



Insurgency in Pakistan and the Government's Strategic Policies in Dealing with it

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan is one of the countries in the South Asian region with a complicated insurgency threat. The marginalization carried out by the government against certain groups is the main trigger for the emergence of separatist groups that oppose political authority. In its development, the group mutated to become a very large and brutal population. This study will analyze the description of the insurgency threat that occurred in Pakistan and how the government's strategy in dealing with the insurgency threat is. This research was conducted using a descriptive approach, with research data obtained from primary data and secondary data. In this study, the researcher concludes that the threat of insurgency in Pakistan is very complex and tends to last a long time, because past grievances have not been resolved and the interests of many separatist groups conflict with each other, thereby prolonging the asymmetrical conflict in Pakistan. Facing the threat of insurgency, the Pakistani government uses a military and non-military approach as well as seeks to strengthen national defense to be able to reduce conflicts that occur and minimize the impact caused by the long-standing insurgency conflict

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is a country in the South Asian region that became independent in 1947 after gaining independence from Britain. Pakistan was a breakaway country from India and then after independence. Basically Pakistan is a Republic and adheres to a parliamentary system of government. Geographically Pakistan borders several countries such as India, Afghanistan, China, Iran and Tajikistan. Pakistan is also known for its multi-ethnicity and is a problem that occurs in Pakistan. The multi-ethnicity has resulted in the emergence of radical groups developing in Pakistan who want a revolution to follow the wishes of the radical / insurgent groups.

The existence of insurgent groups is a problem that Pakistan must face because Pakistan is an area that is the basis for the formation of several large insurgent groups such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. The two insurgent groups were formed in the North Pakistan region bordering Afghanistan and Iran (Haider Ali, 2010, pp. 1-16). Pakistan, which is an ally of the United States, has become a target in the actions carried out by insurgent groups in Pakistan. These radical/insurgent groups are reported to have a radical Islamic ideology that originated in Afghanistan. Such as the Afghan Mujahideen Group who sought to fight the Soviet Union with the help of the United States. Then right in 1980, the Afghan Mujahideen returned to Pakistan. The movement resulted in the spread of radical Islamic ideology to other Pakistani communities. This has led to the growth of radical groups in Pakistan.

The recruitment system carried out by these insurgent groups is often found to be done directly. However, it is possible that today they also use social media as a platform in recruiting new members. According to information from the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD), the recruitment system in radical groups is carried out by religious leaders trusted by a group, so that prospective members will be given extremist and radical warfare so that they want to join the group (Akhmad Muazal Hasan, 2017).

The rapid growth of insurgent groups in Pakistan has resulted in the desire to have control over the political system and other aspects in accordance with the beliefs and desires of these radical groups. They try as much as possible to achieve their goals, one of which is by carrying out acts of terror that occur in Pakistan. The border region is an area that is quite vulnerable to acts of terror and the development of these insurgent groups. This is a concern for Pakistan because it can threaten the defense and security of the state in the territory of Pakistan. Pakistani intelligence said that the development of radical/insurgent organizations that lead to acts of terrorism is located at 78 and 4 of them have entered serious handling because they are worried that they will have a greater impact on security in Pakistan.

