia opted for a number of policy measures which include supporting the Free Syrian Army and Syrian National Council which have members from Muslim Brotherhood in majority, support and influence National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (SOC).

The dilemma which Saudi Arab faces is that the Kingdom and ISIL have roots in the similar Islamic philosophy, yet they express two different pictures of Islam. The denouncement of Saudi Kingdom and the ambition of ISIL to establish its own kingdom lead Saudi Arab to assess its policy in the Middle Eastern region. However, due to the US tilt towards Iran on many grounds, Saudi Arab was forced to form its own foreign policy to meet the challenge posed by ISIL. The decision of establishing a coalition force of Islamic countries, attacking the ISIL forces, putting ISIL sympathizers behind the bars were some of the measures Saudi Arab took since 1979's Iranian revolution. Saudi Arab remained cautious about export of any revolutionary element within its territories posed from Iran. However, the ISIL's ideological eagerness to export its desired form of government proved a déjà vu to Riyadh. A number of terrorist attacks were conducted by ISIL in Saudi Arab which lead Riyadh to take certain desperate measures including imposing sanctions on Qatar on the charges of supporting state terrorism in the Middle Eastern region. In addition to that, the formation of a military coalition under the flag of Saudi Arab to combat terrorism reflects that Saudi government would not compromise on its geo-strategic and geo-political goals.²⁸

²⁸ Rafael L. Bardají, "Religion, Power and Chaos in the Middle East," *European View* (2016): 89.

Syria, ISIL, and the US

It is worth mentioning that the foreign policy stance of the US in the Syrian crisis is based on two factors namely anti-Iran and pro-Israel sentiments that act as a determinant of the US foreign policy. The Assad regime does not serve in extending the US objectives in their region. In addition to that, the catastrophic influence of civil war has caused a humanitarian crisis in the region, and a large number of new policy tasks arise to meet with this challenge including prevention in escalation of civil war into neighboring states of Syria, prevention of use of chemical weapons as the Middle Eastern states tend to use this lethal tools to achieve its purposes, contain and then eradicate ISIL from Syrian territory, and to mend the sectarian fault lines that would severe the situation in the region.²⁹

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the US became the champion of terrorism free world after having a terrorist attack on its land in 2001. Since then, the US adopted a strong and aggressive policy to counter terrorist organizations in the world. Elimination of Osama Bin Laden was taken as US victory in the war on terrorism. But the US in depth focus on the Al-Qaeda and Osama, made it to ignore the emergence of a new security challenge in the Middle East namely Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. It were the videos of beheading of the US soldiers that created a spur in the US decision makers, forcing the US to adopt a comprehensive strategy while keeping in view the complex dynamics of Middle East where a proxy war between regional and global major powers happening in Syria and ambitions of Russia, Saudi Arab, and Iran to gain their fair share out of the chaos in the Middle East. To counter ISIL in the region, the US under Obama administration adopted a three-pronged strategy that focused on containing and weakening ISIL with less military involvement and more of utilizing its regional alliances in the Middle east by creating a regional coalition, and by cutting off all the economic funding and finances ISIL managed to collect and to

²⁹ Ken Sofer, "Next Steps in Syria. A look at US Priorities and Interests," *Center for American Progress* (accessed November 14, 2017), <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/news/2012/08/14/11992/nextsteps-in-syria/>.

strengthen the Middle Eastern weak nation state structure as it was evident that the weak political system provided ISIL space to emerge successfully in the Middle Eastern landscape. With the strategy of attacking ISIL through air strikes and choking off financial sources of ISIL, the US manages to contain the threat of ISIL largely; however, the actual reason behind emergence of ISIL was the US adventurous ventures in Iraq leaving a chaos behind, and this is the real challenge for the US in the future as well.³⁰ The decision of Donald Trump on December 19, 2018 to withdraw its forces from Syria while declaring that the US has won the fight against the ISIL is viewed as a chaotic and irrational foreign policy decision. As President Donald Trump's abrupt decision of withdrawing its forces would generate another power vacuum, raising challenges and opportunities for other major powers as well as for ISIL and the US trained and sponsored groups working against Assad regime.³¹

Syria, ISIL, and Turkey

Turkey's status as a major power politics in the region possesses certain unique characteristics as it served in the International coalition developed by the US to deal with ISIL's question, along with its own military operations in the Syrian territory to eliminate it along with other Kurdish organizations Turkey declared as terrorist.³² Furthermore, Turkey also collaborated with Russia and Iran along with the groups they support to develop a de-escalation zone in Idlib province of Syria.

With collaborations, Turkish President was also critical of the role of other actors in the region by stating that most of the major

³⁰ Thomas Juneau, "Containing the Islamic State," *Middle East Policy* (2015): 36–43.

³¹ Mark Landler, Helene Cooper and Eric Schmitt, "Trump Withdraws U.S. Forces from Syria, Declaring 'We Have Won Against ISIS'" *The New York Times*, December 19, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/us/politics/trump-syria-turkey-troop-withdrawal.html>.

³² Konstantinos Zarras, "Blurring the Borders of Conflict: ISIS between Syria and Iraq," *Tel Aviv Notes* 8, no. 5 (2014): 1–6.

powers who declared that they worked for eradication of terrorism from Middle East practically did nothing concrete to eliminate it. Ankara also believed that the solution to the Middle Eastern lies in stabilizing Syria instead of Iraq, as Erdogan stated that the primary cause behind rise of ISIL lies within the premature declaration of the US victory in Iraq and leaving its core issues un-attended. For Ankara, the US decision to leave Syria and ISIL's question provided Turkey an opportunity to establish itself as a credible actor to stabilize the Middle Eastern region as the US has no option other than Turkey to control the situation in Syria and about ISIL.³³

Conclusion

In the constant tug of war amongst these states, stability in the Middle East has become a myth. The conflicts in Yemen and Syria are continued to date. The wave of democratization sweeping across the Middle East had both its proponents and critics, while many hailed the power of the common people, a large set of critics continued to highlight the destabilized and internal divided societies of Tunisia and Libya. The absence of strong leadership, diverging interests of multiple groups, and emergence of militant outfits and transnational terrorist organization to benefit from the situation marks a question on the future of these states. On one hand, Arab Spring hit Syria in 2011, where rebels stand out to topple down Assad's regime and on the other hand, ISIS took advantage by occupying and expanding territorial influence to establish its Caliphate, an institution abolished after World War I. Syrian civil war was considered as the most complex conflict³⁴ the Middle East saw after the World War II because of its multi-layered nature and dozens of militias pursuing different goals. Beside it the involvement of regional and global powers; all of them securing their interests and shifting alliances has

³³ "US adviser meets Turkish officials after Erdogan pullout warning," January 9, 2019, *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/01/erdogan-troop-syria-pullout-partners-190108013110984.html>.

³⁴ Elfatih A. Abdelsalam, "The Arab spring: its origins, evolution and consequences four years on," *Intellectual Discourse* 23, no. 1 (2015):119–139.

prolonged the conflict. While Syrian government is regaining control of lost/ occupied territories and major cities, Assad regime is stabilizing with the aim to free every inch of the occupied Syrian territory. From the realist perspective, the Syrian crisis and ISIL proved as tools in the hands of major powers in the Middle East to exercise their foreign policy ambitions in the region. For Russia, it is the moment that it can rejuvenate itself in the Middle Eastern politics and is not willing to compromise its objectives. Russia is strengthening its military in the Syrian territory and has issued a clear signal that any offensive intervention would deal with serious consequences and might lead towards the escalation of civil war. The US, the leader of global war on terrorism, on the other hand, failed to notice and counter the emergence of another terrorist non-state actor, ISIL. Iran is also attempting to lay its influence in Syria to pursue its political and regional ambition. Furthermore, its apprehensions with respect to ISIL challenge in Iraq, its foreign policy acted as a catalyst for Saudi Arab to express its concern towards Syrian crisis and go for an anti-Iran policy. The US, who assumed the role of a global power, is also not willing to compromise its interests in the Middle East. For Turkey, it is its moment to reclaim the lost glory of Ottoman Empire and to address the Kurdish crisis not only in Iraq but in Syria as well. Rise of the ISIL and Syrian crisis in the Middle East proved as an opportunity to all the states in the region to extend or attempt to regain their lost status of a major power in the region while keeping in view their motive to secure their national interests. However, in conclusion, the civil war that was started after Arab Spring has created the Middle East as a battle ground for regional and global powers disrupting its peace where none of the state were successful in eradicating ISIL or resolve the Syrian Crisis.

