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State Building Jihadism

Redefining Gender Hierarchies and "Empowerment"

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Since the establishment of the Islamic State of Syria and Iraq (ISIS), there was a surge in women's incorporation into the organization. Traditionally, nationalist and leftist militant movements utilised women only during periods of mobilization and political struggle. Upon the periods of state consolidation, women were discarded and pushed out of the state institutions. Ironically and against the above established trend, this article demonstrates that this trend was reversed in the case of ISIS. By using the 'mahram' concept, the article also explains the reason why women were largely absent at the midst of ISIS's conflict and military clashes and were brought to the stage only after the triumph of the organization in establishing its state. The findings of this research are based on secondary sources and primary data personally collected from more than 150 interviews through multiple field trips to Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and the borders of ISIS-controlled territories in Syria from July 2015 to January 2017.

Introduction

There are several diverse notions along which the world is separated into different categories, including gender, race, religion, nations, class

or political ideologies. Gender relations and the position of women in society and the labour force has been always a topic of serious discussions among scholars in different academic fields. In both their personal and professional lives, men and women are associated in close, collaborative relationships. Simultaneously, men have traditionally greater access to societal power than women do[1]. As the most basic and predominant classification in social life throughout the world[2], gender hierarchies and the position of women also play an important role in the global labour force, which has traditionally been a patriarchal domain that many women have found unreceptive or even hostile[3].

The current trend in global labour force employment clearly demonstrates a discriminatory pattern in favour of men. In 2017, the male employment-to-population ratio was 72.2 percent, while the ratio for women was only 47.1 percent[4]. Although it is argued that a significant number of women are involved in informal employment as they often have less legal and social support, the overall employment gender gap continues to grow in favour of men. In line with the global discriminative employment trend, women's employment rate in most of the Islamic countries – especially those in the Middle East and North Africa – is even more disappointing. The repercussions of social restrictions are readily observable in the lower number of Muslim women who are employed in the labour force in comparison to other countries and regions around the world. The 2017 World Bank's World Development Indicators clearly demonstrate that the level of women's employment in the labour force across countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is 25 percent below the global average[5].

In line with social restrictions, the orthodox interpretations of Islamic jurisprudence also put restrictions on different other aspects of women's engagement in social affairs, including incorporation into militant organizations[6]. Traditional Islamic sources emphasize the importance of women's roles as mothers, sisters, daughters, and wives of Muslim men at war[7]. However, against the current women's employment trends in most Islamic countries and contrary to the negative perspective of the Islamic jurisprudence on women's recruitment in militant organizations, there was an increase in the number of women incorporated into ISIS in both numbers and roles.

Since the escalation of crises in Syria and Iraq in 2013, and with the growth of new jihadi organizations such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Jabhat Fateh al-Sham and, Jaish al-Fatah, there was

a new wave of women being incorporated into such jihadi groups. It is reported that more than ten percent of all Western members of ISIS were women[8]. More than 750 women from various countries in the EU have also joined jihadi groups in Syria and Iraq including 150 Germans and 200 French[9]. The same growth in women joining groups such as ISIS was evident in the case of non-European female nationals including 700 Tunisians and more than 500 Moroccans [10] [11].

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Focusing on the high rate of women's incorporation into ISIS as a manifestation of women's gender hierarchy ("empowerment"), this paper therefore aims to find answers for the reasons behind high rate of women's incorporation into ISIS ("empowerment") – both in numbers and roles despite the group's conservative ideology – while putting forward an explanation as to why such inclusion runs contrary to the incorporation trend of women in nationalist and leftist militant movements (disempowerment).

Methodology

The research was executed in qualitative form by using the phenomenological approach and through conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews[12]. The questions were designed to develop a complete, accurate, clear and articulated description and understanding of the roles and positions of women in ISIS by using the respondent's own knowledge and/or feelings. The interview questions covered a range of open-ended questions depending on the respondents' backgrounds. The participants covered a wide range of individuals including ex-ISIS members, ISIS supporters, scholars, government and security officials, refugees, internally displaced people and journalists. The interview questions were used as the baseline of further discussions with the correspondents. Upon receiving ethical approval from relevant authorities, three rounds of field trips were made to conduct these interviews from July 2015 to January 2017. More than 150 interviews were conducted with the subjects in Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Lebanon, and the borders of then ISIS-controlled territories in Syria. In addition to in-person interviews, five interviews were also conducted over the phone with three Syrian and Iraqi Arab females and two Syrian and Iraqi Arab males (age between 26 to 39) who were still living in ISIS-ruled territories in Syria and Iraq.

The interviews were conducted to examine how the position of women in the ideology of ISIS was framed and the main reasons for the

incorporation of women in the organization. The methods by which ISIS incorporated women were also investigated in these interviews. Due to the nature of this research, accessibility to data was in itself a challenge. Direct access to jihadi organizations and their members was both legally and practically difficult. To overcome this challenge, I interviewed people with sufficient knowledge about ISIS by using proxy respondents for collecting the needed data for this research. These proxy respondents included ISIS defectors, ISIS supporters, refugees and eyewitnesses who have experienced living in territories run by jihadi organizations in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

State building and change in gender hierarchies

The rise of ISIS has certainly changed the definition of jihadi organizations and their gender hierarchies. Initially the operative extension of Al-Qaeda in Iraq with *salafi* thoughts, ISIS stunned the world by declaring the establishment of its Caliphate in 2014 in an immense geographic area within Iraqi and Syrian terrains. Contrasting most other jihadi groups such as Al-Qaeda with a vague idea about establishing and administrating a caliphate, ISIS had clearly set its objective to establish a new society, governed by a strict interpretation of sharia law in practice[13]. Hence, a group such as ISIS should not be studied as a mere militant organization, but a group in control of a functioning caliphate. This approach of ISIS towards state building was resulted in migration and incorporation of thousands of women from around the world in its vision society[14].

The state building project of ISIS shared similarities with the process of nation and state building in several other places in the world. Armed conflicts have been always an important phenomenon of studying state building. Just like external wars, internal conflicts -such as the Syrian civil war- can, under certain circumstances, promote state building.[15] It is important to take note that there is no single pathway to state building. It is argued that several states were 'built in unremitting blood and fire, others as fractious collections of elites, and others as stable but tacit deals between political forces'.[16] ISIS's caliphate building process certainly falls into the violent path towards establishing a state.

Creating a state has been a central point of violent competition among different sectors of a society through the course of history[17]. This has been intensified in the aftermath of World War II where the most struggles in the world have been due to nation-building efforts[18].

Violence therefore has been a key component to the process of state building. In this case, militancy plays a vital role not only in 'defending the nation-state, but also in arbitrating criteria for membership (citizenship) in the nation'.[19] This is evident in the case of countries in which military (national) service is mandatory for its citizens including Singapore, Iran, Denmark or Turkey. In cases such as Israel, this mandatory military (national) service is compulsory for both men and women with no discrimination[20].

Charles Tilly's statement of *war makes state and states make war* is certainly the most popular notion in the current literature for explaining the relationship between military conflicts (i.e. war) and the process of state building. His argument is based on three components of centralized control over territory, development of the state apparatus, and process of civilianization[21]. Based on this argument, state building would occur when 'violent specialists and elites consolidate security and thereby provide the first and most important public good: the control over the use of force'.[22]

Based on the above argument on the link between armed conflicts and the process of state building, and specific to this article, women's active contribution to the process of state building through militant groups is evident (although less publicized) throughout modern history[23]. Women have been an important part of national revolutionary movements in conflicts in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Libya, Eritrea, Vietnam, and Yugoslavia[24].

Together with that, there exists a link between gender hierarchies and violent conflicts[25]. Societies are often in need of a major catalyst—like war or conflict—to shake up the social and political orders[26]. For instance, with the beginning of the First Indochina War against the French, the Communist-oriented Vietnamese nationalists rebelled against dominant Confucian values (favouring women's domestic roles as good mothers and wives) by recruiting a huge number of women to mobilize more fighters against the enemy[27]. The emphasis on women's participation in military affairs provided the Vietnamese national movement, with a large number of women leaving their traditional domestic roles as mothers and wives and entering the fighting force to pursue the state building cause. Between one third to half of the Viet Cong troops were made up of women including regimental commanders[28]. During the Vietnam War, a female commander, Thi Dinh, was the deputy commander of the entire Vietcong troops fighting against

South Vietnamese. The Viet Cong troops were also consisted of few all-women platoons with duties including reconnaissance, communications, commando operations and nursing.[29]

Women in these platoons were trained in using different types of weapons, hand grenades, planting landmines, and even assassinating enemy key figures. It is reported that several female Viet Cong special commandos were effectively involved in one of the most famous operations against American forces in February 1969, in which 38 US army officers were killed in Cu Chi Airbase and all their Ch-47 Chinook helicopters were destroyed by these commandos. The same pattern of women's participation in military affairs is evident in several other anti-colonial liberation movements including the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army. It is estimated that by 1979, nearly 7,500 of the 20,000 members of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army were female combatants and they were involved in several combat ranks including commanding female brigades and direct combat engagement with the enemies[30, 31].

By gathering cross-national data from 1900 to 2015, Webster et al. established a link between armed conflict and gender power imbalances within society. They concluded that 'warfare can disrupt social institutions and lead to an increase in women's empowerment via mechanisms related to role shifts across society and political shifts catalysed by war'.[32] However, even though warfare changes gender hierarchies and increases women's empowerment, in all the above mentioned cases, it is evident that the nationalist or leftist movements have utilized women only during periods of mobilization and political struggle. Upon the periods of state consolidation, women were discarded and pushed out of the state institutions[33]. In other words, women were "disempowered" in the aftermath of establishing new states. In her study of national symbolism in constructing gender, Karima Omar has also identified the same trend of changes in gender hierarchies through women's empowerment (during the struggle) and disempowerment (after the triumph of the struggle) in cases of the Vietnamese and Nicaraguan nationalist struggles. The main reason for women to be pushed aside upon the triumph of the military campaign is argued to be due to the fact that their elevated status during times of conflict does not comply with the conventional and traditional gender roles that consistently re-emerge after nationalist wars[34].

Ironically and against the above established trend, the following section of this article demonstrates that this trend is opposite in the

case of ISIS. Women were largely absent (disempowered) at the midst of conflict and military clashes and were "empowered" and brought to the stage only after the triumph of ISIS in establishing its state.

Women, ISIS and the state building project

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While women are integrated by few jihadi organizations such as Al-Qaeda and several other smaller groups in Pakistan, Palestine and Iraq, their number remains low compared to those of their male counterparts. Women are mostly integrated in these organizations as suicide bombers which is pre-eminently, a tactical tool than an expression of a long-term strategy. The female dress code in many Muslim societies provides a tactical advantage for jihadi organizations to conceal explosive and weapons they may need for their operations. Several female suicide bombers could pass security checkpoints and successfully conduct their operations due to this tactical advantage – especially as security forces in many Muslim countries are largely male dominant and thus unable to perform proper body search on women due to religious and cultural restrictions[35]. However, due to strong religious and cultural negative sentiments against the use of women in violent operations, even this tactical advantage has not resulted in extensive use of women in combat roles.

Apart from suicide bombing, women also perform other duties in jihadi organizations. These non-combat roles involve supporting duties and are believed, by jihadi organizations, to be a closer match to the peaceful and non-violent nature of women while helping the groups attain their objectives. Some of these roles include distributing messages, recruiting new members, fundraising, translating, etc. However, the common characteristics among these roles is that they do not require them to mix with the opposite sex in the public sphere.

The reason for women's lower integration into jihadi groups (disempowerment) is rooted in the principles of *mahram* and sexual purity. Based on these conservative principles of gender hierarchies, a Muslim woman should always be accompanied by a male *mahram* (either her husband or a relative in the prohibited degree of marriage) in public[36]. Due to the nature of war zones, women would unavoidably find themselves in the illicit company of non-*mahram* males, therefore, to avoid such seemingly sinful circumstances, jihadi groups initially barred women's involvement in jihadi activities. This is the main factor which makes jihadi organizations different from other non-jihadi militant organizations in incorporating women for militant activities.

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Emphasizing women's sexual purity through the concept of *mahram*, shapes the ideological view of these organizations towards women and causes these groups to find themselves in a constant clash against 'a world characterized by sexual disorder, one in which females are seen as encroaching on the male domain'.[37] As a response, jihadi organizations stress the domestic roles of women in jihad, which included being virtuous wives to male jihadists and good mothers to the next generation of jihadists.

Contrary to the abovementioned classical approach of jihadi groups towards women's position in jihad ISIS practically incorporated a large number of women in its organizational structure upon establishing its state in Syria and Iraq. The success of ISIS in being the jihadi organization with the highest number of women should be viewed in two closely related levels; firstly, the success of the organization in solving the *mahram* obstacle, and secondly; transformation of ISIS from a mere militant jihadi establishment into a group in charge of administrating a functioning state.

Overcoming the *mahram* obstacle

By establishing 'gender-segregated parallel institution,' ISIS managed to minimize interactions between opposite sexes within its organization and therefore bypassed the *mahram* hurdle which was the main reason for women's absence (disempowerment) during the group's militant struggle. This means a unit within virtually every existing ISIS institution was allocated to women only to address related women's affairs. These units were fully administrated by women, and their level of interaction with their male counterparts was minimized. This system comprised all ISIS state institutions, such as education, healthcare, administration, police, finance, and service provision. Unlike jihadi organizations, such as the Taliban and Al-Shabaab of Somalia with ultra-rigid orthodox ideological tenets, ISIS repeatedly showed interest in adopting pragmatic approaches learned from others.

Implementing gender-segregated parallel institutions, with the idea borrowed from the practices of Iran and Saudi Arabia was an example of such pragmatic approaches. ISIS might not have been the first entity to use gender segregation as a tool for social engineering[38], but it was the first jihadi organization to implement this policy effectively throughout its ruling territory[39]. Through this mechanism and against the conventional trend of women's disempowerment in non-jihadi

organizations, ISIS successfully "empowered" a group of ideologically dedicated women to be a part of its state apparatus.

While recognizing the brutality of ISIS toward women and that the orthodox interpretation of sharia laws is in contrast with conventional definition of women's empowerment, the primary data collected for this paper clearly expounds the existence of a systematic structure of women's incorporation into ISIS for achieving organizational success. The "empowerment" brought about by ISIS was exclusively for Muslim women who were marginalized for their orthodox religious and ideological beliefs in secular Western or Arab societies. ISIS "empowered" this exclusive group of women by providing them a platform to perform their social duties (including working in different civil and military sectors), while adhering to their strict interpretation of religion. This means women of religious minorities and those Muslim women with different interpretations of Islam who were living within ISIS territories were severely discriminated and marginalized by the organization.

Primary data collected through fieldwork in Iraq, the ISIS-controlled Syrian borders in southern regions of Turkey, and Lebanon reflect the effectiveness of ISIS in reconciling its ultra-conservative Islamic narrative of women, with the organization's incorporation of the same through establishing gender-segregated parallel institutions. ISIS defectors, and Iraqi and Syrian refugees interviewed for this research as well as conversations with Iraqi and Turkish security and military officials, confirmed the existence and functioning of these institutions across ISIS's territories.

Women of the ISIS state

In studying ISIS, it is important to note that unlike Al-Qaeda, the organization should not be treated as only a militant organization. ISIS has morphed into a state builder which made its structure and ultimately its view over women's incorporation different from other jihadi groups. ISIS claimed to have a stark vision for founding a state (caliphate), tracking the classical structure of the caliphates during the golden age of Islam (8th century to 13th century). ISIS envisaged a state as a unified, transnational government ruling over the entire Muslim community by imposing its strict interpretation of sharia law[40].

Within its controlling territory, ISIS implemented a detailed hierarchical structure of governance by using gender segregated parallel

institutions, which encompassed several councils including military, healthcare, education, defence, intelligence, and judiciary. ISIS's incorporation of women was operationalized through this framework. Some of the main roles assigned to women by ISIS through its gender-segregated parallel institutions were as follows:

Military forces

There are confirmed reports that ISIS had established a battalion consisting of female suicide bombers in Syria by mid-2015 (RBSS, 2015). Maha, a 25-year-old former resident of Raqqa who fled to the Turkish city of Gaziantep in early 2016, explained;

> I was approached by an unknown woman in a female gathering in Raqqa and was asked if I would like to sacrifice my life in the path of Allah. I was told by the woman that I can join a group of martyrdom seeking women who would like to defend the caliphate against the crusaders and the infidels. The woman told me that I will be trained to fire rifles and even how to use explosive jackets[41].

On 7 July 2016, ISIS officially claimed its first suicide attack conducted by one of its female members. Three ISIS members (including a woman) conducted a series of suicide attacks against Sayyid Mohammed mosque (a Shi'a holy shrine) in the city of Balad, 80 kilometres north of Baghdad, Iraq. The attacks killed 35 civilians and left 60 others seriously injured. In an official announcement by ISIS which was published in its news agency Al-Amaq, the group accepted the responsibility for the attacks and identified the female suicide bomber as Um Ja'ada[42].

It was also confirmed that ISIS was increasingly using its female members for fighting enemies in Libya, Kenya and European countries. In February 2016, seven ISIS female operatives were arrested by the Libyan officials in the western city of Sabratha in the Zawiya District of Libya. In the same attack, three more ISIS female fighters were killed. Some of these women were fighting alongside their male jihadist counterparts in the battle field[43].

Police force

Soon after declaring its caliphate in 2014, ISIS affirmed the establishment of *hisbah* (sharia police force)[44], a female-only police squad that

supervised ISIS territory for proper implementation of the organization's strict interpretation of sharia law for women, especially their dress code[45]. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of women in this force due to the secretive structure of it and also limitations in accessing their members. However, General Mahdi Younis of Iraqi Peshmerga forces in northern Iraq told the author in an interview that about a thousand women were recruited by ISIS sharia police force throughout its territories[46].