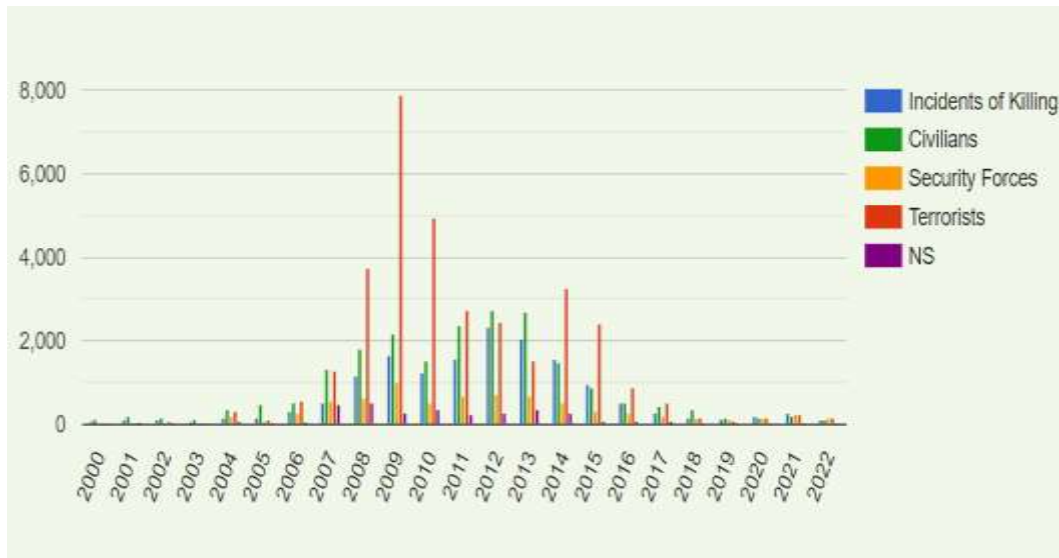


Figure 1. Graph of Terror Attacks in Pakistan
Source: www.satp.org

The graph above shows that the highest number of terror attack cases in Pakistan occurred in 2009, which almost reached 8 thousand cases. Although in the following year there was a decrease, the countermeasures carried out by the Pakistani authorities did not stop and grew because there were still cases of terror attacks, especially those carried out in Pakistan's border areas with other countries.

Some of the actions carried out by these insurgent groups occur frequently, especially in the Balochistan region. The insurgent group called the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) is the insurgent group responsible for the attacks. Such as the attack that occurred on January 27, 2022 attacking Kech district, north of Gwadar Port which is claimed to be the largest attack that has occurred in recent years. The attack resulted in about 10 Pakistani soldiers and 1 member of the rebel group being killed and several other members arrested. The Baloch rebel group fought against the Pakistani government because they did not agree with the agreement between Pakistan and China, especially related to the Belt & Road cooperation. In addition, the Baloch rebel group is trying to fight in order to separate itself from Pakistan because of the exploitation of gas and mineral resources in the Balochistan Province, which borders Afghanistan and Iran.

Several attacks carried out by insurgent groups in Pakistan according to Pakistan that India is the party responsible for the attack but India denies the allegations (Lintar Satria, 2022). Pakistan is trying to take several steps that are used as a way to act on its relationship with insurgent groups, one of which is cooperation with the United States. Pakistan itself wants to be able to create conditions for a safe and peaceful country, especially avoiding insurgent problems.

Research Method

This research was prepared using a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. This research is sourced from primary data in the form of interviews and secondary data from literature studies of books, journals, and other scientific works related to the research topic. The method used is a qualitative research method with a case study approach. Qualitative research is a research method that aims to explore and understand the meaning of social or humanitarian problems based on an understanding of the data or information that has been obtained. This understanding is then explained in the form of a narrative to obtain research conclusions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this research, the theoretical and conceptual foundations will provide a basic understanding of the research topic as well as provide limitations to the discussion to be studied. There are several theories and concepts used in this research, including:

a. Insurgency Theory

Dr. Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, S.H., LL.M., in the book *Introduction to International Law*, defines insurgency as an act of rebellion that can occur in a country. Insurgency is a domestic threat that is considered a form of serious threat to state sovereignty. In international law, there are no rules regarding this insurgency or rebellion, but according to international law, rebellion is not far from the problem of separatism. With this status, the threat of insurgency becomes a country's internal affairs (Mangku, 2020, p. 44).

Insurgency is characterized by two main forms, namely national insurgency and liberation insurgency. National insurgency is a form of rebellion from a legitimate government. What distinguishes the government from the insurgents is legitimacy, economic class, ideology, and identity shaped by ethnicity, race, religion, and political logic. In liberation insurgencies, rebel groups recognize their actions as an attempt to free the country from what is perceived as imperialistic control. Insurgency actions are very dangerous for a country, because the impact of these actions will not only weaken the sovereignty of the state, but also threaten the safety of the nation because insurgency actions are carried out in a way that violates the law and human values such as the use of violence to murder (Hasto Kristiyanto, 2021, p. 484).

In the principles of international law, insurgency is an action that cannot be recognized, because *de facto* the rebellion carried out by the insurgency group (belligerent) has not yet reached the level of regular and integrated organization to fight. An insurgency action can only be recognized if it has made clear its rapid development, such as by expanding its territory and experiencing organized population growth and has effectively occupied most of a country's territory (Yasa, 2021, p. 48).

b. Strategy Theory

Strategy means "art". In the scope of national defense, Clausewitz defines strategy as: "...the bridge that relates military power to political purpose. It is neither military power per se nor political purpose. By strategy is meant the use that is made of force and the threat of force for the end of policy".