GEO-STRATEGIC RELATIONS OF CHINA-PAKISTAN (1962-2018): BILATERAL AND REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

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Dr. Umbreen Javaid **

***Abstract:** The geo-strategic relations between China and Pakistan have not only bilateral significance but they are also important for regional stability and peace. Both countries have enjoyed cordial relations since 1950s, but got a huge uplift during 1960s after the resolution of territorial issues and Pakistan's efforts to make space for China in the international community. Pakistan and China has enhanced their ties for mutual benefits and to counter the Indo-US nexus in the South Asian region. For this purpose, both of them have mutually signed and collaborated in several economic, diplomatic, and military agreements and projects respectively. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and JF-17 Thunder combat aircraft are the two major projects both sides have collaborated. In this paper, the significance of China-Pakistan ties, regional power politics between China and Pakistan and Indo-US alliances, and geo-strategic importance of the China-Pakistan ties will be discussed.*

Keywords: geo-strategy, Pakistan, China, CPEC, regional dominance, security

Introduction

Geopolitics is considered as a study of political science with main focus on implications of human and political geography on the domestic and international politics. It mainly talks about the types of countries (i.e., federation and confederation). It is also considered as a

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study of foreign policy which includes the water borders and territory of a country and its diplomatic ties with other states of the world.

Inspired from Hitler's idea, Karl Haushofer defines geopolitics as "the new national science of the state, a doctrine on the spatial determinism of all political processes, based on the broad foundations of geography, especially of political geography."¹ While Saul Bernard considers the idea as: "Geopolitics is the analysis of the interaction between, on the one hand, geographical settings and perspectives and, on the other hand, political processes. . . . Both geographical settings and political processes are dynamic, and each influences and is influenced by the other. Geopolitics addresses the consequences of this interaction."²

After studying several scholars and ideas, geopolitics can be defined as the study of ties among countries based on geographical and diplomatic interests that can be regional, local, or both.

Theoretically, there is a debate in geopolitics between classical geopolitics and academic geopolitics. On one hand, the classical school of thought takes the idea in prism of traditional power, balance of power which is basically Eurocentric and have dominated the study of international relations during the early twentieth century and established a closer link with the geography – both unhappy and proud one – and studied under concepts of colonialism, nationalism, and imperialism.³

German Frederick Ratzel is among the pioneers of the traditional scholars who discusses the policies of Nazism and unrest related to it among European nations. Meanwhile Halford Mackinder's Heartland theory discusses the policies of England. The classical school of thought takes policies as practice for territorial integrity under which the states look for power over territory and

¹ Semra Rana Gökmen, "Geopolitics and the study of International Relations," *Middle East Technical University* (2010).

² Saul Bernard Cohen, *Geopolitics of the World System* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).

³ John Agnew, "Mapping political power beyond state boundaries: territory, identity, and movement in world politics," *Millennium* 28, no. 3 (1999): 499–521.

resources linked to it which has close relation with the evolutionary struggle of the nations. Taking ideas from this classical aspect, Karl Haushofer, a German scholar, bases his ideas in the Third Reich and done his research on these traditional ideas.⁴

These traditional ideas led to its usage in the US geopolitical agenda and geography to reduce the impact of geopolitics and used it as policy of Nazi politics of expansion, although there was no concrete evidence that Hitler was influenced or impressed by the theories of Haushofer. Eventually, the study of geopolitics became one of the most controversial studies in modern global politics.⁵

In the post Cold War world, however, which was based on the territorial structure of the political thoughts for almost four decades, geopolitics established a serious anxiety about the spatial organization for traditional power. The modern scholars found it hard to present analyses that were analytically premised on superpowers' enmity in study of social sciences and reformed the sub-discipline of political geography. The modern international scholars developed the new work with broader concept of power. Further, the geopolitics also made its space especially in the Foucauldian genealogy.⁶

In the core of geopolitics theoretical debate, Ratzel introduces the famous phrase 'anthrogeographical' which discusses the combination of politics, anthropology, and geography combined. For this German scholar the state holds different types of characteristics, and says that every country has to grow and develop itself and needs expansion in its territorial borders. Meanwhile, Mackinder's Heartland theory did not get much attention in its earlier years, but with the passage of time scholars slowly stated that the theory is basically influenced by the foreign policies of the global powers. Even his critics later admitted that Mackinder's ideas were to

⁴ Mathew Coleman, "A geopolitics of engagement: Neoliberalism, the war on terrorism, and the reconfiguration of US immigration enforcement," *Geopolitics* 12, no. 4 (2007): 607–634.

⁵ Deborah Cowen and Emily Gilbert, eds. *War, citizenship, territory* (Routledge, 2008).

⁶ Simon Dalby, *Creating the Second Cold War: The Discourse of Politics* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1990).

establish a concrete foreign policy vision of the United Kingdom with his focus on European politics' historic analysis on geography.⁷

The US scholar Nicholar Spykman is follower and critique of Mackinder, as his work is based on similar ideas like that of Mackinder. Spykman agrees with Mackinder that sea power is deeply linked the global politics. He further enhanced his idea by adding the aspect of air power. He adopted the Mackinder's work and renamed with concepts like Rimland which is similar to Mackinder's inner crescent and is considered to be located between Heartland and marginal sea powers. He further adopted the idea of offshore islands and continents which again is same to outer crescent of Mackinder.⁸

The geopolitics was taken to new scholarly heights by Henry Kissinger and Brzezinski, who both remained the US security advisers during the Cold War era. Both worked for the containment of communism which ended ideologically in 1991. Through their works, 'Diplomacy' and 'The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geographic Imperatives, ' both former policy makers brought the Anglo-American classical geopolitical theories in international relations in a revived form. Both the scholars advocate the policies of American during the Cold War and discuss the success of the US during this era with the context of control of Eurasia revived. Meanwhile, French, who are against the German geo-politik of expanding the set territory, also presented their school of thought for geopolitics along with Russian scholars. The Russian doctrine is considered to be rather contemporary in the international relations which focus both on domestic and global aspects of the study.⁹

⁷ Werner J. Cahnman, "The Concept of raum and the Theory of Regionalism," *American Sociological Review* 9, no. 5 (1944): 455–462; Cohen, *Geopolitics*.

⁸ Homer Lea, *The Day of the Saxon* (New York: Harper Bros., 1912); Geoffrey Sloan, "Sir Halford J. Mackinder: the heartland theory then and now," *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 22, no. 2-3 (1999): 15–38

⁹ Paul Claval, "Hérodote and the French left," *Geopolitical Traditions. A Century of Geopolitical Thought*, Routledge, Reino Unido (2000); Cohen, *Geopolitics*.

Pakistan China Ties (1962-2018)

Historically, both Pakistan and China have enjoyed cordial ties since 1950s, but the relations got a huge push during 1960s when both sides resolved their border issues, and Pakistan played a role of bridge between China and the western countries. The border issues between both the countries were resolved in 1963, military ties started in 1966, bilateral strategic alliance was formed in 1972, and economic relations reached to peak in 1979. Over the last seven decades, China has become Pakistan's biggest supplier of military equipment and is now the third biggest trade ally.¹⁰

Furthermore, both the sides have always supported each other in international forums and different issues. China has always supported Pakistan's stance on the issue of Kashmir, while Pakistan has extended its support to China on the issues of Taiwan, Tibet, and Xinjiang. With the passage of time, the military and economic cooperation has increased immensely between both the sides and the projects like China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and development of fighter jet JF-17 Thunder are the major examples of the cordial ties between the two.¹¹

According to a BBC 2014 survey, 75% Pakistanis view China's influence in Pakistan positively while 13% do not take it in a positive way. In the Asia-Pacific region, Chinese people have the third most positive view about Pakistan and its influence in global politics, after Pakistan itself and Indonesia.

Historically, both the sides had the cordial ties but in the earlier times Pakistan was an ally of the US in the Cold War and had signed agreements like SEATO and CENTO, but in 1954, in Bandung Conference, Pakistan assured China that it has signed these agreements for its own security from India and has no intention to use

¹⁰ BBC News, "Pakistani Pm Hails China as His Country's 'Best Friend'," *BBC News* May 17, 2011.

¹¹ Umbreen Javaid and Asifa Jahangir, "Pakistan-China Strategic Relationship: A Glorious Journey of 55 Years," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 1 (2015); Shahid Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reprisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

them against China. During that time period, China was passing through a revolution and was facing issues like underdevelopment and isolation in the global sphere. Pakistan played a vital role during 1960s to end this isolation of the People's Republic of China.¹²

Pakistan prides itself for playing a role of bridge between China and western countries especially with the United States. Islamabad also worked on diplomatic front to get China its rightful place in the United Nations. In China, those efforts of Islamabad are still considered as the bridge with which it crossed the river. During the regime of military ruler General Ayub Khan, Pakistan lobbied and supported China for its permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, as Islamabad at the time understood the importance of China in being the UNSC and its place in the global politics.¹³

One of the major diplomatic developments between both the sides was the visit of then US Secretary Henry Kissinger to China. In 1971, Kissinger came on an official visit to Pakistan; during the visit Pakistani government especially facilitated the US Secretary of State's visit to Beijing. The visit established the foundation of a relationship between China and the US relations and an eventual visit of the US President Nixon, and opening up of the Beijing to rest of the globe. At the time, Pakistan knew the importance of US-China relations during Cold War; hence, it played that vital role. China has also not forgotten the episode, and still appreciates the Islamabad's policy at the time of need.¹⁴

Since then, the relationship between both the sides at diplomatic level has remained closed and friendly. In the recent times, China has supported Pakistan in the ongoing war against

¹² Birendra Nath Goswami, *Pakistan and China: A Study of Their Relations* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1971); William J. Barnds, "China's relations with Pakistan: durability amidst discontinuity," *The China Quarterly* 63, (1975): 463–489.