The ISIS defectors and the Syrian and Iraqi refugees I interviewed during my field work in Iraq, Turkey and Lebanon explained that *hisbah* forces functioned in all major towns throughout ISIS territories in Syria and Iraq. The interviewees told the author that they witnessed women armed with AK-47s, covered in black robes patrolling the streets of Raqqa, Mosul, Fallujah, Manbij, Tell Abyed, Tell Afar and Jarablus either in cars or on feet. ISIS female police force operated under the Security Council of ISIS, which was in command of the internal policing.

Mohammad a 58-year-old Syrian refugee who was living in the southern city of Gaziantep in Turkey shared his personal encounter with ISIS *hisbah* in the Syrian city of Tell Abyed.

> I was walking with my wife on the street for shopping groceries. Along the way, we have come across a group of 10 to 15 people who were gathered around a couple. We heard that a female *hisbah* force who was carrying a gun was speaking loud to the couple. She was shouting that the woman has not observed the dress code and that she has to come with her to the police station. The woman's husband was begging the woman to let her wife go. The ISIS woman had a clear North African accent of Arabic. As the population around the couple was mounting, a group of ISIS male police force showed up in a car to help their female colleagues. I told my wife to hurry up and stay away from the crowd. I do not know what happened to the couple[47].

Mahmoud a 46-years-old ex-ISIS member and former resident of Raqqa and currently a refugee in Gaziantep in south of Turkey also noted that

> Female *hisbah* members have a separate facility for their own in the city. This is to prevent them from mixing with us [their

male jihadi counterparts]. *Hisbah* members take the women who have broken the sharia law to this facility in Raqqa. Women who wear tight *abaya* [long black dress], not being accompanied by a male family member in public, smoke cigarettes, drink and eat publicly during the fasting month, commit adultery, commit acts of homosexual nature or wearing bright nail polish will be arrested by the force and will be taken to its facilities[48].

For ISIS to expand its ideological control over all its society members, the group incorporated a large number of women as police force through its mechanism of gender-segregated parallel institutions. This allowed ISIS to increase its degree of control over its entire population.

Teachers and educators

The education system and its affiliated institutes, including schools and universities, were crucial to ISIS as they were the perfect means for shaping the hearts and minds of the next generation of devoted jihadists[49]. Hence, ISIS set its educational goal to 'decrease ignorance, spread religious sciences, resist corrupt sciences and curricula and replace them with righteous Islamic curricula'.[50]

Despite reports on the closure of girls' schools in ISIS territories, a number of them were still operational under strict restrictions put upon them by ISIS *Diwan al-Ta'aleem* (council of education). Schools were entirely gender segregated and only female teachers were allowed to work in girls' schools. It was compulsory for both female teachers and students to observe the dress code of black robe and full-face veil.

In city of Sanliurfa in southern Turkey, I also met Ayisha (30 years old), a former teacher and a mother of two children who fled Deir ez-Zor in Syria in 2015. She explained to me that

> After the gender segregating of schools, only female teachers, principal and, cleaners were administrating the elementary school I was working in. A thick curtain was set up behind the main gate of the school and only women could enter the school. I have personally seen a number of ISIS female police forces checking the school regularly to assure the school pupils' and staff's adherence to sharia laws especially in terms of dressing. This made many citizens of the city to refuse sending their kids to schools[51].

While conducting fieldwork in Erbil in northern Iraq, I also had the opportunity of meeting Sharifah (originally from Mosul) whom her relatives and friends were still living in Mosul under the ISIS rule. Through Sharifah, I was connected by phone to one of her friends, Jamilah (32 years old), in then ISIS-controlled city of Mosul. Jamilah explained her experience of dealing with ISIS education system.

> At the early stages of ISIS taking control of Mosul, many female teachers who were working at schools left their jobs as they were not satisfied with the Islamic State's ideological approach towards education. However, the caliphate forcefully called all female teachers to return to their schools under the new rules and regulations. Female teachers receive some minimal salaries directly from ISIS and they are threatened that upon leaving their jobs, their properties will be confiscated[52].

Apart from the elementary and secondary schools, ISIS established its first female finishing school, Al-Zawra for adult women. According to the mission statement of the school, it provided training for women 'interested in explosive belt and suicide bombing more than a white dress or a castle or clothing or furniture'.[53] The institute provided a wide range of courses including 'domestic work such as sewing and cooking, medical first aid, Islam and Sharia law, weaponry, training in social media and computer programs for editing and design'.[54] Knowing the importance of women as the mothers of future jihadists, ISIS established a functioning system of ideological education for its female population based on gender segregation.

Doctors and nurses

As ISIS has morphed beyond a plain militant organization towards founding its caliphate, providing public goods for its inhabitants while observing its strict interpretation of sharia law has become more important. The healthcare sector was one of those vital services which ISIS paid exceptional attention to. In early 2015, ISIS announced its Islamic State Healthcare System (ISHS) which was replicated from the UK National Healthcare System (NHS). In a YouTube video published by ISIS, an Indian doctor named Abu Muqatil al-Hindi, explains that 'there are doctors from Russia, Tunisia, Sri Lanka and Australia, and that women are treated by female physicians'.[55] The same pattern of

gender segregation in other ISIS institutions was applied to the organization's healthcare system (ISHS) as well. Female patients were only permitted to be visited and treated by female doctors and nursed in 'Women Only' sections of hospitals within ISIS territory.

During my visit to Debaga refugee camp close to the city of Makhmur in Iraq, I met Kolthum, a 42-year-old female general physician who has fled the ISIS controlled city of Mosul with her husband and four children. She told me

> A section within Mosul general hospital is allocated to female patients to visit female doctors and nurses. ISIS threatened us [those female doctors who refused to return to their works in the hospital] with confiscation of our properties. The range of services offered by us [female doctors and nurses] was also more limited than those offered to men as the number of us [female doctors and nurses] were fewer than those of men[56].

Adilah a 30-year-old female nurse from Raqqa whom I met in Istanbul in April 2016, also emphasized

> Despite female doctors being able to continue working in Raqqa general hospital, ISIS officials were extremely strict about implementing sharia law at medical centres. While I was a nurse at hospital, I was really afraid of even touching 5 or 6-year-old sick boys for medical check-up as I was not allowed to treat men[57].

As an organization in charge of governing a society, ISIS quickly realized the importance of providing services for the entire population they rule. This included women as half of the populace as well. By segregating health centres, ISIS managed to provide the basic health services for women without jeopardizing its strict *salafi* ideological commitments.

Housing and sheltering officers

ISIS offered free accommodation, utilities, and services for its members. In terms of their female recruits, there were women in charge of these arrangements. According to Sana a 39-year-old Syrian ex-ISIS female member whom I met in the Turkish city of Kilis,

Women who arrive in Syria or Iraq from abroad were being sent to ISIS owned houses called *maqars*. It is important to note that *maqars* were only for single women. Married women with their families would have been accommodated in proper houses by ISIS housing and sheltering officers. In this case since the male member of the family was in charge, they were attended by ISIS male housing and sheltering officers[58].

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A 46-year-old female former resident of Mosul who wanted her identity to be protected as she was serving ISIS for a short period of time in 2015 and currently lives in the Debaga refugee camp in northern Iraq explained

> The female housing and sheltering officers were also acting as translators to the newly arrived foreign females and help them overcome the language barrier at their initial weeks in ISIS territories. As translators, they were helping women familiarize themselves with the neighbourhood and assisting them understand caliphate's official documents and announcements[59].

These female officers were also in charge of controlling the mobility of women during their stay in *maqars*. Based on ISIS strict regulations, women's mobility in towns was limited and the officers were those ensuring these regulations to be observed by the newcomers. Contacts with local Syrian or Iraqi residents of the cities should have been arranged by the officers and it was very minimal at this stage. However, after leaving *maqars*, these women had more freedom to interact with locals in the cities they were assigned to live in. Several female housing and sheltering officers were also closely cooperating with ISIS authorities as matchmakers. Naqibah, a 34-year-old ex-ISIS female member from Raqqa noted that female housing and shelter officers were very much involved in introducing single women to male jihadists and vice-versa. They introduced the women to male jihadi candidates under the surveillance of the ISIS Marriage Affairs Department[60].

The job description of female ISIS housing and sheltering officers went beyond mere accommodating the newcomer women in their new houses. They have been used as agents of social engineering by ISIS to allocate the newcomer women in their new social positions within the ISIS-run society.

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Tax collectors

Generating income was key to survival for groups such as ISIS. At its peak in 2014 and early 2015, ISIS was crowned as the richest terrorist group with the annual net income of 2 billion US dollars[61]. The Syrian and Iraqi oil fields were the main sources of income for the group in those years generating millions of dollars per month. Losing its territories and therefore some of its most important oil fields, the group started to diversify its sources of revenue to counter its financial crisis. Taxation has been one of the important sources of income for ISIS since its establishment in 2014 , however, upon losing its oil and gas revenues, the group intensified the use of tax money to overcome the crisis. By the end of 2016, taxation was making up to 50 percent of ISIS total revenue[62].

While news and reports coming out of ISIS territories were clearly verifying the existence of the tax authority, no mentioning of women's duty in the authority has been reported so far. However, upon the process of data collection along Syrian borders in southern Turkey, I have come across a couple of Syrian refugees who admitted the existence of a small group of female tax collectors within ISIS authority. Rashid, a 29-year-old who was a shopkeeper in Raqqa and now living in Kilis in south Turkey indicated that

> As a result of the international pressure on ISIS and as the aftermath of losing its oil revenue, jihadists have intensified their efforts in generating tax revenues. This would make women of no exception. Upon visiting the ISIS tax authority in Raqqa to pay my business tax, I noticed a room with closed door which was assigned by the group for women to pay their taxes. The process of tax collection was run by ISIS female tax collectors[63].

Although ISIS was crowned as the richest terrorist organization of its time, near the end of its caliphate the organization was facing severe financial crisis. For this reason, and through its gender-segregated parallel institution, the organization started to exploit all the financial resources possible including those of women. For this reason, female tax collectors were recruited to maximize the organization's access to the scarce financial resources.

Hijrah

Women also contributed positively to the legitimacy of ISIS by making *hijrah* (migration) to its territory. Establishing a global caliphate for all Muslims (men and women) around the world regardless of their race, nationality and colour is on its own a form of what is called *Da'wa* (global invitation for all Muslims) in Islamic jurisprudence. This invitation encouraged Muslim men and women around the world to make *hijrah* (migration) to the "true" land of Islam and to form the "real" Islamic *ummah* (global community). Within this framework, thousands of women from all around the world migrated to the ISIS controlled territories in Syria and Iraq. In absence of conventional tools of providing legitimacy such as suffrage, women's participation in *Hijrah* in general was playing a vital role in providing ISIS with the legitimacy it needed to rule and run its caliphate.

ISIS claimed that by making *hijrah* to its newly established Islamic state, women who were socially and culturally alienated for their strong Islamist views and practices in western or secular Muslim countries could have found a conducive environment in which they could become active members of society (through gender-segregated parallel institutions) while adhering to their radical interpretation of religion. Noor, a 31-year-old former resident of Raqqa who was an English instructor and currently lives with her family in Gaziantep, southern Turkey, shares her story of encountering a migrant female ISIS member in Raqqa in late 2014,

A French woman who was married to a Moroccan ISIS jihadist moved to our neighbourhood. In one of the rare encounters I had with her, I asked her how come she left a country like France to came and live here? She replied with broken English that as a *Muslimah* [Muslim woman], she feels freer and more respected here. She is free to wear her *niqab* [face veil] with no shame and fear of being harassed by *kuffar* [infidels] like in France[64].

For these women, Islamic states founded by jihadi groups provide an escape from a society where to be equal citizens; one should abandon her religious duties[65]. The society established by ISIS claimed to provide the opportunity for these women to escape from a society in which being an equal citizen required abandoning the duties of one's religion.

Conclusion

The gender hierarchy and position of women within militant organizations throughout their course of armed struggle and after the triumph of these movements has been a topic of intense debates among scholars. Several researchers argue that 'in the midst of conflict and with nationalism at its height, women are empowered as a means of furthering the cause, yet once liberation is achieved, the importance of women and women's issues diminishes'.[66] However, empirical evidence discussed in this article reveals a reverse process among jihadi organizations. Groups such as ISIS were extremely exclusive of women throughout their campaigns and military operations prior to establishing states, however, upon their triumph, these organizations intensified engaging women in various roles and capacities.

ISIS might not be the first jihadi organization to try establishing its full-fledged state, however; it was the most effective and practical in terms of amount of territory and size of population controlled. Despite its brutal approach towards women of both religious and racial minorities, ISIS has challenged the conventional gender hierarchies among jihadi organizations by provided a platform to incorporate a large number of women in various social roles from all around the world. Such mobilization of women was unique in the history of jihadi organizations. The reason for ISIS's success in "empowering" a substantial number of like-minded women (through incorporating them in various social roles) against the restrictive interpretations of the Islamic jurisprudence was rooted in the organization's structure. Unlike groups such as Al-Qaeda, ISIS had a clear vision of governing a society based upon the principles of sharia law in practice.

As a result, ISIS morphed from a mere militant organization like other jihadi groups to a state builder. Along this metamorphosis, ISIS's objectives and therefore organizational structure was transformed as well. While other jihadi organizations seek to dismiss western troops from Muslim lands, and to topple down western supported local governments with vague plans for the morning after, ISIS had set its objective to revitalize its own interpretation of the Islamic tradition of caliphate. For that reason, ISIS's strategy for "empowering" women through incorporating them in large amounts was geared towards addressing the challenges facing a functioning state. These challenges included providing public goods and services, maintaining order and security, and obtaining legitimacy. This is where the differ-

ences between groups such as ISIS and nationalist and leftist organizations appear.

To address challenges facing a functioning state, women were incorporated through gender-segregated parallel institutions in a variety of social roles, some of which were discussed in this article. By using these institutions, ISIS has successfully managed to solve the *mahram* issue unlike other jihadi organizations. The *mahram* concept burdens all jihadi organizations for incorporating more women in their ranks. It is almost impossible for jihadi organizations to ensure their female members are accompanied by a male *mahram* in all occasions especially during militant operations. For that reason, most jihadi groups are reluctant about the widespread use of women. This accounts for the lower number of women in these groups in comparison to the nationalist and secular militant groups throughout their course of struggle against enemies.

However, upon triumph and establishing the state, while nationalist or secular movements dismiss or marginalize their female members, a jihadi group like ISIS challenged the conventional gender hierarchies of jihadi organizations and intensified its utilization of women to address the challenges of administrating a state. In studying the gender hierarchy within jihadi organizations such as ISIS, it is important to note that the "empowerment" brought about by ISIS was exclusive to a very special population of women. Groups such as ISIS target Muslim women who feel socially and culturally marginalized in their societies because of their ultra-conservative lifestyles. Islamic states founded by jihadi groups such as ISIS claimed to provide an escape from societies where to be equal citizens, one should have abandoned her religious duties.

ISIS's triumph in incorporating large numbers of women was due to the ability of ISIS in providing a conducive environment for women's integration by solving the *mahram* burden through gender-segregated parallel institutions. By this mechanism, ISIS claimed to provide the platform needed for "repressed" Muslim women around the world to be "empowered" and to play a more active role in the creation of a new generation of believers, and a state in which practicing their extremist ideological commitments are recognized and protected unlike their countries of origin where they migrated to the ISIS territories from. Gender segregation provided the ideological justification for many faithful women to ISIS' ideology to participate more actively in

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social affairs against the established gender hierarchies among other jihadi organizations.

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Rethinking the Budapest Memorandum from the Perspective of Ukrainian-Russian Relations in the Post-Soviet Period[1]

Alina Shymanska

The Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine was adopted in 1990 and declared Ukraine a non-nuclear state. However, Kyiv was not eager to surrender the nuclear arsenal that it had inherited from the Soviet Union. It is possible to divide Ukraine's denuclearisation process into two different phases. The first phase consisted of bilateral discussions between Russia and Ukraine, which ended due to Russia's inability to understand Ukraine's security concerns. In 1993, the United States joined the discussion, and the trilateral phase began. The involvement of the United States helped to reach a consensus and promote nuclear non-proliferation in Ukraine by providing security assurance and some economic benefits. The case of Ukraine's nuclear non-proliferation was supposed to be one of the most exemplary cases of denuclearisation in the last two decades. But in light of the Ukrainian crisis which started in 2014, the world recognizes that the security assurances provided in the Budapest Memorandum ultimately failed to deter Russian aggression towards Ukraine. Scott Sagan believes that the international norms and an image of 'a good international citizen' that can integrate into the Western economic and security system while maintaining good relations with Russia mattered the most in view of

Ukraine's decision to give up nuclear weapons. This article suggests that the Ukrainian denuclearisation is the fusion of both the norms and domestic factors that Ukraine faced in 1990s. The article will review Ukraine's decision to return the nuclear weapons, despite the ongoing Russian threat. It will also clarify Ukraine's decision to not pursue nuclear proliferation, despite recent trends within Ukraine's political circle that would be in support of this decision.