Strategy is an integral part of the process of determining strategic policies by the highest leader focused on long-term goals in an organization. The formation of strategies is adjusted to the national goals of a country which includes three main aspects, namely: political goals (ends), methods to achieve goals (ways), and means and infrastructure in achieving these goals (means).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Insurgency Threat in Pakistan

Insurgency is a serious threat in several countries including Pakistan. Pakistan has been facing insurgency by Balochistan separatists for years. Balochistan itself is a province in Pakistan that has an area of almost half of Pakistan's territory, to be precise 43.6 percent of the total area of the State of Pakistan. This region with an area of 347,190 square kilometers has one of the largest gold, copper and gas reserves in Asia, but this region is known as one of the poorest and least developed regions in Pakistan (BBC News, 2020). This is one of the factors that prompted the Balochistan separatist group's attack on Pakistan. They want to secede because the central government only exploits gas and mineral resources in Balochistan Province (Satria & Maharani, 2022). Until now, attacks by Balochistan separatists have continued to occur and even since January 2022 it has been recorded that the escalation of attacks has increased (Anjaiah, 2022).

Insurgency poses a significant challenge not only to the defense and security of a country but also to human security. This is because insurgencies tend to use acts of violence and even loss of life, which is very contrary to the concept of human security. Insurgency is a strategy adopted by groups that are unable to achieve their political goals by using conventional means and are anarchic, protracted, ambiguous and use complex media to balance power with their opponents (Millen, 2004, p. 2).

Taliban Insurgency

The insurgency or rebellion movement that occurred in Pakistan was spearheaded by the Taliban group. After the fall of the Taliban and the elimination of al-Qaeda from Afghanistan in 2001, members of both slipped into Pakistan's tribal areas bordering Afghanistan. Initially the group concentrated only in the tribal areas of South Waziristan, but subsequently they expanded their support base among local tribes who shared their ideology by capitalizing on wealth and marriages within tribal families. Finally, in 2004, the group launched extensive guerrilla operations against coalition forces in Afghanistan until Pakistani forces launched Operation Wana. The chaotic nature of the conflict led the Pakistani government to request that tribal leaders hand over foreign militants living in their areas. Unfortunately, this request only increased the existing tensions.

Over the past eight years, the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan have moved strategically to gain increasing control over border areas on both sides of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. The Taliban's main objective is to use the slogan of jihad to recruit human resources and raise funds. The Taliban moved to establish their control in several areas, which eventually led to the formation of a movement based on ideological, moral and social factors as the motive for

the insurgency movement. Under the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud, Taliban fighters took up the fight against criminals and started collecting taxes to speed up their operations. Furthermore, they killed or forced out influential tribal elders who were known to challenge their authority. The Taliban also created a parallel justice system as a dispute resolution mechanism that delivered justice quickly. The Taliban also contributed to the welfare of the local population to gain their sympathy.

The Taliban strategy has eroded the concept of collective responsibility, which adversely affects political administration. Those who oppose the Taliban's ideology and tactical strategy are treated harshly, especially non-governmental organizations and formal and modern educational institutions. Taliban groups impose bans on NGOs, target CD shops and attack educational institutions especially girls' schools. From January to May 2008, they have attacked 29 schools comprising 17 girls' educational institutions. A total of 61 teachers have been killed in the action and 25 local and foreign NGOs have been forced back to Islamabad to stop their operations, several US and Pakistani government spies have also been killed.

The Taliban insurgency movement has characteristics similar to a civil war or revolutionary struggle. For the Taliban, the insurgency is considered a reactionary movement motivated by events in Afghanistan. However, in its development, the Taliban's actions increasingly threatened and opposed the Pakistani state and society, which ultimately gave rise to complex problems. The Taliban insurgency movement is an illustration of asymmetric conflict. This movement is inspired by ideology supported by logistics from international terrorist groups and uses terrorism to achieve the following goals: a. destabilize the state security apparatus so that the public sees the Taliban as protectors; b. forcing the government not to interfere in areas controlled by the Taliban so that the Taliban can continue their actions without hindrance; and c. forcing the government to bring some structural changes in the laws or constitution, or to bring a new system in line with the Taliban's agenda (Rana, 2009, p. 8).

The Taliban group is known to have ties with international terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda, so the Taliban group's agenda is potentially more dangerous, to destabilize or overthrow the government to seize territory. The Taliban are quite firm in pursuing propaganda and ideological propaganda strategies to implement the "Islamic code of life" according to their beliefs. They will not tolerate any enemy that threatens their existence. This is demonstrated by the actions taken by the Taliban in discussing peace with the government. The Taliban cleverly kidnapped more than 1,000 security force personnel and state officials in order to negotiate and ask for 500 guerrillas to be released.