¹³ P. L. Bhola, *Pakistan-China Relations: Search for Politico-Strategic Relationship* (RBSA Publishers, 1986); Muhammad Ijaz Butt, *Focus on China: Relations with Pakistan, Domestic Concerns* (Advance Publishers, 2007).

¹⁴ Rajendra Kumar Jain, ed., *China South Asian Relations, 1947-1980: India* (Radiant, 1981).

terrorism. Although, Pakistan has given immense sacrifices and faced heavy financial losses in this war, but still international community does not recognize its services, and Islamabad feels dejected. In these hard times, Beijing has always stood by Pakistan and supported its stance on both regional and international levels; in fact, China has expressed its sympathies with Islamabad when it was labeled as ‘sponsor of terrorism’. In 2011, after the US operation in Pakistan against Osama Bin Laden, Islamabad faced tough time from the global states, but at that time, too, China supported Pakistan and favored its stance on the issue.¹⁵

Both sides have also enjoyed good relations on economic front, as by 2012, the bilateral trade between both the sides have reached \$22billion with a huge increase of 48%, as Chinese investment surpassed \$12 billion in Pakistan. In first decade of the 21st century, both sides have increased the ties under several agreements and bodies like Economic Cooperation, Joint Economic Commission, Joint Energy Commission, Joint Investment, and above all China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Both the sides have agreed to increase the economic and trade relations under 2006 Bilateral Economic and Trade Cooperation, 2006 Free Trade Agreement, and CPEC which was started in 2013. Currently, Pakistan is the only South Asian state which has signed a free trade agreement along with a currency exchange program with China. These deals include the annexes that included the end of tariff reduction and custom duties on imports, signed in 2012.¹⁶

On the front of defense and military ties, China has supported and assisted Pakistan’s naval, army and air forces over the years. The state-of-the-art JF-17 Thunder is one major example. The jet which is developed by both Pakistan and Chinese Air Forces have become a huge boost for Pakistani forces especially in context of its ongoing war against terrorism. Furthermore, both sides have established

¹⁵ Jon Halliday and Jung Chang, *Mao: The Unknown Story* (Random House, 2012).

¹⁶ Hasib Rahman, “Deepening Banking Cooperation of Pakistan and China,” *Youlin Magazine*, April 9, 2013; Atul Kumar, “China-Pakistan economic relations,” *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Special Report 30 (2006): 6

Defense and Security Talk forum in 2002, and signed a landmark military cooperation deal in 2008. Under these agreements, between 2008–2021, Chinese weapons exports to Pakistan will increase by 162% leading China to become 5th largest arms exporter in international market.¹⁷

. The military ties have also been established and developed with a close eye on India and the US nexus, as both the states want to maintain the balance of power in the South Asian region, and the military and defence cooperation is one of the major aspects of achieving it. In the light of India-US nuclear deal in 2006, China and Pakistan have also increased their nuclear ties, and both sides have signed new civil deal in 2010 to develop more nuclear power plants in Pakistan.¹⁸

Pakistan-China Ties: Indo-US Nexus and Regional Implications

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan and China has established and developed their ties for both bilateral and regional aspects. To maintain the balance of power in South Asia, it is highly essential for both the states to maintain these ties, especially in context of increasing US-India ties in the 21st century. Since 1990s, the US is increasing its ties with India, despite Pakistan being its front ally in the war against terrorism. The ties between the US and India reached to their peak during George W. Bush administration after 9/11, as he saw India as a perfect balancer against China and a close ally in South Asia.¹⁹

¹⁷ Global Security, "Al Khalid Mbt-2000/Type 2000 Main Battle Tank," *Global Security* (2005); IRNA, "Pakistan Enjoys Strong Ties with China," (2010); T. Niazi, "Gwadar: China's Naval Outpost on the Indian Ocean," *Association for Asian Research* (2005).

¹⁸ Khawaja Haq, "Economic Relations between China and Pakistan," (Phd thesis, South China University of Technology, China, 2015), https://www.academia.edu/19219619/Economic_relation_between_China_and_Pakistan; Rob Crilly, "Us Finds New Friend in Uzbekistan after Pakistan Fallout," *Telegraph*, September 30, 2011.

¹⁹ Syeda Aysha Bokhari, *Pak-China, India-US Strategic Quadrilateral* (Islamabad: LAP Academic Publishing, 2012); Asifa, "Changing dynamics of South Asian."

The study of power politics and geostrategic alliance in South Asia has expanded to other fields of nuclear cooperation, military enhancement and expenditure, and increasing hostility between the arch rivals –Pakistan and India –and global rivals–the US and China. Therefore, the geostrategic balance of power politics in South Asia need to be more critical and vital as compared to other regions of the world.²⁰

The basic aspects of geostrategic power politics in South Asia are although different from old European model, but in its core, the concept of the game is same. In South Asia, the game of geostrategic balance of power has remained vague under the whole sub-system under which the US or China play the role as per their interests. It is also to be noted that, however, in the sector of nuclear power game between India and Pakistan, China has played the role of un-balancer for India, balancer for Pakistan, while America has done the same for New Delhi.²¹

In the heart of this whole geostrategic game, there are three main players: India, Pakistan, and China, as these three countries have established and formed the three-sided South Asian Strategic Triangle (SAST) since 1950s. Over the years, and also currently, these three actors have remained engaged in political and economic battles of dominance alongside the non-conventional arms race. In this triangular game of power, there is flexibility between India and China, while Pakistan and India are having a rigid angle of the ties.

In this whole context, Pakistan and China has developed their ties based on common interests against India and its alliance with United States. The major aspect of Pak-China ties is to keep a close eye on the Indian military expenditure and expansion, which it has been doing to gain dominance in the region. On the other hand, Pak-China relations, Chinese nuclear support to Pakistan and Beijing's

²⁰Merrington Louise, "The India-US-China-Pakistan Strategic Quadrilateral," *Asia Pacific* (2012); Ahmad Shamshad, "A Special Friend Comes Calling," *The Nation*, November 25, 2006.

²¹Jaspal Zafar Nawaz, "The Indo-US Strategic Relationship and Pakistan's Security," *South Asian Strategic Stability Institute Research* (2013); Asifa, "Changing dynamics of South Asian."

rise as regional and global economic power has created a direct threat for Indian politics of supremacy; henceforth, India has to develop close ties with the US as a counter to Pak-China alliance.²²

Meanwhile, the rapid closeness between India and the US, especially after nuclear agreement in 2005, has increased the political gap between China and Pakistan, and has enhanced the geostrategic alliance between Pakistan and China. The nuclear deal between the US and India has led to major changes in the South Asian power politics and the strategic positioning of actors involved in it. The US tends to further strengthen its relation with India, which has caused a well-built Pak-China alliance against the threat of the Indo-US nexus.

India is basing the SAST of South Asia on the ancient rule of Kautliya's balance of power which is "enemy of my enemy is my friend," while John H. Tkacik said that Pak-China geostrategic ties are simply based on countering India and the US. This kind of strategic balance is rather suitable for nuclear countries of South Asia as it will maintain the balanced ties, establish deterrence among them and will lead to relations based on cooperation and confrontation among these states of the region.²³

On nuclear front, China has been criticized by the world community for providing nuclear assistance to Pakistan, but Beijing has rejected it stating that Indian nuclear test of 1998 was the actual factor for regional and global non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as well as a direct threat to the stability and peace of South Asia; henceforth, in hindsight of India-US nuclear deal, China and Pakistan has increased their nuclear cooperation targeting the energy sector in Pakistan, which will also play a tool of strategic balancer against New Delhi.²⁴

²² Louise, *The India-US-China-Pakistan*; Shamshad, "A Special Friend Comes Calling."

²³ Asifa, "Changing dynamics of South Asian"; Nawaz, "The Indo-US Strategic Relationship."

²⁴ Dan Markey, Paul Haenle, and Lora Saalman, "Partners in Peril: US-India-China-Pakistan" *Report of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (2011); Robert Jervis, "The Compulsive Empire," *Foreign Policy* (2003): 83–87.