In 1991, negotiations regarding the establishment of a post-soviet Commonwealth of Independent States took place in Alma-Ata and Minsk. Since the Russian diplomats could not find a consensus with Ukraine regarding nuclear disarmament, the Russian Federation had to search for support from the strongest nuclear non-proliferation promoter in the world – the United States. Thus, diplomats from Washington D.C. and London became involved in the process. The representatives from the United Kingdom preferred not to be actively involved in the negotiations over the Memorandum, and so their role in the talks was more symbolic and presumed to support the stance of the White House. Additionally, Ukraine wanted to involve both France and China in the negotiations. Ultimately these two countries refused to take part in the process. The talks continued in a two-plus-one configuration between the US and Russia on the one side, and Ukraine on the other, culminating in the establishment of the Budapest Memorandum of Security Assurances in 1994. By signing the document, the United States, the United Kingdom and Russia agreed to not threaten or use force against Ukraine and also to respect its already existing borders.[2]

In 2014, the annexation of Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula by Russia took place, while the separatist forces allegedly backed by the Russian government propelled the conflict in the Ukrainian region of Donbas. The American author Walter Russel Mead stated that because of Ukraine 'losing chunks of territory to Russia, it is pretty much the end of a ration case for nonproliferation in many countries around the world'.[3] Therefore, in view of the Russian aggression towards Ukraine, it may be proper for Ukraine to reevaluate its national security policy. In Ukrainian lawmaker and *Rada* (Parliament) member Pavlo Rizanenko's speech, he noted that the Ukrainian society now has strong

negative sentiments towards the Budapest Memorandum and believes it was a mistake for Ukraine to give up its nuclear arsenal. Rizanenko believes that Ukraine should begin a nuclear weapons program, regardless of what happens with the current crisis in relations with Russia.[4] Statistical data suggests that many Ukrainians agree with Rizanenko's belief. For instance, in 2014, The Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation, together with The Razumkov Center, found that 43 percent of the respondents strongly supported Ukraine possessing nuclear weapons, whereas 37 percent of respondents demonstrated a negative attitude towards Ukraine once again possessing nuclear weapons.[5] These responses are not surprising given Russia's recent takeover of the Crimean Peninsula and Vladimir Putin showing support for separatist pro-Russians at Donbas.

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While nuclear ambitions are not a prevailing idea among Ukrainian citizens, the inclination of the citizens of Ukraine to blame the post-Soviet Ukraine's government for their having agreed with the conditions of the Budapest Memorandum has become an indefeasible part of the current political climate in Ukraine in the past few years. As can be seen from the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation and The Razumkov Center social research, many Ukrainian citizens are in agreement with the views of John J. Mearsheimer in regards to the possibility of warfare in Europe, unless some countries such as Germany retain nuclear arsenals.[6] Following the logic of Mearsheimer, it could be concluded that it would benefit both the security of Ukraine and Europe if Ukraine possessed nuclear weapons. In his paper published in 1993 in *Foreign Affairs,* Mearsheimer also commented that Ukrainian nuclear weapons would be 'the only reliable deterrent to Russian aggression'.[7]

This article will examine the domestic and international causes behind Ukraine's having decided to give up its nuclear weapons in 1990s regardless of the Russian threat, and also the reasons of why Ukraine will not try nuclear proliferation, in spite of some of the recent populist trends in the country's politics. In the later part, the paper will examine the paradigm of Ukrainian-Russian relations in the aftermath of Ukraine's denuclearisation, while relaying on the three models of nuclear (non)proliferation of Scott Sagan, which show why some countries may pursue or give up nuclear weapons considering the domestic factors of their policies.[8] While in his original writing Scott Sagan demonstrated that the Ukrainian case of giving up nu-

clear weapons only relates to the norms model, this article tries to show that many factors of domestic instability also should be taken in consideration. The article concludes with the view that despite the populist viewpoints gaining popularity among Ukrainians in regards to the nuclear program, Ukraine will eventually make a rational choice including engagement with Western democratic countries, seeking diplomatic support, and attempting to join the European Union (EU) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), instead of looking for a nuclear deterrent. Among the findings of this paper is the idea that Ukraine's desire to improve relations with the West was among the major reasons behind Ukraine's non-proliferation decision.

The Ukrainian denuclearisation process

The Ukrainian-Russian bilateral phase and its deadlock

Following Ukraine's independence, President Leonid Kravchuk suggested during his first trip to Washington D.C. that the international community should provide oversight and guidance in regard to destroying the nuclear arsenal that Ukraine inherited from the Soviet Union. The Russian President Boris Yeltsin demanded that the entire post-Soviet nuclear arsenal, including that located in Ukraine, should belong to Russia. President Kravchuk ultimately agreed on passing the nuclear weapons to Russia provided that the weapons would be dismantled in Russia. Russia decided to speed up this process, and the Lisbon Protocol was approved on 23 May 1992. The Lisbon Protocol included the signatures of world leaders from the United States, Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Through signing the Lisbon Protocol, Ukraine pledged to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). As President Kravchuk promised after having signed the protocol, the Ukrainian government agreed to dismantle the nuclear warheads in the country within the next seven years.[9]

However, Ukraine did not immediately begin the act of self-denuclearisation it agreed upon. The officials from Kyiv were cautious to dispose of their nuclear weapons quickly, as opposed to Belarus and Kazakhstan, because Russia could not guarantee that the Ukrainian nuclear weapons would be fully dismantled. The situation worsened when the *Duma* (Parliament) of Russia claimed that the Crimean Peninsula should rejoin Russia by having adopted the proposition named "Russian Federal Status of Sevastopol", which supported Russia's ter-

ritorial claim of the Crimean Peninsula.[10] In light of those developments, Ukraine was understandably not ready to turn over its nuclear weapons.

The concern for Ukraine's Deputy Foreign Minister, Borys Tarasyuk, was security guarantees for Ukraine vis-à-vis Russia due to the aforementioned territorial claims of the Russian Duma. Tarasyuk and his fellow diplomats that were involved in debates around the denuclearisation believed that the conditions provided by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty were not enough to protect the sovereignty of Ukraine. Therefore, Ukraine's diplomats made it clear Ukraine was looking for a 'high-level document' that included special security guarantees for Ukraine.[11] These guarantees would protect Ukraine in case of aggression from Russia and would also satisfy the members of *Rada* (the Ukrainian Parliament), many members of which demonstrated opposition to the country's non-nuclear status.

The Russian Foreign Ministry forwarded a document outlining their security guarantees for Ukraine. However, these guarantees were not unique - they were included in already existing documents, such as the Charter of the United Nations and Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Charter. Ukraine's urgency for security guarantees could obviously not be satisfied with these proposed measures. The Parliament elite of Ukraine – Viacheslav Chornovil, Volodymyr Tolubko, Levko Lukyanenko and many others – were sure that the decision to become a non-nuclear state was unwise given the possibility of a territorial conflict over the Crimean Peninsula with Russia. Viacheslav Chronovil even claimed that the Ukraine's leadership would commit an act of national betrayal if they let Ukraine lose its nuclear weapons.[12] Those opposed to Ukraine's non-nuclear status stressed the serious security vulnerability of Ukraine in view of Russia's claim over the Crimean Peninsula. In this regard, Strobe Talbott, who directly was involved in process of Ukrainian denuclearisation, illustrates this with saying that 'Ukrainians were paranoid with real enemies, especially in the Russian parliament, where reds and browns were pressing historical Russian claims against Ukrainian territory'.[13]

Another aspect undermining Ukraine's national security was the massive riots in Donbas. In the 1990s, the nation was struggling due to the post-Soviet economic crisis, whereas the massive strike of miners in the Russian-speaking southeastern portion of Ukraine that actually was propelled by the economic crisis only made the situation worse. In

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1989, two years before Ukraine's independence, the first strikes began with a riot by miners. This foreshadowed the impending collapse of the USSR. The declaration of Ukraine's independence did not put the strikes to an end. On 7 June 1993, the city of Donetsk saw a massive strike of miners that had spread from Donetsk to Lugansk, Kharkiv, and into parts of the Dnipropetrovsk region. These four regions make up the historical territory called Donbas.[14]

Having initially started with demands for a pay increase, the protestors proceeded to request a national vote for the separation of the Donbas region from the rest of Ukraine. In modern times, the Donbas region is in the middle of the allegedly Russia-backed separatist movement that started in 2014. In view of the economic difficulties that Ukraine were experiencing and the strike in Donbas in 1993, President Kravchuk decided to resign with Leonid Kuchma having become the newly elected Ukrainian President in 1994. This was a disastrous domestic situation, when Ukraine was on the verge of collapse in just two years after gaining independence, whereas the realization of Russia's claim for the Crimea Peninsula also seemed imminent. Meanwhile, the level of Ukraine's military preparedness was lacking, with the army demoralized and not ready to protect the nation's integrity in the case of military intervention. It was obvious that playing by Russia's rules and giving away those nuclear weapons as the President of Ukraine had demanded would be a better choice for Ukraine than a direct confrontation. At the same time, reorientation from deterring Russia to establishing closer Ukraine-Russian ties only deepened the demoralisation of the Ukrainian army.[15]

Overall, the political climate in Ukraine in early 1990s was very unstable. In his book *The Russia Hand* Strobe Talbott shares his experience of visiting Ukraine in May 1993 while mentioning Kyiv as 'the capital of an unhappy and nervous country that had been free for less than eighteen months and was not at all sure that it would last much longer'.[16] In view of the domestic instability propelled by the issues mentioned above, the Ukrainian government was in urgency for immediate financial assistance and international recognition. The Nunn-Lugar Fund related to the United States Cooperative Threat Reduction Program looked like a way to fix the depressed economy of the country and thus help pacify the miner demonstrations in the country's southeastern region. From a diplomatic standpoint, Ukraine hoped to resolve the deteriorating relationship with Russia peacefully, while becoming closer

to the West (which also did not want Ukraine to be a nuclear state). The Ukrainian government decided to continue the talks concerning its denuclearisation scenario on the assumption that the White House would get involved.

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Ukraine-Russia-United States trilateral process and the signing of the Budapest Memorandum

On 3 January 1993, both Russia and the United States signed START II, which stated that both countries were to cap their offensive nuclear arsenals to just 3,500 units. At the same time, Ukraine was not yet ready to even ratify START I due to the inability of diplomats of both Russia and Ukraine to reach a compromise. The United States blamed Russia for its inability to reason with Kyiv, while the Ukrainian government expressed doubt over Russia's promise to dismantle the nuclear weapons returned to them by Ukraine. Ukraine believed that Russia would add them to their arsenal in order to achieve diplomatic supremacy and a security advantage against Ukraine. In order to persuade Ukraine, during the Tokyo summit in July 1993 Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton agreed that the further diplomatic exchanges with regard to the denuclearisation of Ukraine would be held in the Ukrainian-Russian-America trilateral format.[17]

The United States quickly noticed that the diplomatic channels between Russia and Ukraine were not functioning properly.[18] The main problem was with Russia's reluctance to provide legitimate security guarantees for Ukraine. To help move along the denuclearisation process on 25 October 1993, the governments of the US and Ukraine signed a bilateral agreement that would provide Ukraine with financial assistance and technical support to help eliminate its nuclear arsenal. After that, on 18 November 1993, the Parliament of Ukraine agreed to ratify thirteen conditions of the Lisbon Protocol and START I. However, there was a twist – instead of claiming Ukraine as a non-nuclear state, its Parliament stated that Ukraine had owned nuclear weapons that had been inherited by the disintegration of the USSR. Ukraine agreed to eradicate 42 percent of the nuclear offensive warheads and 36 percent of vehicle carriers that were inherited during the collapse of the Soviet Union; the rest were proclaimed to remain in Ukraine's possessions.[19] This resolution appeared to be a declaration of both Ukraine's nuclear status while holding to its previous commitment of joining the NPT. It is obvious that mere financial and technical assis-

tance in regard to dismantling the nuclear weapons was not the only thing Ukraine was looking to obtain. This helped Washington D.C. to better understand Ukraine's security concerns and attempt to resolve it together.

The aforementioned actions of Ukraine made Russia understand the importance of providing Ukraine with some kind of security guarantees so that the country would not stick to its nuclear deterrent. Ukraine attempted to conduct a kind of diplomatic game with Russia by ratifying the Lisbon Protocol and START I in the way that proclaimed a part of nuclear arsenal as Ukraine's legal possession. For this reason, it should be seen as Ukraine's effort to exert a strong influence on the diplomatic process but not as a declaration of its nuclear status.

On 19 July 1994, the newly elected Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma replaced Leonid Kravchuk. Kuchma quickly found himself in the middle of the uneasy trilateral negotiations. In the fall of 1994, President Kuchma sent official letters to Beijing, London, Moscow, Paris, and Washington D.C. to request participation in a multilateral security treaty. Approximately one month later, between 7-10 November, the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine received official replies from the US, the UK, and Russia, but nothing from France. Volodymyr Vasylenko (former Ambassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary of Ukraine to the Benelux) and Valery Chalyi (Ukrainian Ambassador to the US) both stated that the President of France, Francois Mitterrand, worried that with or without a security guarantee, Ukraine would be taken advantage of regardless.[20] Because of this, both China and France declined to sign the Budapest Memorandum. This should have sounded an alarm for the Ukrainian government to stop and rethink the conditions under which it would surrender the nuclear weapons. President Kuchma disregarded this alarm and continued forward, with help from the Clinton administration. Russia agreed to cancel the energy debt that Ukraine had acquired, and promised to provide Ukraine with approximately $400-530 million for the nuclear weapons transferred to Russia.[21] Also, as part of the Nunn-Lugar Program, Ukraine would be able to receive financial aid from the US.

The process of dismantling and transferring the major nuclear warheads to Russia began in March 1994 and lasted through June 1996. On June 1st, 1996, the last unit carrying over 200 units of strategic warheads left for Russia. In total there was a transfer of over 5,000 units of nuclear warheads.[22]

Why Ukraine gave up the nuclear deterrent

In the early 1990s, Ukrainian security and economy was in dire shape. This was worsened by the miner strikes in the Donbas region. Kyiv leadership needed to achieve international recognition as a full participating member of the global society. This recognition was the only opportunity to open the doors for beneficial cooperation, financial investment, overseas assistance, and Ukraine's incorporation into the North Atlantic and European security cooperation network. For Ukraine, this could only be done through a full dismantling of its nuclear arsenal and joining the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which symbolized a shift towards a democratic state through voluntary disarmament. The determination of Ukraine to becoming a nuclear-free state, embodied in the Declaration of Sovereignty and granting priority to non-proliferation over nuclear deterrence from the territorial claims of Russia, matches with the theoretical basis of Scott Sagan's norms model.[23]

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Scott Sagan illustrates a norms model of nuclear weapons acquisition using France as an example. It is well known that after World War II, France's prominence as a world power was greatly reduced. General Charles de Gaulle, father of the Fifth Republic, was concerned about this and suggested that France should initiate a nuclear program. As de Gaulle claimed, without the status of great power the citizens of France would be ashamed of their country.[24] Thus his stance was that the nuclear program would restore France's power on the world stage. Charles de Gaulle wasn't attempting to bolster his political image, but instead was acting in the best interest of his country. Due to the initiative of General Charles de Gaulle, France began its nuclear program and is still in possession of its nuclear weapons currently. The nuclear program gave France the power and prominence that de Gaulle was looking for – since 1958 France obtained a status of a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, and thus approved its image of the great power. According to the norms model, states possess nuclear warheads when those in charge believe it will become a symbol of influence and prestige on the world stage. That is the exact case with France.

Scott Sagan also believes that the case of Ukraine represents the norms model. Since the Soviet Union dissolved, Ukraine committed to becoming a non-nuclear state through the Declaration of Sovereignty. Sagan uses this situation as an example for his norms model. Ac-

cording to him, after Ukraine gained independence, Kyiv believed that the non-nuclear status would allow the country independence and peaceful coexistence with other countries.[25] Scott Sagan is not alone in his beliefs, various other scholars support him while also providing additional explanations about the choice of Ukraine. For instance, Olli-Pekka Jalonen believes that Ukraine's objective towards non-proliferation was two-fold: first, as Scott Sagan mentioned, to gain international credit for becoming a "good global citizen" and peacefully coexist with the others, and secondly, to open up doors that would be beneficial to Ukraine becoming closer with the West.[26] The Soviet Union had a "roguish" image and Ukraine wanted to separate itself from that. By becoming an NPT member, Ukraine would show the world its commitment to democracy and peace. Eventually, that was exactly what Ukraine did by signing the Budapest Memorandum. Also, by 1991 Ukraine was showing large democratic transformations in its government apparatus, so the desire to integrate with the democratic western block of countries seemed very natural from the Ukraine's standpoint, while non-nuclear status would boost this process of integration.[27]

At the same time, we cannot ignore the desperate situation in Ukraine in regard to its national security and economy, namely the demoralisation of the army, Russian territorial claims and the lack of economic prosperity which propelled enormous strikes in Donbas region. For this reason, Ukrainian case of nuclear denuclearisation may be also explained from the point of view of the domestic political model of Scott Sagan.[28] In accordance with the domestic political model of nuclear (non)proliferation, the interests of parochial political figures that are related to the nuclear development and decision-making in the country is of high importance when it comes to the decisions of whether to develop or give up the nuclear weapons.[29] Sagan illustrates this model with the case of South Africa, that, as to Sagan, tried to develop the nuclear weapons to strengthen the level of scientific development in the country and the international image of South African scientists, while also deterring probable Soviet and American aggression.[30] From the Ukrainian point of view, the desire to obtain funds from the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program, while also receiving some monetary benefits from Russia[31], could have played an important role in Ukraine's leaders' desire to give up the nuclear weapons.[32] With these benefits, President Kuchma was hoping to avoid Kravchuk's scenario of resignation and boost his political image.

Therefore, the personal interest of Kuchma as a parochial political actor doubled with Ukraine's dire economic conditions pushed Ukraine to sign the Budapest Memorandum. Both Kravchuk and his successor Kuchma hoped that the security assurances provided in the Memorandum would pacify the Parliament of Ukraine, which originally preferred to preserve the nuclear warheads in Ukraine.[33] For this reason, the Ukraine's denuclearisation case should be rather viewed a fusion of Scott Sagan's domestic political and norms model rather than the representation of only one.

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The aftermath of the Memorandum and Russia's breach of the agreement

Ukraine's signing of the Budapest Memorandum is proof of Kyiv's multi-polar diplomatic style, which means maintaining friendly ties with Russia while trying to integrate into the economic and security network of the North-Atlantic region. This is how Ukraine was one of the top recipients of American financial assistance in the 1990s, while also struggling to receive full-time membership in NATO.[34] After the consensus regarding the Budapest Memorandum was reached, the bilateral relationship with Russia only improved as the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Partnership evolved in 1997 as a sign of Ukrainian-Russian relations enhancement. The relations with the Russian Federation were of high importance for Ukraine also in view of the role of Russia as one of Ukraine's security guarantor as to the conditions of the Budapest Memorandum. Yet, as Robert Jervis once noted, 'minds can change, new leaders can come to power, values can shift, new opportunities and values can arise'.[35] From the opinion of Jervis, it can be concluded that any form of intergovernmental cooperation is somewhat doomed from the start as both parties cannot be certain about the other's true intentions. That is exactly what happened between Ukraine and Russia.