Balochistan Insurgency

Balochistan constitutes 5% of Pakistan's population. This province in 1973 had a higher average per capita income than other regions such as Punjab and NWFP. However, since the 2000s, when all provinces experienced an increase in per capita income, Balochistan has experienced stagnation with only a marginal increase comparatively. Until the following period, Balochistan

continued to be concerned with low economic growth, underdevelopment, and high levels of poverty compared to other provinces. This situation has created a perception in society that the central government has discriminated and exploited Balochistan. The human rights violations felt by the people of Balochistan ultimately triggered separatist actions from Balochistan to fight government authority (Tanner, 2019, p. 40).

From 2000 to 2017, Balochistan separatist groups were active in carrying out attacks. There are at least 15 (fifteen) active separatist groups in Balochistan, among them:

- a. Free Balochistan Army (FBA);
- b. Balochistan National Army;
- c. Baloch Mussalah Diffah Tanzim (BMDT);
- d. Baloch Militant Defense Army;
- e. Baloch Republican Party;
- f. Baloch National Liberation Front;
- g. Baloch Young Fighters (BYF);
- h. Baloch Liberation Tigers (BLT);
- i. Balochistan Liberation United Front (BLUF);
- j. Baloch Nationalist;
- k. Lashkar-e-Balochistan;
- l. United Baloch Army (UBA);
- m. Baloch Liberation Army (BLA);
- n. Baloch Liberation Front (BLF);
- o. Baloch Republican Army (BRA).

Among the several Balochistan separatist groups above, the Baloch Republican Army (BRA) is the most active group based on the number of attacks which reached 312 attacks. BRA is considered the deadliest separatist group, because the group not only targets many deaths in government areas, but also targets many infrastructure or utilities as well as civil society in their attacks.

Among several reasons for the emergence of the rebellion movement by the Balochistan group, are (Gattani, 2021, p. 13):

a. Political Marginalization

Baloch have been completely alienated from the State because they are numerically inferior compared to other communities so that the Baloch group is underrepresented in all organs of the State of Pakistan and even most of the work in the provinces is controlled by outsiders. In political competition, according to Frederic Grare, Baloch nationalist parties, either with or without forming a coalition, were able to win support and form a government in the late 1990s. However, in the 2002 elections, the military rigged the elections and revived its old alliance with the "mullahs" in the region and helped the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) coalition of Islamic religious parties gain power. Even when Baloch leaders are appointed in the government, they still have no control over decision-making. Weak representation for the Baloch group also ultimately marginalizes the Baloch's position in bureaucracy, public administration and broader policy making.

b. Socioeconomic Problems

According to a World Bank report in 2008, Balochistan has the weakest long-term growth, the worst quality of employment and the weakest social development of all provinces. Balochistan also scored the lowest in 10 key indicators for health, water and sanitation, and education. The people of Balochistan contribute almost 20% of the country's total unemployment which naturally worsens and creates other problems. In 2016, it was recorded that 83.4% of children in Balochistan province were severely malnourished. Balochistan urgently needs health, education and empowerment corridors.

c. Mega-Problems of Megaprojects

For decades, Balochistan has viewed megaprojects carried out in collaboration with countries as a form of colonialism because the people of Balochistan only serve as servants for the state's strategic needs but do not bring benefits to the people of the province. The federal government violates the rights of the Baloch provinces (and the Pakistani constitution) and only Islamabad and Lahore have the authority to make decisions on providing land to foreign and domestic actors. Mega projects like Gwadar International Port, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Saindak copper-gold project, and Reko Diq project, etc. have caused tremendous losses to Balochistan.

d. State Military Repression

Until now, the Balochistan rebellion has not been resolved through concrete political steps. In contrast, interactions between the Baloch and the state have been largely violent and militaristic. The state's attitude of eliminating political solutions and tending to respond repressively to Balochistan's actions, increasingly strengthens Balochistan's reasons for maintaining the rebellion.

The Balochistan insurgency has become a prolonged asymmetric conflict in Pakistan. This problem was triggered by none other than the past grievances felt by the people of Balochistan due to brutal oppression carried out by the government. Finally, many rebel groups emerged and were very aggressive in competing with each other to realize their interests. This situation makes the problem more complex and tends to last longer. In this situation, separatist groups can also target other groups as happened when the Baloch Liberation Army targeted the United Baloch Army group on June 29 2015 in Dera Bugti District.