Beside nuclear front, China and Pakistan has been countering the India-US nexus in the Indian Ocean region (IOR), which is one of the main trade sea routes of the international trade. India considers the IOR as its backyard and along with United States has been conducting several military exercises (e.g., Malabbar) since 2004.²⁵ To counter this nexus, Pakistan and China have taken a major step of developing Pakistan's deep sea port of Gwadar under its CPEC project. The Gwadar port, which is strategically very important, will not only give Pakistan and China an economic boost, but will also help both the countries in keeping a close monitoring on the US and India movements in the IOR. Although, India and America have alleged both China and Pakistan for developing Gwadar port as a military base, but both countries have rejected these allegations. The operational Gwadar port and CEPC will definitely give Pakistan and China an upper hand over India and the US as it will not only be the only deep sea port of the region, but it will also help these countries to reach mineral and energy rich Central Asian states, which is becoming the battle field of new great game for the regional and international powers. To counter CPEC and Gwadar port, India is heavily investing in Iranian port of Chahbahar, so that it can gain economic benefit and strategic dominance over Pakistan and China along with reducing Afghanistan's dependence on Pakistan's Karachi port. The Indian investment in Chahbahar port has been seen by both Pakistan and China with an eye of concern.²⁶

CPEC vs. Chahbahar: The Game of Regional and Geostrategic Dominance

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is the Chinese vision of reintroducing the ancient Silk Route through its mega plan of 'One Belt One Road'. The CPEC is considered to be a pilot project of OBOR, and it is not just a single road – the project is comprised extensive road and railway link, pipelines, which will be connected through several means. The development of infrastructure, especially in Pakistan, is the major goal of this project as it is based on proper

²⁵ Mukherjee Krittiwas, "China's Growing Focus on Indian Ocean Irks India," *Reuters* (2010).

²⁶ Ibid.

scientific research and planning guidelines and based on step by step approach.²⁷

After stealing title of the world's biggest economy from the US, which it has been holding since last 140 years, China has decided to take a huge leap in the context of interdependent development. China, for years, has worked as a factory for the world but this cannot be sustained in longer run and to counter this issue, Beijing has decided to revive the ancient Silk Route, which was unveiled by the President Xi Jinping in 2013. It will connect large parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa, and CPEC is one of major project of this initiative.²⁸

CPEC is considered to be a Chinese dream shaped into reality by both China and Pakistan. CPEC is the choke point of OBOR, and it connects the Road and the Belt and become a Silk Road. Through this project, Chinese dependence on sea lanes communications for the trade will be reduced immensely as it will be the shortest route to Middle East for China, of just 2500 kilometers. CPEC is the bilateral project between China and Pakistan initiated with \$46 billion but its actual worth cannot be estimated yet. Furthermore, CPEC will also give China the shortest route to the Indian Ocean through Pakistan's deep sea port of Gwadar, leading to countering India and the US in the IOR.²⁹

The project of CPEC was considered during the President Li Keqiang's visit of Pakistan in 2013, where he discussed the initial details of the project with the caretaker prime minister of Pakistan. Post 2013 elections, the newly elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif went to China on several occasions to finalize the mega project. In 2013, both the countries formed a Joint Cooperation Committee to discuss the further details and modalities of the projects under CPEC

²⁷ UNESCO, "The Silk Roads Project-Integral Study of the Silk Route: Roads of Dialogue," (2008); Salman Rafi, "A New 'East India Company' in the Making?" *Asia Times*, October 23, 2016.

²⁸ Shafei Moiz Hali, Tan Shukui, and Sumera Iqbal, "One Belt and One Road: Impact on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor," *Strategic Studies* 34, no. 4 (2015): 147–164.

²⁹ Ibid.

in both the countries. After much negotiation and dialogue, CPEC was formally initiated in April 2015, when Chinese President Xi reached Pakistan to attend the signing ceremony.³⁰

The Chinese vision of OBOR is hollow with CPEC, as this corridor holds the top priority and importance which is integral to the operationalization of the whole project. Moreover, through CPEC, Pakistan has received its biggest ever foreign investment in history, and it has come at a time when its economy is weak and fragile mainly because of the US war against terrorism, where it has lost almost \$70 billion in last decade or so.³¹

Meanwhile, to counter the CPEC, India is investing heavily in Iran's Chahbahar port, which is located on the Gulf of Oman. The port has two separate ports, Shahid Beheshti and Shahid Kalantri., with five berths each. To develop the port, India, Iran, and Afghanistan has signed an MoU under which \$21 billion have been allocated for Chahbahar-Hajigak road alongside \$85 million for the port development by Indian government. Similarly, \$ 8 billion has been set for the port's Special Economic Zone (SEZ) by Indian industrial companies, and \$150 million are being handed over to Iran by India for the port, \$11 billion Hajigak Steel and Iron mining project in Afghanistan has been handed over to the seven Indian companies. Along with that India has promised to provide \$2 billion to Afghanistan for the construction of infrastructure including the Chahbahar-Hajigak railway line, keeping in view the potential trade worth billions through 72,000 kilometer long Multi Mode North South Transport Corridor (INSTC).³²

The Iranian port is located at Makran coast of Sistan and Balochistan provinces of the country, which is adjacent to Gulf of Oman and is at the tip of Strait of Hormuz. Chahbahar is the only

³⁰ Mantraya, "One Belt One Road, One Singapore Analysis," *The Eurasia Review* (2016); Peter Ferdinand, "Westward ho— the China dream and 'one belt, one road': Chinese foreign policy under Xi Jinping," *International Affairs* 92, no. 4 (2016): 941–957.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Seas Ark, *Chahbahar Port* (2018); Aneja, "Atulindia to Develop Iranian Port," *The Hindu*, May 5, 2013.

Iranian sea port with direct access to Indian Ocean. Due to its strategic location with closeness to Central Asian region and Afghanistan, the port has been termed as ‘Golden Gate’ for the landlocked states of Central Asia and Afghanistan.³³

Through Chahbahar port and its linkage roads and rails network in Afghanistan, India wants to increase its influence in the region especially in Afghanistan. In 2016, India signed a Transit Trilateral Agreement with Iran and Afghanistan to allow its goods to reach Afghanistan through Iran. Under this agreement, the Indian western coast will be linked to Chahbahar and will cover the distance through rail tracks and roads between Chahbahar and Afghan border. Meanwhile, a 900 kilometer long Chahbahar-Zahedan-Hajigak road will link the Iranian port with Hajigak region of Afghanistan, which is a mineral rich area. In 2011, India and Afghanistan signed an agreement under which seven Indian companies got the right to mine in this central region of Afghanistan, which has the largest deposit of iron ore.³⁴ Through these developments and agreements, India wants to increase its presence in the war torn country, mainly to reduce Pakistan and Chinese influence in the region and Afghanistan. In 2016, India started the trade through Chahbahar as containers full of Indian wheat were docked at the port and were transported to Afghanistan. The Chahbahar port is set to reduce Afghan dependence on Pakistan’s Karachi port, which has remained the main source of link to the outer world and trade for landlocked country, but the unstable relations have affected the trade and India is looking to take advantage of this situation. Henceforth, India is establishing its

³³ Meena Singh Roy, “Iran: India’s Gateway to Central Asia,” *Strategic Analysis* 36, no. 6 (2012): 957–975; Rorry Daniels, “Strategic competition in South Asia: Gwadar, Chabahar, and the risks of infrastructure development,” *American Foreign Policy Interests* 35, no. 2 (2013): 93–100.

³⁴ “Afghanistan Starts Railway That Will Link It to the World,” *GCR*, September 20, 2016.

foothold in Kabul diplomatically, economically, and most importantly geo-strategically.³⁵

Indian Presence in Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan and China

Indian Objectives in Afghanistan: India and Afghanistan has enjoyed cordial ties, especially after 9/11 when Taliban regime was toppled over by the US forces. Before that India was supporting the enemy of Taliban, Northern Alliance, as Taliban were supported by Pakistan. India has signed several agreements and deals with Afghanistan to increase its influence diplomatically as well as economically. India has been propagating that its interest in Afghanistan and policies towards the country is to bring peace and stability, but the real motives of the Indian government has not yet been revealed to the international community.

Dr. Shubhash Kapila believes that Afghanistan is a vital geostrategic point for Pakistan and its military, while Indian interests in the country are the same as the Central Asian states and Russia, which clearly draw the Indian motives of the economic interests there. For India, Afghanistan is a road to Central Asia, a strong foothold to counter Chinese influence in South Asian region and to reduce Pakistan's influential sphere in Kabul.³⁶

The economical and political objectives of India are among the top priorities of the policymakers; therefore, it has involved Afghanistan at Regional Economic Cooperation Conference in Afghanistan (RECCA) and 'Heart of Asia' dialogue process. To achieve its goals, India has to take major step to seek the increase in support of global community to provide more financial support to Afghanistan to help it to tackle its economic and financial issues and

³⁵ Raghavan Srinath, "The Takeaway from Tehran," *The Hindu*, May 26, 2016; "India Eyes Iran's Energy Resources, Commits over Rs 1 Lakh Crore Investment in Chahbahar," *First Post*, May 23, 2016.