Time has proved that the openly western-oriented Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who once shared the membership in the Soviet Union along with Ukraine, rejected entering the Commonwealth of Independent States dissolving close relations with Russia after the Soviet collapse, and turned out to be more successful in terms of economy and security than Ukraine. Poland, who was once a satellite of the USSR, also selected the European and North-Atlantic vector of diplomatic strategy. Thus, with the beginning of the new millennium, Ukrainians

started to look with envy at their Baltic and Polish neighbours, who entered both the EU and NATO. There was an obvious difference in economic development between former Soviet countries; this proved that Ukraine's multi-polar approach failed when compared to the more western-oriented vector of countries such as Poland and the three Baltic states. The improved welfare of Poland and the Baltic nations greatly instigated the formation of the vision oriented towards Ukraine's integration with EU and NATO among ordinary Ukrainian citizens. The government of Ukraine still gave Russia preference over the West, despite in practice appearing to maintain good relations with both.

In 2010 Ukraine elected a new President, Viktor Yanukovych, who would bring Ukraine and Russia closer together. He was born in the Russian speaking region of Donbas and tried to create a positive view of Russia within the Ukrainian government from 2010 to 2014. But even in view of his personal pro-Russian political preferences Yanukovych could not reject the multipolar style of diplomacy preferred by the majority of Ukrainian citizens, who desired to maintain good relations with Russia while succeeding with the EU integration. For this reasons Yanukovych urged Parliament to pass the number of laws that could promote Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement.[36] This caused a big backlash from Russia resulting in trade war against Ukraine when Russia halted all imports from Ukraine in order to prevent Ukraine's association agreement with the European Union. This can help explain why eventually the Ukrainian Parliament, that previously adopted laws to facilitate the EU integration of Ukraine, rejected a proposal from the President of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, about the establishment of a Ukraine-European Union Association. Originally, it had been agreed that the document was going to be signed on 28-29 November 2013, at the Vilnius Summit. However, under Russian pressure the document was ultimately not signed by Ukraine. This could be seen as a rejection by the Ukrainian government to integrate into the EU. President Yanukovych explained that the government refused the proposal because they were going to establish the Eurasian Customs Union with Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia. This, he said, would be more beneficial and profitable for the country of Ukraine. In an effort to pat himself on the back, President Yanukovych stated that Russia had invested 15 billion dollars into the country and would reduce the price of natural gas from $400 down to $268.50 per thousand cubic meters.[37]

The decision of President Yanukovych and Ukraine's Parliament regarding refusing to sign and abandoning the Association Agreement with the EU led to public outrage. A massive protest led by EU integration supporters commonly referred to as the Revolution of Dignity spread throughout the country on 22 November 2013. Over the next three months, Kyiv became ground zero for violent battles between the pro-European protesters and the police who were protecting the interests of the country's government. From 21-22 February 2014, after violent clashes between protestors and police, Yanukovych secretly left Ukraine for Russia. On that same day, the Ukrainian Parliament voted 328-0 for his impeachment. Parliament agreed for a presidential election on 25 May 2014. In general, the overthrowing of Yanukovych and his government can be seen as a fight of Ukrainian majority against the dependence on Russia and a highly corrupt government.[38]

The Russian government largely criticized the Revolution of Dignity, saying that it was 'a triumph of fascism in Ukraine'.[39] In March of 2014, Russia deployed troops to the internationally recognized Ukrainian territory of Crimea. They aimed to protect Russian compatriots from the Ukrainian right-wing by taking over the Supreme Council of Crimea along with other key locations located on the peninsula. This military invasion resulted in the Declaration of Crimea's Independence (which stated that Crimea would join the Russian Federation) and a pro-Russian government takeover. There were similar situations in the Donbas region, where Russian-backed extremists proclaimed independence for both the Donetsk People's Republic and Luhansk People's Republic. As a result, the Ukrainian government began an anti-terrorist operation against the Russian-backed separatist groups, which became acknowledged as the War in Donbas. The German Intelligence Service reports the death toll close to 50,000; this includes casualties from all sides including Ukrainian soldiers, civilians, and pro-Russian supporters.[40] International media began referring to both the takeover of the Crimean Peninsula by the Russian Federation and the conflict escalating from Donbas separatism movements as the Ukrainian Crisis.

World leaders were quick to condemn Russia's actions as illegal and as a breach of the Budapest Memorandum, which was signed by Russia and guaranteed respect of Ukraine's existing borders. In just a few months after the Crimean Peninsula had been annexed, the Korean National Diplomatic Academy issued a briefing strongly suggesting

that Russian actions in Ukraine would destabilize the international order and create a negative impact on the prospects of inter-Korean relations and the issue of denuclearisation of North Korea.[41] The UN General Assembly criticized Russia's actions on the Crimea Peninsula by adopting a non-binding resolution. The resolution affirmed the 'territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders'.[42]

From the Russian side, President Putin justified his actions by stating that Russia had signed no binding agreements with Ukraine. He claimed that Russia did not recognize the newly elected Ukrainian government as legitimate. Putin further claimed that this newly elected government would pose a security danger to the Russian Federation through its integration into NATO. On April 19th, 2014 during an annual question and answer press conference, Putin made the following comments concerning the Ukrainian Crisis:

> When the infrastructure of a military bloc [NATO] is moving towards our borders, it makes us also take steps in the opposite direction, and this is our right as well. We are forced to take some measures in response. Our decision on Crimea was partially connected to that."[43]

The Russian explanations about its actions in Crimea can be put together as follows. Over the past few decades, the Russian Navy has been using the city of Sevastopol in the Crimean Peninsula for dislocation of its troops. When the pro-European Ukrainian government came to power in 2014, it became clear that Russian security interests in the Black Sea would suffer from it. To guarantee Russia's military power in the Black Sea, the Russian Federation decided to rejoin Crimea with the Russian Federation on the premises that until 1953, the Crimean Peninsula was a part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and then was allocated under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic by Nikita Khrushchev, the former Premier of the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, rejoining Crimea with the Russian Federation can be viewed as a violation of the main conditions of the Budapest Memorandum. In this light, Robert Jarvis's idea about the doomed security cooperation between two countries found life in the example of Ukrainian-Russian relations.

Connecting the past and the present

Given the current situation, it would appear that the security assurances in the Budapest Memorandum were too weak. From the onset, the security commitments Ukraine received from Russia, the UK, and the US were not strong enough. Ukraine had hoped for something along the lines of the NATO Charter or the South Korea-United States Bilateral Military Alliance. The security commitments that Ukraine has achieved have only echoed specific international standards of conduct, such as respect for territorial integrity and political freedom of the state.[44] Russia claimed the Crimea Peninsula in order to retaliate against Ukraine for attempting to form an alliance with the West. These territorial claims were a serious threat to Ukraine's sovereignty. From the beginning, Kyiv leadership should have rejected the 'Budapest Memorandum' and demanded a legally binding mutual defence treaty.

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Scholars agree that the Budapest Memorandum fell short of what Ukraine genuinely wanted. Marianna Budjeryn suspects that Ukrainian officials made it clear when communicating with the United States that something simple (reaffirming already existing borders) would not be an adequate defence against Russia's claims over the Crimea Peninsula.[45] The former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Steven Pifer, agrees with Budjeryn's view. Pifer states that in July 1993, government officials from Ukraine requested that the US provide them with a legally binding bilateral security guarantee. However, the United States hesitated to enter into an agreement that would result in clashes with Russia.[46] This is the same reason Ukraine was unable to join NATO; European diplomats wanted to avoid possible escalation with Russia.[47] Ultimately, these were the reasons why Ukraine had to settle for weak security assurances, which only reconfirmed Ukraine's sovereignty and existing borders. Along those lines, instead of a legitimate security assurance that would provide military assistance, should Russia exhibit aggression towards Ukraine?

This begs the question - would it have been wiser for Ukraine to keep its nuclear weapons instead of accepting the ineffective (from the security point of view) Budapest Memorandum? Would nuclear weapons have been enough of a deterrent to stop Russia from claiming the Crimean Peninsula as its own and to stop Russian-backed terrorists from taking hold in the region of Donbas? Author Robert Einhorn cites the Yom Kippur War, where in 1973 the Egyptian Army occupied

the eastern coast of Israel despite Israel's nuclear capabilities. Einhorn also cites the Kargil War in 1999, the conflict regarding the Kashmir district, which is located between Pakistan and India. He also discusses the Falklands Crisis between Argentina and Great Britain over two British overseas territories. Einhorn states that 'nuclear weapons did not deter any of these attacks, just as Ukrainian nuclear weapons would not have prevented Russia's aggression'.[48] On the other hand, John J. Mearsheimer opposes the view of Einhorn while stating that European middle powers like Germany being in possession of nuclear weapons would have been beneficial for not only their national security but Europe as well. Mearsheimer also openly called Ukraine not to give up nuclear weapons in order to protect the peace in Europe in his article published in *Foreign Affairs*.[49] Thus, the question of whether Ukraine's nuclear arsenal would have prevented Russia's aggression is widely debated in academic circles.

There is little doubt that Ukrainian diplomats were aware of the Yom Kippur War and the Falklands Crisis when engaging in the circumstances surrounding the country's denuclearisation process. Despite this knowledge, the price to maintain the nuclear arsenal was costly from Ukraine's stagnant economy perspective. This could also be cited as an explanation for why both Kravchuk and Kuchma agreed to the Budapest Memorandum and the provisions provided by Russia, the US and the UK. This was in exchange for the opportunity to integrate into the European economy and the North Atlantic security community, while at the same time to maintain peaceful relations with Russia and continue to receive development assistance from the Nunn-Lugar Funds provided by the US. This explanation fits the domestic political model of Scott Sagan. Provided Ukraine's nuclear related infrastructure, nowadays Ukraine possesses the ability to obtain nuclear warheads.[50] But even in view of the Ukrainian Crisis, Ukraine has more pressing priorities such as joining the European Union and NATO, and obtaining financial assistance from the West. The idea of Ukraine being an NPT member is important for the country's foreign policy. Recalling Scott Sagan's norms model, this is still working for Ukraine. The symbolic significance and democratic prestige from the Non-Proliferation Treaty are desirable for Ukraine. It allows for Ukraine to achieve integration into the West and successful cooperation with the United States in dealing with Russian aggression. For this reason, the case of Ukrainian denuclearisation is a combo of normative

and domestic conditions that Ukraine faced in early 1990s and continues to face today. Both the domestic and norms model of Sagan succeed in explaining the decision of Ukraine regarding nuclear weapons.

When Russia violated the Budapest Memorandum, the United States and Great Britain came to Ukraine's support while condemning Moscow for its actions. Both countries actively supported the UN General Assembly Resolution 68/262. However, Ukraine still requires more help from the West. The United States has kept Ukraine out of NATO for two decades in an attempt to avoid conflict with Russia. Now the United States should reconsider its security alliance with Ukraine and either create a mutual legally binding defence alliance, or support Ukraine in joining NATO. By doing this, the United States could assure the world that multilateral NPT commitments are serious and 'rogue' nations, such as Russia, should not disregard them.

Conclusion

After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine inherited a large arsenal of nuclear weapons, which de-facto put it third in the world rank of countries possessing nuclear weapons. At the same time, the volatility of the domestic situation due in part to the miners' strike in the Donbas region of Ukraine and the lack of economic capacity to preserve its nuclear arsenal became reasons for Ukraine's President to consider joining the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. Both the President and senior-level diplomats faced resistance from Ukrainian Parliament members and the military elite. Parliament and the military elite were actively lobbying for the use of nuclear weapons as a deterrent towards Russian territorial claims in the Crimean Peninsula. Thus, different members of the government had conflicting opinions about the future of the Soviet originated nuclear arsenal that Ukraine gained during the Soviet collapse. A controversy about whether nuclear weapons could deter Russian military aggression has long been at the top of Ukraine's political agenda, while intriguing the minds of Western scholars. For instance, Robert J. Einhorn stated that in the Arab-Israeli War and the Falkland Crisis, the nuclear capabilities of Israel and Great Britain were irrelevant. Their nuclear arsenal was seen as an economic hindrance and in Ukraine's case would not have protected their borders or their sovereignty.[51] John J. Mearsheimer has the opposite view and claims that nuclear weapons would have made a perfect deterrence for middle powers such as Ger-

many (and thus, Ukraine too). In the case of Ukraine, Mearsheimer explicitly called on the Ukrainian government to save its nuclear arsenal as it would be 'the only reliable deterrent' against Russia.[52]

The Ukrainian decision to join the NPT by signing the Budapest Memorandum in 1994 can be explained as the product of prestige and democratic reputation that non-proliferation symbolizes combined with dire domestic conditions that Ukraine faced in early 1990s, such as the economic stagnation, the separatism movement propelled by miners' strikes in Donbas region and the demoralisation of army. With membership to the NPT, Ukraine could gain international recognition as a stable democratic state and open the doors for beneficial co-operation with the West, while also boost its stagnant economy, use American and Russian financial assistance in order to stop the Donbas strikes with paying miners their wages, and invest into strengthening the army of Ukraine. All this was in the best interest of Ukraine's decision-makers in the 1990's, such as Kravchuk and Kuchma.

Meanwhile, given the serious external threat imposed by Russia, Ukraine needed to obtain guarantees of sovereignty and security. For this reason, Kyiv asked the White House to include a legally binding American-Ukrainian security treaty on the premises of Ukraine's giving up its nuclear weapons that were inherited from the Soviet Union. However, because of possible conflict escalation with Russia, the decision makers in the white House had to reject the Ukrainian requests. NATO also agreed to prevent Ukraine from membership in the organization for the very same reason. At the same time, in early 1990s the stagnant Ukrainian economy was in need of funds from the Unites States. In view of Russia's having violated the conditions of the Budapest Memorandum, today the White House as a guarantor of security assurances provided in the Budapest Memorandum should take action to help Ukraine protect its borders and reassure the world that the NPT commitments are multilaterally binding for everyone and should not be ignored.

As for Ukraine, despite some recent populist views on the urgency to renew its nuclear status, Ukraine's government will probably make a rational choice to follow its non-proliferation commitments outlined in the Budapest Memorandum. By doing this, Ukraine will prove itself as a 'good international citizen' that is ready for integration into the Western society of states with predominantly liberal values.

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Endnotes

1   This paper is partially based on the author's unpublished Master's degree thesis "Ukrainian Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Its Implications for The Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula". It shows some new evidences that were not reported in the Master's thesis, and thus has a more strong argumentation.

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Pakistan's 'Mainstreaming' Jihadis

Vinay Kaura, Aparna Pande

The emergence of the religious right-wing as a formidable political force in Pakistan seems to be an outcome of direct and indirect patronage of the dominant military over the years. Ever since the creation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1947, the military establishment has formed a quasi alliance with the conservative religious elements who define a strongly Islamic identity for the country. The alliance has provided Islamism with regional perspectives and encouraged it to exploit the concept of jihad. This trend found its most obvious manifestation through the Afghan War. Due to the centrality of Islam in Pakistan's national identity, secular leaders and groups find it extremely difficult to create a national consensus against groups that describe themselves as soldiers of Islam. Using two case studies, the article argues that political survival of both the military and the radical Islamist parties is based on their tacit understanding. It contends that without de-radicalisation of jihadis, the efforts to 'mainstream' them through the electoral process have huge implications for Pakistan's political system as well as for prospects of regional peace.

Keywords: Islamist, Jihadist, Red Mosque, Taliban, blasphemy, ISI, TLP, Musharraf, Afghanistan

Introduction

In the last two decades, the relationship between the Islamic faith and political power has emerged as an interesting field of political analysis. Particularly after the revival of the Taliban and the rise of ISIS,

questions related to Islam's role in Pakistani politics have been frequent in academia. While political Islam is deeply connected to South Asia's geopolitical currents, Pakistan presents ample evidence that the emergence of Islamist parties in conjunction with politics of jihad is an outcome of the Military's patronage. The dominant military and the religious right have strengthened a mutually beneficial alliance partnership while undermining the mainstream political parties in Pakistan. This paper traces the brief history of the Pakistani state's tolerance of politics rooted in religion, while explaining that survival of radical Islamist parties in the country has depended a great deal on the military's complicity through outright support or transactional cooperation or coexistence or turning a blind eye when not directly threatened.

The political use of Islam in terms of the strategy of jihad against the Soviets was a key factor in militarising Pakistani society. The radical Islamist parties have gradually transformed Pakistan's society by promoting the politics of extremism. While giving historical context, this article limits its consideration of the military's patronage of right-wing Islamist parties during the last one and a half decades, particularly with references to two major episodes. The main argument is this: a mutually beneficial relationship, which has evolved between the military and the Islamist parties, has facilitated the emergence of the religious right-wing as a formidable political force in Pakistan. The present manifestation of the military's direct and indirect nexus with the radical Islamist elements is the mainstreaming of jihadists and consequent marginalisation of moderate sections of Pakistani society.