Over time, the Balochistan insurgency has stagnated as according to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), the Baloch insurgency reached its peak in 2015 with 96 incidents of violence and 383 reported fatalities, an increase from nearly 80 incidents and 300 deaths in 2014. However, in 2017 to 209, ACLED recorded only 38 incidents with 110 deaths reported. This is the result of an intensive disarmament and rehabilitation program for Baloch militants. The government also claims that nearly 200 Baloch separatists have surrendered to security forces over the past few years.

Pakistan's Strategy in Facing the Threat of Insurgency

In facing insurgency attacks carried out by separatist groups, the Pakistani government is pursuing counter-insurgency through military and non-military approaches. The Pakistani government's strategy in dealing with the rebellion that occurred included:

a. Military Strategy

The many conflicts that occur in Pakistan, especially those carried out by insurgent groups with their acts of terror, force the Pakistani authorities to take firm action in order to be able to deal with insurgent groups that are thriving in Pakistan. Basically, the issue of insurgency is still related to acts of terrorism that occurred in Pakistan. Pakistan has a special agency responsible for acts of terror that occur in Pakistan called the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA) which has the task of designing policies and regulations so that terror cases can be reduced or with 0 cases. It was recorded that there were around 78 organizations that had been banned and 4 of these organizations were subjected to further observation, namely TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan), SRA (Sindhudesh Revolutionary Army), BLA (Balochistan Liberation Army), and IS-Khorasan.

The trend of terror attacks occurring in Pakistan experienced a significant increase in 2014 because at that time the Pakistani military authorities carried out military operations against armed militants who were part of the Al-Qaeda and Taliban terror groups. This information was obtained through information from the Pakistani authorities with specifications for counter-terrorism efforts called NCTA. So since 2014, there has been an increase in the number of deaths and acts of terror that occurred in Pakistan. The area that is of concern to the Pakistani military authorities is Balochistan Province because in this area frequent acts of terror occur which cause many casualties, both civilian and military. The conflict in Balochistan Province is because the Balochistan region is a battlefield for separatist groups, arms smuggling and fighting guerrillas originating from Afghanistan. So it is one of Pakistan's concerns because cases of terrorism carried out by insurgent groups are growing in Pakistan (Ishrat Afshan Abbash et al, 2018).

In order to maintain defense and security in Pakistan, the Pakistani authorities are trying to take steps to overcome the problem of insurgency in Pakistan through military and non-military methods. From the military sector, Pakistan has implemented policies such as adding personnel and of course adequate equipment so that it can be used and Pakistan's defense system can be strong. Pakistani military authorities from both land, sea and air dimensions have been tasked with being able to carry out guarding at several points in areas that they feel are indicated to be locations of terror that occurred in Pakistan. Not only do they guard the border areas, but several military personnel are assigned to the city center which is prone to terrorist acts. According to a presentation from Colonel Budi Wirman as Defense Attaché at the Indonesian Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan explained that there were several military operations in relation to dealing with terror cases in Pakistan, such as:

1. Rah-Eh-Haq Operation (January 2007 – October 2009);
2. Black Thunderstorm Operation (in 2009 which focused on dealing with the case of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan group);
3. North & West Operation (in 2004 – 2014 for handling Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan group);
4. Rah-E-Rast Operation (in 2008 – 2009);
5. Rah-E-Nijat Operation (in 2009);
6. Zarb-E-Azb Operation (in 2014 who works in the North Khyber Pakhtunkhwa area);
7. Radd-UI-Fasaad (RUF) Operation, is an operation that started in 2014 and is the only operation that is still running today).

However, so far a total of around 149 thousand intelligence operations have been carried out and are deemed to have been successful in relation to overcoming acts of terror that occurred in Pakistan. So Pakistan always used almost the same concept in every operation used in that period. Each operation carried out by the Pakistani military authorities targets that the acts of terror that occurred in Pakistan can be resolved. Even though the number of fatalities recorded was reported to be high, Pakistan claimed great success and many militant hideouts were destroyed. The destruction of this location was the location where the militants carried out these terror activities. Each of these military operations usually targets the main militant network so that if the leader can be controlled or destroyed, it will be easier to destroy his subordinates.

Especially in relation to border issues with neighboring Pakistan. Pakistan itself has border conflicts with 3 countries, namely India, China and Afghanistan. These three border conflicts are also related to insurgent problems/issues, so they also implement military operations in cases of these border conflicts. From 2007 to 2014, Pakistan has launched around 60 thousand military operations and around 5900 cooperative operations. This number includes operations carried out in the Punjab and Sindh regions. In this military operation, around 1114 terror perpetrators were killed and this number included the head of the TTP group (Shuja Nawaz, 2014).