³⁶ Dr. Subhash Kapila, "Afghanistan: India Has Legitimate Strategic Interests in Its Stability," *South Asian Analysis Group*, 2008, <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org>.

to run the state affairs. For its economical interests, India has become the highest financial aid provider to Afghanistan in South Asia.³⁷

After 9/11 and establishment of Hamid Karzai government, India has reinforced its economic policies in Afghanistan by taking up different policies. India is using politics as a leverage to dominate the Afghan goods market because it wants to establish Afghan dependency on Indian exports, through controlling the flow of capital and investment in the country. Furthermore, to strengthen its control on the neighbor country, India is investing in power, infrastructure, water, agricultural, and natural resources sectors in Afghanistan.³⁸

Another major goal of India in Afghanistan is to counter Pakistan's presence in Kabul, and it has also been propagating anti-Pakistan policy. It is quite essential for India that Pakistan does not get a strong presence in Kabul; therefore, India is preventing Pakistan to dominate the politics and the strategic issues in Kabul. The Indian policies have proved to be rather successful, as former government of Karzai and present Afghan government of Ashraf Ghani is speaking the language of India which is beneficial for New Delhi as it does not want the regime of Taliban to come back to Kabul.

Pakistan has always viewed Afghanistan as a vital balancer mean against Indian policies to get an upper hand and dominate geostrategic South Asia. Afghanistan is critical for Pakistan because an unstable and Indian dominant Afghanistan will create uncertainty for Islamabad on its western border, as the eastern border is already hostile due to India. A cordial presence in Kabul is seen by Pakistan as necessary to avoid the strategic dilemma of being stuck between two the hostile sides.³⁹

³⁷ Haideri Ashraf, "Afghanistan in 2017: Achievements and Challenges," *The Diplomat*, 2017.

³⁸ Sushant K. Singh, "Indian presence essential in Afghanistan," *International Relations and Security Network (ISN)* 6, (2008); Lakshman Kanchan, *Fault Lines* (Mumbai: ICMA, 2008).

³⁹ Harsh V. Pant, "India in Afghanistan: A Rising Power or a Hesitant Power?," *CIPSS Speaker Series on International Security and Economy, McGill University* 5, (2012); Marvin G. Weinbaum,

The India presence in Afghanistan is also to counter the Chinese influence in South Asia as well as Kabul; therefore, it has been focusing on its aid policy. As all the major South Asian regional states tend to use the territory of other states by different means and methods, New Delhi is trying to achieve it through intervention in Afghanistan against China. A geostrategic race is underway between China and India in the region, and Afghanistan is one of the main battlegrounds for their interests. China is an emerging regional and global power, and it is way ahead of India both economically and militarily, but some Indian scholars and policy makers believe that India has the capability to counter Chinese influence; hence, the Kabul dominance battle is underway.⁴⁰

Another major goal for India in Afghanistan is to get access to Central Asia, mainly due its mineral rich states. India has a rapid growing economy and to meet its oil and gas demands, the Indian government is looking towards Central Asia through Afghanistan. In a rare occurrence, both Pakistan and India has agreed on 1,000 miles, \$7.6billion worth, Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline, which is to meet the energy needs of these countries. For a successful and operational TAPI line, both India and Pakistan need a stable Afghanistan, as major part of this line will pass through its territory. Meanwhile, increasing Indian influence in Afghanistan has proved to be beneficial for the country, as it, now, see more opportunities in the Central Asian region.⁴¹

Besides countering China, India wants to dominate the South Asian region and to increase its influence in the region through investment and providing aid to Afghanistan. India tends to show the world that it has the ability to be a regional power. Through its aid to Kabul, New Delhi is trying to promote itself as a big and stable economy that can give aid to the needy states in this region.

“Pakistan and Afghanistan: The strategic relationship,” *Asian Survey* 31, no. 6 (1991): 496–511.

⁴⁰ Tagotra Niahrika, *How India Can Counter China's Growing Influence in Asia* (WION, 2017); Miani Tridivesh, “China and India: Competing for Influence in Afghanistan,” *The Diplomat*, 2015.

⁴¹ Rahul Bedi, “India and Central Asia,” *Frontline* 19, no. 19 (2002):14–27.

Furthermore, to make itself as a regional power, India has strengthened its ties with the United States and has been supporting its policies regarding Afghanistan. According to some Indian experts, however, India in the long run has to take some alternative choices as now the US commitment to establish a stable Afghanistan has reduced, and it is planning to abandon the country completely. In that case, India can find itself in a difficult place because it will lose a strong ally in Kabul, and Taliban will increase their influence in Afghanistan in the absence of the US forces, as the newly trained Afghan military does not have enough ability to control the Taliban.⁴²

Implications for Pakistan and China: Security dilemma is one of the biggest implications Pakistan has to face due to Indian presence in Afghanistan. The reason is that Indian presence in Kabul makes its western border unstable and volatile, which is not in the interest of the country which is already fighting against terrorism in its own land. This creates a serious issue for Pakistan, as foreign minister of Pakistan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, says, “If you want Pakistan focused more on the [threat from Afghanistan in the] west, then we have to feel more secure on the east. There is a linkage there.”⁴³

The unstable border means more terrorism, and Pakistan has been blaming India for sending and sponsoring terrorists to its territory through Afghan border. According to Islamabad, India through its consulates in Herat and regions adjacent to Pak-Afghan border has been sending the militants in Pakistan to spread the terrorism, especially in its tribal areas of FATA and Balochistan. Moreover, Indian made weapons are being flooded inside Pakistan for militants, which are used to destabilize the country.

Meanwhile, on diplomatic front, Indian wants a reduction in Pakistan’s diplomatic and political influence in Kabul. For the purpose, it has been increasing its ties with Kabul’s rulers. On economic front, India wants to end the dependency of Afghanistan on

⁴² US Energy Information Administration, *India: Country Brief* (Washington DC: US EIA, 2010).

⁴³ Gulshan Majeed, *Genesis of Indian Ambition in Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan* (Islamabad: IPRI, 2014).

Pakistan, as Kabul conducts its most of trade through Pakistan, but through development of Chahbahar port and routes in Afghanistan, India wants to affect economic benefit for Islamabad.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, major implications for China are effects on CPEC, as India has been opposing this mega project, and it can affect it in long run. China wants to extend the CPEC to Central Asia to Europe under OBOR, and its presence in Afghanistan is essential for this project. India is trying its best to counter the influence of China in Kabul and supporting anti-China policies. Through its presence in Kabul, India is trying to counter Chinese regional influence and wants to counter Chinese dominance.⁴⁵

Findings

Following are the findings of this research work:

1. Pakistan China relations are geo-strategically significant not only for the both states but for regional power politics and stability.
2. Since 1960s, both Pakistan and China have enjoyed immensely cordial relations, and projects like CPEC and JF-17 Thunder are major examples of this friendship.
3. CPEC is not only a game changer for Pakistan, but this mega project will also boost up the regional integration between South Asia and Central Asia.
4. To counter CPEC and deep sea Gwadar port, India is investing in Iranian Chahbahar port to increase its regional influence and to reduce Afghanistan's dependence on Pakistan for trade.

⁴⁴ Rajghatta Chidanand, "America Persuades India to Expand Afghan Footprint," *Times of India*, 2012.

⁴⁵ Christine Fair, "India in Afghanistan and Beyond: Opportunities and Constraints," (2010).

5. India is using its foreign aid to tool to establish a strong foothold in Kabul to counter Pakistani influence in the country to tackle Chinese regional dominance and to get direct access to Central Asia.
6. The presence of India is creating serious implications for Pakistan and China including security, economic, and diplomatic.

Recommendations

Following are the recommendations in the context of this research article:

1. Pakistan and China need to further enhance their relationship for mutual benefits and regional stability
2. CPEC is the project which must be used by both China and Pakistan to attract more investors from the region including India, as it will play a major role in increasing the interdependence among these states
3. Pakistan needs to engage with India on both economical and diplomatic fronts so that not only its eastern but also the western border could be stable
4. Pakistan should bridge the communication gap with Kabul so that the lack of trust be reduced, which will be highly vital for war against militancy in border area of both the states
5. Pakistan and China should show interest in the development of Chahbahar port to increase their ties with Iran and counter the complete dominance of India in the country and the project
6. Pakistan needs to use its diplomatic tool to show the world Indian-sponsored terrorism on its territory so that the international community may know about the real face of India

Conclusion

Pakistan-China bilateral ties are highly essential for mutual interests and for regional stability, as both states are geo-strategically strong. Their relations have strengthened over the years and with the advent of CPEC, it will get a boost. Furthermore, to counter the India-US nexus in the Indian Ocean and South Asia, both Pakistan and China need to enhance their economic and military cooperation along with nuclear collaboration. Through CPEC, both the countries can get a direct access to the Central Asian region and tackle the dominant policies of India and the United States. Moreover, the stability and peace in Afghanistan is vital for whole South Asian region, therefore, Pakistan, China, India, and the US need to decrease the lack of trust among them.

UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLES AND CONTEMPORARY STRATEGY MAKING

Dr. Fauzia Ghani *

Abstract: *Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) have become signature weapon in the post 9/11 era and are used by the developed countries for civilian and military purposes. Developing countries are also engaged in the process of acquiring UAVs either through purchasing them from developed countries or through manufacturing their own indigenous drones. This proliferation of drones' technology has made it imperative to study their usage and the features which are making them so attractive for the strategists of the modern times. This study analyzes the use of drone's technology in the present times and the strategy of employing drones as a means of warfare from military perspective. Analysis reveals that drones or UAVs are used not only for surveillance and reconnaissance, but also for hitting the desired targets.. Being a citizen of a country which is experiencing drone attacks, it is need of the hour to study the main features of drones and the pros and cons of drone warfare by evaluating the role of UAVs in contemporary strategy making. Though the technology of unmanned warfare is not a new thing, but the use of drones for killing the terrorists in the ongoing war on terror has raised its significance. Empirical findings indicate that drones with their primary functions of intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance are the ultimate weapon of choice for unconventional warfare without risking soldiers' lives and to withstand dull, dirty, and dangerous environments with persistency.*

Keywords: unmanned aerial vehicles, unmanned warfare, national sovereignty, ground control system, surveillance

Introduction:

The unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) have become the ultimate need of the modern militaries for coping with non-traditional nature of warfare in the 21st century. Warfare in the contemporary

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era is not in the well-defined battlefields; rather it is mostly between different state and non-state actors. These non-state actors are generally the terrorist groups who have their networks spread in various countries. These violent actors are mingled in the civilian population and are, thus, difficult to be spotted and targeted. For that purpose, UAVs or drones are the ultimate weapons of choice, being recommended by the modern strategists. Due to their distinct features of precision and high endurance as compared to the manned aircrafts, they have proved to be an efficient tool in the global war on terror and are now affecting the contemporary strategy making by transforming the nature of warfare. According to Clausewitz, political goals and policies determine the character of war and consequently policy forms the frame in which military strategy is shaped. But now, with UAVs, it is technique which has begun to determine the strategy.

Moreover, in his book ‘Wired for War,’ Peter W. Singer says that the change is not only in the way how military strategy is shaped, but it is also in the politics, economics, laws, and ethics which, in one way or the other, are related to war. This change is being driven by the techno-scientific revolution, and the future of warfare lies in this change— the main part being played by Information and Communications Technology (ICT) which is also referred to as information warfare and the advanced, precise, and sophisticated unmanned systems. The invention of remote controlled unmanned vehicles has generated the concept of virtual war, a form of warfare in which there is a time and space separation between the attacker and the target, and the war is experienced by hitting the visual images representing the intended targets. This virtual warfare creates new realities, and, thus, needs new strategies to deal with these realities. Unmanned warfare is one of these new strategies which are being used by the modern strategists in the 21st century.¹

Unmanned Warfare is the term used for the strategy in which the war is fought in such a way that it does not involve direct human encounters but remote controlled vehicles are engaged in the combat. These remotely piloted vehicles are called drones or UAVs. UAVs are the most commonly used unmanned vehicles which are named as

¹ Peter Warren Singer, *Wired For War* (London: Penguin Books, 2009).

drones due to their resemblance with the male bees (drones) owing to their humming sound and that they are stingless and do not produce honey. Likewise drones are pilotless and dependent on their operators. Hence, UAV is an aircraft without a human pilot on board. Its flight is controlled either autonomously by computers in the vehicle or under the remote control of a pilot on the ground or in another vehicle. An unmanned aerial system includes one or multiple UAVs (all of the same model but not necessarily), the ground control system (GCS), data link, and sensory array on board, vehicle, and the terminal for receiving data from the vehicle. Specific names such as Predator, Raven or Shadow refer not only to the vehicle but to the system as well.²

Like Unmanned Ground Vehicles (UGVs), the UAVs also have dual applications: Firstly, they can be used for reconnaissance without endangering pilots. Secondly, they are capable of carrying missiles and other weapons. Unarmed drones are used for locating and identifying the enemy targets. Another important function of unarmed drones is to serve as aerial targets for piloted aircraft during their training missions. Some reconnaissance UAVs (e.g., the Shadow) can be launched by a catapult and is capable of staying aloft for whole day. The most widely known armed UAVs include the Predator, which comes in the category of Unmanned Combat Air Vehicles (UCAVs). It can be equipped with Hellfire missiles and can navigate autonomously towards targets specified by GPS coordinates, but the final decision about releasing the missile is to be made by a remote operator.

Origin and Evolution of UAVs

The origin of UAVs can be traced back to 19th century even before the first manned flight in 1903. But the history of UAVs as a weapon of war is marked by inconsistency and periods of stagnation. It was not until the Vietnam War that drones had a significant impact on military operations. Afterwards, Israel made significant employment of UAVs in Yom Kippur war. Now the drones have become an integral weapon used by the USA in the global war

² Ibid.

against terror. The drone strikes are being conducted in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen to kill the terrorists. The first military use of UAVs was for reconnaissance and communication, which is still in practice. In WWI, US Army Aviation was interested in use of drones because of their ability to deliver weapons to a heavily defended target area without having to risk any harm to the pilot. But it wasn't successful that time. During WWII, UAVs were used by different countries as they were deployed in WWI.³ Moreover, in 1960, U-2 reconnaissance manned aircraft was shot down over Soviet Union. It led to an immediate requirement for development of reconnaissance UAVs. The political ramifications of the shot down of manned aircraft along with needs of Vietnam War led the US leadership to recognize the potential use of drones. In 1961, the US Air Force ordered a reconnaissance version of fire bee target drone. By 1964, a large number of Lightning Bugs were serving with distinction in Vietnam War. The introduction of UAVs into military service had a promising start, and now they form an essential part of the armory for any war, especially given the asymmetric nature of the recent conflicts making ground combat increasingly treacherous. Having started by carrying out simple functions and then developing into multipurpose aircrafts, UAVs have now become specialized for many functions. There are four key drone systems currently in use. They are Rq-2 Pioneer, Rq-5/MQ-5 Hunter, MQ-1 Predator, and RQ-4 Global Hawk.⁴

The UAVs of the future can broadly be classified into three categories: high-altitude long endurance (HALE) surveillance, combat, and miniature spy UAVs.⁵ Whereas the Global Hawk can fly for 24 hours consecutively, the future HALE UAVs are able to stay aloft for weeks or even months at a time. Drones are getting smaller and more agile to enable the combatants to gather intelligence from

³ Jack Miller, "Strategic Significance of Drone Operations for Warfare," in *E-International Relations* 9 (2013), <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/08/19/strategic-significance-of-drone-operations-for-warfare/>.

⁴ R. Schaefer, "Unmanned aerial vehicle reliability study," *Office of the Secretary of Defense, Washington, DC* (2003).

⁵ Berenice Backer, "UAV evolution – how natural selection directed the drone revolution," *Army Technology* (2012).

areas which are otherwise not accessible, like in buildings and through tunnels. Designers of the drones often take inspiration from the nature for producing tiny UAVs that can hover, perch, or dart forward (e.g., the surveillance Hummingbird and the Dragonfly – both fly like their namesakes from the natural world.)⁶

Warfare in the 21st Century and the Role of UAVs

UAVs are being considered as the most suitable tool for network centric warfare. Network Centric Warfare (NCW) has become order of the day in today's age of unconventional and asymmetric warfare. It is a warfare strategy based on information sharing via a robustly networked force. It creates situational awareness which eventually leads to success of the mission. The ubiquitous nature of drones and their specific feature of persistency and existence in the environment, which is not accessible due to physical limitations of human beings, have made them the ultimate weapon of choice to be used by the modern strategists.

In contemporary times, the importance of Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) has increased, and, consequently, the significance of UAVs has remarkably increased – ISR being their primary function. They provide full motion video (FMV) and imagery and sensor information to increase the situational awareness of the commanders/operators present in the ground control station. With increasing sophistication UAVs, are now able to provide strike capabilities, air interdiction, and aerial communications relay.⁷ NCW provides an operational advantage by providing relevant information to the right place, at right time and in the right format. UAVs are the perfect means to perform these functions in an efficient manner, so they are the prime tools for being used in network centric warfare. They need to be incorporated in a network, where they can effectively communicate with others, thus forming an Unmanned Aerial System (UAS). For this purpose, they need to be plugged

⁶ John-David Bloom, *Unmanned Aerial System : A Historical Perspective* (Kansas: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2010).