The article has three parts: First, historical background including discussion on the emergence of the Taliban creates the proper context to explore the subject. Then, the article discusses the road toward the Red Mosque crisis, and how the state responded, followed by another case study of the Faizabad episode a decade later. In the final part, it critically explains the challenges of mainstreaming jihadi forces in Pakistan's politics and society. The historical overview presented in the first part of the article has captured the attempts by the Pakistani state, led directly and indirectly by the military, to co-opt Islamic parties for ideological ends. The mainstream academic literature on the military's relationship with the Islamist forces in Pakistan is very rich, and it is not possible to engage with it in its entirety. The research by Husain Haqqani[1] and Hassan Abbas[2] in the beginning of the cur-

rent century has been popular; it has explained how the tolerance and encouragement of extremist ideologies by security institutions has pushed Pakistan towards extremism and led to the growing influence of jihadis. Ayesha Siddiqa has introduced the new concept of 'Milbus', implying military capital used for the personal benefit of the military and its cronies.[3] Ayesha Jalal has contended that domestic ethnic and regional rivalries have created a siege mentality encouraging military domination and Islamist extremism.[4]

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The latest theoretical contribution is also very engaging. It is an accepted wisdom that the military has assigned Islamist militants different political roles as per their ideological affinity with the military. Paul Staniland, Asfandyar Mir and Sameer Lalwani have wedded instrumental with the ideological motivation to explain the complex interaction between the military and the Islamist militants. Three approaches – collaboration, benign neglect and belligerence – have been used to explain Pakistan's attitude toward Islamist militants.[5] Stephen Tankel has added another conceptual category of 'coopetition' to explain the dynamic nature of Pakistan military's relationship with Islamic militancy.[6]

While building from the extensive scholarship, this article makes an important contribution by providing further empirical evidence of the fact that Pakistan army's patronage continues to help radical right-wing parties increase their legitimacy in mainstream politics. The article employs a qualitative analysis of official documents, biographies and autobiographies, media reports and public statements with secondary literature providing important sources for understanding the issue.

Historical background

The state of Pakistan, created in the name of Islam in 1947, had to integrate six major ethnic groups – Bengalis, Sindhis, Baloch, Pakhtuns, Punjabis and incoming Mohajirs[7] from India. Islam was seen by many as the binding force for Pakistan[8], but ethno-linguistic ties proved to be stronger. Even though Pakistan's founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah had used religion and the difference between the two leading communities – Hindus and Muslims – as the core of his argument for two nations – Pakistan and Hindustan – he understood that such cleavages threatened Pakistan's future, and thus never spoke of Pakistan as an ideological state.[9]

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Islam as a defining component of Pakistan's national identity started with the Objectives Resolution of 1949 and strengthened under the era of Pakistan's first military dictator, Field Marshal Ayub Khan. He articulated that Pakistan needed an ideology to define itself and that Islam was that ideology.[10] Ayub had no particular fondness or respect for the religious clerics[11]: the 1962 Constitution, prepared under Ayub's direction, initially dropped the Islamic label, but under pressure from the religious groups, the Islamic label was restored and the Islamic features of the previous constitution kept intact. By the time Pakistan's first civilian Prime Minister was elected in 1971, the country had gone through three wars with India, lost half its territory and more than half its population in 1971. The first directly elected National Assembly of Pakistan, led by the charismatic Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, adopted the third constitution of Pakistan in April 1973. The 1973 Constitution called for Islamic unity, support for the teaching of Arabic and Islamic Studies and exact printing of the Quran. Moreover, Islam was declared the state religion of the country for the first time in the history of Pakistan.[12] It is interesting to note that the constitutions of 1956 and 1962 had only made it mandatory for the President of the republic to be a Muslim, whereas the 1973 constitution went further by declaring that both the President and the Prime Minister were required to take an oath declaring their belief in the finality of the Prophet Muhammad's prophetic mission. In renaming his ideology 'Islamic socialism', Bhutto assuaged the Islamic and populist forces within the country.[13]

Demands by the Islamic orthodoxy led Bhutto to appease them even further bypassing laws banning horseracing and alcohol consumption, and the declaration of Friday as an official holiday in conformity with Islamic ideology. Bhutto also shared with Pakistan's military dictators the belief that India provided an existential threat to Pakistan and sought to undo Partition. For him, the Islamists were another way to stand up to India; he did not see them as a threat, and therein lay his mistake.

Nine anti-Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) parties came together in a marriage of convenience to form the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), which also included three major Islamist parties – the Jamaat-ei Islami (JI), Jamiatul Ulama-i Pakistan (JUP) and Jamiatul Ulama-i Islam (JUI). The PNA criticised the government for being detrimental to the Islamic cause, and for turning Pakistan into a 'land of sin'.[14] Unwilling or unable to realise that his own policies had resulted in mas-

sive support for the PNA, Bhutto drew the wrong conclusion that the PNA's appeal lay in its Islamic slogan[15], and forced his party to tone down its socialist rhetoric while proving that its own 'Islam' was more enlightened than that of the PNA. Bhutto was overthrown in a military coup in 1977 and subsequently hanged by his chosen army chief, General Mohammad Zia ul-Haq.

Zia was Pakistan's first openly religious leader who believed that 'the ideology of Pakistan is Islam and only Islam... We should in all sincerity accept Islam as Pakistan's basic ideology... otherwise...this country [will] be exposed to secular ideologies'. Biographical accounts of Zia's days in Stephens College in Delhi include such details as that 'he offered his prayers regularly, observed fasts and mobilized the Moslem youth to serve the cause of faith'.[16] One can also see the influence of Maulana Abul A'la Maududi, the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami and first theoretician of an Islamic state, on Zia's thoughts.[17] Zia stated that his 'only ambition in life [was] to complete the process of Islamization so that there were no turning back'.[18] He oversaw the transformation of Pakistan's army into an Islamic-orientated one, as reflected in his changing of its motto from 'Unity, Faith, and Discipline' to 'Faith, Piety, and Struggle in the Path of Allah'. Zia encouraged the Tablighi Jamaat to operate freely within the army and he was the first army chief to attend the Tablighi's annual convention.[19] With Zia's encouragement, Islamic teachings such as those pertaining to the conduct of war were introduced in Pakistan's military academies and integrated into the syllabus of the Staff College.[20]

More army officers grew beards, and a number of signboards quoting the Quran and the Prophet were placed around the army cantonments.[21] Zia believed that a truly Islamic Pakistan would have the moral strength to fight India. As a consequence of this pervasive Mullah-Military alliance, many conservative army cadets reached the senior command level and took control of sensitive institutions, including the powerful intelligence agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI).

Bhutto had asserted before his execution: 'We know that Israel and South Africa have full nuclear capability. The Christian, Jewish and Hindu civilizations have the capability. The Communist powers also possess it. Only the Islamic civilization was without it, but that position was about to change'.[22] Bhutto's final testimony, Zia-ul-Haq's subsequent drive for Islamisation, and the policies pursued by his successors demonstrate that Islam and Jihad had become major pillars

of Pakistan's foreign and security policy. Zia's momentous decision to launch 'jihad' against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan had bred Islamist militancy to such an extent that Pakistan is still struggling to deal with its aftershocks. Even those Pakistani intellectuals and policy analysts who warn against using jihad as a foreign policy tool are castigated as agents and tools of foreign powers.

Afghan conflict and emergence of the Taliban

The perceived existential threat from India and the fear that India seeks to undo Pakistan has framed Pakistan's foreign policy.[23] This has led Pakistan to view every country, especially its neighbours, using the same lens with which it views India. The fear that India and Afghanistan would use any irredentist claims (Pashtun, Baloch) against Pakistan meant that Pakistan needed a pro-Pakistan, anti-India Afghan government. Further, the belief that Kashmir is the unfinished business of Partition ensured that it was legitimate to use any means possible – diplomatic or covert – to force India to give up Kashmir. This may partially explain Pakistan's use of jihadist groups as a lever of foreign policy.[24]

The nature of the relationship between religious parties and the state in Pakistan were permanently changed by the Afghan experience. It was during the anti-Soviet Afghan War that a definitive mullah–military alliance developed into its present manifestation. By the USSR's retreat from Afghanistan in 1989, Pakistan had become home to the largest open arms market in the world.[25] An increasing number of jihadist groups became associated with mainstream Islamist parties which enjoyed the explicit support of the Pakistani military. These religious groups remain mainstays in much of Pakistan. The combination of large funds flowing in from America and Saudi Arabia, and the public support for jihad against 'godless' Soviet Communism in Pakistan contributed to the unrestrained expansion of jihadist culture in Pakistan.[26] Meanwhile, Pakistani intelligence agencies developed deeply personal contacts with jihadist groups and Islamist parties.

Pakistan has been closely aligned with the Taliban since its birth in the mid-1990s. Pakistan's intelligence agency, the ISI, provided support to the Taliban's supreme leader, Mullah Omar, when he founded the organisation in Kandahar.[27] Olivier Roy has termed the Taliban as a 'joint venture between the Saudis, the Muslim Brotherhood and the Jamaat-e-Islami put together by the ISI'.[28] By 2001, Pakistan was pro-

viding the Taliban in Kabul with scores of advisers to run its administrative and military machine, as well as special commandoes to help in combat with the Northern Alliance.[29] Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden's global agenda closely matched that of ISI's many chiefs including Hamid Gul, Javed Nasir and Mahmud Ahmed; with all agreeing that jihad was justified in establishing Islamic states in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Xinjiang, Palestine, the Philippines and other areas.[30] According to America's 9/11 Commission, the ISI had brokered the alliance between Mullah Omar and Osama bin Laden.[31] After 9/11, Pakistan was forced to cooperate with the US in dislodging the Taliban from power in Kabul. General Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's military dictator from 1999 to 2008, made a U-turn in Pakistan's policy towards the Taliban. In a September 19th 2001 speech, Musharraf justified this policy shift by arguing that, if Pakistan did not side with the United States, its 'strategic assets and the Kashmir cause' could be endangered, and India would 'enter into an alliance with the US and get Pakistan declared a terrorist state.'[32]

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During the war against the Taliban, Musharraf was presented with a list of non-negotiable demands by the US, including denying al-Qaeda a safe haven in Pakistan, sharing intelligence, granting the US overflight rights and breaking diplomatic ties with the Taliban. Although Musharraf 'faced intense internal pressure [because] turning against the Taliban was unthinkable for hardliners in his government and intelligence service',[33] he differentiated between various jihadist and extremist groups. While many foreign terrorists with links to al-Qaeda were handed over to the US, local jihadists as well as the Afghan Taliban were left alone. Covert support for the Afghan Taliban was Pakistan's insurance policy to deal with the aftermath of America's eventual military withdrawal from Afghanistan. However, blowback from Afghanistan led to Pakistan's 'Talibanization', the disastrous consequences of which are reflected in the Red Mosque or Lal Masjid crisis.

Red Mosque crisis

Extremist and terrorist groups were openly proliferating across Pakistan, which Musharraf used as an excuse to convince Washington that the army was essential in protecting Pakistan from being converted into a Taliban-controlled fundamentalist Islamic state. But Musharraf's reluctance to uproot extremism in Pakistan proved costly

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both for Pakistan and the War on Terror. Islamic radicalism emerged in the nation's capital itself when ferocious battles erupted between Islamic radicals and Pakistan army commandos in the Red Mosque. The Lal Masjid and its adjacent Hafsa madrasa had adopted a Taliban-style system of 'moral policing' with virtually no government intervention or oversight. The Mosque was led by two cleric brothers, sons of the pro-jihad cleric Maulana Abdullah. Maulana Abdul Aziz headed Islamabad's biggest Jamia Fareedia madrasa, for which land had been allotted by General Zia-ul Haq.[34] Following the mosque's issuing of a fatwa opposing the military operations in Waziristan and calling for a boycott of the *namaz-i-janaza* of soldiers killed in the fight with Islamic militants[35], the government arrested some members. However, Maulana Ghazi escaped arrest, and no concerted efforts were made to apprehend him again.

In January 2007, the government's ordered demolition of some illegal and unauthorised mosques was fiercely opposed by Lal Masjid clerics and students. In protest, hundreds of burqa-clad and baton-wielding women from the Hafsa occupied a small children's library, and increased their radical demands when the government was seen as capitulating.[36] The Lal Masjid brigade began to threaten shop-owners with dire consequences if they did not stop selling video or music cassettes. The Human Rights Commission and other women's groups accused the hardline students of 'harassing and terrorizing ordinary citizens in the name of Islam' and urged the government to take strong action against them.[37] The authorities remained reluctant to take action on the pretext of avoiding bloodshed, simply ignoring Abdul Rashid Ghazi and Maulana Abdul Aziz's Islamic court.[38] This muted state response further emboldened the brainwashed students who believed themselves to be the self-appointed enforcers of Islamic law.

However, when some Chinese citizens, including six women, were abducted from a massage parlor alleged by the students to be a brothel, the government had no option but to take action. The abduction of Chinese nationals within striking distance of government institutions of Pakistan, which was projected as China's closest ally, caused serious difficulties for China's communist government and was a huge diplomatic embarrassment for Musharraf's administration.

Hectic negotiations between the government and the hardline clerics helped secure the release of the Chinese people, with Ghazi stating that despite 'greatly respect[ing] Pakistan-China friendship but it doesn't

mean that foreign women can come here and indulge in such vulgar activities.'[39] A few days later, in a separate incident, militants killed three Chinese businessmen in Peshawar, the capital city of Pakistan's then North West Frontier Province (NWFP), forcing China to ask Pakistan publicly to protect its citizens.[40] It needs to be noted that around 5,000 Chinese people lived and worked in Pakistan in various Beijing-funded projects, many of which were opposed by various militant groups.[41] These kidnapping and killings had serious repercussions for Pakistan's ties with China, and Musharraf's subsequent confrontation with the Islamist radicals surprised even the US, whose prior efforts to get Islamabad to crack down on militancy had been outmaneuvered by Pakistan's security establishment.[42] Before the military raid, a delegation authorised by Musharraf met the Islamic militants as a last-ditch effort to end the siege and release the students and their family members who were being held hostage. The government even brought in the imam of the Holy Mosque in Mecca from Saudi Arabia to appeal to the radicals who remained adamant. Despite the face-saving offer proposed to the Islamists to surrender Abdul Rashid Ghazi and all the weapons inside the mosque to senior clerics[43], the talks came to a deadlock when the negotiating team was informed that foreign (Uighar) militants were in the complex.[44] The talks having failed, Musharraf ordered the military strike on the Red Mosque on July 10, 2007, and defended the raid by arguing that the militants had 'challenged the writ of the government'. He further proclaimed that Pakistan would not allow any mosque or madrasa to be misused like the Red Mosque.[45]

The eight-day siege at the Red Mosque left more than 100 people dead, including Abdul Rashid Ghazi and a dozen members of the Pakistani Special Forces. The siege was depicted as a crucial conflict between General Musharraf and the Islamic radicals who had grown in Pakistan and whose influence had steadily spread to cities from the remote tribal regions along the border with Afghanistan. Although the government was swift to attribute responsibility for the crisis to Ghazi, the signs of a 'creeping Talibanization' enabled by the Musharraf regime had been visible for long before the Lal Masjid episode erupted.

When after 9/11 these forces came home to roost, the Pakistani army retained its confidence in the possibility of striking a bargain with them, unaware that the attempts to negotiate peace would come to no avail. The Red Mosque became an icon of Islamist militancy that the Pakistani state either tolerated or was incapable of acting against.

When a Frankenstein wreaks havoc, his maker's initial reaction may be shock, accompanied by denial. This was the case of the Pakistani state[46]: its intelligence agencies, having created Frankenstein-esque Islamist elements to fester over the years, underestimated their strength to pose a subsequent challenge to the State. According to Carlotta Gall, who had discussions with the government ministers during the siege, the role played by ISI was 'strangely ineffective' as it had maintained a 'long relationship with the mosque and its leaders'. She further stated that the ISI had two informers inside the Red Mosque during the crisis and received 'accurate intelligence on the number of armed militants inside' but apparently failed to persuade the Ghazi brothers to stop defying the government's writ.[47] The Musharraf regime had tolerated the behaviour of radical students for years: for instance, failing to cut off the Lal Masjid's electricity or phone connections when its students violently enforced Islamic morality, and allowing its illegal radio station to function. The Lal Masjid was state-run and state-funded, and yet the government did not dismiss the clerics from government service.[48] Moreover, these activities were never covertly executed, but rather carried out in the full view of the ISI headquarters located in the same neighbourhood as the Lal Masjid.

Maulana Abdul Aziz's fate following the military siege on the Red Mosque is interesting to note here, as it highlights Pakistan's nonchalant attitude towards tackling extremism. Despite his arrest upon fleeing the besieged mosque and two dozen serious indictments, Aziz was eventually granted bail by Pakistan's Supreme Court and acquitted without appeal. His presence in a negotiating team nominated by the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) for peace talks with the Nawaz Sharif government in early 2014 attested to his reputation with the Taliban.[49] After the TTP's December 2014 attack on the Peshawar Army School, Aziz brazenly refused to condemn the killing of children or consider them martyrs, remaining unapologetic despite outcries from civil society. Many extremist and terrorist groups showed solidarity with Aziz, including a Sunni militant group, Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaat (ASWJ), a banned anti-Shia militant offshoot of the Sipah-e-Sihaba.[50] Until December 2014, Aziz led the Friday congregations at the Red Mosque and delivered sermons demanding the implementation of Sharia Law, even as security agencies warned the government of his links with known terror groups and the serious risks to law and order in Islamabad posed by his anti-government rhetoric.[51]

Described by Khaled Ahmed as the 'frontman of al-Qaeda's policy of Islamic vigilantism in Islamabad, whom the judiciary is too scared to convict in scores of cases of terrorism'[52], Aziz attempted to take control of the Red Mosque's microphones several times in 2017. When it was announced that Aziz would lead prayers in May 2018 at Lal Masjid after three years, the government prevented him from delivering his divisive sermons[53], but pursued no further action against him. Whether due to his influence among the Pakistani people, or the negligence of the Pakistani security establishment, Aziz managed to remain unscathed despite countless examples of his role in the mobilisation of extremist groups in Pakistan.

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Faizabad episode

It is worth noting here that, while civil society groups and nonviolent movements are unable to hold demonstrations in Pakistan, Islamists are allowed to lay siege to cities and bring life to a standstill. Beginning in November 2017, the radical rightwing Islamists, led by the *Tehreek-e-Labbaik Ya Rasool Allah* and its Islamist allies, besieged Islamabad for three weeks, disrupting daily life in the Islamabad-Rawalpindi belt. Attempts to negotiate and a judicial order mandating the ending of the siege failed to persuade the clerics, in a clear act of muscle-flexing designed to undermine the authority of the Pakistani government. The violent siege ended only after the government surrendered to anti-blasphemy activists' demands for the resignation of Zahid Hamid, the Minister for Law and Justice whom they had accused of committing blasphemy. The military-mullah nexus was also evident during this crisis, as the protest leader, Khadim Hussain Rizvi, only suspended the protests after the Army Chief, Qamar Javed Bajwa, assured him of Hamid's resignation. Thus, the episode, which has been explained subsequently in detail, only confirms Pakistani military's intervention in domestic politics and the collusion between rightwing militant groups and the military.