The military operations carried out by Pakistan in an effort to overcome acts of terror which were claimed to be quite successful in dealing with the conflict that occurred in Pakistan, according to some information, were reported to have killed innocent civilians. However, the Pakistani military authorities are of the opinion that the military operation killed more militants. And in the future, if there are still necessary military operations, the military will try to minimize civilian casualties. And the aim of the military operations carried out by Pakistan to reduce acts of terror can be achieved.

Pakistani military authorities are also trying to conduct military exercises targeting students in Pakistan. This was done in order to tackle the increasing number of terror cases, especially those related to the Taliban, because Afghanistan is a country that borders Pakistan and can have a significant impact on Pakistan. The training in question is how to use organic weapons, explosives and what must be done in an effort to provide emergency assistance.

Not only male students, but female students are also the targets of this exercise. Military training is intended so that in urgent situations they already know what to do.

Pakistani military authorities are also trying to collaborate with other countries related to anti-terrorism cooperation. One of them is China, Pakistan carried out cooperation with China, for example in 2006 carried out cooperation for a joint anti-terrorism military exercise called "Friendship 2004" which was carried out in the Xinjiang region, China. This cooperation in anti-terrorism military training is the beginning of other cooperation. During Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's visit to Islamabad in 2005, the two countries agreed on relations and cooperation to combat the issues of terrorism, separatism and extremism. China - Pakistan cooperation is increasingly going well so that Pakistan, especially the military, can act in relation to efforts to overcome acts of terror. Pakistan received support in terms of increasingly complete weapons. With the increase in Pakistan's military weapons, Pakistan is increasingly confident in its country's military strength in its efforts to deal with acts of terror which are issues related to security and national defense in Pakistan.

Apart from China, Indonesia is also listed as a partner in several collaborations, especially in the military sector. Because these two countries, Indonesia and Pakistan, are countries that are both still struggling to deal with terror incidents to this day. Both agreed on several military collaborations at both high and lower levels. As explained by H.E. Mr. Adam M. Tugio as the Indonesian Ambassador to Pakistan explained that there were 2 (two) agreements at a high level, namely the Indonesia Pakistan Security Dialogue (IPSD) and the Joint Defense Cooperation Committee Meeting (JDCC). And this is coupled with cooperation regarding the production of military weapons between Indonesia and Pakistan. Both of them hope that the cooperation that has been formed can have an impact on reducing terror incidents in the two countries.

b. Non-Military Strategy

In facing the threat of insurgency, the Pakistani government does not only rely on superior military approaches but also uses non-military strategies. Regarding this, Brigadier General (Ret.) Masroor Ahmad from the National Defense University Pakistan, in carrying out the Overseas Work Lecture (KKLN) for students at the Faculty of Defense Strategy which was held online via the Zoom application from 25 May - 1 June 2022, explained that in the context of understanding insurgent / insurgent and terrorism, Pakistan does not differentiate between these actions, so that the actions taken to overcome insurgent / insurgent actions are the same as the actions taken to overcome terrorism.

Brigadier General (Ret.) Masroor Ahmad explained that to deal with acts of rebellion, the Government of Pakistan used non-military methods by changing the mindset of all Pakistani people to participate in fighting every terrorism or rebellion. This was also conveyed by Aizaz Ahmad Chudry as Director General of the Institute of Strategies Study Islamabad (ISSI). He said that in fighting acts of terrorism or insurgency, it is not just defeating using

weapons or military force, but must change the mindset of extremism that is developing in Pakistani society.

Apart from that, TNI Colonel Budi Wirman as the Indonesian Defense Attaché in Islamabad - Pakistan in his presentation explained that the method used by Pakistan apart from military methods in dealing with insurgent actions was by winning the hearts and minds of the people through a political approach, an economic approach and a social approach. The government policies taken are in favor of the people so that the people will be open and reject all forms of insurgency/rebellion. The Pakistani government uses paramilitaries, in this case volunteers who are trained to take part in anti-terrorism and rebellion/insurgency campaigns.

Watts et al (2014) stated that there were 3 strategies used by the Pakistani government in carrying out counterinsurgency, one of which was carried out using a non-military approach, namely Political Inclusion. The case of Pakistan generally supports predictions about how political inclusiveness and regime type shape counterinsurgency strategies. Given that Pakistan was a non-democracy for most of this period, we predict that on average, Pakistan will rely on more repressive and indiscriminate military operations with few meaningful acts of political accommodation and reconciliation—in other words, state repression strong or containment policies, depending on the resources the government can muster. These predictions generally apply to campaigns in Balochistan and most campaigns in FATA and Swat. Republican governments struggle to make credible commitments, rely on narrow political constituencies, lack accountability to the broader public, and allow little civilian input in national security matters, which generally results in indiscriminate use of force with high civilian casualties and dire prospects. low for reconciliation. The deals and ceasefires that the military regime made in FATA before the return of civilian rule in 2008 were tactical, superficial (involving a small group of militants), and neither trusted by the rebels nor long-lasting.