⁷ Duane Carney, *Unmanned Aircraft Systems Role in Network Centric Warfare* (Carlisle Barracks: US Army War College, 2008).

directly into the network. The information dissemination of UAVs provides an important contribution to achieving the situational awareness of the battlefield.⁸

Methodology:

For analyzing the role of drones in the contemporary strategy making, a survey was conducted and a total of one hundred and twenty two completed questionnaires were collected, resulting in a response rate of 81.33%, representing five distinct cities (Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar, Sargodha and Karachi). 72.13% of the respondents were males and 22.87% were females. The questionnaire was designed to garner the response of professionals (air force and army officers), researchers (PhD scholars), educationists (specialists of International Relations and Strategic Studies) and journalists about the strategy of unmanned warfare, military use of drones, the revolutionary potential of drones, the autonomy issue, productivity of drones and the future of drones in military.

Table No1: Increasing Development of Drones Shows that their Pros are Greater than their Cons

S. No.	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	No	30	24.6	24.6
2		Yes	92	75.4	75.4
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

UAVs are being developed by all the technologically advanced countries on priority basis. The increasing proliferation of this technology justifies its claims of being the signature weapon of the 21st century. Even though they are being criticized by some schools of thought but the fact remains that they are being developed day by day. More and more countries are acquiring this technology in order to equip their armies with the unmanned aerial systems.

In the survey, 75.4% of the respondents agreed with the notion that despite the increasing criticism of drones, their use is increasing day by day, and more and more sophisticated drones are being designed. Hence, so it means that their pros are more than their

⁸ Ibid.

cons. While 24.6% of the respondents disagreed showing that although drones have many negative aspects, but the gains outweigh the glitches as described by Peter W. Singer in his book *Wired for War*.

Table No2: Drones and the Issue of Blind Vulnerability of Soldiers in Counterinsurgencies

S. No.	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Agree	99	81.1	81.1
2		Disagree	23	18.9	18.9
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

In counterinsurgencies, blind vulnerability of the soldiers is major issue faced by the armies involved in operations. The hit and run tactics of guerilla fighters involved in insurgencies are very difficult to overcome by using the conventional means of warfare. Moreover, in some cases, the insurgents are mingled in the local population and most of the times they enjoy the support of local people. Under these conditions, it becomes very difficult to conduct counterinsurgency operations, and the vulnerability of the soldiers increases.

The most significant and distinguished feature of the drone warfare is safety of the pilot, which has always been a major issue in aerial warfare. One of the key attributes of drones is described as their visual capability, which helps to overcome the blind vulnerability of soldiers involved in counterinsurgency warfare. In the survey, 81.1% of the respondents agree with this notion while 18.9% disagree.

Table No 3: Comparative Analysis of Civilian to Militant Deaths in Drones and Other Forms of Strikes

S. No.	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Lower	63	51.6	51.6
2		Higher	34	27.9	27.9
3		Equal	25	20.5	20.5
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

The issue of collateral damages and civilian deaths has always been a question mark on the efficacy of drones. They are claimed to be very precise but collateral damages cannot be ignored. Moreover,

there is no accurate data available regarding the collateral damages. The data which is available from different sources is not authentic, and the difference between the available figures further puts a question mark on authenticity of the data. This is the major reason behind the criticism on drones, having an increased ratio of civilian deaths in the so-called signature strikes.

It is also a fact that there are civilian deaths in other form of strikes as well such as air raids and ground operations in which remote controlled or unmanned vehicles are not used. 51.6% of the respondents are of the view that ratio of civilian to militant deaths in drone strikes is lower than other form of strikes; 27.9% are of the view that the ratio is higher than other forms of strikes. While 20.5% of the sample regards the death ratio in both cases to be equal.

Table No 4: Unmanned Warfare: An Asymmetric Solution to an Asymmetric Problem

S. No	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Agree	83	68.0	68.0
2		Disagree	39	32.0	32.0
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

Hopson in his article, "The Drone Revolution,"⁹ describes the transformational nature of drones. Drones reduce the costs and are a quite safer method of hitting the targets. They have, no doubt, made the war too easy. But it does not mean that drones are the cause of increasing the possibility of conflicts. The fact is that the very nature of warfare is changing with changing international system. Distances are reduced, and the effect of globalization on military affairs is being seen in the form of the drone revolution. 21st century is being regarded as an age of asymmetric warfare and drones are being considered as an asymmetric solution to the asymmetric problem of today's unconventional warfare. Responding to this notion, 68% of the respondents regard unmanned warfare to be a kind of an asymmetric solution to an asymmetric problem; finding and fixing foes mingled in the civilian population while 32% of the respondents disagree with the notion.

⁹ Thomas Hopson, "The Drone Revolution," *The Politic* (February 2013), <http://thepolitic.org/the-drone-revolution/>.

The invention of unmanned aerial vehicles was a technological breakthrough, which led to major doctrinal changes. Drones are being considered as an asymmetric solution to the asymmetric problem; the present day's unconventional warfare. They have brought a transition in the entire conduct of military operations, as now military operations are being conducted by the human operators sitting thousands of miles away from the site and operating the drones from their keyboards. There was always a dream of eliminating the fog of war, after its identification by Clausewitz. Eliminating unpredictability, increasing precision, reducing casualties, and the political and economic costs of war have always been the primary objectives of the military strategists. In order to achieve these goals, the concept of RMA is one of the widely discussed topics amongst military strategists and policy makers, as it characterizes the incorporation of new technologies in order to enhance military capabilities. Drones are capable to acquire information, reducing unpredictability, and are highly precise and cost effective, thus justifying the claim of being considered as a revolution in military affairs. They have distinctive features of stealth, long range precision strike capability, and involve innovations in information and communication technology (ICT) like advanced sensor equipments and internet based information warfare. This ICT innovation combined with complex precision weaponry thus presents an RMA which is intended to minimize casualties. Moreover, this RMA is focused on achieving a decisive victory over an enemy force with as few resources as possible.

Table No 5: The Issue of Autonomy

S. No.	Options		Number of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Limited Autonomy	65	53.3	53.3
2		Complete Autonomy	6	4.9	4.9
3		No Autonomy	50	41.0	41.0
4		No Response	1	0.8	0.8
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

Giving autonomy to drones is one of the major debates these days. But the question is, even if autonomy is given, then what should

be its limit? Whether it should be a total, limited, or autonomy at all? 53.3% of the respondents are of the opinion that there should be a limited autonomy, 4.9% are in the favor of complete autonomy while 41% are in the favor of any autonomy. Thus, majority of the respondents are in favor of limited autonomy.

The level of autonomy required is directly proportional to the complexity of the situation. Simple surveillance and reconnaissance missions do not require much autonomy, but special combat missions need more autonomy in order to cope with the situation – the aircraft has to work in a hostile territory and has to face the enemy's security systems.

The development of autonomous capability is required to develop on board situational awareness and to take decisions about the implementation of next mission, especially during long surveillance missions, in order to reduce the operator's workload and data link bandwidth requirements. It also helps in taking a timely decision to react accordingly in case of any unplanned event. Moreover, there are certain tasks which can only be managed by giving autonomy to the aircrafts. For example, in any mission, the control of several aircrafts working in collaboration can be managed only by giving these aircrafts the autonomy to respond to each other in accordance to requirements of the situation.¹⁰

Even, in case of autonomous air vehicles, there is always a need to maintain communication link with the ground control station and keep the operators well informed in order that may react accordingly in case of any expected incident. There is a need to pursue a proper balance between the costs and benefits of giving autonomy to the air vehicles. Moreover, there is also a need to develop such a system in which the operators have a control at certain level in order to overcome any technological pitfalls or to keep control in crises situation. Drones should be given limited autonomy instead of making them totally autonomous in order to prevent them from becoming Frankenstein's Monster. Automation in drones should not cross a threshold where the operators may make machines for an

¹⁰ Marco Protti, "UAV Autonomy – Which level is desirable? – Which level is acceptable?" *Alenia Aeronautica Viewpoint* (2007).

ill-action. It could be made possible by creating special sensors and interfaces to keep the operators well aware of the combat situation to ensure their firm grip on the situation.

Table No 6: Restriction of Drones to Surveillance

S. No	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Agree	79	64.8	64.8
2		Disagree	41	33.6	33.6
3		Other	2	1.6	1.6
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

There is an opinion that drones should be limited to the surveillance and reconnaissance missions. When asked whether drones be restricted to surveillance purpose and that armed drones to be prohibited, 64.8% of the respondents agreed with their usage only for surveillance purposes, while 35.2% of them were of the view that there should be no such restriction on their usage.

Table No 7: Role of UAVs in Weakening the Terrorist Networks

S. No	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	No	78	63.9	63.9
2		Yes	44	36.1	36.1
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

While answering about the UAVs' capability to reduce the efficiency of terrorist networks by disrupting their communication systems, 36.1% of the respondents views that drones have undercut the terrorist ability to communicate and to train new recruits while 63.9% of the population disagrees with the notion. These results indicate that although drones are successful to keep a check on terrorists, but here again, the use of drones for surveillance and reconnaissance has proved to be worthwhile, but their use for signature strikes has again proved to be counterproductive.