While protests by ulemas and Islamists are nothing new in Pakistan, what is new is the emergence of a new group of Islamic clerics united under Tehreek Labbaik Ya Rasool Allah (TLY), a religious movement and political party. It is led by an inflexible cleric, Maulvi Khadim Hussain Rizvi, who belongs to the Barelvi school of Sunni Islam.[54] Rizvi is notorious for his vitriolic sermons as well as his glorification of Mumtaz Qadri, the assassin of Punjab governor Salmaan Taseer. The

TLY announced its appearance in electoral politics by putting up candidates in the National Assembly by-elections in Lahore and Peshawar where its candidates received a significant number of votes, undermining the support base of old mainstream religious parties such as the Jamaat-e-Islami.[55]

In November 2017, the Pakistani government pushed through an amended election bill in the National Assembly. While it allowed Nawaz Sharif to regain his position as head of the PML-N, it made a textual change in the oath, replacing the words 'I solemnly swear' with 'I believe' in a clause relating to a candidate's belief in the finality of the prophethood of Muhammad. This led to anti-blasphemy protests; despite Minister Hamid's defense of the bill, the National Assembly Speaker accepted that a 'clerical error' was responsible for the change in the Khatm-e-Nabuwwat oath[56], and all political parties agreed to revert to the original declaration.[57] Here, blasphemy laws in Pakistan were used and continue to be used as a tool for applying pressure by the military and its Islamist allies, by leveraging accusations of blasphemy to intimidate anyone who crosses its path, including politicians.[58] Even judges and lawyers involved in blasphemy litigation have not been spared, and hundreds of people have been arrested and killed following accusations of committing blasphemy.[59]

In reality, at the core of this issue was the power struggle between the PML-N and the military, and it was no secret that the military wanted to get rid of Sharif.[60] The military has always been uncomfortable with any popular civilian leader, and no prime minister has ever served a full five-year term in Pakistan. Although the military may have in previous decades staged a coup d'état to forcibly remove a democratically elected government, it is more averse to intervening directly in politics since it has developed more sophisticated methods of removing elected prime ministers who are seen as acting too independently. In a recent research, Ayesha Siddiqa has termed this phenomenon as 'hybrid martial law' in which the army wields the real power and the civilian government functions merely as a junior partner.[61] Over the years, the military has consolidated its power and influence in Pakistan, with the assistance of Islamist parties whose agenda broadly aligns with its own.[62]

In the Faizabad blasphemy case, when the protestors refused to budge, the government unwittingly sought the assistance of the military, whose subsequent refusal to help could be interpreted either as

being hand-in-glove with the Islamists or as reluctance to use force against its rightwing allies. General Bajwa publicly asked the government to resolve the issue peacefully and maintained that using violence against the people would damage the military's cohesion.

The government was eventually ordered by the Islamabad High Court to employ force to clear the protesters, deploying about 8,500 police and paramilitary troops for this action, but without success. Following the failed police intervention, the military attempted to broker peace with the protestors, but without following the orders of the civilian government. The military's subsequent actions revealed open support for the Islamist agitators against the government, leaving no option for the latter but to surrender. Major General Faiz Hamid, the Director General of the Counterintelligence wing of the ISI, signed the agreement as representative of the Army Chief; Maj. Gen. Azhar Naveed Hayat Khan, the Director General of Pakistan Rangers in Punjab, a paramilitary force which had been ordered to clear the protest site, distributed cash to anti-blasphemy protesters who ostensibly needed it to buy tickets for the trip home; and the final sentence of the agreement thanked General Bajwa for 'saving the nation from a big catastrophe'.[63] Such effusive praise for his role as mediator triggered genuine concern among moderate politicians, as conceding to the demands of bigoted protesters could only strengthen the Islamist forces in Pakistan that consider themselves above the law. No independent investigation was conducted into the nexus of Rizvi and Pakistani military officials.

Challenges of mainstreaming

Pakistan's system of government oscillates between patrimonialism, semi-authoritarianism and quasi-democracy. The military remains Pakistan's most powerful institution, using both populism and democratic cover to legitimise its dominance, while civilians are left with little option but to depend on the military to stay in power. This 'hybrid' form of government brings to the fore the potential contradictions of interactions between authoritarian and democratic elements in Pakistan.[64] Seen in this context, the military-mullah axis is fundamental to the dominant role of the army in Pakistani politics.

Instead of reversing Pakistan's ideological orientation rooted in Islamism, efforts have been made to 'mainstream' militant Islamist and terrorist organisations by conferring upon them the status of political

parties and allocating them party symbols so that they could contest general elections and be amalgamated into the society. This legitimising of radical Islamist and militant groups has provided them with an oversize nuisance value over the mainstream political parties.[65]

This mainstreaming has gained momentum and the 2018 General Elections witnessed an unparalleled participation of radical Islamist parties, some of which are overtly militarised. The 'good' jihadists belonging to the rabidly anti-Indian terrorist organisations, Lashkar-i-Taiba (LeT) and the Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), whose leader Hafiz Saeed had formed a political party known as the Milli Muslim League (MML) in August 2017, have been mainstreamed through the electoral process, in line with the policy of mainstreaming. When the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) prevented the registration of the MML as a political party, its candidates were simply fielded to a registered political party, the Allah-o-Akbar Tehreek (AAT). In November 2017, Musharraf openly declared his support for the LeT and JuD, asserting that the 'LeT and JuD are both very good organizations of Pakistan' because he has 'always been in favour of pressuring the Indian army in Kashmir'. Musharraf even hinted at the possibility of forming a political alliance with the JuD for the 2018 elections, though nothing came out of it.[66]

In order to avoid pressure from the US, the Pakistani military merely pretends to take action against internationally designated terrorist groups, as demonstrated by Saeed's treatment over the years with kid gloves. The LeT has been allowed to continue its activities under multiple guises, and although Saeed was placed under house arrest several times, he was never sentenced due to an alleged lack of evidence. Thus, Nawaz Sharif's disapproval of the Pakistani army's mainstreaming of jihadists can be seen as the cause of his removal by judicial coup.[67] Referring to the LeT's involvement in the Mumbai terror attack and the failure to prosecute Saeed, Sharif remarked following his removal that 'militant organizations are active. Call them non-state actors, [but] should we allow them to cross the border and kill 150 people in Mumbai? Explain it to me. Why can't we complete the trial'?[68] That Sharif's government orchestrated operations to cleanse south Punjab[69] of sectarian terrorist groups under the aegis of the National Action Plan (NAP), and then took up Saeed's case with the military establishment[70], can be cited as key factors in his ousting, Saeed's release from house arrest and the LeT's permission to contest the general elections. The military threatened many journalists who were considered close to Sharif

and cracked down on some news channels, asking them to reduce their reportage of the military's involvement in politics.[71]

Immediately before the general elections, Pakistan's National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA) removed the ban on Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaat (ASWJ) and unfreezed the assets of its top leader, Ahmad Ludhianvi in the last week of June. The irony of this decision was compounded by the fact that removal of the ban on Ludhianvi was taken immediately following Pakistan's placement on the 'grey list' of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF)[72]. The ASWJ's candidates contested the elections under the banner of the Pak Rah-e-Haq Party (PRHP). Even the mainstream candidates could not resist the temptation of soliciting the support of radical extremist parties. The former Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi sought ASWJ's electoral support. And Maulana Fazlur Rehman Khalil, who is linked to the terror group Harkat-ul Mujahideen (HuM), also announced support to the PTI candidate in Islamabad.[73]

While the political observers are still analysing how the PTI's triumph is going to alter Pakistan's political landscape, there is concern over the strong performance of radical religious parties. Though the MML, which had fielded more than 260 candidates in provincial and state elections under the platform of AAT, did not garner enough votes to win a seat in national or provincial legislatures, however, it would continue to remain politically active. The ASWJ had also fielded many candidates in the elections.[74] However, the TLP, which fielded over 180 candidates across the country, has been the biggest winner among radical religious parties and has emerged as the fifth largest political party after the elections. Throughout the election campaign, the mainstream segment of Pakistani media termed the TLP as a spoiler. The electoral outcome released backs that theory. The TLP received over two million votes from across the country, and the chunks of votes it received spoiled PML-N's prospects in more than a dozen constituencies.[75] The rise of the TLP also represents the assertion of the Barelvis. In November 2020, Rizvi, who represents the Barelvis, was again successful in staging a hugely-attended protest near the boundary between the federal capital Islamabad and the garrison city of Rawalpindi against the publication of Prophet Muhammad's cartoons in France forcing the government to sign a humiliating deal.[76]

As argued by Husain Haqqani, Islamic ideology is exploited by both Pakistan's rulers and Islamists as a 'weapon amid weakness' for generating religious frenzy 'through falsehoods and rumors, which are

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systematically deployed as vehicles of policy'. He further notes that 'periodic outbreaks of protest over insults to Prophet Muhammad and Islam are hardly spontaneous...The Islamists first introduce the objectionable material to their audience and then instigate outrage by characterizing it as part of a supposed worldwide conspiracy to denigrate Islam'.[77] The mullah-military collaborative venture has made it possible for the military to exploit the radical religious constituency in executing its foreign and domestic policies. However, the military's incorporation of the preferences of Islamist radicals into its Kashmir policy has also forced the former to tolerate intense sectarian impulses at the domestic level. The notion that the entrance of radical, militant Islamist forces into electoral politics can be mitigated by anything but de-weaponisation and de-radicalisation is wishful thinking.

The pressing concern in the secular world is with understanding whether Islamic radicals are gaining ascendency as a result of some socio-cultural changes across the Muslim world or are being merely exploited by the ruling elites as a tool to execute 'realpolitik'. This concern becomes more pronounced in Pakistan's case because the evidence points to the military's historical penchant for using the country's territorial space as a safe haven for Islamic fundamentalists. The ruling elite of Pakistan must, therefore, redefine state institutions in terms which can keep Islamist ideology out of the state affairs. Rather than pursuing a utopian aim of converting Pakistani citizens into pious Muslims, the military-dominated Pakistani state needs to focus its energies on educational reforms, while eliminating hate speech in electoral politics, and withdrawing government patronage from religious parties.

Conclusion

The infrastructure of jihad created by al-Qaeda, encouraged by the Taliban and condoned by Pakistan's security establishment has led to the production of jihadist cadres policing everything considered un-Islamic in Pakistan whose socio-political fabric has been torn apart by this creeping 'Talibanisation'. Whether desirable or not, whatever happens in Pakistan inevitably affects India, and the whole South Asian region.

Attempts are being made in Pakistan to mainstream the Islamist parties, many of them banned, into the political process. Theoretically speaking, there is nothing wrong in all sections of Pakistani society to become involved in the electoral process, but groups that have a long

tendency of undermining the democratic process through sustained violent actions need to give up violence before political doors are opened to them. As the article has argued, the Pakistan army seems keen to give radical elements a larger political role as it has a vested interest in weakening the civilian governments led by mainstream political parties. Keeping the military-mullah nexus in good humor is imperative for all political parties wishing to stay in power.

With Pakistan's increasing radicalisation, more problems for India and Afghanistan are likely to follow. Having mobilised public opinion against mainstream political parties, Islamist militant groups are beginning to overshadow mainstream political parties and dominate political process in Pakistan, with the military's overt and covert backing. Recent developments are testimony to the fact that Pakistan's military now openly supports the entry of radically religious and militant groups into electoral politics. If groups like the TLY rise in prominence, Pakistan's internal dynamics could dramatically change. Radical Islamist parties may not be able to garner sufficient votes to form a government but their campaigns in cities and towns across Pakistan would spread their ideological agenda based on jihad.

The military's reluctance to dissociate itself from domestic politics, and the sense of impunity among the religious right-wing groups threaten political and social rights of Pakistanis as well as regional peace. Support for extremist and jihadist groups operating in Kashmir and Afghanistan by Pakistan's security establishment is well established; but a military-backed Islamist militant government, with volatile nuclear capabilities, would not only increase internal insecurity but also add to regional tensions. The military would have unprecedented freedom to pursue its dangerous foreign policies and domestic ethnic cleansing in Baluchistan and Pakistan-held Kashmir. If the mullah-military alliance is allowed to fester and further entrench itself in Pakistani politics, there will be greater possibilities for regional tension and religious violence.

It is thus clear that allowing 'good' jihadists and militants to maintain their capacity while bestowing political recognition on them is bound to lead to greater destabilisation and set the stage for future conflicts. The Pakistan Army would be well advised to refrain from looking through a narrow anti-India prism and exclusively pursue military dominance, and instead bear Pakistan's long-term needs for security, stability and economic prosperity in mind.

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Expanding European Integration towards the Western Balkans in Times of Crises

A Neo-Functionalist Examination

Özer Binici

This article examines the political practices of the European Union (EU) in the Western Balkans and, in particular, the EU-Kosovo relations by adopting the revisited neo-functionalism approach to the study of EU enlargement. This research draws on the descriptive and explanatory assumptions of the approach; it not only explains the development of the EU enlargement perspective towards the region but also explores the main dynamics behind the EU's strategy towards the region, beginning from the outbreak of the Yugoslavia War and the reflections associated with the development of the EU foreign policy realm. More specifically, the research focuses on the dynamics underlying the process of the development of Stabilization and Association Agreement with Kosovo. In the conclusion, future research directions and limitations of the revisited neo-functionalism are discussed.

Keywords: neo-functionalism, EU enlargement, EU foreign policy, EU – the Western Balkans relations, EU – Kosovo relations

After the internal and external crises faced by the European Union (EU), such as the Eurocrisis, Brexit, Schengen (abolishment of internal borders), migration, the unforeseen behaviour of other powerful regional actors (e.g. Russia and Turkey), post-crises management of the EU and its future direction have become increasingly attractive topics among politicians, policymakers and the students of European Integration. However, much of the research to date has been focused on the steps taken in the Eurozone and Schengen crises.[1] Therefore, the future direction of the EU external policy realm, especially the EU enlargement towards the Western Balkans six (WB6)[2] as another fascinating issue, requires a theoretically informed investigation.[3] This article examines the political practices of the EU in the WB6, in particular, the EU-Kosovo relations by adopting the revisited neo-functionalism to the study of EU enlargement. The research agrees with the recent counterintuitive argument that revisited neo-functionalism may provide a pivotal research agenda to connect the study of the EU politics with its political practices, especially in times of crises.[4] While the original neo-functionalism became obsolete by one of its creators Haas in 1975,[5] in the new life of theoretical research on EU politics, the 'soft rational choice assumptions'[6] of the early approach have been expanded through the ontology of 'soft constructivism'[7] in international politics along with the analytical tools of new institutionalism.[8] This revision has allowed the new generation researchers to focus on some of EU policy domains in the post-Maastricht era in which the original neo-functionalism was silent. Moving from this viewpoint, this research seeks to use revisited neo-functionalism as a framework not only to explain the development of the EU enlargement perspective towards the WB6 but also explore the main dynamics behind the EU's collective strategy towards the region, beginning from the outbreak of the Yugoslavia War and the reflections associated with the development of the EU foreign policy realm. In particular, the research focuses on the dynamics underlying the development process of the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) with Kosovo.

The following section discusses the research efforts aimed at updating neo-functionalism since the 1990s. In the third part, followed by Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier's contribution to the study of EU enlargement,[9] two research questions are asked to provide a neo-functionalist understanding of the enlargement phenomenon in terms of the descriptive and explanatory assumptions of the approach. The research questions are as follows:

1. How do the descriptive assumptions of revisited neo-functionalism explain the understanding of the enlargement phenomenon and its changing nature after the Cold War?
2. How do spillover concepts explain the relations between the EU and the Western Balkans, specifically in terms of the EU's macro policy towards the region and its substantive policy towards Kosovo?

Özer Binici

This analysis is an attempt to set the grounds for further investigation into the neo-functionalist understanding of the EU external policy realm. The data were collected using previous studies, official documents of supranational/international institutions and international media news.

Updating neo-functionalism

In the post-Maastricht era, four new perspectives on neo-functionalism have been identified: 'legal integration theories', 'institutionalist approaches', the 'constructivist sociohistorical approach' and 'neo-neo-functionalism'.[10] However, a few of them call themselves neo-functionalists to reformulate the original approach to explain the decision-making process and the expansion of supranational governance in European integration.[11]

Starting from the 1990s, neo-functionalist research efforts first focused on deepening of the internal market and the task expansion of EU competences in other related policy domains, such as Monetary and Exchange Policy, Social Policy and telecommunications.[12] During the mid-2000s, the communitarisation of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA)[13], Neighbourhood Policy[14] and different dimensions of the EU enlargement, such as the pre-accession process and accession negotiations, have been examined through neo-functionalist lenses[15]. Finally, neo-functionalism has been applied to the context of conflict resolution and peace-making practices of the EU.[16] However, these research efforts have not been presented consistently and coherently. Hence, the new generation research efforts on neo-functionalism have hardly been well understood.