Indiscriminate force continued in Balochistan throughout the insurgency. However, after the 2008 elections, repressive tactics became less visible. The irrelevance of the Baloch constituency, “a small, politically weak, recalcitrant and untrustworthy tribal minority”, allowed the Government of the Republic of Pakistan to continue this approach. Even when the Government of the Republic of Pakistan makes efforts at negotiation or political reconciliation, its credibility remains questionable. marred by a lack of dialogue and quick attempts at force. Ultimately, even good-faith efforts routinely fail, as Baloch opposition leaders distrust the government. Ethnic Baloch leaders have little role in the coalition or central government bureaucracy, and the civilian government cannot credibly commit to greater Baloch autonomy when it cannot even withdraw federal security forces or hold them accountable for indiscriminate violence.

Jones & Fair (2010) stated that most rebellions, including in Pakistan, involve four major actors, namely :

1. Rebels, including those aiming to overthrow the national government or secede from Pakistan;
2. Local Government, Representatives include Pakistani security forces, such as the army and police, and key national ministries, as well as local officials;
3. External Actors, These include states and non-state entities that may support governments or rebels, and range from the United States to al Qaeda and international jihadist networks;
4. Locals, People are very important to all actors. Popular support is victory in a counter-insurgent war.

For this reason, Jones & Fair (2010) stated that Pakistan's strategy to deal with the rebellion, apart from military means, can also be carried out by non-military methods in the form of:

1. Improving the quality of (regional) government governance. Several quantitative analyzes show that a weak central government makes rebellion more viable and attractive, suggesting that an important solution is a more competent government. Governance needs to be improved in areas that have been affected by the insurgency to address specific political, social, or economic grievances of the local population.
2. Influencing political will is also an important agenda in counter-insurgency efforts. Because a military approach alone will not be able to reduce the existing conflict, it will actually worsen tensions between insurgent groups and the government.

Pakistan's Strategy for Strengthening Defense Facing the Threat of Insurgency

South Asia is the area that has the worst average score on the Global Terrorism Index in 2021 with the number of victims in that area amounting to 1,829 deaths and an increase of eight percent or 137 deaths from the previous year. One of the countries in South Asia, namely Pakistan, is one of the ten countries most affected by terrorist movements and insurgency. Deaths caused by acts of terrorism and insurgency increased slightly to 275 deaths, a five percent increase compared to 2020 where there were 263 deaths (GTI, 2022).

Responding to Pakistan's highly conflictual and prolonged conditions, especially facing insurgency which is part of an asymmetric conflict, diplomacy has become one of the options in Pakistan's strategy in order to strengthen its defense. Diplomacy is an important instrument in implementing a country's national interests. Diplomacy is the main tool in achieving national interests related to other countries or international organizations. It is through this diplomacy that a country can build an image about itself. In relations between countries, generally diplomacy is applied from the earliest level when a country wants to have bilateral relations with another country until the two develop

further relations. According to G.R. Berridge (2010), the concept of diplomacy refers to political activities carried out by actors to pursue their goals and defend their interests through negotiation, without using violence, propaganda, or law.

In the Pakistani context, diplomacy is carried out to gain support from other countries regarding insurgency resistance that wants to divide Pakistan's sovereignty. Within Pakistan itself, the Pakistani government's strategy in dealing with insurgency has undergone various policy changes and transformations. This is because Pakistan's enemy is the enemy within the country itself, namely the insurgency movement. Pakistan's survival depends on having a real victory, changing the landscape that can nurture organized militancy, and changing the ideological narrative by eliminating the influence of Islamic extremists from its education and political systems. Pakistan must also build a strong and viable economy to enhance its security. This campaign will be long and difficult and cannot rely on the military alone. This requires a focus on the ability of Pakistan's political leaders and civil society to rally support and reshape the country's priorities by reshaping the socio-political continuity that defined Pakistan's independence in 1947. Pakistan must ensure that the centripetal forces of geography and codependence that have held the country together can win in this struggle. A developed and stable Pakistan will be the key to stability and development in the region as a whole.