Hassan Abbas in his article "How drones create more terrorists?" discusses the same issue. The feeling of revenge emerges in people who are deprived of their kith and kin due to these drone strikes. They consider drones as an ultimate evil. Here the point to consider is that the essence of counter terrorism operations is in winning the confidence of common people as only they can help in capturing terrorists. But in this case, the terrorists gain the public sympathies, which help them to mingle with the citizens, thus making

the counterinsurgency operations more risky and complicated. This situation provides a food for thought to the military strategists and highlights the significance of raising public awareness about the usage and efficacy of drones.¹¹

Table No 8: Drones and Violation of National Sovereignty

S. No.	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Agree	83	68.0	68.0
2		Disagree	33	27.0	27.0
3		Other	6	4.9	4.9
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

One of the most controversial issues regarding the use of drones by military is violation of national sovereignty of that particular state on which drone strikes are being conducted. But there is also violation of sovereignty in case of air raids or other forms of intervention. On one hand, 68% of the respondents agree with the notion that although a drone strike may violate the local state's sovereignty, it does so to a lesser degree than by putting a foreign state's boots on the ground or conducting a large scale air campaign. On the other hand, 27% of the respondents disagree with it.

Table No 9: Risk Factor in the Available Alternatives

S. No	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	Agree	81	66.4	66.4
2		Disagree	41	33.6	33.6
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

One of the distinguishing features of drones, which provide them an edge over other means of warfare, is that they reduce the risk factor and vulnerability of the pilot. All other available alternatives are too risky as compared to drones. 66.4% of the population agrees with the notion which illustrates that the majority of the people are of the view that drones are comparatively less risky, and, therefore, more efficient means of warfare today.

Table No10: Drones as the Most Appropriate Weapon of Choice in Network Centric Warfare

¹¹Hassan Abbas, "How Drones Create More Terrorists," *The Atlantic* (August, 2013), <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/08/how-drones-create-more-terrorists/278743>.

S. No.	Options		No. of Responses	Percent	Valid Percent
1	Valid	No	38	31.1	31.1
2		Yes	84	68.9	68.9
		Total	122	100.0	100.0

The modern warfare is based on the system of network centric warfare. Network centric warfare needs a well-organized communication system for information sharing and collaboration during operations. This kind of network can only be developed by drones. They can work in a network by mutual collaboration in order to locate and hit the suspected targets with precision and accuracy. Network centric warfare is a major feature of counterinsurgency operations and the operations conducted against the terrorist mingled in the civilian population. So, for this purpose, drones are being regarded as the most appropriate weapon of choice.

After Analyzing the results obtained from the survey, it can be inferred that UAVs have become the ultimate weapons of choice for the military strategists in the modern warfare because they are especially designed to fulfill the needs of network centric warfare, which is otherwise not possible to conduct with such precision and persistence due to physical limitations of human beings.

Strategic Implications of Drone Warfare: Transformation of Conflict, Law, and Policy

The strategy of unmanned warfare with the employment of drones, the unmanned aerial vehicles, is the strategy of 21st century, and the future of modern warfare seems dependent on the success of this strategy as it has transformed the nature of conflict from manned to unmanned. With transformation in nature of conflict, the laws regulating the conflicts and the policies designed in order to manage the conflicts, also need to be transformed. The strategy of drone warfare seems to be successful at killing the suspected terrorists, but the question arises that whether this killing contributes to a reduction in the threat imposed by these terrorist groups or it is merely a short term solution with far reaching repercussions?

There is a school of thought which considers drones to be only a tactical success, not a strategic one. The proponents of this school of thought are of the view that the drones merely hit the

desired targets, who are then replaced by new recruitments in the terrorist networks, mostly from the families of the victims of collateral damages. Thus, the cycle continues without any significant success for either belligerent, ultimately resulting in endless sufferings and destruction of the life and property.

Implications of drone attacks on the foreign policy and international relations are also of considerable significance. Most of the times, this strategy sparks a public backlash, and the terrorists even get the public sympathies which make them even more stronger and well-entrenched in the society. Moreover, this strategy adversely affects the bilateral relations of the two states; the one who is employing the killer drones as a part of its strategy, and the other whose sovereignty and territorial integrity are being violated. Human rights violations are another issue which is raised by the international community. Violation of International law is one of those areas which need immediate attention, and there is a dire need for development of international law regarding drone warfare which deals with the question of drone warfare being a just war or not.

Drones involve targeted killing, and in most of the cases, extra-territorial killings. This raises the question of violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states under attack. Similarly, no compensations are paid to the victims of collateral damages as there is no authentic public record available regarding the number of these collateral damages. Likewise, drones are relatively cheaper than the manned aircrafts and the invulnerability of the operator makes the equation more unbalanced, thus putting a question mark on the justification of war. The kind of distant and automated killing which the drones are offering has made warfare quite easier to conduct. Moreover, the development of totally autonomous drones is detrimental to the development of human rights; thus, there is a dire need of putting some restrictions on the autonomy of drones. Another reason for the worldwide public condemnation of drones is that there is no authentic data available regarding the victims of drone attacks. Different figures are available from different sources, and there is a wide gap between these figures which make them less reliable and raise public voice regarding the collateral damages.

Socio-political implications of drone warfare include the increasing alienation between the targeted population and the states

responsible for drone attacks, the decreasing role and strength of United Nations Security Council in peaceful conflict resolution, economic and psychological implications of drone attacks, and the increased vulnerability of the states who do not possess this technology, thus creating another kind of haves and have-nots; those who possess drones and those who do not. It is a kind of technological divide which is going to develop two kinds of states; those who are technologically developed and are capable of attack, and the others who do not possess this technology and are vulnerable to attack.

Scope of the Strategy of Unmanned Warfare

Unmanned Warfare is the strategy of today's globalized world, and is the most efficient means of conducting network centric warfare which has become the nature of warfare in the 21st century due to increasing asymmetry and unconventional means being used by the warring groups. The modern war is waged without any consideration of national boundaries, as it is based on the networks of the warring groups and the trans-boundary alliances, in which they have entered. Under such conditions, the deployment of drones gives the desired outcomes as they are capable of operating in networks. In order to increase the efficacy of drone warfare, there is a need to generate awareness among the public regarding the need of drones and the advantages which they offer. Drones are being considered as an asymmetric means for the asymmetric warfare of today, and asymmetric warfare is not only among the armies of the warring states, rather it needs everyone to be involved; either directly or indirectly. So the public has to be taken into confidence for the success of drone operations.

Conclusion

In the contemporary era, unmanned aerial vehicles are replacing the manned aircrafts and have proved to be more efficient and persistent as compared to the latter. This paradigm shift is being considered as a revolution in military affairs as it has transformed the nature of warfare according to the changing demands of the time. The asymmetric nature of 21st century warfare needs an asymmetric

solution; there are no defined battlefields with man to man combat, rather the insurgents mingled in civilian population are to be found and targeted, which has made the whole world a battlefield; thus, increasing the demand of a network-centric warfare. Drones with their primary functions of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance are the ultimate weapon of choice for this unconventional warfare without risking soldiers' lives and with their ability to withstand dull, dirty, and dangerous environments with persistency.

Although, drones are being considered to be the signature weapon in the 21st century, but like every other technology, they also have many shortcomings. But these shortcomings (i.e., collateral damages and psychological effects) are mostly associated with hitting the targets, and not with the surveillance and reconnaissance missions. So drones can be successfully deployed as a strategy for surveillance missions, and to locate and trace out the desired targets. As far as killing by drones is concerned, it still needs more sophistication in their programming in order to avoid the collateral damages. There is also an option that drones should be used only to trace the targets, and then they to be arrested and tried in courts according to the legal procedures; thus, avoiding the criticism of extra-judicial and extra-territorial killings. But this could only be possible with collaboration of the army and intelligence of that particular country in which the operation is being conducted. In that case, there will be no violation of national sovereignty, and the feeling of vulnerability and fear in the civilian population will no longer be there, as their own army will be engaged in the operations which will give them a feeling of security instead of generating fear and hatred. It would lead to more successful operations by acquiring support of the civilian population, which is the primary requisite of any counterinsurgency operation.. The future of modern warfare lies within the strategy of unmanned warfare, as the use of drones is becoming paramount in military operations. They are becoming more and more sophisticated, and their precision is being increased day by day. Although they are facing challenges until now, but this is the thing faced by every new innovation. They just need to be deployed after thorough consideration because even though they do not require much physical involvement, but they do need full mental alertness of

the operators. Drones are a reality; they have been made and are being deployed, so they cannot be unmade now, just like nuclear bomb or any other technology. It is a fact that even after many treaties, there is no disarmament or even arms control in real terms. So, drones are there, they will be there, but the thing is that there should be some rules and regulations for their deployment in order to avoid human rights violations and to ensure international peace and stability.

But considering drones to be a silver bullet or panacea to control insurgencies and to gain control of the situation is not a pragmatic approach. They can lead to disastrous consequences if not handled properly because like every right, responsibility increases with every new technological innovation as well.

Notes for Authors

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