The current neo-functionalist writers use endogenous feedback loops, such as internal rule-making capacity, the role of transnational activity, supranational actors and socialization and the learning process of (non)governmental actors, as various 'path dependency' mechanisms to explain the outcome of decision-making processes in

European integration.[17] The neo-functionalist path dependency perceives the consequences of the actors' dissatisfaction with previous integration and the unanticipated consequences of earlier integration as the 'leitmotif'.[18] 'In its most basic form, spillover occurs when actors

realize that the objectives of initial supranational policies cannot be achieved without extending supranational policy-making to additional, functionally related domains'.[19] This modification allows this reply: 'to what extent, and why, has the development of supranational authority proceeded more rapidly in some policy domains than in others?'[20] Accordingly, the role of transnational exchange and previous rule-making capacity are central to generate demands for regulation and governance capacity at the EU level[21] 'by manipulation of elite social forces on the part of small groups of pragmatic administrators and politicians'.[22]

In terms of new generation neo-functionalism, a further distinction can be made between Schmitter's neo-neo-functionalism and Niemann's revised neo-functionalism. Whereas Schmitter focuses on the general development and direction of European integration along with how integration enters new decision-making cycles, Niemann attempts to analyse specific policy outcomes. Niemann claims that the theoretical repertoire of the early approach can be developed by adding micro-level concepts into his revised framework, especially from a constructivist research agenda. Niemann has incorporated some concepts, such as 'epistemic communities'[23], 'social learning'[24] and 'communicative action'[25], which are under the roof of soft constructivism into his revised neo-functionalism.[26] In this sense, a distinction between Schmitter's and Niemann's approaches can be considering the macro and microdomains. While a macro-level approach aims 'to demonstrate the broad relationship between transnational exchange and supranational governance, [micro] sector/policy-specific case studies trace the causal mechanisms'.[27] In a nutshell, Niemann and Schmitter argue that neo-functionalism cannot explain all the dimensions of the European integration, however, it provides a precise framework for analysis, especially to explain dynamics of it.[28]

Considering the above-mentioned perspectives, neo-functionalism argues that various types of crises in the regional integration process force actors into decision-making cycles to cope with contradictions, tensions and dysfunctionalities which arise as a result of the failure of earlier integrative attempts.[29] In the long term, the process inevitably

reduces the control power of member states over the course of integration[30] and causes the institutionalization process at supranational level whereby 'new organs, subunits, and administrative practices [...] are designed to improve the performance of the organization in the wake of some major disappointment with earlier output'.[31] The two main arguments are as follows: '1)Spillover effects resulting in powerful regional entities [supranational institutionalization] are possible but not very likely, 2)the integration process is highly dependent on [a] large number of idiosyncratic and random exogenous conditions'.[32]

Andersson argues that to provide an adequate understanding of European integration from a neo-functionalist perspective, an analytical distinction of the concept of spillover is necessary between descriptive and explanatory assumptions. Whereas descriptive spillover concept is about the description of the political practices within European integration in terms of the direction of practices and institutions; as an explanatory concept, different spillover forces allow identifying the process of interaction between the actors of regional integration and, domestic, supranational and international structures.[33]

Descriptive assumptions

As a descriptive concept, spillover refers to the widening and deepening of integration. Whereas widening occurs when integration expands from one policy domain to another, deepening takes place when national governments agree to delegate or pool power to new regional institutions.[34] In the revisited neo-functionalist logic, 'a crisis in integration is far more likely to result in encapsulation or intergovernmental solution, although the chances of spillover increase according to the previous level of integration'.[35]

In the descriptive manner, spillover indicates a possible strategy by actors for directing integration. Other responses are conceptualised by Schmitter as follows: 'spill-around' (the expansion of integration to new functionally specialised areas without changing the competence of supranational authority), 'build-up' (an increase in the competencies of regional integration in specific areas without upgrading decisional authority), 'muddle-about' (intergovernmental debate about the scope of integration without changing current institutional settings), 'retrench' (increasing the level of joint deliberation but outside of institutional settings) and 'spill-back' (withdrawal from previous commitments by member states).[36]

Hence, the descriptive side of the spillover concept opens a way to reconsider the dependent variable of early neo-functionalism. While the original approach includes a federal unity assumption,[37] the new generation research efforts see it as more open-ended and as such a practice of creating a security community that is not only hierarchically structured but also functionally expanding the regulatory regimes in the conglomerate nature of European integration.[38]

Explanatory assumptions

As an explanatory concept, a well-known categorization of the concept of spillover has been proposed between functional, political and cultivated spillover concepts.[39] In revisited logic, *functional spillover* refers to additional integrative pressures of earlier integrative attempts as the result of dysfunctionalities, contradictions and tensions from within. However, these dysfunctionalities do not work in any mechanical way to determine actor behaviours. When the attempt to attain certain common objectives is silent, actors are likely to perceive the pressures as compelling. The pressure arising from dissatisfaction with collective attainment induces the actors of regional integration to take further decisions regarding the redefinition of earlier arrangements.[40]

Political spillover emphasises incentive-based preferences change capacity of (non)governmental elites and interest groups who redefine their political activities and expectations towards the newly created centre.[41] This situation arises as to the consequence of *emulation and competition* mechanisms in the network and market structures of European integration.[42]

Cultivated spillover allows the investigation into 'how once created supranational institutions act as strategic advocates on behalf of functional linkage(s) and deeper/wider integration'[43] in the way that was unforeseen by member states. 'With their capacity and resources augmented by previous re-definitions of scope and level, they are more likely to step up their efforts at directly influencing regional processes'.[44] This concept can be extended to examine the role of the Council presidency, EU agencies and epistemic communities.[45]

Besides the above-mentioned well-known explanatory spillover concepts, new generation neo-functionalist research uses two additional spillover concepts and one spill-back: social spillover, exogenous spillover and countervailing forces.[46]

Social spillover provides a useful path to discuss the role of governmental elite behaviours in the decision-making process of the EU within the context of the role of *communicative action* and *social learning*.[47] Social spillover is expected to occur through two mechanisms: *learning and socialization*. Whereas *learning* indicates 'when actors change their [...] policy preferences in the light of new evidence, it is a process of rational, observational deduction',[48] *socialization* 'follows the logic of appropriateness and is less choice driven; it is defined as a process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of given community'.[49] Risse argues that social constructivism contains not only the logic of appropriateness but also the *logic of truth seeking and arguing*. Accordingly, if everyone is in the communicative action situation, actors argue strategically and need to be convinced by more compelling argument. Therefore, the success of communicative action depends on the logic of rationality, oriented towards a common understanding.[50] As indicated by Andersson, 'the issue at stake here is that [...] while "simple learning"—adapting the means to attain the same goal—is perfectly in line with [new] liberal intergovernmentalist school, recognition of conflict between means and goals that result in new preferences is not'.[51]

Exogenous spillover allows us to examine the relationship between integration and external environment. It introduces a shock or a significant change in a regional or international system as a 'given variable'.[52] The argument is that exogenous factors encourage and provoke further integrative steps.[53] Niemann argues that exogenous factors include some *voluntary* and *involuntary* motives. *Voluntary motives* encompass the formation of common policies by member states to increase collective bargaining power vis-à-vis third countries. They also bear with pressures from functional spillover. These motives can seem like a combination of cultivated spillover and social spillover forms when an external crisis is taken as a prime argument. *Involuntary motives* encompass the perceptions of other powerful international/regional actors as threats and unintentional integrative consequences of external events.[54] Therefore, the concept of exogenous spillover subsumes what Schmitter calls as 'externalization'[55] argument.

Countervailing forces provide a focus on antithetical factors that generate disintegrative effects either be stagnating or opposing integrative forces.[56] Niemann identifies three different kinds of countervailing forces:

1. *Sovereignty consciousness*, which can be described as an extreme form of nationalism.
2. *Domestic constraints and diversities*, such as 'opposing parties, the media/public pressures or more directly domestic structural limitations or cultural diversity'.
3. *Negative integrative climate*, which can be seen as the unfavourable integrationist movements, such as an economic recession or refugee crisis.[57]

At this point, it is necessary to emphasise that each of these explanatory spillover concepts has different visibility and level of explanatory power in terms of the agent-structure relation. Functional and exogenous spillovers can be considered structure-based pressures, whereas political and social spillovers are agent-level mechanisms. Cultivated spillover and countervailing forces mechanisms provide account to focus on meso-level interactions between supranational, national and international actors, and domestic, supranational and international structures.[58]

Application of neo-functionalism to EU enlargement

The original neo-functionalism emphasises further attractiveness of initial integration for other countries on the continent on the basis of economic growth.[59] However, it did not focus on the horizontal expansion of functional integration as a research subject given the fact that the first enlargement took place in 1973. Besides, in the literature, neo-functionalism has been understood as an approach, which was developed during the 1960s to focus on the internal dynamics of European integration. Therefore, the horizontal expansion of integration, which can be seen as an external dimension of it, is quite a problematic phenomenon to portrayed from the neo-functionalist perspective.[60] This common belief has not changed in the new life of theoretical research on European integration, where the theoretical landscape of the early approach is extended. Meanwhile, starting from the mid-2000s, a group of scholars have examined different aspects of EU enlargement through neo-functionalist lenses.

Descriptive assumptions

In the theoretical literature, EU enlargement has been understood as both a process and a policy: 'as a process, it involves the gradual and

incremental adaptation undertaken by those countries wishing to join the European Union to meet its membership criteria. As a policy, it includes member(s)/applicant state(s) and the EU's policy'.[61] On this grounds, EU Enlargement can be defined as 'all kind[s] of purposive alignment with EU rules by members [and] a process of gradual and formal [vertical and horizontal] institutionalization of organizational rules and norms'.[62] This conceptualization provides a crucial way to study EU enlargement with theoretical approaches about *the establishment and effects of institutions*, such as revisited neo-functionalism.

However, according to Schmitter, the original neo-functionalist logic cannot explain why some countries such as Switzerland or Norway are not included in the integration (while Greece is), given the fact that the *background conditions* are similar with the former but not the latter.[63] Zabyelina argues that two additional concepts can be incorporated into Schmitter`s externalization argument to overcome this problem. Accordingly, European integration would create two kinds of externality towards third states in the continent to comply with its conditionalities and regulations. The former, reactive externality is related to non-member states which already have strong domestic economic, political and social structures and high-level socio-economic standards even before their accession. The elites of these countries are reluctant to participate in further integrative steps and maintain their scepticism about supranational principles and goals. The latter, proactive externality concerns influencing the power of initial integration on third countries which are not able to meet the EU standards before their accession in terms of domestic political, social and economic structures and standards. The elites of the second group of countries actively seek to gain membership and, therefore, are willing to accept the EU's long-term demands and goals.[64] The 1973 and 1995 enlargements can be construed as examples of the reactive externality of European integration in which countervailing forces are dominant in forming the preferences of third countries. Conversely, the proactive externality of European integration can be observed in the accessions of the Mediterranean, Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC), Croatia and ongoing accession process of the WB6. For these countries, the EU leverage and conditionality mechanisms serve to provide *transformative power* and *democratizing effect* based on utilitarian logic.[65]

Macmillan further highlights that neo-functionalist background conditions, which are the essential requirements for the geographic expansion of the regional integration experience, such as 'economic development, pluralistic social structures and functioning parliamentary democracy'[66] are in harmony with Copenhagen criteria and conditionality mechanisms, which became permanent in the agenda of the EU during the accession of CEEC. Since then, the cultivation of neo-functionalist background conditions in applicant countries has been proposed as the main strategy of the EU's Enlargement Policy.

In revisited neo-functionalist logic, EU enlargement can be described as an incremental process between spillover pressures versus countervailing forces, which 'begins before and continues after the formal accession of new members'[67]. The process includes gradual, incremental and horizontal expansion of regional institutionalization, its functional agencies and regulatory capacity towards third countries in multi-level and polycentric nature.[68] Official milestones include 'Negotiating the stabilization and association agreement (SAA); having the SAA come into force; negotiating a visa liberalization agreement; being recognised as a candidate country; being given an official date for the start of accession negotiations; and then moving forward through the negotiations with the opening and closing of individual chapters [...]'.[69]

Moreover, even though the official accession procedure of a country is decided by member states, the role of the European Commission in the advancement of the process has increased dramatically with treaty revisions starting from the 1990s. Some roles of the Commission include initiating a pre-enlargement strategy with candidates, helping to meet them with the background conditions, conditionalities and monitoring the implementation of economic/political reforms.[70] At this point, the pluralistic perception of neo-functionalism provides a convenient focal point to examine the role of supranational, (non) governmental and international/transnational actors alongside domestic, supranational and international structures in the process.

Explanatory assumptions: The case of the WB6

The revisited neo-functionalism assumes that when an external shock or crisis is considered a given variable, member states might be forced to adopt common policies vis-à-vis the third countries in the region for both voluntary and involuntary motives (exogenous spillover). In such a situation, it is likely that there will be further integrative pressures

because of the deficiencies and discrepancies of earlier integrative attempts (functional spillover), which alters actors of regional integration to redefine (in)formal institutional ties towards third countries in terms of 'the level and scope'[71] of European integration. The scope can be understood as 'the success or failure of achieving Community involvement and [the] extent to which the content of the policy [is] governed on the European level'.[72] The level can be defined as 'the ability of community institutions to assert themselves and influence policy-making and to the extent to which decisions are contrary to [non] member state governments' initial preferences'.[73] In order to operationalise the above-mentioned assumptions, four 'critical junctures'[74] are identified in which a crisis or crises at the regional level during the short period of time induced the actors of European integration to change EU's macro policy towards the Western Balkans or its substantive policy on Kosovo.

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The EU's political practices from the outbreak of the Yugoslavia War to the Dayton Agreement

The first critical juncture can be placed at the beginning of the 1990s, which started with the breakup of Yugoslavia and followed by conflicts in the post-Yugoslavia era. The end of the Cold War caused the emergence of grey areas and countries in the continent which were not under the umbrella of any defence or security organization. At the same time, the scope of European integration *spilt around* high policy issues with the introduction of the Maastricht Treaty, such as communitarisation of the JHA and the development of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

In responses to the changing dynamics of international and regional politics, the EU's collective policy advanced in two different directions: (1)The participation of the CEEC in the European integration had become one of the most important foreign policy priorities (2) the post-Yugoslavia era was dealt with by the development of CFSP.[75] When the Yugoslavia War broke out in 1991, the European leaders anticipated that the EU would solve the situation without help from the United States (US). These leaders included Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission, and Jacques Poos, Luxembourg Foreign Minister and Head of the Presidency of the European Community. These leaders also tried to persuade the EU member governments to attain collective policy.[76] Nevertheless, during the Yugoslavia War and

after the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia, the rule-making capacity at the EU level was extremely low. Time constraints, divergent opinions on what should be done in Yugoslavia (domestic constraints and negative integrative climate) and ideological differences between member states, such as the premature recognition of Slovenia and Croatia by Germany; these were the main countervailing forces, which did not allow the development of successful collective policy by the EU and its members to stop conflicts in their backyard in the context of newly created CFSP.[77] In fact, the conflict in Bosnia continued until the intervention of the US and the reaching of the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995 led by the United Nations (UN).

Despite the failure of the EU's collective policy during the Yugoslavia War, the Western Balkans remained one of the focal points for policymakers in Brussels. At the Madrid European Council in December 1995, the EU developed a broad range of policy perspectives for the Western Balkan countries. These policies aimed to provide economic improvement, ensuring good neighbourly relations, and the accession of them to the European market. However, the approach excluded a further membership route for these countries, which ultimately led to an inconsequential policy strategy in terms of the proactive externalization of initial integration.

Kosovo War and its aftermath

The Kosovo War led to significant changes in the EU's macro policy towards the Western Balkans and the development of the EU foreign policy realm. During the Kosovo War, the European Council tried to enforce article J/4 of the Maastricht Treaty to intervene in the crisis. However, they failed to develop a common policy. This was because (1) Denmark rejected the mission, (2) the EU members had divergent opinions on a unified course of action and (3)because of the encapsulated nature of the CFSP by the Maastricht Treaty.[78]

The failure to attain a collective common foreign policy during the Yugoslavia and Kosovo crises had catalysing effects in terms of the development of the EU's foreign policy realm. There were two parallel advancements after the Kosovo War. First, followed by the St. Malo Council in 1998, the EU members agreed on the requirement of developing civilian-military capacities and advancing cooperation in CFSP. The 'learned lesson from [the] failure of Yugoslavia and Kosovo [was] to provide [a] comprehensive approach to conflict management: includ-

ing political tools like conflict mediation. Economic ones like human-itarian aid and long-term economic assistance, and military ones like police and peace-keeping missions'.[79] Following the Amsterdam Treaty, the use of constructive abstention in the CFSP was introduced, and a High Representative to the CFSP was appointed to coordinate actions in the EU external policy realm. In other words, while there was no spillover in the development of CFSP, the external policy realm of the European integration was built up after the Kosovo War. Second, the EU's macro policy towards the Western Balkans changed from preventing further wars to the transformation of these countries' domestic institutions to Europeanized ones. As Vachudova indicates, 'what had been separate—enlargement and foreign policy—was brought together as leaders realised that EU's most effective foreign policy tool was indeed enlargement'.[80]

In neo-functionalist logic, the exogenously induced deficiency of the CFSP created functional spillover to change the scope of European integration towards the Western Balkans, allowing for the development of a membership path for these countries. The other involuntary exogenous motive for this change was the declining interest of the US in the region, which led to the EU taking a lead role.[81]

At the 2003 Thessaloniki Summit, the Western Balkan countries gained membership perspective where the SAA was accepted as the official accession process. While the key parts of the process were similar to the accession process of CEEC's in terms of 'regatta principle', the EU decided to use two additional conditions for this region as this part of the continent was the most problematic one in terms of political, economic, social instability and permanent socio-cultural causes of conflicts. Thereafter, (1) 'a conditionality mechanism [was] applied to the pre-accession period'[82] and (2) the 'SAP [was] added some specific criteria: full cooperation with ICTY, respect for human and minority rights, the creation of real opportunities for refugees and internally displaced persons to return, and a visible commitment to regional co-operation'.[83]

While Stabilization and Association Process (SAP) was the official communication means between the EU and the Western Balkan countries, Kosovo was not involved in the process due to its status issue. Nonetheless, the EU started to take a lead role under the leadership of the European Commission and other EU agencies in Kosovo after the Kosovo War. In 2002, the Commission launched a *Tracking Mechanism*

of Stabilization Association, which allowed the EU to advance the Stabilization and Association process with Kosovo without touching its legal status.