In connection with the above objectives, since the birth of Pakistan, Pakistan is a country full of conflict and hostility, diplomatic approaches have been established with various countries, including Indonesia. The relationship between Indonesia and Pakistan is a relationship that can be said to be special because it is built on the same religious views. Defense cooperation between Indonesia and Pakistan has been going on for a long time. Starting with mutual recognition of the sovereignty of each country, visiting each other's countries. The cooperation that was initially established was only about improving the quality of soldiers between the two countries. This can be seen from the mutual sharing of information regarding developments in the world of the military and the exchange of military members to study in each country.

Furthermore, the Governments of Indonesia and Pakistan are committed to building and enhancing friendly relations to promote peace, stability and prosperity for the people of both countries. The two countries signed defense cooperation on July 21 2010. The two countries also intend to improve and strengthen existing bilateral relations through defense cooperation based on equality, non-aggression, political independence and non-interference in each country's internal affairs. Indonesia ratified the RI-Pakistan Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) in 2015 in order to strengthen defense

cooperation which will contribute to mutually beneficial relations for both defense institutions. The scope of cooperation includes the areas of bilateral defense dialogue and regular consultations on strategic and security issues, exchange of information related to institutional and defense issues, cooperation in science and technology and defense through personnel exchanges, visits and training. This cooperation also includes the promotion of human resource development through reciprocal visits and joint exercises, exchange of military observers, cooperation and other areas of education, training, and mutual interests.

The time required by the two countries to ratify the MoU that has been signed as an official form of cooperation agreement is very long. Since the first signing of the MoU in 2010, ratification was only discussed in 2015. This time, which was considered quite long, resulted in the cooperation being carried out being limited to visits by high-ranking military officials from the two countries. Ratification of an MoU is very important, especially regarding state security, so that there is a binding law if problems occur in the future (Tambunan, 2018).

Then, after the ratification of the MoU into law, there was an increase in defense cooperation between Indonesia and Pakistan. Work opportunities for top military officials from both countries are becoming increasingly intense. This is also supported by the existence of a biennial agenda, especially carried out by the Indonesian Navy and the SSG Pakistan Navy, which will carry out joint military exercises for a period of 8-10 days, which will be held once every 2 years, and carried out alternately as the host venue. ongoing joint war training activities. Pakistan's defense strength makes it one of the countries that has quite a large influence in the South Asian region. Unpredictable foreign policy, which establishes good relations with all powers in the world (US, Russia, China and Arab Countries). Its nuclear development is also very rapid, which makes it one of the countries with nuclear powers in the world. This gives Pakistan an opportunity in the future to exert influence in South Asia.

Specifically, regarding the insurgency in Pakistan, the two countries have formed a Security Dialogue Forum in 2019 at the Pakistan Ministry of Defense in Rawalpindi. The main objective of the Security Dialogue Forum is to discuss issues of mutual concern to both countries, which concern global and regional security issues, terrorism, narcotics, maritime security and human trafficking. Apart from that, there was also strengthening of ongoing cooperation between the two countries and identifying new areas of cooperation related to security which is a concern and agreement between Indonesia and Pakistan.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The threat of insurgency in Pakistan, such as the Taliban and Balochistan, continues to be a serious problem. Balochistan, although rich in natural resources, remains one of Pakistan's poorest and most underdeveloped regions, prompting separatist groups to launch attacks to secede. This conflict is increasingly escalating, with attacks continuing to increase since 2022. In dealing with this threat, Pakistan is implementing two main approaches: military and non-military. On the military side, Pakistan is strengthening its defense by increasing the number of personnel and equipment, as well as carrying out military operations to overcome separatist and terrorist groups. Apart from that, Pakistan also collaborates with countries such as China and Indonesia to strengthen military capabilities and fight terrorism together. Although these efforts often result in civilian casualties, the Pakistani military tries to minimize their impact. On the non-military front, Pakistan adopted a strategy of political inclusion and improved governance, with the aim of addressing the social and political grievances at the root of the insurgency. This approach aims to reduce tensions and improve relations between the central government and local communities, especially in areas affected by the insurgency. Apart from that, diplomacy is also an important strategy in strengthening Pakistan's defense. This country maintains relations with various international powers to strengthen its position in South Asia, including by holding security dialogue forums with related countries, such as Indonesia, to discuss global and regional security issues. This diplomacy also includes cooperation in overcoming terrorism and other security issues, which is expected to support stability in the region and improve Pakistan's national security.

FURTHER STUDY

This research still has limitations, so further research is needed related to the topic of Insurgency and the Government's Strategic Policies in Dealing with it in order to perfect this research and increase insight for readers.

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