From the unilateral independence declaration of Kosovo to the normalization dialogue

The third critical juncture appeared through three consecutive events: the rejection of the Ahtisaari Plan by Serbia in 2007, the unilateral independence declaration of Kosovo in 2008 and the Advisory Opinion of International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2010 on Kosovo's independence declaration. Turning back to 2005, Martti Ahtisaari was tasked as the UN Special Envoy to propose an acceptable solution between Kosovo's and Serbia's authorities regarding the status issue of Kosovo.[84] In the same year, a joint report to the European Council by the European Commissioner for Enlargement and the High Representative of the CFSP indicated that the differences between the members regarding the status of Kosovo should not preclude the existence of the EU in Kosovo.[85] Starting from the preparation of Ahtisaari plan, the Commission and other supranational actors highlighted the importance of maintaining the continuity of relations with Kosovo independently from EU members' different opinions about its legal status. In March 2007, Ahtisaari's plan was in the UNSC but without a real agreement between either side, especially from Serbia, as it foresaw a form of independence for Kosovo under the umbrella of international community. As a result, it was rejected by Russia in the UNSC. [86] After this, The UNSC supported a Troika talking which took place between the EU, the US and Russia. Even under the Troika's supervision, Serbia and Kosovo failed to reach an agreement.[87] On 17 February 2008, the Kosovo authorities declared unilateral independence without awaiting the final decision of the UN General Assembly. In response to the Kosovo`s unilateral independence declaration, the European Commission announced that EU members' different opinions on the status issue would not prevent the EU`s presence in Kosovo.[88]

In July 2010, after Serbia's request and the UN General Assembly regarding Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, the Advisory Opinion of ICJ was that 'general international law contains no applicable prohibition of [the] declarations of independence'.[89] After this opinion, the UN General Assembly adopted the Resolution 64/298, which

welcomed 'the readiness of the EU to facilitate a process of dialogue between the parties [...] to achieve progress on the path of the EU'.[90]

In this period, the European Commission, the European Union External Action Service (EEAS) and the EU High Representative tried to persuade the Serbian government to accept the initiative of dialogue between Belgrade's and Pristina's authorities while using it as a precondition for the advancement of the accession process of Serbia. When the Serbia side perceived 'there was no realistic alternative to the dialogue'[91], the first round of EU-facilitated dialogue took place in 2011, mediated by Robert Cooper, who was an advisor to the EU High Representative Catherine Ashton and on behalf of EEAS. The dialogue focused 'to remove obstacles that have a negative impact on people's daily lives, to improve cooperation, and to achieve progress on the path to Europe'.[92] Nonetheless, no real progress was made in the dialogue, and negotiations stopped at the beginning of 2012. The dialogue process was triggered by the declaration of Serbia as an EU candidate and the launch of visa liberalization dialogue with Kosovo. The conditions for the visa liberalization process of Kosovo were defined as progress in the fields of 'readmission', 'reintegration' and 'continuity of the dialogue'.[93] In October 2012, Belgrade's and Pristina's authorities admitted to proceeding with 'the mediation process as a high-level dialogue between prime ministers, chaired by Catherine Ashton'.[94]

In terms of the EU's substantive policy towards Kosovo, the other important development was *the Feasibility Study* in October 2012, which was conducted by the European Commission to identify 'priority areas that Kosovo would need to address to be able to meet its obligations under an SAA [...] without prejudice to the legal status and member states' positions'.[95] Followed by the Feasibility study, the dialogue was connected to the conditionality mechanism and the EU's membership path for Kosovo and Serbia.[96]

On 19 April 2013, the Serbian and Kosovar authorities agreed to turn the dialogue into a negotiation settlement under the mediation of Catherine Ashton. In 2013 Enlargement Strategy, the European Commission hailed the agreement as a historical milestone.[97] On 22 April 2013, a joint report issued by the Commission and the EU High Representative indicated that with the agreement 'Kosovo has fulfilled the conditions for the start of the opening of negotiations on the SAA'.[98] In the same report, the participation of Kosovo in EU programmes

without touching its status issue and opening membership talks with Serbia were recommended.

The European Council approved the start of SAA negotiations with Kosovo in June 2013, which was completed in May 2014. The new EU High Representative Federica Mogherini defined the progress as 'a landmark in the history of Kosovo'.[99] The SAA was submitted to the European Council and European Parliament on 25 July 2014. However, there was no real progress until the end of 2015. During this period, Kosovo and Serbia blamed each other for the slow progress of the dialogue. The dialogue was moved forward with four new agreements between two sides under the leadership of Mogherini in August 2015. The agreements included the establishment of Serbian municipalities in the Serb-dominated area within Kosovo, free movement in the Ibar Bridge, telecommunications and energy.[100]

In October 2015, following the approval of the European Council and the European Parliament, the High Representative Mogherini, the EU Commissioner Johannes Hahn and the Pristina authorities signed the SAA, which came into force on 1 April 2016.[101] In the following days, the European Commission proposed the final report on visa liberalization for people from Kosovo, which was in parallel development with a proposal for regulation to set up an EU Entry/Exit System to improve the management of external borders of Schengen and to prevent immigration from visa-free countries.[102]

Post-migration crisis: A new perspective towards the WB6?

During 2014, the perception among the leaders of the EU was that the EU should keep a European perspective to the WB6, but there will be no further enlargement in the near future.[103] However, this situation has changed since 2015, especially during the management of the mass migration crisis from the Middle East. In addition, the aspirations of Russia and Turkey to permeate and influence this region are other important exogenous involuntary game-changers with their rising authoritarian regimes.

In 2016, the 'Western Balkans annual risks' report of European Border and Coast Agency (Frontex) emphasised the importance of the WB6 to find a collective solution to the migration crisis.[104] In the same year, the European Commission proposed a regulation to extend the scope of Frontex to new areas, such as 'field of migration management', 'the fight against cross-border crimes' and 'research and

rescue operations', which was adopted on 6 October 2016.[105] In March 2017, the president of the EU Council Donald Tusk, the president of the European Commission Juncker and High Representative Mogherini spoke on the European perspective for the WB6.[106] On 6 February 2018, the Commission adopted a new enlargement strategy towards the WB6 which was introduced by Mogherini. This strategy, in accordance with the EU Global Strategy 2016, aims to grasp the interests and concerns of the EU members and the WB6. It also pinpoints their EU path and 'calls for enhanced strategic and operational cooperation on migration and border management'[107] and closer cooperation between EU agencies and domestic institutions of the WB6. Thereafter, the EU Council added to the agenda a possible accession of the WB6, in particular, Montenegro and Serbia by the end of 2025, which seemed almost impossible to discuss at the EU level only a few years earlier.[108]

Conclusion and further research

This study shows that revisited neo-functionalism provides an appropriate lens for analysing the enlargement phenomenon of European integration. In this regard, the political practices of the EU in the Western Balkans, especially the EU-Kosovo relations are examined through various kinds of spill-over mechanisms in the context of the development of the EU external policy realm and, in particular, the EU Enlargement Policy.

The neo-functionalist understanding of the horizontal expansion of functional integration assumes that endogenous mechanisms of initial integration create two kinds of externalities and influence on third countries on the continent. The first case, when the background conditions were met within a country's domestic political, economic and social structures before the accession, the elites of this country tend to accept EU demands on the basis of pragmatic reasons, and strong political, economic and social countervailing forces form state-society relations (i.e. the reactive externalization of initial integration). Thus, it can be argued that one of the consequences of the accession of these countries to European integration was the involvement of anti-federalist and pro-European sceptic elites to the internal decision-making structures. Hence, while European integration has continued to deepen and widen through its history, simultaneously, it has initially become more differentiated. The second case, when initial integration creates proactive externality, EU leverage works to create a potential

transformative power on the domestic structures of a subjected country. Hence, based on utilitarian logic, the conditionality mechanism and carrot of membership limit the possibilities of the choice of action of third-countries' elites.

Although during the Yugoslavia and Kosovo crises the mediation contacts of the European Commission between EU members seemed to be unimportant, they were in line with a cultivated spillover assumption. The Commission managed to align the member states' thinking at the European level, which prevented the implementation of different military strategies by the EU members and the emergence of another possible crisis between them, despite the existence of strong countervailing forces and a lack of social learning.

The failures to intervene in the Yugoslavia and Kosovo crises revealed the deficiencies and inadequacies of the initial settings of the CFSP and the EU's substantive policy towards the Western Balkans, which respectively caused the rearrangement of the scope of CFSP with the Amsterdam Treaty and the development of membership perspective for the Western Balkan countries.

After 1999, the activism of the EU in the economic and social reconstruction of Kosovo and the gradual continuity of Enlargement perspective towards Kosovo cannot be explained by purely rational choice assumptions.[109] Starting from this period, the European Commission acted not only as a mediator between the EU members through its reports, declarations and joint reports with other EU-level actors, but it also became an actor by using its agenda-setting power to advance the EU's Enlargement Policy towards the region and, in particular, in the case of Kosovo. Similarly, after Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, EU policies concerning Kosovo continued to unfold under the institutional structure of the EU through mechanisms and frameworks developed under the leadership of the Commission and other supranational agencies, independent from the issue of status. The EU members agreed on common policies initiated by supranational agencies relying on their knowledge and experience. In this period, the EU High Representative and EEAS have become the most important partners of the Commission in terms of the development of substantive policies towards the WB6. In this regard, the normalization dialogue between the Belgrade and Pristine authorities has progressed under the leadership of the High Representative and enhanced the membership path of both sides.

Hence the findings of this research challenge the argument put forward by the new intergovernmentalist school that in the post-Maastricht era, *de novo* bodies such as EEAS and the High Representative are created by national governments to regain control over integration from supranational institutions. These *de novo* bodies do not seek to move beyond their functionally specified tasks, and 'they are not hardwired to seek ever-closer union'.[110]

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Meanwhile, the research has only examined a limited part of the relations. Further investigation could concentrate on fragmented issue-linkages in the EU's substantive policy towards the WB6 and explore its changing nature in the context currently facing crises and the EU`s new enlargement strategy towards the WB6. Furthermore, the findings of this study encourage us to think about the underlying mechanisms and the extent to which the European Commission and other supranational agencies can utilise their agenda to move the EU's substantive policies beyond the lowest common denominator and consequently expand the scope of initial integration to third countries.

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Endnotes

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Humanitarian Intervention

Reviewed by Ana Maria Albulescu

The guiding question that Thomas Weiss sets to answer in *Humanitarian Intervention* is related to the tension between norms and practices of intervention to curb human suffering around the globe, a particular focus being placed on whether a new normative era in the protection of civilians, beyond state sovereignty is set to bring with it 'a new dawn or dusk for the practice of humanitarian intervention' (p.2).

   In a seminal first chapter that provides the basis for an understanding of humanitarian intervention, the book starts off with a discussion of continuity and change in world politics. It accounts for the evolution of peace operations since the 1990s and the subsequent normative innovations that have witnessed the birth of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Weiss engages in a clear discussion of the various types of peace operations ranging from peace enforcement to coercive protection and war fighting, being concerned with the extent to which the notion of humanitarian intervention can be stretched - considering that various types of action including economic and military measures have often involved wide debates about consent and legitimacy as part of any attempted definition of humanitarian intervention.

   The book sets out to explore various cases of humanitarian intervention from the point of view that despite a degree of continuity in the role of states as the core decision-makers in international politics, an essential aspect that has led to various shifts in normative think-

ing on the topic is represented by the changing nature of armed conflict in the post-Cold War era. This has come as a result of weakened norms related to the sanctity of borders as well as evolving approaches to secession that have challenged its illegitimacy. This conceptual discussion represents a strong basis for an overview of different cases of humanitarian intervention. In a fascinating account of cases of intervention from the 19th century to the present day, the author distinguishes between the various phases through which this practice has come to the forefront of international politics. The period covered by the assessment is thus marked by three important changes, starting with the enforcement of the UN Charter authorizing intervention to confront threats to international peace and security in 1945. Secondly, the collapse of the Soviet Union is viewed as critical for the increase in peacekeeping operations across the world as humanitarian interventions became more legitimate with military force being deployed by multinational coalitions as well as other forms of intervention being undertaken such as economic sanctions and international criminal prosecution. Finally, a discussion of the post 9/11 world recognizes a third change in that, despite existing normative shifts at the level of the UN Security Council, a degree of inconsistency in the practice of intervention can be observed, as indeed exemplified by the Libyan and Syrian crises that saw practical considerations for the potential success of military intervention remaining one of the main aspects underpinning decision-making towards humanitarian intervention.

Thus, whilst the author draws attention to the fact that the R2P in its current form remains a principle rather than a tactic, as the inconsistency of international action shows that in certain cases 'geopolitical calculations trumped the protection of civilians' (p.81) addressing the tensions between norms and practices in the case study analysis of the book would have benefited from further acknowledgments that, whilst driven by the bureaucracies of the UN and other humanitarian agencies and International practices, normative shifts have often proved ineffective in curbing state driven behaviour to the use of military force. This being said, the book is not short of addressing these tensions in its final chapters where it touches upon some of the realpolitik calculations of state-driven policies throughout the various international efforts towards establishing R2P as a norm. This ensures that the book provides an important contribution to the various debates surrounding the practices of humanitarian intervention, leaving

the reader with the sense that whilst all cases of humanitarian inter-
vention undoubtedly constituted watershed moments in the evolution
of thinking about the R2P as a norm, the existing track record of its
operationalization is still marked by the challenge of 'how to act, not
how to build additional normative consensus' (p.201).

*Book
reviews*

AKHTAR, Rabia. *The Blind Eye: U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy Towards Pakistan From Ford to Clinton.* Lahore: University od Lahore Press, 2018. ISBN 978-969-7813-01-8.

The Blind Eye: U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy Towards Pakistan From Ford to Clinton

Reviewed by Shahneela Tariq

State security and survival are the prime concerns of all states as realists believe that a state can be attacked by the other state at any time and there is no guarantee of security in international politics. It is integral for national security to enhance maximum power to protect the national borders and to accept the unavoidability of war. Many authors have produced literature connecting realism with state security in the past, but Dr. Rabia Akhtar's book that was launched in November 2018, titled "The Blind Eye: U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy Towards Pakistan From Ford to Clinton", provides a historical account of the US non-proliferation policy towards Pakistan and draws the connection between state survival and power maximization through the acquisition of nuclear weapons by linking it to Machiavellian doctrine that **"Anything is justified by reason of state"**.

Dr. Rabia's book is the first literary work in Pakistan, which is based on the archival data taken from U.S presidential archives; and a unique account of five US administrations and their non-proliferation policy

towards Pakistan. Collective actions can only take place on selective incentives and national interests are always supreme. As discussed in Dr. Rabia's book, it was US' strategic interest in the South Asian region, which required U.S to turn a blind eye towards Pakistan's nuclear program and prioritized its imminent foreign policy over non-proliferation policy. U.S needed Pakistan to contain communism during Cold War and maintain a strategic balance. Many authors have dubbed this relationship as a "Marriage of convenience", and this narrative has been mentioned by Dr. Rabia Akhtar as 'stereotypical narratives' that needs to get space in Pakistan.

It will not be wrong to say that both states share mutual grievances and trust deficit. America being the alleged betrayer for not supporting Pakistan through thick and thin against India, and Pakistan being deceitful by making a nuclear device. However, this book discusses U.S motives behind its South Asian policy in the pre-9/11 era while providing a detailed analysis on Pakistan's justification for going nuclear. According to the author Pakistan wanted South Asian region to be a nuclear free weapon zone but events like Separation of East Pakistan in 1971 and Indian nuclear test in 1974 started the quest for Pakistan's own security system. The evidences and data, which have been presented in this book clearly tells that US was very well aware of the Pakistan's intentions, but showed flexibility to acheive its strategic goals in South Asian region.

Major events that put Pakistan at the receiving end were (1) Russian Invasion of Afghanistan, which waived off Symington Amendment and consequently gave huge relief to Pakistan's economy and helped Pakistan in sophistication of its conventional weaponry. (2) 9/11 incident waived off the Glenn, Symington and Pressler Amendment, which were put on Pakistan after Pakistan's nuclear test in 1998.

The acquisition of Nuclear power is mostly related to the threat perception of the states since it can be taken as the 'Balance of Threat' than balance of power in the absence of a uniform international system. This has been discussed by the author that initially Pakistan's objective to align with US was to get security umbrella against India but US attitude in the Wars against India proved that Pakistan needs to have their own security system.

Furthermore, Indian nuclear test in 1974, which resulted into the making of Nuclear Suppliers Group to control and regulate nuclear exports, did not really affect U.S relations with India. Instead, this event

caused hurdles for Pakistan's ambitions to acquire nuclear technology. Interestingly, the author has urged a change in Pakistan's narrative for acquiring nuclear capabilities that Pakistan needs to stop being guilty of making a nuclear device as it was in the very interest of state security and survival against her traditional rival, India.

This analysis of Pak-US relations draws a conclusion that states do cooperate, but they do not compromise on their national security. When analyzing the harsh side of U.S policies i.e. Pakistan specific economic and military sanctions, it can be clearly seen that U.S was more accommodating than imposing, else Pakistan would have had huge difficulties in acquiring nuclear device. Another important point which has been mentioned in this book is that no one in the civil and/or military leadership of Pakistan compromised on their national stance of acquiring nuclear device and building up their national security system.

The use of archival data provides a guideline to other researchers on how to incorporate these historical documents into contemporary research. Additionally, Dr. Rabia's book is a timely addition to the current political debates that has filled the gap between the historical account of US-Pakistan relationship and their future dealings with each other. Recent re-engagement of both the states on Afghanistan peace process has proved that US and Pakistan will continue their security relationship as, Dr. Rabia Akhtar's book presented a fair account of this relationship during the cold war to contain communism and after cold war to fight against terrorism. The author believes that both the countries will remain important for each other in their security and economic relationship.

This book review gives the views of the author, and not the position of School of Integrated Social Sciences nor of the University of Lahore.